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## THE PAMPANGOS IN THE MARIANA MISSION 1668-1684

Augusto V. de Viana  
*National Historical Institute, Manila*

The Pampangos of the Philippines played a major role in the effective colonisation of the Marianas by the Spanish both on the political and on the missionary front. Their role in facilitating change has often been overlooked in the traditional histories of the Spanish colonisation of Guam. This paper outlines the history of that involvement, and provides a number of name lists of Pampangos known to have resided on Guam.

Among the natives of the Philippines who helped establish the Spanish colony in the Mariana Islands were the Pampangos. These Philippine natives or *indios naturales*, as they were called, were brought along by Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, SJ. Fr. Sanvitores received permission from the King of Spain to establish a mission in the Mariana Islands. There were nineteen natives from the Philippines during the establishment of the mission in 1668, in addition to twelve Spaniards which included four Jesuits, Fr. Luis de Medina, Fr. Tomas de Cardenoso, Fr. Pedro de Casanova and Brother Luis Bustillo. These natives from the Philippines were a mixture of Tagalogs, Visayans and Pampangos.<sup>1</sup> They were led by Juan de Santa Cruz, a man of noble birth from Indang, Cavite. He accompanied Fr. Sanvitores as a blacksmith. Santa Cruz who was given the rank of Captain served as the military commander of the mission. The other Filipino natives were to serve as assistants of the missionaries, soldiers and settlers. They were also tasked to teach the Chamorros or the natives of the Marianas skills like farming, weaving and carpentry.

Of the nineteen natives, twelve can be identified in the letter written in 1668 by Fr. Casanova to Fr. Gabriel Guillen in Spain.<sup>2</sup> One of them was a Pampango boy named Andres de la Cruz. He was about twelve years old. With Juan Santiago and Felipe Tocsan, de la Cruz was a choir singer, with himself as a soprano.<sup>3</sup> Though the Filipinos were listed with certain skills, they also served as soldiers of the garrison whenever necessary.

On August 7, 1667, the Sanvitores mission left the Philippines to receive money and supplies it needed for the establishment of the colony in the Marianas. The islands which consisted of around 17 islands which includes Guam, Saipan, Rota and Tinian, were originally named as the Islas de Ladrones but received their present name after the benefactor of the first Spanish mission, Queen Regent Maria Ana.<sup>4</sup> The queen had interceded for its establishment. Until 1668, the islands were never settled by Spaniards though some survivors of shipwrecks of galleons were staying in the islands.

On March 23, 1668 the galleon *San Diego* carrying Fr. Sanvitores and his mission left Acapulco and arrived off Rota on June 15,

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1668. From there, the mission proceeded to Guam, the largest island in the archipelago. They were welcomed by native chiefs led by Quipuja, the *magalabi* or chief of the village of Agaña.

### THE INITIAL CONFLICTS WITH THE CHAMORROS

The hospitality of the natives however soon turned to hostility as the missionaries started to change the traditional practices of the Chamorros which were incompatible with Christianity. The missionaries objected to several native practices, one of which was ancestor worship. The Chamorros dug up the skulls of their dead relatives and kept them as miraculous talismans called *maran anuchan*. These were placed in special houses guarded by native shamans called *macanas*.<sup>5</sup> The Chamorros prayed to their ancestral spirits called *aniti* and asked them for good luck, good harvests and victory in battle.<sup>6</sup>

The missionaries also objected to the practice of young men called *urritaos* of consorting with young unmarried women in public houses without the benefit of matrimony because they considered this as a form of institutionalized prostitution.<sup>7</sup> The missionaries also displeased the upper caste Chamorros or *matua* who demanded that the blessings of Christianity be limited to members of this group. The inferior castes like the *achuat* and the *mangatchang* should not be given the privilege of becoming Christians.<sup>8</sup>

The missionaries were also alleged to have caused the deaths of children and old people in the communities where they preached. Many of them died after being baptized by the missionaries or after being administered holy oil in the sacrament of Extreme Unction.<sup>9</sup> The natives were made to believe by the Chinese castaway named Choco that the holy water was responsible for the children's deaths and that the holy oil hastened the demise of the adults. The deaths were most probably caused by diseases introduced by the foreigners like influenza and measles from which the natives had no natural immunity. Choco also spread the rumors that the missionaries were unwanted in their place of origin and that they were expelled

from the Philippines by the colonial government.<sup>10</sup>

Within a short period following their arrival, the warm welcome of the natives for the missionaries turned into hostility as the inhabitants hid their children to prevent them from being baptized. Though the missionaries were relatively safe in the village of Agaña and in the island of Tinian, elsewhere they were met with threats and taunts. It was also possible that the Spaniards befriended villages which were the enemies of other villages. In Saipan, Fr. Luis de Medina and Fr. Luis de Morales narrowly escaped assassination on August 14, 1668.<sup>11</sup> On August 19, two of Fr. Morales' escorts were killed off Tinian.

In November 1669, fighting broke out between two villages in Tinian. The conflict broke out because of rivalry between the villages of Marpo and Sunharon. It originated following the construction of a church by Fr. De Medina and Fr. Casanova in Sunharon.<sup>12</sup> The war between the two villages temporarily stopped because of a show of force by the Spaniards.<sup>13</sup> Fighting between Marpo and Sunharon resumed in January 1670 and the people of Marpo declared war on the missionaries. The latter planned to surprise the Spanish force led by Captain Juan de Santa Cruz and seize its firearms. As the natives boldly approached the Spanish force, Santa Cruz who was already forewarned of the plan of the natives, opened fire. The young Pampango boy Andres de la Cruz killed a native with a spear. A Mexican-born Spaniard named Diego Bazan wounded a few with his musket. The dead natives were the first to be killed by the Spanish mission.

The next mention of Pampangos in the mission being involved in operations against the Chamorros was in April 1670. Earlier during the month of January of that year, Fr. Luis de Medina and his Visayan companion named Hipolito de la Cruz were killed in Saipan. The two men were killed because of the hostility whipped by the preachings of Choco. While the priest and his companions were in the island, they were taunted as poisoners and killers of children. Also Fr. de Medina told the Chamorros to abandon their pagan ways and stop worshiping the skulls of their ancestors.<sup>14</sup>

He also wanted to take away the ancestral bones kept in the houses of the natives. Fr. Medina and de la Cruz were speared to death while a third companion named Agustin de la Cruz was barely able to escape. The two men were buried in the village of Cao with their feet tied and placed near the surface of the ground.<sup>15</sup> In April the colonists led by Captain Juan de Santa Cruz went to Saipan to retrieve the remains of Fr. de Medina and de la Cruz and to punish their murderers.

