

17th Century Jesuit Missions in Samar and Leyte: Foundation of towns and temporal administration

INTRODUCTION

The previous issues of the *Philippiniana Records* had published thus far eight extant chapters from Ignacio Alcina's *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas . . . 1668*, Book One of Part Two.

The present installment initiates the publication of Book Two of this rare and extremely interesting manuscript of the late seventeenth century. This Book Two is also the least fragmented and, consequently, most complete of the three that are still extant.

It would be well to recall that this Part Two of the *Historia* was originally composed of five books, however, almost one half of this part was badly mutilated and the rest is seemingly lost forever.

What more, Book Two which consists of some twenty-two chapters, is the more interesting of the three that have survived the vicissitudes of time, at least from the viewpoint of the History of the Church in the Philippines. And this, primarily because herein Father Alcina dwells on, treats and discusses matters, which will readily catch the attention even of today's readers, such as the foundation of towns, periodical pastoral visitations, Church

economy, the celebration of its feasts, the administration of the Sacraments, the works of mercy, etc.

In this present installment we summarize Chapters one, two and three; whereas the two succeeding chapters, that is four and five, are published here in their entirety, in both Spanish transcript and English translation.

Very little, however, remains of Chapter five due to its badly fragmented and mutilated condition. Nonetheless, this 'little' is very precious because with it we come to know from first hand information that the Jesuits did not receive or demand from their flock, at least in Samar and Leyte, anything whatsoever, either in kind or in coin, in exchange for their pastoral ministrations. First and foremost they trusted and depended upon Divine Providence, and then on whatever the generosity of the faithful proffered them and on the alms of "stipends" allotted them by the King or the *encomenderos*.

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PART TWO

BOOK TWO

CONCERNING THE *REDUCCIONES*¹, IN GENERAL, OF THE
ANCIENT HAMLETS INTO THOSE WHICH
PRESENTLY EXIST AS *CABECERAS*² AND
*VISITAS*³; ABOUT THEIR
[the Bisayan] WAY
OF LIFE AND THEIR SOURCE
OF LIVELIHOOD. ALSO CONCERNING
THE MINISTERS, THEIR MANNER
OF CATECHIZING AND ALL THAT PERTAINS
TO THE INSTRUCTION IN THE FAITH AND ABOUT THE
LAUDABLE CUSTOMS OF THESE
NATIVE BISAYANS

The heralds of the Gospel [upon their arrival] found many settlements scattered over numerous out of the way places, well accommodated to the natives' manner of life during that time,

although disadvantageous [for the preaching of the Gospel]. The great multiplicity [of these hamlets], their smallness in size and the great distances that separated them made it almost impossible for the preachers to evangelize them.

As a result of this, their apostolic labours were made difficult and even much more so if we consider their small number [i.e. missionaries]. And yet, now we are amazed at their achievements; for they were so few and yet they accomplished so much! There was hardly a river which they did not enter, a seashore which they did not tread, a cove which they did not explore, and islands on which they did not move about or hamlets which they did not visit; always catechizing, instructing, baptizing just about everyone, whatever age and in whatever place. [They accomplished this] with a truly apostolic zeal and with indefatigable courage worthy even of the very First Apostles, and with an almost never-ending stamina. Had it not been for the Hand of God which was working through the ministers, a task so exclusively His, it seems that it would all have resulted as an undertaking far beyond all human ability. But when [may we ask] did not God accomplish great things through weak instruments?

An additional obstacle remained in the strong attachment of the natives to their ancestral places: it was so deeply rooted in them that even to this very day, they still yearn for them and leave no stone unturned so as to return to them [if possible]. Oh, how much stronger [that feeling must have been] at the time when many were leaving these places [with no hope] of ever returning to them!

This is something that only God could and, in fact, did make possible; that is, bringing about these reductions with such ease that it fills one with wonder! And although all of them sigh for their old settlements, very few have ever returned to them. However, the missionaries took great precaution and care so as not to stir up too much violence — some of it was unavoidable — and thereby selected places where they would be able to make a better livelihood and live together in bigger and better towns.⁴

CHAPTER 1

CONCERNING THE NEED FOR THE *REDUCCION*, THE BRINGING TOGETHER OF THE MANY HAMLETS WHICH EXISTED PREVIOUSLY SO AS TO FACILITATE THE EVANGELICAL PREACHING

In the beginning it was difficult to announce the Good News to the natives due to the distances and also to their scanty intellectual and emotional preparedness for assimilating truths so sublime as those which were preached to them by the missionaries. The first great difficulty was the almost infinite number of hamlets, scattered and multiplied over such a vast region; the second was their location because "they either had their dwellings along the shores of the larger islands or in the hinterlands along the course of the rivers which were not a few, and as some are even to this day. They also had these settlements on the smaller and out of the way islets,¹ more or less distant from the larger ones" which had to be reached by sea, thus bringing about exposure to frequent risks and dangers "and these are so many that only those of us who have experienced them and still do so today, can be true witnesses; for these are a result of personal encounters. Because over here one must necessarily expect and be able to foresee three circumstances in almost all ordinary and daily navigations; namely, the winds, the currents and the ebbs and tides, for all of them are either favourable or unfavourable depending upon the season. And since these vary so greatly,

seldom are [these three] propitious. For a greater part of the time these are unfavourable, because while sailing along the coast the wind is fine and propitious until one reaches one or another of the capes; for upon nearing it, the [wind] becomes contrary and unfavourable thereby making it necessary to reverse the prow and the stern around many of these capes. And so it is true, that often it becomes necessary, and not infrequently, to sail backwards thereby making a return trip until the winds change or become more amenable. What is worse (as it often happens) is when the wind and the currents meet, especially along the promontories which project far into the sea and are full of reefs, as most of them are."

Father Alcina was fully aware of these arduous encounters from his own experience, for he was once forced to wait not only for a matter of hours but for days in order to double a cape which he had easily reached but was unable to round it because of the contrary winds which have quickly set in.

No lesser difficulties were experienced on the rivers, especially when they were swollen from the heavy down-pours during the rainy season; for then about eight days were needed to make a trip which ordinarily took some eight hours to negotiate. This, of course, does not include [the delays due to] fallen brushwood, large trees and broken branches and stripped leaves which the streams carry along and spill into the narrow rivers and clog the sharp bends.

There was no less difficulty in visiting the many small villages which formerly were so numerous on the islets, due to the currents which one encountered on the way. These were so strong that it seemed as if they were channeled and hence it was necessary to wait for the *Tuig*² (about which we have already said that it is a favourable or opportune time) so as to pass over to the islets. Those who have made attempts to cross over to them out of season have either suffered shipwreck or, at least, have undergone many trials and much discomfort and were left stranded for days without any food, having recourse only to God's mercy. [Such misfortunes] cause no little regret and affliction to the Fathers and evoke from them a feeling of pity especially for the natives who always go along with them because these, when they go alone, often take to fishing, but when they accom-

pany the Fathers, they are accustomed to ready provisions and hence, feel it much and complain not a little.

To these difficulties must be added those occasioned by the low tides, which in some places are so great that the sandbars become visible near the shoreline. What is even worse and more dangerous are the reefs and the quick return of the tide which grounds the boats on a ridge of sand forcing them to wait until high-tide before resuming the voyage. [If they are fortunate] in carrying along some food with themselves, they cook it aboard; if not, they fortify themselves with patience and resort to fasting since they cannot get out of the boats due to the sharpness of the rocks, deep mud and underwater pits into which one may be trapped. As a result, even the natives refuse to leave the boats; those who take the risk often get hurt and run into awful predicaments and dangers.

If this undertaking is formidable today when the clusters of houses are not even one twentieth of what they used to be at that time, what must it have been then?

In the very early beginnings, some of our most fervent ministers have perished very quickly as a result of these threatening circumstances. Obviously their strength was out of proportion with their courage; their efforts greater than their capabilities.

And if in the journeys by sea and by rivers the hardships were great, land travel was not much easier due to the ruggedness of the mountains, the valleys, the rivers and the swamps. All this was gravely compounded during the *amihan*³ or rainy season when the missionary was unable to navigate the sea. Often times he was forced to travel over a terrain of reef-like rock, very tough, piercing and sharp, making his travel as formidable as if he were walking over pieces of broken glass. [So rugged and jagged are these rocks] that even the soles of the feet of the natives, which are seemingly tougher than those of camels, were subjected to deep cuts, while the soles of the shoes were quickly worn down.

The great abundance of leeches contribute in making the journeys even more perilous. And these leeches were found not only in the water, the brooks and in humid places like in Europe,

but also on rocks, on trees and upon the highest peaks of the mountains. Some of the trees were so infested with them that without exaggeration one may state that they had more leeches than leaves. [Then too] they are so quick to drop down on the passers-by so as to draw their blood; without being aware of their presence, one was quickly covered with them on the head, in the ears, and even near the eyes; all gorging themselves with blood. [What more,] they left welts that did not disappear in months and scars that lasted for years, as it happened to Father Alcina.

As a consequence of all these hardships on land and sea and the exposure to so many unnecessary risks, it was deemed necessary to gather the people from the numerous tiny villages that existed there in Samar and Leyte, into fewer but larger towns during the initial stages of the preaching of the Gospel.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE DIVISION THAT WAS CREATED INTO *RESIDENCIAS* AND *CABECERAS*; IN WHAT THEY CONSISTED AND FOR WHAT REASONS THEY WERE ESTABLISHED IN SUCH A MANNER

Prior to describing individually each *Cabecera* with its *residencias* as they were established at the very beginning when the many small villages were gathered into larger settlements for easier and speedier administration, it will be proper to define here what we term a *residencia*; for each one of them falls under a *cabecera*. [We shall also speak about] the reasons for this set-up, which were not few and insignificant.

By the term *cabecera* we understand here a gathering of towns which, although forming independent units and being separated from one another, form or make up an aggregate and which falls under a "head" or a superior and depends upon him and is subject to him.

The reason for such an arrangement is because we thought it best to follow in our ministries the practice of the Society of Jesus which consists in the following: first, the "casas profesas" which are the backbone of the Institution and very appropriate for the professed members who devote themselves to the ministry of souls and live on alms, without any fixed income or revenues; second, the "colegios" which are houses of studies where the religious young men are made to grow in knowledge and virtue. These "colegios" are more numerous than the above-mentioned and these have revenues and [fixed income]. [Of these latter] there are two in the Bisayas and both of them, however, are very poor.

The "residencias", that is, the third kind of houses of the Society are so called because, although they have no fixed income as the houses of the professed, they include only a few members and do not have any program of studies. These are merely dwellings where some ministers live under a superior who is called a "rector". The head of the houses of the professed is called a "preposición".¹

And although we call these "residencias" of the *Pintados*² "rectorial residences" strictly speaking their "heads" are not "rectors" but superiors. The main house, where the Superior of the *residencia* lives, is called over here a "cabecera", because he who dwells therein is the head of the others, and to him all the others are subject in religious obedience. And therefore, in these *cabeceras*, since they are the common and the mother houses of each *residencia*, all the ministers stationed in each one of them, who normally number about four, five or six members, gather three or four times a year in order to concern themselves with spiritual matters. Herein they pattern their mode of life upon that which is exemplified in the *colegios* and in the *residencias* which are better supplied with personnel.

It is for these reasons that the *cabeceras* are provided with more spacious and more solidly constructed houses and with larger and better furnished churches. Together with the Superior there resides also a brother who attends to the temporal concerns. Herein also is stored whatever is necessary in matters of food, clothing and other needs of the individual ministers.

Whenever anyone becomes ill in the midst of his apostolic endeavours, he is brought to the main residence for attention and recuperation.

There are also other centers of population which, distinguished from the *cabeceras*, are called "visitas" because the ministers are always on the move, visiting two or three and at times even more of these towns assigned to them. During these visits they spend about three months before they return to the *cabecera*, so that everyone may profit from the presence of the minister. And here there is another reason why the numerous clusters of huts in the olden days were incorporated into fewer and larger towns of today; namely, so that the minister would have more time for the instruction of the natives in the Faith and thereby provide a better opportunity to receive the Good News. It has been well noted that where the minister is diligent and active, the Faith of the natives grows, but if he is not such, their Faith deteriorates.

"And for this reason I would often repeat that the Bisayans shall never be good Christians unless they are always well attended to and even urged on with a gentle compulsion by fervent and dedicated ministers."

Still another reason for reducing their many tiny settlements into larger towns was to spare the natives from the immense amount of labour which would be required in constructing convents and churches for every small village which existed previously. In the construction of these buildings, however, care was taken so that the labour was evenly distributed, comfortable locations were selected, durable lumber provided.

Utmost care was also taken so as not to have them work on construction during times of sowing and harvesting, and also when there was no work in the shipyards or government works; for them these latter are no small burden and a source of much discomfort.

Still yet another reason for the reductions was to bring them into closer social relations "accustomed as they were to live apart from each other, dispersed in out of the way places". And although they have not reached as yet the degree of social and *political*³ life proper to more developed nations, now they live like others and with the same degree of social order.

It is undeniable, however, that the towns over here, even today, are only such more in name than in reality. Since they are so little urbanized they appear more like a wilderness than a town; the reason for this is that the houses in these towns are used by them only on Sundays and feastedays when they are urged to attend Mass or when they bring in the sick (even though they evade this as much as they can). The reason for urging them to bring in the sick to town is so that these may be close on hand for the reception of the Sacraments. All this is considerable obstacle to their individual instruction since all of them cling stubbornly to their own fields.

There was no ill intent in uprooting the natives from their nooks and crannies as it may appear at first sight, and drawing them away from their little villages or "rancherías"⁴ (for they deserve the latter name better) so as to transfer them to more comfortable and more convenient locations in order to effect a better way of life. On the contrary, a real service was rendered them and this boon continues both socially and spiritually. What more, due to the gentle, although seemingly a little violent, procedure of reduction many of them have relinquished their inveterate practices of heathenism: they forgot the places of their *pag-anitos*,⁵ they abandoned the trees, rocks and caves to which they always attributed some divine powers, and parted with places which were an occasion for their drinking bouts. In reality, they passed on from a brute-like existence to a human way of living; from slaves of Satan to the freedom of the children of God; from barbarian infidels to believing Christians. As a consequence, it was but logical that everything was to be renewed and improved. Hence, the Spanish proverb, "Por mejoría mi casa dejaría"⁶ seems to be now reflective of them.

As we shall see later, they have made tremendous progress and did not fare ill if, through some temporal discomfort at the start, they secured for the future their temporal well-being and spiritual well-fare. Now, they have a better God, better laws, rites and practices because they are as distant now from their ancient practices as is truth from falsehood, the earthly from the heavenly, and the human from the divine.

