



Fernão de Magalhães and Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Their Convergence in the Philippines

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In the best of his works, *Historia General de las Indias*, the “Protector of the Indians” Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas informs us that in the month of March, 1518, when he was in one of the rooms of the chancellor of Castile in Valladolid, he met accidentally for the first time a man called Ferdinand Magellan (in Portuguese, Fernão de Magalhães). The meeting was brief, but it was a historic one. Both men happened to coincide in that place in pursuit of a common obsession to involve themselves in the greatest adventure of that time, the “discovery” of the New World and its conquest and

evangelization, and in the problems arising from that conquest. Even though the personal interests of both seemed totally diverse, their participation in that adventure would some day converge in a far distant archipelago, as yet unknown, to be called the Philippine Islands. Who were these two men?

LAS CASAS, *ENCOMENDERO*, PRIEST AND PROPHET

For the purpose of this paper and because of its limits, the early stages of Las Casas’ life have to be reduced to a few essential data. A Spaniard born in Sevilla probably in 1474, and a graduate of jurisprudence, Bartolomé migrated to America in 1502, ten years after Columbus had discovered the continent. He became an *encomendero*—that is, he took charge of a certain territory with its inhabitants for the exploitation of the land while procuring the human promotion of the natives. In 1510 he was ordained a priest (the first priestly ordination in America), but he continued in charge of his *encomienda*. Four years later, the cleric Las Casas awakened to the reality of the

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immoral practices and violations of human rights inherent in the encomienda system, gave up that profession, freed his slaves and radically changed his life by becoming a prophet of justice and a staunch defender of the rights of the Indians. His loud denunciations resounded everywhere in the new continent as well as in the old. He crossed the Atlantic Ocean at least four times to expose the violations and abuses before the royal court of Spain by means of memorials, letters, pamphlets and books, and by personal dealings with monarchs, royal ministers, bishops and theologians.

MAGELLAN AS SEEN BY LAS CASAS

It is in the aforementioned *Historia General de la Indias* that the cleric Las Casas narrates how in March of 1518, during his visit to the offices of the chancellor of Castile in Valladolid, he came across a Portuguese navigator who had had some misunderstandings with his monarch and was seeking the favorable attention of the Spanish court. He was accompanied by a certain Rui Faleiro, who appeared to be an astrologer and called himself *bachiller*, even though his fellow countrymen doubted his scientific knowledge, or so Las Casas says.¹ At Valladolid, Magellan offered to prove to the chancellor by means of a globe he was carrying with himself that the Moluccan Islands, already known to the Portuguese, whence the spices were brought to Portugal, fell on the Spanish side of the demarcation line being then discussed between Spain and Portugal. He also pretended to know the westward route leading to those islands through a narrow strait uniting the Atlantic Ocean with the Southern Sea (the Pacific Ocean). Purposely, Magellan did not mark that strait on his globe fearing someone might anticipate him in undertaking such an adventure. If he succeeded in finding such a way, then logically the Spice Islands would have to be allotted to Spain.

Attentive to his explanations, Las Casas asked Magellan, "And if you don't find the strait, how are you going to pass through to the Southern Sea?" Magellan said that, in that case, he would take the conventional Portuguese route via south Africa.

Las Casas, who evidently knew Magellan very slightly, described him as "a man of spirit and brave in his thoughts and in his determination to undertake great things, even though he did not look like a person

of great authority, because he was of small build. He did not make a great show of himself. He was prudent but not ready to be held down by anyone. He was both cautious and courageous."²

Later in his book, Las Casas also reports that Magellan proceeded to the city of Zaragoza, following the Castilian court, in order to continue pressing for the approval of his project. But he moved in secrecy to avoid being detected by a Portuguese embassy that arrived there to make arrangements for the royal marriage of the Portuguese prince Manuel with the Castilian princess Leonor. The embassy had evil designs against the life of Magellan, or so Las Casas says.³

Finally, in the same *Historia*, the cleric Bartolomé reports how Magellan obtained the approval of his project and how he was dispatched from Barcelona for the discovery of the Spice Islands via the proposed new route. Also he gives details about the preparations for the voyage in Sevilla and about his departure from Sanlúcar de Barrameda in September of 1519. In the same chapter, Las Casas promises to write later in the book about the outcome of Magellan's voyage, but it is unlikely that he ever wrote again about the Portuguese navigator.⁴

