

PARTE SEGUNDA LIBRO TERCERO

CAPITULO 3

DE LOS OTROS DOS PUEBLOS DE ESTA COSTA, SULAT Y TUBIG, Y SUS COSAS ESPECIALES EN LO TEMPORAL Y ESPIRITUAL

Iremos juntando, por no alargar demasiado, dos o tres o más pueblos según están divididos entre los ministros que acuden a ellos, y, por que estos dos de Sulat y Tubig son ahora ocupación de un ministro que los visita ambos, aunque antes el de Sulat estaba anejo al de Borongan (y así los visité yo dos años con harto más trabajo que ahora) que por estar muy cerca, y ser casi una *sulangan*, o canal, entre islas y la costa lo que se navega de un pueblo al otro, que serán dos leguas, está mucho más acomodado que estaba antes, cuando el de Tubig, que era como cabece-rilla de los cuatro pueblos entonces, tenía por visita a Bacor, que estaba más lejos, y tenía muy mala barra, en que se han anegado no pocas embarcaciones, y las de los Padres algunas veces.

Desmantelóse el pueblo de Bacor, porque fue uno de los más perjudiciales y más voluntariosos que otros en el alzamiento, uniéndose con los palapagnos, como veremos en su lugar (cuando tratemos de este alzamiento), y así con mucha razón perdieron lo propio

Alzina's Description of the Towns of Sulat and Tubig, Bobon and Catarman and of the Palapag Uprising in 1649.

Part Two Book Three*

CHAPTER 3

CONCERNING THE OTHER TWO TOWNS OF THIS COAST, SULAT AND TUBIG, AND THEIR TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL PECULIARITIES

In order that we not prolong the matter, we shall attempt to treat two or more towns together as they are distributed among the assigned ministers. These two, Sulat and Tubig, are presently under the care of one minister; formerly Sulat was under the care of Borongan (and I ministered to both of them for about two years when the task was much more difficult than now). Today they are seemingly nearer to each other, because traveling by sea between them is like moving along a 'sulangan' or a channel between the coastland and the islands and about two leagues in distance only. Now it is easier to reach them than before when Tubig was a kind of a *cabecerilla* composed of four towns, for at that time it also had Bacor as its *visita*. This latter one was rather remote and had a dangerous sandbar where not a few boats, including those of the Fathers, have sometimes gone to the bottom.

The town of Bacor was dismantled because it was one of the most destructive and one of the more obstinate ones during the uprising. It was combined with or absorbed by Palapag, as we shall see when we treat this uprising. What a paradox! Those

* With this instalment we are starting PART TWO, BOOK THREE of Alzina's *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas*, which, as the reader may observe, is the most fragmentary of the three books of Part Two. We hope to publish it in three instalments, throughout the year 1982.

los que infestaron(?) al camucón, quemaron y mataron lo ajeno, y con esta disolución (que lo fue más suya que del pueblo) quemaron solos tres pueblos en ésta, o tres iglesias: la de Borongan, de que ya dijimos, y las de Sulat y Tubig, de que entramos a tratar ahora.

Esta advocación del pueblo de Sulat, San Ignacio, nuestro Padre, que bajo de su amparo y protección lo fundaron los primeros Padres, que pusieron a dicho pueblo (agregando a él muchos pueblecillos o rancherías) en la lengua que al lado de la barra del río y del mar, que queda al otro lado (aunque como a un cuarto de legua lejos), que hace allí la tierra y un montecillo, del cual sale un manantial copioso de agua, que, aunque para nosotros es poco a propósito por ser salobre, eslo para los indios, que reparan menos; antes algunos gustan más del agua de esta calidad que de la muy dulce.

El río es muy infestado de caimanes, que ya dijimos llamarse *buaya*; y en este pueblo fue donde un principal alentado, viendo que un caimán se llevaba a su hijo pequeño, se echó tras él y se lo quitó, aunque ahogado ya, y mató al caimán con un *baldao* que tenía en la cinta, con que vengó la muerte de su hijo y mostró mucho ánimo y más valor del que se halla comúnmente en estos indios, a quien Dios ha dado en muchos pueblos (como iremos apuntando) estos *bilangos*, o “alguaciles del agua”, que tantos daños hacen y tan frecuentes; muchos por su fuerza carnícera, otros por castigo de Dios, como apuntaremos cuando se vayan ofreciendo; que es cierto, evidente a las veces, el cogerles Dios por medio para castigar a algunos, y por ejecutores de su divina justicia en la tierra.

Sirve hoy este pueblo de Sulat, por ser mayor y estar algo más en medio de los tres, de cabecerilla de misión, porque, aunque todos estos pueblos pertenecen a la cabecerilla Palápag, y su rector es el superior de ellos (por estar, como hemos dicho, apartados, y por el puesto impedidas algunos meses del año las correspondencias), se señala al Padre que vive en este pueblo, que es de los dos el más antiguo, por superior de ambos con alguna más mano que otros, que, aunque otros sean superiores de misión a nuestro modo,

[i.e. the people of Bacor] who took sides with the *Camucones*, who killed and burned what was not theirs, came to lose what was their very own. With this dissolution (which was actually more of their own persons, than the town itself), only three towns or rather three churches remained here; that is: Borongan about which we have already spoken, Sulat and Tubig about which we are going to give a description.

The town of Sulat is placed under the patronage of Saint Ignatius, our Father, with whose help and protection it was first founded by the early Fathers (who brought together the many small hamlets and houses). They created the said town on a hill-like promontory near a sandbar of a river situated about one league from the sea. On that hill there is found a copious spring of water which seems good to the natives, for they are not so particular, but to us it seems too salty. What more, they seem to be more fond of this kind of water than the sweet kind.

The river is heavily infested with crocodiles or *buaya* as they are called here. It was in this town where a courageous principal seeing his child being carried away by a crocodile, threw himself upon it and killed it with the aid of his *baladao* which he carried at his waist. Although he was unable to rescue the child which was already drowned, nonetheless he avenged the death of his son and showed great courage and even more valour than is customarily found among these *Indios*. In many of these towns (as we shall be jotting down) God has provided these *bilangos* or 'water constables' which cause so much harm and so frequently. Many of these do so with their murderous strength; others occur as a punishment of God as we shall observe when the occasion presents itself. For it is a fact, and sometimes quite obvious, that God uses these creatures as an instrument of punishment for some and as executioners of his divine justice on earth.

This town of Sulat, since it is the largest and central of the three, serves as a *cabecerilla* of the mission, even though these towns belong to the *Cabecera* of Palapag, and its Rector is their Superior — this arrangement obtains because, as we have mentioned, these towns are out of the way and it is difficult to reach them during certain months of the year. As a result, the Father who resides in this town, which is the more ancient of the two, acts as superior of both and is granted a little more authority than the others. For it happens that although others may be superiors of a mission station as among us here, but when they

cuando se juntan no tienen tanta mano como éste, que tiene alguna mayor para los casos ocurrentes; que, si se hubiera de ir a Palapag, algunas veces fuera imposible, y así el rector de Palapag viene una vez al año (que comúnmente suele ser después de Pascua de Resurrección, que los tiempos son más blandos) a visitar estos pueblos como Superior de ellos, y otra van los Padres, que suele ser por agosto o septiembre, a la cabecera a la junta grande que entonces se hace, y a proveerse de lo necesario para el año siguiente en aquellos pueblos, así de ropa como de vino de misas y trigo para hostias, como de otras cosas necesarias para el sustento y aseo de los dos Padres que allá están; que con estas idas y venidas se conserva la subordinación y sujeción religiosa, etc.

Celébranse en este pueblo todas las Pascuas, Semana Santa y otras fiestas con la solemnidad que en la cabeceras; y en especial la Semana Santa y de Resurrección se juntan aquí los demás pueblos, porque se ayudan los dos Padres, y se hace con más comodidad y más puntualidad y plenitud, que para una solo (aunque lo hacemos muchas veces) es cierto que es de mucho trabajo, y difícilísimo acudir a todo, no siendo para mucho; y, aunque lo sea, no se puede sin mucho riesgo de la salud, por ser solo y las funciones muchas, como se puede ver de lo que dejamos dicho arriba.

Suele también haberse Congregación, a que, según el ministro es de más o menos fervoroso, acuden más o menos congregantes, porque en todos estos pueblos (y quédese dicho para los demás), aunque tengo ya dicho que la vida, ser y el todo es el ministro, añadido que en ellos y en este ministerio es el ministro, o se ha de haber en adelantar y avivar el ministerio y las cosas de la fe, como sucede en España, en donde en muchas partes se guarda el vino en unas grandes pipas, o lagares, y, el que va a sacar vino, abre el bitoque, o canilla, por donde él sale, y, si quiere sacar mucho, abre con fuerza y deja correr, pero si poco sólo, afloja un poco, y gota a gota, no coge la poca cantidad que quiere llevar, así acá, si el ministro es fervoroso y deseoso de que se aumente mucho la fe y buenas costumbres, abre con fuerza y deja correr todo el chorro

come together they do not have such a great status as this one has; in such extraordinary situations such a one is given greater authority. If, then, one would need to go to Palapag very often he would find it difficult. Therefore, the rector of Palapag comes here once a year (usually after Easter Sunday when the weather becomes fair) to visit these towns as their superior. The fathers, in turn, go to the *cabecera* for the extraordinary gathering that is held around August or September. It is also at this that they take the opportunity to provide themselves with the various needs for the following year; that includes: clothing as well as wine for Mass, wheat for hosts and other items necessary for the sustenance and personal upkeep of the Fathers who are there in the missions. [For it is a fact] that with all these comings and goings religious discipline and obedience are preserved, etc.

In these two towns, Nativity, Easter, Holy Week and the other feasts are celebrated with the same solemnity as in the *cabeceras*. The other towns come together especially for the Holy Week ceremonies and on Easter Sunday because the two Fathers help each other and thereby do the liturgy with greater ease, punctuality and exactness. Celebrating it alone, although we do it many times, becomes very laborious and even extremely difficult to attend to everything especially if the minister is not very hardy. And even if he is strong and fit, he cannot do all this alone without endangering his health for the liturgical actions are so varied, as can be deduced from what has been stated previously.

There is also the *Congregation* [of Our Lady] in which a greater or a lesser number of them are active depending, of course, upon the greater or lesser zeal of the minister. Because in all these towns (and let this be understood about the others), although I have stated that the minister is the life, the center and the be-all of them, I add that in them as well as in this ministry the Father ought to be the one who must take to heart the promotion of everything that pertains to the faith and thus enliven it. Let us use as an example what is done in Spain, where in many places the wine is kept in large casks or in wine-presses. He who wishes to draw this wine, turns the spigot and thus makes it flow. If he wishes only a little wine, he controls its flow to merely droplets and often even receives less than he actually desired. And so it is here: if a minister is zealous and very desirous of seeing a substantial increase in faith and in good morals, he must give it all he has and permit his preaching,

de la predicación, enseñanza y asistencia a todo y a todos; pero, si se contenta con poco (que es lo que es más al gusto de los indios), hará poco, y plegue a Dios conserve lo hecho; que aumentar, cierto es que no aumentará. ¡Dé Dios muchos y muy fervorosos ministros, a quien se pueda decir lo de Virgilio *claudite jam si vos*, etc!

Hallé yo en este pueblo de Sulat (que es cosa de edificación) una india principal llamada Yaba, la cual, cuando los primeros llegaron a esta costa, y en especial al pueblo de Libas (que está hoy junto con este de Sulat) era mujer de unos 50 años, poco más o menos, y, como gran principala, era la sacerdotisa de aquel pueblo y la más principal fautora de Satanás y de las cosas de su antigüedad.

Era mujer más entendida, como experimenté yo, y, como a tal, fue de las primeras a quien los Padres procuraron reducir, y a ésta fue con particular cuidado; y surgió el efecto muy a medida de la voluntad de los Padres y de Dios, que fue el principal autor y maestro, porque se aplicó ella tan bien a las cosas de la fe, convencida del poco fundamento de las suyas antiguas, que, con su buen entendimiento, fue de las primeras, o la primera, que llegó a las aguas del Bautismo a reengendrarse en Dios y detestar sus abusos y *paganitos* antiguos, con tantas ventajas a todos los demás hombres y mujeres que luego la nombraron por maestra de todos; e hizo tan bien su oficio que oí decir a uno de los primeros Padres de aquella costa que ella sola había traído a la fe y enseñado a más hombres y mujeres que muchos Padres, de modo que iba por delante a los pueblos (dándole los Padres equipazón y gente y todo lo necesario) y un hijo suyo que sería de treinta años, que la acompañaba, y ella prevenía, disponía y enseñaba la gente de manera que sólo era necesario hacer la experiencia e ir escribiendo a los dispuestos y bautizando a muchos y muchas, a quien incansablemente enseñaba ella.

Cuando yo llegué a este pueblo estaba (aunque fuerte aún y viva) ciega del todo, y así no era maestra, sólo en tiempo de confesiones y concurso que enviábamos por ella, y es cierto que

teaching and concern for all his people to flow freely. However, if he is content with little (and this is what the natives like most), he will accomplish little. Would to God that he at least can conserve what has been already accomplished [by others]! For certainly, such a one will be unable to increase it. May God provide many and fervent ministers about whom Virgil might have spoken saying, *claudite si jam vos*, etc.

I discovered in this town of Sulat — and this may be a source of edification — an *India principala* named Yaba. When the early [missionaries] reached this coast, and especially the town of Libas which today forms one unit with Sulat, she was a woman of about fifty years, more or less. And as a prominent *principala* she was the priestess of that town and the chief agent of Satan and a promoter of all these things in their antiquity.

She was a very intelligent woman as I have personally experienced it. And, therefore, she was one of the first ones whom the Fathers attempted to convert with great zeal. The results were in proportion to the grace of God Who was the principal agent in the teaching and dedication of the Fathers. Convinced of the weak foundation of her ancient beliefs, she applied herself so fully to the truths of the Faith, aided by her keen perception, that she became one of the first to receive the waters of Holy Baptism and the first to be reborn to God and the first to turn her back on her former ill-practices and *paganitos*. She made such wonderful progress in comparison to the other men and women that she was soon appointed catechist of them all. She performed her responsibilities so well (for I heard it said by one of the early Fathers on that coast) that she alone brought to the faith and catechized more men and women than many a priest. She accomplished much of this by going ahead of the ministers into the towns (the fathers provided her with a boat and oarsmen and all else that she needed). A son of hers, about thirty years in age, whom she had trained and who accompanied her, made such preparation and instructed the people in such a manner that all that was needed was the examination, entering their names into the books and baptizing the many men and women whom they so wonderfully catechized.

