

Fray Juan Duárez, OFM, “Fundador” del Pueblo de Daraga (Filipinas)

*Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, OFM**

Archivo Franciscano Íbero Oriental, Madrid, España

Abstract: The present article attempts to trace the missionary itinerary of Fr. Juan Duárez de Santa Cruz, one of the most distinguished Franciscan friars in Camarines. Making extensive use of unpublished archival material, it focuses in two important aspects of his work: the foundation of the town of Caraga and his role in the construction of the church, and also his will to found a Franciscan institution in Spain specifically aimed to train friars to be sent to the Philippines. Finally, it provides in English translation and Tagalog a wide array of key documents in order to understand the history of Cagsawa, Budiao, and Daraga from 1715 to 1814.

Keywords: Fr. Juan Duárez de Santa Cruz, Franciscan missions in the Philippines, History of Camarines, Mayon volcano, History of Daraga, History of Cagsawa

Una de las estampas más típicas de Filipinas, contemplada todos los días con creciente interés por turistas de todo el mundo, es, sin lugar a dudas, la torre semienterrada de la iglesia franciscana de Cagsawa, en el sureste de la isla de Luzón (Filipinas) con la bellísima silueta, al fondo, del volcán Mayón, el más activo de Filipinas y «probablemente el cono volcánico más perfecto del mundo». El conjunto ha sido calificado por algún escritor como la «Pompeya de Filipinas», porque en 1814 el famoso volcán entró en erupción de forma repentina –como lo había hecho con frecuencia hasta entonces y continúa

* Fr. Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, OFM can be contacted at sanchezfuertes.cayetano@gmail.com.

haciéndolo en la actualidad– y segó la vida de más de mil personas, destruyendo, al mismo tiempo, las cosechas de numerosos pueblos de su entorno. Sufrieron las trágicas consecuencias de forma especial los habitantes de Cagsawa y Budiao ¿Pudo haberse evitado esta tragedia, al menos parcialmente, por cuanto se refiere a las dos poblaciones mencionadas? En buena medida, sí. Sobre todo, si se hubiera llevado a cabo el proyecto del franciscano padre Juan Duárez, al que nos referiremos en las siguientes páginas.

A escasa distancia del lugar mencionado se encuentra la iglesia de Daraga, considerada por los historiadores del arte el mejor ejemplo del Barroco hispano-filipino. Aunque en menor medida que la torre de la iglesia de Cagsawa, también la fachada de la de Daraga ha pasado a ser un punto de cita para turistas y curiosos y aparece inevitablemente en casi todos los estudios sobre arquitectura e historia del arte en las islas.

Los estudiosos del arte hispanofilipino, e incluso los historiadores en general, parecen desconocer que las imágenes citadas están estrechamente ligadas a la vida y obra de un franciscano granadino: Juan Duárez de Santa Cruz. Este desconocimiento resulta sorprendente sobre todo si se tiene en cuenta que la documentación que ha llegado hasta nosotros sobre las circunstancias que rodearon la fundación del pueblo de Daraga y la construcción de su iglesia es, como tendremos ocasión de comprobar, razonablemente abundante.

Los historiadores de la Provincia franciscana de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas, a la que perteneció, no sólo silencian facetas importantes de su vida, sino que llegan a insinuar, injustamente, un final oscuro respecto a su fidelidad a la Provincia citada.¹ El presente estudio pretende reivindicar la figura de este franciscano poco conocido y menos apreciado.

Filipinas en el siglo XVIII

Filipinas, la única posesión española en Asia hasta finales del siglo XIX, fue siempre un territorio atípico por muchas razones: su lejanía de la Península, la peculiaridad de su conquista –sin apenas violencia–, la rapidez de su evangelización, la escasez de emigración hispana hacia ella, la preponderancia de las órdenes religiosas en su vida eclesiástica y civil, etc.

¹ Félix de Huerta, OFM, *Necrología de todos los religiosos franciscanos que han pertenecido a la apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, n. 1694 (Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental de Madrid [en adelante = AFIO] G/ 3); Eusebio Gómez Platero, OFM, *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, (Manila: Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880), 535.

La lejanía de las islas de la metrópoli y la cercanía a territorios cercanos dominados por potencias políticas y económicas opuestas a España convirtieron a Filipinas en una presa tentadora para éstas, que intentaron en más de una ocasión apoderarse de todo o parte de su territorio. Así ocurrió también en el siglo XVIII cuando los ingleses ocuparon Manila y sus alrededores en 1762, tan solo cinco años antes de la llegada de Duárez a Filipinas.

Las relaciones entre el clero y el poder civil, así como entre las órdenes religiosas y el clero diocesano no fueron siempre serenas. Hecho que no puede interpretarse a la ligera tachando a una u otra de las partes de irresponsable. En realidad, la estructura misma del sistema colonial español, en el que existía una cierta superposición de poderes, hacía que tales conflictos fueran inevitables. Uno de los más sonados, que surgió en diferentes momentos de la historia, fue el relacionado con la jurisdicción de los obispos respecto a las órdenes religiosas, el consecuente derecho de aquéllos a visitar canónicamente las iglesias en que éstas ejercían su actividad pastoral y la obligación, por parte de los religiosos, de entregar sus parroquias a miembros del clero diocesano siempre y cuando hubiera un número suficiente de éstos para hacerlo y capacitados para llevar a cabo la misión pastoral que se les encomendaba.

Las órdenes religiosas rehusaron repetidas veces someterse a la visita canónica de los obispos y a la entrega de sus parroquias al clero secular por creer que la aceptación de tales medidas daría pie, indirectamente al menos, a la introducción en su propio seno de una serie de abusos que terminarían por poner en peligro valores fundamentales de su vida y carisma y que no había aún en Filipinas el número suficiente de miembros del clero secular para ocupar las parroquias que debían entregarles los religiosos. Tenían más razones para oponerse a tales medidas, aunque no todas de igual importancia y solidez.²

En cualquier caso, la puesta en práctica de tales medidas supondría una verdadera revolución para las órdenes religiosas afectadas, poco preparadas para asumir sus consecuencias.

El conflicto adquirirá una particular notoriedad y tensión en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII –coincidiendo precisamente con la presencia del padre Duárez en Filipinas y España– como consecuencia de la implantación en las islas de determinados proyectos reformistas de Carlos III. Las personas encargadas de llevar a cabo la nueva política de la Corona española en las islas fueron, fundamentalmente Simón de Anda y Salazar, Capitán General de Filipinas y presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila,

² Pablo Fernández, OP, *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1898)*, (Manila: National Bookstore 1979), 108-124.

y Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, arzobispo de Manila, los dos destacados regalistas y enemigos de las órdenes religiosas, a las que consideraban un importante obstáculo para el sometimiento del clero regular al todopoderoso Estado,³ lo mismo que ocurría, con los correspondientes matices, en los demás territorios de Ultramar y en la propia Península.⁴

La Orden franciscana, representada en Filipinas por la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno, perteneciente a la rama alcantarina, fue una de las instituciones que mayor influencia tuvieron en la cristianización de las islas. Los primeros franciscanos llegaron a las islas en 1578. Las zonas geográficas más señaladas en la evangelización llevada a cabo por los franciscanos fueron La Laguna y Camarines,⁵ en el centro y sureste de la isla de Luzón, durante los dos primeros siglos, y, más tarde, después de la expulsión de los jesuitas en 1768, en las islas de Samar y Leyte, en el centro del archipiélago. La primera de las zonas mencionadas fue precisamente el escenario en que se desarrollará la actividad misionera y pastoral de Juan Duárez durante su permanencia en Filipinas.

Por esa misma razón, la Provincia de San Gregorio tomó parte en las luchas de que fueron escenario las islas a lo largo de toda la época colonial y, más concretamente en las que surgieron en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,⁶ momento histórico que nos ocupa. La problemática que acabamos de exponer, en muy breves trazos, afectará claramente la vida y actividad de Duárez, como veremos seguidamente.

Hitos biográficos más importantes de la vida de fray Juan Duárez

Nacimiento y primeros años en la Orden (1755-1767)

Juan Duárez nació en Granada el 17 de diciembre de 1738. Tomó el hábito en el convento de San Antonio de su ciudad natal, perteneciente a la Provincia franciscana descalza de San Pedro de Alcántara de Granada, el 8 de noviembre de 1755 y profesó un año más tarde. Nada sabemos sobre su vida desde esta fecha hasta once años más tarde.

³ John N. Schumacher, SJ, *Readings in Philippine Church History*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979), 139-140.

⁴ Teófanos Egido, "El regalismo y las relaciones Iglesia-Estado en el siglo XVIII," en A. Mestre Sanchís (Dir), *Historia de la Iglesia en España, IV. La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, (Madrid, BAC, 1979), 123-249.

⁵ Danilo Madrid Gerona, *From Epic to History. A Brief Introduction to Bicol History*, (City of Naga, Ateneo de Naga, 1988), 52-59, 67-78.

⁶ Ma Marta Manchado López, *La política religiosa del alavés Simón de Anda y Salazar en Filipinas*, (Bilbao, Fundación BBV, 1997). Ma Fernanda García de los Arcos, *Estado y clero en las Filipinas del siglo XVIII*, (México D.F., Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana 1988), 59-65.

Etapas filipina (1767-1783)

Sabemos que el padre Duárez llegó a Filipinas en el mes de julio de 1767 en compañía de otros veintinueve o treinta hermanos de hábito, destinados todos ellos a las misiones que la Provincia franciscana de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas tenía en las Islas.⁷ A su llegada, presentó los títulos de predicador y confesor por su Provincia.

En 1768, al año aproximadamente de su llegada, Duárez fue enviado, en calidad de párroco, a una de las poblaciones más difíciles de entre las que estaban confiadas a los franciscanos: las misiones vivas del Isarog, concretamente al pueblo de Manguirin, en Camarines Sur. De aquí pasó, de acuerdo con las tablas capitulares de la Provincia de San Gregorio, que no siempre se corresponden con el destino real de los religiosos, a Tigaon (1770), Libong (1771), Cagsawa (1772-1775), Naga (1776-1778)⁸ y, finalmente, Polangui (1780), pueblos situados todos en Camarines Sur y Albay, al sureste de la isla de Luzón. Allí permaneció hasta el 1783, año en que, tras haber sido nombrado comisario y procurador de la Provincia en Madrid y Roma, emprendió viaje a España para desempeñar su cargo. Durante su permanencia en Naga (1777-1778) desempeñó, además del cargo de párroco, el de comisario provincial para Camarines.

Aunque no disponemos de documentación alguna sobre los primeros meses del misionero granadino en Filipinas, suponemos que, siguiendo la práctica habitual entre los franciscanos de las islas, los dedicaría a adaptarse a la nueva realidad socio-religiosa, tan diferente de la de España, y a estudiar la lengua de la zona geográfica a la que iba a ser destinado. En su caso, se trataba del bicol, la lengua hablada por los habitantes de Camarines, zona geográfica situada al sureste de Manila. El religioso recién llegado de España era destinado a una parroquia situada en la zona a la que iba a ser destinado, donde un religioso impuesto en la lengua local pudiera ser su maestro en el idioma. Esta sabia metodología para el aprendizaje de las lenguas tenía la ventaja de combinar perfectamente la teoría con la práctica, de ahí que los alumnos más aventajados consiguieran aprenderla en cuestión de meses.

Nos interesa conocer brevemente las experiencias pastorales más sobresalientes vividas por Duárez durante esta importante etapa de su vida.

⁷ Eusebio Gómez Platero, OFM, *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, (Manila, Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880), 535.

⁸ Bruce Cruikshank, *Franciscans in the Philippines, 1578-1898. Biographical catalogue*. [s.l., s.f.], 102-103.

Entre los *remontados* del monte Isarog (1767-1772)

Un año después de su llegada a Filipinas encontramos a Duárez ejerciendo el cargo de párroco en el pueblo de Manguirín, al pie del monte Isarog, la zona misional más difícil de Camarines. No sabemos por qué razón fue elegido nuestro biografiado para este destino. Probablemente por su capacidad para enfrentarse con situaciones difíciles de la vida. Félix de Huerta, que escribe en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, afirma, al reseñar la historia y situación de Manguirín, que “su temperamento es húmedo y malsano en grado tanto, que desde el año de 1740 hasta el de 1774, fue preciso relevar cuarenta y siete religiosos por las malignas calenturas que les atacaban”.⁹

Manguirín tenía una población cercana a los novecientos habitantes, muchos de los cuales –conocidos en el argot histórico de Filipinas por los nombres de *cimarrones* y *remontados*– eran personas huidas de la justicia o automarginadas de la misma, con el fin de eludir las normas sociales establecidas por las autoridades españolas. La actividad misionera en estas poblaciones era, por tanto, una tarea difícil y, en ocasiones, incluso peligrosa.¹⁰

Un autor del siglo XVIII describe los habitantes de esta zona en los siguientes términos: “La multitud de cimarrones que le habitan [el Isarog], se asegura que (en subido número) excede al que a toda la provincia de Camarines puebla. Estos bajan a su comercio desde lo alto del monte a los pueblos cristianos de toda su falda: pero es gente tan nociva que de balde matan, queman pueblos, flechan a quien se les antoja, y tan descuidados de la verdadera doctrina, que aun con todo el comercio de la gente cristiana y el celoso ardimiento de nuestros religiosos, que en varios sitios de aquel monte han conservado desde la antigüedad misión viva, sólo llegaron en el año de 1739 (como del padrón de confesiones de aquel año consta) a 1.739 almas confesadas (que es nada respecto a una multitud tan inmensa) de que hoy se numeran 80 tributos enteros, que al rey tributan. Mayor es el número de bautizados, así de los difuntos como de los vivos que no se hallan, y entre los muertos se cuentan, y ahora van apareciendo algunos que Dios escoge por su misericordia”.¹¹

Juan Francisco de San Antonio, que escribía el párrafo precedente hacia el 1741, no exageraba en sus juicios negativos acerca de los habitantes del Isarog. Cuando Duárez se presentó en Manguirín hacía pocos meses que había muerto

⁹ Félix de Huerta, OFM, *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso de la santa y apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno*, (Binondo, Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Cía., 1865), 203.

¹⁰ Francisco Mallari, SJ, “The remontados of Isarog,” *Kinaadman* 5 (1983) 103-117.

¹¹ Juan Francisco de San Antonio, OFM, *Crónicas de la apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón*, II, (Sampaloc, Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1741), 286-287.

violentamente el párroco del lugar, fray Juan de Silva, atravesado por la flecha de un cimarrón.

A otro misionero –cuenta el propio Duárez, refiriéndose probablemente a sí mismo– “en la ranchería de Pili, bajó del mismo monte una tropa de infieles armados con tambores y algazara para matarlo porque había bautizado y casado a un pariente suyo contra la voluntad de ellos. Los fieles cristianos de un pueblo de abajo le cogieron en brazos y, corriendo, lo emboscaron fuera de vereda en el monte, y le privaron de la dicha de que no era digno. En otras dos ocasiones, en otras partes, intentaron poco menos casi por lo mismo”.¹²

Duárez no olvidará jamás, como se desprende de la lectura de sus propios escritos, la experiencia misionera de Mangurín. De aquí pasó, como indicamos anteriormente, a los pueblos de Tigaon (1770), Libong (1771), y, más adelante, en 1772, a Cagsawa, en Albay, más al sur de la isla de Luzón. Desgraciadamente, carecemos de noticias concretas sobre la vida y actividad de nuestro misionero en los dos primeros pueblos.

Párroco de Cagsawa, a los pies del volcán Mayón (1772-1776)

El tercer destino de Duárez en Filipinas fue el pueblo de Cagsawa. Esta etapa de la actividad misionera del misionero franciscano resultará tan dura como la de Mangurín, aunque por razones diferentes, como veremos seguidamente.

La conversión de los habitantes de Cagsawa había tenido sus principios hacia el año 1588 o 89, cuando fray Pedro Blázquez, custodio de la misión franciscana de Filipinas y futuro mártir del Japón, visitó aquellas tierras.