MAGELLAN'S WAY AND DESTINY. THE PHILIPPINES AND CEBU

Leaving the details of his historic voyage to biographers and cartographers, our interest in this study is focused on Magellan's arrival, sojourn and death in Cebu after a stopover in Limasawa, in southern Leyte. If all his epoch-making navigation was filled with dramatic episodes, perhaps the last stage of his voyage and of his life in Cebu was the most memorable one. The detailed description of Antonio Pigafetta, the Italian chronicler of the expedition, about the relationship of Magellan with the Cebuano king Humabon is more interesting for colonial history than the battle in which he died for the sake of friendship and alliance with a local chief. Following Pigafetta's account, I will underline the most salient aspects of the relationship between Magellan and the ruler of Cebu, Rajah Humabon.⁵

We are told by the chronicler that on his arrival in Cebu, Magellan explained to the rajah that his

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intention was only to visit the place and to procure provisions of food for himself and for his men. Rajah Humabon sent word to the Portuguese captain that he was welcome, and Magellan responded by telling his messengers that he wanted their chief to be a friend with the king of Spain, adding “many things concerning peace.”

Soon the cordial greetings and the friendly gestures passed on to the field of religion, even as Magellan began “to advance arguments to induce the Cebuano ruler to accept the Christian faith.” Magellan told him that “God made the sky and the seas.” He also spoke to him about “honoring father and mother,” about “hell,” “the first parents,” “the immortal spirits,” “and many other things pertaining to the faith,” and that he and his people “should not become Christians motivated by fear.”

All this religious talk led to the baptism of Humabon, which was administered by the chaplain of the expedition, Fr. Juan de Valderrama, whose name does not appear in these passages of Pigafetta’s narrative. Five hundred people were baptized, and, after that rite was concluded, the holy mass was celebrated by the said priest. The following day, after the baptism of the queen, another eight hundred natives were baptized. Magellan donated a statue of the child Jesus to the queen. At this point, Pigafetta remarks in the chronicle that “the captain and the Cebuano ruler called one another brother.” Also Magellan “went ashore daily during those days, to hear Mass, and told the King many things regarding the faith.”

Finally, as a fitting sequel to the Cebuanos having become Christian, there followed some oaths and declarations of fidelity between Christian lords and Christian subjects. Pigafetta tells us that Magellan “made them all [the Cebuano princes, nobility and many people] swear to be obedient to their king [Humabon], and they kissed the latter’s hand. Then the captain had the king declare that he would always be obedient and faithful to the king of Spain, and the king so swore. Thereupon the captain drew his sword before the image of Our Lady, and told the king that when anyone so swore, he should prefer to die rather than to break such an oath; so that he swore by that image, by the life of the emperor his sovereign [Charles V] and by his habit to be ever faithful.”

The details of the dramatic episode of the battle of Mactan do not need to be retold here, as the story is

told in all Philippine history textbooks. However, let us transcribe here some significant passages of Pigafetta’s chronicle:

On the reason for the battle: “Zula [one of the two chiefs of Mactan] requested [Magellan] to help him fight against the other chief [Lapu-Lapu].”

On Magellan reaching Mactan: “The captain did not wish to fight then, but sent message to the natives [i.e. the people of Lapu-Lapu] that if they would obey the king of Spain, recognize the Christian king [of Cebu, Humabon] as their sovereign and pay us our tribute, they would be their friends; but if they wished otherwise, they should wait to see how our lances wounded.”

On Humabon’s attitude at the scene of the battle: “The Christian king [Humabon] would have aided us, but the captain [Magellan] charged him before we landed not to leave his *balanghais* [entourage] but to stay to see how we fought. When the king learnt that the captain was dead, he cried.”