CHAPTER 3

WE BEGIN TO TREAT [HERE] ABOUT THE REDUCTIONS OF THE TOWNS IN PARTICULAR AND PRIMARILY ABOUT THE DIVISION OF THE TWO ISLANDS INTO FOUR *CABECERAS*

In this chapter we shall speak about the *cabeceras* and the towns which fall under each one of them and which were so organized in the beginning and persist this way until today on these two islands.¹ Afterwards we shall say something about those on other islands which were added to these in the Bisayas. [Also something will be mentioned] regarding the towns which each one has [under its jurisdiction] relegating to the last part of this work whatever is peculiar to each one of them.

The Faith reached the Island of Leyte² after that of Cebu. The first missionaries did the ground work for this mission beginning with Carigara³ and Balugo⁴ and reaching as far as Dulac.⁵ These are situated on the eastern coast of the island moving towards the south. It [Dulac] was chosen as the first *cabecera* because of its convenience, but later it was transferred to Dagami⁶ since it is situated more inland and therefore better protected from the raids of the enemies. Although in the beginning the hamlets were numerous and almost without any semblance of order, because each one was [situated] in its own nook with its dwellers only a few subjects which each petty chief had under him. Little by little they were [reduced] and consolidated into

a few (care was taken in doing all this so that they were relocated in places not far from those where they had been dwelling previously) that now exist under the *Cabecera* of Dagami, which is the largest of them all.

All in all, the number of towns that fall under this *cabecera* are ten: seven of these are situated on the Island of Leyte and the other three on the Island of Samar or Ibabao.⁷

The other *cabecera* and the second *residencia* of this Island of Leyte is that of Carigara, which was the first town where the missionary Fathers erected the Cross of Christ, on the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, May 3, 1595. It still remains as a *cabecera* while that of Dulac remained such for only a short time.

This *cabecera* which comprises three out of the four parts of the island, includes fifteen towns all in all, although some of them are small. The one which is most remote is Sogor⁸ or Panaon⁹ and to reach it would require some three days of sea-travel if the weather conditions would be favourable.

Five of the towns located on the eastern coast of the island can be reached by land, either by foot or on horseback; three of these can even be reached by sea, as it is possible from Carigara to Leyte.¹⁰

Also, from Carigara to Balugo one can travel by sea or by land. The distances from Carigara to Jaro¹¹ and to Alangalang¹² are greater and both can be reached only by land, since both are inland towns.

Later we shall say something about the towns of Jaro and Alangalang, which are considered over here as the finest; very fertile, pleasant and less exposed to the depredations of the enemy.

On the Island of Samar or Ibabao (for it bears both names as we already have stated) there are two other *cabeceras* and *residencias*. Since this island is incomparably more mountainous and hilly than that of Leyte, there are no interior towns which can be visited on foot, but only by boat and by rowing up-stream since they are located along the rivers. Some of them are more and others are less distant from the seashores.

The first *cabecera* of Samar was situated in Tinago,¹³ which the first Fathers reached on October 15, 1596. It did not remain

there, however, for a long time because it was transferred to the town of Catbalogan¹⁴ where it remains presently.

This residence comprises at present seven towns into which the many little villages that existed previously were reduced. All of them can be visited by way of sea. Three of them, however, are located along the rivers either nearer to or farther from the sea; the other four are on the same seashore. It is interesting to note that they are still on the same spot. This is so because this mission of Samar is, among those of the *Pintados*, the one most subject to raids and attacks of the enemies.¹⁵ Almost every year they come to pirate and plunder these islands.

The second *cabecera* of Samar is that of Palapag,¹⁶ which we call *residencia* of Ibabao, because the eastern coast of the island bears such a name.

This residence is divided into two parts: the main one which is principally called Ibabao and originates with the town of Borongan,¹⁷ which is from among them all the nearest to the town of Guiuan,¹⁸ and as far as Tubig.¹⁹ Today it includes three towns only because the fourth one was completely devastated during the Samar uprising²⁰ some years ago.

The second and most important portion of this residence is its *cabecera*, this is, the town of Palapag together with five additional towns which run along the northern coast, from the renowned Cape del *Espiritu Santo*,²¹ as the Spaniards call it and the natives refer to it as *Magsasanga*, as far as the Island of Viri,²² which is located at the mouth of the channel²³ or, in other words, the Strait that Samar or Ibabao forms with that of the Island of Manila.²⁴

Aside from these two islands [i.e. Samar and Leyte] which are the exclusive ministry of the Society, there is a fifth residence situated on the Island of Bohol where, as in the previous two, our Fathers are the only ministers there.

Our Fathers went to Bohol for the first time in the same year in which they took possession of Samar, that is, in the year 1596, as previously stated. They converted the natives [of that island] so completely to the Faith that within a span of a few years, not a gentile was found.

The Island of Bohol comprises four towns; the fifth one is located on the Island of Panglao.²⁵

We may add to those just enumerated six other residences of ours on the Island of Mindanao whose *cabecera* is located in the town of Dapitan and which consists of Boholanos. And although formerly (the ministry to the Boholanos) was a trust of the secular clergy, today, however, it is ours. In this ministry, there are many *Subanos*,²⁶ that is, people who dwell on rivers; some of them are already converted while others are still pagans.

On the Island of Negros, so called by the Spaniards and *Siparay* by the natives, there is another half-residence. Previously it was the ministry of the secular clergy and today it is ours. It has four towns of Bisayans, where the Faith is taking roots, and several settlements of *negrillos*²⁷ (who dwell in the mountainous area of the island) and where the Faith is making headway, although rather slowly for lack of ministers.

CAPITULO 4º

DEL MODO DE VIVIR DE LOS PADRES MINISTROS EN ESTAS RESIDENCIAS, CABECERAS Y SUS VISITAS; Y EL MODO DE ACUDIR A ELLAS Y SUS HABITACIONES, etc.

Síguese que digamos algo (porque quede de una vez dicho) de lo tocante al modo de vivir, material y personal, de los ministros del Evangelio que moran en estas residencias, así en la cabecera como en las visitas; de su modo de habitación y casas; su asistencia en ellas, y de lo temporal y necesario para el sustento de la vida humana (carga forzosa a nuestra naturaleza mientras vivimos); que de lo tocante a las iglesias y sus ornatos, fiestas y celebridades, modo de administrar a estos naturales y demás ocupaciones del ministro formal de las almas, trataremos más abajo después que hayamos hablado de lo especial de cada residencia.

Y, porque la regla viva del ministro evangélico (dejando las especiales nuestras; que todas la califican e individúan) es la que da el Apóstol de las gentes San Pablo, como primiferio y norma de todos los varones apostólicos, fue que nos contentásemos con lo necesario para el sustento y vestido (que en ellos está embebido lo de la habitación y morada), y ésta es la que acaso profesa y a que sólo da lugar la pobreza de estos naturales, expresando en cada cosa lo que por acá se practica, quedará sabido bastante-mente el modo, dónde y con qué, o de qué por acá se pasa y vive.

CHAPTER 4

CONCERNING THE MANNER OF LIVING AMONG THE FATHER MINISTERS IN THE *RESIDENCIAS*, *CABECERAS*, AND THEIR *VISITAS*; ABOUT THE MANNER OF VISITING THEM AND ABOUT THE [FATHERS] HOUSING FACILITIES

It follows that we say something (so that it may be stated once and for all) concerning the manner of living material and personal, of the ministers who reside in these *residencias*, the *cabeceras*, as well as those in the *visitas*. Also about their housing and lodging, about their kind of life therein and about whatever pertains to the temporal and indispensable needs regarding the sustenance of human life (a necessary burden to human nature while we breathe). For whatever pertains to the churches and its furnishings, the feasts and celebrations, the manner of ministering to these natives and the remainder of the occupations of a formal minister of souls we shall deal in its place, but after we have discussed what is special about each residence.

The rule of life of the evangelical ministers (setting aside our particular ones, because all the rules qualify it and apply it to individual cases) is the one which the Apostle to the Gentiles, St. Paul the standard bearer and exemplar of all apostolic men, gives; namely, that we content ourselves in having what is necessary in matters of food and clothing (in them is also included what concerns housing and lodging) and this is perhaps the rule which these natives profess and by which they are bound on account of their poverty. We shall give practical examples in each case of how it is lived here, so that we may come to know sufficiently well the mode, the wherewith and the wherewithal on which we live and carry ourselves through.

En cuanto al modo, es continuo, forzoso y casi necesario el movimiento, siempre y en todas partes; porque cada ministro (sino es pueblo de mucha gente, que son pocos) tiene dos pueblos, algunos tres, y cuatro y aun cinco a las veces, según la abundancia o falta mayor o menor de ministros. Lo que por acá ha parecido desde sus principios competente ocupación para un ministro son quinientos tributos, que es lo mismo que quinientos casados con sus hijos, etc.

De esos, algunos tienen más, otros algo menos, según la calidad o mayor numerosidad de los pueblos, que siempre se procura que a uno mayor se junte otro menor, o que sean de poca diferencia; aunque en esto se mira más a la fácil expedición de los ministros que a la mayor o menor cantidad de los administrados; pues, como veremos, entre nosotros no tiene más el que administra mil que el que quinientos, cuanto al subsidio temporal; sí cuanto al trabajo personal, que es fuerza sea mayor cuanto más dividido o más numeroso el partido que doctrina.

Siendo dos o más los pueblos, y, habiendo de acudir, como se acude, a todos y a la cabecera (como dijimos ya) para nuestras juntas, es forzoso tasar el tiempo en cada uno de ellos, de modo que ni falte con demasía, ni sobre con exceso, la asistencia a cada uno de ellos, según su capacidad y necesidad; de modo que, en los tres meses que hay de junta a junta, se corran una o dos veces todos; y, si no se pudo, comenzando, al volver, por el pueblo a que se faltó; y esta es una de las mayores y más pasadas cargas de este ministerio, el haber de andar en él con continuo movimiento; ocupación tan necesaria del que ha de acudir a muchos, que es forzoso se falte a unos si se detiene demasiado en otros; y, aunque la experiencia muestra que este modo es más cansado

Regarding our mode of life, it is a continuous, demanding and an inescapable duty of being on the move always and everywhere, because each minister (unless it is a town of many people, and such towns are few) must attend to two towns, to three and four and still others even to five sometimes; all this according to the availability or scarcity of ministers.

It has seemed from the very beginning, that a reasonable undertaking for a minister would be to occupy himself with at least five hundred tributes¹ here, or which is equivalent to five hundred married couples with their children, etc.

About these [tributes] some [ministers] have more, while others have a little less, depending upon the rank or size of the population of the towns. Care, of course, is taken to consolidate a small one into one which is larger so that the difference [in population] among them may be minimal. In all these matters we keep in mind to make matters not so difficult for the ministers rather than concern ourselves with the numbers of people to be ministered to. For as we shall see that among us, he who ministers to a thousand does not receive more as far as the stipend is concerned than he who takes care of five hundred tributes. Of course, this is certainly another matter when it comes to expending personal effort in the ministry which must necessarily be greater when the number of people or the population centers are larger.

[Therefore,] two or more towns are assigned to the minister who must attend to them, as he does to all of them; also he [must report] to the *cabecera* (as we already stated) for our [community] gatherings. [The latter] must be so scheduled in such a manner so as not to deprive the minister of his pastoral time or even go beyond the limits. [All must be done according to] the needs of the people and the capacity [of the minister]; and this in such a wise that during the months that intervene between one gathering and another, all [the towns] may be visited once or twice. If, per chance, this is not possible, then when he resumes his visitations, he must begin with the town that was left [unvisited]. One of the greatest and heaviest burdens of this ministry is the constant moving about; yet a task so urgent for him who is entrusted with the care of so many towns. At times it becomes imperative to leave some of them unvisited, if one moves too slowly among the others. And although experience

que provechoso, más trabajoso que útil, es mal casi necesario por acá, porque ni hay ministros que puedan acudir a cada pueblo de por sí, ni es tan fácil reducirlos a menos; que en lo que a los principios se hizo, no se hizo poco sino muchísimo.

Con lo cual, mientras las cosas duran en este ser, y esta feria no se muda, es necesario a todos los ministros andar en continua e incesable mudanza de unas partes a otras, llevando como arrieros divinos de unos pueblos en otros la mercadería celestial; y dejo a cada cual que discurra a sus solas lo trabajoso de este continuo movimiento.

De un pueblo a otro o se va por mar o por ríos, y en estas partes forzosamente embarcados con las incomodidades que dijimos; o se va por tierra, y esto, aunque a los principios fue a pie con las penalidades que también dijimos, después se ha procurado (mirando a los muchos que enfermaban, de los ministros) introducir algunos caballos, que sirven así para algún descanso de los ministros como para ayuda y alivio a los indios (que forzosamente habían de cargar a hombros las alhajas necesarias del ministro, pues casi todas las llevan consigo), y ahora el uso de los caballos facilita el llevarlas.

Y, aunque a alguno le parecerá menos apostólico este uso de caballos; si supiera cuáles son ellos, cuán mal impuestos, pues es fuerza dejarlos en el campo cerriles, mientras se está en un pueblo; cuán mal aparejados de sillas y lo demás necesario, quizás dijera (como lo hacen aún hoy muchos) que es mejor ir a pie que a caballo; pero, dado caso que fuesen buenos y bien impuestos, como el ministro no es suyo sino de muchos, y el ir y venir no es una vez sino de continuo, todo cuanto abrevia los caminos, alivia los trabajos y facilita las visitas cede en mayor logro del ministerio, quedando más tiempo para estar en los pueblos cuanto menos se

teaches us that this procedure is more tiring than profitable, more laborious than useful, it is nonetheless an almost necessary evil over here, simply because there are not enough ministers who may attend to each individual town. Neither is it an easy task to reduce these into a smaller number. Yet what was achieved in the beginnings was no insignificant accomplishment.

In view of all this, and while circumstances remain the same and the present setting does not change, it is imperative for the ministers to move about with a constant compelling motion from one place to another, carrying their heavenly merchandise like divine muleteers. May I leave then, to each one's own judgment to ponder, in solitude, how toilsome must be this endless going about.

We travel from one town to another, either by sea or by river; in these regions quite necessarily by boat in the midst of the above-mentioned discomforts or overland. In the beginnings [overland] travel was done on foot with all the accompanying sufferings already mentioned; later we (taking into account the many who among the ministers suffered ill-health) introduced the use of horses. These prove very profitable for the remainder of the ministers as well as for the assistance and relief of the natives (who necessarily had to carry upon their shoulders the needed baggage of the minister), since they were almost compelled to take all the house-hold utensils along with them. At present the use of horses makes the transportation of these items much easier.

