Introduction

There is little doubt that among the many early Spanish missionaries, who have written extensively on matters "Filipino" in order to instill total awareness and in order to promote a deeper understanding among their contemporaries and for posterity, none excells with such intellectual and perceptive brilliance than the Jesuit, Ignacio Francisco Alcina. Aside from having spent more than half of his fruitful life in the Philippine Archipelago totally dedicated to his unceasing apostolic labours, he emerges as a keen observer who had taken a lively interest in unravelling the mysteries that had surrounded the vigorous Visayan nature. In addition to these fine qualities of Alcina, we also see him endowed greatly, judging from his extensive writings, with a forceful objectivity and with a highly commendable, gentle frankness. Alcina was a missionary, a priest and a historian who always had clung to integrity and who had stood at the side of truth uncompromisingly.

The letter or report which we are here presenting to the readers of *Philippiniana Sacra* is only a small portion of Father Alcina's extensive literary output. This report on the status of the Visayan missions in 1660, faithfully reflects his style and temperament as a writer and presents, in summary-form, an excellent picture of the conditions obtaining in the Jesuit mission stations and among the Visayans during the mid-seventeenth century. Certainly, Alcina did not intend this report for publication; however, after three long centuries, we deem it worthy of

publication for the amount of first-hand information contained therein.

In this classic report, addressed in the form of a, more or less, confidential nature to a *socius* of the Superior General of the Society in Rome, Father Juan Marin, his former co-novice, we easily distinguish three parts.

In what we may consider Part One of the report, he had described the conditions of the Visayan missions which include the following matters of great interest: labours of the heralds of the Gospel and the mode of travel to distant *barrios* and to the nearby islands and islets and the constant exposure to the elements such as typhoons, perils of sea-travel and the relentless dangers, attacks and burning of mission stations and towns by the Islamic and non-Islamic pirates and plunderers; about the manner of constructing houses and the impact of the typhoons upon them; about farms and the cultivation of crops; about the great distances among the *barrios* and the attendant inconveniences and difficulties in reaching and ministering to the Visayan Christians; about the disorderly life of the people and their weaknesses and shortcomings; about the difficulties of the people and the ministers who were dying without the last sacraments and without the blessing of the Church; about the Jesuit ministers and how they were the *factotum* of the Visayans; about the *Alcaldes Mayores* and how seldom they had visited the territories under their jurisdiction and if ever they did visit them how they passed "like cats walking over live coals"; and finally about the extremely rare visits of the Bishop and the Jesuit Provincials.

Next, Alcina touched upon the organizational matters of the Visayan missions; about the sterling qualities of chastity demanded and expected of every minister — a virtue difficult everywhere but especially in the midst of the Visayan maidens, whose nature is so delicate and gentle and due to the loneliness with which the missionaries were plagued with — hence extreme vigilance and deep faith and strong prayer-life were necessary to avoid stumbling. "Here," Father Alcina had written, "without deep concern for God and strong spirituality, it is difficult to live in dedication and zeal."

In Part Two, Alcina had proceeded to prove his previous statements and contentions with a summary description of the lives and deaths of a great number of religious who had passed away during his ministry among the Visayans. Herein he had showed how almost all of them had died due to a lack of proper medical attention, poor diet and extensive, exhaustive, and unceasing voyaging; about how others had died at the hands of the insurgents and about a few who had been made victims of the Moslem and non-Moslem depradations and captivity; and about how almost all of them had been deprived of all human comfort and consolation during their last moments of life.

Finally, in Part Three, he had made a very interesting revelation about the lay-brothers and how they all had disappeared and had vanished; how previously there were two or three in each *cabecera* and finally none have remained in the Society among the Visayans.

It was at this point that Alcina had unfolded the main purpose of his letter and report: that is, he had presented a retirement plan which would have allowed the ailing and missionaries well-advanced in age to complete the remainder of their lives in the midst of some reasonable comfort, rest and medical attention. These folios indeed are worthy of some close attention, deep reflection and some serious consideration.

The closing folios of his extremely interesting and informative report had been dedicated to some personal bio-data and to a long list of writings readied for publication, both in the Spanish and Visayan languages. In these few short folios, Alcina had confirmed with his personal experiences what he had repeatedly narrated about others. Therein he had recalled his long, distant trip from Spain to Manila where he had arrived on May 25, 1632; about his stay in the City for two and a half years where he had completed his studies prior to ordination to the priesthood; about his departure for the Visayas in September of 1634 and where he had lived uniterruptedly till the year 1660, except for about a period of almost two years during which he had laboured among the Spaniards in Manila. However, he had soon returned to minister to his beloved Visayans where he had remained till about the year 1672 when ill-health had forced him to return to Manila

where he had ended his days in San Miguel Parish in 1674, ministering to the needs of the Filipinos to the very last moment of his life.

If the Latin adage "ex ungue leonem" (from its clutches the lion is known) still holds true, we may conclude and state how praiseworthy the literary achievements of Father Alcina must be, especially his *Historia de las islas e indios de Visayas. . . 1668*, and particularly its Part Two — "The Ecclesiastical History of the Visayan Region," since this present *Report*, as our readers will clearly see by themselves, is deserving of the highest praise and merit.

However, taking into account its great length and the limited space available in the *Philippiniana Sacra*, it is with deepest regret that we must omit the entire Part Three of the narrative, thus leaving the document incomplete — a document which truly merits publication in its entirety.

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P. Ignatius Alcina Ad P. Joannem Marin Refert Statum Missionis De Los Pintados. Junio 24, 1660 *

Mi Padre Juan Marín: Pax Christi.

Alentado con las palabras de la última cláusula de la de Vuestra Reverencia, su fecha en Roma a 30 de enero de 56, que recibí acá por septiembre de 59, en que me ofrece de hacerme favor en cuanto pudiere, me he determinado a escribir esta; y con tanta mayor seguridad cuanto en lo que en ella pretendo y suplico a Vuestra Reverencia disponga, no pido cosa propia ni para mi; que eso fuera amor de concupiscencia, sino común y del bien de esta provincia de Pintados, y de los Padres ministros que, ocupados gloriosamente en este ministerio y misiones de los indios visayas, que se llaman "pintados" por pintarse antes todo el cuerpo con tinta que no se perdía en toda la vida, pues era con hierro, rayando todo el cuerpo y poniendo cierto betún, entre negro y azul, que era indeleble; costumbre que ya con la fe han dejado, procurando los Padres que pinten el alma con el carácter indeleble del bautismo y labores de los demás sacramentos, tanto

* *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI), Phil. 12, ff. 1-12, Rome. This report was re-written in Palapag, Samar or Ibabao where Alzina was Rector and Vice-Provincial of the Bisayans.

Father Ignacio Alcina to Father Juan Marin: on the State of the Missions of the 'Pintados' June 24, 1660 *

My Dear Father Juan Marín: the peace of Christ.

Encouraged by the words of Your Reverence found in the last paragraph of your letter, dated in Rome January 30, 1656 and which I have received here in September 1659, wherein you have offered to favour me as much as possible, I have made up my mind to write this; and with so much the more confidence that in what I propose and request of Your Reverence to do for me, I ask nothing for myself for that would be selfishness, but for the common welfare of this Province of the *Pintados* and for the Fathers who are happily occupied in this ministry and missions of the Visayan *Indios*, called Pintados, since they are accustomed to paint [tattoo] their whole bodies with a kind of an ink that does not fade for an entire life-time, for it is a sort of a brand. It is with this that they streak the entire body and, besides, they spread over it some kind of a bitumen which in color is somewhere between black and blue and which is indelible. This custom they have already abandoned when they embraced the Faith. The Fathers try to paint their souls with the indelible character of Baptism and with the power of the other sacraments which

* This letter has been translated by Fr. Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. and Fr. Pablo Fernández, O.P.

más hermosos que los primeros suyos como de lo vivo a lo pintado, y no sin impulso exterior de algunos de ellos; deseo su consuelo, alivio y todo bien corporal y espiritual; y así para mostrar la equidad o razón y justicia de lo que por esta pretendo, le daré parte primero a Vuestra Reverencia del modo de vivir nuestro en estas misiones; de los trabajos y afanes que en ellas se padecen, deseando el fin de ellas el alivio de cuerpo y alma, debido a tan gloriosos empleos y trabajos; pues es cierto que, delante de Dios y de los hombres, es siempre *dignus operarius mercede sua.*

Estamos, mi Padre, en estas misiones de Visayas o Pintados hasta 26 ó 30 Padres; a veces más, a veces menos, según la copia y falta de sujetos. Al presente, por la falta de ellos, apenas dieciséis, y cuantos menos en número, es fuerza sea mayor el trabajo, pues se divide entre pocos la labor que pedía necesariamente muchos. Cada Padre tiene por lo menos a su cargo dos pueblos; otros, tres; algunos cuatro y cinco; a veces cuatro he visitado yo solo y confesado esta Cuaresma de este presente año de 60; con lo cual andamos en continuo movimiento, con la casa a cuestas como el caracol, pues, adondequiera que va el Padre ministro, ha de llevar consigo todo el menaje de casa, y a muchas partes el de la iglesia, que es una de las mayores cargas que tiene este ministerio; y, sobre todas ellas, el que forzosamente va siempre tejiendo y destejiendo, pues lo que trabajó en 19 ó 20 dias, a veces menos, a veces más, según son mayores o menores los pueblos, cuando vuelve después, al cabo de uno o dos meses, o más, a dar la vuelta, lo halla todo perdido y olvidado; con que siempre comenzamos de nuevo, y es menester volver a la urdimbre y tramar la tela, que nunca se acaba.

Las casas nuestras son de tablas y palos, que acá llaman *hariges,* y son como las columnas en que se fabrican. Muchas de cañas y otros palillos menores; los techos de hojas de palmas o hierba o paja, como espadañas; y por la causa fáciles de derribar, y más con los vientos que acá llaman baguios, que son unos huracanes recísimos. Tres ha habido este año, dentro de dos meses, en estos pueblos, donde estoy al presente, que casi todos los años, si no arrancan de cuajo todas las casas e iglesias, como sucede

make them more beautiful. It is this kind of 'painting' that produces genuine results rather than the tattooing.

I wish you consolation, relief and well-being both physical and spiritual. So that I may be fair, reasonable and just in my request here in this letter, I will inform Your Reverence first of all regarding the manner of life in these missions: about the hardships and anxieties that we suffer and hoping that these would cease and thereby bring some relief for body and soul as a reciprocal blessing for such a glorious occupation and labour; for it is certain that before God and men, "a worker is worthy of his wages."

My Father, we are now here in these missions of the Visayans or 'Pintados' about twenty-six or thirty. The priests, at times, are more and sometimes less depending upon the abundance or lack of subjects. Presently there is a great lack and the number hardly reaches sixteen; so the less there is in number the greater is the labour since work which ordinarily requires many is divided among few priests. Each priest is entrusted with at least two towns, others with three and still there are others with four or five towns each. During this Lent of 1660, I alone visited about four towns for confessions. Under present conditions we are always on the move with the house, so to speak, on our backs just like the snails; wherever the Father goes he has to bring along all the church goods, furniture and vessels and this is one of the great burdens in the ministry here. What more, whatever he accomplishes in the span of nineteen or twenty days stay, at times less and sometimes more depending upon the size of the towns, when he returns after one or two months or more, he finds everything lost and forgotten. We must constantly begin anew and this is a never-ending task.

Our houses are made of wood and posts called *harigues*. Many other [houses] are made of bamboo and other small poles; the roofings are made of palms, grass or straw and arranged in a belfry-like fashion. These houses are easily blown-down especially with the winds and storms known as *baguios* or very strong hurricanes. This year there were already three [such storms] in a period of two months. In these towns where I am, every year, if these houses and churches are not blown-down and

no pocas veces, las destechan y desbaratan de manera que es casi continuo el trabajo e inexcusable en aderezarlas siempre.

En los pueblos no hay comúnmente mas que la casa del Padre e iglesia, mayor o menor, según su capacidad, y algunas casillas para cuando vienen al pueblo los indios, que es solo cuando el Padre está; y los viejos y viejas y enfermos tienen sus días, aunque todo cuesta grandísimo trabajo, porque ellos están divididos en los montes y ríos a su voluntad, donde hacen sus sementeras, de que viven y se sustentan; que no tienen otros trojes ni alobíes mas de lo que cogen cada día del campo o del monte o de la sementera de arroz, que es lo menos del año; lo más de varias raíces y hojas comestibles, de que se sustentan comúnmente todos, con algún pescado, si lo cogen, y algún puerco de monte, si lo cazan, que no hallarán donde comprarlo, aunque quisieran.