The natives of Saipan tried to appease Captain de Santa Cruz with turtle shells. These offerings were refused by de Santa Cruz who was determined to punish the malefactors. The fearful natives surrendered two suspects named Poyo and Daon. While they were being taken to Guam, Poyo tried to escape by trying to grab the knife of one of his Pampango guards. He was immediately stabbed dead by a Spaniard named Gregorio Martinez. The other soldiers, fearing that the other suspect would do the same, was also killed. The two dead men were belatedly baptized as Luis Poyo and Vidal Daon and were buried in Tinian.<sup>16</sup>

#### THE SPANISH PREFERENCE FOR PAMPANGO SOLDIERS

During 1670 no galleon arrived to provide the mission with supplies. Despite the hardships, the missionaries doubled their efforts to evangelize the natives. In that year, Fr. Sanvitores made a request to the Queen asking 200 men be sent from Manila, or the largest possible numbers of Indians from the Philippines, "of good character, of old Christianity, like the Pampangos and Tagalogs."<sup>17</sup>

Fr. Francisco Ezquerra who succeeded Fr. Sanvitores wrote another letter this time to the Governor General of the Philippines requesting for 200 Pampangos to be sent to the Marianas to protect the mission. He proposed that natives of the Marianas be sent to the Philippines for education. Fr. Ezquerra also requested that a boat be constructed for sailing to the islands of the Marianas. Though a boat in dismantled form was sent by Governor General of the Philippines, only a few men were sent. The reason was the requested Pampangos had to be sent to the Marianas via New

Spain which would take at least six months and another four months to travel from Mexico to the Marianas. The cost of feeding them would be prohibitive. Governor General Manuel de Leon also said that the Pampangos were in short supply and were needed to cut and drag timber for the building and repair of galleons.<sup>18</sup>

The missionaries preferred Pampangos as seen in the 1673-1674 annual report signed by Fr. Tomas Cardeñoso and Fr. Alonso Lopez. They wrote:<sup>19</sup>

*"This (Pampango) nation is preferred to the others, not only because it is closest to the Spanish nation in things military, but also because it has already proven its zeal of the Holy Faith of Christ, and also its natives display courage, tolerance and docility under duress."*

In 1679 the request of Fr. Sanvitores for 200 Pampangos was approved but it could not be implemented allegedly because of lack of transportation. The real problem was the reluctance of Spanish pilots to sail to the Marianas.<sup>20</sup>

#### JOSE DE TAPIA AND THE CHAMORROS

Meanwhile hostile incidents between the natives and the colonists continued to increase. These consisted of attacks on the missionaries doing evangelization work. On April 1, 1672, a Pampango named Nicolas Figueroa was killed together with Damian Bernal, a Tagalog and a Mexican-born Spaniard named Manuel Rangel. They were sent by Fr. Francisco Solano to look for Diego Bazan who was sent to the village of Nisihan with some letters for Fr. Sanvitores. They learned that Bazan was waylaid by *urritaos* on the way to the village of Chuchugu whose inhabitants were hostile to the missionaries. On the way to the Father's Residence in Agaña, the three men were attacked by 20 natives from the villages of Chuchugu and Mapaz. Figueroa killed one his attackers named Painhin and cut off his head. However their companion, Manuel Rangel was killed.<sup>21</sup> Figueroa and Bernal managed to escape by hiding in the bush. They were separated from each other. Figueroa was killed in the village of Ipao while Bernal was slain in Tumon.<sup>22</sup>

In the years following 1671 up to 1674, the natives killed a total of 38 members of the mission, including two priests, Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Francisco Ezquerro.<sup>23</sup> To stop the killings of priests and their assistants, the Spaniards undertook a more aggressive stance in dealing with the Chamorros. A Peruvian-born Spaniard named Damian de Esplana was selected as military commander of the Marianas. Upon his arrival in June 1674, Esplana applied to the Chamorros his experience of reducing to submission the native inhabitants of South America. He sent emissaries to the defiant villages and asked the inhabitants to fulfill the duties of good Christians and not to impede the progress of Christianity. When the natives rejected his requests, he launched a relentless assault. Esplana chose the most recalcitrant villages whose inhabitants were responsible for the deaths of soldiers and priests of the mission. He instructed his men to seek especially the guiltiest of the natives.<sup>24</sup>

One of the villages most hostile to the colonists was Chuchugu which could only be reached by climbing a very steep trail. The task of leading the assault on the village was given to a Pampango sergeant named Jose de Tapia. De Tapia was described as a young lad of unusual energy. Using a *campilan* or Philippine broadsword, he charged around the village. Though he was instructed not to kill the women, he killed a woman with an infant in her arms. He pried out the baby, who was baptized as Miguel Maria Ventura. The attacking force carried a variety of weapons including halberds made in China called *media lunas*.<sup>25</sup>

In the following year Esplana continued his campaign against the defiant villages going as far as Papuro in the southwest area of Guam in 1674. On November 14, Esplana and his men attacked the village of Tumon. Fr. Sanvitores and Pedro Calungsod, his Filipino assistant, were martyred in this village.<sup>26</sup> The attack resulted in the killing of the murderer of Damian Bernal. The dead man was quartered and hung on two poles for everyone to see.<sup>27</sup>

On December 17, Esplana returned to Chuchugu and also to the village of Mapaz. He was looking for the natives responsible for killing a Chamorro who was sympathetic to the

Spaniards. The inhabitants fled upon seeing Esplana and his men. Two natives who were not able to flee were killed, one of them by de Tapia. Esplana's men captured a woman and two children who were used as hostages to force the other inhabitants to sue for peace. Through a Christianized Chamorro named Diego Aguarin, the inhabitants of the villages who were hiding in the bush were persuaded to choose between peace and the dangers of hiding if they refused to submit to the colonizers. Most of them chose the former.<sup>28</sup>

After his victory in Chuchugu and Mapaz, Esplana turned his attention to the villages of Ritidian and Sidia, which he burned down after their inhabitants, refused his peaceful overtures. The next villages to be razed were those of Ati, Sagua, Pa'a, Habadian, Nagana and Hingca. The campaign against Pa'a yielded the crucifix of the martyred Fr. Sanvitores while his cassock was recovered in Habadian.<sup>29</sup>

While fighting in the various villages took place, a native noble named Torahi planned to kill all the missionaries by luring them to false peace negotiations. He recruited the inhabitants of the villages of Habadian and Tachuchuc. His plan, however, was leaked to Esplana who launched an assault against him. Esplana who was mounted on a horse struck Torahi with a sword and the Chamorros fled in disarray. Esplana could not pursue him further because his horse became mired in the swamp. Jose de Tapia ran after the wounded Torahi and finished him off with his sword.<sup>30</sup> For his loyalty and bravery, de Tapia was later promoted to Second Lieutenant.