When I arrived to this town, she was already totally blind but still strong and sprightly; however, she was no longer a catechist except during periods of confession and in larger gatherings of people when we sent for her. Honestly, being new in

me admiré, y más siendo, como era, nuevo entonces, de la vivacidad con que hablaba y les declaraba las cosa de la fe (que a mi me valió e importó mucho a los principios el haberla oído) y reconocí en ella, y aun mucho más que en las otras bisayas, que siempre Dios dispone ya los instrumentos que con eficacia cooperan a su voluntad en la conservación de todo; y así, a esta principal (que hasta la muerte duró en su buen modo de vivir y enseñar, aunque ya muy vieja), no hay duda sino que le daría Dios premio de coapóstola, y más muriendo, como murió, con toda la prevención cristiana de los santos sacramentos y disposición última y, así se le debe esta memoria.

El pueblo de Tubig que quiera decir “agua” (como Sulat, “escrito”) por estar a la lengua del agua de un grande río (que no es menos, antes más infestado de caimanes que el de Sulat) tiene en su iglesia la advocación del apóstol Santiago.

Fue muchos años cabecerilla de esto de Ibabao, y éralo aún cuando yo estuve allá y visité a Sulat y Borongan.

Reducidos después a tres los pueblos, aunque a él se agregaron los de Bacor, quedó visita del otro; y, aunque verdaderamente acudían bien antes, cuando el alzamiento de Palapag flaquearon mucho y, si no consintieron, asintieron demasiado con los de Bacor, pues fueron ellos los que vinieron y mataron en este pueblo al Padre Vicente Damián (de cuya muerte trataremos después), quemaron la casa e iglesia (como también la de Sulat lo mismo, aunque no tuvieron fautores como acá); y casi del todo se declararon los de Tubig, que no debieran, con los de Bacor; y por esto ha padecido varios infortunios aquella iglesia, y una de las penitencias ha sido el que fuese visita sólo (aunque a los indios no les pesa de esto comúnmente) y acuda a las fiestas y otras celebridades grandes al pueblo de Sulat, como ya dijimos, y quizás es castigo de su pecado el que temerariamente después acá se han llevado, y llevan, los caimanes muchos más de los que solían antes; que a Dios nadie se le escapa.

these missions then, I was amazed at her tremendous liveliness when giving instructions and in her manner of explaining the truth of the faith. To me this was a great blessing and a very profitable experience hearing her from the very start. More than among any of the others, I have noticed something very extraordinary about her. It is a certainty that God always prepares the instruments which efficaciously cooperate with His Will in the promotion of all that is good. There is hardly a doubt that God gave this *principala* the grace of a co-apostle; for it is true that even until her death she persevered in her noble way of living. Her death too, was edifying; for she died with the comfort and assistance of the Holy Sacraments and most fitting dispositions. Truly, we owe her at least this kind tribute of remembrance.

The town of Tubig, and the word means 'water' — as Sulat means 'to write' — is so named because it is situated on the banks of a very large river and which is infested with even more crocodiles than the one in Sulat. Its church is placed under the patronage of Saint James the Apostle.

For a number of years it was also the *cabecerilla* of this region of Ibabao, and it continued in this status when I was there and visited Sulat and Borongan.

However, when the mission was reduced to three towns, this one reverted to the status of a *visita*. Prior to the uprising, these townspeople were very regular in their attendance, but after this unfortunate episode which began in Palapag, the people began to waver greatly. If perhaps they were not in full agreement with the people of Bacor, they certainly sided with them. It was the people of Bacor who came to this town and killed Father Vicente Damian (whose death we shall treat later), burned the convent and church (they did the same in Sulat, but there they did not have any accomplices as here); and those of Tubig almost completely took sides with those of Bacor; a thing that they should not have done. But as a result of this, that church has experienced some misfortunes; one of these punishments resulted in its reduction to a status of a *visita* (the natives are not too resentful about this) and must therefore attend the feasts and great celebrations in the town of Sulat, as we have already stated. And also perhaps it has been a punishment for their sins that the crocodiles daringly have carried them away, and continue doing so today even more than in the past. No one can evade the wrath of God.

En este pueblo de Tubig fue donde juntamente con la niña (que dijimos en la Primera Parte de esta *Historia*) parió una mujer el caimancillo que dijimos, y así no repito.

También alcancé yo en él otra principal, contemporánea de la dicha arriba, vieja y pintada como ella, pero nada conforme en las costumbres; y, aunque probaron a hacerla maestra un tiempo los Padres, y después la reformaron del oficio, siempre se reformó poco ella en sus costumbres, que no olvidó las antiguas; y entre ellas, aunque vieja, se halló que estaba amancebada, y con hombre de tan poca calidad que era esclavo; con lo cual se dudó mucho de su buen fin, pues los medios no fueron a propósito para alcanzarle, y la muerte con menos satisfacción del ministro que la otra; para que se vea a que el *unum assumit et alium relinquet* andan conformes en todas las partes del mundo, pues en todas es el mismo Dios; y el que se dispone y coopera, es escogido siempre y dondequiera; y el que no, es dejado y relajado, para que en toda partes y siempre conozcamos y temamos los juicios de Dios, que, aunque justísimamente, siempre escoge a unos y deja a otros.

Añadamos aquí un caso que sucedió con un indio de este pueblo (aunque no en él mismo), porque, habiendo ido al de Palanas, que está por el río de Ubasan cerca (y este es el paso ordinario en tiempo de brisas para ir desde Samar a Ibabao), y, hallándose un domingo en las sementeras de él (yo estaba entonces en dicho pueblo y es donde escribo esto), le dijeron los moradores de la casa donde él estaba: “Vamos a misa, que es domingo hoy y está el Padre en el pueblo, que nos echarán de menos si no vamos”. — “Id vosotros, dijo él; que a mi no me echará de menos, que no estoy escrito aún, y así no me nombrarán”; y con esto se echó a dormir, y los demás vinieron a misa; la cual acabada, volvieron a su casa y le hallaron en el mismo lugar, echado, que cuando habían partido (y habían pasado por lo menos ocho horas).

Llegaron a él, pensando que dormía aún y llamáronle, pero no recondó (*sic*) ni ha recondado más, porque le hallaron muerto; y, a lo que sospecharon y dijeron (cuando el día siguiente le trajeron a enterrar), fue que alguna culebra le debió de picar (que las hay

It was in this town of Tubig, (as we have mentioned previously in Part One of this *Historia*) that a woman gave birth simultaneously to a baby girl and a crocodile. Since we have already described the matter, I shall not pursue it here again.

I also came to know another *principala* there, a contemporary of the above-mentioned and well advanced in age and tattooed like her, but very different in her life-ways. And although the Fathers took measures in making her an instructress at one time, they had to relieve her from this responsibility since she was not able to part with her past ways. It was learned that among some of her sinful ways was the matter of concubinage with a man of very low morals and one who was still a slave. As a result, the [ministers] entertained some serious doubts about her good intentions since so many unfavourable obstacles were unresolved. The ministers too, found her last moments on earth much less inspiring than that of the other woman. So that it may be seen that the notion, *unum assumit et alium relinquet* moves along side by side everywhere in the world, for God remains the same in every place. He who makes himself available and remains cooperative, is always chosen everywhere; he who does not [show this availability and cooperativeness] is left out and rejected. [The reason for this is] that we may always know and fear the judgments of God who chooses some and rejects others, but always justly.

Let us add a certain case that happened to an *Indio* of this town (although not in the town proper itself) who, having gone to the town of Palanas by way of the River Ubasan (this is the normal passage-way from Samar to Ibabao when the northeastern winds prevail), found himself out in the fields on a Sunday (for I was then in the said town and it is where I am writing this now). The people of the house where he was staying said to him: "Let us go to Mass for today is Sunday and the Father is in town. Surely he will notice our absence if we do not appear." He answered, "You go along! He will not be aware of my absence since I am not registered and hence my name will not be read." And having said this he went to sleep, while the others went to Mass. When all was finished they returned home and found him still sleeping as they left him (at least eight hours have passed).

They came near him thinking that he was still sleeping, but they noticed absolutely no sound; he was definitely dead. They were guessing and saying (as they brought him on the following day for the burial) that a snake must have bitten him during

acá muy ponzoñosas), estando durmiendo , y continuó el sueño con la muerte; de la cual probabemetete, o sin duda, se hubiera librado si hubiera venido a misa; y de estos casos suceden muchos, y pudiera referir no pocos.

Ya que tratamos del río de Ubasan, que fue pueblo antiguamente, y uno de los mayores de esta costa, que tuvo iglesia y ministros algunos años, será bien que digamos algo de él y la causa por qué se quitó la iglesia y llevó al pueblo de Tubig.

Cayó la barra de este río de Ubasan entre Tubig y Bacor; su origen la tiene en un grande monte llamado Yava que está mediterráneo en esta isla y es, sino el mayor monte de ella, igual a los mayores; y de este monte nacen tres ríos, todos muy caudalosos: el uno de Bangahun, que desagua en Samar y corre más de treinta leguas de la isla; el otro de Catubig, que corre más de treinta y nueve leguas y desagua cerca de Lawan, en Rawis, y es el mayor de aquella costa, que es la boreal de aquella parte; el tercero es este de Ubasan, que no es menor que los dichos, y correrá poco menos que los otros dos, y desagua en la costa oriental, y por estar patente a las brisas que corren desde Acapulco acá, es una de los peores barras que por acá se hallan, y tal que se ha tragado muchas embarcaciones, y a veces las de los Padres, con los ornamentos y recado de decir misa; y, por ser tan conocidamente mala, los Padres andaban por la playa a pie; y por la muchas frecuentes pérdidas, y los muchos que se ahogaban al entrar y salir de esta barra (aunque el encomendero resistió mucho), porque es este río uno de los más fértiles de estas islas y que tiene en los montes de sus vertientes muchas comidas de las que, en tiempo de necesidad, suelen buscar estos naturales, fueron todos los Padres de una Congregación Provincial nuestra a pedirlo al Señor Gobernador de estas Islas, que lo concedió, sabiendo las causas tan justas que para ello había, y así se dejó aquel puesto por muy expuesto.

Esto pongo acá con advertencia para que los Padres que hay ahora, y los venideros, tengan firme en no dejar volver allá el dicho pueblo; que los indios siempre insisten y procuran volver cada cual

his sleep (some very poisonous ones are found here). And so, he united his sleep with death. This he could have avoided, had he gone for Mass. Such cases do happen and I certainly could report not a few of them.

Since we have mentioned the Ubasan River where there was once a major town in antiquity with its own church and ministers for some years, it would be well if we would say something about it now and state the reasons why the church was taken away from there and transferred to the town of Tubig.

The sand-bank of this Ubasan River was located between Tubig and Bacor. It has Mount Yawa for its origin; it is situated towards the western shores of this island and is, if not the largest, at least equal with the largest ones. Three great rivers have this mountain for their source: the Bangahon River which flows into Samar and runs its course for more than thirty leagues on the said island; the Catubig River which runs its course for more than thirty-nine leagues and flows [into the sea] near Laoang at Rawis and is the largest on this northernmost coast or region; the third is the Ubasan River which is not much smaller than the other two but whose course is a trifle shorter than the other two and which flows [into the sea] on the western coast. This sand-bar, exposed to the breezes that blow from the direction of Aca-pulco to here, is one of the most dangerous that are found over here; it has swallowed up many a boat, and at times even those of the Fathers together with all the vestments and all that pertains to the Mass. Since this was so constantly dangerous, the Fathers travelled overland on foot. As a result of the many and frequent losses and the great number who were drowned when voyaging in and out of this sand-bar, all the Fathers of one Provincial Congregation of ours went to the Lord Governor of these Islands, and petitioned him to be allowed to give this town up (although the *encomendero* put up some very stiff opposition — he did so, because this river was one of the most fertile in these Islands and provided many food-gathering opportunities for the natives); he acceded readily knowing the very just reasons that there were present for that move. And, therefore, the mission station was abandoned since it was so exposed [to dangers].

This I jot down here in order to remind the Fathers who are here at present and those who will be here in the future that they may never allow the [natives] to return or restore the said town over there [i.e. to its former place]. It is a well-known fact

a sus huroneras, porque a ellos se les da poco de los trabajos y peligros de los ministros; antes, cuanto más impedidos a ser visitados, están más a su gusto; que miran poco por sus almas.

Pero la experiencia muestra que todas la Juntas antiguas fueron muy bien dispuestas y acertadas, y no se debe dar lugar a alterarlas, y que los ministros nuevos y poco experimentados tienen facilidad en dar crédito a los indios en dar lugar a semejantes alteraciones, que todas son en daño de la cristiandad, pues la experiencia nos muestra a los que muchos años ha estamos en este ministerio que, cuanto más divididos y apartados, tanto más difíciles de ser acudidos, y cuanto mayor es la ausencia de los Padres es menor la cristiandad, y no sólo no crece sino que mengua, y así el juntarlos y unirlos, de modo que tengan más a mano al ministro, y, si posible fuera, de asiento siempre en el pueblo, esto fuera lo más conveniente y más a propósito para que crezcan en la fe; lo cual ni los mismos nuevos ignoran; pero la falta de experiencia los hace tal vez creer a los indios, que, como hallan oídos, los venden montes de oro; y, llegado el fallo, todo es huir de la doctrina y del ministerio y querer vivir a sus anchuras y lejos de los ministros, así de la fe como del Rey.

Al pueblo de Bacor, que era el cuarto de esta costa, como hemos dicho ya, le extinguieron con razón (en el alzamiento) y ayudó a hacerlo, además de su infidelidad, la mala barra del río, como hemos dicho ya; pero (con serlo) se atrevió a entrar por ella el camucón, si bien era tiempo de vendavales, que llegó hasta este pueblo (que jamás tal habían hecho), y le robó, llevándose cautivos muchos muchachos y muchachas, viejos y viejas, que estaban en el pueblo, por haber llegado días antes el Padre ministro, que era el Padre Francisco Martínez (y mi campañero antes en aquellos pueblos), de vuelta de Palapag. Dio al amanecer en el pueblo el enemigo, y no hizo poco el Padre de escaparse, porque no fue sentido hasta que dio el albazo pero no les salió muy barato el robo, pues, de vuelta, llegando a darla a la punta de *Meytosen*, que es una de las célebres de esta isla y está como tres leguas de dicho pueblo hacia el monte, halló el mar tan empollado (estálo allí siempre), que arrojó a las más de las embarcaciones suyas, que son pequeñas, como si fueran una pelota de viento, sobre las piedras donde zozobraron todas y se huyeron algunos de los cautivos, y no sabemos si se ahogaron muchos (que, como era gente impedida la más, por amurada, pudo ser se ahogasen).

that the natives always insist and make attempts to return to their rabbit's hole; they are little concerned about the trials and dangers of the ministers. On the contrary, the more difficult it is to visit them the more pleased they are, since they care little for their souls.

Experience too demonstrates that all the old Provincial gatherings were well-planned and wise in their decision; hence, for no reason whatsoever should these be modified. The most fitting and appropriate course of action, so that they may grow in the faith, is to bring them together and unite them. In this way, they will have the minister always on hand, and if possible, to have him residing in town. The newly-arrived [ministers] are well aware of this, but their lack of experience moves them to believe the natives who, if they are listened to, make efforts to sell them mountains of gold [i.e. to fill their heads with utopian ideas]. And, therefore, when their ideas are followed and made a reality, they still flee from the *doctrina* and from the ministers and choose to carry on as they please and far from the ministers — whether in matters that pertain to the faith or to the King as well.