Perhaps, some may consider the use of horses a little un-apostolic, but if they knew what sort of [horses] these really are and how poorly tamed they are; (for it is necessary to leave them unsaddled in the fields) how poorly harnessed and saddled they are and the many other drawbacks, they might perhaps say (as many do even today) that it is better to travel on foot rather than on horseback. But let us suppose that they would be good and well trained, [look at the advantages]: since the minister does not belong to himself alone but is meant for many others and since his coming and going is not a one-time activity, but a continuous one, the utilization of horses shortens this time of travel [greatly]. [It also affords relief in the difficulties encountered], facilitates the visitations and contributes to the greater fruitfulness of the ministry [pastoral work]. As a result, more time

gastó en los caminos; y, si algún accidente o impedimiento los detiene en el camino, eso es fuerza quitarlo después a todo el pueblo, y a las veces al cielo; pues tal vez es, por poder acudir el ministro a caballo con brevedad, reciben algunos los sacramentos antes de morir, asegurando con esta diligencia aquel trance, que sin ella (como se experimenta no pocas veces) se malograría; que sola esta razón era bastante para introducirlos, y que, introducidos, se juzgue por necesario y de mayor provecho de las almas el conservarlos.

La casa y familia de cada ministro, y que siempre le acompaña, dejando los indios necesarios, o de boga, o de carga (que no son muchos, como veremos luego), son cuatro muchachos, o mancebos, que rara vez el mayor de ellos pasa de veinte años; lo más común es no llegar a ellos.

De estos, los dos sirven de sacristanes que cuidan de lo tocante a la iglesia y sus ornamentos, y de la casa y sus alhajas, mientras allí está el Padre (si bien en cada pueblo se procura que haya personas que en ausencia del ministro cuiden); los otros dos cuidan de la cocina, guisando de comer para el Padre y sus compañeros; que esta familia se ha juzgado por acá bastante para cada ministro, y es la que le acompaña siempre a todas partes; y así, acá les llamamos compañeros, no criados; y se procura que sean de lo mejor de los pueblos, porque con la compañía del Padre quedan más bien enseñados e instruidos, así en lo de sus almas, Doctrina Cristiana y buenas costumbres, como en sus cuerpos, pues lo pasan mejor sin comparación que en sus casas en cuanto al vestido y comida y lo demás personal.

Lo que cada ministro lleva forzosamente consigo es todo lo necesario para el sustento y avío de la persona del Padre y sus compañeros; porque en muchos de los pueblos no se puede dejar ni aun las sillas para sentarse, que las hurtan o las quiebran los pasajeros; sin perdonar a las veces ni aun a los tabiques (que acá llamamos *dindines*, que lo más común son de tablas), si bien en pueblos pequeños se hacen, o de cañas partidas, o de *bahes*,

can be spent in the towns and less time consumed on the roads. If any unforeseen circumstance delays them on the way, the time lost is a loss to the townspeople and even to heaven; because perhaps if the minister is able to arrive quickly on horseback, someone may receive the Sacraments on time and before he expires. By way of this provision they procure for them a happy passing into eternity, for without it, it could not be realized. This motivation alone would be sufficient to warrant an introduction of [horses] and it would be considered necessary and profitable to the souls to go on with their use.

The house-hold [helpers] and family-like members of each minister who always go along with him [on his visits] in addition to the natives who are necessary for rowing the boats and as carriers (who are not many as we shall soon see) are four boys or young men; rarely is the eldest found to be more than twenty years of age, ordinarily they are below this.

From among [these young men] two act as sacristans and are in charge of whatever pertains to the church and its furnishings and also those items that pertain to the house and its utensils while the Father is there [on his visits]. (On the other hand, during the absence of the minister, for each town there are persons hired to take care of the place). Meanwhile, the other two young men attend to the kitchen, preparing the meals for the Father and his companions. Since this number of domestics had been considered sufficient over here for each minister, they accompany him everywhere. Here we call them companions and not servants and care is taken that they are selected from among the best in the towns. In their association with the Fathers, they receive a better training and instruction in what pertains to their souls, to Christian doctrine and excellent morals. Their material needs are also well taken care of; their situation is incomparably better than what they would receive in their homes as regards clothing, food and other personal necessities.

Ordinarily each minister carries along with himself all that is required for sustenance and his personal belongings. In many of the towns we cannot even leave a chair behind, due to the fact that those who come around either steal it or destroy it; sometimes they do not even spare the partitions in the house (which we call *dindines*² here; these are usually made of boards). However, in some smaller towns these are made of split bamboo or

que ya dijimos son los troncos de varias palmas, partidos a la larga y aforrados con hojas de *nipa* u otras, como luego diremos.

Procúrase dejar, donde hay alguna comodidad, un poco de arroz en paja, encomendado a la vigilancia y cuidado del mayordomo, que es uno de los principales, o de otro de los cabezas, o *pinaopas*, de más confianza y seguridad, que no todos lo son; porque, como casi siempre están con hambre, o por los malos tiempos o por sus flojedad innata, se lo suelen comer, y, cuando el Padre va, no halla con qué sustentarse.

También es forzoso llevar a todos los pueblos lo necesario para el santo sacrificio de la Misa, como es vino, hostias, candelas, misal, cáliz y los demás adherentes; y a muchos pueblos aun los ornamentos, que no es poco trabajo y aun riesgo; pues no son pocos los que, o en las barras de los ríos al entrarlos, o en la mar con los malos tiempos, se pierden por hundirse las embarcacioncillas que sirven acá a los ministros para ir de unas partes a otras, que no pueden ser de mucho porte, así porque muchos de los ríos y barras no las admiten mayores como porque les faltara muchas veces la esquipazón necesaria, si fuesen de mayor porte, así por la falta de los indios en algunas partes, como por el poco repuesto que les puede servir de matalotaje y comida necesaria para la gente de boga.

Fuera de que están no pocos de los pueblos (aunque todos lo están en común, si bien no igualmente) tan expuestos a las invasiones de los enemigos, que infestan estos mares, que, dejando en ellos ornamentos u otras alhajas, es como dejarlos a los enemigos; pues hay algunos de los pueblos, de que (después que estoy yo en estas misiones) se han llevado de ellos los enemigos dos y tres más veces todos los ornamentos, imágenes y demás alhajas de las iglesias, sin perdonar a los pañitos de los confesonarios (que solemos nosotros poner a la parte que se confiesan las mujeres para que se haga con más decencia y ellas tengan menos empacho en la confesión); y, cuando hay retablillos o sagrarios pequeños, los suelen hacer pedazos los enemigos, y más si están dorados, por

out of *bahes*,³ which we have mentioned are made from the trunks of various palms, split lenghtwise and lined with *nipa*⁴ leaves, or with some other materials, and as we shall tell afterwards.

Where it can be easily done, we see to it that a little *palay* is left and entrusted to the care and vigilance of the *mayordomo*, who is one of the *datus* or one of the *cabezas* or *ginaopas*,⁵ who are among the most trustworthy and reliable, because not all are such. However, since they are always hungry, either due to bad times [unfavourable weather and other circumstances] or to their own innate indolence, they would consume everything. When the Father returns, he does not find anything to nourish himself.

It is also an indispensable move to take along to each town what is needed for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass like wine, hosts, candles, the missal, chalice and other necessary things. Also to many of the towns we must take along some of the furnishings; this implies not a little exertion of effort and even risks. Not infrequently do they become lost due to the sandbars upon entering the rivers or at sea due to inclement weather when the small boats which the Fathers use, sink. These, of course, cannot be of heavy tonnage since some of the sandbars and rivers cannot admit these or if they were much bigger, there would not be enough baggage to warrant such a size. Or the reason may even be due to the lack of natives [to man the boat] in some places or even because of the small stock of provisions that may serve them as supplies and necessary food for the oarsmen.

In addition to all this, not a few of the towns (although this applies to all, but not in the same degree) are open to the raids of the enemies who plague these seas. And, therefore, to leave behind the furnishings and valuable objects would be like throwing them away to the enemies; for there are some towns from which ever since I am in these missions) the enemy has carried away from them more than two or three times all the vestments, images and other furnishings of the church. [In these plunders] they did not even spare the small pieces of cloth in the confessionals (which we use to place at the side where the women make their confessions, so that these may be performed with greater decorum and so that the women may feel less embarrassment while receiving the sacrament). And wherever there were retables or small tabernacles, the enemy would break them to pieces; and

entender que es oro y que tendrá algún valor; y lo que añade no poco trabajo, y aun a las veces enfado, en estas continuas idas y venidas, es el poco cuidado y atención de los que acompañan a los Padres, que se olvidan y dejan de llevar no pocas de estas cosas forzosas, si el Padre ministro no cuida personalmente de todo con particular atención; porque no son pocas las veces que nos sucede llegar a la visita y, al tiempo de decir Misa, avisar que se dejaron olvidados el hostiario (que el vino no se puede fiar de otro que del cuidado y guarda del ministro), o las candelas, o los Santísimos Oleos cuando se ofrece el Bautismo o Extremaunción.

Tan poco como esto se puede fiar de la vigilancia y cuidado de nuestros compañeros, así sacristanes como cocineros; que estos aun de los platos se suelen olvidar, y de las ollas, que todo lo ha de llevar consigo forzosamente por acá cada ministro.

La morada, o habitación que halla el Padre, en llegando a los pueblos, y esto es lo más común en ellos (quitando las cabeceras, que se hacen con mayor cuidado, como casas comunes, y con mejor disposición para todos los sujetos de ellas) es una casa de palos, mayor o menor según lo numeroso de los del pueblo, cubierta de hojas de nipas, o de otro que tal (que es lo mismo que de paja en Europa).

De su modo de fabricarlas dijimos en la Primera Parte (y así no repito); sólo añadido que en los pueblos mayores, cuando hay copia de naturales que las labren y junten los materiales, procuramos que los postes, o columnas, que acá llaman *harigues*, sean grandes y de las maderas más fuertes, como el molave, u otras de que ya hicimos mención, y que los suelos sean de tablas y los tabiques de lo mismo; con que suelen ser mejores, más fuertes y decentes.

En los menores se hace lo que se puede, según su calidad; son en algunos de *bahe*, suelos y *dindines*, o tabiques, amarrado todo con bejuco, al modo de las casas de los mismos naturales; y quedan tan expuestas a los vientos por todas partes con dichos

even more so if they were gilded, thinking that it is gold and that it will have great value.

What adds no little exertion and at times even irritation in these continuous goings and comings is the little care and diligence of those who accompany the Father; they forget and leave behind not a few of those indispensable items if the Father minister does not personally supervise everything with extra-special attention. Frequently, it happens to us that when we arrive for the visit and make ready for celebrating Mass, we are notified that they forgot to bring along the box of hosts (that the wine cannot be entrusted to any one but to the solicitude and custody of the minister), or the candles; or when it comes time for Baptisms or Extreme Unction, we learn that the oils have been left behind.

As a result of all this, we conclude how little we ought to depend on the vigilance and trustworthiness of our companions, sacristans as well as the cooks, who even forget the plates and pots. The minister must even take these items along with him over here.

The dwelling or the room which the minister finds upon his arrival at the towns — and this is a common occurrence — (excluding the *cabeceras* which, as common houses, are built with more foresight and better arranged for the benefit of those who depend upon it), is only a house of sticks, bigger or small according to the population of the town, covered with *nipa* leaves or something of that nature (which is equivalent to the straw [roofings] found in Europe).

About the manner of building we treated in Part One (and so I do not repeat it here). I only add that in the larger towns, whenever there is enough of natives to build them and gather the materials, we see to it that the posts or columns, which we here call *harigues*, be large and of hard wood, such as *molave*,⁶ or others that we have already mentioned; and that the flooring be of boards as well as the partitioning walls. [Constructing them] in this way was better, stronger and more elegant.

In the smaller towns we do what we can, in proportion to the size of the town. Some houses are of *bahe*, the floorings as well as the *dindines*, or partition walls; all fastened with rattan after the fashion of the houses of the natives. These are completely open to the winds on all sides because of the said flooring

suelos y tabiques, como lo quedara una casa en Europa cercada de rejas, o barandillas, que poco más tupido viene a ser este modo de labrarlas; y así es necesario aforrarlas, para librarse de los vientos, de hojas de palmas, que con esto están algo más defendidas; aunque tan expuestas al fuego, como lo estarían en Europa las casas que fuesen todas de paja. Procúrase que tenga cada casa un par de aposentos, o celdas (algunas de las mayores tienen tres y cuatro), para cuando concurren a las confesiones dos Padres o más, como se suele en tiempo de confesiones anuales; que, para entonces, suelen acompañarse los Padres unos a otros, por muchas congruencias que para ello hay, como diremos en otro lugar.

Las iglesias, que están o unidas a las dichas casas, o continuas, de modo que se pueda pasar con facilidad de la casa a la iglesia, son de la misma manera y arquitectura: mayores o menores según la capacidad de los pueblos y lo numeroso de ellos; y, aunque se procura que se labren con más curiosidad o primor por la decencia del santísimo sacrificio de la Misa que en ellas se celebra, y demás sacramentos; otras, por ser de menor número de feligreses, se hacen con dichos *bahes*, u otros palos enteros, aunque menores y derechos, con que quedan siempre como en la calle (en cuanto al estar expuestas a las influencias de los tiempos y aguaceros, etc.), porque no se puede más por la pobreza y cortedad de estos naturales, y por no cargarles más de lo que pueden y hacerles más penoso y cargoso el ministerio; aunque tal vez, y aun muchas, sea con algún menos decoro de lo que se debe a los sagrados ministerios, que en ellas se les presentan, y a los divinos misterios que se ejercen; que ya supo escoger el Hijo de Dios para nacer un portal demolido, o una casa pajiza o enramada, habitación de animales, para facilitar a sus ministros entre estos naturales semejantes habitaciones de casas e iglesias, que no pocas veces lo remedan.

and partition walls, that it is as if comparable to any house in Europe which is built around with railings and balustrades; only here the mode of construction is just a little more closely woven. And so, to protect oneself from the winds, it is necessary to line them with palm leaves, since in this manner they are a little better protected. These, however, are greatly exposed to [possible] fires as are the houses in Europe which are made from straw.

We see to it that each of these houses has several apartments or rooms (some among the bigger ones have three or four) for the occasions when two or more Fathers come together, as it happens at the time of the yearly confessions. On such occasions the Fathers help each other out in consideration of the many advantages that are derived from it as we shall mention in another place.

The churches which are either joined to the said houses or adjacent to them, in such a way that one may easily pass from the house to the church, are of the same style and architectural design. They are bigger or smaller in proportion to the means of the town and its populace. Although we try to construct them with some elegance and beauty as the comeliness of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass celebrated therein demands and as the other Sacraments also do. Nonetheless, the others, due to their smaller population, are made of the said *bahes* or other wooden posts. Those are smaller and erect and as a result cause it to remain quite open (in so far as they are so exposed to the changes of the weather and the rains, etc.). Taking into account the poverty and the lack of training among these natives, we are unable to accomplish more. What more, we do not wish to burden them more than they can bear, thereby [running the risk of] rendering their ministration more painful and burdensome, even though perhaps in some instances the result may be less refined than that which is due to the sacred functions which are performed in them for their benefit. Considering the fact that the Son of God chose to be born in a half-ruined shack or a straw hut, covered with branches or straw — quarters for animals. [All this happened perhaps] so as to make it easier for the ministers [to adjust] to the natives' dwelling in such houses and [attending such] churches which are reminiscent, if not replicas of the aforementioned [stable].