Despite growing disagreements with the missionaries, Esplana ordered the burning of houses of those involved in past rebellions and the execution of those captured. He extended his campaign to Rota where his soldiers burned down villages which remained defiant.<sup>31</sup>

#### **THE ROYAL ORDER TO SEND PAMPANGOS TO THE MARIANAS**

On June 10, 1676, Captain Juan Francisco de Irrisari became the first governor of the Marianas. He continued Esplana's work of fighting defiant Chamorros. During that year one of the chiefs of Guam named Aguarin,

called on the inhabitants of several villages to kill all the Spaniards in the island. This resulted in the burning of the Father's Residence in Airan and the killing of a missionary and five of his escorts. The Spaniards resorted to hiring spies and bounty hunters to capture the killers who fled to Rota.<sup>32</sup>

On June 21, 1678, Irrisari was replaced by Captain Juan Antonio de Salas who continued the punitive missions against the defiant Chamorros. On July 11, 1679, the King issued a decree ordering the colonization of the Marianas. The same decree contained an order to send families including 200 Pampangos or another kind of people to the islands.<sup>33</sup> The royal decree was not implemented because of lack of transportation to the Marianas.

Along with the King's decree, a new military commander, a retired army captain named Jose de Quiroga was sent to the Marianas. Described as "a monk in a soldier's garb, Quiroga had orders from the Governor General of the Philippines to completely end the Chamorro uprisings and pay particular attention to the murderers of priests and soldiers, those guilty of sedition and the traitors who could impede the progress of the true religion."<sup>34</sup> Quiroga targeted the hostile villages especially those whose inhabitants were responsible for the murders of missionaries and soldiers. He turned his attention to the island of Rota and threatened the inhabitants with an invasion unless the inhabitants surrender to him the murderers of Fr. Sanvitores and Calungsod and other wanted men. To appease him the Rotanese surrendered several individuals, one of whom was Matapang, Fr. Sanvitores' killer.<sup>35</sup> In 1681 Quiroga invaded Rota and captured 150 warriors among them was Aguarin, the leader of the 1676 rebellion. The leaders of the rebellion were hanged while the others were forced to accept Christianity. On June 5, 1681 Quiroga was replaced by Antonio de Saravia who became the governor of the Marianas.<sup>36</sup>

#### **THE CHAMORRO REBELLION OF 1684**

Saravia adopted a policy of attraction by stopping the hunting down of defiant Chamorros and asked them to swear allegiance to the Spanish throne. When Saravia died in 1683, he

was succeeded by Damian de Esplana. Quiroga again became the military commander of the Marianas. The two men resumed active the subjugation of the Marianas in 1684. On March 22, Quiroga left with 76 men to conquer the northern Marianas.<sup>37</sup>

While Quiroga was busy fighting in the Northern Marianas, the natives of Guam rose in revolt on July 23, 1684. The cause of the Chamorro revolt was not solely due to the imposition of western culture and the eradication of traditional practices but also because of the abuses of the Spanish officials. Esplana had forced Chamorros including students from the boys' college to work in his private business ventures, which involved supplying galleons heading for the Philippines. Some of the soldiers of the mission were abusive and were known to steal and rape. Some of them especially those from the Philippines who married native women were prevailed upon by their Chamorro mothers-in-law to overthrow their superiors.<sup>38</sup>

As the news of the outbreak of the revolt in Guam reached the Northern Marianas, the Guamanians told the inhabitants of the islands that the Spanish garrison in Guam was wiped out and that they could regain their freedom if Quiroga and his men were killed. A Spanish force of 25 men led by Jose de Tapia who had been promoted to Captain was returning from an expedition from the islands north of Saipan. He was accompanied by Fr. Peter Coomans, who acted as chaplain. The force was sailing aboard sea-going canoes rowed by Chamorro boatmen. Each canoe had on board one or two soldiers. At a given signal, the Chamorro boatmen overturned their own canoes. Twenty soldiers including de Tapia were drowned. Fr. Coomans and five soldiers survived after forcing the Chamorro boatmen to land them on the nearest island of Alamagan.<sup>39</sup>

Later Quiroga who was besieged in Saipan, eventually broke through the enemy cordon and returned to Guam. With the help of loyal Chamorros, he reached the surrounded garrison of Agaña and crushed the rebellion. More than 60 soldiers and priests of the mission had died during the 1684 rebellion. Several more were injured. Among those severely wounded

was Felipe Sonson. Sonson, a native of Macabebe, Pampanga, was a veteran of the 1662 Chinese revolt in the Philippines. He was described by Fr. Luis Morales as a “holy man” and of 80 years of age.<sup>40</sup> Sonson was an expert in handling the arquebus. After his wife’s death and seeing to it that his children could take care of themselves, Sonson joined the original Sanvitores mission in 1667 as a master carpenter. He eventually recovered from his injuries and died of natural causes on January 11, 1686.<sup>41</sup>

### POSTSCRIPT: BEYOND THE CONQUEST

Natives from the Philippines participated in the final conquest of the Marianas after the Chamorro rebellion of 1684. Though chronicles of the priests who accompanied the campaign in Aguiguan in 1695 as well as other islands mentioned only “Filipino soldiers,” there is no doubt that Pampangos served in active roles in such campaigns.<sup>42</sup>

Some of the native soldiers from the Philippines returned to their country. One of the soldiers who returned to the Philippines was Andres de la Cruz who came to the Marianas as a young boy with Fr. Sanvitores. After serving in the garrison for seven years, de la Cruz, who rose to the rank of lieutenant, returned to the Philippines. He was reported to be destitute and in 1685 Fr. Luis Morales, who became the Jesuit procurator for the Philippines and the Marianas, asked that de la Cruz be recognized for his services in the Marianas.<sup>43</sup>

In January 1686, the Council of the Indies recognized de la Cruz’s services in the Marianas. He was honored with a Knight of the Medal and a decree of thanks by the Council of the Indies. He was also given the staff of a *Maestre del Campo* or Master of Camp with a rank of Sergeant Major of the Pampango nation. De la Cruz was also given a pension to be paid from the Port of Cavite and his children, two sisters and their children were recommended by the Council of the Indies for exemption from tribute and forced labor.<sup>44</sup>

Other soldiers from the Philippines retired in the Marianas and intermarried with the natives. Many of them were appointed as local

officials such as *alcaldes mayores* and *alguaciles* or deputies when the native Chamorros were unable to fulfill the duties demanded by the Spanish administrators.<sup>45</sup> They became leading citizens or *principales* of their communities.

For the rest of the Spanish rule, soldiers from the Philippines especially the Pampangos formed part of the garrison in the Marianas. A census report in 1758 reported that the garrison was composed of two companies of Spaniards and one company of Pampangos.<sup>46</sup> Like in the early period, Pampangos were preferred as soldiers by the Spaniards because of their bravery and loyalty to their superiors. Some of the soldiers even brought their own families as this practice was encouraged by the Spanish administrators.