The town of Bacor, which is the fourth along this coast, as we have already stated, was rightly suppressed for participating in the uprising. Aside from their betrayal, the sand-bar of the river was also a contributing factor as we have already said. Aside from this draw-back, the *Camucon* was daring enough to enter it at a time when the southwest winds prevailed. This enemy went inland as far as this town (something that they never did before) and sacked it. They also carried away into captivity many boys and girls, elderly men and women who were in the town. Several days prior to this, Father Francisco Martínez, my former companion in these towns, arrived there on his return from Palapag. The enemy entered the town in the morning and the Father had a narrow escape because the enemy's presence was not detected until he landed ashore. However, this enemy paid dearly for the plunder because, on his way home, while doubling the Meytoson Point — which is the best known of this island and is located at about three leagues from the said town towards the mountains — he found the sea so rough (this is always the case there) that most of his boats (which were small) were dashed to pieces against the rocks as if they were balloons. All were capsized and some of the captives were able to escape.

Lo que sabemos es que a él le fue tan mal que no ha vuelto más por allá; y, aunque anda todas estas islas a su voluntad y sin averías, aquí las tuvo harto grandes; que, si hubiera habido españoles allí, muy probablemente no hubieran vuelto algunos de ellos a su tierra; pero volvieron, como lo hacen siempre, aunque zozobrados ahora, porque no hubo quien les dijese: ¿qué hacéis ahí?

Añado, por curiosidad, que el llamarse estas islas Lusonias, que de Lusones las llamaban los portugueses antes que acá viniesen castellanos, puede ser fuese por esta nombrada punta que es en la parte oriental de estas islas la que más sale la mar afuera, y pudo originarse de su nombre (como también de la isla de Manila, que se llamó antiguamente Lusón), y es muy probable que de una y otra isla viniese el nombre antiguo pues con este nombre extranjero no menos a los moradores de este distrito que a los de la otra isla que llaman a su tierra(?) Ya dijimos qué es Lusón y su uso ordinario en todas partes.

CAPITULO 4

DE LA COSTA AQUILONAR DE ESTAS ISLAS HASTA LA PUNTA DE BALIQUATUN, Y PUEBLOS DE BOBON Y CATARMAN QUE ES EL ULTIMO TERMINO DE ESTA RESIDENCIA DE PALAPAG, etc.

Llegamos antes, corriendo esta costa hasta el punto de *Aroian*, que está en lo último del cabo del Espíritu Santo; y en un montecillo, medianamente levantado del mar, que hace codo a dicho puerto, y con la punta que, hecha de bajos, hacia el norte, cierra la enseña, es el puesto donde hoy se ponen las primeras centinelas, que de él se llaman de *Matnoc*.

We do not know how many drowned, since many were tied and bound; they were unable to help themselves and most likely they did drown.

What we do know is that the *Camucons* fared so badly that they have not returned here. And although they raid all these islands at will and without sustaining much damage, here they experienced a serious set-back. The enemy was fortunate enough that there were no Spaniards around; otherwise some of them would never have returned to their lands. However, they returned, as they always do, even after having been shipwrecked, because there was no one there to question their presence in the region.

By way of mere information, I add that the reason why these Islands were called 'Lusonias' — the Portuguese called them 'Lusones' prior to the coming of the Spaniards — may be due to this well-known point which, in the eastern part of these islands, is the one projecting farther into the sea and therefore may be the source of its origin [i.e. luson/may-loson], that is the name of the said point. The same may be said of the Island of Manila which was formerly called "Luson". It is very likely that this ancient name may have originated from either of the two islands, because they call their land with this name, foreign to the inhabitants of this district as well as to those of the other island. We have already said what 'Luson' implies and its ordinary use everywhere.

CHAPTER 4

[*Incomplete*]

CONCERNING THE NORTHERN COAST OF THESE ISLANDS AS FAR AS THE BALIQUATUN POINT; ABOUT THE TOWNS OF BOBON AND CATARMAN, THE MOST REMOTE OUTPOSTS OF THIS RESIDENCE OF PALAPAG

We have just reached, moving along the coast, as far as Aroyan Point which is at the farthest end of the *Cabo del Espíritu Santo*. This said Point is situated on a low hill and not too high above sea-level; it is in a shape of an elbow and projects toward the said harbour and which point surrounded by sandbanks faces the north and closes the cove. A watch-out post is found there where the first sentinels are posted and after whom it is called Matnoc.

Por la parte oriental está el mar patente, sin tropiezo ni isla alguna hacia el sur, como la costa de Ibabao, de que hemos tratado; y hacia el poniente tiene lo otra costa que corre hasta Baliquatun, aunque al principio *non dextra*, un poco hasta *Rawis*, y de allí tira derecho; siendo todo aquel trecho, que será más de veintinueve leguas, toda costa, abierta y patente al norte, y, por esto, en tiempo que este viento reina y los nordestes y noroestes, es un menos brava y peligrosa que la oriental de Ibabao; y las barras de los ríos, que desaguan en ella, no menos hechas a tragarse embarcaciones; que apenas hay año que no se pierdan algunas en ellas. Las peores son las de Panbuhán y Catarman, que son malísimas y tienen cada cual de ellas algunos cálices, misales y otros ornamentos tragados.

El primer pueblo que hay en esta costa, después del cabo dicho, es el de Palapag, que está como en medio de todos los demás y por esto es la cabecera de dicha residencia. Está como una legüecilla la tierra adentro, en la ribera de un río que, aunque en bajamar no es capaz de embarcaciones de mediano porte, pueden, empero, con las mareas llegar hasta él.

Es río apacible y de riberas muy pobladas de árboles, tiene no pocas fuentes en sus vertientes, en especial donde está fundado el pueblo, que está lleno de fuentecillas, y de una de ellas que por nacer entre guijarros, unos unidos, otros divididos, se llama Palapag (que en esta lengua quiere decir “peña guijarreña,” o peña “cortada”) el terruño y puesto donde está plantado el pueblo y la iglesia, que es de la advocación de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora, y toda ella de piedra; y la casa mestiza, que llamamos acá (que es medio de piedra y medio de madera); aunque toda ella está cercada de una muralleja con cuatro baluartillos, todos de piedra, que uno y otro acabé yo de hacer el año de 1663.

Es muy bueno y sólido su suelo, sin que jamás haya lodos por ser arenisco; tiene muy buenas huertas y con muchos árboles y cocos, etc., con que es hoy en lo material una de las mejores, sino la mejor de las cabeceras de este ministerio, y en lo espiritual nada inferior a las otras; si bien en el alzamiento o sublevación

On the eastern side we find the open sea without any obstacles or islets towards the south, similar to the coast of Ibabao, about which we have spoken. Towards the west it has the other coast which runs somewhat as far as Baliqatun, although at first it is not so straight up to Rawis, but from thereon it does run straight. That stretch of coastland, which probably may be more than twenty nine leagues in length is open and clear towards the north. For this reason, during the time when this wind prevails [i.e. the wind from the north] and the northeastern and north-western winds, it is no less rough and dangerous than the eastern coast of Ibabao. Neither are these rivers which flow into the sandbars less prone in swallowing up boats; hardly a year goes by without some of them being lost in them. The most dangerous of them all are found in Panbuan and Catarman; each one of them have swallowed up a number of chalices, missals and other sacred vestments.

The first town that is found on this coast, near the said Cape [del Espíritu Santo] is Palapag. And because it is located as if in the center of all the others, it is for this reason a *cabecera* of this *residencia*. It is situated a little less than a league inland and on the bank of a river which will not admit boats even of small tonnage at ebttide. With the rising tide, however, the boats may enter.

The above-mentioned river is very tranquil with its banks full of trees and a good number of springs in its watersheds. The vicinity of the town especially is full of many small springs. And from one of them because it springs from among pebbles, some of large size and others smaller, the land on which the town and the church stand are called Palapag (which in this language means "a rocky area made of pebbles" or "a cleft rock"). This [town and church] are under the patronage of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady and all of it is constructed out of stone; the convento is a 'mestiza' as we call it here (that is the lower portion is of stone and the upper out of wood). Both of them, however, are surrounded by a stone wall with four *baluartillos*. I completed the construction work on both of these in the year 1663.

It has very beautiful orchards with many fruit trees and coconut palms, etc. Therefore, from the physical point of view it is one of the best, if not the best, *cabeceras* in this ministry. In the spiritual sphere it is no less inferior to the others. However,

que tuvo principio en esta cabecera el año de 1649, cuando mataron al Padre Rector y quemaron su iglesia, casa y pueblo, se echaron una mancha encima que dificultosamente se les quitará, y les es hoy una higa (que les deslucen mucho); y, porque este alzamiento ha sido el mayor que por acá ha habido entre nuestros bisayas, por no dejarlo a pedazos, lo dejaré para lo último de esta residencia, donde lo pondremos cómo fue, por qué causas y qué daños hicieron, etc. Y así vengamos a correr primero esta costa y las islas adyacentes a ella.

Está delante de la punta de la centinela de *Matnoc* el islote donde es tradición que tendía a enjuagar su *attarraya* el gigante Morong Borongan (como dijimos en la Primera Parte).

Hay más acá otra dos o tres isletas pequeñas, y delante de la barra de Palapag está una llamada *Binai*, que con los bajos que tiene prolongados casi se ronda (?) por todos lados.

Hace canal a la isla de *Batag*, que antiguamente fue habitada; y, aun después que son cristianos, estuvieron allí algunos años, visitados de los Padres, hasta que se agregaron y juntaron en el pueblo de Palapag ellos y otros de los que estaban divididos por dicha costa hacia Ibabao y hasta esta isla de Batag, donde ahora se pone una centinela para las naos que vienen de Castilla en un montecillo que hace punta hacia el norte en dicha isla, y descubre hasta Catanduanes y mucho pedazo de mar, que por aquella parte está limpio y sin islas.

Con la isla de Batag, casi arrimada a la isla grande, corre otra isla llamada *Lauang*, en que hay pueblo e iglesia, y es visita de Palapag, de donde estará como tres leguas, aunque se puede ir a ella, sin salir al mar grande, por senos o esteros que tiene abiertos de antiguo, por donde, con las mareas, entra y sale el agua, con que se hacen navegables y con alguna comodidad y menos riesgos de los ministros.

Entre las dos islas de Batag y Lauang está una ensenada, o canal, capaz de muchos galeones. En ella estuvieron los años

due to the uprising or insurrection which occurred in the year 1649 — when they killed the Father Rector, burned the church, the house and the town — they earned a stigma which will be difficult to eradicate. This is still something which tarnishes their good reputation even today. Since this uprising has been the greatest that has ever occurred among our Bisayans — so as not to treat it piecemeal — I shall put it off for another chapter. Therein we shall describe how it originated, what motivated it and the extent of the damage that resulted. Right now, let us continue first the description of this coast and the islands close to it.

Opposite the Point where the sentinels of Matnoc are stationed, there is an island where, according to tradition, the giant Morong Borongan was accustomed to cast his *attarraya* (as we have mentioned in Part One).

A little closer to where we are, there are two or three islands; opposite of the sandbar of Palapag there is one named Binai. And since it has extended sandy shores one is able to walk around it completely.

Together with the Island of Batag it forms a channel. It was inhabited in antiquity and even when they became Christians, for they were visited by the Fathers. Eventually they, and all those who were scattered along the coastline towards Ibabao, merged with Batag and formed the town of Palapag. On Batag there is now a sentinel post for the galleons which voyage from Castile; it is situated on a small hill which points toward the north on the said island and from which Catanduanes can be seen with a considerable stretch of sea, for it is open sea on that side with no other islands in sight.

Side by side with the Island of Batag, very near to the mainland, there is another one called Lauang on which there is a town and a church and which is a *visita* of Palapag. It is about three leagues away from it and it can be reached without sailing on the open sea but simply along the estuaries and streams which the natives have opened in ancient times. Through these the tides move in and out and in this way, they become navigable and afford a little more comfort and less exposure to dangers for the ministers.

Between the two islands of Batag and Lauang there is a bay or a channel well suited for holding many galleons. Some years

pasados seis naos holandesas muchos días, esperando a la que venía de Acapulco para estas Islas; pero no se les logró el intento, que Dios la guardó aquel año y aun algunos otros con especial providencia.

En ésta estuvo después, siendo yo Rector de Palapag, la nao *Concepción* el año de 1664, esperando sazón para pasar a Manila, y después el año de 66 la misma nao (en el puesto que llaman Calumatan, donde mas de treinta y cuatro años antes se había recogido otra nao, llamada *Espíritu Santo*, en que vinieron religiosos y otros, de socorro para estas Islas, y aun algunos años antes se perdió aquí otra nao que había ido a España por almiranta y de vuelta dejó aquí sus huesos (y esto es por no tener los pilotos conocidos estos puestos); diligencia que tienen los holandeses muy de antemano ejecutada, y para nuestras naos es, o debe ser, retirada forzosa para cuando las cogen los vendavales, sin poder embocar; que, retirándose aquí, están seguras y cerca del embocadero. ¡Ojalá que acierten a lograrlo en las ocasiones!

Más adelante de Lauang está otra isla, que se llama *Cahayagan*, en que hubo antiguamente pueblo y habitantes, aunque hoy no hay quien viva en ella. Hay, empero, grande abundancia de palomas silvestres en ella y otras isletas, sus vecinas; que en ellas se retiran a su tiempo a criar las palomas que llaman *Balur*, que son tan grandes como las ansas (?) de España; aunque, como dijimos ya, son menos fecundas, pues ponen solo un huevo, y una vez al año; pero, por ser muchos, hay mucha cantidad de pichones, tan buenos como los nuestros en tiempo de la cría.

Ya dijimos que, por asegurarse de las culebras, se retiran allá, por estar los árboles dentro del agua del mar (y así impedidos de poder ser receptáculo de malas sabandijas); que Dios ha dado este instinto a estas aves para su conservación y para guardar su hijuelos de los animales nocivos.

Fuera de esto, abundan las playas (que son de arena) de huevos de tabón que, huyendo también de los hombres, se van a

ago, about six Dutch ships spent several days awaiting the galleon which was arriving to these islands from Acapulco. However, their plans did not materialize because God watched over her that year, and even upon some others, with special providence.

Sometime later, in this same place, while I was Rector of Palapag, the galleon *Concepción* was anchored and waiting for favorable weather in order to proceed to Manila. This occurred in the year 1664; in the year 1666 the same *Nao* was again anchored here (in a place called Calomotan). Again, this was the same place, where more than thirty-four years earlier another galleon, the *Espíritu Santo*, sought shelter with some Religious and others as re-inforcements for the Islands. Also some years prior to this, a galleon which had sailed for Spain as "Almiranta" was lost here upon its return trip — leaving her hulk here. This occurred because the pilots were not familiar with this spot. The Dutch had made soundings of these places long, long before. This is and it ought to be a shelter for our galleons whenever they are overtaken by the southwesterly winds or when prevented from entering the mouth of the straits. If they seek shelter here they will be secure and at the same time, near the mouth of the channel. Would to God that they would be fortunate enough to find it when the need arises!