Lo que añade acá no poca carga a los ministros en estas sus habitaciones de casas e iglesias, es el continuo y forzoso reparo de ellas, porque, en volviendo las espaldas el Padre, queda todo yermo y sin quien cuide de ello (aunque se procura que haya quien lo haga, pero en valde). Y así, cuando vuelve otra vez al pueblo, halla sin suelos su casa, tal sin techo o tabiques, y tal todo el edificio en el suelo; porque lo ordinario de las muchas y ordinarias inclemencias de los tiempos, a que queda todo expuesto; lo recio de los torbellinos, baguios o tifones de los desmedidos vientos; y, tal vez, las avenidas de los impetuosos ríos las derriban y destrozan sin remedio; siendo casi continuo y forzoso el volver de nuevo a reedificar; cuando menos a componerlas y aderezarlas de nuevo; y no es sola una vez sino muchas lo que acá sucede, haber acabado de hacer una iglesia, o casa, con no poco trabajo de los indios y mayor del ministro, que es el que ha de cuidar de todo ello, y de ellos, y venir un baguio, o tempestad de vientos, y derribarla otra vez, obligando a comenzar de nuevo su fábrica y volver a juntar los materiales que pocas veces quedan de provecho en semejantes fracasos, porque los postes se suelen rajar y aun quebrar en pedazos, y las demás maderas mucho más, como menores y menos recias; con que se pasa casi toda la vida en un continuo trabajo, así de los Padres ministros como de los indios, y lo peor es que es irremediable esto, pues ni hay comodidad ni habilidad entre estos naturales para edificar de otra manera.

Y, aunque ha habido algunos ministros de los más eficaces y deseosos de su alivio, que han intentado, e intentan hoy, el edificar algo de piedra (o de obra que acá llaman “mestiza”, por ser parte de piedra y parte de madera), ni estos edificios, aunque son más fuertes, duran ni perseveran sino es habiendo continua asistencia del ministro en los pueblos donde los hay, por los muchos peligros a que quedan expuestos, ya de fuego ya de agua, pues los techos de teja por acá (quizás porque no se sabe dar el punto en el fuego a las tejas por los chinos, que son más y mejores oficiales de todo) prueban mal, y en tiempo de aguas son tantos

What compounds this no little burden of the ministers in utilizing such houses and churches is their continuous and needed repairs. As soon as the Father leaves, all becomes desolate; nobody caring for them (although we see to it that someone is left in charge, but to no effect). And, therefore, when he returns to the town, he finds this house without the flooring, another without its roof or its walls; the entire structure of the third one completely collapsed to the ground. This is all due to the frequent recurrences of inclement weather to which they are so exposed; the strong whirlwinds, the *baguios* or typhoons with their powerful winds and on occasions the swift overflowing rivers which drag them down. Thus, it becomes necessary and [the task is] ever present of rebuilding them again or, at least, of repairing and re-equipping them anew. This happens not only once but many times, [as for example] the construction of a house or a church was completed with no little effort on the part of the natives and even greater effort on the part of the minister, who is the one who has to take care of everything including them [i.e. the natives] when a *baguio* or a windstorm comes and pulls everything down again. This makes it necessary to begin all over again: gathering materials anew since seldom do these [that were torn down] remain in good condition after such disaster. The posts are often splintered and even broken into pieces and the rest of the timber even much more so, being smaller and less sturdy. And so we find ourselves during the entire life time in an uninterrupted labour on the part of the ministers and on the part of the natives as well. What is worse, is that the whole thing is futile, because there is no possibility or skill among these natives to build in a more secure manner.

And although there have been some ministers who were more enterprising and desirous of some relief who have tried and even try today to build something with masonry (a construction which here is called "mestiza" since it is built partly of stone and partly of wood) not even these structures, although stronger, endure or last. Unless the minister keeps a constant watchfulness over them in the towns where they stand. [These structures] are exposed to many risks such as fire and water especially because the tiles over here (perhaps because the Chinese, who are the better craftsmen in everything, do not know how to determine the [dura-

los aguaceros y conmociones, que son casi otras tantas las goteras por que calan las muchas aguas las tejas, y queda el techo como si no lo fuera; de modo que por todas partes se padece, y sin esperanza de alivio, en las habitaciones de por acá.

CAPITULO 5

DEL SUSTENTO ORDINARIO DE LOS MINISTROS DE POR ACA; DE ADONDE Y QUIEN LES DA LO NECESARIO PARA EL

Si en alguna parte del mundo es necesario medirse los ministros con la regla (al fin de un Apóstol de las Gentes, como acá lo deben ser todos) del: *habentes alimenta et quibus tegamur, iis contenti simus*; y contentarse con sólo lo forzoso y necesario para el sustento de la vida, es en estas islas de Bisayas; no porque absolutamente falte lo necesario que, aun tal vez, abunda, sino porque respectivamente faltan muchas, así por la pobreza de estos naturales como por su flojedad y poca aplicación al trabajo, pues habiéndoles dado Dios una de las más fértiles tierras, y fáciles en dar tanta cantidad, variedad y bondad de frutos y frutas, es tan poca su prevención y tanto su descuido que lo más común, de las tres partes del año que padecen hambre y necesidad, las dos por no aplicarse a guardar y recoger lo mucho y bueno que cogen; contentándose con buscar cada día con qué pasarse, sin acordarse más de mañana, como si no hubieran de comer más que aquel día; obrando en estos la natural flojedad y pereza lo que rara vez alcanza la resignación más perfecta, que, según aforismo de los

tion and intensity of the fire] which must be applied to the tiles over here) are not properly baked. As a result, during the rainy season the downpours and rainstorms are so abundant that they saturate the tiles through and through, causing leakage. As a result of this one gets the impression as if there were no roof at all. All this causes such hardships that we suffer from every quarter and without any hope of relief in these matters of housing over here.

CHAPTER 5

CONCERNING THE ORDINARY MEANS OF SUSTENANCE OF THE MINISTERS OVER HERE; FROM WHERE AND FROM WHOM THEY RECEIVE THEIR NEEDS

If there is anyone in the world who should measure up to the imperative (which was given by the Apostle of the Gentiles, and to which all of us here should readily conform) "... but if we have food and clothing, with those we shall be content,"¹ it should be us, the ministers. [Therefore, we ought to be] contented with what is indispensable and necessary for the sustenance of life only, as it is with those who live here in these Bisayan Islands. It is not because we are deprived of what is absolutely necessary here, all these are sufficient; but we do lack many things, resulting both from the poverty of these natives as well as from their inertia and their great indifference toward work. Notwithstanding the fact that God had given them one of the most fertile lands, which so readily gives forth such an abundance, variety and lush produce and fruits, their foresight is so little and their indolence so great! Frequently, out of three-fourths of the year during which they experience utter need and hunger, half of this pressing need is due to the fact that they fail to apply themselves to gathering and storing [something for the future]. Inevitably, they are satisfied with merely taking care of their immediate needs without ever giving a single thought for the morrow, as if they had to eat only on that day. Their natural sluggish and lackadaisical attitude brings about the same results what is seldom accomplished through the [practice of] the most

místicos, ha sido y es: *nihil de crastino cogitare*; punto no poco levantado de perfección evangélica y de abnegación de todo lo terreno; que, a ser por Dios en estos, como es por flojedad, habían dado, sin duda, en lo sumo de ella; y, si los ministros (aunque dependemos siempre, y en todo, de la Divina Providencia) nos dejáramos llevar de su providencia, es cierto que quedáremos lo más del año frustrados del necesario sustento, así de nuestras personas como de nuestras moderadas familias; y así cuanto en ellos falta de atención y cuidado, deben de prevenir los ministros para no quedar, como ellos, faltos de todo lo necesario.

Y así, asentando (como cosa sin duda) que de la providencia y cuidado de los indios no hay que esperar (pues mal dará a otro quien para sí no tiene), hemos de dar razón ahora de qué se sustentan los Padres (pues todos por acá vivimos de limosna, sin propios, simple de altar y sin bienes raíces), pues es cierto que, como dependientes siempre y en primer lugar de la Divina Providencia, que nunca falta,

(*Aquí faltan algunos folios*)

vino para las misas; excepto entre nosotros que (como diremos en el Capítulo siguiente) tenemos otro modo más religioso y dependiente en esta parte.

A esta cantidad que se sacó del tributo que pagan los naturales o a su Majestad (o en su Real nombre a los encomenderos, a quien hace merced de alguna de las encomiendas) llamamos acá limosna, o estipendio, que ambos a dos nombres le dan por acá; y es limosna de suyo, porque se da, y como tal la recibimos como pobres, pues en estas residencias ni hay propios, ni rentas ni proventos algunos, sino la dicha limosna; y (como veremos en otro lugar cuando tratemos de los ministerios y sus derechos), nosotros los de la Compañía no llevamos algunos a los naturales, ni les pedimos correspondencia alguna por ellos, ni recibimos limosna alguna, según nuestra Regla, por misas o sermones o cualquiera otro ministerio que, según nuestro Instituto, usamos.

perfect resignation; which according to an aphorism of the mystics, has been and is: "not to worry at all about the future". Now, this is a very high degree of evangelical perfection and of earthly detachment from everything; if, per chance, this were done by them out of love for God and not stemming from passivity, they would undoubtedly have reached the summit of perfection. If we ministers (we do depend on Divine Providence for everything) would allow ourselves to be governed by their kind providence, we and our domestics would certainly be left deprived of the necessary sustenance for most of the year. Therefore, the ministers must make up for all their lack of foresight and concern, if they are not to be left in want for the necessities of life as it often happens [to the natives].

Now that we have conceded (without any doubt whatsoever) the fact that we cannot trust the "providence and diligence" of the natives (for no one can give to another what he himself does not have) we must now learn how the Fathers support themselves (because all of us here live on alms, having nothing of our own — neither stole fees or landed properties. For it is true, that our dependence upon Divine Providence never really fails us...

[*Here some folios are missing*]

... wine for the Masses; however, we are an exception (as we shall state in the next Chapter), because we have another more religious and dependent way concerning this matter.

This amount, set aside from the tributes which the natives pay either to His Majesty (or in His Royal Name to the *encomenderos*, whom he grants some of the *encomiendas*) we call here alms or a stipend, over here both terms are used. In reality, it is an alms because it is given to us and we accept it as the poor ones; since in these residences we have nothing of our own, neither income nor any revenues, except the said alms. And we of the Society (as we shall see in another place when we come to deal with the ministries and corresponding fees) do not impose any on the natives;² neither do we demand from them anything equivalent in lieu [of a stipend]. Also, we do not receive any donations, according to our Rule, for Masses, sermons, or any other [spiritual] services which we provide according to our way of life.

Llámanlo estipendio por otro nombre, y *máxime* en los Libros Reales, porque es como paga que se da a los ministros, o doctri-
neros, en nombre de su Majestad, para que tengan con qué sus-
tentarse, sin hacer vejaciones a los indios, ni obligarles a que
den otras cosas; y así, aunque con el nombre de estipendio no nos
tiene bien a nosotros, pues no lo llevamos por los ministerios, pero
usúrpase así por ser nombre general, y para todos los demás
ministros eclesiásticos, o seculares o religiosos, que los reciben y
admiten con justificación y justa causa, pues *in omni eventu dig-
nus est mercenarius mercede sua*.

They call it a "stipend" [rather than] by another name and even more so in the Royal books, because it is seemingly equivalent to a pay which is given to the ministers or missionaries in the name of His Majesty. [The reason for this is] so that they may support themselves without burdening the natives or compelling them to contribute by other means. And so, although its name "stipend" does not serve our purpose fittingly, because we do not charge for our services, it is so called, nonetheless, because it is a general term and [it is used] for the other ecclesiastical ministers, whether they are secular or religious who receive and accept it rightly and with just reason, because "in any case the labourer is entitled to his wages."³

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION — PART II, BOOK 2

¹ This was an organized process of resettling the *Indios* from their infinitely scattered hamlets into larger villages, where the introduction and growth in the Faith may become more viable and where social intercourse may become possible. The great dispersal of population in the Archipelago was a great obstacle and threatened the consolidation of the 'spiritual conquest'.

"It was generally recognized that the natives could not be adequately indoctrinated in the Christian faith, nor could the Spanish program of societal reorganization be implemented or the material resources of the land be efficiently exploited unless the Indians were congregated into larger villages." John N. Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1959), p. 44.

This gathering or congregation of the natives into larger settlements was one of the most difficult problems the missionaries were faced with upon entering the Philippine Islands. The Franciscans, who arrived to this Archipelago in the year 1578, faced that great challenge squarely and ventured upon resolving the problem immediately and as quickly as possible, especially through the person of Fray Juan de Plasencia, well-known in Philippine History as "the Father of the Reductions". This could very readily and certainly be one of the most outstanding achievements and contributions of the Franciscans to the Philippine nation, which served as the basis for the cultural integration, as well as for the Christianization and education of the populace in the Archipelago. Cfr. Apolinar Pastrana, O.F.M., "The Franciscans and the Evangelization of the Philippines" (1578-1900), *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 435, Jan.-Feb. 1965, p. 88

Father John Schumacher, in his recent work, *Readings in Philippine Church History*, points out that the implementation of the reduction policy was explained in an order of Governor Santiago de Vera to Juan de Bustamante, the Alcalde Mayor of Camarines in the year 1585.

"Fray Juan de Plasencia, Father Custodian of the Order of Saint Francis, informs me that in that province many of the natives live in scattered settlements far from each other, and that the sacraments cannot be administered to them unless they come together in larger communities to build towns for themselves; also, that none of the towns in the royal and private encomiendas of that territory have any churches or church furnishings; and he petitions that suitable provision be made. This having been duly considered, you are hereby ordered... to call into consultation Fray Juan de Garrovillas, the Father Guardian of that city, and jointly with him decide what towns are to be formed and what shall be the size and plan of the churches to be built. After examining and discussing the matter, you shall put it into execution by gathering the natives together to build their respective towns and churches, and you shall not allow them to be employed by anyone in anything else, unless it be in some business

touching the service of his Majesty." (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila), 1979, pp. 39-46.

It is not only a fine opportunity but a real necessity to place before our contemporary reading public the person, Friar Juan de Plasencia, not only as "Padre de las reducciones" but also as a missionary "par excellence". Very little has been written about this outstanding Franciscan missionary in the Philippines in Spanish historical literature and almost nothing in the English language about him. John Leddy Phelan, in his excellent and authoritative work on the *Hispanization of the Philippines*, devoted only eight small lines to Plasencia and in the footnote section of his book.