Distan estas sementeras del pueblo (que pocas son las que están cerca, porque todos los visayas huyen del pueblo) algunas dos leguas, otras tres, cuatro, cinco y seis leguas, de modo que han menester un día y a veces más; si los campos y mares están malos, no es posible venir al pueblo; han de traer su comida, ollejas y platillos para comer, que en el pueblo no hay más que hierba y en las iglesias, y hasta *folia nata sicut in montibus, etc.*

Comúnmente traen tan poca comida que si les queréis detener, no se puede, porque ni el Padre tiene que darles qué comer, ni en el pueblo se halla. Con lo cual, los más ni aun salen a sus casillas del pueblo, sino que de la misma embarcacioncilla salen a la iglesia, hombres y mujeres, y de la iglesia se vuelven a ella, de modo que, acabada la misa el domingo, nadie queda en los pueblos.

De esta distancia y mala disposición de sus habitaciones se originan muchos males, que son: la falta de policía y trato humano, en lo temporal y en lo espiritual; el vivir cada cual como quiere, teniendo sus costumbres y antiguallas tan vivas como al principio;

up-rooted, as it happens at times, they become roofless and fall apart so that the work of re-building them is necessary and continuous.

Ordinarily in the towns there is nothing more than the house of the priest, the church, big or small depending upon the size of the town, and some huts where the *Indios* stay. They come to this town only when the priest arrives. The aged men and women and the infirm have their special days [coming to town when the priest arrives for the ministry] but it is burdensome for them since they are scattered in the mountains or on river-banks where they cultivate their farms and from which they derive their livelihood. They do not have barns or granaries other than what they gather daily from their farm or from the mountains or their rice-fields which is not enough for the entire year. They sustain themselves also with various root-crops and its edible leaves; sometimes they catch some fish or hunt some wild-boar from the mountains. They are unable to purchase any of these items even if they would desire [to do so].

The farms are far from the towns, about two leagues; only a few are near since the Visayans flee from them; still others are about three, four, five or six leagues. All these need about a day or more of travel-time; if the seas and fields are bad, it is not possible to come to town [when the priest is present]. When they do come to town, they must bring along their provisions, pots and small plates. There is nothing in town other than grass; and in the churches even the weeds thrive just like the "foliage in the mountains."

Ordinarily they bring along so little food that if ever they desire to stay longer in town, they are unable since neither the town nor the priest is in a position to offer them something to eat. Most of them do not even go to their houses in the town, but from their boats they leave for the church, men and women; from the church they return to the boat, so much so that after the Sunday Mass nobody remains in the towns.

Now, due to the great distance and disorderly lodgings [in town] many evils arise: there is no order, no semblance of truly human way of life spiritually or physically; so much so, that everyone lives as he pleases; old habits and customs become stronger

las borracheras de los que alcanzan vinos, de que son muy amigos muy ordinarios; los amancebamientos, juergas y equipos sin testigos.

La fe y cristiandad solo están en la iglesia. Los muertos que mueren sin sacramentos son los más, pues es imposible que el Padre, aunque fuera de bronce, acuda a todas partes; y ellos esperan siempre, o para avisar al ministro, o para traer al enfermo al crudo, de modo que el ministro, aunque vaya, no alcanza vivo al enfermo, y si los traen, se les mueren en el camino antes; con que es cierto que de 100 que mueren, los 70 o más es sin sacramentos. Esto es aun estando el Padre en el pueblo, que, no estando el Padre en él, todos mueren sin ellos, si ya el cuidado y prevención del Ministro no lo previene, y es muy dificultoso por la distancia, que he dicho, de las sementeras, y yo he estado en el mayor pueblo que tenemos acá en Visayas, y, ajustando la distancia de las dichas sementeras a *quatuor ventis* alrededor del pueblo e iglesia, hallé habrá de bojo, o circunferencia, de 30 a 40 leguas, antes más que menos. Mire Vuestra Reverencia qué Héctor, ni qué Hércules bastará con tanto.

La flojedad y pereza de estos indios es tal que, por no cargar el padre al hijo, o al revés, a la iglesia, lo deja morir sin confesión. Aun para sus comidas y sementeras es menester el cuidado, atención, vigilancia del Padre ministro, pues ni ellos ni él tendrán qué comer sino se les apremia, y cuida el Padre que hagan dichas sementeras; su providencia es tan poca (que, aunque cojan mucho arroz, que es cierto es muy fértil esta tierra y que a los que trabajan les sobra el sustento) que nunca juntan repuesto para en adelante, ni guardan para el tiempo de la necesidad, sino cuando lo tienen comen a dos [carrillos] llenos, dan, venden, pagan su tributo, y raro es el indio que tenga arroz (quitado el poco que comúnmente guardan para sembrar) dos meses después de la cosecha, y de ciento no se hallará uno que guarde para todo el año, con lo cual raro es el año que no padezcan tres y cuatro meses de hambre, y cuando los *baguios* que he dicho, que nunca faltan cada año, que

than ever; plenty of wine and drunkenness, concubinage and merry-making without control.

Faith and Christianity remain only in church. Those who die without the last rites are numerous, as it is impossible for the priest, even if he were made of bronze, to be present everywhere. They [Visayans] always delay in notifying the minister or wait too long before bringing the sick [to the church]. They prolong matters so much that when the priest does go to the sick it is too late; and when they bring them to town it is also too late — they die on the way. It is certain that for every one hundred persons who die, about seventy or more die without the benefit of the sacraments. Now this even happens when the priest is in town; and when he is not in town, naturally, all die without the last rites, unless care and foresight of the minister intervene. This [going to the sick] is often difficult due to the great distances as was mentioned previously. I have stayed in some of the largest towns that there are in the Visayas and I have planned the distances of the farms in all four directions surrounding the town and church within a radius of about thirty or forty leagues more or less. As you may detect, Your Reverence, neither Hector nor Hercules could bear so much.

The indifference and indolence of these Visayans is such that to avoid bringing a son by the father or vice-versa, to the church, they let them die without confession. And the care, attention and vigilance of the priest is needed for their food and small plantations; otherwise neither they nor the priest will have anything to eat. The priest has to urge them to take care of the said small plantations; with but little foresight (although they reap plenty of rice, for surely this land is very productive and for those who work there is an abundance of food) they never stock supplies nor do they keep anything for future use, but when they have something, they eat it up voraciously, give it away, sell and pay their tribute with it. It is rare to find an *Indio* with any rice aside from the *palay* they set aside for sowing. Out of one hundred persons you would not be able to find one who would have enough rice for the entire year. That is why it is rare not to find them in hunger for three or four months. When the *baguios*, plagues of the land, strike annually and which are com-

es la plaga de esta tierra, como las heladas, granizo y piedra de España, son grandes 6 y más meses; con lo cual lo más de este tiempo están por los montes buscando raices y otras cosas comestibles, y ni allá las hallan, y todo esto es impedimento para acudir a la misa, y el ministro es el Rey, el Papa; y el Padre es el todo en cada pueblo; que, aunque hay alcaldes mayores en cada jurisdicción éstos o no visitan los pueblos, y, si visitan es como gato sobre ascuas; pídenles lo que quieren, y les dan aun lo que no tienen porque se vayan luego; con que ni los malhechores son castigados, ni los agravios satisfechos, ni se fomenta ni adelanta cosa alguna en el gobierno político, y se quedan siempre en su brutalidad.

Obispo, en 26 años ha que estoy entre estos naturales, nunca ha venido ni ha habido confirmaciones ni en algunos antes. Nuestros Padres Provinciales ni pueden ni quieren visitarlo todo, por la distancia y dificultad de mares y caminos, peligros de enemigos y temporales, etc., con que está todo esto solo a la misericordia de Dios y a la vigilancia y cuidado de un pobre ministro, cuyo cuidado, aunque sea mucho, es siempre poco; cuya providencia corta y cuyos hombros, aunque fueran de Atlantes, imposibles a tanto peso, y, por decirlo en breve, toda la fe y buenas costumbres, cristiandad y religión para con Dios y policía y trato humano para con los hombres depende del ministro solo.

Mire Vuestra Reverencia cuán pocos habrá que puedan y cumplan con tanto, y cuán difícil es acudir a todo; y así, con razón se puede decir aquí, *quis est fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit dominus; quis est hic, et laudabimus eum?;* que, aunque es verdad, que el natural de los visayas es dócil y blando, y, aunque con cuidado sale con todo y no le falta capacidad para todo, y entendimiento para lo muy difícil; pero, como no tiene oposición a lo bueno, tampoco tiene repugnancia a lo malo, y tan fácilmente sigue lo uno como lo otro; deja lo uno y vuelve a lo otro; con que solo la suma e indefectible atención, vigilancia, cuidado y mantenanensia /sic/ del ministro lo hace todo; o, lo contrario, lo deshace todo.

Nunca me ha parecido bien lo que muchos, tentados más con la religión que con el ministerio, dicen que son incapaces los indios,

parable to the snowstoroms, hailstorms and hailstones in Spain, then for six months or more they search the mountains for roots and edibles and are not able to find much. All these are obstacles for them in attending Mass. The minister is their king, their pope; he is the 'factotum' in the town, so much so that even if there are *Alcaldes Mayores* in each jurisdiction, they do not visit the towns. If they do come to town, they are like cats walking over live coals, getting what they please and doing nothing for the town in return. As a result the malefactors are not punished, complaints remain unsettled; they [alcaldes mayores] do not urge them to make improvements so much so that all remain in their primitive state.

In the twenty-six years that I have been among the natives, the Bishop has not come nor was there any confirmation even before that time. Our Father Provincials cannot nor do they wish to visit them on account of the distance and difficulty of the seas and the roads; the dangers of enemies and of the elements of nature, etc. In this state of affairs, everything depends only on God's mercy and upon the vigilance and care of the poor minister whose concern, even if it were great, counts for so little; providence is not enough; shoulders are too weak to bear [the burden] even if they were of Atlantis. Briefly, everything here depends solely upon the minister: the Faith, the good customs, Christianity, worship of God, maintaining order and demonstrating human treatment towards all.

Please take notice, Your Reverence, how few there are who can accomplish so much and how difficult it is to go and help everybody. And so very appropriately one can say: "...who is the faithful and prudent servant whom the master will set over his household, to give them their portion of good at the proper time?" Although it is true that a native Visayan is meek and mild and even if with care it comes out that he does not lack the ability for everything and the understanding for things difficult, they still lack the courage to oppose evil nor do they have the strength to do good. Very easily they follow one way or the other. Only the unfailing attention, vigilance and concern of the ministers does everything or on the contrary ruins everything.

It never seems right what so many, influenced more by religion than by the ministry, say that the *Indios* are incapable [of

y que no alcanzan, etc. Es falso. Capacidad les sobra; cuidado les falta; inteligencia tienen la bastante, pero poca aplicación; conocen muy bien lo bueno y lo malo; en sus pleitos y trata-cuentas son linces y políticos; en las cosas sobrenaturales y del alma son topos y necesitan siempre de la luz previa de la enseñanza, predicación y doctrina continua; lo cual con este modo de República, tan sin traza suya, es casi imposible, y con el continuo movimiento de los ministros.

Mas la experiencia me ha desengañado estos años que ha que vivo entre ellos (que ya bastará para jubilar a cualquiera en toda otra profesión) que, si siembra el ministro, coge; y, si trabaja, logra su trabajo; pero si se descuida, y deja correr y trata no más que de vivir, vive y pasa, pero la fe no crece ni se aumenta, sino que se disminuye.

A un gran ministro de la Religión de San Agustín, de los primitivos, que traté ya muy viejo, oí, y tenía razón, que hay dos maneras de ministros: unos que cumplen con su obligación y se les logra, otros que suplen, y, aunque no añaden, conservan algo; y yo añado otro tercer género, de otros que ni cumplen ni suplen, sino que dejan todo, y dicen: *sinite vadere eos sicuti vadunt;* y estos antes sirven de daño que de provecho en el ministerio. Hallarlos todos que cumplen es difícil. Roguemos a Dios que dé muchos que suplan, y ninguno de los terceros. Esto cuanto a los naturales y su modo.

Vengo a otro modo de vivir entre ellos, para que Vuestra Reverencia esté capaz do todo; que quizás pocos, o ninguno, habrá dado con esta distinción: noticia de este ministerio y nuestro modo en él, y del de los indios, que queda ya dicho. Diré primero lo tocante a lo religioso y doméstico, y luego lo económico y temporal.

Están divididas estos misiones de Visayas en seis residencias; en cada una hay tres, cuatro, cinco o seis sujetos, según la copia de ellos. Es uno el Superior en cada Residencia y se llaman "Rectores", y donde viven "Cabeceras." Este Superior tiene toda la autoridad que de ordinario tienen los Superiores; pero es, en buen romance, un buen "dispensero", pues a él le toca recoger lo

much] and that they do not have any talent, etc. This is not so: they have more than enough; intelligence they have, but they possess little diligence. They know very well what is good and what is evil; in their lawsuits and finances they are keen and crafty; in spiritual matters and in what pertains to the soul they are short-sighted and need constant enlightenment through teaching, preaching and continuous indoctrination. All this in this kind of a Republic which is so strange and so impossible especially taking into account the constant going about of the ministers.