Close to Lauang there is another island, named Cahayagan which was inhabited and had a town in ancient times; today there is no one dwelling there. However, on the island and others around it is found a great number of wild doves. At nesting time, these doves called *balur* and which are as large as the *ansas* of Spain, seek out these islands. These are less fertile than those of Spain since they lay only one egg a year. Since they are so abundant, however, there is a large quantity of young pigeons and just as fine as ours at the time of breeding.

We have already said that, in order to be secure from the reptiles these birds find refuge there because the trees are submerged in sea-water (thereby preventing it from becoming a haven of deadly reptiles). God has given such a wonderful instinct to these birds for their preservation and so that they may keep their little offspring from noxious animals.

Aside from this, the seashores, which are very sandy, abound in *tabon* eggs because the birds flee from places where men dwell and seek out these islands to lay their eggs. However, this avails them nothing, for people go there in search of them and gather

estas islas apartadas a poner su huevos; pero no les vale, porque van allá por ellos, y se cogen en grande cantidad, como también de tortugas; que estas del mar, y aquellas del aire, van a buscar las playas de arena limpia para poner sus huevos en abundancia.

Síguense, después de Cahayagan, varias isletas que, aunque cada cual tiene su nombre, las llamamos de Viri, por ser la isla de Viri la más principal de ellas y donde ha habido siempre gente, y la hay hoy, aunque poca; y es esta isla la principal centinela de las naos por estar en el embocadero (aunque a la parte de afuera).

Son todas estas islas muy abundantes de pescado y donde, a poca costa, se coge en mucha cantidad, porque quedan en bajamar various estanquillos, o lagunillas, entre los arrecifes, donde se quedan después en abundancia; y sin trabajo alguno cogen a manos llenas quanto quieren los indios en ellas; que, para su flojedad, es de mucha consideración el hallar siempre y tan a poca costa (pues ni aun redes es menester) toda la cantidad de pescado que quieren, ni les faltan en tierra muchas raíces de qué comer ellos; y así, aunque se ha procurado llevar esta gente a la isla grande (porque estas islas están a trasmano para acudir a la iglesia y ministerios) jamás se ha podido recabar del todo; que, como ellos buscan más el sustento de los cuerpos que el de las almas, vanse tras de él, y olvidan el principal, y vienen a ser de los que dice el apóstol: *Quorum deus venter est, etc.*

Vengamos ya a los pueblos de esta costa, y comencemos por el último hacia el embocadero para que acabemos con su cabeceras (como dejamos ya dicho).

Es el último pueblo, cerca del embocadero, el que hoy llaman de Bobon, por estar en una playa donde se hacen hoyos y sacan agua, aunque algo salobre, y estos pozos dichos se llaman "bobon" en esta lengua, y de ellos el pueblo dicho (que pocos años hace se puso en el lugar que hoy conserva, después de haberse mudado varios veces de un puesto malo a otro peor), y aun el que hoy tiene es harto malo y expuesto al enemigo (que, aunque fuera del embocadero) ha llegado varias veces a visitarle, y nunca deja de llevar

large amounts together with turtle eggs. These seabirds and others, go in search of shores which have clean sand where to lay their eggs in large quantities.

Very close to Cahayagan Island there follow several small islets which we call Biri, even though each one bears its own particular name. They are called *Biri* after one of the more dominant ones on which there were always found people; they are even there till this day, although in lesser numbers. On this island is found one of the principal *centinelas* of the galleons because it is located in the *embocadero* — strictly speaking, it is actually outside of it.

All these islands abound greatly in fish and it takes little effort to catch them in great quantities. When the tide goes out it leaves behind as if little lagoons amidst the shoals thereby leaving the fish in large quantities. The natives, then, catch them effortlessly in great hauls. Since they tend to be somewhat indolent, it is to their advantage to find so much with so little effort, since not even nets are employed. Even on land there is no lack of a variety of roots for their consumption. And so, although we have made efforts to transfer these people to the mainland, because these islets are out of the way for the ministry and for church attendance, this could never be carried out to its full extent. The reason for this is: they are more concerned about the food for their bodies rather than about the nourishment for their souls. They are always drawn in this direction and thereby forget their main concern. And thus they end up becoming such about whom the Apostle says: *Quorum Deus venter est*, etc.

Let us now come [to describe] the towns of this coast; let us begin with the last one near the *embocadero* so that we may conclude with the *cabeceras*, as we have already stated.

The last town which is situated near the *embocadero* is called today Bobon, since it is located on a beach where [the natives] dig holes and draw water which is rather salty. These wells are called 'bobon' in this language and this is the origin of the name of the town, which was established a few years ago on this spot where it stands today; it was transferred from a bad location to a worse one. Even the place where it stands today is quite poor for it is open to the enemy (although it is situated outside the *embocadero*) who has been able to reach it several times. And on every occasion, he never fails to carry away captives since he

cautivos por hallar muchos pescando en las isletas y bajos que dijimos, y así el mismo camucón suele estarse allí semanas enteras pescando, sin que haya quien le diga qué haces ahí, por la falta de gente que pueda hacerles cara; que los indios comúnmente de los pies fían su libertad cuando no les coge el enemigo desapercibidos dormidos (que en guardarse tienen poquísima providencia).

En este pueblo estuvieron en dos ocasiones, no ha muchos meses, los ministros tan cerca de ser cogidos, que en la una cogieron cuanto tenía el Padre, y apenas se libró su persona por pies; y en la otra, aunque el Padre envió su trastecillos por delante, y por esto se detuvo algo, estuvo tan cerca de ser cogido, que no distó diez pasos del enemigo, y la espesura de unas matas que acaso estaban en el camino impidió que no le viesen, aunque estaban tan cerca que les oía claramente cuanto decían; que de estos lances, riesgos y peligros hay casi todos los años algunos por acá.

Es la advocación de esta iglesia la Venida del Espíritu Santo. Los feligreses pocos, pues apenas llegan a cien tributos, que son trescientas, o pocas más, personas de Confesión, y éstas cuestan no pocos trabajos y cuidado al ministro, porque los que viven en la isla de Viri y otros parajes lejanos, vienen tarde y mal al ministro, y así no son pocos los que al cabo del año mueren sin sacramentos: unos porque la enfermedad no da lugar, y más estando lejos; otros por la flojedad de los parientes y compañeros, o de sementeras o de casa; y así se ha notado en este pueblo que casi todos, o los más, que mueren su (*sic*) isla de Viri sin sacramentos ni ayuda corporal y espiritual (a que todas las lejanas y apartadas están expuestas).

Y así este debe de ser uno de los mayores cuidados de los ministros de este y otros pueblos semejantes, el cuidar que se acerquen y vivan donde puedan ser ayudados, supliendo con su cuidado, vigilancia y tesón el descuido, flojedad y poco aprecio que de esto tienen comúnmente cristianos de solo nombre; y, pues comúnmente

finds many fishing near the islets and off the sandy banks as we have mentioned. These same *Camucons* themselves spend entire weeks fishing and no one makes any effort to inquire why they are there. Always there are men lacking who might confront them. In fact, normally, the *Indios* entrust their freedom to their feet except when they are surprised by the enemy, caught off-guard or sleeping; in guarding themselves, they are very careless.

Not many months ago, the ministers were very close to being captured in this town on two occasions: on one occasion they got hold of everything the Father had, he made a narrow escape through flight; on the other occasion, the Father had sent his poor belongings ahead and as he tarried, he came extremely close to being captured — he was not even ten paces distant from the enemy. A thick-growth of bushes separated him from the enemy and fortunately they were unable to see him although he clearly heard everything they were saying. Such incidents, risks and dangers are almost a yearly experience over here.

This church is under the patronage of the Descent of the Holy Spirit. The faithful are small in number since they hardly reach one hundred tributes or about three hundred persons of Confession age more or less. These demand a lot of attention and care on the part of the ministers especially those who live on the Island of Biri and in other distant places since they report poorly and late to the minister. As a result, those who die during the year without the Sacraments are not a few: some do so because a particular sickness does not permit them, especially if they live far away. Others die without the sacraments because of the negligence of their relatives and companions whether it is at home or on the farms. And so, it has been observed in this town that almost all, if not the majority, who die on the Island of Biri, do so without the sacraments or without any bodily or spiritual comfort — something to which all the more remote islands are exposed to. Hence, this must become one of the main concerns of the ministers in regards to this town and to others in similar conditions. Efforts must be made that they settle and live there where they may be able to receive these benefits. The ministers must compensate with their assistance, vigilance and endurance for the negligence, the sloth and the unconcern that is so rampant in these matters among those who are Christians in name only. Since, as a rule, most of these people lack an appre-

les falta el aprecio a los más de estos, de su salvación (porque están hechos a vivir brutalmente, debe el ministro insistir con los tales con más cuidado, pues es cierto que, habiéndolo, participan muchos del fruto de los santos sacramentos, muriendo con ellos, y lo experimentan todos los ministros fervorosos y cuidadosos, que logran muchos lances muy en provecho de las almas ajenas y consuelo de los propias; de que ni aun en este tiempo han faltado algunos ejemplos de algunos que, traídos a tiempo crudo y de otros que, habiendo acaso llegado el Padre allí, por su fortuna consiguieron el acabar con los santos sacramentos, que es lo que siempre y en todas partes se debe procurar con muchísimo cuidado, pues es este en mayor logro del ministerio.

Púsose primero la iglesia de este pueblo (que ella y la casa del Padre son en todos las de más consideración) en la playa donde gozaba de muy buena visita; pero llegó el holandés allí cerca, donde dio fondo, y con las lanchas entró en ensenada y barra (que navíos grandes no pueden por los muchos bajos y arrecifes), y, habiéndose acaso hallado allí un principal de otro pueblo, que tenía un arcabuz, les disparó (a lo cual no se atrevió un español que allí estaba) tres o cuatro veces escondido entre la espesura de los árboles; con lo cual se retiraron entonces.

Volvieron de allí a dos o tres días con armas y prevención (que la primera vez fueron sin ella; que tan a su salvo como esto entran y salen dondequiera que no hay fuerza de españoles) y, no hallando quien se les opusiese (porque, como de otro pueblo, el que tenía el arcabuz se había ya ido) quebraron su furia en la casa e iglesia de los Padres que quemaron, sin dejar más rastro de ella que los pies de los postes, o columnas, que acá llamamos “arigues” a que perdonó el fuego, porque, por estar enterrados en la tierra o arena, no pudo prender más (he visto yo los zoquetes, que quedaron hechos carbón) y así se puso la iglesia al monte adentro, por un estero que sale al río de dicho pueblo, cosa de dos tiros de mosquete de la playa, aunque sin poder ver la mar ni ser visto por la espesura de los árboles, y ahora (cuando estoy escribiendo esto) por haberse caído una y otra vez por haberse terminado de arbolar los *arigues* para hacerla de nuevo, y, aunque sin *dindines*

ciation for their salvation — for they are accustomed to live in a kind of brute-like manner — the minister must be more demanding with such through greater zeal. For it is certainly true, that if a minister is deeply zealous, many will partake of the fruits of the Holy Sacraments, receiving them when death is imminent. The fervent and dedicated ministers often experience this; they bring about many conversions for the benefit of many souls and for their own consolation. Instances have not been wanting where some [gravely ill] have been brought to us just in time; while in other cases, the father having arrived there by chance provided the dying with the good fortune of the last sacraments. Such opportunities must be brought about everywhere and with the greatest diligence since this accrues to the greater success of the evangelical labours.

The church in this town (for it is the church and the house of the Father which are the most conspicuous) was first erected on the seashore where it commanded a fine view. However, the Dutch arrived to a nearby place where they anchored; with the aid of rowboats they entered a cove with a high sandbar, since larger ships cannot do so due to the many sandbanks and shoals. It happened that a certain *Datu* from another town, who owned an arquebus, fired at them (something a Spaniard would never dare do if he were around) three or four times from behind a thicket. As a result, they withdrew.

After two or three days they returned well-armed because the first time they were not prepared. In this manner they come and go, unmolested, whenever there is no garrison of Spaniards. And so, finding no resistance, since the one who fired the arquebus was from another town and already gone, they let loose their fury upon the church and the residence of the Father. Everything was burned to the ground and the only traces left were the bases of the posts or columns which here are called *harigues*. These were spared by the fire because they were buried in the ground. I have seen the stumps which became like coal. As a result, the church was transferred inland and to a forested area near a creek that empties into the river of the said town at about two musket shots from the seashore. It cannot be seen from the sea due to the heavy forest growth. Now, as I am writing this, since the church has already collapsed, once and again the posts are already set in anew; however, it still does not have the

o tabiques (tuve carta del ministro que está allí ahora), se dice ya misa en ella y ha salido fuerte y segura, que es lo que por acá se ha de procurar en todas las obras; que si no es cansarse, y cansar o los indios, muchas veces con poco provecho y mucho trabajo.

Con este pueblo de Bobon hace un cuerpo de visita, que pertenece a un ministro, el de Catarman, y ambos a dos son una encomienda que suele tener trescientos tributos, poco más o menos; poca ocupación para un ministro (pues llegarán a mil almas de Confesión, cuando mucho; pero, por lo apartado del puesto y lo difícil de los mares, es fueza darles ministro aparte a estos dos pueblos, que son tenidos por de gente dura y medio montaraz, por la facilidad con que se van y vienen al monte; y al presente, cuando escribo esto, no son pocos los indios de ambos pueblos que están en ellos escondidos, parte por su bellaquería y ánimos montaraces, parte por huir del trabajo, pues ha sido forzoso hacer casi a la par, o renovar la iglesias y casas de ambos pueblos; y, en habiendo faenas, huyen de ellas cuanto pueden y, últimamente, por la hambre grande, que ha dos años...

[... *aquí falta el resto*]

CAPITULO 11

[ALGUNAS DE LAS CAUSAS DEL LEVANTAMIENTO DE PALAPAG]

(Faltan los primeros folios)

... al fin juntaron algunos, aunque muchos menos de los que eran necesarios, de los que con el primer ímpetu hallaron con menos resistencia; pero después iban matando los indios a fuerza de hierro (?) a los españoles que con menos prevención se hallaron entre ellos; y todo se comenzó a alborotar.

Estaba yo en Cebú (que me holgué mucho de no hallarme en otro pueblo de Bisayas, solo, en aquella ocasión) y vi traer maniatados hombres y mujeres, y, como si fuera cargazón de cebones (no encarezco, pues lo vi con mis ojos) los metían dentro

dindines or walls. I have just received a letter from the minister who is there now, telling me that Mass is already being said there and that the structure is strong and safe. This is what must be done here to all our buildings; otherwise it becomes tiresome to us and burdensome to the *Indios* — a never-ending effort with little benefit.