"Friar Juan de Plasencia, who was a holy man, hailed from Plasencia, Extremadura and from the noble family of Portocarreros. While only a youth, he was invested with the habit of St. Francis of Assisi in Italy; when he returned to Spain he was incorporated into the Franciscan Province of St. James and later into that of San José. In the year 1577, he joined the first group of Franciscan missionaries assigned to sail for the Philippine Islands; they left Spain and arrived to the Archipelago in the year 1578. In Spain, however, he distinguished himself as an eloquent orator and preacher and in the Philippines he added to his renown even richer gems.

"Almost immediately upon his arrival to these Islands, by chance, he came upon a young boy, a native of Nueva Granada, who arrived with his parents together with the expedition of Adelantado Legazpi. While the youth was learning Latin grammar from Father Plasencia, he was teaching his master the Tagalog idiom. All this was done with such a degree of success that in a span of only two years of residence in these Islands Father Plasencia became proficient in the Tagalog language.

In February 1579, he was assigned by his superiors to bring the Gospel and a sense of polity to the Provinces of Caliraya, now Tayabas and Laguna. Imbued with the spirit of a true apostle, he visited the coasts and the mountains with such thoroughness for the purpose of instruction in the Christian faith, that there was no native left unvisited. Once he had won the hearts of even the most primitive *Indios*, they could not but help admire the virtues of Father Plasencia and appreciate the interest which he had for their well-being. He pleaded with them that they abandon their caves, huts and follow him to the coastal regions where the air was more healthful and its earth more fertile. There too, they would be able to provide more readily for their necessities of life and at the same time facilitate the instruction in the Catholic religion and even learn many other things of which they were ignorant.

The natives were greatly attracted to what Father Plasencia told them; they left their huts behind and began to follow him in great crowds. And so they arrived to the coasts or to *sitios* better suited for the foundation of towns where he ordered the construction of a kind of *camarin* out of bamboo and *nipa* which would serve as a church and a place where the missionary could dwell. Erecting these buildings, or better these shacks, he would divide the people into groups of families or kin groups and assigned a lot to each around the church on which they were asked to build their houses. And thus the *Barangay* system was firmly replanted which survives to this very day and reveals the true genius of the *Indio* and which demonstrates the fine ability of the organizer.

Let us now pause with our narrative, at this point, so as to make this pertinent observation. "In reference to the last statement above, it does not mean that Father Plasencia was the founder of the *barangay* system, a genuine Filipino institution, but he took advantage of its usefulness and transformed it into a 'Christian *barangay*' which, in turn, resulted also as a basis for the political administration of Spain during the colonial

period. The *barangay* in question here was composed of about forty-five or fifty families each, with its own headman or *Datu*. When the Spaniards began their spiritual conquest in the Archipelago, there existed a great number of small and independent settlements or states called *barangay*. This word was derived from a type of a vessel used in pre-Hispanic times by these kin groups and hence the usage passed on to mean such groups of people. Originally, it seems the Malaysans came in this type of vessel called *barangay* and populated these isles. These *barangays* or states were composed of a small number of individuals; some did not even exceed one hundred persons.

"After the *barangays* were formed, they selected as the headman or a chief the most venerable individual from each small group. Then, Father Plasencia, would proceed with the instruction of his catechumens and to whom he would administer the waters of Baptism once they were instructed.

"The great love of this venerable Plasencia was not satisfied with all this; he desired to communicate to his newly-entrusted children, as much as possible, the ability to learn how to read, write. His approach was very simple and very captivating. Imagine for yourself, a teacher under the shade of a roof made of *nipa* and bamboo with two rows of little ones seated on the ground; each one holding in his hands a box filled with very fine white sand, while one who is more adept among them traces letters and words. In between these two rows then pass other children, who are most serious and who have completed these lessons previously, and they carefully read the writings, correct them and call attention to the errors discovered. At the extreme end of this shaded area, beneath the crucifix, there is an elderly friar sitting on a rattan woven chair; his face wrinkled with age but deeply concerned, attentively making his observations. In this way, Father Plasencia put into practice in the 16th century the Lancasterian system of primary instruction who some attribute to a professor from Madras in 1480 or to a certain Jose Lancaster who practiced it and then afterwards explained it to those labouring in the Spanish Americas.

"Father Plasencia pursuing this system of reduction and instruction, after some time, had the happiness of founding the towns of Caliraya, Tayabas, Lucban, Mahayhay, Nagcarlan, Lilio, Pila, Santa Cruz, Lumban, Pangil, Paete, Siniloan, Morong, Pililla, Antipolo, and as far as Meycauayan, in the Province of Bulacan, without neglecting his responsibilities as Superior delegated by Father Pedro Alfaro who was then in China.

"On July 1, 1580, the Franciscans held their *Chapter* [this is a triennial assembly of friars wherein new superiors are elected and important matters discussed and decrees published] where among other resolutions proposed by him, these are some of the more notable ones which demonstrate the great concern of Father Plasencia for the polity of these towns.

"1. That for the convenience of forming towns, the missionaries be obliged to erect their churches and conventos on pre-determined sites which, in turn, would serve as points of departure for their mission labours; also, to oblige the neophytes and those who are still pagans, to construct their dwellings near the church.

"2. To establish primary schools where the *Indios* may learn not only the Christian doctrine, reading and writing, but also some other arts and skills with the purpose in mind that they would become not only good Christians but also useful citizens. These two resolutions of the *Chapter* were presented to the central government, meriting its approval.

"3. It was also urged that an excellent Tagalog grammar and a Tagalog-Spanish dictionary be provided so as to make the Tagalog idiom accessible to the missionaries, since until then such a class of books did not exist as yet or if they did exist they were somewhat unsuitable.

"When the Franciscan *Chapter* was brought to a conclusion, the newly-elected superior commissioned Father Plasencia to write that grammar and that dictionary as well as a catechism and a book of sermons so as to have some uniformity in all the Franciscan missions and in the mode of teaching the *Indios* the basics of religion. He assumed this obligation and responsibility with such enthusiasm that in that same year he completed the dictionary and the grammar and in the following year 1581, the catechism and the doctrinal sermons. These four books together with his plan for the reductions, Plasencia presented to the Fathers of the Manila Council, celebrated in the year 1581. All this was warmly and enthusiastically and unanimously received; with equal applause, the manuscripts were also approved; the catechism and the plan for the reductions were accepted by all the missionaries, 'civilizadores de este país'.

"In the history of the Franciscans it is noted that the Tagalog Grammar of Father Plasencia was the first of its kind, but this is not an absolute certainty. The first *Arte tagala* which saw the light in this Archipelago seems to have been written by an Augustinian religious, Father Albuquerque who died in 1580. All in all, that was to his glory and falls to his credit, but too, in all justice, Father Plasencia must also be given due recognition for the no less brilliantly written Tagalog grammar since he was unaware of Albuquerque's work. Plasencia's Tagalog dictionary and his catechism are still used today [i.e. 1900] with some slight modifications and are placed into the hands of all the Tagalog *Indios* in the pueblos under the administration of the Franciscans.

"On July 1, 1583, Father Plasencia was elected Superior, a charge which he has fulfilled with admirable zeal and prudence until September 23, 1586, when he assumed with ever more zeal than before, the founding of towns and establishing schools. He presented before the *Superior Gobierno*, under the Governor General, Santiago de Vera an excellently reasoned out exposition dated September 8, 1585; as a result of which he obtained for every religious one hundred pesos and one hundred *fanegas* of rice annually, for the sustenance and for the maintenance and construction of the churches and conventos.

"All his labours and all his expenditure of energy did not prevent Father Plasencia from writing, aside from the four mentioned works, a mystical work in Tagalog titled *La Santina*, a certain *Manual de las muchas maneras de hablar que son las mas comunes y generales que pueden caber en la lengua Tagala*, which, as Father Santa Inés says, is copied in his history by Father Ribadeneira. *Relación de las cosas memorables de los indios tagalos de Filipinas* dated June 19, 1585; *Relación del culto que los indios tagalos tenían, dioses que adoraban y de sus entierros y supersticiones*. This 'relatio' was printed in the year 1892, in the *Historia* of P. Santa Inés. He also translated various other booklets in Tagalog; then too, he wrote an *Informe al Gobernador General sobre las relaciones entre los Doctrineros y Alcaldes mayores de las Provincias del Archipiélago*, and finally, one *Relación de las costumbres de los indios tagalos de Filipinas*, dated in Nagcarlan on October 21, 1589. This 'relatio' was written at the request of Governor General Don Santiago de Vera, who wished to have for the *alcaldes mayores* some norms to follow in the administration of justice in favour of the *Indios*, according to the decrees admitted and approved by their customs and forwarded to San Pedro Bautista, the then superior of the Franciscans, who in turn, requested Father Plasencia to write the desired norms. Father Plasencia complied and invited several learned intellectuals to examine it; they did and they approved them. These were put into a final form and sent to all the *Alcaldes Mayores* with an order to follow these norms whenever justice was to be meted out to quarreling *Indios*. This small 'Codigo' was in force, until the new state of affairs modified the con-

ditions in the Philippine society. Even in the middle of this past century, although no longer obligatory, well-known personages would still consult these norms when certain disputes arose among the natives. To all this we must add the innumerable scientific consultations and gubernatorial questions of the *Autoridades Superiores* of the Islands which he answered; the 'informes' he remitted and the thousand other matters which were taken care by his hands. Father Plasencia, then, was like an oracle in those days whom everyone consulted.

"The establishment of the schools of primary instruction, as we have stated previously, came about through the initiative and tireless efforts of Father Plasencia. And because of all these matters, everyone was full of praise for him. The results of these schools were eventually favourable and beneficial as we are able now to feel the effects of these provisions. This, then, was continued by all the religious in the Philippines until the year 1898. The first efforts demonstrated by the Filipinos, as initiated by Father Plasencia, have now brought the Philippines to a state where many Europeans now envy many of them and even a greater part of this nation. The Philippines has undergone some three centuries of 'civilization' and in these three hundred years, more or less, the majority of the Filipinos profited from primary education. Without any fear of exaggeration, about eighty per cent of the inhabitants of these Islands know how to read and write. What nation in Europe or in the Americas can boast of such an achievement?

"This glory of the Religious Orders in the Philippines and principally that of the Franciscans is not something that is true in this country only. No! Read the history of the friars wherever they have appeared for the first time in any part of the world until this present year and you will see that wherever they have stayed, they have dedicated themselves always to this occupation, simple perhaps, but most useful by all means. We all remember what a writer once said when writing about this matter: all of us remember our professors of philosophy and of law, but how many of us remember the modest and poor teacher who suffered the impertinences of the little ones, teaching the A, B.C's and the primary rudiments of Christian doctrine?

"And all this was the grand work of the Sons of Saint Francis in Spain and in all the nations during the last years of the middle ages... The first school of the primary letters which was planted in the Americas was by a Franciscan lay-brother, Fray Pedro de Gante, in the Convento of Saint Francis in Mexico. This glorious traditional memory is preserved with due respect and the name of this humble lay brother is pronounced with tenderness by both the poor natives and the Spaniards. In this, Fray Pedro was a man of merit and even more, a man of ennobling ideas.

"With regards to our missionaries in the Philippines, Barrantes described in his speech of reception in the *Academia de la Historia* what great efforts they made in teaching the native little ones how to read and write, simply and with little cost, how to make the letters in the sand and a prelude to the Lancastrian system of the 16th century.

"From this little that we have written, one can understand how much these Islands owe Father Plasencia, and thus this religious should stand among the noblest of heroes. The natives, the Europeans and the authorities of the entire Archipelago, do not know his life, but only the title of *Father of the reductions*, the indefatigable promotor of schools. And when he died in the town of Lilio, in the year 1590, the Holy Bishop of Manila, Domingo Salazar, pronounced this brilliant and magnificent eulogy: 'Ecclesiam Dei illius morte magnam incurrisse jacturam, quia cecidit columna Christianitatis.'"

P. Valentín Marín y Morales, O.P., *Ensayo de un Síntesis de los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas de Filipinas*, Vol. II, Manila, 1901, pp. 572-581. It would be well to mention here that the above work was edited by the author. The excellent section on the "Obras sociales realizadas por los franciscanos en Filipinas (1578-1900)" is actually the work and authorship of Father Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M. It is deeply regrettable that this excellent piece of work, the "Ensayo" has not been translated and published in English.

In conclusion, we may add that although Father Plasencia has no material monument anywhere in the Philippines to this very day, he does nonetheless have the entire Filipino people today as his living, loving monument. And this thought alone must keep his heart warm in his grave somewhere in the *Pueblo* of Lilio in the Province of Laguna.

Finally, promoting the reductions had greater advantages than disadvantages. Phelan made this very pertinent observation: "The degree to which the Filipinos understood the meaning of the doctrine was often in proportion to the density of the population... The interest with which the Franciscans undertook the task of settling the people is the reason behind why instruction in the Franciscan parishes was of the highest quality in the Islands. Not only did the Franciscans retain a respectable degree of discipline among themselves, but also they enjoyed the good fortune of holding a series of populous and completely organized parishes in the Tagalog and Bicol regions." (*Op. cit.*, p. 61)

² The term refers to an organized plan where a church and the *convento* were located and which was the head or a center for all nearby hamlets or *visitas*; always with a resident priest and some lesser administrative officials.

"The *barangay* was the smallest administrative unit, but there were also other units of local government, the most important being the *pueblo de Indios*. The latter was the forerunner of the modern *municipio* or township. A *pueblo de Indios* in the seventeenth century consisted of a principal settlement, the *cabecera*, where the main parish church was located. Attached to the *pueblo* was a whole series of outlying clusters of population, the *visitas* or *barrios* serviced by an itinerant priest from the *cabecera*, in addition to various *sitios* (less than ten families). Every *pueblo*, which was an extensive territorial unit, was a collection of *barangays*. There might be more than one *barangay* in the *cabecera* if the population warranted it, but in the *visitas-barrios* there was generally only one *barangay*. Various *sitios* would have to be combined to form one *barangay*. The evolution of Philippine settlement patterns and administrative terminology may be clarified by the following chart."