These years of experience among them have taught me this (and this is enough for anyone to retire as in other professions) that what a minister sows that he reaps. If he labours he gains, but if he is careless and ceases to hustle and tries only to exist, he then exists and carries on alright, but faith does not increase nor does it grow, but on the contrary, it diminishes.

A great minister of the Order of St. Augustine, one of the pioneers with whom I had a discussion, rightly said that there are two kinds of ministers: some who comply with their obligation and profit from it; others who let things go and although they do not add anything they preserve something. I add a third kind of minister: those who neither comply with nor let things go, but leave everything and say, "let them go their way" and these cause more damage than good to the ministry. To find those who accomplish all is difficult. Let us pray to God that He may send many of the second kind, and none of the third kind. This is all I have to say about the natives and their way of being.

I come to discuss other ways of life among them, so that Your Reverence may be informed about everything; that perhaps few or none have ever presented such information as I do regarding the ministry and our own way of life and about the *Indios*, as already pointed out. I shall now deal with the religious first and the domestics and then about things economic and temporal.

These Visayan missions are divided into six residences. In each residence there are three, four, five or six subjects, depending upon their number and availability. One is superior in each residence and he is called a 'rector' and he resides in the *Cabecera*. This Superior has all the authority which ordinarily superiors have, but he is, in plain language, a good provider, because it is

que se da de estipendio a los ministros y proveerles de todo lo necesario de comida, vestido y demás tocante a vino de misas, hostias, candelas, etc., y de su poca o mucha diligencia y cuidado depende la falta o sobra del sustento de los ministros. En lo espiritual, tiene la autoridad ordinaria de los Superiores locales.

Júntanse los Padres en cada cabecera cuatro veces al año, las dos de ocho dias, y las dos de a quince. Hácense en ella las funciones religiosas, y atiéndese aquellos días a lo formal de la religión; que lo demás del año acude cada cual a sus visitas y ministerio de los pueblos, con dependencia siempre del dicho Superior en las cosas de más monta y de dificultad que se ofrecen.

Al fin, el dicho Superior es como el Padre espiritual; si bien en cada residencia se nombra confesor, prefecto de espíritu y admonitor, y, cuando son tres, mire Vuestra Reverencia quién quedará sin su pedazo. En cada pueblo el ministro que es solo, lo es todo, y toda la religión depende (de) él; que el que quiere, tiene mucha ocasión; y acá, sin mucho trato con Dios, es muy difícil el vivir ajustado, y, sin mucho desengaño en lo espiritual, seguro y gustoso.

Es notado este ministerio de Visayas de que hay muchas caídas *máxime* en *re venerea;* pero de esto no tiene la culpa el ministro, en donde muchos y los más viven y han vivido como ángeles, sino en que tal vez o por la falta de sujetos, o por no conocerlos, envían a el que tiene el cuerpo en la Religión y la voluntad en el siglo, y así con la facilidad del natural de los indios e indias, y la soledad del modo de vivir, y la dependencia y sujeción con que viven a los ministros, no es mucho haya algo; antes lo es que no haya más, mirando a lo poco fundado de algunos. Pero, de verdad, *experto crede.* Si uno no quiere, nadie le busca; cae el que no mira por donde camina, y se enloda el que no huye del cieno. El que vive con cuidado y atención, aun sin más santidad que un firme deseo de morir mil veces que ofender a Dios gravemente, *currit inoffenso pede* y sin tizne; que lazos y ocasiones en

his obligation to gather-up what is given in the form of stipends to the ministers and provide them with all they need in terms of food, clothing and other necessities, such as wine for Mass, hosts, candles, etc., and on his little or greater diligence and care, depends the lack or excess of the sustenance of the ministers. Spiritually he has the ordinary authority of the local superiors.

The priests meet in each *cabecera* four times a year: on the first two occasions for eight days and the other two for fifteen days. In these gatherings they engage in spiritual matters and formally attend to things religious; the rest of the year they spend making visits and ministering in the towns, always with dependence on said Superior in matters of some consequence and on matters that are pressing and more serious.

After all, the Superior acts like a spiritual Father although in each residence there is a father confessor, spiritual prefect and an adviser; and when there are three, please, Your Reverence, take notice who will remain without his share [of work]. In each town the minister who is alone is everything and everyone depends on him; if he is interested he has many opportunities [to do a lot of good]. Here without deep concern for God and strong spirituality it is difficult to live in dedication and zeal.

The Visayan ministry is known for its many pitfalls and most especially about matters pertaining to sex, but this is no fault of the ministers, where many and most have lived like angels. But perhaps because of a shortage of subjects or by not knowing them they send to the missions ministers who have their body in religion and their will in the world and thus with the easy-going nature of the *Indio* men and women, and the loneliness in the way of living, and the dependency and subjection with which they (the Visayans) live regarding their ministers some falls are understandable. The miracle is that despite so many temptations there are not more defections, if we consider the lack of foundation in some. But, in truth, believe the expert: if one does not like temptations, one will not look for them; one stumbles if one does not look where one is walking; or one gets stuck in the mud if one does not avoid it; he who lives cautiously even though he is not a saint, but has a fine desire to die a thousand deaths rather than offend God gravely, walks with innocent feet and without

todo el mundo las hay; y de ellos escapan los que dijo San Antonio.

Yo, a lo que alcanzo, juzgo que hay más peligro en esta tierra sin comparación entre los españoles y españolas según su poco recato y modestia; y que no tienen por caso de menos valer estos desórdenes; que no entre los indios ni indias que comúnmente no se atreven ni aun a mirar al rostro al Padre ni a descomponerse; antes bien, si acaso caminando, yendo o viniendo al pueblo, tal vez van con menos modestia y compostura, en viendo de lejos al Padre u oyendo decir "Padre," se cubren y componen.

Mucho debemos a los ministros y Padres antiguos que los impusieron en este respeto y reverencia, a que no faltan comúnmente si no es viendo menos recato y gravedad en el ministro; pero si este quiere andar a la flor del barro, campo tiene y copia cuanta quisiere, y así son necesarios para este y semejantes ministerios (que los indios todos son unos, y quien ha visto uno, los ha visto todos), sujetos sólidos, macizos, desengañados; no sabiondos, y muy entendidos, que acá se afligen y tientan viéndose mal empleados, faltándoles este fundamento; ni gente poco fundada y poco firme en la vocación; porque acá caerá infaliblemente. Pero el que fía de Dios y en El pone su confianza, y no le deja, seguro vive y sin riesgo notable.

Vengo a lo temporal y económico; de lo que, como tengo dicho, se junta en uno, de los estipendios y limosnas que dan el Rey y encomenderos, que son de cada 900 tributos 100 pesos en dinero y 100 fanegas de arroz limpio, que todo lo junta el Superior, y distribuye, dando a cada cual el arroz que ha menester para sí y cuatro compañeros que lleva siempre consigo, muchachos de mediana edad, que los dos sirven de cocineros, y los dos de sacristanes; y para dar de comer a los indios que lleva de esquipazón de una parte a otra, y en esto se gasta más que en otra cosa;

making them filthy; the world has traps and occasions to sin, and those escape them, [who are watchful, as] Saint Anthony once said.

To my understanding, I believe that there is greater danger in this world without comparison, among Spanish men and women who cultivate little restraint as regards modesty and regard these matters of little consequence. This is not true among the *Indio* men and women here who ordinarily do not even dare to look upon the face of the priest nor provoke him in any way to sin. If perchance, they are on their way to the town and are less modest and composed, seeing the priest from afar, they quickly re-arrange their dress in a more modest fashion.

We owe much to the early ministers and priests who imposed this respect and reverence [for priests] which they commonly observe unless they see less modesty and gravity in the ministers. And so if a minister desires to walk in the mire this is certainly the place which offers abundant opportunities. And so, it is necessary for these and similar missions (that the *Indios* all are the same, and he who has seen one, has seen them all) to have in them ministers who are of solid virtue, well-formed, with experience; not puffed up with false wisdom, well-trained, not of the kind who become sad and waver when they see that they are not given the job they expected; not ministers poorly prepared and not well grounded in their vocation for such will certainly fall. But the one who trusts in God and puts his faith in Him and does not abandon Him lives in security and without serious danger.

Now I wish to touch upon the temporal and economic matters which, in reality, is a single matter. This concerns the stipends and alms they receive from the King and the encomenderos which consist of one hundred pesos in cash and one hundred *fanegas* of husked rice for every nine-hundred tributes. The superior gathers all this and distributes to each one according to his needs and for the needs of his four house-hold companions whom he always has with himself. These [companions] are middle-aged men; two of them serve as cooks and the other two as sacristans. These *Indios,* who accompany him from place to place, must be provided with food. Here the minister spends more than in other places,

pues, como tengo dicho, vamos siempre en continuo movimiento, y lo más común embarcados; y así, la gente de boga que lleva consigo el ministro gasta lo más del arroz (que es el pan de esta tierra) cocido con agua sola, sin sal ni otro condumio; y no les sabe mal a los que se hacen a ello (si bien yo nunca me he podido hacer a comerlo así; como se usa en Valencia, guisado, etc. sí, y lo he enseñado acá, y muchos de los Padres lo comen así); si bien de dicho arroz, hecho harina, se hacen unos bollos pequeños, que se asan en un asadorcillo, y estos son el pan ordinario de los ministros de Visayas.

El condumio es puerco, o casero, o del monte, y este es mejor cuando están gordos; gallinas, que es lo ordinario de la tierra, pero son gallinas de nombre no más; que más gustoso es el puerco, aunque no más saludable.

Estos puercos, o gallinas, los compramos a los indios al precio que corre en el Arancel, que es una gallina medio real, y el puerco según es, y para esto da el Superior cada tres meses 6 pesos a cada sujeto. Algunos los gastan todos, otros no, como a cada uno se acomoda. Pero ni estos puercos ni gallinas se hallan siempre, y así lo común es comer puerco salado, y a la noche comen pescado muchos, que se halla con más facilidad; y esté Vuestra Reverencia cierto que a los más de los Padres les falta comúnmente el condumio, porque, por el continuo movimiento, no los pueden criar en sus casas; por la flojedad de los indios no los tienen todos, sino los menos; por la distancia no llegan a tiempo y, si el ministro se descuida, se halla sin qué comer no pocas veces.

Yo pienso que no he sido de los menos cuidadosos en lo necesario para el sustento, y me ha sucedido día de Pascua de Resurreción no tener qué cenar, aunque tuve qué comer. ¿Pues, qué será entre año, cuando después de una Cuaresma y en una celebridad tal, falta?

De aquí colegirá Vuestra Reverencia la verdad de lo que algunos notan y escriben a Roma, diciendo que los Padres de Visayas se regalan. (Esto ninguno que sepa qué cosa es Visayas

as I have already stated previously. We are always on the move, sailing most of the time. Now the great consumers of rice are these companions of the minister. This rice is actually the bread of the land out here, and they simply cook it in water without adding salt or anything else to it. Of course, we do not know how to cook it any better. Even though I have never taken it that way, but in the way they prepare it in Valencia. I did, however, teach them how to prepare it in the Valentian way; many fathers eat it this way. I did, however, make flour out of this rice and then small buns which we bake in small ovens; this is the ordinary kind of bread for the ministers over here in the Visayas.

This we eat very often together with pork or wild boar from the mountains or better yet, we eat it with chicken. The chickens are common here, but they are chickens in name only and not as tasty as the pork which, in turn is not very good for the health.

We buy pork and chickens from the *Indios* at prices regulated by the *arancel*: that is, a chicken at a half a *real* and the pork as is. The Superior gives for this six pesos for each subject every three months; some spend everything others do not, depending on each one's needs. But neither this pork or chickens are always found, and so the common practice is to eat salted pork; at night many eat fish that is found with greater facility; and Your Reverence may be sure that to most of the Fathers the viand is commonly lacking because due to their frequent travelling they are unable to raise pigs and fowl in their backyards. And also due to the indolence of the *Indios* only a few of the ministers have these things. Also because of the distances [food supplies] do not arrive on time. If the minister is negligent, he finds himself without food not a few times.

I believe that I am one of those who has been rather diligent in providing the various needs for a sustenance; and yet one Easter evening we had nothing to eat for supper, although I had something to eat at dinner time. Well, what should it be during the year when after Lent and on such an occasion one lacks food?

From here [this report] Your Reverence will gather the truth and not that what others have noted and written to Rome, saying that the Fathers in the Visayas live in ease. There is no one who can know what it is like here in the Visayas who has

ni haya sido ministro acá, lo dice ni puede decir). Dícenlo los de tagalos, que tienen de situado cada semana tantas gallinas, tantos pollos y tanto de pescado, y al mes tantos puercos que les dan los indios dado y, si no, se lo hacen pagar, y viven en sus pueblos de asiento, sin moverse de acá para allá; están cerca de Manila, de donde se pueden aprovechar de todo (que allá es solo donde se halla todo); tienen el pan seguro de trigo, que pocas veces les falta, y todos los demás regalos que quisieren; y más que allá cada cual *vivit sibi, et sibi convivet.*

Acá estamos 100 y más leguas de Manila. Aun para las misas tal vez falta el trigo para hostias y el vino; bizcocho viene de cuando en cuando, y muchas veces se pierde en el camino; y así lo más del año se pasa sin él, y sin los demás regalos de que allá abundan. No digo que falte acá lo necessario para el sustento, que no falta, sino al que se descuida mucho, y hay suficientemente lo necesario; pero es cierto que no hay el regalo y abundancia que algunos escriben, mal advertidos; que, porque ven en algunas cabeceras, donde se junta todo, alguna abundancia y prevención, y más si el Superior es económico, piensan es así en todas partes, cuando no pocas veces a muchos les falta aun lo muy necesario, y comúnmente nunca sobra.