On the recovery of Magellan’s body: “In the afternoon the Christian king [Humabon] sent a message with our consent to the people of Mactan to the effect that if they would give us the captain and the other men who had been killed, we would given them as much merchandise as they wished. They answered that they would not give up such a man.”⁶

For the purpose of this article, let me emphasize only some of the most relevant aspects of Magellan’s presence in Cebu. Firstly, no force was used against the king of Cebu on arrival and landing. Secondly, the conversations between Magellan and Humabon were courteous and friendly, devoid of mutual suspicions or fears, and mostly about religious matters. Thirdly, let us mark this: the priest Fr. Juan de Valderrama administered to the natives the sacraments of the Church, but it was the layman Magellan who acted as catechist.

Let us also note that the fidelity sworn by Rajah Humabon to the king of Spain appears to have been made voluntarily and gladly. If Magellan ended his life in a battle against the *datto* of Mactan, Lapu-Lapu, that battle was not provoked by Magellan. Rather he took part in it in a gesture of friendship towards another *datto* of Mactan, Zula, whom Magellan offered to defend and help against Lapu-Lapu. On the other hand, it must also be said that Lapu-Lapu had the right to dissent from his neighboring *datto*s and from the main

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ruler of Cebu, Humabon, and to resist the offer made by Magellan. Therefore, he fought for his independence, and his stand followed by his victory entitled him to be remembered as the first Filipino hero. But for his part, Magellan tried his best not to impose by force on anyone a foreign rule or a new religious faith. Most importantly, his voyage was one of discovery, not of conquest.

It may be said that Magellan's mistakes were only two: one was to procure the baptism of many Cebuanos without foreseeing that the neophytes would be abandoned to their fate without ministers to take care of their Christian growth; and the other was to have too much audacity, temerity and rashness in engaging an unknown enemy in an unknown terrain. His loyalty to his Filipino friends gave him such temerity. Bartolomé de Las Casas had described Magellan as "cautious and courageous." In the last days and moments of his life, he was actually more courageous than cautious.

LAS CASAS, THE PROTECTOR OF THE INDIANS

Let us now follow in the steps of Fr. Las Casas. Having concluded his business in the Spanish royal court where he had met Magellan, the cleric returned in 1520 to his dear America with authorization to experiment in Cumana his ideas regarding peaceful settlements. His experiment failed because of the *encomenderos'* greed for slaving. Deeply disillusioned and discouraged, he left his work temporarily, and in 1522 he entered the Dominican Order. Thus the cleric became a friar, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Some scholars have called his entrance in the Dominican Order his "second conversion." Then in the retirement and peaceful atmosphere of the convent he started gathering materials for his *Historia General de las Indias*, one of the most valuable sources for the history of the early discovery and colonial period, from which he later took the *Apologética Historia de las Indias*, a landmark in anthropology.⁷

Writing went hand in hand with action. The struggle for human rights in America forced Las Casas to seek the support of the highest persons of the Spanish court, and particularly the monarchs themselves. With tireless vigor and determination, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean five times (in 1515, 1519, 1530, 1540 and 1547)

seeking support for his cause both in government circles and in theological schools. The strongest supporters were his brethren, the Dominican professors at the University of Salamanca, particularly the greatest theologian and jurist of the revival of Thomism in Spain at that time, Fr. Francisco de Vitoria, rightly called the "Founder of International Law." In the classrooms and in his works, Vitoria addressed the problems of the conquest and set out clear-cut principles regarding the fundamental equality of all human beings, the sovereignty of the various societies of the world, and the inviolable rights to life, liberty, self-rule and human dignity.

Here are some selected principles of Vitoria:

- By natural law all men are free. In the exercise of this fundamental freedom, the Indians freely organize themselves in communities and freely elect and establish their own rulers.
- The Indians may not be deprived of their goods or powers on account of their social backwardness or on account of their cultural inferiority or political disorganization.
- The Indians have the right not to be baptized and not to be forced to convert to Christianity against their will.
- The Indian peoples are sovereign republics and thus are not properly subordinate to Spain, nor do they form part of Spain (Here are the seeds of the eventual independence of all American colonies).
- The Indian rulers, whether natural or elected, enjoy the same fundamental rights as any Christian or European prince (the basic principle of International Law).
- The Indian peoples may freely change their political regime and subject themselves to a different sovereign in order to defend themselves from oppressions and to rid themselves of a tyrant.
- Restitution must be made to the Indians for all the goods and territories that have been taken from them as the result of unjust war.⁸

As a result of Vitoria's teachings and of Las Casas' lobbying before the Spanish court, emperor Charles V enacted in 1542 the famous New Laws (*Leyes Nuevas*) for all his dominions in the Indies, which were a striking combination of political reality and of humanitarian idealism meant to regulate the colonial expansion, to

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correct abuses and to abolish slavery and the *encomienda* system. This legal reform ranked as the supreme achievement of Las Casas' career. Two years later, he was given additional powers to enforce the New Laws of the Indies as he received the episcopal nomination and consecration for the See of Chiapas.