The town of Bobon with its *visita* falls under a minister of Catarman; both belong to one *encomienda* and come to about three hundred tributes more or less. This is not too large for one minister, because those who already go to confession will hardly reach one thousand souls. However, due to the remoteness of the place and the difficulties of sea-travel, it is imperative to provide these two towns with individual ministers. The people there are still somewhat rude and half tamed as a result of their coming and going to the hills. Presently, as I write this, the *Indios* of both towns who are hiding from them are not a few; partly due to their roguishness and savage tendencies and partly to escape from labour — since it has been necessary to build almost simultaneously, or repair, the churches and rectories of both towns. Whenever there is work to be done, they flee from it as much as possible. And lastly, due to the great famine which two years ago....

[*Remaining folio/folios missing*]

CHAPTER 11

(*The initial folios are missing*)

[CONCERNING THE COMPULSORY DRAFT LABOR AND THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE PALAPAG UPRISING]

... ultimately some others joined from among those who at first were opposed [to the uprising], although far below the number that was deemed necessary. Afterwards the *Indios* began killing the Spaniards who were living in their midst with great fury, catching them off-guard; hence, everything then fell into great turmoil.

I was then in Cebu (I was very happy not to have been alone in some other Bisayan town on that occasion) and they were a cargo of fatted swine (I do not exaggerate, because I saw it with my own eyes). They, then, piled them up in the fort; one can

de la fuerza a montón, siendo el sustento y lo demás necesario tal como se deja entender; y, aunque vieron y tocaron los ministros de justicia e inmediatos todos estos inconvenientes, nadie se atrevía a hablar ni a proponer; porque los calabozos se hallaban abiertos para entrar, para salir de hierro; los destierros (y esto era menos malo) muy ordinarios, y así instaban en la ejecución, porque instaba el mandato, y de hecho mandaron embarcar (yo los ví en Cebú) más de cincuenta casados con sus hijos y mujeres en un champán, tan pequeño que apenas cabían de pies y tan cargado que iban expuestos a naufragio cierto, y así lo juzgamos cuantos los vimos partir, y dentro de breves días sucedió, sin que se escapase chico ni grande, de todos ellos, pues solo uno o dos sangleyes de los marineros escaparon y llegaron a una isla llamada Sibuyan, que fueron los que lo contaron; que si no, hasta hoy no se supiera, como no se sabe de otros naufragios aun más considerables, que acá son frecuentes.

Añádese a esto que en la senada de Carigara, por este mismo tiempo, en un puesto llamada Caragono, se fabricaron dos naos, una tras otra, y una mayor que otra; la una llamada *Nuestra Señora de Guía* (que sólo un viaje hizo, y después, yendo a Camboja, se perdió); la otra nao *San Francisco Javier*, que en el segundo viaje que hizo a Méjico se perdió en Borongan (como ya dijimos, con notable desperdicio de gente, de géneros y de dineros, etc), pues, además de estar los indios cansados de estas fábricas, y no pocos perniquebrados y muertos (fui testigo yo de vista, pues me hallé en la primera fábrica Rector de Carigara, y vi los agravios que se los hace, aunque entonces fueron mucho menos, porque el fabricante me hacía merced y remediaba cuanto yo le avisaba que lo pedía).

La paga que en la segunda nao se les dio (que la primera se pagó muy bien, y casi siempre con intervención mia?) fueron papelitos, y algunos de ellos que no eran tan anchos como la palma de la mano (guardé yo muchos años algunos, pero nunca se pagaron), y con aquellos les enviaban a sus casas, sin paga ni

only imagine what kind of accommodations and provisions they received there! And, although, the ministers of justice and the personnel assisting them saw and felt all these inconveniences, nobody dared to express his opinion or advance a solution. The prisons were open for entering, but exits were padlocked. The banishments were commonplace, although a much lesser evil; however, they were promptly executed as a result of pressure from the higher authorities. For instance, it was ordered (and I saw it in Cebu) that fifty married men and women with their children were crowded into a small champan where they could hardly be accommodated standing. It was so overloaded that they ran the risk of shipwreck. Those of us who saw them departing were of such a conviction. And within a few days, that is exactly what happened; no one escaped, neither the little ones nor the big ones, with the exception of one or two sangleys from among the sailors who survived and reached the island called Sibuyan. It was they who circulated the news; otherwise it would never have been known — just as one never learns about the many shipwrecks that occur often where even more persons are involved than in this particular case.

Let us add to this that about this same time, in the Bay of Carigara, in a place called Caragono, two galleons were built one after the other and one larger than the previous one. One was called *Nuestra Señora de Guía* (which made only one voyage and afterwards was lost while sailing for Cambodia. The other galleon was *San Francisco Javier* which perished in Borongan on her second voyage to Mexico, as we have already stated, with a great loss of people, goods, money, etc. The *Indios* were completely exhausted from these shipbuildings and not a few were broken in health while others died. I was an eyewitness of this since I was Rector of Carigara at the time that the first galleon was constructed, and I saw the grievances they suffered. However, these were greatly lessened because the official in charge lent me a kind ear and remedied all that I requested and brought to his attention.

The payment they received for building the second galleon (the first was very well paid and almost always through my good services) were little pieces of paper — some of them were not much wider than the palm of my hand. I kept some of them for many years, but payment never came. And thus they sent them

sin comida; de modo que algunos vendían sus vestidillos, tales cuáles sus cuchillos o hachas para comer y aviarse.

Todo esto que se fue encadenando uno con otro, y fue llover sobre mojado, aguantaban y sufrían los indios de estas islas de Pintados, y lo aguantaron muchos días; hasta que la última resolución de sacar por fuerza a los del número del nuevo astillero fue el que acabó de llenar la medida y dio el último traspie al alboroto de muchos de los pueblos que se alborotaron, y entre ellos a los de Palapag, pues, habiendo llegado el orden de que se sacase las dichas *harigas* (que acá llamamos así con nombre general) para el dicho efecto, fueron a su Rector, que lo era entonces el Padre Miguel Ponce (de quien en su lugar diremos sus virtudes) y le pidieron que, pues aquel pueblo era cabecera; y siempre por acá las cabeceras, por ser más asistidas de mayores iglesias y casas para los Padres (pues en ellas hacemos nuestras juntas como hemos ya dicho), los eximiese de aquella carga, porque, según veían los ánimos alterados y mal dispuestos, se temían no sucediese algún desmando (sic) y alboroto de los indios.

Esto dijeron los principales, pero ya ellos y todos estaban maleados muchos días había, y habían tenido varios conventículos y borracheras, en que se habían conjurado de primero dejarse matar que sacar mujer alguna ni niño de su pueblo.

De estos conventículos y reuniones habían ya dado noticia al dicho Padre algunos indios más pacíficos, y en especial la maestra, que era una principala de mucho aprecio y cordura, y más buena cristiana que los más de ellos y la mayor principal de aquel pueblo; que por ser su marido (daremos noticia en su lugar de él), aunque se recelaba de ella, y se lo encubría, muchas veces cuando volvía a casa temulento, le hacía decir el vino lo que en su juicio encubría mucho.

No atajó, como pudiera, el Padre, y debía hacerlo, estas juntas, y así salió finalmente de ellas el alzamiento declarado y el mayor

home, without any pay or food. As a result some were forced to sell their knives or axes in order to eat and provide for their needs.

The *Indios* of these Pintado Islands patiently bore all this which fell upon them in such quick succession and endured it for a long time even though it made matters worse. However, when new levies were being forcibly raised to complete the number of men required for the new shipyard, the people's patience began to give, thereby spawning an uprising in many towns, Palapag among them, and thus leading to a widespread rebellion. When an order arrived imposing the said "harigas" (we call them thus over here, using this general term) for the said purpose, some approached the Rector, Father Miguel Ponce — about whose virtues we shall speak in its place. Since the town was a *cabe-cera*, they petitioned him (the *cabeceras* over here have larger churches and houses for the Fathers, since in them we hold our gatherings as previously mentioned) to exempt them from that burden of *polo*. They feared that the people might lose their control and start a turmoil since they were so agitated and ill-disposed.

This is what the *principales* all stated. However, they themselves together with others had gone over to the other side many days prior to this request; they also held a number of secret meetings and drinking sprees. During these sessions they had sworn that they would rather die first than permit any woman or child to be taken from their towns.

The Father had been notified earlier about these secret gatherings and meetings by some of the more peace-loving *Indios* and especially by a *Maestra* who was also the *principala*. She was greatly esteemed, possessing sound judgement and a much better Christian than the majority of them and a leading *principala* of that town. [This she knew] because her husband (in its place we shall speak about him) who hid it from her and did not trust her while sober, did reveal all to her when he returned home one day under the influence of wine.

The Father made no effort at all in opposing any of these gatherings as he could have and should have. Therefore, out of these emerged an open uprising, the most widespread that ever had taken place in these Bisayas. For, ultimately, *vinum et mulieres*

que ha sido jamás entre nuestros bisayas; que, al fin, *vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt cor hominis*.

Concertados ellos, trataron lo primero de quién había de matar al Padre, y el motivo que para ello tuvieron fue decir: “Este Padre no nos ayuda como los otros, antes nos deja a la voluntad de los españoles, sin hacer resistencia alguna, pues, ¿para qué le hemos menester? Matémosle, y con esto a cualquier español que hubiere, le mataremos también; que, muerto el Padre y otros, con esto nos veremos libres de tantas cargas”.

Escogieron cabeza para el efecto; que en esto anduvieron más prevenidos; que suelen ellos tener algunas diferencias.

Concordaron los más en elegir a Don Pedro Caamug, que era el mayor principal entre ellos (aunque natural de Batag y hermano de Doña María Finguis, de quien tratamos), y si éste, como tuvo más prudencia para disponer y más valor del que se podía prometer de bisayas para ordenar y pelear, como veremos luego, hubiera tenido cordura para conservarse y conservarlos sujetos, quizás hubieran salido con la suya: pero Dios lo dispuso mejor para su bien espiritual y para que no se perdieran tantas almas (aunque no fueron pocas las que llevó el demonio en esta ocasión, como iremos viendo).

Escogida ya la cabeza, o reyezuelo, a su modo (aunque esto no estaba aún público sino entre pocos), el primer cuidado fue disponer el cómo y cuándo y a quién habían de matar primero; porque raro de ellos era el que quiso que matasen los Padres, porque decían que de los Padres no habían recibido mal alguno, sino muchos bienes, y que, aunque el que entonces les gobernaba les ayudase poco, porque otros les habían ayudado mucho, y así no había razón de volverles mal por los muchos bienes que de los Padres habían recibido.

Ventilaron la cosa con el vino y la embriaguez, y de ella no podía salir cosa buena; antes con él vieron y discurrieron que, para que los indios de aquel y los otros pueblos, sus vecinos, temiesen más el castigo que los habían de dar los españoles y se aunasen más con ellos, y desesperasen el volver a paz y conformidad, que el primero a quien se había de matar era el Padre Rector, pues era

apostatare . . . ("wine and women turn away the hearts of men", i.e. "Wine and women corrupt sensible men . . ." Ecclesiasticus 19:2, Jerusalem Bible).

They came to an agreement after first having discussed who should kill the Father; the reasons advanced were such: "This Father does not aid us as much as the others. On the contrary, he leaves us to the mercy of the Spaniards without any intervention. For what do we need him? Let us kill him and afterwards any other Spaniard who crosses our path! Once they are all dead, we shall be free from so many burdens."

So as to carry this out, they chose a leader and in doing so they showed some sense of foresight, because frequently they disagree among themselves.

The majority agreed in choosing Don Pedro Caamug who was one of the better known *principales* (although a native of Batag and a brother of Doña Maria Finguis [sic] about whom we are now speaking). If he had had enough judgment to keep calm and if his followers were obedient, perhaps he would have emerged victorious, since he acted rather cleverly in planning things and had greater courage than could be expected from a Bisayan to organize things and fight, as we shall soon see. Nonetheless, God managed things much better for his own spiritual good and so that many souls would not be lost (although on this occasion not a few of these were carried away by the devil).

After having chosen a leader or a petty king in their own fashion (for this was not known to the public but only among a few), their first step was to decide the when, how and whom to kill first — for among most of them no one wished that the Fathers be killed first. They stated that they have not received any evil from the Fathers but only favours; although the one under whose charge they were now had done little for them, others had helped them greatly. And so, there was no reason for reciprocating evil for the many kindnesses that they had received from the Fathers.

Since they deliberated these matters over wine and in carousing, nothing good would result, naturally. They felt and thought that the natives of their own town, the neighbors and others, who were so afraid of the reprisal of the Spaniards, would be more amenable and willing to unite with them if they would first kill the Father Rector (who held a position of prestige) and after-

————— (?) más otros, y luego a cuantos españoles topasen, que con esto cerraban las puertas al perdón y las abrían a su tiranía e independencia, que es lo que pretendían.

Nadie, con todo esto, salía a matar al Padre, por parecerles cosa recia e injusta; pero, ya empeñados, dijo el nombrado cabeza a uno que era el más frecuente y ordinario en cosa de los Padres y era cabeza de los soldados (que hay en las cabeceras para la defensa de ellas, contra los otros enemigos de por acá), llamado Sumodoy: "Tú no serás hombre para matar al Padre, pues de tí se recela menos que todos, y eres allá el más continuo? — Pues, ¿por qué no?, dijo el otro, "*Lalaqui-man ako nga gayud, sugad sa mga kalalakinan nga totoo?*" Que quiere decir: "Hombre, soy yo tan hombre como el que más;" y, dicho esto, se levantó; y, como estaba con el vino algo azorado, dio un salto, tomó la lanza que tenía cerca, hizo algunos escarceos y dio voces a su modo; y desde entonces quedó el concierto concluído y el dicho SUMODOY con el cargo de ejecutar la muerte del Padre Rector, sin tratar de matar otro Padre alguno; que, ejecutada ella, el caso dispondría lo demás.

CAPITULO 12

[Incompleto]

MUERTE VIOLENTA DEL PADRE RECTOR. DECLARASE EL ALZAMIENTO, SUS PROGRESOS Y DAÑOS QUE HICIERON EN LOS PUEBLOS.

Aunque el Padre Rector, Miguel Ponce, como hemos dicho, estaba avisado de algunos de los indios más fieles a Dios, al Rey y a la ley de Cristo, y, en especial, de la maestra, Doña Angelina Dinanugan, que de palabra (y por escrito, por no hacerse sospechosa con su marido que era uno de los principales coligados), se lo había hecho saber todo, nunca hizo caso de ello, ni creyó que llegaría a tanto; antes decía que toda eran borracheras sin traza, y no se acordaba que de otras semejantes, y más entre indios,

wards as many Spaniards as they would find in their way. In this manner, then, they would succeed in shutting out any need for forgiveness and opening the doors to their tyranny and independence, something they yearned for anyway.