In the final years of Spanish rule the last colonial occupants of the Northern Marianas were Filipinos. On May 9, 1899, 270 Pampango soldiers from the *Regimiento de Voluntarios Macabebes* were brought to Saipan. They were commanded by Colonel Eugenio Blanco, a Spaniard who was a native born in Macabebe, Pampanga.<sup>47</sup> Macabebe was a town known for its fiercely loyal soldiers. It was among the last to fall to the Filipino revolutionists in 1898.<sup>48</sup>

Aside from having clerks and administrators numbering around 60, Blanco’s group brought along their families. All in all they numbered around 700 individuals. While in Saipan, the Macabebe troops committed atrocities. Though Colonel Blanco was described by Rudolf von Beningsen, the incoming German Governor, as “an honorable man,” he had little control over his troops. The reign of terror “frightened the Chamorro families,” as the Macabebes became “masters over their tables and beds.”<sup>49</sup> They decimated the livestock and treated the islanders as enemies. Some of the Carolinian immigrants in the island escaped to the forests while some of the Chamorros escaped to Guam. When the Germans took over Saipan, a Spanish ship sailed away with all the Macabebes. Their departure was met with a great celebration by the people of Saipan who considered it as “a gift from heaven.” The natives were extremely happy with the Germans the moment they met them because they were polite and educated.<sup>50</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Pampangos were among the natives of the Philippines who came to the Marianas in 1668 and helped establish the Spanish mission in the islands. They distinguished themselves as soldiers of the Spanish mission and participated in the conquest of the islands especially during the intermittent Chamorro wars.

Like in the Philippines, the Pampangos were desired by their Spanish superiors because they were proven to be loyal and dependable soldiers. This was the reason for at least three requests from Spanish administrators specifying that Pampangos should be sent to the islands. Following the conquest of the islands, many soldiers from the Philippines including the Pampangos served as administrators in the native communities in the islands.

For the native Filipino soldiers, service in the Spanish army helped change their social status from ordinary *indios* to that of a privileged class. This change of social status affected even their descendants. This can be illustrated in the case of Andres de la Cruz who rose to become part of the privileged native class or *principalia*, not just because of having noble birth but also through loyal service and support to the Spanish Crown.

Together with other natives of the Philippines like the Tagalogs and Visayans, and other non-Spaniards, the Pampangos played a role in restructuring the population and culture of the people of the Marianas. They created both positive and negative impressions on the inhabitants.

The positive aspect of the role of the Pampangos in the Marianas included the securing Spanish authority in the islands as soldiers of the garrison and as civil administrators. They became part of the *cacique* class which protected and enforced colonial rule in the islands. Many of the prominent families in Guam and Saipan carry surnames common in Pampango areas in the Philippines such as Pangilinan, Balajadia, and Camacho. Together with their families and descendants, they helped settle the land and intermarried with the local population.

The negative impression is that they constituted part of the colonial establishment regarded by historians on the Marianas as an

oppressive element. The abuses by some soldiers especially those of the Macabebe soldiers in Saipan are still remembered.

Like the rest of the immigrants to the Marianas, the Pampangos helped in the creation of the present inhabitants of the Marianas. Considered as neo-Chamorros the people of the Marianas possess a basic mestizo culture which retained Austronesian qualities. This is evident in the physical characteristics of the inhabitants and their way of life.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 The regions where these natives came from were among the first to be colonized by the Spaniards. The Tagalogs came from an area comprising the provinces of Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Nueva Ecija, Tayabas (now Quezon province) and the region now occupied by Manila and Rizal province. The Visayans came from the provinces of Cebu and Bohol where the Jesuits established seminaries which trained catechists. The Pampangos came from Pampanga province and the areas where the Pampango dialect was spoken including northern Bulacan. Like the Tagalog provinces, the region was valued by the Spaniards as a source of skilled labor including the builders of galleons, carpenters, woodcarvers, farmers and soldiers.
- 2 RAH (Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Spain) 9/2676 doc. No. 5, *Letter from Fr. Pedro de Casanova to Fr. Gabriel Guillen, San Juan, Marianas, 17 June 1668*, cited as Document 1668J3 in *History of Micronesia A Collection of Source Documents*. (Hereinafter referred to as HM) Vol. 4:445-454.  
  
The skills of the Filipinos were also mentioned in the letter. Juan de Santa Cruz was described as a master blacksmith; Andres Ysson, a farmer and Pascual Francisco, weaver.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 AGI (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain) Filipinas 82-2-29, *Letter of Fr. Sanvitores to the Queen, July 1667*, cited as Document 1667 in HM4:341-345.
- 5 Alberto Risco, *The Apostle of the Marianas the Life, Labors, and Martyrdom of Venerable Diego Luis de Sanvitores, 1627-1672*, Trans. Juan de Ledesma, (Guam: Diocese of Guam, 1970), p. 165.

- 6 ARSI (Archivium Romanium Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy) 13, fol. 44-40, *Jesuit annual report for 1669-1670, Synopsis from the Maggs Catalogue*, (London: Maggs Brothers 1927), cited as Document No. 1670H in HM5:63-82.
- 7 *Loc. Cit.*
- 8 Scott Russell, *Tiempon I Manmoko'na Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (CNMI: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), p. 295.
- 9 Peter Coomans, *History of the Mission in the Mariana Islands, 1667-1673*, Trans. Rodrigue Levesque (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 2000), p. 26.
- 10 Jose Maria Salutan Luengo, *Pedro Calungsod The Visayo Protomartyr in Tumbon, Guam April 2, 1672*, 1st Edition (Tubigon, Bohol: Mater Dei Publications, 1997), p. 98.
- 11 *Op. cit.*, p. 297.
- 12 Sunharon (sometimes spelled as Sungharon) was the village of Chief Jose Taga who was earlier reputed to have seen a vision of the Virgin who told him to save the passengers and crews of Spanish galleons who might get shipwrecked on the island. He was responsible for saving the survivors of the galleon La Concepcion in 1638. The conflict erupted when the people of Sunharon who felt superior to the people of Marpo insulted the latter.
- 13 Risco, *op. cit.* p. 153.
- The fighting stopped because Fr. de Medina and Fr. Sanvitores told the natives of Marpo and Sunharon that their villages will be razed to the ground by the "iron pieces that spouted lightning bolts." Peace between the two villages was achieved with the exchange of turtle shells.
- 14 BNM (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) No. 31, Document No. 9024, *Relacion de la Vida y Devotismo de Fr. Luis de Medina, Hijo de Maria Santisima de la Compania de Jesus que Murio por Christo en las Islas Marianas con otro Compañero seglar como llamado Hipolito de la Cruz*, cited as Document 1670D in HM4:626-633.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 ARSI 13, Fol. 50-53, *Report on the Death of Fr. Luis de Medina*, cited as Document 1670B in HM4:585-619.
- 17 ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 44-49, *Requests made by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in the Marianas to Her Majesty, the Queen, for the growth of new Christianity in the Mariana Islands, 1670*, cited as Document 1670H in HM5:63-82.
- 18 AGI (Archivo General de Indias, Spain) Fil. 101-3-186 *Razon de los Puntos en que esta tomada resolucion sobre las cosas que son necesarias para las misiones de naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas que estan a cargo de los religiosos de la Compania de Jesus*, cited as Document No. 1674K7 in HM5:200-201.
- 19 AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit Document No. 7, *Relacion de los sucesos de las Islas Marianas desde el año 16763 hasta Mayo 1674 juntamente con martirio del feveroso y angelical Padre Francisco Ezguerra, muerto por la predicacion del Santo Evangelio en el Pueblo de Ati, Puerto de San Antonio de la Ysla de Guam, una de las Marianas, a 2 de Febrero, 1674*, cited as Document No. 1674J in HM6:201-228.
- 20 AGI Ultramar 562 Jesuit Document No. 18, *Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680 by Fr. Xaramillo*, cited as Document 1680T in HM 8:411-417.
- 21 ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 82-87, *Letter of Fr. Francisco Solano to Fathers Morales, Casanova and Br. Bustillo, April 26, 1672*, Trans. Juan Ledesma, cited as Document 1672E in HM5:426-427.
- 22 Juan de Ledesma, *The Last Five Months of the Life of Fr. Sanvitores*, cited as Document No. 1672A in HM5:402-404.
- These two villages were also spelled as Ypao and Tumhun or Tumhon.
- 23 ARSI Phil. 13, Fol. 121-128, *Relacion de las Yslas Marianas desde el Mes de Junio de 74 hasta Junio de 75*, cited as Document 1675E in HM6:283-306.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 Fr. Sanvitores and Calungsod were beatified by the Catholic Church more than three centuries later. Fr. Sanvitores was beatified on October 6, 1985 while Calungsod was beatified on March 5, 2000.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 *Ibid.*

- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> AGI Ultramar 652, Jesuit Document No. 18, *Jesuit Annual Report for 1679-1680 by Antonio Xaramillo*, cited as Document 1680T in HM7:303-345.
- <sup>33</sup> AGI Fil. Libro 7. Fol. 283-286, pp. 589-592, *Royal order for the colonization of the Marianas*, cited as Document 1679L in HM 7:136-138.
- Again for lack of transportation, the Pampangos ordered by the King were never sent.
- <sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*
- <sup>35</sup> Matapang died of his wounds while being taken to Guam. His head was severed and presented to Quiroga.
- <sup>36</sup> Saravia was the first to be appointed by the Council of the Indies his predecessors Francisco de Irrisari and Juan Antonio de Salas were appointed by the galleon captains. In 1679 Fr. Alonso Pantoja, the Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, petitioned the King to appoint a governor for the Marianas.
- <sup>37</sup> RAH Jesuit tomes No. 9/3631, *Letter of Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Francisco Garcia, Guam, 20 May 1685*, cited as Document 1685K in HM8:255-300.
- <sup>38</sup> Fr. Luis de Morales in: Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Tadhana, Vol. II, The Formation of the National Community, 1565-1896* (Manila: 1977), p. 45.
- <sup>39</sup> *Letter of Fr. Jose Vidal to the Duchess of Aveiro, Mexico, 3 May 1685*, Van Houten Collection, Gleeson Library, University of San Francisco.
- <sup>40</sup> *Relacion de los sucesos en Marianas en el año pasado de 3 de Mayo 1684 hasta primero de Mayo 1685*. In: Abella, *Vignettes in Philippine-Marianas History*, Manila: International Association of Historians of Asia, 1962, pp. 14-15.
- Sonson's name was spelled Loon in Fr. Morales' narrative of the 1684 rebellion. Morales described Sonson as a "holy man of 80," who died in the 1684 rebellion. Actually he was around 75 years old at the time. Fr. Morales furthermore mentioned Sonson as killed in the attack but Fr. Bouwens mentions that he recovered from his injuries. Other writings described Sonson as "the second Jesuit in the Philippines."
- See RAH 9/2677, *Noticia de la vida exemplar de H. Felipe Sonson Donado de la Compania de Jesus*,  
<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>42</sup> ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 306-325v, *Relacion de la conquista y restauracion de las Islas Marianas*, cited as Document 1696F in HM9:464-678.  
<sup>43</sup> AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, fol. 78-81, *Puntos que faltan por resolver del Memorial del Padre Luis de Morales, tocante a las Yslas Marianas cuya determinacion pertenece a la Junta de Guerra*.- Junta a 22 de Enero de 1686 y Decisiones dela Junta de Guerra al Rey, Madrid 28 y 29 de Enero, 1686, cited as Document 1686V9 and V10 in HM 9:435-446.  
<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>45</sup> Francis X. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690 to 1740 Occasional Historical Papers Series No. 2* (Saipan: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 2000), pp. 16-17.
- The early local officials of the communities were the former *matua* of the Chamorros. When they proved ineffective, they were replaced with retired soldiers until they could effectively take over the positions. The ineffectiveness of the native leaders was because many of the inhabitants of the reduced communities were not from the same village, therefore the former *matua* could not exact submission from them. The refusal of some inhabitants to submit to the appointed local leaders was interpreted by the Spanish administrators as "haughtiness and natural arrogance."
- <sup>46</sup> AGI Fil. 480, *General List of Spanish and Pampango Infantry Acting as the garrison of this royal camp of San Ignacio of Agaña, in these islands*.
- Most of the soldiers from the Philippines lived in Barrio Santa Cruz in Agaña. Though some of the soldiers were probably not from Pampang, they were called Pampangos apparently because most of the soldiers were Pampangos or the Spaniards considered the soldiers to be Pampangos. The most of the Spaniards, on the other hand, were mainly drawn from Mexico. See the appendices for the Pampangos and their descendants at the back of the article.
- <sup>47</sup> Dirk H.R. Spennemann, *Aurora Australis The German Period in the Mariana Islands, 1899-1914 Occasional Historical Papers No. 5* (Saipan: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 1999), p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> In the early years of Spanish domination the Macabebes who fought against the Spaniards. Their forebears were allies of Rajah Soliman who was killed fighting the forces of Martin de Goiti in 1571. Later they served with the Spanish forces and were sent to fight in other areas of the Philippines and even other places like the Marianas, the Carolines and Indo China. During the Philippine Revolution the town of Macabebe staunchly fought on the side of the Spaniards until the end of the conflict against Spain in 1898. Its principal inhabitants denounced Filipino leaders like General Antonio Luna of atrocities and other crimes. When the Americans arrived many Macabebes enlisted in the US Army and were instrumental in the capture of General Emilio Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, thereby effectively helping end the Filipino-American War.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, Francisco Resano del Corazon de Jesus, et al. *Chronicle of the Mariana Islands*, Translated and edited by Marjorie G. Driver and Omaira Brunal-Perry (Guam: University of Guam Richard Taitano Flores Micronesia Area Research Center, 1998), p. 115.

**AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY AND CONTACT**

Augusto V. de Viana is the Chief History Researcher and head of the Research and Publications Division of the National Historical Institute in the Philippines. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts in Asian Studies, Master of Arts in History (cum laude) and Doctor of Philosophy in History (magna cum laude) from the University of Santo Tomas. He is the author of *Apples and Ampalaya Bittersweet Glimpses of the American Period in the Philippines (1898-1946)*, *Kulaboretor! The Issue of Political Collaboration During the Second World War* and *The Far Islands The Role of Natives of the Philippines in the Conquest, Colonization and Repopulation of the Mariana Islands*. He has written other books with other writers and has written articles in *UNITAS* and *AD VERITATEM*, the scholarly journals of the University of Santo Tomas. Dr. de Viana has delivered lectures about Philippine relations with the Marianas in the teachers' training institute held in Saipan in 1999 and 2000. He is currently a professorial lecturer at the University of Santo Tomas Graduate School.

Augusto V. de Viana, National Historical Institute, Chief, Research and Publications Division, National Historical Institute, TM Kalaw St. Manila, Philippines. E-mail: augustodeviana@yahoo.com

**APPENDIX NO. 1 : LIST OF PAMPAGNO SOLDIERS IN THE GARRISON OF AGAÑA, GUAM IN 1758**

Master-of-Camp Antonio de los Santos  
 Captain Manuel Antonio Pangilinan  
 Lieutenant Salvador Malavitan  
 Sergeant Pedro de Herrera  
 Captain (retired) Andres de Arceo  
 Captain Agustín de la Cruz  
 Captain Jose de Castro  
 Captain Pedro de Robles  
 Captain Andres Casimiro de Quintanilla  
 Captain Juan Martinez de Castro  
 Captain Luis de la Cruz  
 Captain Antonio Pablo  
 Captian Juan de Cabrera  
 Captain Manuel Rafael  
 Captian Bartolome de los Reyes  
 Lieutenant (retired) Domingo Hernandez  
 Lieutenant Felix Velasquez  
 Lieutenant Agustín Diego  
 Lieutenant Luis Taysipi  
 Lieutenant Francisco Romero

Squad Corporal Miguel Pascual Cabangis  
 Vizente Garcia  
 Martin Laurente  
 Marcos Hernandez  
 Francisco de Borja Pangilinan  
 Alonso de los Santos  
 Agustín de Esquerria  
 Ignacio Antonio Pablo  
 Pascual de los Santos  
 Melchor de los Reyes  
 Juan Francisco Regis Pablo  
 Tomas Montesuma  
 Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco  
 Guillermo de Aranzazu  
 Salvador Albay  
 Pedro de la Cruz Chargima  
 Justo de los Reyes  
 Fulgencio Natal  
 Andres de Esquerria  
 Jose Diego Banton  
 Ignacio Coeto de Leyba  
 Matias de la Cruz  
 Narciso de los Reyes  
 Manuel Pangilinan  
 Pedro de Torres  
 Gaspar de Lizama  
 Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman  
 Mariano de Lizama  
 Alberto de Torres  
 Juan de Esquerria  
 Juan Crisostomo Flores  
 Antonio de la Cruz  
 Nicolas Inocencio  
 Esteban Manubusan  
 Manuel Domingo de los Santos  
 Mariano Calisto Inocencio  
 Marcos de Campos

**APPENDIX NO. 2: FILIPINO INDIANS IN BARRIO SANTA CRUZ, GUAM AND THEIR DESCENDANTS AS LISTED IN THE CENSUS OF THE MARIANAS IN 1758\*\***

Soldier: Captain Manuel Antonio Pangilinan, married to Maria Magdalena Taitiguan with five children:

Mariano Sabas de la Cruz  
Felipe Isidro de la Cruz  
Francisco Xavier Pangilinan  
Jose Martin Pangilinan  
Josepha Damiana Pangilinan

Soldier: Lieutenant Salvador Malavitan married to Marea Josepha de Leon with three children:

Ignacio Malavitan  
Maria Angela Malavitan  
Catalina Teresa Malavitan

Soldier: Sergeant Pedro de Herrera, married to Ignacia Pacheco

Soldier: Master of Camp Lucas del Castillo, married to Manuela Nauson with four children:

Pedro del Castillo  
Francisco del Castillo  
Leonarda del Castillo  
Maria del Castillo

Soldier: Captain Miguel Carpio, married to Isabel Cabangis

Soldier: Captain Augustin de la Cruz, married to Josepha de la Cruz with ten children:

Miguel de la Rosa  
Juan de la Rosa  
Jose de la Cruz  
Josepha de la Rosa  
Juana de la Rosa  
Maria de la Rosa  
Manuela de la Rosa  
Teresa de la Cruz  
Angela de la Cruz  
Faustina de la Cruz

Soldier: Captain Jose de Castro married to Rosa de Padua

Soldier: Captain Andres Casimiro de Quintanilla, married to Maria Seraphina de los Reyes with four children:

Teodoro Ignacio de Quintanilla  
Cosme Damian de Quintanilla  
Maria Lucrecia de Quintanilla  
(Name of fourth child is missing)

Soldier: Captain Nicolas de la Cruz, married to Lucia Muña with three sons:  
Salvador de la Cruz

Rafael de la Cruz  
Francisco de la Cruz

Soldier: Captain Andres de Mendiola, married to Ignacia Pangilinan with five children:

Pedro de Mendiola  
Juan de Mendiola  
Mariano de Mendiola  
Maria de Mendiola  
Mariana de Mendiola

Soldier: Captain Juan Martin de Castro, married to Lucia de la Peña, with six children:

Domingo de Castro  
Atanasio de Castro  
Jose de Castro  
Aquilino de Castro  
Dominga de Castro  
Maria de Castro

Soldier: Captain Luis de la Cruz, married to Elena Pangilinan, with two children:

Luis de la Cruz  
Francisca de la Cruz

Soldier: Captain Antonio Pablo, married to Maria de Benavente with one son:

Dimas Pablo

Soldier: Captain Bartolome de los Reyes, married to Rosa de la Cruz Samay

Juana de Luna, widow with four children:  
Tiburcio del Rosario  
Felix del Rosario  
Santiago Satens del Rosario  
Maria Martina del Rosario

Soldier: Captain Juan de Cabrera, married to Maria Victoria with one daughter

Maria Francisca de Cabrera

Soldier: Lieutenant Domingo Hernandez, married to Ines Cabangis with six children:

Juan Hernandez  
Diego Hernandez  
Juan Bautista Hernandez  
Ines Hernandez  
Rosa Hernandez  
Veronica Hernandez

Soldier: Lieutenant Felix Velasquez, married to Andrea Redondo

Soldier: Lieutenant Augustin Diego, married to Juana Cabangis, with two sons:  
Manuel Diego