By that time, however, he was convinced that human rights in America had to be defended in Spain, so to Spain he returned in 1547, never to see again his beloved Amerindians. Soon after arriving, he got himself involved in a public debate with the humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who justified the waging of war in the process of the conquest in order to "Christianize" the peoples of the Americas. In that celebrated debate, Las Casas echoed faithfully the principles of his brother Vitoria regarding the morality of the conquests and colonization. Here are some points with which Las Casas rebutted Sepúlveda:

- The powers given by Christ to Peter and his successors are purely spiritual and moral, not political and temporal, and therefore papal authorization in this case refers only to the evangelization of those peoples.
- The lands belong to the original inhabitants, who are therefore the rightful owners.
- No nation can claim moral superiority over another.
- (Sepúlveda argued: Realizing the superiority of our culture, those peoples have spontaneously asked us to take them under our sovereignty).

Answer of Las Casas: Have they actually done so? Can you supply evidence for this claim?⁹

Until the end of his life, Las Casas professed that he had been charged with the task of pleading for the restoration of the Indians to their original lands and freedom.¹⁰

In a tract entitled *Los Tesoros del Perú* (The Treasures of Peru), demonstrating that the Incas were the owners of the treasures, he ends with proposing "free independent Indian kingdoms under their native rulers, linked into a commonwealth attached to the Spanish Crown."¹¹

Las Casas died in 1566, one year after the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to the Philippines. He died without suspecting that his ideal of the natives of the New World freely accepting a kind of Spanish Commonwealth would be realized in the Philippines.

PROBLEMS OF THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES¹²

Fortunately for the Philippines, when Legazpi arrived in Cebu in 1565, the New Laws of the Indies seeking to minimize the abuses inherent in the conquest and colonization had been fully adopted by Spain. Besides, Legazpi brought with himself specific instructions from Philip II on how to conduct explorations and establish colonies in the islands bearing his name, the Philippines. One particular norm was the *requerimiento*—that is, some formalities to follow as he encountered the new peoples. There should be no taking possession by force or against the will of the inhabitants, and if war had to be declared for just reasons, Legazpi should follow the principles of a just war.

Arriving in Cebu in 1565, Legazpi tried to comply with the king's instructions. He spent three days fulfilling the laws of the *requerimiento* by a notice repeatedly given to the king of Cebu informing him that the Spaniards intended only to establish friendly relations and to trade with the islands in peace. This time, the signs of welcome once given to Magellan in 1521 were not repeated by the new ruler, Rajah Tupas. His absolute refusal to receive the newcomers forced Legazpi to declare war on him, and the Spaniards landed by force against the hostility of the Cebuanos. Soon afterwards, however, conversations were resumed, which ended in a treaty of peace.

Force was also used when an advance party of Spaniards under Martin de Goiti arrived and landed in Manila in 1570. By the following year the climate had changed even as Legazpi arrived also, and he was met with gestures of good will by the Moslem rajahs Soliman, Manila, Matanda, Lakandula, and Tondo. It was unfortunate that force had to be used both in Cebu and in Manila, but as a modern historian has remarked, "very few cases are recorded in history, even in modern times, in which so many formalities have been done to avoid war."¹³

OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES

In spite of the good will of Legazpi and of the humane nature of the New Laws of the Indies, laws which, according to the Filipino historian Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "have no equal in the history of European

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colonialism up to the 19th century,”¹⁴ the early Augustinian missionaries, companions of Legazpi, were quick to manifest their censure of the conquest and of the abuses committed by the early *encomenderos*, especially when demanding payment of tribute.