PRE- CONQUEST	EARLY SPANISH	LATE SPANISH	CONTEMPO- RARY ENGLISH
1) (no term)	Ranchería	Sitio	Hamlet
2) Barangay	Visita	Barrio	Village
	Barangay	Barangay	
3)	Cabecera	Población	Town
4)	Pueblo	Municipio	Township
5)	Ciudad	Ciudad	City
6)	Alcaldía mayor	Provincia	Province
	Corregimiento		

Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 124

In the above chart, Phelan shows and clarifies the evolution of the Philippine settlement patterns and gives the administrative terminology. He points out that the Filipinos had only one term in pre-Hispanic times,

namely, the *barangay*. The present writer is not in a position to speak for the entire Philippines on this particular matter, but he wishes to point out here that among the pre-Hispanic Bisayans there were three types of settlement patterns: the *Gamoro* (sitio), the *Haopan*, or also known as *Sacopan* or *Dolohan* (barangay), and the *Bongto* or *Lonsod* (cabecera or población). In a chart pattern, we may present it this way:

PRECONQUEST

- 1) Gamoro
- 2) Haopan, (or Sacopan, Dolohan)
- 3) Lonsod (or Bongto)
- 4)
- 5)
- 6)

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH

Hamlet
Village

Town

Alcina, *Historia* . . . 1668,
Part I, Book 4, Chapters
1 and 2. Ms.

It would be well to support and substantiate the previous statement regarding the Bisayan pre-Hispanic settlements with citations from the texts of Alcina's history.

"... nonetheless they were not, when first encountered (I speak for the Bisayans) so wild that they had nothing of civility or so savage that they knew nothing of human intercourse, albeit not so much as they now enjoy..."

"Their settlements have two names in this language depending upon the region. In some they are called *lonsor*, and in others, *bongto*, either of these words means *población*. This is a sure indication that they had such settlements, although these lacked buildings and houses of some European cities, because of the natural poverty of these *Indios*..." Alcina, Part I, Book 4, Chapter 1.

"Some of them, at least a few, were large with populations greater than those in other places. Hence, it is that these two words, referring materially to a group of houses and formally to collection of people, signify city, town or hamlet; for the Bisayans did not make these distinctions until by dealings and communications with us they learned them.

"Sugbu is an outstanding example of a city in pre-Hispanic times, although others in the region did not acknowledge it as such; in reality, it was so.

"It was a large city and populous; it had much commerce with, not only the islands nearby, but also with those more removed, like Brunei, Macasar, etc..."

"On the Island of Panglao, there was a large populous city called Rawis... Terrenates destroyed the settlement and took captives before Spaniards came, and the latter people came back and rebuilt, but in Bac-layon in Bohol, not far from Panglao.

"I have no doubts that there were in other islands other villages of these natives in the olden days. It is certain that there were small villages which they called *gamoros*. Since these *gamoros* were in conflict with one another some plundering, others making slaves and still others killing with great ease and no sense of trust. For this reason, they had little mutual confidence, and so they divided up by kin groups which is what they call in other places *barangays*, and among the Bisayans *haop* or *sacop* or *dolohan*, which means a *junta* or a congregation.

"By this name we now call the chiefs living together in one village, and who used to live apart in many a *gamoro*, *ginhaopan* or *gindolohan*, which means the same as one who has people under him, subjects or vassals. The *timauas* and ordinary people are wont to say: 'Sacop ako ni kuan...'

"The *gamoros*, as they term them even to this day, were and are a cluster of few huts without the order of a village nor the division of streets...

"In ancient times the houses were more united and clustered so as to be safer in the event of an attack for mutual aid of one another, for they had so little security that they had no safe hour.

"Today since each house has its own rice field, and is simply in the neighborhood or vicinity where they may be easily heard, they do gather to assist one another when summoned." *Ibid*, Chapter 2.

³ This was a small settlement of people with their own little chapel who were visited frequently by the resident priest from the *cabecera*. The word is derived from the Spanish "visitación", meaning a visitation or a visit, simply.

"Since the Filipinos were reluctant to move into these settlements in large numbers, every parish had a whole series of *visita* chapels. The latter were periodically visited by non-resident clergy whose headquarters were at the *cabecera*

"... The inhabitants of the sitios attended religious services at the nearest *visita* chapel. The *cabecera-visita* system was a compromise, inadequate in many ways, but the only feasible alternative, given the shortage of ecclesiastical personnel and the scattered distribution of the population." Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ This paragraph seemingly raises a question about Phelan's thinking and thesis that: "In face of native hostility even the clergy, who had the most to benefit from rural resettlement, faltered. Furthermore, the traditional rice economy provided not compelling material inducement to move into the new settlements that the clergy were seeking to organize around the parish churches. The Filipinos were subsistence and not surplus farmers. Their traditional adaptation to their environment required that they live adjacent to the land they cultivated. In addition, fishing and hunting were important sources of food, and the transfer to compact villages threatened to destroy the whole ecological balance of existence, a fact which does much to explain the hostility of most Filipinos to the resettlement policy of the Spaniards." *Ibid*, p. 45.

He maintains that the "clergy had the most to benefit from the rural resettlement". On the contrary, the benefits were mutually beneficial at the minimum and even to greater advantage to the natives. Certainly the reduction facilitated the bringing of the Gospel and assured its deepening and intensification as far as the missionaries were concerned, but it also provided the new blessings and opportunities of polity in larger towns; that is, learning to live together with one another as non-kin groups, greater security, better opportunity for learning, reading, writing and other skills, etc.

Then again, the author cited, stated: "... Filipinos were subsistence and not surplus farmers. Their traditional adaptation to their environment required that they live adjacent to the land they cultivated." But the missionaries planned the larger villages in such a manner, that all the townspeople had to do was walk over to their fields, a reasonable distance, and cultivate their farms and return home at sun-set.

Or again, "... that fishing and hunting were important sources of food, and that transfer to compact villages threatened to destroy the whole

ecological balance of existence...". On the contrary, sites were chosen in such a careful manner that the forests for hunting were right in the back-yard of the *cabecera*. These *cabeceras* too, were frequently located near fine rivers, to ease transportation and travel and fishing; or they were settled on the coasts, near fishing grounds of the greatest magnitude. And right behind the coastal *cabeceras*, in those days, were the forests. This was no "violence" to the people, but perhaps a little inconvenience, as Alcina himself admits and then states, that it was "an opportunity for better means of livelihood."

CHAPTER 1

¹ The Island of Samar, the third largest in the Archipelago among the 7,100 islands, numbers some 259 larger and smaller satellite or dependent islands and islets. These range in size from thirty square miles in size to even less than one fourth square mile. According to Alcina, a good number of these smaller dependent islands were populated in ancient and pre-Hispanic times. The reductions brought much of the populace to the coastal areas of the mainland. Also, in the ancient past, many of the smaller islets were used as burial places only and exclusively, called *tampocan*. During the years 1967-1969, the present writer did some preliminary archaeological diggings on a number of smaller islets which seemingly confirms Alcina's posture. Some of these islands surveyed were: Batag and Caha-yagan Islets in the North; Tubabao Island on the Eastern Coast; Samputan Islet off Capul on the northwestern coast of Samar; Mongolbongol, Dalupiri and Libucan Islands also on the Western coast and Suluan Island of the southern tip of Samar. On several of the smaller islets, the diggings showed a total absence of any porcelain.

² This Bisayan word means, a favourable season, an opportune moment, a proper time for sailing from and to certain points, for example. This term has been explained at greater length in previous articles.

³ This is a Bisayan (Waray-Waray) term for the North wind. The Samar-Leyte Bisayan language has some precise and specialized terms for the variety of winds which touch and play havoc with them. These are: *Cabonghan*, Northeast wind; *Canaway*, Northeast wind; *Dumagsa*, East wind; *Habagat sa cabarian*, a wind originating between South and West; *Habagat sa natondan* or *calondan*, West wind; *Salatan*, South wind; and *Timug*, Southeast wind. Fr. Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa, O.F.M., *Diccionario Español-Bisaya* (Binondo, 1914), p. 383. Alcina, in his *Historia . . . 1668*, Part I, Book 2, Chapter 29 gives a fine, thorough description of these various winds with all its Bisayan terminology.

CHAPTER 2

¹ This is a Latin term derived from this combination *prae-* which means *before*, and *positus*, which means, *placed*; hence one placed before or one in charge of others, a head, a superior in a religious community.

² A Spanish word which means *painted ones* and having a definite reference to people who were tattooed. Among the Spanish historians and chroniclers, the word, by extension, was applied generally to the entire

Bisayan region in central Philippines. This term has been treated in previous installments at a rather great length and depth.

³ The word here implies more and goes deeper than merely political structure. It implies a degree of civility, urbaneness and culture. A significant absence of these qualities prompted the missionaries to chronicle such people as uncivilized or barbaric. A term frequently employed by the earlier historians of the Philippines is 'sin policía', meaning without polity.

"The decentralization of Philippine society clashed with one tradition deeply rooted in Spanish culture. As the heirs of Greco-Roman urbanism, the Spaniards instinctively identified civilization with the city, whose origins go back to the *polis* of ancient Greece. For the Spaniard, man was not only a rational animal fitted with the capacity to receive grace. He was also a social animal living in communion with his fellow men. It was only through this daily social contact with other men that he might hope to achieve a measure of his potentiality." Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴ A tiny settlement or a hamlet (about ten families) of natives, comparable to a *sitio*, who are not yet Christianized. In Franciscan reports, the term seems to be employed in a sort of derogatory manner to people who stubbornly refuse to live in more compact villages and avoiding contact with the new Faith. As a result, these people would choose to live removed from the *visitas* or *cabeceras*, living as if out in the pastures.

⁵ A Bisayan term for making a sacrifice to their gods. The word *anito* means *to offer*; also it means good spirits who do not show themselves. These are supernatural beings who do good to people, but refuse to reveal themselves openly.

In Chapter fourteen of Alcina's Part I, there is an extremely interesting account regarding the ancient Bisayan practices in worship, sacrifices and primitive beliefs. We refrain from giving any further details, since we shall be publishing this in the future issues of the *Philippiniana Sacra*.

⁶ "In order to improve my lot, I should be willing to leave my house."

CHAPTER 3

¹ That is, Samar and Leyte Islands.

² The Island of Leyte and its satellite islets lie between latitudes 9°53' N. and 11°50' N. and between longitudes 124°15' and 125°20' E.

It belongs to the Bisayan group of islands which include, Samar, Cebu, Bohol, Panay and Negros. Leyte occupies a central position among the SW members of the Bisayan group. It is bounded on the N. by the waters leading up to San Bernardino Strait, the Southwest point of Masbate Island lying twenty miles opposite the extreme Northwest; on the Northwest by Samar Island, from which it is separated by the narrow Strait of San Juanico; on the East by San Pedro and San Pablo Bay, the Pacific Ocean and Surigao Strait which separates it from Dinagat Island; on the South by Panaon Island, one of its dependent islands; Sogod Bay and the Northeast arm of the Sulu Sea, Mindanao lying thirty miles to the Southeast; on the West by the Bisayan Sea, Bohol Island lying sixteen miles to the Southwest and Cebu Island twenty-two miles to the West.

The extreme length of the mainland of Leyte is 121 miles from NW to SE and 52 miles NE to SW. At its narrowest belt it is only fifteen miles wide. The total land area of the mainland together with its more

than forty dependent islands seems to vary with every book or census report one picks up. All in all, the area consists of more than 2,799 square miles or about 8,397 square kilometers. *Gazetteer of the Philippines*, (U.S. Government Press, 1903), p. 591.

The Island of Leyte is irregular shaped and its topographic backbone is a range of mountains stretching from Carigara Bay on the north to the Surigao Strait on the south. Its mountain range with a North 20° East trend is so rugged that it is almost never traversed; the highest point is about 4,264 feet. The interior of the island is mountainous, there being a number of craters of extinct volcanoes.

The broad and prominent Leyte Valley is the chief asset of the island. This is a fertile, low valley which drains the mountain ranges north and south of it. At one time this valley was a water channel connecting Carigara Bay and the Leyte Gulf. It is agriculturally rich, and much good alluvial soil has been deposited by the rivers honeycombing it on their way to the sea.

The valley is punctured along the NE and SW sides by short ranges of mountains which jut out from the main mountain masses to the north and south. One such 'finger' narrows the valley to less than five miles near the town of Pastrana. A short range of hills (rather high) of which the most prominent peak is Cattmon Hill, extends NW inland from the east central coast of the valley and is a prominent landmark for vessels, sailing off the east coast.

Politically, Leyte is composed of two provinces and the Sub-Province of Biliran. The land area of Biliran measures some 144 square miles.

Leyte has three prominent satellite islands and over thirty-seven other smaller islands. The three largest are: Biliran, Panamao and Maripipi Islands.

There are two languages spoken on the Island of Leyte: namely, Samar-non Bisaya and Cebuano; that is, less than sixty per cent of Cebuano and forty percent Waray-Waray. A very small percentage of Hilgaynon (Panay Bisaya) is spoken in the Cabalian Bay region, in southwestern Leyte. One may divide these two large linguistic groups very neatly by drawing a line diagonally across the island from Rabin Point in the NW to Amagusan Point in the S. *Allied Geographical Section: Terrain Study* (Southwest Pacific Area: Leyte Province, Philippines Series, 1944), pp. 43 and 78-79.

³ This is one of the most ancient towns on the island and situated on the northern coast or on the shore of a bay of the same name, some twenty-two miles west of Tacloban.

In his narrative, Alcina seems to imply that the Jesuits were the first to bring the Faith to this island. Yet, one very reliable author, writing at the turn of the century, maintains that it was the Augustinian Friars who first laboured on this island and in the Bisayas.

"Los primeros religiosos que aportaron por la Isla de Leyte, fueron los de la Orden de San Agustín, cuyos sacerdotes formaron el avance de los que habrían de misionar en las distintas provincias de Filipinas, nombrándose en el Definitorio de aquella corporación a Fr. Alonso Velázquez Prior del Convento de Leyte, y con él también misionó al principio Fr. Alonso Jiménez. Cfr.: Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte* (Imprenta Cultura Filipina, Manila, 1914), pp. 127-131.

The Jesuit missionary in Leyte, Father Francisco Encinas, penned a letter to his Superior in Manila, Father Vice-Provincial Raymundo Prado,

in the year 1597 and described the progress of evangelization in Carigara and its environs.

Therein he narrates how the garden of God which was wickedness and thorns in the past is now fast becoming a flower garden of Christianity slowly producing delicious fruits. "The missionary residence of Carigara has three towns where we could visit; namely, Leyte, Barugo and Samputan. These towns are near to each other and such that we are able to visit them monthly. During our visits, both join us the Christians and those who are not, and we give them instructions in the *doctrina* and preach to them. On our way back to Carigara we exhort them all, in every barrio, to embrace the Faith and we give them pointers on how to learn the *doctrina* and which they should sing in their respective houses each night.

"We also celebrated the *fiestas* with solemnity and we permitted the people to sing the Christmas carols in the church and in their homes to the melody and tune of their ancient manner and in their own language..." Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica*, ed. Pablo Pastells, S.J., 3 vols., (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), Vol. II, p. 123.

It seems that by the year 1601, Carigara was made a *cabecera* with the following towns under its jurisdiction: Leyte, Jaro, Alangalang, Ormoc, Baybay, Cabalian, Sogud, Poro and Panahon which are adjacent islets. At the same time, there was also another central residence established in Leyte at Dagami. All together six Jesuits ministered to these people of Leyte. *Ibid.*, p. 792.