Notwithstanding all these plans, no one volunteered to kill the Father for it seemed to them a most dastardly and tyrannical thing to do. However, since they had already committed themselves to such a move, the one who had been selected as leader appealed to another who was a frequent visitor to the house, familiar with the Fathers and a head of the soldiers (who are detailed in the *cabecera* for their defense from other enemies over here) named Sumodoy. He inquired, "Will you not have the courage to kill the Father since he is less suspicious of you than anyone else and because you are often there with him?" The other answered: "Well, why not! *Lalaqui-man ako nga gayud, sugad sa mga kalalakinan nga totoo!*" And having uttered this, he stood up and seemingly not his complete self, because of the wine, he took a leap, got hold of the spear that was near him, made some gyrations and shouted on his way out. As a result the agreement was sealed and the said Sumodoy entrusted with the task of carrying out the death of the said Father Rector. There was no plan then to kill any other Father, once this one would be executed, all else would be left to circumstances.

CHAPTER 12

[Incomplete]

CONCERNING THE VIOLENT DEATH OF THE FATHER RECTOR; THE UPRISING AND ITS SPREAD WITH THE RESULTANT DAMAGE UPON THE TOWNS

Although the Father Rector, Miguel Ponce, had been warned by some of the natives more loyal to God, the King and to the Law of Christ, such as Doña Angelina Dinanugan, he paid little attention and never thought that it would all go to such extremes. [The above-mentioned] *maestra* revealed everything to him by word of mouth and in writing secretly so as not to arouse the suspicions of her husband who was so deeply involved. In fact, he maintained that these were just ideas emanating origination as a result of mere drinking bouts and without any serious plans.

han salido cosas y casos bien atroces, y así ni hizo diligencia alguna para atajarlo, ni puso cuidado en prevenirse; con lo cual hicieron más a su salvo lo que tenían dispuesto.

Y así, a primero de junio del año de 1649, habiéndose Sumodoy recogido, como solía, a un garito, que era como fuercecilla, y estaba dentro de la estacada de la casa de los Padres (con un pasadizo para ella, donde estaban los soldados de guardia, habiendo ya de noche bajado el Padre Rector y otro Padre que consigo tenía, llamado Julio Antonio Jobi, natural de Trento, a cenar al refectorio, que estaba en lo bajo de la casa, y cenado con mucha paz y sin recelo alguno de lo que se le esperaba, al subir por la escalera, que era angosta y no cabía más de uno, y por ella subió el Padre Rector el primero (que el otro Padre se quedaba lavando las manos), cuando, al asomar la cabeza por lo alto, enristró Sumodoy su lanza, y, antes que acabase de subir a la penúltima grada, se la atravesó por el pecho, y con el golpe volvió hacia atrás, y, rodando por la escalera, llegó al suelo, derramando la sangre que se deja bien entender.

Acudió el Padre y un hermano o donado, español, (llamado Luis González), que estaba allí entonces, y había muchos años que vivía en casa, haciendo oficio de despensero y lo demás que se le mandaba, y sólo oyeron que el Padre Rector dijo repetidamente: “¡Jesús, María!”; y se quedó muerto en sus brazos.

El matador se volvió atrás al garitón dicho; y entonces, con la turbación, ni el Padre ni el hermano, atónitos con el suceso, tuvieron ni aun ánimo ni acuerdo para más que recoger el cuerpo difunto y llevarlo a su aposento, admirados de lo sucedido; ni hubo entonces tiempo ni acuerdo para hacer otra diligencia ni pesquisa.

Esto fue martes por la noche. El día siguiente era Víspera del Corpus, y llegó a Palapag el Padre que visitaba a Catubig, convidado para la celebridad del Santísimo y, luego que llegó al río de Palapag, supo de la muerte del Padre Rector, y, aunque se

He apparently failed to remember that in other similar situations as this, especially among these natives, extreme atrocities were the outcome. And so, as a result he made no effort to bring all this to a stop nor did he take any precautions in safe-guarding his well-being. Therefore, they executed their plans without any obstacles.

And so, on the first day of June Sumodoy retired as usual to the sentry box as was his custom and which was like a small fort and within the stockade of the house of the Fathers and joined by means of a passage-way to the barracks of the soldiers on duty. Meanwhile, the Father Rector and another Father, Julio Antonio Jobi, a native of Trent, who was staying with him, came down for supper to the refectory which was on the ground floor of the house. He took supper in the midst of great peace and without any premonition of what was awaiting him. Afterwards he went up the stair-way which was rather narrow and permitted only one person to pass. The Father Rector went up first while the other Father tarried behind washing his hands. When his head became visible above the stairs, Somodoy raised his lance; and before the Father had a chance to place his foot on the second to the last step, he plunged it into his breast. The power of the blow forced him to fall backwards and roll down the stairs with profuse bleeding.

To the rescue of the Rector came the Father and a Brother or a Spanish *donado*, known as Luis González, who was there at the moment and who had been living there for many years and was in charge of the cellar. All that they heard repeatedly from the lips of the Rector was: "Jesus, Mary. . . !" and thus he expired in their arms.

The murderer then returned to his sentry box. Paralyzed and bewildered by the tragedy neither the Father nor the Brother were able to gather up their presence of mind except for lifting the body of the dead man and taking it to his room. There was also no opportunity or resolve to carry out any investigation.

This occurred on Tuesday night; the following day was the Eve of *Corpus Christi*. Because of this, the Father who was ministering in Catubig, arrived to Palapag, prompted by the Solemnity of the Most Holy Sacrament. Immediately, upon arriving at the Palapag River, he learned about the death of the Father Rector. Fearful that something similar may happen to him, he

quiso volver, temiendo otro tanto, como no oyó ruido ni vio bullicio, al fin se animó.

Llegó a casa, halló al Rector muerto y dispuso su entierro que se ejecutó; a que apenas acudió persona, unos admirados, otros atemorizados y suspensos entre el miedo y el recelo de ver en qué paraba aquello.

Quiso que cantasen, o por mejor decir, lamentasen por la tarde las Vísperas del Corpus, como se cantaron, con muy pocos cantores.

Hizo por la mañana procesión y misa solemne con muy pocos hombres, algunas más mujeres sí, que se hallaron, aunque todos atónitos de lo sucedido; porque de los indios unos no sabían cosa, otras dudaban aun lo que habían oído, comenzaban a experimentar, y, suspensos unos y otros entre la duda y el miedo, ninguno se declaraba ni en contra ni en favor de los coligados; que no llegaban los declarados y juramentados a diez.

Entre estas suspensiones tuvieron algún alivio y se determinaron los dos Padres y el donado de recoger lo mejor de la casa y embarcarse e irse de Palapag, y lo pudieron ejecutar, comenzando a disponerlo la misma tarde del Corpus; y el día siguiente los tres, con los muchachos de casa (aunque ya algunos habían huído) y con las *berigas* y gente de esquipazón que llevó consigo el Padre de Catubig, sacaron una embarcación mediana que estaba en un camarín cerca del río y se embarcaron con mucha prisa y con poca prevención con la poca gente que se dispuso, y sólo pudieron llevar una escribanía con algún dinero que tenía la cabecera y otros trastos necesarios para su comida y algo de sus vestidos, y zarparon y salieron del pueblo cuando ya se iban mostrando los de él armados con lanzas y corazas, y no sabían si eran en favor o en contra (porque sólo eran pocos y a la deshilada); aunque, según el efecto, todos estaban ya declarados y en favor de los alzados.

Y sucedió un caso raro particular, y fue que, yéndose a embarcar los Padres (que el Hermano se había anticipado con lo poco

was inclined to turn back but as he did not hear any noise or activity, he gathered up some courage to proceed.

Upon reaching the house he did find the Father dead and helped with arrangements for his burial. At the burial there were hardly any people present; some were full of uncertainty, others were suspended between fear and suspicion as to how everything may end. The Father desired that they sing, or rather chant in a lamenting manner the Vespers of *Corpus Christi* in the afternoon, as it was eventually done by several chanters.

In the morning, the Father held a procession and sang a Solemn Mass with very few men and a greater number of women in attendance amidst much perplexity. Some of the natives were unaware as to what has transpired; others were skeptical about what they actually heard but slowly began to come to grips with the reality of it all. All of them suspended between doubt and fear, were unwilling to take sides either with or against the conspirators. Those who were involved and committed to an oath were not more than ten in number.

As a consequence of such an indecision on the part of the natives, the missionaries found a little relief. The two fathers and the *donado* resolved to gather the most valuable things from the house, board a boat and get away from Palapag. Beginning their preparations on the same afternoon of *Corpus Christi*, they were able to carry out their plan. On the following day, the three of them together with some house boys (although some had already escaped), the *berigas* and boatmen whom the Father had brought along from Catubig they helped themselves to a boat of moderate capacity which was in a *camarin* near the river... and with very little preparation, they hurriedly went aboard with the few people available. They were able to take a writing desk and some of the money belonging to the *cabecera*; also some of the necessary utensils for cooking food and a little clothing. Just as the people began taking to the streets, armed with spears and cuirasses, they put out to sea and left the town. They [i.e. fugitives] were somewhat uncertain whether all these people were really loyal or disloyal — for they were rather few and in turmoil — although taking everything into consideration, all had cast their lot and aligned themselves with the insurgents.

When the fathers were about to embark an unusual incident took place. The Brother had gone aboard ahead of them with

que había podido) y el Padre de Catubig iba acompañado de sus indios, habiéndose quedado el Padre Julio el último, cuando siguió a las demás solo, aunque no lejos, salieron dos indios armados, y el uno de ellos quiso darle de lanzadas y de hecho levantó la lanza y la coraza para ello, pero asíólo de ella el compañero y le dijo: “Deja a este desdichado que no hace mal a nadie y es un loco.” Y dijo verdad porque pocos días antes se comenzó a dudar de su juicio en muchas acciones disparatadas, y en esta ocasión se conoció de todo punto, y murió después con el mismo mal, aunque no fue loco furioso sino loco atontado y mentecato.

Partidos los Padres y el Hermano dicho, y con mucho deseo de verse libres, el Padre de Catubig quiso llegarse a su pueblo a recoger sus trastos y ver cómo estaba aquello, y así se subió a Catubig, y el otro Padre y Hermano prosiguieron, que no fue poca dicha, sin recibir daño, hasta que se vieron fuera de riesgo en la otra parte de Baliquatun; si bien en el río de Palapag y Salugan y hasta Lauang no faltó quien los gritase y dijese algunos dichos pesados, pero nadie llegó a hacerles daño ni en las personas ni en la embarcación, que fue, sin duda, singular misericordia de Dios que les guardó.

El Padre que subió a Catubig, como vio a los indios alterados y temerosos, aunque no alzados, pues los que se juntaron le ayudaron a recoger las imágenes de la Virgen y San José que dijimos; los frontales y ornamentos y las mejores alhajas de la iglesia que dejó en un camarín o choza que servía de escuela de cantores, encargando al maestro de ellos, que con un indio tagalo, que fue muy fiel siempre, llamado Pedro Caobos, y a un hijo suyo que ha servido siempre y sirve hasta hoy con mucho cuidado y fidelidad a los Padres, llamado Don Vicente Tongbanua, y a un suegro suyo que era...

[Aquí falta lo restante del Capítulo]

some of the belongings he was able to gather; the father of Catubig too was leaving accompanied by his servants. Not far behind the above-mentioned, Father Julio was also making his way aboard; however, two armed natives appeared and one of them raised his spear and cuirass ready to slay him. His companion then put his hand on the spear and said: "Leave this unfortunate man alone for he means no harm! Besides, he seems to be mentally disturbed." Certainly, what that man said was true: several days prior to this the Fathers had begun to suspect his soundness of mind due to some of the strange things he was doing. Under these circumstances, it all became even more clear that his condition was not normal; he was not violent but simply a man with a mental problem. Ultimately, he died in this abnormal condition or state.

After the Fathers and the said Brother left and found themselves out of danger, they were greatly relieved. The minister of Catubig was eager to see how matters stood there and wanted to retrieve some of his personal belongings. And thus, he went to Catubig while the other Father and Brother moved on. They were all very fortunate in not running into any harm and succeeded getting out of danger by reaching the other side of Bali-quatun. However, along the Palapag and Salagan Rivers and all along the way as far as Laoang there was never a lack of someone who would not shout some offensive words against them. Yet, there was no one who dared to harm them or attack their vessel. There is no doubt, that for this they were deeply indebted to God's special mercy which protected them all the way.

The Father who went up to Catubig found the natives in a fearful uproar though not up in arms. Those, however, who gathered around him assisted him in bringing together the images of the Virgin and St. Joseph, as we have already stated, also the frontals, vestments and the more valuable furnishings of the church which he left behind in a *camarin* or a hut which served as a place for the cantors. [All these] he entrusted to a certain Tagalog named Pedro Caobos, who always proved himself loyal, and to his son Don Vicente Tongbanua who had always served the Fathers and serves them even today with great diligence and faithfulness. [All these things he also entrusted] to the father-in-law of his, who was...

[Here, the rest of the Chapter is missing]

[LO QUE SIGUE PARECE SER SOLAMENTE FRAGMENTOS
DE LOS CAPITULOS 12, 13, 14, 15 y 16]

... que está dentro de la tierra o de la pared, se quemaron y sólo quedaron las paredes mondas.

La rebatiña y desacato que hubo no fuera creíble si los ojos de algunos de los más fieles no hubieran sido los testigos, pues no perdonaron a cosa, chica ni grande, que los pudiese ser de provecho: los doseles y frontales de damasco y de otras telas ricas, se convirtieron en calzones, sayos o chininas; sayas, o chinitas, de las mujeres; de prerug [sic] mantos o turbantes de los hombres y de ellas. Lo mismo hicieron con las albas y ropa blanca, haciéndose...

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... (pues son muchos los trastos de una cabecera, y más tan bien puesta como había estado la de Palapag), que, aunque había sido robada del enemigo camucón, no halló en ella cosa de valor considerable, y sólo comió y bebió largamente y juntó alguna ropa, que había quedado, sin quemar la casa ni la iglesia; que en esto fueron mejores, aunque gentiles y moros y más atentos que los de Palapag, apóstatas e infieles a Dios; que, después de haberse llevado y robado cuanto había, pusieron fuego a la casa e iglesia, que ardió algunos días, sin quedar de todo el maderaje y naves, que eran de molave, ni ...

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... así, y que ellos le guardarían; pero no lo hicieron. Por otra parte, hacía instancias el Padre Vicente para volverse allá, y había pedido licencia al Padre Vicario Provincial para retirarse algunos días al pueblo de Calbiga (donde estaba entonces el Padre Baltasar de Porticela) a tener Ejercicios y disponerse para la vuelta, y, como él solía decir, para morir por la fe; que estas ansias le hacían hacer tantas instancias como hacía. Ya el Padre Bal ...

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Sumodoy, el que había dado la lanzada al Padre Rector de Palapag, con ocho embarcaciones, aunque pequeñas, y en ellas ciento sesenta hombres con armas, alguna de fuego: y al cuarto de día entró en el pueblo de Tubig, dividiéndose en dos alas: la una

[WHAT FOLLOWS ARE APPARENTLY FRAGMENTS
ONLY OF CHAPTERS 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16]

... which is in the ground or the wall, which were burned and only the naked walls were left.