Otra cosa imponen a los Padres de Pintados los de allá (de tagalos), y lo escriben, como Vuestra Reverencia habrá visto en Roma, y es que compran y venden; y, si entendieran y escribieran que compran para su sustento lo qué allá les dan *gratis*, dijeran muy bien.

También es verdad que acá compran los Padres cuando hay cera y cosecha de ella (que acá se coge en los montes, que todas son abejas silvestres, no domésticas, y otro género que el de Europa), que acá crían en las ramas de los árboles, y allí cuelgan el panal; y allá en corchos y huecos, aunque también acá hay de este género, pero silvestres también, que no ha llegado el cuidado de los indios a domesticarlas. La cera que compran los Padres visayas es, o para el gasto de las iglesias, que esta se compra todos los años en cantidad determinada, aunque a menos precio;

not been a minister here; hence, he should not talk or say things. They say that the Tagalogs [ministers] receive every week many hens, and so many fish. Every month they have so many pigs which the natives give them; they make them pay, if they do not offer them. They live in their towns without moving from here to there. They live near Manila where they can benefit from everything since much is available there. Then too, they have bread made from flour and which they rarely lack; in fact, they have all the blessings they desire and even more, for each one 'lives for himself and enjoys himself.'

Here we are one hundred leagues away or more from Manila. Sometimes we even lack flour for hosts and wine for Mass. The biscuits arrive here once in a while and many times they are lost on the way. That is why we do not have these things and many other blessings most of the year and which abound over there [in Manila]. I do not say that here we lack commodities for life, except for him who does not care to procure them. But certainly there is no luxury or abundance as those who are ill-informed write about. Just because of what they see in some *cabeceras,* where all is gathered in abundance occasionally, they think that this is true in all parts, especially if the Superior is economical, but the fact is that many lack what is necessary and often there are no left-overs.

There is another thing they impute to the Fathers of the *Pintados* from there [Tagalog region] and they wrote about it to Rome, as Your Reverence must have read: about them buying and selling. If they would have stated that we buy our food and purchase whatever we need here and there receive everything *gratis,* then they would have stated it properly.

It is also true that here the Fathers do buy beeswax when there is an abundance of it. Here this wax is gathered during those months when the wild bees, not the domesticated, produce it in honeycombs on branches of trees and not in the beehives as over there in Europe; also here there are bees of this kind too, but the *Indios* have not domesticated them yet. The Fathers here in the Visayas buy the beeswax for the consumption of the churches. They buy this all year-round at determined quantities and at lower prices. All that they gather goes to the Superior

toda la que se junta va a la Cabecera, y de allí da el Superior las candelas necesarias para el gasto de las iglesias, y para el uso de las casas, que acá no hay sebo, y se alumbran con cera comúnmente, y algunos con aceite de cocos, aunque pocos de los ministros, los más con cera.

Si hay buena cosecha, algunas veces traen los indios la cera al ministro, y se les paga al precio corriente y como se la pagan el español o el sangley u otras naciones.

Esto que se compra, es más o menos, según las cosechas, y de allí da el Superior dos quintales, que piden cada año, al Colegio de Manila, y muchas veces la piden del de Cebú y Otón y otras partes donde no se coge con la abundancia que acá en Visayas, y se les envía, cuando lo hay, al precio corriente, y que acá se compra, que todo eso pide la caridad y mutua correspondencia, pues de allá, cuando se les piden, envían acá otros géneros necesarios para la vida humana al mismo modo.

Si sobra alguna cera de estas correspondencias, se envía en ser al Procurador de Provincia a Manila, para que allá la venda, y envíe lo procedido en las cosas forzosas y necesarias para el sustento de acá; allá comúnmente se queda con ella el Procurador al precio menor, y se aprovecha guardándola para cuando lo tenga grande, y así sirve de tanto o más provecho para la Provincia que para esto; y lo mismo si hay algún otro género, como es algalia, aunque este es menos y más difícil de hallar; y este modo de comprar acá lo que se halla, enviándolo (sic) los géneros a Manila, no solo no es sobrado, pero algunas veces no llega a lo necesario para el avío; y, si se enviara dinero, que por allá vale menos que acá, nunca alcanzara para el gasto; que lo que entra es poco y limitado y mucho menos de lo que es necesario; que la experiencia de las veces que he sido Superior en estas misiones, me lo ha mostrado harto. Enviando géneros que acá valen más baratos y se hallan más fácilmente, allá se venden, que valen más, y con la diferencia del precio y valor se suple la falta del caudal.

No le digo aquí a Vuestra Reverencia las sacaliñas que hay muy ordinarias, dejando la contribución de la Provincia 90 pesos cada año, los gastos de los sujetos cuando van y vienen; de las visitas de los Provinciales, que quedan muy bien de las limosnas que piden y mandan se dé, etc. de modo que harto se hace en

in the *cabecera;* he in turn distributes and provides candles for the use of the churches and household use since here there is no tallow and all prefer candles and coconut oil.

If there is a good harvest the *Indios* oftentimes bring it to the ministers who pay them the current price just like the Spaniards, the Chinese or other foreigners do. What is purchased, more or less, depends upon the harvest. What is given to the Superiors is two *quintales* which in turn is also given to the college in Manila every year. Many times they ask it from Cebu and Oton and other parts where it is not found in such abundance as here in these Visayas [i.e. Samar and Leyte]. If there is beeswax they send it there and at the current prices, for that is what charity demands and friendship also because from there when it is asked of them, they send us other goods equally necessary for life in the same manner.

If there is surplus of wax from these exchanges, it is sent to the Provincial Procurator in Manila so that it may be sold there; the proceeds of which are returned here for our needs and sustenance. There the procurator holds the wax and waits for the prices to go up; thus it yields more and is to the advantage of the Province [of Jesuits] than here. The same is done with other goods such as *algalia;* although this is less abundant and more difficult to find. This method of buying here what we find and sending it to Manila does not bring plenty and sometimes it does not amount to as much as is needed. And if we were to send money there it would be of lesser value than here; it would not be enough to cover the expenses, since our income is small and limited and much less than what is necessary. This I have experienced many times as Superior in the missions to the point of clear evidence. In sending goods from here that are cheap in price and easy to find, there they may be sold at higher prices and thus the price difference makes up for the lack of other resources.

I do not mention here, Your Reverence, the bargainings that are very ordinary, not to mention the contribution of ninety pesos yearly to the Province; the expenses of the subjects who come and go, the visits of the Provincials who make-out quite well with the alms they ask and command to give, etc. in such a manner that

pasar, y acá no dan para cera ni para fiestas los indios visayas, como dan los tagalos, cuatro veces al año; ni dejan limosnas, como allá; y con todo, siempre tienen que decir de los Padres visayas, y ninguno de ellos quiere venir acá con todo eso que tienen.

Esto por desterrar eso (?), y allá se está hecho un señor (?) de cada cual en su casa, sin idas y venidas, sino a Manila en cualquier achaquillo; y acá, aunque uno se muera, ha de tener paciencia.

Una de las cosas, que hace más pesado y trabajoso este ministerio de Visayas, es el enemigo que todos los años viene por acá, y son tres diferencias: mindanaos, joloes y camucones. Estos últimos son más rateros y viles, pero más perjudiciales, porque vienen solo a robar en navichuelos pequeños y en mucha cantidad, apenas hay rincón donde no se metan, ni pueblo que no asalten; que los otros dos, aunque hacen majores daños cuando salen, por venir con más fuerza de armas, que es gente más belicosa, con todo no son tan ordinarios como los otros que apenas faltan de por acá, y no hay año que no llevan muchos cautivos, y estamos todos los Padres ministros a peligro grande de ser cogidos y muertos; que estos por su pusilanimidad y cobardía nunca llevan vivo a ningún español o Padre, sino que los matan; los otros los cautivan por el rescate, pero en lo demás lo llevan todo a fuego y a sangre, quemando iglesias y pueblos y talando palmares y cuanto hay de provecho; lo cual no hacen los camucones, sino que lo dejan todo en su ser, por no deshacer los nidos y coger los pájaros otra vez en ellos, cuando están desapercibidos.

Es un sobresalto tan grande este y casi continuo que, cuando en lo demás tuvieran toda abundancia y comodidad los ministros Visayas (que no la tienen), esto era sobrada sobrecarga; pues esto, con lo demás dicho, ¿que será?

La soledad, fuera de esto que padecemos por acá, no es decible, solo el hacerse uno a ello (que al principio se siente mucho), hace que no se repare tanto, pero para gente entendida, como son común-

we do not have enough to cover our ordinary needs. Here the Visayan *Indios* do not even give wax for fiestas as the Tagalogs do four times a year, neither do they leave alms as over there. Notwithstanding all this, they still always have something to say about the Visayan Fathers and not one of them would like to come here in spite of all that they say that we have.

Over here it is like being in exile and being there is a privilege; there each one is in his own house without coming or going except to Manila upon any slight infirmity; here if one borders upon the point of death he must exercise patience.

One of the matters that makes this ministry in the Visayas so tiresome and demanding is the enemy that comes here yearly, and he is of three different kinds: the Mindanaoans, the Joloans and the Camucones. These last ones are most predatory and vile, but more harmful because they come in small vessels and many of them only to pillage and plunder and hardly is there a corner where they do not enter or towns they do not attack. While the other two, even though they cause greater damage when they leave because of superior military strength and are more war-like, they do not, however, attack so frequently. Not one year passes without their taking captives and all of us ministers are in constant danger of being seized and killed. The Camucones in their pusillanimity and cowardice do not take away with them captive Spaniard or priest but kill them; others capture them for ransom and the rest they carry by blood and sword, burning towns and churches and laying waste coconut plantations and whatever is useful. The Camucones do not do all this; they leave everything as it is in order not to destroy the nests and so catch the birds in them again when they least expect it.

The alarm is so great and so constant that even when the Visayan ministers would have a greater abundance during the lull and some comfort (which they do not have) this becomes an added burden. This and all that has been stated before, to what shall it all amount to?

In addition to all this we already suffer here, there comes loneliness which is indescribable; in the beginning this loneliness was difficult to bear but as one accustoms himself slowly he does not feel it so much. But for intelligent people as the ministers

mente los ministros, tratar siempre con solos indios, y estos aun huyen cuanto pueden del trato y conversación del Padre por volverse a las sementeras, solo los que lo pasan y experimentan hacen la distinción que hay del modo de vivir político y sociable al de los montes y retiros, pues no hay ermitaño más retirado que lo está un ministro entre estos indios.

Vengo ahora al intento para que he dicho todo esto, y es que con tantas navegaciones y tan continuas, con malos tiempos, borrascas, aguaceros, soles, peligros en todas partes, soledad y falta del humano comercio y trato, son muchos los achaques y enfermedades que se contraen; y estos muy ordinarios.

Pocos hay de estos ministros que lleguen a viejos; y los que llegan, por falta de alivio de estos trabajos y algún descanso después de muchos años, mueren presto y los más de repente; y así es queja común, y de que se lastiman todos los operarios visayas, de que no hay alivio ni descanso aun para el más viejo y achacoso, sino que toda la vida es de una manera, y siempre remando sin cesar; y, como según tengo dicho, todo lo que hay por acá depende del ministro, es menester un tesón grandísimo y un cuidado incansable, que, si el ministro no les hace venir a Misa no vienen; si no cuida que traigan los enfermos a recibir los sacramentos, no lo hacen; que el Padre no cuida de enseñar a su hijo, ni la madre de guardar a su hija, a todos los dejan vivir como quieren; y así el ministro ha de suplir el descuido de los padres; ha de ser médico en sus enfermedades, juez en sus pleitos, medianero en sus diferencias; en sus necesidades alivio; en las opresiones de los españoles y poderosos, amparo; del chico al grande, del mozo al viejo ha de cuidar siempre de todos y de todo, y, en no lo haciendo, no hay nada; pues, ¿qué atención no se acaba, qué fuerzas no se consumen, qué salud no se pierde y qué achaque no se contrae? y que esto haya de ser siempre así, hasta la muerte, es caso duro, y que lo dejo a la mejor consideración que lo piense.

are, to deal always with the *Indios* is rather difficult and these often flee as much as possible from dealing and conversing with the Father and love to return to their farms; only those who live here and experience it can tell the difference that there is between the manner of political and social living and their life in the mountains and hide-outs. Truly, there is no hermit who is more alone than is the minister here among these *Indios*.