The Superior of the Augustinians, Fr. Martin de Rada, expressed the unanimous opinion of his brethren that “none among these Islands have come into the power of the Spaniards with good title.” He also condemned the excessive taxes imposed on the natives. One of his subjects, Fr. Diego de Herrera, decried the acts of violence and the murders committed by the captains and soldiers, and the devastation caused in many islands. From the beginning, the relations between the colonizers and the missionaries became strained on moral grounds, and they produced great anxieties and qualms of conscience among priests and *encomenderos*.¹⁵

BISHOP SALAZAR, ADVOCATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1579 the king of Spain and the Pope provided for the creation of a diocese in the Philippines with its seat in Manila. A Dominican missionary in America, Father Domingo de Salazar, was chosen as its first bishop.¹⁶ He arrived in Manila in 1581. Salazar was a man solidly trained in Salamanca in the ideas of Francisco de Vitoria and of Las Casas. Upon his arrival, he immediately noticed the delicate situation created by the doubts of the missionaries about the morality of the conquest and of the treatment given to the natives. The colonizers and the authorities were worried at not finding priests ready to absolve them in confession if they did not change their conduct. In order to find solutions to those social and moral problems, Salazar decided to convene a diocesan synod, which was opened in 1582. About the matters discussed by the synodal fathers, those pertaining to the king of Spain and to the duties of the colonial authorities are given priority in the *Acta*. The following paragraph may give us an idea of their opinion regarding the legitimacy of the conquest:

“The King of Spain”, the *Acta* says, “does not possess these Islands whether by inheritance, by donation or by right of a just war... The captains and soldiers, the governors and the judges have no more right over these islands than the right

given to them by the King of Spain; and the king did not give them more authority than what he received from the Pope; and the Pope could have given the king more than what he received from Christ, that is, the command and the right of going or sending people anywhere in the world for the purpose of preaching the Gospel”.¹⁷

But was the preaching of the Gospel a right title to conquer a people by force of arms? Or again, was the low cultural standard of the inhabitants of the Philippines and their need for a better government a valid title for conquest? None of those reasons had been advocated by Francisco de Vitoria as theologically valid and just titles for a conquest. In the end, the synod seemed to favor the approval of the conquest only by reason of the long possession and by prescription. The synod thought that, at that juncture, it was very difficult, and almost impossible, to abandon the new Philippine Christianity to itself. Somehow the missionaries were advised to soften their attitude, to accept the conquest as a *fait accompli*, and to devote themselves to their ministry.

ARRIVAL OF THE DOMINICANS, DISCIPLES OF LAS CASAS, 1587

The problems of the conquest did not end with the synod of 1582. Five years later, in 1587, disputes over human rights flared up again with the arrival of the first Dominican missionaries, disciples and heirs of the teachings of Vitoria and Las Casas. All the burning topics of the conquest, the treatment of the natives, and the unjust collection of tributes polarized the views of the authorities, the colonists and the *encomenderos* on one side, and of the Church on the other. Bishop Salazar, who had recently softened his stand on those crucial issues, now joined his fellow Dominicans in condemning the forced preaching of the Gospel. Two Dominicans were particularly outspoken in the defense of human rights: Fr. Diego de Soria and Fr. Miguel de Benavides. The latter would later be known as the founder of the University of Santo Tomas.

The Dominicans stood for the rectification of conduct followed in the conquest, colonization and evangelization of the islands. This stand immediately encountered strong opposition from the colonial authorities and the Royal Council of the Indies. For

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them the question of sovereignty could not be placed under discussion anymore. To be sure, and with regard to this point, even the Dominicans would welcome the idea of Spanish sovereignty on one condition: “All of us,” Fr. Benavides wrote, “seek that the pagan Filipinos give obedience not only to God and to the Pope, but also to the King of Castile.” “But this,” he added, “had to be done with the consent of the inhabitants of the Islands.” “What needed to be done,” Benavides said also, “was to impress upon the Filipino leaders and their vassals freely and very voluntarily [*voluntarísimamente*] to wish, have, choose and swear allegiance to his Majesty and to his successors.”¹⁸

Since the position of Bishop Salazar and of the Dominicans seemed irreconcilable with that of the colonial government, the bishop felt that the only recourse left for him was a personal meeting with King Philip II. Bishop Salazar, accompanied by Fr. Miguel de Benavides, left for Spain in 1591. In Madrid, the bishop succeeded in obtaining approval of his plan to have three new dioceses created in the Philippines, with Manila as metropolitan see. The three dioceses were Nueva Segovia (Lallo-Vigan) in the north, Cáceres (Naga) in southern Luzon, and Cebu for the whole of Visayas and Mindanao.