The plunder and desecration which took place would remain incredible if the eyes of some of the most loyal ones would not have witnessed it; because they [i.e. insurgents] spared nothing that could be of some use to them whether it was big or small. Out of the canopies, the frontals of damask and other expensive cloth they made breeches, frocks or *chininas*; for women, skirts or *chinitas*. From [? they made] veils and turbans for the women and men. They did the same with the albs and the white linens, which were made into...

... (these were many of the belongings of one *cabecera*, especially that of Palapag which was so well furnished) which, although it had been plundered by the Camucon enemy, nothing of great value had been found by them. They [i.e. the Camucones] only ate, drank plentifully and gathered up some linen, without burning the house or the church. In this regard, the pagans and moros were better than the Palapagnons who were apostates and unfaithful to God. [The latter] after having carted away and plundered everything available, put the house and church to the torch which burned for several days. Nothing remained of the metal bolts and wood structure which was of molave, nor...

... in this manner, and that they would keep him in custody. However, they did not do so. On the other hand, Father Vicente insisted on returning there; he had asked permission from Father Vicar Provincial to withdraw for several days to the town of Catubig (where Father Baltasar Porticela was at the time) to make a retreat and prepare himself for his return, or as he was wont to say, to die for the faith. This yearning was instilled in him after numerous requests made previously to Father Baltasar...

... Sumodoy, the one who killed the Father Rector of Palapag with a lance, with eight boats (although small) and aboard them one hundred and sixty men with weapons and other firearms. On the fourth day, he attacked the town of Tubig

desembarcó delante de la iglesia, y la otra a lo último del pueblo (donde estaba la casa de uno de los principales que habían ido por el Padre) y, sin hallar quien se les opusiese o hiciese rostro, se entraron por la casa del Padre que estaba en el aposentillo, encomendándose (a Dios?) ... Entró primero uno de los ...

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... y el que primero fue señalado por tal, y Don Julio Ponce, marido de la maestra, por ser principal, aunque mozo loquillo y de poco juicio. Al fin, lo primero que hicieron fue quemar todas las casas del pueblo, para que no quedase habitación en él; luego se fueron a la del Padre y, sentándose los dos, Sumodoy y Caamug en dos sillas, sacaron del vino de Castilla que tenían los Padres para decir misa, bebieron y se brindaron, y brindaron a los que les seguían; y luego se dio la casa a saco, saqueando y quitando cuanto hallaron, que no fue poco, pues ...

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... pag ausentes, y a los Padres, y, sacudido el miedo (porque de los españoles que allí había casados, el uno se había retirado a Catbalogan y el otro a Catubig con los parientes de su mujer, aunque después se hizo de la parte de los alzados y se subió con ellos al cerro donde se hicieron fuertes, como diremos luego, y allí le mataron mala muerte por quitarle la mujer, pagando con muerte temporal y eterna su alevosía e infidelidad a su Dios y a su Rey). Se comenzaron a declarar y a salir armados, aunque poco coligados y sujetos, pues había tres que querían ser cabeza, que no buscó más esta hidra, Sumodoy, porque había muerto,

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... fue muy poca le gente que quedó en él, en especial de mujeres, viejos y niños, a quienes la necesidad y falta de sustento obligó a irse escurriendo por varias partes a buscar su vida.

También echaron voz los alzados (y no fue mala prevención) enviando a escondidas por los pueblos, avisándolos cómo ellos no tomaban las armas ni trataban de hacer mal a los bisayas como

divided into two wings: one wing landed in front of the church, while the other landed at the extremity of the town (where the house of one of the *principales* was located and who had gone to fetch the Father). They entered the house of the Father who was already commending his soul to God... first entered one of the....

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... and the first that was recognized as such, and Don Julio Ponce, husband of the school-mistress who was a *Datu* and also a young madman and of little prudence. All in all, the first thing they did was to set fire to all the houses in the town so that it would be inhabitable. After that they proceeded to the house of the Father and both, Sumodoy and Caamug, sat down in chairs and took advantage of the wine from Castile which the Fathers had reserved for Mass; they drank it up, offered toasts and invited their followers to join in the drinking spree. Next, they located, plundered and carried away everything they found — which was not a little, because...

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... absent, and to the Fathers, and free from fear (because from among the Spaniards who were married and lived there, one had moved to Catbalogan and the other to Catubig with the relatives of his wife, although afterwards he cast his lot with the insurgents and went up with them to the hill where they fortified themselves, as we shall soon relate, and there they killed him treacherously; thus he paid with temporal and eternal death for his treason and infidelity to his God and to his King). They began declaring themselves openly and moving about armed although poorly united and hardly disciplined for there were three who aspired to be leaders; Sumodoy did not make any attempt to become a part of this hydra for he was killed...

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... the people who remained in it were very few; mostly women, old men and children who, compelled by scarcity and necessity of provisions scampered about to various places in search of food.

The insurgents went about spreading the news (and this was not a bad idea) by sending [messengers] stealthily into the towns announcing how they had not risen up against the Bisayans nor do they have any intentions of harming them, but only to shake

ellos, sino de sacudir, si pudiesen, el yugo pesado de los españoles; que si ... efecto querían valerse de ellos... allí estaban prontos...

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... go como ellos habían tenido; y, de hecho, hizo tal operación en las pueblos sujetos, que se fueron muchas familia retirando a los montes, y los principales, sino cual o cual de los mejores cristianos, comenzaron a titubear; y, aunque no se declararon en su favor, nadie se movió conocidamente en contra; antes tenían con ellos sus correspondencias avisándoles de todo quanto se trataba y disponía contra ellos; conque nada ignoraban; y, si la hambre, que dijimos, no les fuera tan terrible enemigo ...

CAPITULO 16

[TRATA DEL ASALTO DADO AL CERRO FORTIFICADO DE SUMODOY Y SUS FUERZAS REBELDES, ATRINCHERADAS EN LA 'MESA DE PALAPAG']*

... remo y dos champanes con bastimentos y los pertrechos necesarios.

Detúvose de paso en su encomienda y llegó después de dos meses y medio al río de Palapag, donde se fortificó primero con estacadas y una fuercecilla de palos, a cuyo abrigo tenía portadas unas treinta embarcaciones de remo que se fueron juntando, y los champanes que dijimos. Pero mientras se detuvo en Catarman y en pertrecharse y juntar la gente, veamos lo que hacían los alzados, que no dormían.

Ya dejamos fortificándose en la barra de Ubasan al capitán Julio de León que, como práctico en la tierra e indios, dispuso varias entradas, habiendo primero mandado publicar, en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor, a todos los que arrepentidos de lo hecho, se retirasen al Real y se manifestasen, perdón, etc., de lo pasado.

* Como se han perdido los primeros folios de este Capítulo 16, los editores han suplido su título a base del contenido del mismo Capítulo.

off, if they only could, the heavy yoke of the Spaniards. In fact, if they wished to take advantage of their help... they were ready there...

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... as they themselves had. And, in fact, it produced such effects on the loyal towns that many families began withdrawing gradually into the hills. And the chiefs, except for one or another of the better Christians, began to waver. And although they did not take sides with them, not one of them made an open move against them. Rather, they maintained friendly relations with them, passing on to them word about everything that was discussed and planned against them. As a result, they were aware of everything; unless the starvation, that was already mentioned, had not dealt them such a severe blow...

CHAPTER 16

[CONCERNING THE ASSAULT UPON THE FORTIFICATION OF SUMODOY AND HIS REBEL FORCES ENTRENCHED ON THE 'MESA DE PALAPAG']*

... oar, and the two champans with the necessary food supplies and military equipment.

On his way [to the destination] he tarried in his *encomienda* and only after two and a half months did he arrive at the Palapag River; the first thing he did there was to fortify himself with palisades and a small fort of logs which served to secure some thirty oar-vessels which gathered there slowly together with the aforementioned champans. Let us note here that the insurgents were not sleeping at all while he was delayed in Catarman gathering supplies and men.

We had already left Captain Julio de León when he was strengthening his forces near the mouth of the Ubasan River; he was very familiar with the geography and the natives there since he had the opportunity to organize several expeditions there on previous occasions. [Before initiating these expeditions, however] he would always proclaim, in the name of the King, an amnesty for all past mis-doings; those who repented would proceed to present themselves to the camp, etc.

* Chapter and Title heading supplied since the introductory folios are missing and non-extant.

Pero obró poco este comedimiento y pretensión ajustada, porque eran pocos los que parecían, y así a principios de marzo mandó hacer una entrada en los montes donde había escondidos, y, dando el “Santiago” (que fue lo mismo que darlo a los gamos) sólo quedaron muertos dos indios de Tubig, a quienes alcanzaron las balas por correr más que ellos, cautivaron a diez de varias suertes y los demás se escaparon por pies. Pero, viéndose ya descubiertos, trataron de acomodarse y hacer de la necesidad virtud, y así dentro de pocos días se vino a presentar un principal al cual, a su usanza, penaron en la bolsa porque no había parecido dentro del término señalado.

Trajo, con todo, consigo doscientas y veinticinco personas, entre chicos y grandes, hombres y mujeres, que se agasajaron para que corriese la voz y pareciesen otros muchos, a quien el miedo del castigo detenía en los montes.

No se descuidaban los alzados en andar por varias partes, procurando estorbar a los que hallaban para que no se presentasen a los Padres ministros (que a los españoles ninguno quería parecer de primera instancia) y aun se atrevieron a dar un asalto y probar ventura en la fuercecilla de la barra de Ubasan, que supieron que estaba falta de gente, por haber dividido varias tropas por el monte y enviado otras a buscar bastimentos; y así, a principios de abril, se atrevió Sumodoy, con otros trescientos compañeros que lleva [sic] armados y se embarcaron en una de las caracoas que eran de los Padres, y en otras embarcaciones menores a dar un aldabazo, y, desembarcando no lejos de la fuercecilla, siendo aún oscuro, se vino llegando tan sin sentir que tenían ya quitadas tres o cuatro estacas, y habían comenzado a entrar algunos en la estacada. Sintióles el que estaba de posta y reconoció, con la escasa luz de la alborada, que era mucha gente, y así gritó arma.

Estaban durmiendo los más, y el Capitán se levantó en camisa y calzón blanco y cogió su espada y rodela. El Padre acudió a tocar la caja, y los pocos soldados a coger sus armas y darles una

However, notwithstanding such attentive gestures, the response was poor since so few of them appeared. As a result, he organized an expedition to the hills, in the beginning of March, where some of them were hidden. Sounding the battle-cry 'Santiago' (which was the same as if given to the bucks) only two Indios were killed since the bullets ran faster than them. Ten individuals of different [social] rank were captured; others made good their escape due to their swift-footedness. Once these people realized that their whereabouts were discovered, they made a move to make the best of the impossible situation by turning it into their favour. Hence, after several days, a *Datu* presented himself, but a fine was imposed upon him nonetheless for his failure in reporting within a prescribed time-limit, as was then the custom.

In spite of everything, he managed to bring along some two-hundred and twenty-five persons. Among those were the old, the young, men and women whom the [Spaniards] showered with utmost attention so that this fine treatment would somehow spread far and wide and thereby attract others who remained in the hills fearful of impending punishment.

The insurgents were not slow at all in visiting various places and dissuading whomever they met on the way from presenting themselves to the father ministers. Testing their luck, they even dared to muster enough courage to storm the fort at the mouth of the Ubasan River which they knew to be thinly garrisoned; the Captain, it was known, had several detachments scattered over the hills and others in search of food supplies. Consequently, in the beginning of April, Sumodoy, together with some three hundred companions whom he took aboard one of the caracoas which belonged to the fathers along with some other vessels, made an attempt to stage an assault before dawn. Landing some distance from the little fort while it was still dark, they advanced so silently that they succeeded in removing three or four stakes permitting some to penetrate the stockade all to the surprise of the sentinel. When the first dim rays of dawn were breaking, the sentinel was able to realize that the attackers were quite numerous and cried out "to arms!"

Most of them [i.e. the Spaniards] were still asleep when the Captain got up [dressed only] in his shirt and white breeches; he put his hands on his sword and buckler. The Father, meanwhile, ran to sound the arm while a few soldiers got hold of their

carga; a lo que ellos correspondieron dando un balazo al artillero en la boca, que le llevó media lengua (quizás la debía de tener larga). A otro hirieron en el pecho, pero no encarnó, y a dos muchachos de los criados en los piernas.

Peor lo pasaron los acometedores, pues al Sumodoy lo traspasaron la espaldilla con una bala, y los muertos y heridos no se supo cuantos; aunque la mucha sangre que quedó en el portillo hecho y alrededor del baluarte y el rastro de ella que dejaron hasta la mar, donde tenían las embarcaciones, fue muy grande. Sólo un muerto dejaron; que a los demás los llevaron, a lo que pareció, arrastrando; con que se volvieron trasquilados.

Dio el Padre aviso de este asalto a Catbalogan; y también alabó mucho a los pocos españoles que había dentro, que dice pelearon famosísimamente, aunque no siguieron el alcance hasta que fue totalmente claro, con prudencia, por si había alguna emboscada; pero solo los rastros de mucha sangre, y el un muerto se halló después.

Estaba ya fortificado el capitán y cabo, Don Ginés, y lo tenía todo bien dispuesto, cuando llegaron cuatro juangas de Samboangan que, por orden del señor gobernador, Don Diego Fajardo, venían para ayudar a la facción. Venía por cabo de ellas el capitán Julio Muñoz, y el Padre Rector de Samboangan, Alejandro López (que importó no poco su presencia).

Traían algunos soldados españoles y pampangos, y los demás eran lutaos, o gente de Samboangan; que, como estos de acá habían ido a hacerles guerra cuando se tomó aquel puesto, se alegraron de que se les ofreciese ocasión de pagarles en la misma moneda; y es cierto que su llegada fue a muy buen tiempo, y porque antes de comenzar la facción sucedió un caso particular, le pondré aquí porque sirva de enseñanza a unos y de escarmiento a otros; que para este fin dispone Dios los casos todos.

Era el capitán Julio Muñoz (aunque reciendada [sic] la conducta) notado de demasiadamente jurador (y aun blasfemo cuando se enfurecía), mozo de bríos, pero mal gobernados.

weapons and charged upon this [invader]. These, in turn, fired back wounding an artilleryman in the mouth; the bullet carried off half of his tongue — perhaps, he had it too long! They also wounded another one in the chest, although the wound was not deep. From among the servants, two boys were wounded in the legs.

The offensive, on the other hand, fared much worse; Sumo-doy's shoulder bone was pierced by a bullet. The number of their dead could not be well ascertained, although there were traces of profuse blood-shed near the breach they made near the fort and in the proximity of their landing place. They left behind a single corpse while apparently dragging others away.

The Father sent word about this assault to Catbalogan and conveyed warm words of praise for the Spaniards who took part in the skirmish. He also underscored the fact that they fought extremely well even though they did not pursue them until it was day-light. Prudence dictated such a move so as to prevent a possible ambush.