I come now to the purpose for which I have stated all this and that is that with so many trips by sea and so continuous; with bad weather, storms, rainshowers, solitude, dangers in all places, loneliness and lack of human social intercourse; there are also many sicknesses and infirmities that are contracted — and these are very frequent.

Few are the ministers who reach old age and those who do, the majority of them die suddenly due to a lack of relief from their assignments and because they have failed to take a rest from work after so many years in the ministry. And so it is a common complaint and a pity among the Visayan ministers that there is no relief nor treatment even for the older ones who are sickly. The whole life here is such as if we were paddling unceasingly and as I have already stated, here everything depends on the minister. There is need of very great endurance, persistence and continuous care that if the minister does not oblige them to go to Mass, they do not go; they do not care to take along their sick to receive the sacraments. If the father does not teach the child nor the mother guard her daughter, but let them live as they please, then the minister has to supply the neglect of the parents: he has to be a doctor in their sickness, an arbiter in their disputes and differences, a relief in their necessities, a refuge against their oppressors of both the Spaniards and the powerful. And so from the smallest to the biggest, for the youth as well as for the elderly ones, always he has to attend to everyone and to everything. If he does not do these things then who else will do them? What attention is there that does not see its end? What energy is there that is not burned out? What health is there that is not lost? And what infirmity is there that is not contracted? And this seems to be so until death! This is indeed a difficult matter and I leave it for reflection to others.

Pues que, cuando hay enfermedad de consideración, no hay más remedios que los divinos; que acá ni hay médicos ni medicinas; que si el achaque aprieta de repente, como suele comúnmente, no hay sino morir sin sacramento, ni ayuda alguna humana (que la divina nunca falta), pero, como hombres, echamos menos esta, y esto de morir sin consuelo humano, aunque nos lo enseñó Cristo desamparado en la Cruz, con dificultad se aprende, y nadie pienso lo apetece, ni lo quisiera jamás. Gran cosa es acertar en lo que no tiene suelda después de errado.

Certifico a Vuestra Reverencia que en 26 años (pocos meses faltan) que ha que estoy en Visayas, apenas ha muerto sujeto con los sacramentos todos; y de los 20 que, pongamos por caso, han muerto, los 10 ha sido sin tener sacerdote cerca de sí; los otros alcanzando parte de los sacramentos, como la Extramaunción, no la Confesión ni Viático; que, cuando suele llegar el más cercano, está ya sin sentidos; y casi todos con poco consuelo por la falta de remedios humanos para las dolencias del cuerpo, y de los sacramentos para las almas.

Apunto los ministros antiguos que han muerto después que estoy en este ministerio, y como para que vea Vuestra Reverencia la verdad de lo que digo.

Dejo al Padre Andrés de Lisalde que había poco, cuando llegué acá, que había muerto en la isla de Capul (una islita bien pequeña), sin tener ni aun quien le enterrase *Christiano more,* sino solos algunos indios que le enterraron. Es esta islita sujeta a la residencia de Catbalogan, y el dicho Padre había sido Rector de la de Carigara y había más de 20 años era ministro de este ministerio visaya y buena lengua, etc.

El primero que murió después de mi llegada a este ministerio fue en Dagami, el Padre Alonso de Pedraza, gran ministro y muy fervoroso y eficaz. Había estado dicho Padre más de 19 años en estas misiones; de cuyos trabajos, y últimamente por haber padecido naufragio, viniendo de la dicha isla de Capul, donde se volcó boca abajo la embarcación en que el Padre iba, y sobre la quilla se escapó, después de haber estado muchas horas a la voluntad de las olas; que en dicho paraje es el mar de grandes corrientes

And so when there is a serious illness, there are no remedies other than the Divine; for here there are no doctors nor medicines; so much so that when sickness appears suddenly, as it frequently happens, there is nothing left but to die even without the Sacraments and without any human help; of course Divine assistance never fails. However, as humans we do look for some consolation even though Christ taught us to accept the Cross, it is with difficulty that we learn this lesson not to crave and desire such consolations. It is a great thing to find the truth of what has no remedy after it has happened.

May I assure Your Reverence that in the twenty six years, minus a few months, that I have been in these Visayas, rare is the subject who dies with all the sacraments and from among the twenty priests who died during my time, approximately ten of them had no priest even near them. Others received only one sacrament like Extreme Unction, but no Confession or Viaticum. Often when the nearest minister arrives, the sick priest is already unconscious; lacking almost all hope in human remedy for their ailing bodies and the Sacraments for their souls.

Here is an enumeration of the past ministers who have died during my stay in these missions, so that Your Reverence may see the truth of what I say.

I set aside Father Andres de Lisaldi who had just died on the Island of Capul [Samar], a very small islet, shortly upon my arrival here. There was no one to give him a Christian burial; a few kind natives buried him themselves. This islet is dependent on the *Residencia* of Catbalogan and the said Father was once a Rector of Carigara [Leyte] *Residencia* and laboured more than twenty years in this Visayan ministry; he spoke the Visayan language well, etc.

The first minister who died after my arrival to this mission in Dagami [Leyte], was Father Alonso de Pedraza. He was a great, dedicated and zealous minister. This Father laboured here for over nineteen years in these missions. On his way back to this island of Capul, his vessel capsized and he escaped over the keel of the vessel after having stayed for hours at the mercy of the waves. In these parts the waters are turbulent with strong currents and whirlpools.

y remolinos. Deseó el dicho Padre, y pidió, ir a curarse a Manila; no se le concedió; instaron de acá los Padres, viendo la grandeza del mal. Llegó la licencia cuando le halló oleado, y murió en breve. Tuvo sacerdote que le asistió, porque fue en la Cabecera; pero, según oí decir, murió con desconsuelo por la falta de remedios humanos y por no habérsele concedido el ir a Manila.

Podía servir aun muchos años, pues tenía pocos más de cuarenta cuando murió. Fue *alias* estudioso y docto. Dejó unos *Comentarios del Apocalipsis* trabajados, que están manuscritos en la librería de Manila.

Poco después cautivó el joló al Padre Domingo Bilancio, ministro antiguo, de sus 30 años de ministerio. Pidió mucho por el rescate. El Padre era de edad y achacoso, y con el mal trato murió en Joló con opinión de santo, pues le guardan aquellos indios, y no le han querido dar aun después de muerto. Tiénenle en el hueco de un grande árbol. No falta quien dice que ha hecho milagros allá.

Al Padre Juan del Carpio, ministro antiguo, coadjutor formado, mató poco después el mindanao en el pueblo de Ogmuc (Ormoc), haciéndole tajadas con sus campilanes, que son alfanjes turquescos; y, cuando mataron dicho Padre, quemaron la casa, que era una fuertecilla de piedra, y en ella más de 80 personas, y cautivaron lo más del pueblo y lo asolaron todo.

Poco antes, o después, murió en Bohol el Padre Alonso de Humanes, ministro de los primitivos, y que había sido Provincial de esta Provincia. No sé si fue su voluntad volver acá; sé que tuvo mucho afecto a estos indios y murió con opinión de santo, y hoy le hacen novenas y ponen candelas al sepulcro, y le dicen varios milagros. Tuvo Padre que le asistió, si bien faltaron todos los remedios humanos y regalo necesario. Había estado más de 36 ó 40 años en este ministerio, siempre santo.

Murió después en mis manos el Padre Pedro de Prado, que primero había estado en Pintados, y después le llevaron a Manila

The Father desired and begged to go to Manila for treatment, but he was not permitted. The Fathers interceded for him on seeing the gravity of his illness. When permission was finally granted, very shortly afterwards he died, assisted by a priest for this happened in the *Cabecera.* But as I heard he was disconsolate for not having had the opportunity to go to Manila.

He could have served [in the ministry] for many more years; he was only forty years old when he died. He was besides, studious and learned. In the library in Manila there is a manuscript of his entitled: *Commentaries on the Apocalypse.*

Not long afterwards, the Joloan [pirate] captured Father Domingo Bilancio who was an old minister with some thirty years of evangelical labor. The demand for ransom was large. The Father was well up in years and sickly and because of maltreatment he died in Jolo with a reputation as a saint and those natives kept his body and would not surrender it even though he was already dead; they keep it in the hollow of a large tree. There is no lack of those who say that miracles were wrought there.

Somewhat later, Father Juan del Carpio, an elderly minister and a *Coadjutor formado,* was killed by a Mindanaoan in the town of Ormoc [Leyte]; he was cut down to pieces with a *campilan,* which is a weapon in the manner of a Turkish cutlass. And when they killed the Father, they burned the house, which also served as a little fortress of stone and which had more than eighty persons; and captured many of the townspeople and laid everything to waste.

Sometime before or after this, Father Alonso Humanes, a pioneer minister who was a Provincial of this Province, died in Bohol. I do not know whether he returned here voluntarily; he had a great love for these natives and died with a reputation of being a saint. Even now they make novenas in his memory and place candles on his grave; and attribute to him various miracles. Although he had a priest at his bed-side, he lacked all human comfort and things necessary. He had spent some thirty-six or forty years in this ministry, as a saint.

A little later, died in my arms Father Pedro de Prado whose first assignment was the *Pintados,* but later was transferred to

por Procurador de Provincia. Volvió acá, y dentro de pocos meses murió de cámaras. Díjome varias veces en su enfermedad, a que le asistí algunos días, que era el dicho Padre superior de Catbalogan, que sentía mucho el que no hubiese quien le curase y diese algún remedio; pero que moría con gusto por morir en el ministerio, aunque tan falto de todo remedio, y así murió. Era coadjutor formado, y tendría pocos más de 44 años.

El Padre Luis de Pedraza murió en Samboangan, por falta también de remedios. Fue ministro acá muchos años, dos veces Rector del Colegio de Manila, y otras de Cebú. Ya era viejo cuando fue a Samboangan, tierra entonces nueva y malsana. Murió en breve. Llamó, cuando se vio apretado, un Padre. El Superior, y dicen que la falta de lo necesario, le ayudó a morir.

El Padre Andrés de Lansola, después de más de 36 años de ministerio, y muchos achaques que padeció muchos años, por hallarse tan falto de salud, pidió ir a Manila para buscar algún remedio; pero ya fue tarde, pues murió luego; si bien, a lo que se decía, con mucho consuelo, pues se vio morir rodeado de Padres y Hermanos, y con todos los sacramentos. !Gran cosa es morir con todos y entre tantos!

El Padre Melchor de Vera estuvo en Visayas muchos años y fue Superior de Carigara. Después fue a Joló y Mindanao, donde trabajó mucho. Fue muy achacoso de jaqueca y asma; a lo último se retiró al colegio de Cebú, por no poder más. Murió en él sin sentirse, pues le hallaron muerto por la mañana y vestido.

En el mismo Colegio murió poco después el Padre José Jaime, aragonés. También fue ministro más de 30 años y siempre achacoso. Fue a Manila a tratar de su salud un poco de tiempo, pero luego le volvieron por acá. Siendo yo Superior de Carigara, lo tuve allí y procuré regalar; pero por acá hay poco regalo. Deseó ir a Cebú por si había más. Dentro de poco tiempo murió allá.

Manila as Procurator of the Province. He returned here and a few months later he died of dissentery. He told me several times about his infirmity, for I attended to him for several days, for the said Father was Superior of Catbalogan [Samar], but he felt sad for lack of someone who could cure him and give him some solace; he was, however, happy to die in the ministry, although lacking all kinds of human remedy and thus he passed away. He was a model coadjutor and had more or less forty-four years in age.

Father Luis de Pedraza died in Zamboanga also due to a lack of remedies. He was a minister here for many years; on two occasions he was Rector of the College of Manila and on others in Cebu. He was advanced in age when he was sent to Zamboanga, a land then new and unhealthy. He died shortly afterwards. When he was in agony, he called for a priest. The Superior, they say, and also the lack of the necessary remedies precipitated his death.

Father Andres de Lansola, after more than thirty-six years in this ministry and many infirmities that he suffered for many years, due to his poor health, begged to go to Manila to find some relief. But it was too late for he died soon after. It was good, however, that he received great consolation from the Fathers and Brothers who surrounded him on his death-bed, with all the last rites of the church. It is a great thing to die among so many and with all [blessings].

Father Melchor de Vera stayed in the Visayas for many years and was Superior of Carigara [Leyte]. Later he went to Jolo and Mindanao where he laboured zealously. There he suffered from headaches and had asthma and finally retired to the College of Cebu, not being able to do more. He died there unnoticed, since they found him dead in the morning fully dressed.

In the same college somewhat later, Father José Jayme, who hailed from Aragon, died. He was a minister for over thirty years and was always sickly. He went to Manila for treatment for a short while and then they sent him back. I sent for him to be brough to Carigara when I was Superior, for proper care and nourishment, but here there was little of it. He desired to go to Cebu for better remedies. Within a short time he died there. He

Había sido varias veces Superior acá en estas misiones y buen ministro.