El pueblo se encuentra a los pies del volcán Mayón, uno de los volcanes más activos del mundo, que tiene unos 2.462 m. de altura y es conocido por los estragos producidos en los pueblos que los circundan en múltiples ocasiones. El pueblo al que venía destinado el franciscano granadino constaba de unos 5.000 habitantes, dedicados fundamentalmente a la agricultura, actividad muy rentable por abundar en ella tierras volcánicas, pero constantemente amenazada por las frecuentes erupciones del Mayón.

Duárez llegó al pueblo en 1772, cinco años después de haber tenido lugar una de las erupciones más devastadoras que se recuerdan. Según una carta escrita por el alcalde mayor de entonces de la provincia de Albay al fiscal de Manila, el año

¹² Juan Duárez y Santa Cruz, OFM, *Carta ingenua y religiosa...*, (Madrid [s.i.] 1786), 10.

citado, el Mayón se distinguió por su persistente y devastadora actividad. El 20 de julio se produjo una erupción que duró diez días:

Desde la cúspide, tomaba el curso la lava hacia el este, el cual, observado por diferentes personas, aseguran duró dos meses seguidos, formando un río de fuego de la extensión de veinte brazas, semejante en sus efectos a un torrente que se precipitara de lo alto de un monte de peña en peña. En el mismo año de 1767, el día 23 de octubre, al rayar el alba, se comenzó a sentir un fuerte viento del oeste; a las ocho, refrescó y el viento continuó con la misma fuerza hasta las tres de la tarde, y de cuando en cuando caía un poco de agua. En la parte superior de la atmósfera, se percibía el viento este, mientras que en la parte inferior soplaba continuamente el oeste, con la misma violencia. Duró hasta las siete, que cambió al oeste; en este rumbo adquirió tanta fuerza que se creyó derribaba el pueblo, pero cambiando súbitamente al sur a las tres de la mañana, arruinó entonces todas las casas que antes solo había bamboleado y la lluvia fue mucho menos copiosa. A las dos de la mañana comenzó el volcán a vomitar tanta agua que es imposible tasar su cantidad, y solo contando algunos de los estragos que hizo se podrá formar de ella alguna idea.

Desde el pueblo de Tibog hasta Albay se formaron algunos ríos de 30 varas de ancho que corrían hasta el mar con una abundancia e ímpetu considerable. Los ríos desde Bacacay a Malinao pasaban de 30 varas de ancho. El espacio de terreno comprendido entre el pueblo de Camalig y Jayaras mudó de tal suerte que no se podían reconocer los caminos. El pueblo de Malinao fue enteramente destruido; las campiñas fueron cubiertas por capas de arena. La tercera parte del pueblo de Cagsawa fue igualmente destruido, y lo que quedaba en pie formaba una isla o, más bien, una montaña rodeada de anchos y profundos barrancales, por los cuales pasó el torrente de agua y arena. Estos estragos fueron mucho más ruinosos en Camalig, Guinobatan, Ligao y Polangui. Llegó hasta el pueblo de Albay atravesando su campiña, que asoló llevándose la corriente de las aguas cincuenta casas que estaban al pie del volcán. Por la parte del sudoeste, los árboles y palmeras fueron enterradas por la arena hasta su cima; las casas que pudieron resistir fueron enterradas por la arena hasta la mitad; los habitantes que quedaron en las mismas se libraron de la muerte, y los que salieron por escapar del peligro, perecieron todos en la arena. Se hallaron en el pueblo de Albay 18 cadáveres de ambos sexos, y muchos escaparon por casualidad; un niño de dos años se halló enterrado en la arena, solo se le veía la cabeza y el brazo derecho, que tenía delante de los ojos. Este turbión o torrente se extendió a seis leguas, y tanto estrago no podía provenir del agua que cayó aquel día; es, pues, evidente que este inmenso volumen salió de las entrañas del volcán; este quedó en el mismo estado en que estaba antes de este suceso, y como la arena le hacía inaccesible, no se pudo ir a reconocerle¹³.

Traslado del pueblo de Cagsawa al lugar ocupado por la visita de Daraga

En esta situación, se comprende fácilmente que los habitantes de Cagsawa se plantearan seriamente la problemática ubicación del pueblo y si no sería más conveniente alejarse lo más posible del volcán, fuente de su riqueza, por una parte,

¹³ Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842*, I, (Madrid, [s. n.], 1843), sección "Topografía," 15-17.

y de todas sus desgracias, por otra. En 1772, las autoridades del pueblo, en nombre de sus vecinos solicitaban al Capitán general de Filipinas Simón de Anda y Salazar, con buen criterio, licencia para mudar el pueblo a la visita (barrio) llamada Daraga, situada en la parte sur de la población. El 12 de julio del mismo Anda y Salazar respondía afirmativamente a su petición, y, poco después dieron comienzo las obras con el desmonte de la zona donde iban a ser ubicados la iglesia y el convento que se iban a construir.

Aunque la iniciativa para el traslado del pueblo de Cagsawa a la visita de Daraga parece haber partido de los nativos, Juan Duárez la apoyó plenamente y asumió desde un principio y con todo entusiasmo la dirección de las obras, comenzando por el elemento más importante, la construcción de la iglesia. En este sentido, aunque no en el sentido jurídico de la palabra, Duárez puede ser considerado el fundador del pueblo de Daraga.

La iglesia se encuentra edificada sobre la cima de una colina que domina una amplia y bellísima panorámica. En días claros, que son los más frecuentes en Filipinas, se divisa, cercano, el majestuoso y desafiante volcán con su permanente penacho de humo dirigido directamente al cielo y, más al fondo, el océano Pacífico. La elevación del lugar permitía vigilar la zona para poder prepararse y defenderse en caso de ocurrir alguna invasión de piratas musulmanes, otro de los grandes peligros en aquella época.

La edificación propiamente dicha del futuro templo parroquial comenzó no después del 1773, como se hace constar en una lápida que encontramos un vecino de Daraga llamado Harry Guevara y un servidor en 1972, colocada en la parte exterior de la capilla mayor, en la que se encuentran grabadas las siguientes iniciales y números: “M[unificentissimo]. C[arolo]. R[ege]. Anno D[omini] 1773. m[unificentissimo]. c[arolo]. r[ege].”: “Al munificentísimo Rey Carlos. Año del Señor 1773,” en alusión al monarca que regía entonces los destinos de España y a la fecha de iniciación de las obras¹⁴.

Las obras fueron a buen ritmo hasta dos años más tarde, en que Fermín de Zaldívar, Alcalde mayor de Camarines, acusó a Duárez de forzar a los vecinos de Cagsawa a trabajar en la construcción de la iglesia incluso en domingo – en contra de

¹⁴ La noticia fue publicada el año siguiente en *Fellowship. Official Bulletin of the Daraga Parish Church*, Daraga (Albay) February-March, 1973, en la primera página, bajo el título “Historic Stone Found”. En el número 4, correspondiente a los meses de noviembre-diciembre, de la misma publicación, apareció la traducción al inglés de algunos de los documentos fundamentales relacionados con la construcción de la iglesia llevada a cabo por el padre Sérvulo Sanmartín, ofm, párroco entonces de Daraga, fallecido en Madrid en 2015. Me temo, sin embargo, que la información no llegó a ser conocida por la mayoría de los historiadores, porque éstos continúan repitiendo que la iglesia fue construida después de 1814, tras la erupción del Mayón, a la que nos referiremos al final del presente ensayo.

las normas de la Iglesia–, utilizar las imágenes de los patronos de la iglesia parroquial –Santiago apóstol y santa Catalina– fuera del templo para animar a trabajar a los obreros, impedir la enseñanza de la lengua castellana a los niños de la escuela y haber azotado al maestro de ella.

Sobre todos esos cargos se llevó a cabo una exhaustiva investigación, tanto por parte del gobernador como de las autoridades de la Provincia franciscana de San Gregorio de Filipinas, con el fin de determinar la culpabilidad o inocencia del párroco. Del estudio de los respectivos expedientes formados en cada caso se desprende que Duárez no obligaba a la gente a trabajar en la obra de la iglesia, aunque presionaba a algunas personas, seguramente con el fin de poder terminarla cuanto antes y poder así evitar al pueblo nuevas experiencias amargas en caso de que se repitieran las erupciones del volcán. Si lo hacía en domingo, era con el fin de agilizar en lo posible el ritmo de las obras.

La utilización de los santos fuera de la iglesia se hizo para animar a los feligreses a trabajar en las obras de la iglesia y siempre con el mayor de los respetos.

No había impedido la enseñanza de la lengua castellana a los niños de la escuela, sino, más bien, todo lo contrario. Los libros que utilizaban los niños estaban escritos en español y el propio Duárez predicaba en esta lengua.

Era verdad que había azotado al maestro de la escuela, pero lo había hecho como escarmiento por faltar a las clases, emborracharse y no saber la doctrina cristiana que él mismo debía enseñar a los niños

¿Qué había ocurrido en realidad y en qué medida afectaron estos hechos a la realización de la obra de Daraga? La intrahistoria del asunto, que tiene mucho que ver con intrigas de carácter político y social y con rivalidades entre barrios de una misma población, parece encontrarse en un breve relato de los hechos tal y como los narra un autor anónimo, pero franciscano, en un informe que escribió por encargo de don Francisco Antonio Maceyra, obispo de la diócesis de Nueva Cáceres, a la que pertenecía Cagsawa, en un informe dirigido al rey Carlos III, firmado el 26 de octubre de 1776. Dice así:

En el año pasado de setenta y cinco se perturbó esta reducción [de Cagsawa] por las ideas de don Fermín de Zaldívar, quien, por su propio poder y grandísimo desafecto al religioso que administraba en el dicho pueblo de Cagsawa, segregó de ése un número considerable de tributos y los precisó a agregarse a la visita de Cagsawa en el sitio de Budiao, imponiéndole nombre de pueblo de San Carlos de Budiao, con teniente absoluto y ternos de oficiales sin el menor reconocimiento a la justicia de Cagsawa ni a las obligaciones de la iglesia antigua y de su propio párroco y ministro de doctrina. Con estas libertades y con haberles permitido iglesia y casa parroquial, aunque de tablas, se alistaron para ser del nuevo pueblo de

Budiao hasta el número de setecientos tributos, y por las malas artes de dicho don Fermín, quien, para granjear las voluntades de aquellos naturales a sus intentos, les tenía prometido un señor clérigo para cura, el que no ha llegado¹⁵.

Aunque los superiores franciscanos de Duárez no encontraron razones suficientes para destituirlo de su cargo de párroco; de hecho, la permanencia de Duárez en Daraga debió de resultar cada vez más difícil y éste debió de solicitar ser trasladado a otra parroquia. De hecho, fue trasladado a Naga, una población más pequeña, pero cercana a Nueva Cáceres, la capital administrativa de la zona, y nombrado comisario provincial de Camarines. Sea como fuere, los destinos que recibió el franciscano granadino con posterioridad a su salida de Cagsawa no dan pie a suponer que fuera castigado por su comportamiento en relación con los hechos que hemos narrado.

¿Qué ocurrió con las obras de la iglesia de Daraga? Debieron de interrumpirse durante un breve tiempo. Más tarde se reanudaron, pero fueron abandonadas por segunda vez. Sólo se reanudaron y completaron después de una nueva y trágica erupción del Mayón ocurrida en 1814.

¿Cómo se encontraba la iglesia de Daraga cuando Juan Duárez se vio obligado a salir de Cagsawa? Casi terminada. En cualquier caso, finalizado lo más esencial, la fachada y las paredes. Sólo quedaba de ser construido poco más que el tejado.

Alicia M. L. Coseteng, una conocida historiadora de la arquitectura hispano-filipina, describe la iglesia de Daraga en los siguientes términos:

The friars wanted to build a beautiful church in this new location, in a tyle that would incorporate the best of the Gothic and the Renaissance. But in this they were frustrated, since the masons and craftsmen were unable to execute their intention in stone. Instead, much to their disappointment, the church turned out to be rather crude and primitive in style. Apparently, the frustrations of the friars turned to be the fulfillment of Filipino masons and cratsmen.

For there is no question that indigenous Baroque has achieved its fullest expression on the facade of the Church of Daraga. Before it one is amazed at the outpouring of skill, imagination and feeling of this particular display of splendor. Indeed, the crude stone structure has been transformed by Filipino artisans into a piece of architecture of dazzling beauty, rich, warm, its extravagance tempered with a sense of spontaneity.¹⁶

La fachada de la iglesia de Daraga es también interesante por la riqueza de sus símbolos, una de las características más particulares del Barroco Tardío. Entre

¹⁵ *Informe sobre el obispado de Camarines, sus pueblos, tributos, distancias y visitas, redactado por un franciscano a petición del obispo don Francisco Antonio Maceyra para entregarlo al rey*. Nueva Cáceres, 26 de octubre, 1776. AFIO 92/32.

¹⁶ Alice M. L. Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines*, (Quezon Ciy, UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 1972), 125.

los elementos más sobresalientes figuran cuatro medallones situados en medio de las columnas, con las imágenes de los cuatro evangelistas (Mateo, Marcos, Lucas y Juan). Grabados en la base de las columnas podemos ver la tiara del Papa junto con las llaves, las cinco llagas de San Francisco, el escudo de la Orden franciscana y la corona real. Entrelazados alrededor de las columnas se encuentran racimos de uvas, símbolo de la Eucaristía. Sobre las dos puertas pequeñas se pueden contemplar, en sendos nichos, las imágenes de San José y San Juan Bautista. En el centro de la fachada flanqueada por seis pequeñas columnas salomónicas, podemos observar un medallón de la Virgen de la Portería. Encima de éste, una imagen de la Inmaculada Concepción de gran tamaño flanqueada por seis pequeñas imágenes, las de los santos franciscanos Pascual Bailón, Clara de Asís, Antonio de Padua, Francisco de Asís y Pedro de Alcántara.

Con razón, por tanto, la iglesia de Daraga ha sido declarada por el National Historical Institute de Filipinas Tesoro Cultural Nacional.

¿Quién fue el inspirador de esta magnífica obra de Arquitectura hispano-filipina? Los historiadores parecen ignorarlo. No lo menciona ni siquiera el jesuita Francisco Mallari, uno de los mejores conocedores de la historia del Bicol, que ha estudiado expresamente el traslado del pueblo y doctrina de Cagsawa a la visita de Daraga y los conflictos generados en el pueblo y entre las autoridades civiles y los franciscanos como resultado de esta decisión y su puesta en práctica.¹⁷ Más aún, cita sólo una vez, y de pasada, el nombre de Duárez.

Nosotros creemos que el inspirador de la iglesia de Daraga no fue otro que fray Juan Duárez, párroco de Cagsawa cuando se da comienzo a la obra y durante el tiempo en que se lleva a cabo la parte más sobresaliente de la misma, su magnífica fachada.¹⁸ Nos consta que no era indiferente al arte. De hecho, por los años 1794-1795, estando en España desempeñando el cargo de Procurador de la Provincia de San Gregorio en Madrid y Roma, encomendó nada menos que al artista José Camarón Bononat, pintor de la Corte, realizar unos preciosos grabados de los mártires de Japón de la Provincia de San Gregorio, de los que se conservan algunos ejemplares. Como andaluz que era, necesariamente conocía muchos de los numerosos ejemplares de iglesias barrocas de su tierra natal. La profusión de motivos franciscanos en la fachada indican que su autor tuvo que ser un gran conocedor del rico santoral de

¹⁷ Francisco Mallari, SJ, *Ibalon Under Storm and Siege. Essays On Bicol History: 1565-1860*, (Cagayan de Oro City, Xavier University, 1990), 203-222.

¹⁸ Duárez tuvo de compañero en la parroquia a fray Manuel Martínez Pardo de los Dolores, franciscano como él, nacido en Murcia el 26 de enero de 1736, que falleció en Minalabag, Camarines Sur, el 15 de diciembre de 1784, a los cuarenta y ocho años de edad (cf. Platero, *Catálogo*, 533); muy joven todavía en 1772, cuando dan comienzo las obras de Daraga, para poder atribuirle la autoría de la iglesia que nos ocupa.

los Hermanos Menores y la relación de algunos de éstos con la Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas.