- Augustin Diego
- Soldier: Lieutenant Luis Taisipi, married to Manuela Muña, with one son:  
Jose Taisipi
- Soldier: Jose Diego Banton, married to Juana Angis, with three children:  
Marcos Banton  
Macario Banton  
Juana Banton
- Soldier: Salvador Albay, married to Maria Taytano
- Soldier: Martin Laurente, married to Teresa Micaela Augoon (sic) with two sons:  
Manuel Diego Laurente  
Juan Benjamin Laurente
- Soldier: Ignacio Coeto de Leiba, married to Maria Teresa de Espinosa with one son:  
Andres Coeto de Leiba  
Ignacio Manalo, orphan
- Soldier: Nicolas Inocencio, married to Maria Zepeda, with two daughters:  
Maria Inocencio  
Brigida Inocencio
- Soldier: Marcos Hernandez, married to Angela Ena
- Soldier: Francisco de Borja Pangilinan, married to Dominga de Leon Guerrero
- Soldier: Francisco de los Reyes, married to Maria Ramirez
- Soldier: Ignacio Antonio Pablo, married to Maria Ortiz
- Soldier: Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman, married to Maria Ignacia Pangilinan
- Soldier: Andres Adriano, married to Violeta de los Reyes
- Soldier: Juan de Esquerria, married to Maria de Zepeda, with one son:  
Eusebio de Esquerria
- Soldier: Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco, married to Ines de la Cruz, with five children:  
Mateo de la Cruz  
Nicolas de la Cruz  
Teresa Angela de la Cruz  
Maria de la Cruz  
Josepha Angela de la Cruz
- Soldier: Antonio de la Cruz, married to Francisca Xaviera de la Concepcion
- Soldier: Marcos de Campos, married to Maria de Castro, Ignacia Quetaca, widow
- Soldier: Roque de los Santos, married to Francisca Alon, with four children:  
Raimundo de los Santos  
Magdalena de los Santos  
Dionisia de los Santos  
Teresa de Vera
- Captain Juan de Valenzuela, married to Francisca de Arceo with six children:  
Domingo de Valenzuela  
Fermin de Valenzuela  
Gregorio Xavier de Valenzuela  
Lucia de Valenzuela  
Maria de Valenzuela  
Martina Brigida de Valenzuela
- Captain Antonio Pangilinan, married to Petronilla de Arceo, with nine children:  
Vicente Ferrer Pangilinan  
Juan de Dios de Pangilinan  
Pedro Pablo Pangilinan  
Gaspar Pangilinan  
Teodora Manuela Pangilinan  
Teresa Pangilinan  
Maria Lumen Pangilinan  
Josepha Pangilinan
- Captain Jose Balajadya, married to Maria de Zepeda, with six children:  
Francisco de Borja Balajadya  
Ventura Balajadya  
Eustaquio Balajadya  
Pedro Pablo Balajadya  
Maria Victoria Balajadya
- Captain Jose de Mendoza, married to Magdalena de la Cruz
- Jose de Torres, orphan
- Captain Mariano de Quintanilla, married to Maria Pablo, with nine children:  
Pedro Mariano de Quintanilla  
Juan Mariano de Quintanilla  
Nicolas de Quintanilla  
Antonio de Quintanilla  
Cayetano de Quintanilla  
Manuel de Quintanilla  
Maria de Quintanilla  
Augustina de Quintanilla  
Luisa de Quintanilla
- Captain Juan de Guevara, married to Luisa Adi
- Captain Rafael de los Santos, married to Manuela Tarcila Aguon

- Captain Francisco Xavier de la Cruz, married to Lorenza Paula de los Rios with seven daughters:  
 Rosa de la Cruz  
 Maria de la Cruz  
 Francisca Hermenegilda de la Cruz  
 Augustina de la Cruz  
 Manuela de la Cruz  
 Manuela Lorenza de la Cruz
- Captain Diego Dimapan, married to Antonia Henriquez, with one son:  
 Francisco Xavier Dimapan
- Antonia de Espinosa, with 5 children:  
 Loduvico Martinez Blas  
 Miguel Jose Blas  
 Manuel Blas  
 Maria Rosa Blas  
 Maria Ana Blas
- Captain Vicente Manaleisay, married to Maria Capistrano, with two sons:  
 Juan Manaleisay  
 Manuel Manaleisay
- Captain Nicolas de Arriola, married to Maria del Castillo, with five children:  
 Jose Diaz  
 Juan Diaz  
 Raimundo de Arriola  
 Diego de Arriola  
 Josepha de Arriola
- Captain Juan de Arceo, married to Michaela de la Peña, with five children:  
 Felix de Arceo  
 Leopardo de Arceo  
 Francisco de Arceo  
 Jose de Arceo  
 Clara de Arceo
- Captain Mateo Manubusan, widower, two sons:  
 Jose Manubusan  
 Juan Manubusan
- Captain Juan Capistrano, widower, two children:  
 Gaspar Capistrano  
 Juana Rafaela
- Captain Nicolas Ramos, unmarried
- Captain Miguel Mañacapo, unmarried
- Adjutant Felipe Malavitan, widower
- Lieutenant Jose Antonio Aguon, married to Manuela Ramirez with two sons:  
 Santiago Aguon  
 Domingo Aguon
- Lieutenant Santiago de la Concepcion, married to Maria Agmagege
- Lieutenant Domingo de Guzman, married to Manuela Marcelo
- Lieutenant Francisco de Leon, married to Catalina Mampogo with four sons:  
 Andres de Leon  
 Domingo de Leon  
 Miguel de Leon  
 Francisco Xavier de Leon
- Lieutenant Pedro Pablo Marcelo, married to Felipa de Salas, with six children:  
 Ignacio Jose Marcelo  
 Juan Jose Marcelo  
 Luis Marcelo  
 Juana Ines Marcelo  
 Maria Isabel Marcelo  
 Juana Francisca Marcelo
- Lieutenant Francisco Tatacaon, married to Manuela de Esquerria, with five children:  
 Manuel Tatacaon  
 Jose Tatacaon  
 Josepha Tatacaon  
 Ana Tatacaon  
 Lorenza Tatacaon
- Luicia de la Concepcion, widow
- Dominga de Esquerria, orphan
- Lieutenant Juan de la Cruz Yuzon, married to Teresa de Jesus Aguon
- Lieutenant Nicolas Garcia, married to Francisca Quetaca
- Lieutenant Juan Fausto, married to Maria Crisostomo, with one daughter:  
 Maria Petrona
- Luisa Ago, widow, with three sons:  
 Juan Crisostomo  
 Diego Crisostomo  
 Francisco Crisostomo
- Lieutenant Domingo Garcia, married to Isabel Ati
- Atanasio de los Santos, married to Isabel de Guzman with three children:  
 Roman de los Santos  
 Maria de los Santos  
 Isidora de los Santos
- Isidro de la Cruz, married to Isabel de la Cruz
- Mateo de la Cruz, married to Luisa Cabangis