⁴ Situated on the SE shore of Carigara Bay, about twenty miles W. by N. of Tacloban, or better, on the north coast of Leyte. It is bounded on the northeast by the Town of San Miguel, on the southeast by Alangalang, on the south by Jaro and on the southwest by that of Carigara.

This town of Barugo was founded by the Jesuits who laboured there and in the entire Bisayas for some 173 years when in 1768 they were forced to leave their missions in the Philippines and expelled from all the Spanish domains by the King. In the year 1773, the entire Society of Jesuits was suppressed throughout the world by a Franciscan Pope Clement XIV. As a result, the Augustinian Friars were assigned and accepted the missions of Leyte where they have laboured diligently until the year 1843, when the apostolic work was turned over to the Franciscans. Cf. Huerta, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁵ Situated on the East coast, at the mouth of the Catbasag River and nineteen miles south of Tacloban.

It would be also well to confer Fr. Félix Huerta's *Estado*, pp. 343-344 for details.

Colin-Pastells notes that the first missionaries who began evangelizing the Dulag region were Fathers Alonso de Humanes and Juan del Campo. In the year 1596, Father Humanes sent in a report to his superiors and made some of the following observations.

"In connection with the missionary progress of the missionary residence at Dulag, ... I herewith submit a brief report concerning the fruits and favours which God has bestowed on the natives of Dulag and its environs. At the end of 1595, we entered its river, and with divine help of God and some Spaniards who were residing in the vicinity, the people of the three neighboring groups of families headed by their respective chiefs were assembled. There were no formal towns in that region; they lived in an antiquated and primitive sort of way. They were governed by their leaders and made as slaves tending cattle in their fields. The mentality of the natives was a big barrier to our mission work; the people were very timid

in relationship to their master... We experienced a rather negative attitude of the natives to our preaching of the Gospel. ... they deeply trusted the *maganitos* to cure their illnesses, to give them abundant harvests, and adored gods like the *Humalagares* and practiced many superstitions.... a man could possess as many wives as he wished; rarely can we find a woman who does not change husbands two or three times. They were also very fond of drinking.

Meanwhile, we erected a chapel for worship and began to gather the people so that we could teach them the *doctrina* and began to assemble gradually. However, neither one dared to embrace the faith nor to be baptized because they did not understand our language and we too, didn't know theirs... to remedy this situation somewhat, we conveyed our teachings by means of actions and symbols especially among the children... We employed the more capable natives who taught the children to read, sing and to play musical instruments. In order that they may learn to read more readily, we gave them sticks with which they could form the alphabet. We initiated the first Baptisms during Christmas, where forty-five received the Sacrament. We encountered some difficulty because, at first, they were afraid of the Holy Water we poured over them in baptism... Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 and *passim*.

Dulag became and remained a cabecera for a short time with some fifteen other towns under its jurisdiction. Early, in the 1600's, however, it was plundered and burned by the Muslim pirates and Dagami became the cabecera instead.

⁶ Situated on the right bank of the headwaters of the Binahaan River and sixteen miles SSW of Tacloban.

In the very early sixteen hundreds, we learn that Dagami is already a cabecera with the following under its jurisdiction: Malaguicay, Guiguan, Balanguigan, Palo, Basey, Dulag, Tambuco and Abuyug. It would be well to point out here that Guiguan, Basey and Balanguigan were and are situated on the mainland of Samar. The reason for this was that these towns were more readily accessible from Dagami by sea straight across than overland from the Samar residences of Catbalogan or even by way of its rugged coastline. Colin-Pastells, p. 791.

⁷ Guiguan, Balangigan and Basey situated on the Island of Samar, as previously mentioned. It seems that by the year 1768, Balangigan fell into oblivion, since the Franciscans request and receive from the Augustinians in the year 1805 the towns of Guiguan and Basey; Balangigan is not mentioned at all. Cf. *Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Americano*, Madrid, Ms. Caj. 41, Leg. 3, 1805.

⁸ More commonly known as Sogod Antiguo and situated on the East shore of Sogod Bay, some sixty-five miles south of Tacloban.

⁹ This satellite island is separated from the SE. part of Leyte by the strait of the same name. It is mountainous, long and narrow, and extends over 19 miles from NW. to SE. It is six miles from E. to W. The east coast has a picturesque appearance, with beautiful cascades and many little creeks. It is well populated, the principal towns being Silvan, in the N., and San Ricardo in the S. Gold is found near Pinutan Point. Its total area is some 76 square miles. *Gazetter, op. cit.*, p. 596.

Topographic core of the island is a continuation of the great central volcanic mountain range of Leyte. Two peaks of over 2,800 feet are the highest on the island.

South of the island is Surigao Strait, which is next in importance to San Bernardino Strait as an entrance to the inner waters of the Archipelago from the Pacific Ocean. *Terrain Study, op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Its ancient name was spelled Hiraete. Situated on the E. side of the narrow arm of Biliran Strait, trending S. and 37 miles W. by N. of Tacloban.

This pueblo of Leyte was founded and separated from Carigara in the year 1851. During its early years, its ministers were the secular clergy until the year 1871 when it was given to the charge of the Franciscans. The first Franciscan parish priest was Father Victoriano Cela, who took over the parish in the same year on September 30.

In the short span of six years, Father Cela was able to construct a new church, convento and two school houses, all completed by the year 1877. Unfortunately, in the year 1881, a terrible *baguio* destroyed the major portion of the church and convento, which Fr. Fulco Machuca restored in the year 1896.

During the years, 1876-78, Fathers Victoriano Celo, Braulio Jambrina and Bernardino Rebolledo, opened and constructed forty kilometers of road leading to Carigara; thirty-five kilometers of this road is serpentine in nature and runs through some rather high mountains. Also in the year 1878, Father Jambrina opened another road leading to San Isidro. P. Valentin Marin y Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 470 y p. 375.

¹¹ Situated in the central portion of Northern Leyte, bounded on the N. by the Town of Barugo, on the northeast by that of Alangalang and on the south and west by the central mountains of the island, and in the north west by the Town of Carigara, some sixteen miles away. Cf. Huerta, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

In the early days of the Jesuit period of evangelization, Jaro was a somewhat thriving town, eventually it degenerated and fell out of the historical picture. However, Father Lorenzo Pérez who wrote for the *Ensayo...* states that Jaro was separated as a barrio of Barugo in the year 1851 and created as an independent town under the direction of the secular clergy until the year 1863. In that same year, on May 31, the first Franciscan Father Lucio Pérez was assigned as parish priest.

The church under the patronage of San Mateo was first made of bamboo and nipa; Father José del Olmo, O.F.M., rebuilt the church out of fine wood and zinc roofing in 1889. On the following year, he constructed a fine new convento. Previous to that, in the year 1884, Father Mariano Casanova, O.F.M. built two school houses and a *tribunal* building.

Also, in the year 1862 Fathers Lucio Pérez, Vicente Gutiérrez and Sinfioriano Rodríguez, Franciscans, opened a road of some ten kilometers leading to Alangalang. P. Valentin Marin y Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 470 y pp. 374-375.

¹² Situated near the right bank of the Cabayong River, eleven miles WSW of Tacloban.

As a town it was founded in the year 1851 and separated from Barugo. During its first few years it was administered by the secular clergy when in April 3-, 1863 the first Franciscan, Father Sinfioriano Rodríguez, was assigned as parish priest. The church under the patronage of the Most Holy Trinity, was first built of bamboo and nipa just like the *convento*, the school house and the tribunal. Since it was a rather unfavourable locality, the town was transferred to another site in 1885. Father Manuel Crespo then began constructing a solid church out of timber which he roofed with nipa and which he completed in 1887. A strong *baguio* destroyed the church and the convento. This was rebuilt again by Father Vicente Zamora in the year 1891 and completed by Father Hermógenes Cele in the year 1893, roofed with galvanized sheets. He was also responsible for the construction of two schools for the boys and girls.

The town also has a road which leads to Palo and which was opened and built by Father Agustín de Consuegra in the year 1849 and repaired by the Franciscans, Juan Pérez and Sinforiano Rodriguez in the year 1863; it is sixteen kilometers long.

It would be well to mention here that all the roads and bridges built in Samar and Leyte during the mid-nineteenth century were financed by the Franciscan parish priests and voluntary labour of the parishioners. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470 & p. 374.

¹³ Situated on the W. of the Island of Samar, hidden off a small bay. Today it is the town of Tarangnan; previously it was named Dapdap, that is, prior to its transfer to the present site.

This was the very first mission of the Jesuits when they arrived to Samar in the year 1596. The first missionaries of this gigantic island were Fathers Francisco de Otazo, Bartolomé Martes, and Domingo Alonso. In a letter to Father Raimundo Prado in the year 1597, Father Francisco Otazo wrote briefly about the progress made during the past years of evangelization.

"On October 15, 1596, Father Bartolomé Martes, Brother Domingo Alonso and I began teachnig the *doctrina* in Samar. I consider the great change and attitude of the natives in such a brief time, as the work of our Lord which deserves appreciation and gratitude...

"The eastern coast of the island is as populous as its western side. The light of the Holy Gospel is beginning to glow; of course, the priests were unable to go to the other side as yet, for fear that their work on this side would suffer a set-back. They brought to the attention of the Superior in Cebu the need of a mission on the eastern coast... Father Miguel was sent and he traversed the island and established a settlement in a place called Catubig... The people began to flock around the priest for instruction and baptism... people were scattered far and wide and in distant places. It was difficult to concentrate on them because they were separated into about sixteen groups or *rancherías*. The priest had to hike to their respective barrios and conduct a house to house campaign in order to open the gate of Faith to them, through the key of the Holy Gospel. The priest took with him the brother who was capable of teaching catechism and to administer Baptism...

Very shortly, Tinago and Catubig in Samar were made as centers of evangelization and in Leyte, Carigara and Dulag. In the year 1601, Father Alonso de Humanes is Superior of the Tinago, Samar Missions and he pens a report on May 2 of the same year to his higher Superior Father Diego de García

"I will submit to Your Reverence, the fruits harvested by this missionary residence this year with five missions already established for the thirteen towns under our responsibility; four or five large towns and eight or nine small ones. We conducted our missions for the first big towns during the Resurrection and until the Feast of *Corpus Christi*. After the solemnities, the priests returned to their respective towns they occupied, teaching instructing, baptizing... they baptized two hundred seventy nine persons; eighty of them were children and the rest, all adults. The performed seventy four marriages in accordance with the order of the church and thus liberated them from the state of concubinage... confessions were heard in all towns; sick were attended to and some even recovered from their illnesses...

After the second mission, which lasted for two and a half months, the priests returned to visit the towns again to teach, instruct and present the Christian *doctrina*... Many went to confession, very few received Holy

Communion, sixteen couples were married and the children assembled in churches to sing the doctrine and pray the rosary...

"The commemoration of the departed souls which we celebrated on the second of November, were done in three or four parts. Many of the Christians attended with great devotion and planted wax candles on the graves of their deceased and sang the rites with due solemnity, followed by almsgiving.

"So far in this new mission, seven hundred and forty-five were christened; one hundred forty eight were children and all the others were adults. More than four hundred persons were married in the church... In some towns, like Maripipi, the people, during Holy Week, chose to come to church and sing the passion on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. In the evenings, after chanting the Passion, the men remained in church for the scourging or discipline... visits to the monuments of the Blessed Sacrament were tumultuous, as were the Holy Week processions and participation. The Resurrection solemnities were commemorated in the *cabeceras* in a festival spirit.

"The foregoing narration was made by Father Alonso de Humanes on the work of the missionaries of Tinago Residence. Aside from these places, two years after, a visit was also made to the towns of Catubig, [Samar] by Father Juan de San Lúcar who evangelized in a similar pattern and shepherded his flock... Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff. *passim*.

When the Franciscans assumed the administration of the Samar parishes in the year 1768, Tinago was already history and only a memory. On the same site or just near it, Father Juan Salcedo founded a new town under the name of Dapdap and placed the church under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi. By the year 1865, this town was administered by the parish priest of Hangahon (today Gándara). Cf. Huerta, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

When this town of Dapdap was established in the year 1769, it was placed under the administration of the Town of Gándara immediately until the year 1863. Its first Franciscan parish priest was Father Ildefonso Domínguez, who assumed the charge in 1863. In the year 1884, the Town of Dapdap was transferred to a barrio of Tarangnan where it took on the new name. In the beginning, the church was constructed out of light materials, however, in the year 1894, Father Venancio Palencia, erected a new church out of stone which was completed in the year 1897. The Convent was constructed out of wood and nipa, as were the two school houses.

Also in the year 1888, under the charge of the Governor of the Philippines and under the direction of Fathers Manuel Benavente and Policarpo Nadador a road was opened from Tarangnan, passing through Oquendo and Calbayog and as far as Barrio Lopez. These Friars provided for the labourers rice, carabaos, and all food provisions necessary for those employed. They fed daily about two hundred labourers all at the expense of these parish priests. P. Valentín Marín y Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 493 & p. 379.

¹⁴ Situated on the Western coast of the island and near the famed Maqueda Bay and on the river of the same name.

About the year 1634 the Residence of Tinago was plundered and completely burned by the Muslim pirates. As a result the center was transferred to a new site in Catbalogan where it remains a capital to the present day. (ARSI, Phil. 4, fol. 18 and Phil. 2(I), f. 178.)

Catbalogan remained under the Jesuit administration for some 152 years when in 1768 the Franciscans took over the administration. Some six years prior to the departure of the Society of Jesus, the church was

reduced to ashes in a great fire. Up and until the year 1814, the población had a *camarin* of nipa for a church. Father Félix Carreón together with his parishioners began and completed the construction of a large, beautiful and a strong church; even earthquakes were unable to put a crack into its walls. That was in the year 1814; and in 1844 Father Martín de Yepes added a double series of columns of hard wood, giving the church a triple nave. He also added a new convento made of stone at the lower portion and of wood in the upper floor, which was very large and spacious. To all this he also built a fine cemetery surrounding it with stone walls. In the year 1897, Father Vicente Carmona further beautified the interior of the church and constructed a tribunal and a school building. P. Valentin Marín y Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

¹⁵ See a very fine survey article on the Moro Raids in the *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 7, September 1979, an article by Dr. Bruce Cruikshank, entitled "The Moro Impact on Samar Island, the Philippines," pp. 141-185. The above mentioned is a Graduate publication of the San Carlos University in Cebu, Cebu Island, Philippines.

¹⁶ The most N. town on the mainland of Samar, NE. shore and opposite Batag Island. The town is located in a lovely plain and near a river that carries its name. On the E. it is bounded by the mountains and a high hill called Mesa de Palapag. The mountains that descend progressively form the so-called Cape of *Espiritu Santo*; on the south and west it is bounded by the central mountain chain; on the northwest by the Islet of Laoang.