Por otra parte, en una relación sobre la diócesis de Camarines, fechada en Nueva Cáceres el 26 de octubre de 1776, redactada por un franciscano, al narrar las situación de la doctrina de Cagsawa, después de exponer brevemente algunos de los hechos surgidos con motivo del traslado de la población de Cagsawa a Daraga, añade: “En todo su distrito se enumeran mil y quinientos (*esta última palabra en letra distinta*) tributos enteros, los que administra en el día un religioso solo de cuarenta años de edad, con alguna hinchazón de piernas y otros accidentes que ha contraído con el trabajo de la traslación de Cagsawa, padeciendo solo aguaceros y muchas pesadumbres, tristezas, melancolías y deshonoras, sólo por trabajar en el servicio de Dios y de nuestro Rey y beneficio común de los cuerpos y almas de aquel pueblo”.¹⁹ Aunque no se menciona en el texto el nombre del párroco, el autor de varias adiciones al texto escribió después de las palabras “un religioso solo de cuarenta años de edad,” la siguiente observación: “llamado fray Juan Duárez”.

Desgraciadamente, han tenido que pasar casi doscientos años para que los estudiosos del arte hayan reivindicado la obra llevada a cabo por Juan Duárez al frente de arquitectos, escultores y albañiles bicolanos del siglo XVIII. De todas formas, como dice el adagio castellano, “Nunca es tarde si la dicha es buena”. Conviene dejar constancia que ya a principios del siglo XIX Francisco Tubino, franciscano, calificaba la iglesia y convento de Daraga como “la obra más excelente en Camarines y Albay”.²⁰

A pesar de que fueron numerosos los vecinos de Cagsawa que fueron trasladando su residencia a Daraga y que las propias autoridades estaban convencidas de la conveniencia de rematar la obra iniciada por el padre Duárez, ésta permaneció paralizada suponemos que hasta el año 1814. En 1778, los casagueños no se habían trasladado todavía a Daraga y solicitan licencia del Gobernador para hacerlo. Los pareceres de los vecinos de Cagsawa se encontraban muy divididos sobre el asunto de Daraga.

Algunos vecinos de Cagsawa y de los pueblos colindantes, incluidos ciertos miembros de las autoridades civiles y religiosas, eran partidarios de crear una nueva población y parroquia, independientes de Daraga, en Putiao (Sorsogón), como podemos observar en la documentación que publicamos en forma de apéndice. Entre los defensores de esta segunda alternativa se encontraba fray Francisco Aragoneses, franciscano, que era párroco de Cagsawa en el momento de la erupción de 1814.

¹⁹ AFIO 92/32.

²⁰ Francisco Tubino, OFM, *El expectador volcánico del Mayón de la provincia de Albay, en Filipinas, y otras afecciones de volcanes sacadas de autores clásicos. Año de 1816*, 98. AFIO 94/40.

Ese mismo año el gobernadorcillo y principales de Cagsawa solicitaron licencia para trasladarse a Daraga, creando allí una nueva población y parroquia, solicitud que les fue concedida, aunque con la condición de conservar al mismo tiempo la población y parroquia de Cagsawa. Cinco años más tarde, manifestó también su opinión favorable el arzobispo de Manila,²¹ el franciscano Juan Antonio Gallego de Órbigo, obispo de Nueva Cáceres. En la relación de la visita pastoral que llevó a cabo en su Diócesis, fechada en 1783, al describir la situación de Cagsawa, escribe, refiriéndose a Daraga: “hay una iglesia de cal y canto, que sólo le falta el techo, subir un poco las paredes del presbiterio y sacristía para estar perfectamente acabada; la casa parroquial, de cal y canto, cuasi concluida, y esta obra se ha dejado en este estado cuasi abandonada, necesitando precisamente dividirse para ser administrado”²².

Como hemos indicado anteriormente, Juan Duárez pasó de Cagsawa a Naga y de aquí a Polangui, no lejos de la primera de las poblaciones. ¿Volvió alguna vez a contemplar la inconclusa obra de Daraga? Es posible, pero no nos consta que así fuera

No encontramos el nombre de Duárez en las tablas capitulares correspondientes a los años 1779 y 1781. Es de suponer que, en el primer caso, continuaría en Manguirin o pasaría a Libong, población de unos setecientos habitantes, y, en el segundo sería nombrado de nuevo párroco de Polangui, cuya feligresía ascendía a unas 3.500 almas.

Desgraciadamente, carecemos de escritos de Duárez que nos permitan conocer su vida y actividad al frente de las parroquias citadas. Más abundante en información es la siguiente etapa de su vida.

Segunda etapa española (1782-1803)²³

Comisario y procurador de la Provincia de San Gregorio en España

En 1782, el definitorio de la Provincia de San Gregorio nombró al padre Juan comisario de misión y procurador en Madrid y Roma, un cargo de gran responsabilidad. Consistía, fundamentalmente en recolectar misioneros para Extremo Oriente, más en concreto, para Filipinas, China y Cochinchina, de todas las provincias franciscanas descalzas de España y llevar a cabo, tanto en Madrid como en

²¹ AFIO 94/49-1.

²² Juan Antonio Gallego de Órbigo, OFM, *Relación de la visita que el Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dn. Fr. Juan Antonio de Órbigo y Gallego hizo de su obispado*. Nueva Cáceres, 26 de abril, 1783. (AGI Filipinas 653).

²³ Hemos estudiado este periodo de la vida del padre Duárez en nuestro artículo “Juan Duárez de Santa Cruz y su proyecto de fundación del pueblo de Daraga (Filipinas) y del Colegio de Misiones de Montilla (Córdoba),” en Manuel Peláez del Rosal (dir.), *El Franciscanismo en Andalucía: XVI Curso de Verano (Priego de Córdoba 2010)*, (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011), 437-444.

Roma, las gestiones que fueran necesarias o convenientes para la buena marcha de la vida y actividad de la Provincia.

El reclutamiento de misioneros en España para Filipinas resultó especialmente problemático, por circunstancias diversas, que no creemos necesario mencionar. Debido a ellas, el padre Duárez pensó que la mejor solución para llevar franciscanos para las misiones de Filipinas consistía en fundar un Colegio de Misiones en España con el fin de enviar a jóvenes bien preparados a las Islas, siguiendo en esto el ejemplo del colegio que habían fundado los agustinos de Filipinas en Valladolid (España) en 1759. Para ello eligió, primero, la antigua residencia que los jesuitas habían tenido en Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid) y más tarde, el convento que los franciscanos observantes habían dejado deshabitado en Montilla (Córdoba). Desgraciadamente, el proyecto terminó en un rotundo fracaso por haber sido desautorizado el padre Duárez por sus superiores de Filipinas para llevarlo a cabo.

Otras actividades en España

Duárez era amigo de los libros. Así parece desprenderse de la siguiente recomendación que hace a los posibles candidatos para alistarse para las misiones de Extremo Oriente: “Se han de traer su ropita, papeles, cuantos libros útiles y necesarios tengan a su uso y les puedan dar los bienhechores y devotos (porque estos muebles son muy necesarios en Filipinas)”.

No se limitó sólo a aconsejar a los misioneros que llevaran libros a Filipinas, él mismo envió varios baúles de ellos, entre otros 38 misales. Una de las partidas dedicadas a la adquisición de libros ascendió a 3.179 reales de vellón.

Envío también matrices de letras para la imprenta que la Provincia de San Gregorio tenía en Sampaloc, extramuros de Manila, una de las más importantes del archipiélago en aquel momento.

La Provincia de San Gregorio había contado entre sus hijos dos grupos importantes de mártires de Japón. Uno, encabezado por San Pedro Bautista, recibió la palma del martirio en Nagasaki en 1597. Nos referimos a los famosos protomártires del Japón. El segundo grupo estaba compuesto de religiosos y seglares que entregaron su vida por Cristo a lo largo de los primeros decenios del siglo XVII. Duárez creyó, con toda razón, que sus hermanos de hábito merecían ser inmortalizados por algún artista contemporáneo importante y contrató para ello los servicios de José Camarón Bononat, pintor de la corte de Carlos III, y el grabador Manuel Peleguer.

Los dos grabados son de buena hechura y han sido reproducidos por otros artistas de los siglos XIX y XX.

Duárez llevó a cabo también una importante gestión ante la Santa Sede: la consecución de un breve que comienza por las palabras *Quoties a nobis petitur*, del papa Pío VI, fechado en Roma el 30 de mayo de 1789, en el que se concede la gracia de que “el Ministro provincial y presidente del Capítulo puedan dar licencia a los misioneros, catequistas, doctrineros y procuradores para recibir limosnas concedidas por su Majestad y poder invertirlas en sus usos religiosos,”²⁴ consiguiendo por medio de él aquietar las conciencias de muchos religiosos respecto al uso del dinero y organizar de una forma más razonable las finanzas de la Provincia de San Gregorio.

Epílogo a la vida y obra de fray Juan Duárez

Juan Duárez parece haber sido un hombre culto y especialmente dinámico. Quizás incluso buen misionero. Desgraciadamente, sus dos proyectos eran ciertamente interesantes y beneficiosos para sus destinatarios. Pero Duárez se encontró, en el primero de los casos, con la frontal oposición de Fermín de Zaldívar, un ferviente regalista, que hizo la vida imposible al granadino fomentando la división de los feligreses respecto a la bondad de su proyecto y creando en amplios sectores de Cagsawa una opinión adversa al proyecto del misionero franciscano de trasladar su población a Daraga. El segundo de los proyectos no se llevó a cabo, como hemos indicado más arriba, por no haber sido aprobado por el Provincial de la Provincia de San Gregorio.

El tiempo le dio la razón

Aunque los dos proyectos más acariciados por Juan Duárez terminaron en fracaso por las razones que hemos apuntado anteriormente, el tiempo le dio la razón. El pueblo de Cagsawa fue barrido por una erupción del Mayón ocurrida en 1814, que ha pasado a formar parte de los anales de la historia de Filipinas.

El franciscano Juan de la Torre, párroco de Camalig, en carta escrita al Provincial, nos proporciona detalles interesantes sobre lo sucedido: “Las cinco ciudades de Pentápolis y Heraclea, sepultada por el Vesubio, sólo podrán servir de ejemplar a esta escena fatal; nada hay en la tierra semejante sino el juicio final.”²⁵ El volcán arrojó una enorme cantidad de piedras incandescentes, arena y cenizas, que prendieron fuego a las casas de los pueblos, cubiertas de nipa, muriendo calcinados muchos de sus habitantes.

²⁴ *Estatutos de la santa y apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, (Binondo: Imprenta de B. González Moras, 1870), n° 148.

²⁵ Juan de la Torre, OFM, Carta al Provincial. Ligao, 17 de febrero, 1814. AFIO 94/39.

Los párrocos franciscanos de la zona –la fuente más fiable en este caso por haber sido testigos de vista de lo ocurrido– escribieron relatos de lo acontecido. Francisco Aragoneses, párroco de Budiao, escribe que el número de víctimas mortales ascendió a 1.200²⁶. No 12.000, como escriben erróneamente, en nuestra opinión, algunos historiadores, siguiendo en esto a Montero y Vidal²⁷. Aunque es posible que se haya quedado algo corto el padre Aragoneses respecto al número de personas que murieron.

Cagsawa y Budiao, junto con Camalig, estuvieron entre las poblaciones más castigadas por el volcán. En el primero, el número de víctimas se calcula en 200; en el segundo, en 250, abrasadas muchas de ellas todas en la iglesia parroquial, donde buscaron protección de las piedras incandescentes que caían sobre sus cabezas.

“En Cagsawa y Camalig no quedó ni una casa. En Budiao, muchas gentes corrieron a la iglesia, y todos murieron por el fuego. En Camalig se cuentan los que se han podido encontrar, trescientas personas muertas a fuego y con piedras; de Cagsawa son muchas... Todas las sementeras de los cinco pueblos, cubiertas de arena.”²⁸

Existen varios relatos sobre los acontecimientos relacionados con esta terrible erupción del Mayón. Nosotros incluimos en nuestro apéndice documental la relación del franciscano padre Francisco Aragoneses por ser la más completa, por haber sido escrita por un testigo de lo ocurrido, puesto que en esa fecha era párroco de Cagsawa, y por otras razones que mencionaremos más adelante.

Cuatro años más tarde, el franciscano Francisco Tubino, echaba en cara a los nativos de Cagsawa su cobardía por haber cedido a las presiones de Fermín Zaldívar, alcalde mayor de Camarines, en el asunto de la fundación de Daraga, motivando así la salida de Duárez de su parroquia.²⁹

Lentamente, Daraga comenzó a superar en población e importancia social y económica a su cabecera Cagsawa. En la segunda mitad del XIX, era ya la población más próspera de la provincia de Albay, y continúa siéndolo también en la actualidad.

²⁶ Francisco Aragoneses, OFM, *Suceso espantoso y memorable acaecido en la Provincia de Camarines el día primero de febrero de este año de 1814*, [s.l., s.g., s.f.]. Se reimprimió en Madrid en 1815.

²⁷ José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, (Madrid, Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1894), 419.

²⁸ Antonio Cobo, OFM, *Carta al alcalde mayor de Camarines informándole sobre la erupción del volcán Mayón*. Polangui, 4 de febrero, 1814. En Antonio Sigüenza, *Historia de la provincia de Camarines*, 461-462 (AFIO C 824).

²⁹ Francisco Tubino, OFM, *El expectador volcánico del Mayon de la provincia de Albay en Filipinas y otras afecciones de Volcanes conocidos, sacados de autores clásicos. Que compuso...*, del Orden de san Francisco, predicador y cura de Guinobatan, en la provincia de Camarines, que ofrece a un amigo suyo. De 1816 (sic), 51-56. Ms. Original de AFIO 94/40 y 281/2.

Por lo que respecta a la frustrada fundación del Colegio de Misiones de Montilla, el tiempo dio también la razón a Duárez. La provincia de San Gregorio continuó resistiéndose cincuenta años más a la idea de fundar en España un Colegio de Misiones para Filipinas. Finalmente, en 1853, presionado por el propio Gobierno español fundó uno en Aranjuez (Madrid) en condiciones parecidas a las que había propuesto Duárez. De aquí fue trasladado a Pastrana (Guadalajara), en 1855, convirtiéndose en un verdadero semillero de misioneros para Filipinas a lo largo del resto del siglo XIX y la primera mitad del XX.

Duárez tenía razón respecto a la bondad de los dos proyectos, pero posiblemente no supo convencer de ello ni a las autoridades civiles ni a sus hermanos de hábito. Este benemérito franciscano, después de haber sido desautorizado por sus superiores de Manila, se retiró al convento franciscano alcantarino de Priego de Córdoba (Córdoba), donde vivía todavía en 1803. Ignoramos, sin embargo, tanto el lugar como la fecha de su muerte.^{PS}

Bibliografía:

Aragoneses, Francisco, OFM. *Suceso espantoso y memorable acaecido en la Provincia de Camarines el día primero de febrero de este año de 1814*, [s.l., s.g., s.f.].

Cobo, Antonio, OFM. “Carta al alcalde mayor de Camarines informándole sobre la erupción del volcán Mayón. Polangui, 4 de febrero, 1814,” en Antonio Sigüenza, *Historia de la provincia de Camarines*, 461-462 (AFIO C 824).

Coseteng, Alice M. L. *Spanish Churches in the Philippines*, Quezon City: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 1972.

Cruikshank, Bruce. *Franciscans in the Philippines, 1578-1898. Biographical catalogue*. [s.l., s.f.], 102-103.

Duárez y Santa Cruz, Juan, OFM. *Carta ingenua y religiosa...*, Madrid [s.i.], 1786.

Egido, Teófanos. “El regalismo y las relaciones Iglesia-Estado en el siglo XVIII,” en A. Mestre Sanchis (Dir), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, IV. *La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Madrid: BAC, 1979.