On the question of human rights, however, Salazar suffered a painful setback when a royal decree approved the collection of tributes from all pacified Filipinos even if they were not yet Christians. This defeat, compounded by his old age and his exhaustion due to numerous journeys, precipitated his death on December 4, 1594. However, his passing away was not the end of his cause. His companion, Fr. Miguel de Benavides, was still in Spain determined to carry on the bishop's struggle for the cause of human rights, and no one could have been better qualified than him, for he, an outstanding theologian, had already written several treatises on questions of social justice in the Philippines. And at that precise juncture, he was presented by the court for the episcopal dignity, becoming the first bishop of Nueva Segovia.

THE “PHILIPPINE REFERENDUM” OF 1599

Bishop-elect Benavides was granted an audience with King Philip II, in the course of which he handed to the king two *memoriales*, or treatises, one of them entitled *Instrucciones para el gobierno de las Filipinas*,

dealing with the conditions required for levying tributes and for the right of preaching the gospel. Benavides says that he found the king “very old as regards his corporal strength, although his judgment and mind were better than ever.”¹⁹ We do not have specific details about the audience, but the result of it could not have been more encouraging for the new bishop-elect.

The king sternly instructed his royal Council of the Indies to meet as soon as possible in order to study the *memoriales* of Benavides and to arrive at a solution without letup. Although bureaucratic procedures delayed the study of the matter for several months, finally the council gave a favorable opinion about it. On February 8, 1597, Philip II issued a transcendental royal *cédula* addressed to the governor of the Philippines ordering him, under threat of punishment, to work for two things: first, the reorganization of the collection of tributes in accordance with the New Laws; and second, to carry out a popular plebiscite in the islands in which the natives could express their option either to accept or to reject their submission to the king of Spain.

The royal decree of Philip II was carried out in a referendum held in 1599, an event that has been totally ignored by all historians of the Philippines. In that year meetings of tribal chiefs were organized in Ilocos, Cagayan, Pangasinan, Manila, Cavite, Laguna, and other places, in which the *barangay* chiefs, “of their own free will and without coercion, agreed to obey the Catholic King of Castile and León, whom they took for their king and lord, placing themselves under his protection.”²⁰ No other referendum of this kind is known in the entire history of colonialism from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth.

CONCLUSION: A CONVERGENCE?

Two conclusions may be drawn from the premises discussed in this study. It cannot be denied that there is a remarkable convergence in the behavior of Magellan in 1521 and the voluntary acceptance of the sovereignty of the king of Spain at the end of that century. In Cebu, the cordial, friendly treatment given mutually by Ferdinand Magellan and the ruler of Cebu, Rajah Humabon, was entirely in conformity with the principles of Vitoria and Las Casas. Some of those principles were the right of peoples to communicate among themselves, the right to trade and to establish

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friendly relations anywhere in the world, the right to preach and accept the Gospel, and the right of Christian peoples to choose a Christian ruler as their sovereign and protector.

For its part, the “Philippine Referendum” of 1599 was the complete realization of those principles. In that event, a large number of the inhabitants of the Philippines accepted to be under the rule of the king of Spain by free decision. That decision was made two

hundred years before democracy was introduced in most countries of Europe and America.