The Captain and Commander, Don Ginés, was very familiar with the entire situation and had made proper arrangements when four *juangas* arrived from Zamboanga — these were arriving as a result of the orders of Governor Don Diego Fajardo and in order to provide reinforcements for the embattled region. Captain Julio Muñoz came as their *Cabo* and Father Alejandro López, the Rector of Zamboanga — the latter's presence proved invaluable.

They brought along some Spanish and some Pampango soldiers; all the rest were Lutaos or people from Zamboanga. Since these [i.e. the Bisayans] have gone over there [i.e. the Lutaos region] to wage war, the Lutaos were happy to have the opportunity to repay them 'with the same coin' so to say when their post was occupied. It is an undeniable fact that their arrival proved very timely. Prior to their involvement in battle, there was an incident which took place and which is worthy of some attention. I will jot it down here so that it may serve as a lesson to some and as a warning to others. For it is true that God ordains all that happens for such an end.

Captain Julio Muñoz — we have come to learn this only recently — was notorious for his vulgar language and was even addicted to blasphemy when caught in a fit of anger. He was an energetic man, but not always in full control of his passions.

Este tuvo, sobre no sé qué casos, feas (por estar mancebado, dicen, fue) palabras con el Padre Rector, que procuró quitar la ofensa de Dios y enderezarle a la justo.

Pero llevólo tan mal que se descomedió con el Padre y excedió en muchos votos y juramentos (en ausencia del Padre, que se apartó de la ocasión prudentemente); que de estos lances son muchos los que por acá se ofrecen a los que andamos en este ministerio con qualquiera que tenga nombre de español, pero con los soldados y oficiales cuando son, como suelen muchas veces, descabezados, son más frecuentes; pero Dios que había tenido paciencia a los juramentos y blasfemias contra sí, no la tuvo contra su ministro; y así, a pocas horas de su desvarío, le dio un mal viento que le torció tan feamente la boca que casi se la volvió al cogote. Acudieronle con varias medicinas. Enderezóse algo, pero siempre quedó con fealdad notable.

Con todo, se embarcó en dichas juangas como capitán que era vivo de la infantería de ellas, y se vinieron acá, y llegaron con bien a Palapag pocos días antes de la facción.

Pero no quiso Dios que se hallase en ella, porque muy poco antes llegó un orden del señor gobernador (el cual le trajo un ayudante, llamado Francisco de Leiva). Por él mandaba su señoría que la jineta del capitán Don Julio Muñoz se le entregase al dicho ayudante y que al Capitán dicho le enviasen a Manila a buen recaudo y preso con dos pares de grillos que para el efecto venían, y así se ejecutó, embarcándole luego en uno de los champanes que estaban en el Real y señalando por cabo para que le llevase preso a un alférez reformado que tuvo bien que sufrir en el camino; y aun que taparse las orejas (según el mismo me refirió algunos años después) por las muchas blasfemias, juramentos y desvergüenzas que decía contra todos, sin perdonar al señor gobernador. Al fin estuvo preso en Manila, y, como el tiempo lo cura todo (aunque no curó su locura), después de castigado, aunque dudo que escarmentado, salió libre y vino con otros muchos

I do not know why, but he had an exchange of words — they say it happened because he was living in concubinage — with Father Rector who made efforts that God not be offended thus and that he lead a better life. However, he re-acted so angrily that he exceeded the proper bounds of decorum in dealing with the Father and even went beyond bearable limits in his vulgarity and disorderly behaviour.

In the absence of the Father, who prudently withdraws from such occasions, such incidents are a frequent occurrence in these ministries among the so-called 'Spaniards.' Such incidents are even more common here among the soldiers and officials who are very often so insensitive [to the admonitions of the Fathers].

However, the God who had borne so patiently the curses and blasphemies levelled against Himself, was not so patient when these were directed against his ministers. And so, after several hours after his terrible behaviour, he was visited with a paroxysm which resulted in an extreme distortion of the mouth which almost reached the nape. He was provided with various medical assistance which resulted in some improvement; however, much of the disfigurement remained and was quite visible.

Notwithstanding all this, he still remained as captain of the infantry and sailed in one of the *juangas* for Palapag where he arrived safely several days prior to the battle.

But it was not God's will that he should take part in it because shortly before the onslaught broke out, an order arrived from the Governor through an adjutant named Francisco Leyva. His Lordship was ordering the Captain, Don Julio Muñoz, to hand over his *gineta* to the adjutant; that he be arrested, taken to Manila in custody and secured with a double pair of fetters which were brought along for this purpose. Promptly, he was placed aboard one of the champans which were in the Royal camp. An ensign, who was not exercising his charge was assigned to hold him under arrest and as a *Cabo*. This enlisted fellow, as he himself related to me afterwards, suffered greatly even while he made efforts not to hear all those blasphemies, cursing and profane language levelled against everyone — not even sparing the Governor himself. Ultimately, he was imprisoned in Manila; since time heals all things, — although it did not heal his madness — he was set-free after receiving his due punishment. However, I doubt whether any change took place in his manner of behaviour.

cuando la pérdida del galeón *San Francisco Javier* a Calbiga, donde yo estaba, para pasar por tierra a Borongan; pero no pudo por hallarse con poca salud y aun apenas pudo venir a verme (aunque yo juzgo que lo excusaba porque no lo viésemos con la boca tan retorcida los que sabíanos la causa).

Diéronle con todo el ser después corregidor de Mindoro, vuelto de esta jornada de Calbiga, y allá murió (dicen que como vivió), mi alma como la de San Pedro [sic].

Volvamos al hilo de nuestra historia, y aprovéchese el que quisiere de la digresión hecha (aunque no traída de los cabellos sino venida muy a pelo).

Determinóse, pues, un domingo, que fue *infra octavam* de la Ascensión, a 29 de mayo, el Capitán y Cabo de acercarse al cerro y darle salto él, si pudiese, y para esto dispuso dos tropas (porque ahorremos otras cosas): la una, y fue la que valió, se la entregó al capitán Silvestre de Rodas, con cincuenta españoles, cincuenta boholanos y doscientos cincuenta de los samboanganos (había esta tropa de marchar a la sorda, mientras el capitán Don Ginés hacía frente de batalla por el camino del cerro) y con guía que llevase para ello (que fue un esclavo de uno de los principales que estaban en él, a quien le valió su libertad la diligencia, pues la hizo con fidelidad, y ella fue lo que ganó el cerro). La segunda tropa tomó para sí el Capitán o Cabo, que constaba de cuarenta y dos españoles, pampangos y lutaos, de los conducidos de allende (que la tercera parte de la gente dejó en defensa de la fuercecilla y embarcaciones que a su sombra estaban) y disponiendo su tropa en orden, tomó para sí el batallón (con el Padre Alejandro López, que le acompañó siempre), dando la vanguardia y retaguardia a otros capitanes de los que llevaba consigo, y en buen orden marcharon hacia él cerro en donde esparaban los enemigos, más prevenidos y bien dispuestos de lo que los españoles pensaban; y por poco les costara caro.

When the Galleon *San Francisco Javier* was shipwrecked, he came with many others to Calbiga where he was hoping to proceed overland to Borongan. However, he was unable to do so due to failing health; nor did he find an opportunity to see me. I believe that he avoided me in order not to be seen with his mouth so disfigured since we knew the cause.

Notwithstanding all this, when he returned from Calbiga, he was graced with the task of *Corregidor* of Mindoro where he eventually died just as he had lived, "mi alma como la de San Pedro" [sic.] (My soul like that of St. Peter...)?

Let us return to the thread of the narrative and let each one, if he wishes, profit by the digression that we have made. It was not foisted upon the reader but perhaps offered very opportunely.

On a Sunday, therefore, which fell during the Octave of the Ascension and on May 29, the Captain and *Cabo* drew closer to the hill and decided to storm it in all possibility. To achieve this, he organized two wings in battle readiness: one wing was placed under the successful command of Captain Silvestre de Rodas, with fifty fighting men from Zamboanga. One segment of this wing was expected to make its march stealthily, while Captain Don Ginés was expected to encounter the enemy head-on through the entrance of the hill and this with the aid of a certain slave who belonged to one of the *Datu's* entrenched on that hill. [It would be well to mention here] that liberty was granted this slave in consideration for his diligence and fidelity; in fact, it was his faithfulness that played such a vital role in capturing the hill. Now, the Captain and *Cabo* reserved for himself the second wing which consisted of forty-two Spaniards, Pampangos and Lutaos; the latter two groups had been brought in from other regions. He, then, left one-third of his troops as protection for the small fort and the vessels under its jurisdiction. Putting his troops in order, he then took with himself a battalion together with Father Alejandro López who always accompanied him. In his next move, he entrusted the vanguard and the rear-guard to the other captains whom he brought along. Then all of these marched out in an orderly manner toward that hill where they met the enemy in better readiness and in greater orderliness than the Spaniards might have expected. In fact, it almost seemed that they would have been forced to pay a heavy price for it all.

Porque a 3 de junio comenzaron a descubrir las estacadas del cerro y a presentarse al enemigo que les tenía armada una emboscada en el camino y les obligó a pelear antes de tiempo (y aun antes de lo concertado y acordado con el capitán Silvestre de Rodas que había de ser el día siguiente al cuarto de alba); pero, como se anticiparon a mostrarse al enemigo y él estaba muy bien prevenido y emboscado, salió de golpe contra los españoles con tanto coraje y rabia, en lugar tan estrecho, que les obligó a retirarse más aprisa que habían subido, y, a no haberles deparado Dios un repecho no lejos, en el cual se reparó el Capitán y guarneció con su gente, dicen que sin duda los hubieran degollado a todos.

Con lo cual los enemigos se retiraron a su cerro y los españoles hicieron alto en el repecho contra toda su voluntad y contra algunos de los que allí se hallaron y recibieron el primer ímpetu de los enemigos, que pelearon no como indios (que suelen decir por acá los españoles) sino como demonios, con tanto coraje que se venían a meter entre las mismas armas; porque peleaban de talanquera, sin poder recibir daño considerable de los nuestros, a quienes por poco costara caro el adelantarse.

Al cuarto de alba comenzó a subir el capitán Silvestre de Rodas (que la noche antes había llegado al pie del cerro y cogídoles allí, y a otros también, un recio aguacero que todos aguantaron no sólo a cureña rasa sino muy en escampado). Era el camino y subida al cerro de peña tajada, lo más bajo como una pica de alto, y la entrada un agujero entre dos peñas, por el cual no podía caber más que un hombre, y, aunque era tan difícil, comenzaron al réir del alba (que con el aguacero pasado salió lluviosa) a subir de uno a uno, ayudándose de las raíces y bejucos que pendían entre las peñas, y al que subía la iban amarrando sus armas con un cordel, que después tiraba hacia arriba.

Fue el primero que subió el Capitán con la espía, y luego otros españoles poco a poco. La centinela que los del cerro tenían en

Finally, on June 3 they caught a glimpse of the stockades upon the hill; on their way up, however, they were forced into a premature encounter with the enemy when surprised by an ambush. Since they were caught in this unexpected predicament, their previous plans and agreement with Captain Silvestre de Rodas came to naught. The original plan was to strike on the following day and at the last nightly quarter or just when dawn was beginning to break. However, since the enemy sighted them early, they were well-prepared and lying in ambush; they rushed against the Spaniards with great fury and trapped them all in such a narrow place that they were compelled to withdraw more hurriedly than they had made the climb. Had God not provided them with a cliff nearby as a shelter — that is for the Captain and his men — it was said that they would have been put to the sword without any doubt.

The enemy then withdrew to its hill-post while the Spaniards remained completely immobilized in the crevice. Some of the more experienced men deeply resented the fact that they had to remain sheltered there with the first onslaught of the enemy. This enemy fought not as 'Indios' — as the Spaniards are often wont to say — but as demons and with utmost ferocity. For it is thus that they plunged themselves into the midst of all that weaponry; what more, the enemy fought from behind the wooden parapets almost eliminating all considerable harm coming from our men. All in all, their anticipated and sudden attack could have proven to be costly.

Shortly before the break of dawn, Captain Silvestre de Rodas began scaling the hill. The previous dawn they had reached the foot of the hill but were overtaken not only by the other troops but also by a heavy down-pour — that is a 'cureña rasa' or quite in the open. In making the ascent to the hill, the path was cluttered with cliffs spaced at a minimum of about a sword's length; its entrance was an opening in the rock permitting a single man to enter at one time. Although this climb was difficult, they began the struggle one by one, utilizing the weeds and 'bejuços', which grew and hang over the rocks, as an aid in the ascent. The soldier below had his weapons tied with a rope to the one above, who in turn assisted by pulling him up.

The first one to scale the hill was the Captain together with his spy; following him were all the other Spaniards, one by one.

aquel puesto con lo seguro, a su parecer, del aguacero, se fue antes de amanecer a buscar fuego (que se le había muerto con el agua) donde estaban los demás fortificados, que no era mucha la distancia. Volvió, y aclaró el día, y reconoció españoles arriba, y comenzó luego a tocar arma; pero tocáronla mejor los españoles y los que habían subido de los indios (que aún no eran todos), y, puestos en orden, comenzaron a marchar hacia la fortificación de los enemigos, que había; de modo que no sólo de los que estaban en la plaza de armas sino los que estaban en los baluartes (que eran cinco, muy bien pertrechados) y en varias emboscadas que tenían dispuestas, no quedó hombre con hombre, buscando cada cual por donde descabullirse.

De modo que, llegados los españoles a la estacada y baluartes, no hallaron persona alguna con quien pelear, y así cantaron victoria y enarbolaron las banderas por el Rey nuestro señor, llamando a los compañeros que estaban aún en el lugar de la retirada del día antes, y a que se dio fin al cerro y con la lozanía de los alzados.

Now, the sentinel whom those on that hill had posted near that spot, was very confident that all was well since there were such heavy rains and hence went about searching for some means of rekindling the fire which was extinguished by the drenching rains. Not far from the place where he was searching about, our troops were secretly entrenched. As light began to break, the sentinel realized that the Spaniards were already atop of the hill; quickly he sounded the alarm. The Spaniards, in turn, sounded the alarm in a better way. The natives who already reached the summit, began to march towards the fortification of the enemy in battle array or formation. When the enemy noticed the presence of the Spaniards at the top of the hill, heard the beating of the drums and the whistling of the bullets, they lost their composure. Unable to gather their ranks and line-up for battle position, each one began plunging into narrow and devious paths he was familiar with. All scampered in such a way that not only those who were in the 'plaza de armas' but even those who were in the fortified positions — there were five such — and those assigned to various ambush positions, not even two men remained together; each one looked for his own escape route. As a result, when the Spaniards reached the palisades and the fort, there was no one to encounter in battle. Hence, they chanted songs of victory and hoisted flags for our Lord King and called for their comrades in arms who were still in the place they had retreated to the previous day. It was at this stage that the episode of the hill ended and with it the excessive boastfulness of the insurgents.