Estatutos de la santa y apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas, Binondo: Imprenta de B. González Moras, 1870.

Fernández, Pablo, OP. *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1898)*. Manila: National Bookstore, 1979.

- Gallego de Órbigo, Juan Antonio, OFM. *Relación de la visita que el Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dn. Fr. Juan Antonio de Órbigo y Gallego hizo de su obispado*. Nueva Cáceres, 26 de abril, 1783. (AGI, Filipinas 653).
- García de los Arcos, M^a Fernanda. *Estado y clero en las Filipinas del siglo XVIII*, México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1988.
- Gerona, Danilo M. *From Epic to History. A Brief Introduction to Bicol History*, City of Naga: Ateneo de Naga, 1988.
- Gómez Platero, Eusebio, OFM. *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, Manila: Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880.
- Huerta, Félix de, OFM. *Necrología de todos los religiosos franciscanos que han pertenecido a la apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, n. 1694 (AFIO G/3).
- Huerta, Félix de, OFM. *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso de la santa y apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno*, Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Cía., 1865.
- Informe sobre el obispado de Camarines, sus pueblos, tributos, distancias y visitas, redactado por un franciscano a petición del obispo don Francisco Antonio Maceyra para entregarlo al rey*. Nueva Cáceres, 26 de octubre, 1776. (AFIO 92/32).
- Mallari, Francisco, SJ. “The remontados of Isarog,” *Kinaadman* 5 (1983) 103-117.
- Mallari, Francisco, SJ. *Ibalon Under Storm and Siege. Essays On Bicol History: 1565-1860*, Cagayan de Oro City: Xavier University, 1990.
- Manchado López, M^a Marta. *La política religiosa del alavés Simón de Anda y Salazar en Filipinas*, Bilbao: Fundación BBV, 1997.
- Mas, Sinibaldo de. *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842*, I, Madrid: [s. n.], 1843.
- Montero y Vidal, José. *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, Madrid, Fundación de Manuel Tello, 1894.
- San Antonio, Juan Francisco de, OFM. *Crónicas de la apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón*, II, Sampaloc: Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1741.

Sánchez Fuertes, Cayetano, OFM. “Juan Duárez de Santa Cruz y su proyecto de fundación del pueblo de Daraga (Filipinas) y del Colegio de Misiones de Montilla (Córdoba),” in Peláez del Rosal, Manuel (dir.), *El Franciscanismo en Andalucía: XVI Curso de Verano (Priego de Dórdoba 2010)*, Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011, pp. 437-444.

Schumacher, John N., SJ. *Readings in Philippine Church History*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1979.

Torre, Juan de la, OFM. “Carta al Provincial. Ligao, 17 de febrero, 1814.” (AFIO 94/39.)

Tubino, Francisco, OFM. *El expectador volcánico del Mayón de la provincia de Albay, en Filipinas, y otras afecciones de volcanes sacadas de autores clásicos. Año de 1816.* (AFIO 94/40).

APÉNDICE DOCUMENTAL

DOCUMENTS ON THE HISTORY OF CAGSAWA AND DARAGA

1

Dispute between Albay and Cagsawa about the boundaries between both towns. Information given by the authorities of the two towns. Nueva Cáceres, August 27, 1714.

AFIO 94/47-1. Ms. original.

The Count of Lizárraga, don Martín de Ursúa y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of Santiago, member of His Majesty’s Council, his *Gobernador* and *Capitán General* of these Philippine Islands and president of the *Real Audiencia* and *Chancillería*, who resides in them, etc.

In as much as the *gobernador*, *principales*, *cauezas de barangay* and council of the town of Cagsaua, province of Camarines, on this day present a writing and project, whose contents are the following:

The *capitanes* don Francisco Irrisarri, don Bernardino Siam, don Manuel de la Cruz, don Felipe de Macatuba, don Jerónimo de Arévalo, don Juan de la Cruz, don Lorenzo Mendiore, don Diego Vauelo, don Francisco Canales, don Francisco Tabi, don Francisco Mexo, don Cristóbal Manago, don Bernardino García, natives,

principales and *cauezas de barangay* and all other dwellers of our mentioned town of Cagsaua, we come to your Lordship's presence in the best way law demands and with the permission needed.

All this is in keeping with the information given to you by *capitán* Diego López, our *Alcalde mayor* in the province of Camarines at present, about the boundaries and jurisdiction which the natives and leaders of the town of Albay in the boundaries of our town of Cagsaua, without having any little deed or any other juridical or extrajudicial document neither of their ancestors nor of the living persons, thus stirring up the feelings of the dwellers of our said town of Cagsaua, about which your Lordship was requested to inform the district attorneys of his Majesty, your Lordship saw to it that the response be given as the mentioned *señor* fiscal expressed, and for its execution and fulfillment the *alcaldes mayores* of the provinces of Albay and Camarines, so that with the agreement of both *alcaldes mayores* a division be made of the boundaries of both towns.

As a matter of fact, both *alcaldes mayores* agreed to do that on January 21 of this year 1714 in the savanna that is between both towns, where there was erected a wooden cross, that marked the dividing line of both towns.

On that occasion were present the reverend ministers of said towns of Albay and Cagsaua with the attendance of the *principales*, *gobernadores*, and *cabezas the barangay* as well as the natives of both towns that could be gotten for such an event.

Both *alcaldes mayores* began to work on a possible agreement on the boundary between both towns, but no agreement was reached due to the fact that the dwellers of the above mentioned town of Albay went and pretend to encroach on the territory of the above mentioned our town of Cagsaua, not being willing to agree on the former boundary agreed upon by the *capitanes* don Pedro de Lagarza, *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines, and don Fructos Delgado of Albay.

So the above mentioned decision, which with the consent and agreement of both communities of the mentioned towns as a consequence of not having placed then the markers of lime and stone in the where the cross was located neither the boundaries between both towns, the above mentioned dwellers of Albay began again to disturb the just and peaceful possession that we had acquired on the mentioned sites of rivers, hill lands parcels, coconut trees and abaca, whose property had been agreed upon by the above mentioned *alcaldes mayors*.

They biker, instead, trying to encroach in the territories of our town Cagsaua. And so, speaking with due moderation and respect, your Lordship should not allow

that to happen. They should rather be punished severely for disturbing the peace and quiet in which we have lived in the above mentioned town of Cagsaua accepting the determination of the above mentioned *alcaldes mayores*, who, if need there be the case, could testify before a court.

And in order that this case stop and a remedy be found to it, we ask and request your Lordship to accept us who have come with the writing, and in keeping with what we already said, you order the natives, *principales*, and *cauezas de barangay* and the people of the above mentioned town of Albay to stop speaking once for all about what they pretend and that they agree on what has been decided by the already mentioned *capitanes* don Pedro de Lagazca y don Fructos Delgado, without pretending to acquire more territory that what belongs to them in keeping with the jurisdiction agreed upon many years ago.

Let the boundaries of both churches be measured in a just manner, both those of our town of Cagsaua and those of Albay. Needless to say we shall comply with what is agreed upon. That is all we demand in keeping with justice. We swear with due respect to God our Lord and making the sign of the cross that we are sincere [*some illegible words*] in what is needed, etc.

Finally, we request your Lordship to accept this writing even if it is written on an ordinary paper rather than on the official one of this province *ut supra*.

(Signed by:) Don Francisco Manrique del Fressno, don Francisco Irrisarri, don Juan Manga, Juan Chrisostomo, Diego Gonzales, Honorio Macasubu, don Juan de la Cruz, Gerónimo Arévalo, don Diego Vauelo, don Lorenzo Mediano, don Francisco Dimasingindon Francisco Tabi, don Francisco Canales, don Benito Baga Adiong, don Francisco Alexo, don Pedro Magtas, don Cristóbal Manago, don Bernabé García, Antonio Mangatus, don Bernardo Siam, don Pasqual Balderrama, don Pedro Manroyog, Sancto Cuyogan, don Agustín Manaog, don Salustiano di Matingso, Fernando Procopio, Sebastián de San Pedro, Pasqual Maginlaue, don Lorenzo Pandogandon, Gregorio Pacionay, don Diego Carlos, Diego Estacio, Diego Matheo, Juan Gonzáles, Diego de los Reyes, Gerónimo Ignacio, secretary.

Manila, August 27, 1714.

Let the *alcaldes mayores* of the provinces of Camarines and Albay meet in Cagsaua town and in the presence of the *ministros de doctrina* of this town and the town of Albay see to it that the distance between both churches is measured and that right in the middle of both a stone and a cross are put in order to mark the boundaries of both towns and what belongs to them for the proper spiritual and temporary administration. In so doing, none of the two towns pretend to innovate anything. Let

a document of this agreement be made and kept in the archives of both provinces so that it be observed and executed.

At the foot of this decree one can find my signature and half signature that reads: Allanegui: And in keeping with it, I order and command all the present *alcaldes mayores* and *capitanes* of the provinces of Camarines and Albay that once they have read this document, they set aside one day on which they invite the *ministros de doctrina* of both towns, Cagsaua and Albay, to meet so that in the presence of everybody the distance between the churches is measured in order to separate and divide the district of each town in keeping with what I have specified and written in the above decree.

Let them likewise see to it that the *gobernadorcillos* and *principales* and *cauezas de barangay* attend together with the inhabitants of both towns so that they become aware of it. Let a copy of this writing be kept in the archives of both provinces as well as in those of each town so that they be safely kept.

Given in Manila, on August 27, 1714.

The Count of Lizárraga.

By command of his Lordship, don Miguel de Allanegui.

Execution of the order

In the town of Cagsaua, on October 27, 1714.

The *señores* General Manuel de Endaya, *Alcalde mayor* and *Capitán a guerra* of this province of Camarines of his Majesty, lieutenant in the offices of *Gobernador* and *Capitán a guerra* in that province and that of Tayabas, and *capitan* don Lucas González of Tayabas, *Alcalde mayor* and *Capitán a Guerra* by His Majesty in the those of Ibalón and Catanduanes, executing and fulfilling the order of this letter sent by the Superior Government of these Islands, following the request of the council of said town by means of which the mentioned *alcaldes mayores* of both provinces are asked to meet in the town of Cagsaua and in the presence of the ministers of both towns be measured from church to church for the separation and division of the district of each one, and let the *gobernadorcillos*, *principales* and *cauezas de barangay* and *timawas*, and let a boundary be made out of lime and stone be put in the middle of both, and let a cross be put on the stone.

In order to obey this order, on the date mentioned above, having convoked the already mentioned *gobernadorcillos*, *cauezas y principales* of both towns, the distance having been measured in the presence of this public court clerk, it happened to be 3.900 *brazas* and *legua* the jurisdiction of each town, the jurisdiction of each

town had 1950 *brazas*, where the post of the above mentioned boundary made out of stone and lime is, neither side contested putting it in front of Salinon hill, near a fountain that must be fifty *brazas* away from the above mentioned cross from which one can see the place of Burabod.

It was ordered to draw a straight line, and this having been done what was ordered, by the superior government, it was ordered by this gentlemen that in order to keep record of this, I, Juan de Peña, public secretary of this province of Camarines to make a copy, as it was ordered in the above mentioned document, in order to send the original document to the superior government and by this judicial decree it was accomplished and ordered by them and they signed it in the presence of the Very Reverend Father Ministro and parish priest of Albay.

I certify on the truth of all these happenings.

Don Manuel de Endaya, don Lucas Gonzales de Lucena.

Done in my presence, Juan de la Peña, court clerck.

This report agrees with the original records that today have been sent to Manila hand carried by sir *Conde de Lizárraga*, President, *Gobernador y Capitán general* of these Islands, done in the city of Nueva Cáceres, on November 22, 1714. The witness to seeing, taking a copy, correcting and agreeing were the following persons: don Juan García, Joseph López Primido, Vicente Rodríguez, all present.

I certify to the truth of all this.

In witness to the truth I, Juan de la Peña, court clerk, signed it.

This copy agrees, therefore, with the original which is kept in the archives of which I take care...

All the above is certain and true. I have not corrected anything.

To certify it, I sign this document thus in answer to the request of the interested parties who have been instrumental in seeing the original text, making a copy of it, correcting it and agreeing with it: the *capitán* don Roque Manaul, Juan Evangelista Muñoz and Francisco Sangalan, present, certify to it.

Given in this city of Nueva Cáceres, on February 1 of 1715.

Witnessing to the truth, I signed it, Juan de la Peña, court clerck.

2

Request by the natives of Cagsaua for permission to build the church of stone.
Cagsaua, July 28, 1721.

AFIO 94/48-3. Original manuscript.

Cami gabos na magna Capitan na magna camatandaan, magna Caueza sa duluhan assin ybpang caguinooha digdi sa banuaan sa Cagsaua, minahadoc cami sa magna mahal na nabitis nin gagalagnan na Ama Fr. Mateo de San José, Guardián assin paraholit digdi sa sinabinang banuaan huli cansamoyang ynahagad na carahayan nin gabosnamamahuaan an pag ataman assin mag camuotan nin samoyiang simbahan na yo an samong pinagrorondom na pagguibohon. Ta naarman niamo manga maraot na gabos an magna cahoy assin an ybapang mga caratan.

Kaya (¿?) huli ta minamasaquit niamo an pagyarahay assin anpagsalihidcanmagna harigui cfaqynignaping simgahan taararaio na an magna marahay na cahoy namaguiguin harigui, pinagcasarcan niamo naharog can magna simbahan digdi spagdarapit nin Camalig nanaquita niamo na day nin hariguin cfahoycundi magnagapogabos caya pinaqgmamauot niamo ansiring caiyang mapagcamugtactagnaning marahaysaybangaldao cunicaherac nin CNT. Dios assin dayna nin coming casaquitan an nagpapanonod saqmoia cun ypadagos an pacaharai nin samoiang mahal na ama an sirign cayni, caia samahal na cagalagnan na ama nacquiquireharaqc cami assin naggnagnaioznaio huli caynkignaning samonghinagad nacarahayan ninsamong banuaan namagdalita natabangan assin hilgnoncami can ugaion mong marata na pagznaioznaio sasamong Gobernador assin Capitan General digdi cayning magna poro sa Philipinas na tuan nin mandamiento nacapagtauang niamo sa paguibo cfayni gnaming sinabinag simbahan salaog nin liman taon nadaypa tabtan ni mgna *repartición* (¿) sa bandala assin sa tibaad nangcaatopan tagnani yio asanaan mapaatman an pagguibo dihan cyian gnaning obra nasucat pacarahay an samoyang Padre Guardian na macapagtao nin certificacion can pagcayniassin pagcamugtao cayini gnaming magna caratan digdi sasamoiang simbahan.

Kaya (¿?) sa pagcatotoo cayni gabos nasinagina saytaas nagfirma an Capitan bassal, an magna na magna kamatandaan, assin magna Caueza sa duluhan, ybapangcaguinoohan assin aco man na escriuano nagtao aco nin pagcatotoo, sa duang poloo may ualong aldao cayning Bulan na Julio nang rivo pitong gatos sang polo may duang taon.

(There follow several signatures)

3

Petition of the natives of Cagsawa to the Provincial minister of the Franciscans that they be allowed to build a church of stone and be free from polos. Cagsawa, 27 October, 1721.

AFIO 94/48-1. Original manuscript.

Don Julian de los Reyes, capitan basal assin paraboot digdi sa banuaan sa Cagsawa, assin an maga capitan nakamatandaan, magna cabeza sa duluhan ibapang saguinoohan, pattin magna catimanuaan nan amamanusaan digdi sa sinabinang banuaan, assin akong escribano.

Cami gabos minadoloc nanahadoc sa mahal na camot nin gagalagn an nasamong mahal na Amang Provincial asin Paraholit Fr. Alonso de la Zarza anaanglay niamo gabos, huli sapagcaday nin surat na licencia asin reserva sa atag yninganing samong banuaan day caminacacapagguibo nin simbahan.