El Padre Fabricio Sarsali fue incansable misionero muchos años, pues envejeció en el ministerio; gran ministro y muy fervoroso. A la vejez, dicen, dio en no sé qué locura (si lo fue). Lleváronlo a Manila, donde murió recluso, dicen que con todos sus sentidos, pero con sentimiento de los más de ver así a un hombre tan viejo y apostólico. Yo pienso fue algún delirio de la vejez y espíritu. Era hombre espiritual y fervoroso. Fue allá por lo dicho, no para descansar, como fuera mejor.

El Padre Antonio Martínez murió en Palapag. Era Rector. Habría diez o doce años que estaba acá. Dióle un tabardillo que se lo llevó en breve. Alcanzóle a lo último un Padre que el dicho Padre mandó llamar, que le administró los sacramentos y enterró en una iglesia que el Padre estaba haciendo, por haberse caído con el baguio la casa e iglesia de Palapag, y fue el Padre el primero que estrenó la iglesia antes de acabarla.

El Padre Francisco de Segura vino de Manila enfermo. Era mozo. Acá prosiguió su achaque. Deseó volver allá a curarse; y, de hecho, los Superiores de acá, movidos de su instancia, le enviaron. Llegó a este tiempo el Padre Provincial a visita a estas partes; detúvose y le envió a Carigara, donde le hallaron muerto una mañana, pocos días después, o del achaque o del sentimiento, o de ambas cosas.

El Padre Pedro Andrés [de Zamora], valenciano, estuvo primero en estas misiones. Salió de la Compañía, según dicen, por indiscreción del Superior que dio demasiado crédito a cosas que no lo merecían. Procedió muy edificativamente fuera siempre. Fue *bonae indolis*. Volvió a la Compañía. Después fue a Mindanao. Murió en una fuerza que llaman de Buhayen, sin tener ni quien le ayudase en lo corporal ni en lo espiritual. Murió sin sacerdote, aunque con opinión de santo, que así le llamaban los

was a Superior here a number of times in these missions and a fine minister.

Father Antonio Fabricio Sarsali was a tireless missionary for many years, for he grew old in the ministry. An outstanding minister and a very fervent one. When he was well-advanced in age, he fell into a kind of an insanity if it can be called so). They brought him to Manila where he died, placed in seclusion, with the full use of his faculties but everybody felt sad to see him in such a condition, so aged and apostolic. I think it was just some kind of delirium due to old age or to scruples. Otherwise he was a spiritual and a fervent man. He went there for the said reason, not to rest as it would have been better.

Father Antonio Martínez died in Palapag [Samar]. He was a Rector. It was ten or twelve years that he was here. He had a burning fever and died shortly. He himself called for a priest and asked for the last sacramental consolation and was buried in a church he was then constructing, because the house and the church of Palapag had been recently destroyed by a typhoon, and Father Antonio was the first to make use of the church even though it was not yet completed.

Father Francisco de Segura came from Manila rather sick. He was a young man. Here his illness continued. He wished to return there in search of a cure, and the Superiors here, moved by his requests sent him. Meanwhile, Father Provincial was making his visits in these regions and sent him to Carigara instead where a few days later, one morning, he was found dead, either from his illness or from disappointment or from both.

Father Pedro Andrés [de Zamora] hailed from Valencia and was at first in these missions. It is said that he left the Company [of Jesuits] because of an indiscretion of a Superior who listened too easily to false accusations against him. Always he lived an edifying life outside. He was a man of good disposition. He returned to the Company and afterwards he went to Mindanao. He died in a fortress called Buhayen with no one near to impart upon him human or spiritual assistance. He was buried without the services of a priest but considered by many a saint, so that

soldados que se hallaron a su muerte, en que sucedieron cosas particulares, según contaron.

El Padre Cristóbal de Fuentes murió en Bohol, isla cerca de Cebú, donde era Superior. Había sido otras veces de otras residencias, y de allí. Había más de 36 años, o esos, que estaba en misiones. Ya no tenía dientes ni muelas, aunque era de natural robusto. Murió, según me escribió un Padre, con algún desconsuelo por verse tan falto de remedios humanos. No sé si le alcanzó. Vino el Padre que envió a llamar, antes de su muerte.

En la misma isla, en el pueblo de Malabohoc, murió también poco después el Padre Salvador Pisqueda, sardo. Había estado más de 40 años en este ministerio, buena lengua y tenía trabajado en ella *Arte* y otras cosas. Murió solo y sin tener quien le asistiera. Tendría más de 70 años, *alioquin* hombre santo y muy sólido y desengañado. Dijeron los indios que la noche que murió vino una grande luz encima la casa.

En la misma isla murió el Padre Francisco Valero, valenciano, si bien entró en la Compañía en la provincia de Toledo. Había poco que estaba acá, y, aunque era hombre de fuerte complexión, la perdió presto, y de flaqueza de estómago y no recibir el sustento, murió en breve sin tener ministro consigo, que 8 días antes el Padre Rector le había dejado en la Cabecera, entendiendo no era el achaque de peligro, y había ido a visitar los pueblos que tocaban al Padre. Cuando llegó otro ministro que estaba más cerca, le halló difunto, y solo sirvió de enterrarle *christiano more*.

El Padre Juan Antonio Campión murió en Cebú, siendo Rector de aquel Colegio. Hombre santo y gran lengua, y de más de 30 años de ministerio (estaba yo con su Rector en dicho Colegio, pero tan malo que se temía que yo moriría antes). El achaque fue poco, o, por mejor decir, hizo poco caso el Padre de él. Yo estaba malo en mi aposento despues de medio día, y me avisó un mozo de casa que el Padre Rector estaba muerto. Fui allá como pude; halléle sin sentido. Hícele dar dos o tres tartoces en los muslos; no volvió en sí; oleéle y murió dentro de pocas horas sin haber vuelto en sí. Solo había dejado aquel día de decir misa por hallarse

the soldiers that were present at his death, called him a saint; there some wonders took place, as they later reported.

Father Cristóbal de Fuentes died in Bohol, an island near Cebu, where he was Superior. Besides, he had been superior several times in other residences. He worked for more than thirty-six years in these missions and was in good health except that he lost all his teeth, including his molars. According to one father who wrote me, he died somewhat disconsolate in seeing himself so deprived of human remedies. Prior to his death, a priest appeared for whom he sent.

On the same island, in the town of Malabohoc, Father Salvador Pisqueda, a native of Sardinia, died a little later. He laboured in this ministry for over forty years, had good command of the dialect, had written a grammar and other things. He died alone and with no one to minister to him. He might be over seventy years old, a man of holiness and solid virtue and full of experience. The natives say that on the night that he died, they saw a great, brilliant light hovering over the *convento*.

Again on the same island died Father Francisco Valera who came from Valencia even though he entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Toledo. He had not been here for long and even though he was a man of robust health, he soon lost it due to some weakness of the stomach which caused a loss of appetite and a premature death, and this without any priest near him. The Father Rector, thinking the illness to be slight had left him in the *Cabecera* alone and went to visit the towns in charge of the said Father. When another minister who was near came, he found him dead and this only to give him a Christian burial.

Father Juan Antonio Campión died in Cebu while Rector of that college there. He was a holy man and well versed in the dialect and stayed in this ministry for over thirty years. I was with this Rector in the said college and so sick too that it seemed that I would die first. His illness was short-lived or better still, the Father did not mind it at all. I was alone in my room after noontime when a houseboy informed me that the Father was dead. I went there as I could and found him unconscious. I gave him two or three blows on the tighs, but he did not regain consciousness. He died a few hours later. Only that day he had failed

flaco, si bien poco antes quizá supo algo (que era hombre santo); había hecho confesión general de toda su vida conmigo, y murió con opinión de santo, como vivió, pero sin remedio humano alguno; porque ni se hizo ni había médico que supiese.

El Padre Alonso Manso murió en la isla de Marinduque, jurisdición de Tagalos. Había sido más de 18 años ministro acá en Pintados, donde, según se decía, le habían dado hierba para matarlo; que acá se usa mucho de eso entre los indios. Los remedios de contras, que acá también hay muchos, y solo esto saben los indios, le libraron entonces; pero siempre muy achacoso, aunque hombre de muy robusto natural. Finalmente, de una idisipula (sic) estuvo muy malo; fue a Manila, donde concurrimos los dos una Cuaresma, en que dio más de cuatro mil cédulas. Con todo, porque comía gallina siempre que su achaque esto pedía, les pareció gasto. Enviáronle a dicha isla, donde murió después de algunos meses. Había otra Padre allí, que le asistió.

El Padre Francisco Martínez, de Huesca, connovicio de Vuestra Reverencia, murió siendo Superior de Samboangan, adonde fue después de haber estado algunos años en Manila. Primero fue ministro de aquí de Visayas, y fue a Mindanao; de allí a Manila, y le volvieron a dicho Mindanao (que allá está Samboangan). Murió casi de repente, porque, aunque el achaque no fue de consideración, por no entenderlo lo dieron una purga que le despachó en pocas horas.

En el mismo Samboangan murió después el Padre Pedro de Espinoso, viejo de más de 70 años. Había sido más de 30 ministro en Visayas, y Superior algunas veces. Allá le enviaron a la vejez, donde murió, *plenus dierum et meritorum.*

El Padre Miguel Paterio, sardo, murió en la residencia de Dapitan. Había estado en estas misiones más de 20 años. Fue allá ya viejo; y, por hallarse achacoso, quiso probar en un pueblecillo cerca de la Cabecera si se hallaba major. Fue allá y en

to say Mass for feeling weak, but earlier, he being a holy man and having perhaps some hint of his approaching death, he had made his general confession of his entire life with me and died in the odor of sanctity, as he lived, but without a physician or any human remedy whatsoever and so nothing was done for him.

Father Alonso Manso died on the Island of Marinduque in the Tagalog jurisdiction. He had spent over eighteen years as minister of the *Pintados*, where it was said, he was given certain poisonous herbs to kill him, something which these natives use frequently. The antidotes which they also have here, and which only these natives know how to use, restored him to health at that time, but his health was impaired and he suffered much although he was a healthy and a robust man. Finally, he contracted "idisipula" and went to Manila where we two met during the Lent and where he heard some four thousand confessions. Due to his illness, he was given chicken for nourishment whenever he needed it, but he had scruples about this. He returned to the same island where he died a few months later. There was a priest there to assist him in his last hours.

Father Francisco Martínez de Juesca, a co-novice of Your Reverence, died while a Superior of Zamboanga where he went after staying in Manila for several years; first he was a minister here in the Visayas and then in Mindanao; from there to Manila and then back to Mindanao (Zamboanga). His death was quite sudden, for no one even considered him to be seriously ill; not realizing the nature of his illness, he was given a purgative that ended his life within a few hours.

Also in Zamboanga, somewhat later, died Father Pedro de Espinoso, who was over seventy years old. He served for more than thirty years as minister in the Visayas and was Superior several times. They sent him there in his old age where he died full of days and merits.

Father Miguel Paterio, from Sardinia, died in the residence of Dapitan. He had stayed in these missions more than twenty years. He was quite advanced in years when he went there and because of ill-health, he wished to try to live in a small town near the *Cabecera* which, perchance, might make him feel better. He went there and shortly he passed away. I do not know whether

breve murió. No sé tuviese Padre consigo; pero había poco que había salido de la Cabecera donde le había.

El Padre Pedro Gutiérrez, criollo de Nueva España, fue ministro algunos años en estas Visayas y buen lengua. Fue a Joló y Mindanao, y se puede llamar apóstol de Mindanao por lo mucho que allá trabajó. Fue muy querido de aquellos indios, y de estos, por su grande apacibilidad. Fue Superior de Samboangan, de Bohol, y Rector de Cebú. Fue, ya de edad, a Iligan, puesto y presidio en la isla de Mindanao, trabajoso y retirado y falto de todo. Allí, un día de Santiago, dicha misa, se fue a recostar en la cama por hallarse malo. Viendo que no salía para comer, le fueron a llamar y lo hallaron muerto; y solo le hallaron que había prevenido para su comida unos pocos fríjoles, por no tener otra cosa. Fue varón santo y muy caritativo, y, por serlo tanto, aun lo necesario no tenía para sí. Murió como santo y vivió como tal, pero sin tener ni a algunas leguas cerca sacerdote.

El Padre Juan de la Rea, vizcaíno, gran ministro y de los mejores que han tenido estas misiones. Había más de 40 años que estaba en ellas, siempre eficaz y apostólico. Ya estaba viejo, y. según me había dicho varias veces, ya no estaba para este ministerio, que ha menester un tesón incansable. Con todo, duró hasta la muerte, que lo cogió en el pueblo y cabecera de Carigara. Había yo ido 8 ó 10 días antes (por estar 8, o poco más, leguas no más de dicho pueblo, a ver a dicho Padre, a quien debía mucha voluntad). Confesóse muy despacio conmigo, y tanto que reparé yo y me edifiqué no poco. Volvíme, y dentro de dicho tiempo me llegó la nueva cómo había muerto tan de prisa que otro Padre, que estaba por tierra tres leguas de allí, no pudo alcanzar más que a olearle y enterrarle. Fue hombre inculpable. Pero, como dije, deseaba ya descansar y no se le cumplieron sus deseos, y se murió primero que llegase el descanso de la tierra, aunque le tendrá muy grande en el cielo; que fue un apóstol.

he had another Father with him, for it was only a short while since he had left the *Cabecera* where there was one.