By the year 1620, Palapag was established as a cabecera for Northern and Eastern Samar with the following towns under its jurisdiction: Bobon, Catarman, Tubig, Bacor, Borongan and Sulat.

In the year 1649, one of the natives of the town by the name of Sumoroy, led a rebellion which spread to Luzon, Cebu and Mindanao causing great damage especially in the Islands of Samar and Leyte. It took one complete year to quell the uprising. Two Jesuit missionaries were killed by the rebels: Father Miguel Ponce and Father Vicente Damián. Cf. Colin Pastells, *op. cit.*, p. 790 ff.

In 1768, the Franciscans took over the administration of the town from the Jesuits who were expelled from the Islands.

¹⁷ Situated on the E. coast, on a bay about one mile wide and at the mouth of the Borongan River. As of 1967, it became the capital of Eastern Samar.

This town was also founded and established by the Jesuit missionaries and passed over to the administration of the Franciscans in the year 1768. Its first Franciscan parish priest was Father Juan de Mora.

The early church of the Jesuits was a small stone edifice which was completely reduced to ashes in the year 1773. Shortly, thereafter, Father Roque de San José or de Osma, rebuilt the church in much larger proportions, all out of stone materials. Father Juan Navarrete, in 1843 made some other improvements and added a beautiful round tower, from his own little savings. He also constructed a large stone convento and a *casa real y tribunal* and together with this, he built two large schools, 108 feet long and 30 feet wide.

The succeeding parish priest, Father Antonio Sánchez, seeing that the church could not accommodate all the parishioners extended the edifice in a cruciform shape, thereby providing more room. He also improved the town by opening up four more streets. Later, Father Arsenio Figueroa added a zinc roofing and painted the entire church, making it one of the most attractive churches on the coast.

Since the edifice deteriorated quite rapidly with the elements and due to the powerful typhoons, the convento was torn down completely and a new one was constructed in its place by Father Gil Martínez during the years 1895-1897. The new convento building was some 35 meters long and 15 meters wide, well planned and built in the most modern manner. P. Valentín Marín y Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

¹⁸ Situated on the W. side of extreme SE peninsula, opposite Manicani Islet.

In Part II, Book 3, Alcina devotes the entire Chapter 25 to the early history of Guiuan giving some very excellent data. This will appear in a future installment of this journal.

It would be well to mention here that in the mid-seventeenth century, Guiuan was the third largest fortified town in the Archipelago; Intramuros of Manila and Zamboanga were the other two.

Guiuan was under the administration of the Society of Jesus for about 172 years when in 1768, it was placed under the spiritual care of the Augustinians who provided their spiritual ministry from the Island of Leyte, just like the Jesuits did from the very beginning. The Augustinians ceded the ministry of Guiuan to the Franciscans in the year 1795; the latter did not assume the responsibility however, until the year 1804 when the first Franciscan Friar, Miguel Pérez was named its first parish priest.

It seems that Guiuan had one of the finest, largest and most strongly built churches on the Island of Samar. Notwithstanding, fires, baguios and constant plunder and damage by the pirates from Mindanao slowly brought the edifice to ruin.

In the year 1844 Fathers Manuel Valverde and Pedro Monasterio rebuilt the entire structure. The ancient convento was a mestiza-type, that is, the lower floor out of stone and the upper was made of fine wood. Also, in the church, Father Monasterio added two side chapels giving the church an appearance and a form of a cross. Likewise, Father Monasterio, together with his parishioners, and at his own expense, constructed a road for carriages to the pueblo of Mercedes.

Father Arsenio Figueroa, in 1872, erected a new convento and one of more spacious and greater dimensions than the previous, also half in stone and half in wood.

Under the direction of Father Gil Martínez, and through his initiative, a pier was constructed for the town, measuring 120 meters in length and about three meters in width. And in 1895, Father Fernando Esteban roofed the church with zinc sheets and built two school houses from timber. P. Valentín Marín y Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 490. See also p. 379.

¹⁹ Located on the E. shore, at the mouth of the Ubasan River (Tubig River). The very ancient name for the river was Malinao. Tubig is bounded on the north by the town of Dolores, formerly Paric; on the east by the Town of Sulat; and on the west by the high mountains.

The present name of the town is Taft, after one of the American Governors of the Philippines in the early nineteen hundreds.

Again, the town was founded by the Jesuits in the early sixteen hundreds and passed on to the administration of the Franciscans in 1768. The first Franciscan parish priest was Father Joaquín Polo. The ancient stone church of the Jesuits was restored in the year 1846 by Father Manuel Lozano, who added a beautiful choir loft and a new sacristy. The convento which was constructed entirely out of stone was badly damaged during a strong typhoon and rebuilt by Father Gil Martínez in 1873-1875, all out of

wood. The town also had in 1860 two school houses, a tribunal and a cemetery out of stone. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

²⁰ That is the Sumoroy Rebellion in 1649.

²¹ This Cape was so named by the first discoverers because it was sighted on the Feast of the Holy Spirit. In Samareño Bisayan it was known in ancient times as *Magsasanga* (meaning many branches) because it seemed as if were split into many branches. The high mountain which is located on that cape, divides itself into two sections, like branches for it is split in the middle on top into two peaks or crests almost equal in size. Alcina, Part I, Book 1, Chapter 1 Ms.

²² Situated on the NW coast; largest of the Balicuatro group, seven miles NNE of the point of the same name, and six miles from NW to SE, and three miles from NE to SW. The village of Biri lies on the SE. Its size in area is fourteen square miles.

Alcina recorded this item: "...likewise to the east and very near to the Island of Capul itself is the Island of Biri, adjoining the ministries of Catarman and Bobon, under the administration of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This island is the guide point for the ships that pass from Castile because it is in the strait. Now, the islet has very few people because the common enemy has been carrying them off little by little. -Although they are Bisayan (Samareño) and speak the Bisayan tongue, they also have their own distinct language which they use among themselves, different from that of Capul Island. Part I, Book 1, Chapter 5, Ms.

It would be well to note here, that on the Islet of Capul, located in the San Bernardino Strait, the people speak their own language to this very day. It is completely distinct from Waray-Waray Bisayan or Cebuano Bisayan. The adults, of course speak and understand Waray-Waray. An interesting Island for linguistic study.

²³ A world-famous strait which lies between the southern tip of the Island of Luzon and the northern tip of the Island of Samar. The span between the two gigantic islands is about 16 miles. Not far from Biri and to the north is a small islet which the Spaniards have named in the early discoveries as San Bernardino and which the *Indios* always called *Tagbaloran*. *Ibid.*

²⁴ Many of the early chroniclers of the Philippines referred to the Island of Luzon in this manner.

²⁵ This is a dependent islet of Bohol Island in the Bisayan group. "... facing Cebu there is a larger one which is called Panglao and which is populated and has a church and a village on one side of it. It is so close to the Island of Bohol on the side of Baclayon that at extreme low tide one may travel across on foot because the approach becomes so dry... On this site approaching the Island of Panglao was the *Pueblo Mayor* which in other times the Boholanos had built in the sea and which the Terrenates, their ancient enemies destroyed, as we shall speak of in its proper place." *Ibid.*

²⁶ This term refers to a non-Christian group in Mindanao. It is derived from *Suba*, which means 'river'; from this, in turn, are derivatives such as *Manuba* or *Manobo* meaning 'a man of the river'. The Subanos occupy almost the entire peninsula which constitutes the extreme occidental Mindanao, known as Sibugay. They stem from the Malayan race and are pagans. Francisco Combés, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao y Joló*, (Madrid, 1667), p. 782, #481.

²⁷ These are considered by many scholars of Philippine culture as the original inhabitants of these islands, prior to the arrival of the Malaysians. More commonly, they are known as the *Aetas* or *Etas*.

In another portion of the *Historia . . . 1668*, Alcina, makes this brief observation: "... the coast of the Island of Siparay, which is commonly called the Island of the Negroes, because it has many people in the interior as black as those of Angola and with curly hair like theirs..." Part I, Book 1, Chapter 1.Ms.

See also, "Field Work Among the Negritos of Northern Negros: An Additional Report," Rudolf Rahmann, S.V.D., Marcelino N. Maceda and Rogelio M. López, and "Comparative Remarks on the Negritos of Southern and Northern Negros," Rowe V. Candelina, pp. 149-166 and pp. 220-223 respectively in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1973, San Carlos University, Graduate Publications, Cebu City, Philippines

CHAPTER 4

¹ This word is one which carries a two-fold meaning: firstly, it has reference to an amount of money (or kind) paid by every *Indio*, excluding the *principales*, to the King's treasury. In private *encomiendas* (16th and 17th centuries) this amount was meant for the *encomendero*. The amount varied between eight and fourteen *reales* per year for each tribute; this amount was somewhat larger in the case of the Chinese and Chinese mestizos. Secondly, the word tribute means a unit of population, in which one full tribute comprised the head of the house, his wife and their minor children. Normally, a *tribute* comprised four souls or people. When population statistics are given in tributes, we merely multiply by four to arrive at the population level. Cf. John Schumacher, *op. cit.* p. 409.

² The proper Waray-Waray Bisayan spelling is *Dingding* and may refer to a wall made of any type of material: wood, stone, mortar or bamboo. However, when referring to a wall of a house, the term *Bongbong* is employed and means a partition of wood, bamboo or nipa. (Mateo Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya*, (Manila, 1711) fol. 347.

The word *Dingding* in Cebuano Bisaya has an added meaning when applied to women; namely, "a woman delicately refined".

³ The correct spelling of the word should read *Bahin*, because *Bahe* is another term and may mean to divide into shares, into pieces. Or even the hard portion of a palm trunk or bamboo. The term here, *Bahin* means to separate or to divide and has particular reference to the split-bamboo flooring in the nipa huts of the people. (Alcina, *Historia . . . 1668*, Part I, Book 4, Chapter 2).

⁴ [Nipa fruticans] This is a palm of great commercial importance which grows along tidal streams and in dense stands of brackish, salty swamps. Father Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa, O.F.M., in his classic (Samareño) *Bisaya-Español* dictionary gives some very interesting data about this tropical palm.

"It is often called 'nipa de playas' for it grows in swampy regions where salt water is found; that is, near the seacoasts and on river banks flooded by the sea. The branches resemble large wings and the individual leaves have a sword-like appearance and shape. These leaves have a close similarity with those of the coconut palm except that the former grows only to a stature of about four or five meters. Its flower are (monoicos, en espata) and its fruit is solidly clustered, growing in a manner of the rooterops. When it is still tender and green, the fruit is tasty, sweet and good to eat.

"Its leaves may be sewed together, for they are somewhat delicate and yet strong, and have many different uses. They may be utilized as thatch on bamboo or wooden houses and even for its walls and partitions. Alcoholic beverage may be drawn from this palm in a similar way that it is taken from the coconut palms and called *tuba*. It also serves as an excellent yeast for the raising dough in making native bread. Then too, it also makes a sweet, nutritious and medicinal drink. Some also distil it for alcohol or a harder drink for which they have their own names.

"It is also believed that this *nipa* wine makes a fine eye-wash in the mornings and helps maintain good vision. Likewise, it adds a fine fragrance to tobacco and powders. Or, its leaves may be ground and applied to the forehead to relieve headaches. The water in which these leaves are well-soaked may be used as an excellent antiseptic wash for open wounds. Or better, the mid-rib of the leaves may be chewed and together with the saliva may be also used to clean scratches or wounds.

"The young and tender leaves of this *nipa* may be dried in the sun and used as cigarette paper. Father Juan Félix says: that chewing the leaves and mixing it with the saliva acts as an antidote against the poison of the *botete* (a type of a poisonous fish found in the sea). Also this juice may be drawn from breaking the mid-rib in two, instead of chewing the leaves, which provides the same remedy for the poison of that particular fish.

"If the leaves of this palm are burned, its ashes mixed with fresh coconut oil, it makes an excellent ointment for tumor, pimples, inflammations, etc. The ground leaves may also be applied to insect bites, especially the poisonous kind." "Nombres de algunos árboles y plantas," Binondo, 1914, p. 410).

⁵ Properly, the word should read *Ginhaopan*. This term with its variants (Sacopan or Dolohan) means the same as *Barangay*, in Waray-Waray Bisayan. Or as Alcina himself puts it: "By this name we now call the chiefs living together in one village, who used to live apart in many *gamoros*, *ginhaopan*, which means the same as one who has inferiors or vassals." (Part I, Book 4, Chapter 2). Sánchez ancient *Vocabulario* shows the root *Haop* and defines it "Señor, que tiene dominio sobre algunos; cabeza de barangay, cobrador del real tributo." (Sánchez, *op. cit.* fol. 283).

⁶ A more common term among the Bisayans, especially the Samareños is *Hamoraon*. "This tree reaches the height of some fifty feet and is often somewhat twisted. It holds a place of prestige and pride among the better classes of wood in the Philippines, and highly useful for any type of wood work. Whenever one works this class of timber, its straw color gives off a kind of honey-like fragrance. It is a very hard wood and rather brittle, but very easy to mill. The best and more durable kind is one which has some knots or holes in it rather than the type that is clean and smooth. This type of log remains durable and lasts for a long time whether it be sunk into the ground, into the water or even in lime.

"There are three classes of this Molave: *molave amlobagohon*, *molave bayabason*, and *molave lanhan* or *madlao*. The *molave lanhan* is the best in quality and somewhat yellowish in color. Its bark or shavings soaked in water is an effective drink against poisoning. Also, the shavings of this wood, wrapped in a cloth, serves well in stopping bleeding dut to abrasions or cuts. And its saw-dust is useful for healing wounds; it is simply placed over the wound and kept there until it falls off itself.

"The resin of this tree is used as an antidote against snake-bites, centipedes and other poisonous insects. This is accomplished by heating the resin until it begins to smoke and then applied when it cools somewhat; or simply by exposing the pained portion of the flesh to the smoke and repeating the process as long as necessary." (Sánchez, 1914, p. 403).

CHAPTER 5

¹ I Timothy 6:8.

² The Franciscans and Dominicans were a wonderful testimony in this regard and history pays them a beautiful tribute.

"Archbishop Benavides, writing to the King in the early 17th century, had some fine words for the work of the Franciscans and Dominicans. His critique of the Jesuits seems to be an early case of the conflict between Hispanic concepts of land tenure, derived from Roman Law, and Filipino pre-Hispanic customary law, based on use rather than ownership, it seems.

"The Orders of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis here maintain strict observance among themselves, for which we should greatly thank God. As regards religious instruction, they are doing wonders, teaching by word and example. They are exemplary in every way, and at the same time are no great [financial] burden to the *Indios*, which is important..." John N. Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, 1979), pp. 66-67.

³ Luke 10:7.