Huli cayian, naggangayogayognayo cami nanaguiguimaheracsa saimo gnanino mayhal ng Amang Provincial natabagan cami na yhagad ninsinhabinang surat na licencia assin reserva sa Gobernador assin Capitan General cayiping magna poro sa Philipinas sa laog nin tolong taon na daing atag, tagnani macapaggibo cami nin maray can samoyang simbahan. Nin gapo, assin puti, tayioan cabotan niamo gabos sapagsirve sa C. N. T (¿cagurangng Tan?) Dios, assinta carahayan cyni nganing banuaan.

Hinahaga man niamo sa sinabi nan samong mahal na Ama na hagaron man sa samon Gouvernador haybugtac sa surat nganing licencia an gapo naguiguibohon na puti

Na puti, nacocoon dihan sa dagat sacop nin banuaan sa Albay, tagnani ytocot na day ysuhay nin magna taga Albay, tayiong macuring caspohan niamo an puti sa pagguibo ngani cayining simbahan, taday digdi ni balaquid cyian sasamong banuaan, nayon orog nacaolagnan nagayo an puti.

Tatagnanimahan namapadagos yni gnaning samoyang simbahan, tomogotnamaherac nahinanagoyon assin omaco nin pagtabang an samoyagnaning mahal na Ama sa samong hinahagad; nasa magna gastos sa anopaman an Mre. de Camarines don Francisco Cabales an matatag, tayio an pinagcasaroan niamo an apoderado. Sa pagtotoo cayni gabos nasinabi sytaas nagfirma an Capitan bassal, an magna capitanes, magna cabeza sa duluhan ybapang caguinoohan, assin acong escruano nagtao at aco nin pagcastotoo.

Cagsaua y octubre 27 de 1721 años.

(*Signature:*) Julián de los Reyes

(*Sixty three more signatures*)

4

New request to Father Alonso de la Zarza. Cagsaua, November 9, 1721.

AFIO 94/48-2

Mahal sa samong Ama assin cagalangan Prouincial.

Yiaon ypinadara niamo yian surat sa Mre. de Camarines don Francisco Canales, napinagcahamanan niamolgabos na nanamaqmanuaan digdi sa banuaan sa Cagsaua sa pagsirbe sa CM. Tang Dios, na pinirmahanco assin magna Capitan, na magna Caguinoohan Cayning naming bauaan; na na ipinagnagnayagnayo, assin ypinaquiquimaherac niamo, na magdalita an samon mahal na Amang Prouincialnatubgnan yian samonghinahagad nanapapataman dihan Caiyan sinabinan surat nasamong pinagkahamanan, yio lamang Bantaian nin CNT. Dios sa balaguidon nataon.

Cagsaua y Noviembre 9 de 3 1721 años.

Ang saimong magna aqui, magsisirbe giraray.

(*Signatures:*) Julián de los Reyes

Francisco Alejo

Bernardino Skion

Diego González

Francisco Manrique del Fresno

Cagalangan assi mahal na Aman Prouincial.

Fr. Alonso de la Zarza.

5

Permit for the foundation of the “visita” of Burabod, jurisdiction of Cagsaua. Manila, September 3, 1731.

AFIO 94/47-53. Original manuscript.

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón, Knight of the Order of Santiago, brigadier of the royal armies of his Majesty and his Council, *Gobernador* and *Capitán general* of these Philippine Islands and President of the *Audiencia* and *Real Chancillería*, who resides in them, etc.

Since the Very Reverend Father Vicente Inglés, a member of the Seraphic Order of our Father Saint Francis, Provincial Minister of his Province of the Lord Saint Gregory the Great in these Philippine Islands, on the sixth day of last August, sent me the following inquiry:

Most Illustrious *Señor*:

Father Vicente Inglés. Provincial Minister of the Order of Saint Francis, Provincial Minister of the Order of Saint Francis in these Islands.

In fulfillment of my office, I let your lordship know through this letter that during the recent years there has been a group of Indians, most of them native dwellers of the town of Cagsaua in the province of Camarines, to whose jurisdiction they belong now, in a place called Burabod, in which there now live together some two hundred people as can be verified from the original taxes paid by them as can be seen in the letter I have enclosed.

The *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines, under whose jurisdiction Cagsaua falls, has already appointed a *cabeza de barangay* well as a fiscal, as can be seen in the enclosed letter. The site is convenient to have a barangay erected in it as it is usually done. Thus, living together in such a place, the people will be properly instructed in political matters and well administered. Thus, it is my pleasure to request you to render that service to them. I trust in your sense of responsibility to erect the proper offices in that barangay in the mentioned site of Burabod, within the above mentioned town of Cagsaua, province of Camarines.

That if what seems good to do to the proper authorities of the province.

May God bless you for many years.

Santa Ana de Sapa, August 6 of the year 1731.

Your Lordship.

Your loyal and loving chaplain kisses the hand of your Lordship.

Fray Vicente Inglés.

Here I gave orders that the matter be examined by the lawyer don Pedro de Vedoya and Osorio, a counselor of His Majesty and his district, attorney in the *Audiencia* and *Real Chancillería*, who, on the twenty three of the above mentioned month of August, send a letter renouncing the examination, of which I sent a copy by consultant office to doctor Joseph Correa Villarreal, who gave the following opinion:

Very illustrious Sir:

The village of Burabod is under the jurisdiction of the province of Camarines, ... (*some illegible words*) in the town of Cagsaua. Consequently, taking into account its usefulness, your Excellency could give permission that the above mentioned site of Burabod, be erected as a *visita* and that a lieutenant and other officials be appointed being subject to the governor of the town of Cagsaua and his administration, being thus free for all intents and purposes from the ordinary dependence of the *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines.

Your lordship will thus act as you think you should, which will always be the best thing to do.

Doctor don Joseph Correa Villarruel.

On my part, I issued the following decree:

Manila, September one, 1731.

Taking into account the opinion of the counselor, and for the sake of outcome expressed by him, let an order be given to the *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines.

At the foot of this decree is my signature with the following name: Allanegui.

In agreement with that, I have the pleasure of issuing this statement by means of which I grant permission to the natives of this area who reside in the place of Burabod to found a town and *visita* in it as it is normally done and command that an be named a lieutenant and officials, who will be subject to the Governor of the town of Cagsaua, and its council in the mentioned province of Camarines.

I order the *Alcalde mayor* and *Capitan a Guerra*, who holds that office now and whomever may hold it in the future, of the above mentioned province of Camarines, to seek the advice and decree inserted above and to see to it that it is implemented as it is requested in it for that redounds to the service of both Majesties.

Dated in Manila, on September three of 1731.

Don Fernando Valdés Tamón.

By command of his Lordship, Miguel the Allanegui.

In Nueva Cáceres, head city of the province of Camarines, on November 1 of 1731.

I, captain Pedro Alegre, *Alcalde mayor* and *Capitán a guerra* of his Majesty, acting as judge with my witnesses who are accompanied by lack of a public or royal Cort clerk:

Say that, bearing in mind the superior order of the former case issued by the very illustrious Sir *Presidente, Gobernador* and *Capitán General* of these Islands, in which he issues a permit to erect a *visita* in the site of Burabod, whose residents may build houses as it is usually done, appointing a lieutenant and officers who govern them, being subject to the *gobernador* of Cagsaua town, that is part of the territory and jurisdiction of this province, let all this be fulfilled and carried out punctually and inviolably.

Let a copy of this be made and handed over to the mentioned Gobernador of Cagsaua, keeping this original copy in my archives so that it may be useful to the regime and government by this act of implementation I have provided.

And by this document of obedience, thus I commanded it to be done and signed together with my companions, to which I certify it has been implemented.

It has been implemented. P. Dve.

Don Pedro Alegre, *receiving judge*; Jerónimo del Castillo; Mateo de los Santos.

This is in agreement with the original that is kept in the archives of the courtroom of the province, to which a remit the reader, the witnesses of it are don Francisco Xavier of Ytamarren, Joseph Carcía de Cádiz, Diego Lumbao.

For the government and knowledge of the governor of Cagsaua I had this copy made, I, captain don Pedro Alegre, *Alcalde mayor* and *Capitán a Guerra* in this province of Camarines, who acts as receiving judge with my witnesses in the absence of a public or royal court clerk.

Done in this city of Nueva Cáceres, on November 10, 1731.

I signed to bear witness of the truth.

Don Pedro Alegre, *receiving judge*; Gerónimo del Castillo, Mateo de los Santos

6

Dispatch of the Governor of Manila on new intrigues that had arisen in Cagsawa about the boundaries between Cagsawa and Albay. Manila, October 17, 1732.

AFIO 94/47-2. Original manuscript.

Manila, October 17, 1732.

Since I have been informed about the very serious disorders caused by some residents of the town of Cagsawa, in the province of Camarines, and that these people on account of an order issued by this Superior Government on August 20 of the year 1714, which was given in order to clarify the boundaries between the said and Albay, clarifying their jurisdiction, and due to the fact that the some inhabitants of the town of Cagsawa protest being subordinated to the town of Albay, and thus they do not fulfill their great obligation as Christians, refusing to obey their parish priest, not going to confession nor attending Mass and since such excesses demand a prompted remedy, I command by this writing to the *alcaldes mayores* of the provinces of Camarines and Albay that each one, in the issue that affects them, keeping in its force and vigor the mentioned providence by means of which are determined the temporal jurisdictions of both towns, warn and admonish without fear, and if need there be, compel the natives of the said town of Cagsawa that, under the pretext of belonging to Albay, in neither of the two fulfill their obligation of Christians. They must be told clearly and strongly that they must obey the *Ministro de doctrina* and to his spiritual administration of the town in which they live. Let them be warned of the penalties that this Superior Government will impose on the transgressors and disobedient.

And in order that everybody may know about it, with the help of the sacred ministers of both towns, let them publish in their respective churches, translated into the local language, placed on the door of the churches, on two festive days, so that none may allege ignorance about it. Let copies be sent also to the *alcaldes* of both towns in order to be kept in their respective archives. And let the said *alcaldes* inform their successors about it. All parties concerned must see to it that it is implemented. If it is not, they shall be fined of 500 pesos by this *Superior Gobierno*, that must be informed about this order.

This document has been signed by his Lordship, the very illustrious don Fernando Valdez Tamón, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Brigadier of the royal armies of his Majesty and his Council, President, Governor and *Capitán General* of these Philippine Islands.

This is a copy of the original that is kept in the office of the *Superior gobernación* and war of these Philippine Islands from which I corrected and verified its fidelity, to which I remit. Fulfilling what it prescribes, I had a copy made of it.

Done in the city of Manila, on October 27, 1732, being witnesses *capitán* don Dionisio de Monteroca y Miranda, don Miguel de Mercado y Juan Umali, who were present.

Miguel de Allanigui (*sic*)

Nota bene: This document reached the judgment office of this province of Camarines between seven and eight o'clock in the morning on December 23 of 1732.

Alegre.

In Nueva Cáceres City on December 29, 1732.

I, *capitán* don Pedro Alegre, *Alcalde mayor y Capitán a guerra* of his Majesty of this province of Camarines, its territory and jurisdiction, in which I have of office as *juez receptor*, with my witnesses, accompanied by lack of a public and royal court clerk, said that when on December 23 I received a juridical transfer of a writing of his Excellency, the very Illustrious don Fernando Valdez Tamón, Knight of the Order of Santiago, brigadier of the armies of his Majesty, may God guard him, and President of this Council, *Gobernador y Capitán General* of these Philippine Islands, I commanded the interpreters of this court of law that they translate it briefly into the local language so that I can send it to the town of Cagsaua so that it may be read publicly in their church on two feast days, as it is hereby commanded.

Likewise I command the Governor of said town of Cagsaua and his successors that they have special care and solicitude that the ministers and officials and *cavuezas de barangy* enquire and solicit about the natives that do not fulfill their obligations as Christians under the pretext that they belong to Albay.

Let them likewise oblige them to go to the sacrament of confession and to Mass in Cagsaua or Albay, wherever they happen to be, for that is convenient to both Majesties. The governors and their ministers and officials and *cauezas de barangay* who neglect to do this will be punished by depriving them of their office or having them to hard work in jail or depriving them of their salary. These punishments should be inflicted on them without fail.

And in order that no ignorance might be alleged, I order said interpreters to translate into the language spoken in the place the contents of their order of

obedience that is given right after the said superior decree, and the original copy be kept in the archives of the court for its observance I had it written and I signed it together with my companions, to which I certify.

Don Pedro Alegre, *receiving judge*, Francisco Xavier de Itamarin, Matheo de los Santos.

This document is in agreement with its originals which are kept in the court archives of this province, where I corrected and arranged this copy, to which I refer the reader. Witnesses of it are the following personas present: Joseph García de Cádiz, Gerónimo del Castillo and Joseph de la Cruz, here present.

I had this copy made on request of Reverent Father Santiago de San Pedro de Alcántara, preacher, *Comisario* provincial of said province and *Guardián* of the convent of San Francisco of the town of Naga, for it to be sent to the convent and archives of the convent of Cagsaua, of this same jurisdiction, from which I got the present act.

I, *capitán* don Pedro Alegre, *Alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra* by his Majesty of this province of Camarines, under whose jurisdiction I dispatch as *juez receptor*, together with my witnesses for lack of a public and royal court clerck, vouch.

Done in this city of Nueva Cáceres on December 31, 1732, to which I certify.

I signed it to bear witness to the truth.

Don Pedro Alegre, receiving judge, Francisco Xavier de Itarramen, Matheo de los Santos.

7

Dispatch of the governor of the Philippines Sir Simon of Anda and Salazar to the natives of the town of Cagsawa authorizing them to transfer that town to the “visita” of Daraga under the condition that the boundaries of both places be kept. Manila, June 12, 1772.

AFIO 94/49-2. Original manuscript.

Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, of the Royal Council and Chamber of Castile and Capitán general of these islands and President of the Real Audiencia that resides in them, etc.

Alcalde mayor of the province of Camarines:

Know that since the Governor, the *capitanes pasados*, *cabezas de barangay*, *principales* and *timauas* of Cagsawa town, that fall under this jurisdiction, have requested this *Superior Gobierno* licence to move its town and church to the site called Daraga because the place in which they now live at the foot of the volcano of Albay is in the worst possible place of that chain of mountains, since that volcano and the frightening stones, some of them very huge, that it spews due to which the natives of the place manage to harvest little rice and other cereals because they grow on stony ground due to which each day they have less to eat.

Behind the church, at the distance of twenty steps, the above mentioned floods have made a ditch that flows from a small lagoon situated a little higher; for these reasons that they have vaguely given in their report, plus our own and those of the reverend father minister fray Juan Duárez, we informed the district attorney of his Majesty that the reasons given by them are valid, because of which he wrote what follows:

Very Illustrious Sir:

The fiscal of His Majesty, due to this report by means of which the natives of Cagsawa intend to transfer to the place of Daraga due to the floods that come down from the volcano of Albay, states what follows:

That he does not find any obstacle for them to transfer from the place where they now live to another place within the boundaries between Camarines and Albay, because the three page report written by the *Alcalde mayor* and that of four pages written by the priest are convincing and give the necessary information stating that the new place is in keeping with the laws of these kingdoms so that the people who are natives of the place may reside in it.

Manila, June, 1772.

Andrade.

And, in order to make sure that the new place is a good one, advice was sought from another competent person who wrote as follows:

Illustrious *Señor*:

Having seen the reports of the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines and of the parish priest of Cagsawa, I am persuaded of the need to transfer the town of Cagsawa to Daraga, for that site has all the qualifications that the laws of these kingdoms require for *reducciones* of Indian towns.

That being so, it seems to me that your illustrious lordship must grant them the favour they ask, sending the permission to the *Alcalde mayor*, who must see to it that a town is founded with streets near the church that must serve as their centre in order to obviate the dispersion of its inhabitants to the fields and to deserts that usually serve as a den to malicious people. Once that is done, inform the superior government about it. That is how I see this affair.

Let your illustrious person decide what seems best to you.

Given in Manila on the 5th of June of 1772.

Lawyer Lord Villa.