Father Pedro Gutiérrez, a creole of Mexico, spent several years in these Visayan missions and was well versed in the dialect. He went to Jolo and Mindanao and could be well called an Apostle of the Mindanaos due to his great work there. He was greatly loved by those natives and even by these Joloans and Mindanaoans for his great mildness. He was Superior of Zamboanga several times; also in Bohol, and Rector in Cebu. In his advanced age he was assigned to Iligan, a military post and a garrison on the Island of Mindanao; this out of the way post was full of hardships and lacked all kinds of necessities. There, on the Feast of Saint James, after saying Mass he went to bed because he was not feeling well. Not appearing for dinner, they sent for him but found him dead instead; they also learned that he had prepared for his meal only a few beans, not having anything else. He was a holy man and extremely charitable, always giving away everything even his personal belongings. He died as a saint just as he had lived, but without having a priest even at the distance of several leagues.

Father Juan de la Rea was Viscayan by birth, a great minister and one of the best that these missions have had. He served for more than forty years in these missions with apostolic dedication. He was very old and several times he spoke to me about his inability to continue in a ministry that requires such tireless energy. But he did carry on until death overtook him in the *Cabecera* of Carigara. I had gone there for ten days before (because the town was eight or more leagues distant from mine) to see the said Father, to whom I was attached with special admiration. There I heard his confession which was done very slowly to my great edification. I returned to my town and not very long after this, the news of his death reached me in such a quick manner that a priest who lived three leagues away from there, hurried to his side only to give him Extreme Unction and bury him. He was a man without fault. But as I said, he was a man who desired rest but his wishes were not fulfilled and he died before he was given a rest on earth; even though he must have it in heaven for he was truly an apostle.

Poco después murió en Catbalogan el Padre Baltazar Porticela, napolitano. Había estado más de 30 años en estas misiones de Visayas; y, aunque siempre de moderada salud y más flaco que fuerte, estos últimos años estuvo muy achacoso de la orina, y otra enfermedad secreta y muy penosa. Deseó ir a curarse a Manila, pero no se le concedió hasta que, últimamente, a puras instancias suyas, vino licencia, pero de modo que cuando quiso tratar de embarcarse, y ya habían comenzado a llevar sus trastecillos, murió bien dispuesto, pues, además de ser hombre perfecto, muchos días que le duró el achaque, y aun años, le sirvieron de continua disposición.

Poco distancia hubo, o antes o después, entre los dos dichos y el Padre Francisco Luzón, toledano, coadjutor formado, *vir sane pius et sincerus*. Fue más de 44 años ministro acá, aunque no pocos con varios achaques de la hijada, jaquecas y otros. Deseó, a lo último, retirarse *saltem* a una cabecera, donde se cuidase de su regalo y buen pasaje, que en los pueblos es más difícil. No lo alcanzó, ni aun en la última enfermedad, pues murió en sus pueblos de visita, harto falto de comodidad y regalo para sus años y achaques. Tuvo suerte en que tenía un Padre nuevo, recién venido al ministerio, consigo, que le sirvió de administrarle los sacramentos y enterrarlo en su dicha visita, llamada Palo.

Por este mismo tiempo murió en Borongan, donde había poco se había perdido, viniendo de México, la nao *San Francisco Javier*, el Padre Cosme Pilares, aragonés, que, aunque no había más que diez o doce años que estaba en estas misiones, era muy buen ministro, y había sido Superior de la residencia de Dagami; y allá, en Borongan, del trabajo de acudir a los de la nao perdida, yendo y viniendo al puerto donde se perdió, y falta de lo necesario, pues aun hasta sin ropa quedaron los Padres de aquella costa por acudir a los perdidos, y la comida no se hallaba por ningún dinero, adoleció de un achaque que llaman "berber," que comienza por las

A little later, Father Baltasar Porticela, a Neapolitan, died in Catbalogan. He had laboured for more than thirty years in these Visayan missions, and although he was always in moderate health and rather thin; during his last years he suffered from urinary problems and was ill with another personal ailment which was morally painful. He wished to go to Manila for some remedy but was not given the permission until finally, after many requests, he was granted the opportunity to go; but when he was about to embark and had his baggage ready, his illness worsened and he passed away well prepared, for besides being a perfect man during the many days that his sickness lasted or even years, these served him as a continuous preparation.

A short time before or after this, Father Francisco Luzón died; he had been born in Toledo and was a model coadjutor, a truly saintly and sincere man. He was over forty years a minister here, even though not a few of those years he suffered from various illnesses such as liver trouble, severe headaches and others. Near the end, he desired to retire at least to a *cabecera* where he could find some relief and better treatment since this is more difficult in the towns. He did not receive this not even in his last illness because he died during one of his town visits without any remedy and without relief or comfort for his age or pains. He had the good fortune, however, of having a newly arrived priest to these mission who assisted him and ministered the last Sacraments to him and buried him in his said *visita,* called Palo [Leyte].

About the same time died, in Borongan [Samar], the place where the Galleon "San Francisco Javier" was shipwrecked while coming from Mexico, Father Cosme Pilares from Aragón. He did not stay longer than ten or twelve years in these missions, however, he was a very fine minister and had been Superior of the Residence of Dagami [Leyte]. While he was in Borongan he helped in rescuing and assisted the victims of the lost ship, by coming and going to the port and attending to the needs of the victims of the shipwreck by sharing with them everything possible so much so that the Fathers in that shore were left without clothing or food and this could not even be purchased. It was then that he contracted a kind of a sickness known as berber, which appears on the legs and makes its way up to the heart and which

piernas, y, en llegando al corazón, mata sin remedio. Llegó el Padre, que era su compañero, a tiempo de administrarle los sacramentos, y murió en breve, mozo y de muy buenas esperanzas para todo.

Siguióle dentro de pocos meses el mismo compañero con el mismo achaque, que se le debió de pegar, que fue el Padre José Luque, criollo de México, muy hábil y para mucho, pero duró poco, pues apenas estuvo acá un año cuando se llegó su fin. Tuvo suerte en que el día antes que muriese, llegó allá un Padre que fue para confesarle, de más de 30 leguas lejos por mar y tierra, y estuvo el dicho a peligro de morir también allá por el trabajo del camino.

Compañero del Padre Luque para estas misiones fue el Padre José de León, criollo de Manila, que también murió pocos meses después de un tabardillo que en breves días se lo llevó; confesóse de paso, trayéndole a la Cabecera con otro Padre que se halló entonces allí, y, en llegando a la Cabecera, espiró dentro de breves horas. Y apenas había año y medio que estaba por acá. ¡Tan aprisa como esto se vive y muere!

Del mismo achaque murió en la isla de Negros el Padre Francisco de la Peña, castellano viejo, también recién venido a este ministerio, pues no había cumplido tres años en él, o por ahí. Había aprendido la lengua muy bien, y cuando había de comenzar a trabajar, acabó en pocos días, recién llegado a dicha isla de Negros.

Maduro y lleno de años y trabajos, y juntamente merecimientos, murió por entonces, poco más o menos, el Padre de Aunión, ministro de más de 40 años, de edad mayor, y tan viejo que ya, como otro Tobías, estaba ciego. Murió con fama de santidad en la isla de Bohol, donde fue los más años ministro, y queda enterrado junto al santo Padre Humanes, que fueron ambos compañeros acá muchos años, y lo serán más en el cielo, pues ambos son tenidos por santos de todos los naturales y españoles.

El Padre Andrés de Vallejo murió poco ha en el colegio de Cebú. Había estado doce o más años en estas misiones. Aun no había hecho la profesión. Sobrevínole un achaque de falta de

proves fatal. The priest, who was his *socius* arrived on time to administer to him the Last Sacraments, and he died shortly afterwards, still young and full of promise.

After a few months, his companion also died of the same disease that infected him; he was Father José Luque, a Mexican Creole, who was very skillful and competent, but he did not live long, for in less than a year after his arrival here, he died. He was fortunate in that only a day before his death a Father arrived there who confessed him; he arrived from a distance of more than thirty leagues by land and sea, and the said priest was in danger of death there also on account of the hardships of travel.

Companion to Father Luque in these missions was Father José de León, a creole from Manila who also died a few months later from a high fever, which in a few days carried him away. He made, on the occasion, his confession, bringing him to the *Cabecera* with another priest who was there by then and having arrived at the *cabecera* he expired within a few hours. It had been only a year and a half that he had been here. And so as quickly as this, one lives and dies!

Seemingly of the same disease died on the Island of Negros, Father Francisco de la Peña, a Castilian of pure blood; also a new arrival in this ministry for he had barely completed three years in it. He had mastered the language very well and when he was expected to begin his ministerial work, he died within a few days upon arriving in the Island of Negros.

After many years of hard and meritorious work, Father Pedro de Aviñón died after more or less than forty years in this ministry. He was well advanced in age and, like another Tobias, he became blind. He died on the Island of Bohol where he administered for many years with a reputation for sanctity. He was buried side by side with Father Humanes since they were close companions for many years and they shall be much more as such in paradise. Not only the natives but Spaniards as well consider them as saints.

Father Andrés de Vallejo died just recently in the college of Cebu. He had laboured twelve years or more in these missions and he never had made his profession [of vows]. He suffered

memoria que le impidió poder acudir al ministerio. Deseóse de muchos que lo llevaran a curar a Manila. No hubo lugar. Fue a Cebú, donde murió en breve por falta de médicos y remedios.

Sucedióle al dicho Padre en la muerte el Padre Pedro de Montes, sardo, hombre de edad, pues había estado en estas misiones mas de 40 años; y algunos ha que, por ser muy achacoso, no estaba para acudir al ministerio. Estuvo en la isla de Negros hasta que murió en ella. No sé que se hallase Padre alguno a su tránsito, por estar lejos y haberse muerto primero su compañero, que era el Padre Peña.

El último que ha muerto *in via* para este ministerio, ahora, ha sido el Padre Juan del Castillo, criollo de Manila, que, después de haber sido casado, capitán de infantería y regidor de la ciudad de Manila, entró en la Compañía, como lo había deseado siendo muchacho. Ordenáronle, y viniendo a estas misiones, se ahogó en el camino; que un baguio o huracán destrozó el champán en que venía (es embarcación de chinos este que llaman champán), y con él murieron otros muchos españoles, pues solo escaparon pocos indios, y es ese Padre el tercero que se ahoga en espacio de un año, o trece meses; los dos fueron el Padre José Quesada, sardo, y el Padre Francisco Ferrer, aragonés; que yendo ambos, uno tras otro, desde la isla de Marinduque a Manila, perecieron dentro de pocos meses; todos tres hombres mozos y de muchas esperanzas, y más los dos primeros por ser ya ministros.

No he contado aquí el Padre Julio Jobi, de Trento, que tambien murió en breve en estas misiones, donde enloqueció, siendo bien mozo, y murió luego; que quiso Dios librarle de los trabajos que con tal achaque había de padecer.

De todos estos Padres referidos verá Vuestra Reverencia cómo la falta de médicos, medicinas y regalo mató a los más y, cómo aun la de los sacramentos faltó a no pocos; de donde se sacará el peligro con que acá hay de uno y otro, que es mayor de lo que por allá llegarán a pensar, pues aunque tal vez estén los Padres cerca unos de otros, como se procura, o los mares, o las avenidas, o los tiempos borrascosos no dan lugar ni de llevar a las cabeceras los enfermos ni de que se les acuda luego aun a los

from amnesia, a difficulty which impeded him to attend to the ministry. Many desired greatly that he be taken for treatment to Manila, but nothing was done. He went to Cebu where he died within a short time due to lack of doctors and remedies.

The next to follow was Father Pedro Montes, a Sardinian, who was well up in years and had been in these missions for over forty years, and it is already some years that on account of his infirmities he could not attend to his ministry. He was on the Island of Negros until his death. I do not know whether there was a priest around during his passing-away, for being so far away and since his companion, who was Father Peña, died earlier.

The last one who died on his way to these missions was Father Juan del Castillo, a creole of Manila, who having been first a married man, a Captain of the Infantry and a Regidor in Manila, joined the Society as he had desired since he was a young man. After ordination, he was assigned to these missions. He drowned on his way there when a typhoon or a hurricane destroyed the champan he was sailing in, together with many Spaniards who drowned and only a few natives were able to save their lives. He was the third Father to drown in the space of one year or thirteen months; the other two were Fathers José Quesada, a Sardinian and Francisco Ferrer from Aragón; both were coming in separate vessels from Marinduque to Manila and perished in the space of few months; all three were young and promising, especially the two who were already ministers.