- Juan Benjamin de los Santos, married to Maria Candida del Castillo, with two children:  
Pedro Pablo de los Santos  
Maria Feliciana de los Santos
- Jose Manuel Aguon, married to Francisca Xaviera de Leon Guerrero, with seven children:  
Salvador Fose Aguon  
Felipe Santiago Aguon  
Domingo Marianao Aguon  
Vicente Nicoloas Aguon  
Jose Maximo Aguon  
Manuel Mariano Aguon  
Rosa Tarcila Aguon
- Miguel Perez de Armenta, married to Ines Nahong
- Nicolas de los Reyes, marries to Juana Pablo
- Luis de Lizama, married to Teresa Ursula Sinia, with four children:  
Miguel de Lizama  
Juan de Lizama  
Ignacia de Lizama  
Maria Teresa de Lizama
- Francisco Manuel Aguon, married to Angela Dimapan
- Jose de Castro, married to Josepha Dueñas, with three children  
Ignacio de Castro  
Jose Angel de Castro  
Maria Lumen de Castro
- Jose de la Cruz, married to Juana Pablo, with three children:  
Manuel Bartolome de los Reyes  
Josepha de la Cruz  
Angela Barbara de la Cruz
- Simon de Buenaventura, married to Josepha Pablo, with four children:  
Santiago de Buenaventura  
Felipe de Buenaventura  
Maria de Buenaventura  
Lucia de Buenaventura
- Augustin de los Santos, married to Maria Victoria de la Cruz, with two children:  
Juan de los Santos  
Josepha de los Santos
- Tomas de la Concepcion, married to Maria Morales, with three children:  
Jose de la Cruz  
Juan de la Concepcion  
Monica de la Concepcion
- Jose de la Cruz, married to Maria Tatacaon
- Jose Tatacaon, married to Manuela Ignacia Ortiz
- Ignacio Tomas, married to Francisca Marcelo
- Francisca Pablo, married to Maria de Zepeda, with five children:  
Francisco Longinos Pablo  
Domingo Pablo  
Gaspar Pablo  
Maria Rosa Pablo  
Potenciana Pablo
- Maria Taisipi, widow
- Pascuala Mamsangan, widow
- Fernando de la Cruz, married to Tomasa Dominga
- Jose Albay, married to Rosa Taitai
- Augustin Basa, married to Juana Augustin (sic) Basa
- Ignacio de la Cruz, orphan
- Alonso de la Cruz, married to Margarita Teresa Gueta
- Manuel Francisco Lascano, married to Maria Lucia Mamingin, with four sons:  
Manuel Matias Lascano  
Dionisio Luis Lascano  
Juan Domingo Lascano  
Manuel Lascano
- Pablo Albay, married to Maria Aponfixo
- Ignacio Calixto Inocencio, married to Maria Juana de la Cruz
- Juan Blas Cortes, married to Augustina Tadmaulig
- Ignacio Xavier Castro, married to Maria Juana de la Vega
- Jose de Leon, married to Michaela Geronima Dimapan, with two sons:  
Manuel Jose de Leon  
Luis Silverio de Leon
- Lucas Bernabe de la Cruz, married to Luisa Diaz, with one daughter:  
Ubalda de la Cruz
- Manuela Mangi, widow
- Salvador Achaigua, married to Maria Josepha Robles
- Maria Taysipic, widow, with one son:  
Mariano de Miranda
- Juan Jose de Morales, married to Maria Hernandez, with two children:  
Francisco de Morales

Dominga de Morales  
 Jose Cabangis, married to Bernarda Siña  
 Lorenzo Pacheco, widower with five children  
 Francisco Pacheco  
 Alexandro Pacheco  
 Miguel Pacheco  
 Domingo Pacheco  
 Maria Pacheco  
 Maria Augustina Pacheco, unmarried with one son  
 Lorenzo de la Cruz  
 Guillermo de los Santos, widower  
 Isidoro Mateo de los Santos, unmarried

Ignacia de Salas, widow, with two sons:  
 Agustin Luis Charguima  
 Francisco Charguima  
 Nicolas Hernandez, widower with three sons:  
 Patricio de Torres  
 Sebastian de Torres  
 Pascual de Torres  
 Angela Mampogo, widow with four children:  
 Domingo de la Rosa  
 Maria de la Rosa  
 Teresa de la Rosa  
 Isabel de la Rosa

**APPENDIX NO. 3: LIST OF 3<sup>RD</sup> COMPANY OF PAMPAGNO SOLDIERS AT THE GARRISON  
 AGAÑA, GUAM IN 1766\*\*\***

Master-of-Camp Andres de Mendiola  
 Captain Antonio Pangilinan  
 Lieutenant Antonio de la Cruz  
 Sergeant Narciso de los Reyes  
 Squad Corporal Justo de los Reyes  
 Drummer Ignacio de la Cruz  
 Soldiers  
 Captain (retired) Luis de la Cruz  
 Lieutenant (retired) Agustin Diego  
 Lieutenant (retired) Esteban Manubusan  
 Sergeant (retired) Pedro de Herrera  
 Sergeant (retired) Manuel Pangilinan  
 Miguel Cabangis  
 Agustin Esquerria  
 Juan Francisco Regis Pablo  
 Ventura Balajadia  
 Diego Crisostomo  
 Roman de la Concepcion  
 Antonio de Quintanilla  
 Luis Marcelo  
 Luis Marcelo  
 Juan Marcelo  
 Francisco Charguima  
 Bartolome de los Reyes  
 Tomas Montesuma  
 Pedro de la Cruz Charguima  
 Gaspar de Lizama  
 Mariano Calixto Inocencio Francisco de Borja  
 Balajadia  
 Ignacio Muna  
 Felix de Arceo  
 Diego Rivera  
 Tiburcio del Rosario  
 Nicolas de la Cruz

Mariano de Lizama  
 Juan de la Rosa  
 Marcos de Campos  
 Pedro Albay  
 Ignacio Cueto de Leyba  
 Pedro de Torres  
 Alberto de Torres  
 Ignacio Manalo  
 Vicente Pangilinan  
 Tomas Rodriguez  
 Bernardo Benavides  
 Raymundo de los Santos  
 Leopardo de Arceo  
 Francisco Crisostomo  
 Lucas del Castillo  
 Miguel Valdes  
 Juan Hernandez

**ENDNOTES**

\*\* AGI Fil. 480, Enumeration of the Residents of Barrio Santa Cruz, Filipino Indians and their Descendants, cited as Document 1758B in HM14:208-218.

\*\*\* AGN (Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico) AHH 5-563, *List of soldiers in the garrison of the Marianas in 1766*, cited as Document 1766A in HM14:379. This list was certified by Frigate Lieutenant Jose de Soroa who was at that time, the Governor of the Marianas. An examination of the list I reveals that some of the soldiers who were in the census of 1758 were still present in 1766.