In keeping with this, by the superior decree issued on June 10, in keeping with the previous viewpoint, I resolved –among other things– to grant the petitioners the favour which they request and for its attainment let the correspondent order be issued so that it may be implemented in keeping with the mentioned viewpoint of the district attorney and the judgement of the adviser that is inserted in this dispatch.

With it I order and command that you implement it for the benefit of the above mentioned citizens of the place.

Given in the House of the River of Manila on June 12, 1772,

Sir Simon de Anda. By command of his illustrious lordship,

Francisco Gomez Henriquez

And he grants permission to the Governor, the *barangay* heads, the principals and *timawas* of the town of Cagsawa, province of Camarines, to transfer to the site of Daraga due to the floods that you have mentioned; and he sends it to the *Alcalde mayor* and orders him that he takes care that such a town is built with streets near the church, that is to be their centre, in order to obviate the dispersion of the dwellers to the deserts. Let also the other orders given in this document be carried out.

Let what has been ordered in this letter be written also in the royal books of accounting of public finances.

Given in Manila on June 16 of 1772.

Juan Francisco Roday.

In witness to the truth, I, don Jerónimo de San José, secretary of this town of Cagsawa, state that this is a faithful copy of the original that is kept in the files of said town.

I sign this document on November 29, 1773 to bear witness to its contents to whoever may be.

Signed by Jerónimo de San José, Secretary.

8

Measures taken for the separation of “visita” of Budiao from the town of Cagsawa.
Santa Cruz, July 27, 1775

AFIO 94/52-2. Copy.

Santa Cruz, July 27, 1775.

Let these measures be joined to the former ones that are kept in the secretariat of this government. Let that also be done with the other measures that were sent by the *Alcalde mayor* of the Province of Camarines that will be filed following the alphabetical order. Once that is done, let them be sent to the *Alcalde mayor* of that Province of Camarines that will also be filed following the alphabetical order. Once that is done, let them be sent to the *Alcalde mayor* of that Province that he may decide what to do with them. The same may be said about the affairs of the new *visita* of Budiao. These files will reveal the true reasons due to which my former order given on July 12 of last year, 1772, that the town of Cagsawa be transferred to Daraga, was not carried out. At the same time let the above mentioned *Alcalde mayor* make a list of all the parishioners that live in the above mentioned towns of Cagsawa, Daraga and Budiao.

Once that has been done, let the dossier be sent to the Vicar general of the Diocese of Nueva Caceres so that, having those documents with me, I may be well informed as to what to do to serve well both authorities and, having done that, they may return the documents to me so that I may carry out these affairs bearing in mind their opinion.

The Provincial Secretary, Isassi.

Note. In virtue of the decision taken by the proper authorities, I summed the documents up and put them in the proper order. The former ones cover pages 31 to 35. I take notice of the date. It is the correct one.

Isassi

Copy of the point of view of the people of Budiao

Señor Alcalde mayor:

The community of the people of Budiao and the leaders of said place –folio 1v– San Carlos (alias) de Budiao, within the jurisdiction of the town of Cagsawa, of this jurisdiction, before your Grace, in the dew form of law, come to you and say:

That bearing in mind that in this place of ours there is a superabundant number of tax payers, more than what your Majesty has decided for the establishment of a new town; bearing in mind also that if we are subject to Cagsawa we have much to lose and will not be able to serve well (*ambas majestades*) both authorities due to the fact that Cagsawa is far from out town and that, if we are subject to it we shall not be properly attended to and thus shall suffer very much; therefore, let your Lordship be served to consult the most illustrious *Presidente Proveedor* and *Capitán General* of these Philippine Islands so that, using his usual great sense of justice, he may order that we be provided with a Father *Ministro de doctrina* and other institutions that exist in other towns since it is according to justice and this our request, having you the kindness to inform the said most illustrious person, following our exposition, that he attends to the petition just presented in accordance with what we state in it, based on what your Lordship has personally seen and know, and in order that we obtain this:

We ask and request your Lordship to provide us with this service that we consider a matter of justice. We swear that we make this request without any malice. Ninety people of his place have signed this request.

Señor Alcalde Mayor

(*At the margin*): Copy.

We, the present *teniente absoluto* and *común de principales* who sign below of this town called San Carlos de Budiao, province of Camarines, come to your presence in the best way we can in order to say:

That, upon our request, last year, 1774, we obtained of your grace the favour that *capitán* Domingo Raphael be *teniente absolute* of the said town of Budiao, that was a *visita* of the town of Cagsawa and, therefore, that Budiao be independent from Cagsawa in temporal matters and that your Lordship told us that you had informed the Superior Gobierno, to which petition we have received no answer nor have we received it regarding the other petition of giving us a Father *Ministro de Doctrina* for the spiritual life of our people.

In the above mentioned writing we deplored such negligence for it deprives the Christians of the sacraments of confession and communion that we are expected

to administer to receive this current year of 1775. Soon the time assigned by our Holy Mother Church to receive them will expire. On our part, we have already built a chapel and parochial house for the administration of those sacraments and we have called the attention of our reverend father *ministro de doctrina*, Father Juan Duárez, a priest of the regular and strict observance of our Seraphic Father Saint Francis. But he has denied our request telling us that he would not hear our confessions until we destroy the chapel. And we sent don Domingo Raphael and two heads of the district with a secretary in order to ask the above mentioned reverent father minister the reason why he did not want to hear our confession, and he responded by telling us what you may have already read in the letter that you must have already received.

Taking all that into consideration, we ask and request you, *señor*, to give us a priest who will teach us Christian doctrine and take care of us spiritually. On our part we commit ourselves to give him due remuneration for his services. Let this request be sent to a higher authority. We, on our part, promise to comply with his decision trusting that from it we shall receive a great spiritual and temporal welfare in the attainment of this benefit and any other that may redound to our welfare.

That being so, we ask you again and plead with you to grant us such a request which we consider, as we have already mentioned above, a matter of justice and mercy in keeping with the law.

We ask again and plead with you, Sir, to grant us to have in our town a school teacher for the education and good upbringing of our children. May they learn the first rudiments aided by the *Cajas de Comunidad* as it is done in other towns. And so we swear: *ut supra*.

Francisco Alonso

Signed by 24 persons

Transcription

In this town of San Carlos de Budiao, on June 2, 1775, I, Joseph Gómez, court clerk now of *capitán teniente absoluto señor* Domingo Raphael, was commanded by don Fermín of Zaldivar, *Alcalde mayor* and Captain of war of his Majesty of this province of Camarines, to go to the most reverent father Juan Duárez accompanied by said captain lieutenant colonel, and ask him when he would hear the confessions of the people in the town of Budiao. The already mentioned father *guardián* responded to the captain lieutenant that how could the people of Budiao go to confession if 300 *tributos* of that town had not yet confessed. But, if you remove the chapel, you can confess and thus have your sins forgiven.

That is what I heard the already mentioned Father Guardian say, as did the two heads of *barangay* who are witnessed to it; they are *señor* Joseph Rivera, *señor* Marcos Dionisio, and I myself, the clerk, who bears witness to it, *ut supra*.

Domingo Raphael, Joseph Rivera, Marcos Dionisio and Joseph Gómez (the clerk).

Presentation of the above mentioned persons to the commissioner, don Joseph Morales:

Señor Commissioner *don* Joseph Morales:

Don Francisco Alonzo, *teniente absoluto* of the town or *visita* of San Carlos de Budiao, with you, and on behalf of the commune of *principales* and *timawas* of said site of my concern, who sign below the edict of your grace who deigned to let us know the day of twenty nine of last August in order to respond and give the motives that are given in the Higher Decree issued at Santa Cruz on July 27 of this year because the superior ordinance of the twelve day of June of the mentioned year, and also to give equal motives because we were denied the administration of the holy sacraments by our Reverent Father *Ministro de Doctrina* Father Juan Duárez.

Before your Grace, with great respect and reverence, we answer by saying that our submission was so prompt and resigned to obey and carry out higher orders that there will be found neither time nor occasion in which we have disobeyed any one of them. As a matter of fact, the above mentioned one comes to our attention now (and this thanks to our present *Alcalde mayor*, because since his arrival we are notified of the superior orders that we had never come to know before nor had been communicated to us) and thus will be verified that you will not find any notification given to us of such higher order or concession of the new foundation of Daraga. Furthermore, for the information and knowledge of the very illustrious *Señor*, our *Gobernador*, *Capitán* and *Presidente*, we shall write down what happened. It is as follows.

The already mentioned reverent father Juan Duárez sent to a companion of the secretary a writing in Spanish to be signed by *don* Francisco Alonzo, *don* Marcos Dionisio and *don* Thomas Ayopo. No other person of this town or *visita* knew about it. We were called from there by the former *capitanes* of Cagsawa who had made us work in the church of the already mentioned town of Daraga, we, all or the majority of the inhabitants of the site of San Carlos de Budiao, until the *Alcalde mayor don* Fermín of Zaldivar began to let us know superior orders, commanding with many penalties that they be communicated to all the *timawa* Indians, something that had never happened before. And, seeing that such orders all redounded to our benefit

and bearing in mind that the *señor Alcalde mayor* had come to visit our site, we were encouraged to make him known the injustice that the captain, the chiefs of Cagsawa and our father minister were using with us in their continuous task of the work of Daraga, and we were answered by said Mayor that it had been our petition and will to found such a town and so we were bound to collaborate.

But seeing that we had been cheated, as has been said, moved by a sense of justice we went to the said Mayor with our first written document asking for what had been written on it. We called his attention to the fact that we had not been mentioned in said written document (file No. 3) about the foundation of Daraga, which we had not asked for. So we understand that such superior order about this concession cannot be understood and it does not concern us, but only the three persons who have signed the document. Thus, (speaking with the dew submission and respect), they say that the priest, with that companion of the clerk, ordered them to sign that is was a chapel that would be built. And we do not know anything else about it, as we have said up to now, for we have seen all the mayor decrees that are found in the dossier that your Grace shows us.

That being so, we, as vassals, ask our beloved King, *Señor*, that the very Illustrious *Señor Presidente and Capitán general* redeem us of the note and accusation of the superior decree in which it is stated that we have not carried out the superior order and appointment of the superior decree in which it is stated that we have not carried out the superior order.

Thus your Illustrious Lordship will see that with just an order of our reverent father we have responded to the smallest petition of your very Illustrious Lordship; we could say many more things about this affair; but we do not do it in order not to bother your Lordship. We just refer you to our first letter, that you will find in the documents that your lordship showed us, in which we give the very just reasons that show that we are right about what happened when the Mayor came this year to have the elections, about also the actual Captain coming with the people of Cagsawa complaining that we did not let them enter our jurisdiction in order to be able to live and look for work.

From that we can gather, as it is evident, the people of Cagsawa and Daraga do not have the means to live in those places, while we have plenty of food in ours; and now, with the new foundation of Daraga the priest wants that everything be lost. One can see, therefore, that the priest finds no need to look for food in order to live; it seems that he does not mind that this place be lost as long as he gets the comfort of the castle where the parish church is being built, looking only for his own comfort.

Let us go now to another affair: that of not administering to us the holy sacraments.

This is very a delicate matter, and, since we are just ignorant lay people, we just say that, as roman catholic Christians, we have been and are ready to do everything our Holy Mother Church tells us to do, and as good sheep we have gone to look for (folio 4) our spiritual shepherd that father Juan Duárez is. He does not administer the sacraments to us. We do not know the reasons he has to do so. But we do know that he does not administer the sacraments to anyone who does not give ten stones or does not work in the building of the church of Daraga. That is something public and notorious. Our parish priest is so strict that he denied the funeral rites to Rosendo de Jesús, a native of the place, so much so that our lieutenant had to go to the temporary vicar of Albay town, the don Joseph Roger Manedao, to inform him about it. So he was buried after three days when the corpse was stinking. And it is said tat he did so upon the command of said lord acting vicar.

As for the punishment and scorn that we are receiving from our parish priest, we better do not start speaking about them, otherwise we would never finish, because, as far as this priest is concerned, we are damned and declared vagabonds; but in our census lists, the *señor Alcalde mayor* sees the opposite; may God reward our father and his Majesty help him treat us as the father of our souls.

As far as the stipend for baptisms is concerned, we have this to say:

Anyone who does not pay three *reales* for having his baby baptized does not get him baptized. He says that the money is for the feasts. Thank God that we are served by our father. Blessed three coins, for it is because of them that our babies received the baptismal waters; but cursed are the poor unlucky ones who do not pay the two royal coins because, due to the thinking of our parish priest, their babies will not get baptized.

We are lay people and do not interfere in that matter, for our father Duárez must know what he is doing, that is why we do not argue; but the fact is that we are paying as we make clear in this report where we clarify this issue and end up asking and requesting our father and lord –that is what the very illustrious Sir Simon of Anda and Zalazar is to us, restorer of the Philippine Islands and Pampanga province– that he be also our restorer in the usurpation that father Juan Duárez has pretended and still pretends to do with us dispossessing us and driving us away from this pleasant place, wanting to take us and lead us to Daraga, a place where the people who were born in cannot continue living in, granting us the due licenses to build our stone church (cf. folio 4v), *Casa Parroquial*, *Casa Real*, and *Escuela de Niños*, giving us a

priest for our administration and, if it is possible, that he be a cleric or belonging to another religion, because as long as he belongs to the Seraphic Order, we shall be ill-treated and looked at badly, if we are to take note of what has happened so far. That being so, we ask you and request you to take us into account and respond properly to our petition which we make by means of this letter that we send to you.

We swear not to act maliciously or against any person, but we do ask for justice so that, by means of it, your grace may provide and send us what will redound to our favour and defence with anything else that we shall need, etc.

(*Signatories:*) Francisco Alonso, Domingo Raphael, Francisco Casari, Clemente de San Francisco, Julián de San Buenaventura, Marcos Dionisio, Pascual Rodríguez, Juan Bautista, Ignacio Joseph de la Cruz.

9

Letter of the Governor of the Philippines to Father José Casañes concerning the division of Cagsawa that must be made by the Archbishop of Manila. Manila July 16, 1778.

AFIO 94/49-1. Original manuscript.

Manila, July 16, 1778.

Let this report of the devout and reverent Father Provincial of Saint Francis with its proceedings be made public. As to the matter of dividing the town of Cagsawa into two, each one with its own church, and about bringing it to the attention of the Diocesan Prelate so that the Vice Patron may give his consent, let it be sent with an attached letter addressed to the most illustrious Lord Archbishop as the Governor of the dioceses of Nueva Cáceres so that, informed and made aware of such a division, he may give his opinion about it as well as about the erection of the parish in the site of Daraga.

(*Signed by:*) Iruretagoyena

(*Footnote:*) Today I have attached the cited report consisting of 170 pages to the decree with all the information concerning this affair.

Manila, July 16, 1778. I vouchsafe the report that will be forwarded to the most illustrious Sir Archbishop following the proper procedure.

10

Report of the Provincial Minister of the Province of Saint Gregory, father José Casañes, sent to the governor about the transfer of the town of Cagsawa to Daraga. Dilao, June 17, 1778.

AFIO 94/49-1. Original manuscript.

Very illustrious Lord Governor:

The Provincial Minister of the Province of Saint Gregory of the Barefooted Religious of our seraphic Father Saint Francis in these Philippine Islands, having received on the above mentioned date of this year from the hands of an agent of the secretariat of the Superior Government the report of presentation done by the Governor, and the leaders of the town of Cagsawa whereby it is planned to transfer the town to the site of Daraga, due to the floods caused by Mayon Volcano, together with other items mentioned, it says: Due to the superior decree of your Lordship issued on June 5 of this year that covers 170 pages that deal with other matters also, bearing in mind what your Lordship had decided, it says what follows:

Due to the knowledge that he has of the towns of Cagsawa, Daraga and Budiao, which are mentioned in those minutes, and due also to other villages which are under the jurisdiction of said town of Cagsawa up to the present, and due also to the fact that he has seen for several years many things to happen, including those of the present year, he cannot but report what is true, open and clear to whomever wished to inform, without any bad passion, about the truth that must be taken into account and put into practice without wasting any time for the greater service of God and of our catholic king.