The second conclusion that may be drawn from the premises discussed in this study is that the struggle sustained by Las Casas on behalf of the indigenous peoples of America in the sixteenth century actually had its most complete success precisely in the Philippine Islands, the archipelago discovered by Magellan, a country Las Casas never came to know. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid 1957, Tomo 9, c. 101, p. 415; see also Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold. The Rising of the Spanish Empire*, London, 2003, pp. 44-47.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.
- 3 *Ibid.*, c. 104, p. 422.
- 4 *Ibid.*, c. 154, p. 545.
- 5 Antonio Pigafetta, *Il viaggio fatto dagli Spagnuoli a torno al mondo*. For the present paper we are following the English version, *First Voyage around the World*, published by the Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila, 1969. The part of the chronicle dealing with Magellan's arrival in Cebu and his stay there until his death is on pages 33-48.
- 6 See Pigafetta, *Il viaggio*, pp. 44-47.
- 7 The writings of Las Casas, comprising books, memorials, letters, and representations to the Spanish court are many. The most important and better known works are: *Historia General de las Indias*, *Apologetica Historia de las Indias*, and *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*, the latter being the most widely edited and read of his works, which made Las Casas one of the most controversial figures of the conquest and evangelization of America.
- 8 For an enlightening exposition of Francisco de Vitoria's ideas on the rights of the peoples of the world and on human rights, especially in the context of the discoveries and conquests in America, see Joseph M. de Torre, “Natural Law and Human Rights in the Tradition of Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1554)” in *Philippine Canonical Forum*, I (January-December 1999), pp. 157-175. In 1992 the University of Salamanca and the Catholic University of America, in a booklet entitled *The Rights and Obligations of Indians and Spaniards in the New World*, made a listing of thirty-seven statements drawn from Vitoria's works regarding that topic (see the statements in de Torre, pp. 161-165). The seven statements quoted above are selected from that listing.
- 9 Selection of Las Casas' arguments against Sepulveda, drawn from the enumeration made by de Torre, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168.
- 10 See David Orique, “Bartolomé de las Casas: A Brief Outline of His Life and Labor,” in *The Man, the Issues*. at <<http://www.lascasas.org/manissues.htm>>.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 Some of the sources consulted for the discussion of the problems arising from the conquest of the Philippines, and recommended for further information, are: Jesús Gayo Aragón, O. P., *Ideas Jurídico-teológicas de los Religiosos de Filipinas en el siglo XVI sobre la Conquista de las Islas*, Manila, 1950; Lucio Gutierrez, O. P., *Domingo de Salazar, O.P., Primer Obispo de Filipinas (1512-1594)*, Manila, 1979; Fidel Villarroel, O. P., “Fray Bartolomé de las Casas y su Proyección en Filipinas,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, X, 28 (January-April, 1975), pp. 97-127; and the same author, “Philip II and the ‘Philippine Referendum’ of 1599,” in *Unitas*, XIII, 1 (March 2000), pp. 7-50.
- 13 J. Gayo, *Ideas Jurídico-teológicas*, p. 51.
- 14 The same Agoncillo says also, “what distinguished the Spanish colonial system during the period of European colonization was the fact that the king and his ministers had a social conscience and tried hard to humanize the exploitative aspect of their imperialism” (Teodoro Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines*, New York, 1969, pp. 38-40).
- 15 J. Gayo, *Ideas Jurídico-teológicas*, pp. 17-28; Lucio Gutierrez, *Historia de la Iglesia en Filipinas*, MAPFRE, Madrid 192, pp. 92-113; F. Villarroel, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, pp. 120-121.
- 16 The best study on Domingo de Salazar is the doctoral thesis of Lucio Gutierrez, O. P., *Domingo de Salazar, 1512-1594, Primer Obispo de Filipinas. Un Estudio Sobre su Vida y Obra*, submitted to the Gregorian University, Rome, in 1974, partially published in Manila, 1979.
- 17 José Luis Porras Camúñez, *Sínodo de Manila de 1582*, Madrid CSIC, 1988, pp. 186 and 302.
- 18 See J. Gayo, *Ideas Jurídico-teológicas*, p. 188.
- 19 Letter of Fr. Miguel de Benavides addressed to his provincial prior in Manila and to the missionaries of Cagayan, Madrid, June 23, 1595 (manuscript copy in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomás, *Libros* 210, n. 4, published by J. Gayo in *Unitas*, XXI, 1 (January-March, 1948), p. 157.
- 20 The report of the bishop of Nueva Segovia to the king of Spain about the outcome of this referendum is published in F. Villarroel “The Church and the ‘Philippine Referendum’ of 1599,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XXXV, 103 (January-April 2000), pp. 115-118).