I have not included here Father Julio Jobi of Trent, who also died quickly in these missions, where he became insane, and passed away soon after that; God wanted to free him of the hardships consequent to such an infirmity.

From these examples of the above-mentioned fathers, Your Reverence will see how the lack of doctors, medicines and rest killed most of those priests mentioned; how not a few were deprived of the comfort of the Sacraments from which we can conclude that there is danger of both here, that is greater than they will think over there, for although the Fathers may be perhaps closer to one another, as intended, the seas, or the floods or the stormy weather do not permit to bring to the *cabecera* the sick ones, or to attend to those who are nearest. What will

muy cercanos; ¿qué será a los que están 10, 19, veinte y más leguas lejos, sin sacerdote, ni a quien acudir sino solo a Dios?

Tampoco he contado los que en estas misiones han muerto a hierro; que si ha sido, como entendemos, *in odium fidei,* y de las buenas costumbres que los Padres les enseñan y de las malas que les riñen, todos han sido dichosos; pero es otra señal del peligro con que acá se vive; si bien, a mi ver, es este el menor, pues el morir por Dios y su santa fe todos lo deseamos, y esto venimos a buscar acá; el alcanzarlo *non est volentis, etc.*

Vengo a ellos, aunque sea en último lugar, pues sin duda en el cielo le tendrán de los primeros. El primero (dejando al Padre Carpio, *de quo supra*), que, después que estoy en estas Islas murió a manos de estos indios, fue el Padre Domingo Arezu, sardo. Había poco que estaba en estas misiones, y estaba en la residencia de Carigara, donde yo era Superior entonces. Ha 13 ó 14 años, a este siervo de Dios, que es cierto lo era, aunque algo nimio con los indios por ser *nimis iustus* y nuevo aun, estando rezando cerca de una cruz delante de la casa del Padre por la tarde, le dio un indio de puñaladas, de que murió luego. Dicen le había reñido el Padre al dicho indio las borracheras frecuentes en que se hallaba y los excesos que de ellas suceden.

Al Padre Francisco de Mendoza mataron en la isla Mindanao, yendo a una entrada con unos españoles. El dicho Padre y el Capitán se adelantaron a los otros; que no debieran. Salieron de una emboscada, y les mataron a ambos; cuando los compañeros llegaron, los hallaron sin cabezas. Había estado este Padre dieciocho o 20 años en estas misiones.

En esta residencia, donde yo estoy al presente, y es la tercera vez que vengo a ella, recién ido yo de acá la segunda vez que acá estuve, mataron al Padre Miguel Ponce, aragonés, que era rector de Palapag; y al Padre Vicente Damián, siciliano, pocas semanas

happen to those who are ten, nineteen, twenty or more leagues distant, without priest, or who have no one from whom to seek help but God alone?

Nor have I included those who in these missions died by the knife, and as we understand, for the sake of the faith and for having preached to the natives good morals, or for having rebuked them for their evils and vices — despite all this, the priests died happily, but it is another sign of the dangers we encounter here. However, in my opinion, this is a lesser problem, since to die for God and for the Faith is a desire of all. We should all expect this here, but to obtain it is not within the reach of the one who desires it, etc.

I come to speak about them, although in the last place, but surely, in heaven, they will have the first. The first (leaving aside Father Carpio already mentioned before) to die after I came to these Islands, in the hands of the natives, was Father Domingo Arezu, a Sardinian. He had not been too long in these missions, and stayed in the residence of Carigara where I was Superior at the time. Thirteen or fourteen years ago, this servant of God, who truly was such, although being somewhat exacting with the natives for being a perfectionist; while he was praying by a cross in the afternoon, in front of the house of the Fathers, a native stabbed this servant of God repeatedly inflicting wounds from which he died later. They say that this priest had scolded this native because of his frequent indulging in drunkeness and its concomittant excesses.

Father Francisco de Mendoza they killed on the Island of Mindanao in an ambuscade moving in a military incursion with some Spaniards. He went along with the Captain ahead of the others, something which they should not have done. The enemy came out of an ambush and killed both of them; when their companions arrived, they found them headless. This priest had stayed about eighteen or twenty years in these missions.

In this residence where I am staying at present [Palapag, Samar] and it is the third time that I am here; the second time that I was here was when they killed Father Miguel Ponce, an Aragonese who was Rector of Palapag and Father Vicente Damián, a Sicilian, who was killed, a few weeks later in Catubig

después en Tubig (Catubig). Al primero dio con una lanza un indio muy de casa, aunque insistido de los demás, que se alzaron luego y quemaron las casas e iglesias, y estalló en la segunda, que en el pueblo de Tubig se había aderezado; mataron a puñaladas al segundo, Padre Vicente Damián, los mismos alzados y sus aliados; lo más cierto es que *in odium fidei,* pues quemaron las iglesias, cruces y otras señales de cristiandad y religión. Estos tres Padres solo han muerto a hierro en estas cuatro residencias de Leyte y Sámar.

En la de Mindanao mataron dentro de pocos días al Padre Francisco Paliola, italiano, y al Padre Juan del Campo, de Castilla la Vieja. Ambos murieron a manos de los indios que iban a enseñar y predicar, y lo más cierto es que *in odium fidei.*

En la misma corte de Corralat, rey de Mindanao, mataron al Padre Alejandro López, segundo apóstol de aquella isla después del Padre Pedro Gutiérrez, y al Padre Juan de Montiel, recién llegado de Europa a Manila, y de allá fue enviado a Mindanao, donde le llevó consigo el Padre Alejandro por su compañero, y murió con el mismo Padre a los primeros pasos de su llegada; que el Padre Alejandro había estado algunos años antes en Samboangan y sido allí Superior. De estos no se duda que murieron *in odium fidei* a mano de pérfidos mahometanos.

El último que ha muerto a hierro es el Padre Esteban Jaime, catalán, del Ampurdán. Había más de 30 años que estaba en estas misiones, los más de ellos en la isla de Negros, donde era como padre de aquellos indios. Hay blancos y prietos; los playeros son blancos y advenedizos en aquella isla; los del monte son negros, y

[Samar]. The first was struck with a spear by a native of the household, although at the instigation of others who rose up in rebellion soon after and they put to the torch the houses and churches and the rebellion broke out in the second [residence], that of Tubig where it has been plotted. The insurgents themselves and their collaborators stabbed to death the second, Father Vicente Damián, very likely out of hatred for the faith, since they burned the churches, the crosses and other marks of Christianity and religion.

Only these three Fathers have died by the sword in these four residences of Leyte and Samar.

In the Island of Mindanao, within a few days, they killed Father Francisco Paliola, an Italian and Father Juan del Carpio of Old Castille. Both died at the hands of the natives to whom they went to teach and preach; very likely this happened out of hatred for the Faith.

In the same court of Corralat, the Kinglet of Mindanao, they killed Father Alejandro López also, the second apostle of that island. Next [to follow the same fate] were Father Pedro Gutiérrez and Father Juan de Montiel, who recently had arrived from Europe to Manila, from where he had been sent to Mindanao, to which place Father Alejandro took him as his companion and where he died together with that Father shortly upon his arrival. That Father Alejandro had been several years, prior to this in Zamboanga and a Superior there. About these, there is no doubt that they have died from hatred for the Faith at the hands of the perfidious Mohammedans

The last one who died violently was Father Esteban Jaime, a Catalán from Ampurdán. He had stayed in these missions for more than thirty years, most of them in the Island of Negros, where he was like a father to the natives. There are whites and negros there; those who live by the seashore are the whites and are recent arrivals there; those who live in the mountains are negros and are aborigines of that island. The priest, in search

los naturales de ella. Yendo, pues, el Padre en busca de uno (que siendo cristiano se había ido al monte, y según dicen se había llevado una prima hermana suya, con quien vivía amancebado), le mataron a lanzadas en el monte donde fue a buscarlos. Tengo conmigo la lanza con que le mataron; el dicho Padre fue hombre de vida inculpable, gran religioso y muy observante, y, como a tal, le premió Dios.

De Pintados, 24 de junio de 1660

Francisco Ignacio Alzina

of a Christian who had been taken by force, they say, by a first cousin for illicit relationships, was killed with a spear there in the mountains while looking for them. I have here with me the very spear with which they killed him. The said priest was a man of guiltless life, a great religious and very observant; as such, God took him to his reward.

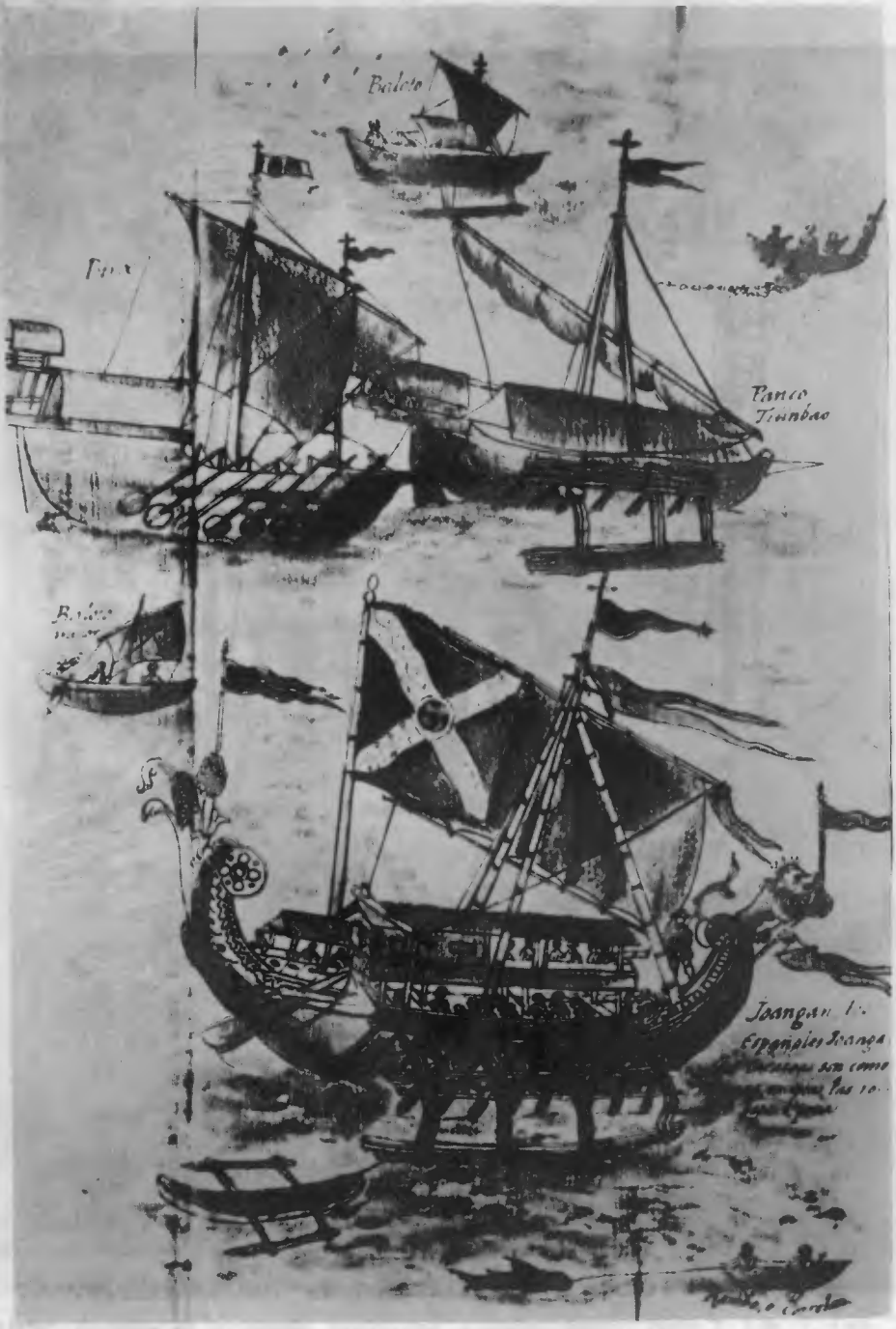
Pintados, June 24, 1660

Ignatio Alzina

Alzina drawing of a Samareño Dato, his wife and their slaves. Parte I, Lib. I, Cap. 2. *HISTORIA . . . 1668*

Alzina drawing of a couple performing a *Quigal* dance. Parte I, Lib. I, Cap. 2, *HISTORIA . . . 1668*

Alzina drawing of a war dance. Parte I, Lib. I, Cap. 2, *HISTORIA . . . 1668*



Alzina drawing of navigational and war vessels. Parte I, Lib. III, Cap. 4. *HISTORIA . . . 1668*

Alzina drawing of various animals. Parte I, Lib. 2, Cap. 5. *HISTORIA . . . 1668*

Alzina drawing of various reptiles of Samar and Leyte. Parte I, Lib. II, Cap. 7. *HISTORIA . . . 1668.*