All the villages mentioned, that fall under the jurisdiction of Cagsawa, enjoy peace and unity among the natives of the place that live in the different suburbs of that jurisdiction of Cagsawa and its good administration, both in spiritual and material affairs as the citizens wish and expect from the good justice and kindness of your Lordship so that, as soon as possible, by means of a superior order, the jurisdiction of the town of Cagsawa may be divided with proper governors and councillors in each town and with the collaboration of the parish priests of both Cagsawa and Daraga towns. It was to this latter town mentioned that the leaders and ordinary citizens natives of Cagsawa wished to transfer and settle down due to the reasons given in their own report. The plan was not carried out due to the opposition and disturbance shown by the natives of the three mentioned places, especially those of Budiao. The former *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines, don Fermín de Saldivar, acting

on his own authority and seeing to it that in the site of Budiao a church be built and everything else that was done under the leadership of the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines and that is reported in the agenda from page 162 to page 166 with everything that is written in it.

And due to the above mentioned project of the already mentioned don Fermín de Saldivar of founding a new town to be called San Carlos de Budiao including a church, parroquial house and opening the door to welcome all those persons who would like to be citizens of that new town, thus getting free of their duties in their former parish of the town of Cagsawa and to cooperate in the building of a new church and convent in the place of Daraga, it happened that this new work that all the natives of Cagsawa started by common agreement and they carried out for a considerable period of time, so much so that it has not yet been finished, especially regarding building a new church, even though right now it is nearing its conclusion as the Mayor of the town reports on page 167 of this report.

There would not have been so many delays, both in spiritual as well as in temporal matters (cf. folio 172R), and the great vexations that the natives of the three mentioned towns of Cagsawa, Daraga and Budiao as well as the other minor villages, if the already mentioned *Alcalde mayor* of that province, don Fermín Saldivar, had complied with the orders of that Superior Government in its decree of July 27 of 1775, as one can see written in those nine pages that report truthfully the number of Christians that lived in each of the three villages of Cagsawa, Daraga and Budiao all properly enumerated with all the others that are recorded in the already mentioned higher decree; because, without any doubt, the truth would had been told then and thus this business would had finished once for all; speaking still about this affair, many dispatches were sent out as one can see from page 36 to page 199, where one can find the general summary of the faithful; there appears, first, the village of Budiao that had 637 houses, 2.810 faithful and 636 tax payers, plus other things that appear in the report already mentioned that was not what truly existed in each of the three mentioned villages, but what the author of the report wanted to exist in each of the three villages or to be registered in the census in order to increase the taxes and the number of citizens of the site of Budiao, in which a great number of fruit bearing trees were cut down, as I saw with my own eyes, for I visited the place several times, so much so that the natives of those villages are still crying because of that. The trees were cut down in order to open streets and build houses, which, even if they had not been finished being built, were started to be built many of them in order to be exempted, in the majority of the cases, from building a new village in the site of Daraga and in order also to preserve the church that had been built long before on the site of Cagsawa (cf. folio 172v). One can be sure that they did that, as the natives

of that place were saying, so that, once the tow of Daraga had been built, many of the inhabitants of Cagsawa would transfer to Daraga, especially if a license were gotten from the local government to build a new town in Budiao. Thus would be started a heavy work, namely: to build houses and a church, as one normally sees in a town.

From the latest report about tax payers one can see that the town of Cagsawa and the villages around had 1480 tax payers. The number of people was 7,779. Thus, it is morally impossible that one minister of doctrine alone can take care of them spiritually for the parishioners are dispersed in several places that are far from one another and all of them from the mother local church. Some of them live in the forest and in cattle paths. So it is difficult for a governor to govern them well in temporal affairs. So he needs three officials to help him, plus other ministers of justice.

It is advisable to have two towns, one in the site of Cagsawa and another in the site of Daraga. The boundary between them would be a great river that flows towards the sea in Albay in front of the town with its church and convent that exist nowadays in the site of Cagsawa. Thus the faithful of each town will be well taken care of, spiritually by a religious minister and temporally by a governor and his officials. In doing so, once the division has been made between the already mentioned towns of Cagsawa and Daraga, it should not be allowed to the citizens of both towns to transfer from one to another without justifiable reasons, and not led by caprice and the great facility with which some people in the provinces of Camarines and Albay pass from one town to another, leaving behind debts in the heads of barangay due to the excesses and great crimes that they have committed or in order to flee from work if there are some public repairs to make, be it in the church or the house of a religious minister, royal house or house of the community, or the repairing of roads or sidewalks, etc.

And for the division to be made properly, they may be given a time of several months so that, due to harvests in the fields or in fruit bearing trees or because they are needed by their families or relatives, they establish themselves in either of the two towns, namely: Cagasawa or Daraga, specifying that in these two towns they formalize, more than what they are, the *reducción*, forming the streets as they should be since they have enough lands to do it, and that the *Principales* be the first ones to have proper houses in the town to which they belong and that those who necessarily live in considerable distances due to fields, cattle and trees try their best to bring their houses as close to one another as possible, even if four or six houses are side by side; in that way they will be able to defend themselves from thieves or people who hide in the mountains from the Muslims, in case the latter come near them; and that in the villages that have been created for a long time already in both jurisdictions,

that of Cagsawa as well as that of Daraga, nobody be allowed to live without building houses in them; only those who own fields, trees or animals in the surrounding areas; they should not be allowed either, without the necessary licence of the superiors who can grant it, to build chapels or churches, schools, royal or ministerial houses; rather everyone should collaborate in the building and maintenance of the churches that every town should have, because if the people who live in the villages are allowed to build them, they consider themselves to be the owners and thus they think that they are exempted from collaborating in the construction and conservation of other churches of the main *reducción* (file 173v).

At the present the new work of Daraga finds itself as the *Alcalde mayor* describes in the report he has written that has 167 pages. The dwellers are only waiting for the decision of your Lordship allowing them to finish the church. The same is happening to the people of Cagsawa: they are waiting for your permit to repair the old church and the house of the religious who is there; both of them were badly damaged due to strong winds and rains.

And if now the inhabitants of that town live more peacefully due to the different and orderly way of governing that they see in the present Mayor of the town, yet, since they are waiting for the division into two towns, not everyone goes to Daraga to finish building the church, nor do they collaborate in the repair of the old church of Cagsawa. However, as I have already stated in the report of this year, they have repaired some things in the old church and gotten some material to finish building the new one.

Lastly, it seems to me that it is convenient that in order to avoid lawsuits or disputes in the future and not give them any motive that can remind them of the work they did in Budiao town in building the church and some houses as it is recorded in the minutes, I hereby command to destroy the church they built in such place which was made with wood as well as the parochial house and that the materials be used to repair the town church. May your Lordship do what you think is best for the people.

I sign this report in this convent of Dilao on June 17, 1778.

(Signed:) Fr. José Casañes, Provincial Minister of St. Francis

11

Letter of the archbishop of Manila showing his pleasure about the transfer of the town of Cagsawa and the erection of a parish. Manila, August 3, 1778.

AFIO 94/49-3. Original manuscript.

Very Illustrious *Señor*:

My Lord.

Due to the message that your superior Government deemed good to send me on July 18 about the request of the governor and the *principales* of the town of Cagsawa, of Camarines province and the diocese of New Cáceres about the transfer to the town of Daraga, in order that my office show its thinking about the transfer and the erection of a parish in said site of Daraga; I have to inform you that through the mentioned dispatch, which I hereby return, especially what is written from page 164 to 170 where you inform me about the need and usefulness of that transfer and the erection of a parish in the site of Daraga, keeping still the parish of Cagsawa, each parish having its own minister: That being so, I do not find any difficulty that said plan be carried out as long as such plan is carried out in keeping with the laws of the *Patronato* and the royal decisions regarding the erection of parishes and the provision of ministers to administer them.

May God our Lord guard your Lordship many years, as I request Him to do.

Manila, August 3, 1778.

Kissing your hand as very illustrious Sir, I remain your courteous, sure and reverent captain.

(Signed by:) Basilio, Archbishop of Manila

Addressed to the very Illustrious don Joseph Vasco and Vargas, knight of the Order of Santiago, Governor Captain General of these Islands and President of the Audiencia and Cancillería in which he resides, etc.

12

Letter of the Governor of the Philippines urging the construction of Daraga church for the good of the natives. Manila, 28 of September, 1778.

AFIO 94/49-4. Original manuscript.

Royal Palace of Manila, on September 28, 1778

Let this letter of the Illustrious *Señor* Archbishop be attached to the dossier of his report and, even though this government finds no objection to the plan of dividing the town of Cagsawa into two towns, each one having its own parish, nevertheless, in order that its implementation may not be frustrated or its execution be differed,

since the Daraga church is not yet finished, let the office of the *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines be approached in order to inform us if the building of this church is finished or not, and if it is not yet finished, let him promote its building, for this government only wants to alleviate the difficulties that the natives of the place are finding in its construction so that, once it is finished, they may be consoled.

Signed by: Iruretagoyena.

(*Left margin, in different penmanship:*) The fiscal of His Majesty has been informed about it. Manila, October 1, 1778).

Note:

In virtue of what was decided in the previous superior decree, I attached the letter of the very illustrious *señor* Archbishop to the dossier of this business that has 175 pages and I had it sent to the office of the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines.

Manila, October 3, 1778.

(*Signed by:*) Iruretagoyena

13

Office of the Governor General of the Philippines, don José Vasco y Vargas, about the petitions of the natives of Budiao to the effect that this “visita” be established into a town independent of Daraga. The Governor agrees to it, but on certain conditions. Manila, November 29, 1786

AFIO 94/521. Original manuscript.

Don Joseph Basco and Vargas Balderrama and Rivera, knight of the Order of Santiago, Brigadier of the Royal Army, *Gobernador y Capitán general* of the Philippine Islands and President of the *Real Audiencia* and *Cancillería*, Director General of the armies of His Majesty in these places, etc.

In as much as the dwellers of the already mentioned site of Budiao, *visita* of the town of Cagsawa in the province of Camarines, have informed me in writing about several needs they experience for their temporal and spiritual administration for lack of a priest and ministers of justice, and due also to the advantages that they will have if they are given a priest, they request me to erect their *visita* into a town, and since the *Alcalde mayor* of said province agrees to their petition since the site of Budiao is quite big to have such number of citizens:

Hence, having read the necessary information and heard the district attorney and the adviser, I have heeded their request that, since the said site of Budiao does not yet have five hundred tax payers, the inhabitants of the place will have to add something of their own for the stipend of their parish priest taking into account the already mentioned number of tax payers, as they have agreed through their attorneys, so that the royal state treasury will not have to be increased. That is why, whenever the priest asks for his stipend, they will have to respond to his request, namely: that they will have to build the stone church at their own expenses and also that they will have to pay the cost of a chalice, a paten and a bell, as they offered to do; that they will have to improve the state of the town with great care, both together and individually, without failing to pay for that reason the royal tax, the services and the salaries of the town council.

Let the said *Alcalde mayor* make sure that the mentioned site has water, hills, entrances and exits, as well as enough fields both for farming and grazing. Taking all these things into account, I intend to erect into a town the already mentioned site or *visita* of Budiao with all the faculties, privileges and obligations that other towns have, determining its boundaries so that the different jurisdictions are no confused.

I request and entrust to the very illustrious diocesan bishop to help this town in keeping with the above mentioned laws and that, in the near future, once the town has a church and the other things mentioned above, he goes ahead with the nomination of a parish priest and provide wine for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and oil for the sanctuary lamp, as it is done in other towns; the above mentioned *Alcalde mayor* will have to inform the said diocesan bishop that all those requirements have been complied with.

I, then, order the *Alcalde mayor* that, taking into account all those requirements, he comply with them giving me an account of it and that he make a copy of them to be kept in the diocesan archives in order to keep the bishop informed about all this.

Let a copy of this be kept in the secretariat and archives of the *Real Audiencia* and another copy in the fiscal office.

Given in the Royal Palace of Manila, signed and sealed with my arms and countersigned by the secretary who attaches his signature to it on November 29, 1786.

Don Joseph Basco.

By instructions of His Lordship: Vicente González de Tagle.

Let the above document be kept in the fiscal office.

Manila, December 1, 1786.

Counter signed.

Let a copy of this document be kept in the book reserved for in this secretariat.

Manila, December 2, 1786.

Vicente Narciso de Lascano.

This document was also kept in the office of the Royal Tribunal and of Business Accounts on December 5, 1786.

Cagigas.

It is a faithful copy of its original that was handed over to me by don Julian de San Buenaventura, *principal* of Budiao town, for the purposes expressed in it, and by command of the Very Illustrious Señor Governor, General Captain of these Islands, I got a copy of this present account to be forwarded to the very Illustrious and very Reverent *señor don* Juan Antonio y Órbigo, counsellor of the very dignified bishop of this Diocese of Nueva Cáceres, etc. for the effects that may require it, being witnesses Francis co del Rosario, Joseph Adriano and Luis de los Santos y Ungría, who were present.

Done in this city of Nueva Cáceres on January 25 of 1787.

Bearing witness to the truth, I signed this document accompanied by my witnesses. I vouchsafe to it: Carlos Connely, receiving judge.

Isidro Rodríguez. – Tomás Villanueva

14

ARAGONESES, Francisco, ofm, *A terrifying and memorable event that took place in the province of Camarines on February 1 of this present year of 1814*, [No date nor printing press indicated, but Sampaloc, 1814].

AFIO 94/53, y Philippine National Archives, Manila (from here on: PHNA. 20 pp. Translation in English of the original Spanish manuscript.

We know of the existence of at least three editions of this report. Two of them probably printed in Sampaloc, Manila, and a third one printed in Madrid.

Philippiniana Sacra 26 (1991) 105-112, published the original text of the first edition accompanied by a brief and free translation in English. Here we publish the text of what we consider the second edition, which includes certain variations with regards to the first one.

A shepherd, whose sheep have suffered, and continue to suffer, the greatest calamities and miseries, implores with complete confidence the well known and manifest piety of the inhabitants of these islands, particularly of the illustrious neighborhood of this capital city of Manila, requesting earnestly all its citizens to deign, for the sake of God and his most holy Mother, remedy in the way possible to everybody the needs that suffer my afflicted and dismayed parishioners who have been born in the destroyed towns of Cagsawa and Budiao in the province of Camarines as an outcome of the frightening and forever memorable eruption of the volcano of Albay that took place on February 1 of this year of which I, as a witness who saw it happen, offer the public the following account.

More than thirteen year have passed since this volcano of Albay province, called by the natives of the place Mayon, kept a continuous and deep silence without giving the slightest sign of life. Nobody looked at it anymore with that mistrust and horror that usually cause all volcanos to the people who live around them. The last eruption took place in the year 1800 when it threw out a great amount of sand and ashes, as it had always happened, causing much damage to the same towns which now it has completely destroyed, destroying numberless harvests whose lands remained dry and frightening ravines. The last eruption had taken place on the last days of October of that year, which caused the one that more damage caused to said towns.

Since we had not noticed in it any sign which showed that it was a volcano, for which reason people had lost little by little any fear towards it. Consequently, its expanded and spacious foothill had already become a pleasant and beautiful garden. Particularly the citizens of Camalig and Budiao had planted on it many coconut trees, cacao, abaca and all kinds of fruit trees, with many roots and vegetables which, while showing a pleasant sight, they fed many hard working families with their excellent products.

Such was the state of the volcano on February 1, 1814. Nobody thought anymore remotely the damages and harm which such a bad neighbor used to cause. We had been persuaded after so long a silence that it might be completely extinguished and its underground canals closed. We had neither seen nor noticed any sensible sign which might have warned us of what was about to happen. In former eruptions, people had heard long before the eruption some underground sound which were sure omens of them. It also emitted almost continuously a thick smoke which presaged what would happen.

But in the present occasion we did not notice any such things. It is true that on January 31 we sensed some small tremors, but we hardly paid any attention to them, even if they had been very frequent. But that was nothing compared to the horrible one that we suffered on October 5, 1811. On Monday night, the tremors increased. At two o'clock, we felt a very strong one, stronger than the ones we had felt before. The tremor was repeated at four o'clock and from then on the tremors were almost continuous until the eruption began.

Early in the morning of Tuesday, it was very quiet in Camarines. It was clear, with a clear horizon. However, I noticed that the hills closest to the volcano were covered by a fog which I thought to be smoke coming out of a house which might have been burned that night. At eight o'clock of that frightful morning, at which hour the volcano began suddenly to throw a thick column of stones, sand and ashes which very quickly went up the atmosphere, at the site of which we were very surprised, filled with the greatest dread, all the more when we noticed that it covered very quickly the fold of the volcano. We had never seen such an eruption. That is why we were persuaded that a great river of fire was flowing towards us and was about to bury us.

The very first thing that was done in my town was to consume all the hosts kept in the tabernacle and run away right after. The speed with which all that horrible lava was flowing towards us did not let us think of delivering long and heavy speeches. The frightening noise that came out of the volcano terrified even the warmest hearts. All of us ran away frightened, full of anguish and dismay trying to reach the highest and farthest places in order to be safe from such imminent danger. The horizon became darker and darker and our anxiety doubled. The noise that came out of the volcano became louder and louder, darkness became thicker and thicker, and we continued our flight in order to save our lives, running away more and more from such a frightening object as the lava. But, in spite of the speed with which we can run away, we were reached by tremendous rain of stones, due to which many people were deprived of their lives in a quick moment. This unforeseen and cruel circumstance forced us to pause in our race and to take shelter under the houses, but they were soon reached by burning stones which reduced the houses to ashes in no time.

Who can describe in writing an exact account of so sad and melancholic scenes and present them to the people as they took place? Who among us thought of not to die at the sight of so clear signs of divine justice? As for me, in those bitter moments, I had in mind the disastrous death of the cities in the Pentapolis and I was certainly persuaded that the unfortunate towns of Camarines would undergo the same unhappy lot. It is time that those are horrible remembrances, but they were caused by the immoral customs that were noticed in those towns.

In such bitter and terrible circumstances, we called on God in the way we could from the depth of our distressed and dying hearts, asking Him for pardon and mercy. I became completely dark and we became surrounded and submerged in the darkest and most palpable darkness that can be compared only to those seen during Moses' times in Egypt. From this moment on, it is hardly possible to reflect. No advice can be given, and nobody is met that can give some comfort. The father abandons his children, the husband his wife, the latter does not remember her beloved husband anymore, and even children forget their parents. Nobody thinks of being able to serve his neighbors, because everyone thinks that he is going to die.

But since human beings, even in the most critical and serious moments, try by all possible means to preserve their lives, all of us apply to this important affair all possible means and ways that the terrible plight to which we were reduced suggested us. What were the various and different means that those of us who remained alive used in order not to die then? We did not find any refuge anymore. We had to leave them hurriedly in order not to die in them. And to live at the open air was to expose oneself to a risk that was as dangerous because the stones that fell on the ground were very big, and they fell as big as the rain fall in a rain. In order not to die in a way or another, one needed to defend himself. That is what we did. Some cover themselves with the skin of a cow or carabao, others with chairs and tables, other with boards and trays. Many find shelter under trees, others between canes and thickets, yet others hid themselves in a cave on the slope of a mountain. Only those who had the luck of defending ourselves in any of those ways remain alive, but those who were in a plain without any shelter, almost all died or were wounded.

The horrible and frightening noise of the volcano keeps growing, so does the stone rain and the thick sand. The burning stones and comets keep falling. In a brief moment they reduce to ashes the most beautiful towns of Camarines province. Do you want to see more similar signs to what will take place on judgment day? The animals come down hurriedly to the towns seeking sure shelter. The domestic animals ran terrified in a disorderly way, frightened, howling, thus showing that their end was near. We were not interested on anything during those moments but in saving our own lives. But, behold! Divine justice has already marked and signed with majestic finger a great number of victims who must perish on this day of wrath and of rage, very similar in everything to what we read in the Sacred Scriptures about the last judgment.

At 10:00 o'clock A. M. the rain of heavy stones stopped. Thus everybody tried his best to remain in the state in which he was then, waiting for the thick sand that had followed it to stop flowing or that a new and unforeseen calamity might

come that would kill all of us. We remained thus until 1:30 P. M., at which time the noise of the volcano began to dwindle and to clear up in the sky. Upon seeing it there arose in us the hope of living which until then had been entirely dead. At 2:00 o'clock P. M., the whole sky cleared up and we began to see distinctively the horrid and pitiful havoc which darkness had hidden from us. We saw with astonishment the ground covered with corpses, some killed by stones and others burned up by fire. Two hundred of them appeared in Budiao church and 35 in a house of that town. The joy of thinking that their wee saved in it, was turned into bitter and cruel sorrow as they had been deprived of their relatives, friends and acquaintances. Truly, there a father finds his children dead, here a husband his wife; another woman has been deprived of her husband.

Particularly in the town of Budiao, there must be very few persons who have not lost any of their dear ones. On the other hand, one could see many other unfortunate people spread on the ground. Those who had not lost their lives, were wounded or bruised in many different ways. Some with broken legs, others armless, others with cracked heads, others, lastly, with their whole bodies full of wounds.

These were the sad subjects that we saw that afternoon, many of whom died immediately,, and others on the following days. The rest were abandoned to the fill dated luck. Without medicine doctors, without medicines and still lacking the necessary food.

It was, indeed, a horrible and pitiful day worth remaining engraved forever in our hearts. None of us thought that we would survive. Death presented itself to us in various, spontaneous ways, threatening to deprive us of life in various, hideous ways. But the powerful hand of our beneficent and sovereign Lord ordered it to let us free. Before this imperious voice pale death is terrified, frightens, grinds and leaves us. It flees fool of fear to the caves of the earth, and there it begins to complain, to condole the spoils that can be taken away from it. It seems that on that day it wanted to stain with blood its scythe more than it was accustomed to, but it had to bow its pride head before the One who governs the empires and by whose command all abysses shake.

The sad outcome of the misfortunes of that day was the complete ruins of the five towns in the province of Camarines and the main part of the headquarters of Albay: the death of more than one thousand and two hundred personas and of many others who were seriously wounded, the loss of all the worldly possessions of many who are alive, but have lost their homes, their clothing, their animal, their harvests and have nothing to eat; the pitiful and unhappy lot of many who have been left orphans, abandoned to the Divine Providence, the widows or widowers, other couples who have lost four, five or more children that they had, the complete destruction of their church or parochial houses with all that was inside them.

Because of that the priests were not able to administer the sacraments to so many persons who died those days on account of the wounds, the persons who were buried those days without any pomp or ceremony, and the many babies who were born those days had to be baptized without any pomp or ceremony, and the many babies who were born those days had to be baptized with ordinary water because the circumstances did not call for any other thing.

The aspect shown now by the Mayon volcano is the saddest and ugliest. Its slope, that was so well cultivated before and that looked too picturesque before in know an arid and sterile quicksand. The stones, the sand and the ashes that covered it are so many that on some parts they measure more than ten or twelve *baras* of thickness, and on the same spot ere the town of Budiao was located before there are spots now where they reached the coconuts by half a *bara* of sand, In the ruined towns, and almost all around, the earth has been covered by half a *bara* of sand, so much so that one can hardly see any tree all around.

In my estimate, the tip of the volcano has lowered down some twenty *brazas* and on the southern side, it shows a spacious and horrible mouth that causes fright to look at it. Three more mouths have been opened at quite a good distance of the main one, so much so that the volcano also spewed smoke and ashes through them. To sum up: the most beautiful towns of Camarines and the principal part of that province has been turned into a fruitless quicksand.

Take a look, generous people of these islands, at what has taken place in Camarines in a short and rough period of time: its beautiful towns burned, its soil completely destroyed, its twenty thousand inhabitants scattered, deprived of all they had, suffering thousand needs and miseries, and going from door to door asking for alms in order not to die of hunger. At the sight of so many and such works and miseries as those unlucky and good hearts people continue suffering, will you not pity their cruel and pitiful plight?

I am very aware of the almost extreme need in which Manila city finds itself at present, but I know also that with your leftovers and remainders you can alleviate greatly the extreme need and great poverty of those miserable people. They are not asking you for money because they know that you do not have it, but they will give you a million of thanks and the warmest gratitude if you give them as alms old cloths that you keep in your boxes and wardrobes and you are not using any more. Any old cloths you can get rid of without inconvenience will be fine cloths to them which they will appreciate and hold in esteem more than what I shall be able to tell you.

Illustrious citizens of Manila: all these unhappy people of Camarines depend on your magnanimity and patriotic charity. They are eagerly waiting for your help

and aid. One of their parish priests has come purposely to ask for your merciful help, knowing, as he does, the warm and charitable depth of your generous hearts. He sends you this brief report more to inform you about what happened in that province on February 1 than to stir your charity toward those miserable people. He is firmly convinced that, knowing the many and great misfortunes which they have faced and continue facing, you may help them, knowing that you will hardly get in your whole life an opportunity as this to practice charity with your sorrowful neighbor and knowing also God our Lord will look with good eyes at you and will be pleased by any small sacrifice that you can graciously make for them, for you know very well that almsgiving opens the doors of heaven and covers a multitude of sins.

That is how your humble server and chaplain hopes these people may be helped.

Fr. Francisco Aragoneses

Note:

Since all the copies that were made of this report have been used, in order to satisfy the curiosity of many people who come daily to me to ask for one, I decided to reprint it again, and taking up this opportunity, I have tried to correct the many mistakes of the first edition. I take this opportunity also to inform the charitable people of Manila that I have been allowed by the Political Chief and the illustrious Diocesan Bishop to come to ask for alms and to open a subscription in favor of all the people of the six towns that were destroyed by the volcano of Albay.

Any person who may have the charity to subscribe or give some alms for said help may do so in Santa Clara's monastery in which I now reside. This is no impediment for me to use any free time to come to the aid of the people affected by the eruption. Thus, I willingly take up this good work of going from house to house asking for alms to help the people affected by the eruption; thus also, I shall not spare any time to encourage the people who I think can help the victims of the eruption to do so.

15

Reply of "don" Francisco Trinidad to the previous letter that father Francisco Aragoneses had sent him. Daraga, August 16, 1814.

PHNA, Leg 126, No. 3. Original manuscript.

To the Most Reverent Father Francisco Aragoneses, current definitor or counsellor and regular parish priest of the people of Cagsawa.

My very Reverent Father: I have received the letter that your reverence deigned to send me. Having known its content, I hereby answer it and say the following.

That, in answer to a command of the *señor Alcalde mayor* of this province of Camarines, *don Antonio de Zúñiga*, about his going up to the town of Ligao to decide once for all the transfer of the towns destroyed by the lava of the volcano and to ascertain the advantages of the sites, to this regard, I thought it fitting that they visit well the places surrounding the platform of the town of Putiao (the site we have chosen to establish our town) and the land fitting for planting, in order to inform the said *Alcalde mayor* about it and to carry it out, I decided in agreement with the *capitanes pasados*, *cabezas de barangay* and some *principales*, to name *don Pasqual Lorenzo* and *Francisco Gregorio*, *capitanes pasados*, *don Vincente Buenaventura*, *don Dominic Valenzuela* and *don Juan Feliciano*, as heads *don Juan John Inocencio*, *don Pedro Sasilio* and *don Vicente Romualdo* and, as *principales*, *don Juan de los Santos*, as guide, and *don Julian Briones*, as companion witness.

These are the persons who went to visit the place for two days only and they have shown me a report about the lands that they found, a copy of which I insert here to make you aware of it; such visitors spread the news to the town dwellers that Putiao does not have any harvest. Having heard such news that created confusion among many people, I made a general list of all the inhabitants of Cagsawa in order to find out in what place they wished to hold a meeting. Once all of them had gathered together (more that three hundred men, even the last common *tao*), I exhorted them to speak out mentioning the place they considered most fitting to found our town with the condition that the place be free from the disgrace of the eruption of the volcano. Taking this into consideration, *don Mariano de la Torre* proposed the site of Panili, Sir Peter Celestino the site of Paganiran, *don Diego Mathias* the site of Macalaya and myself the site of Putiao.

I asked them again if they had another place to propose and, since nobody mentioned any, I told the three persons who had proposed a place that they separate from each other at a certain distance and mention a place. Then I told everyone that those who wanted to give their vote to any of the places that had been mentioned go near any of the three persons who had given their opinion. Then everybody stood up and almost all of them chose the site of Putiao. The site of Paganiran got one vote only and the sites of Panili and Macalaya did not get any vote.

From this outcome one can gather that almost everybody wanted to establish our town on the site of Putiao as we had requested to *señor Alcalde*. That is why I was surprised when the people of Ligao requested the site of Daraga.

This is all that I can inform you about, *señor*. You are free, though, to ask the opinion of other people concerning this issue. May God guard you life for many years.

Given at Daraga on August 18, 1814.

(Signed by) Francisco Trinidad

(There follows a plan of the port and of the river of Putiao)

16

Certificate of the “gobernadorcillo” of Cagsawa, two former “capitanes” and three “cabezas de barangay” concerning their visit to the place of Santilibñan and the discovery that the place is fitting to form a town. Putiao, October 5, 1814.

PHNA, Leg 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

We, who have signed this letter bellow, the present *gobernadorcillo* of the town of Cagsawa, two former *capitanes* and three *cabezas de barangay* at this moment, certify and bear witness, and if it be necessary shall confirm it under the most solemn oath, that having gone today according to the request of the reverent priest to visit the place called Embarcadero of Cagsawa, due to the fact that said priest has assured us that that is a land fitting for rice fields, we have found out that what he had told us is true, for, having followed a way at the foot of the volcano, we were able to discover 650 fathoms from East to West and 370 from North to South. There are also a big river and several streams from which water can be fetched to irrigate the land. It is also easy to uproot the trees which are small and thin in that place.

Furthermore, according to what we saw, the place which we visited led by our guide was only about one fourth. That being the case, we can certify that those fields are enough to feed the inhabitants of that place even if it is bigger than our own. Furthermore, we have not yet been able to visit the whole place due to the bad weather and to the fact that the present parish priest, who helped us survey the land, has been assigned to another parish.

We signed this letter on this site of Putiao on October 5, 1814.

(There follow six signatures, only three of which are legible)

Francisco Trinidad, *capitán pasado*.

Venancio Salomón, *capitán actual*.

Peano Doroteo, present governor.

17

Letter of father Francisco Aragonese addressed to “señor don” Francisco Trinidad, “capitán pasado” of the town of Cagsawa, asking for information about what the persons who surveyed the place found out regarding the possibility of founding a town on that place and also about what was decided in a meeting held at Cagsawa. Putiao, August 16, 1814.

PHNA, Leg 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

My dear Señor:

Bearing in mind that you governed temporarily the town of Cagsawa after the frightening eruption of the volcano, and that you took due measures before hand in order that the inhabitants of that unfortunate place be transferred as soon as possible to the site of Putiao in order that they be away from the horrible damages caused every now and then by said volcano and in order also that you be given due financial help for what you had lost, let your grace inform me immediately about the persons that you appointed to visit all those places that surround that place, about the time they used in visiting the people who had been affected by the eruption and about the time they spent in making such a visit as well as about the news about it given to the poor dwellers of those villages.

Likewise having been informed that you had a meeting before going to visit the *alcalde* of Ligao in which you stirred up at the same time the inhabitants of that town to choose beforehand the place they considered more fitting for the transfer of the town dwellers, kindly let me know the various opinions of the town dwellers who attended such a meeting and what they agreed to do in a proper way.

May God keep you for many years.

Putiao, August 16, 1814.

Brother Francisco Aragonese

18

Petition of the people of Cagsawa addressed to the “Alcalde mayor” of the Province of Camarines asking for a licence to found a town on the site of Putiao

PHNA, Leg. 126, No 4. Original manuscript.

Señor Alcalde mayor:

The persons who sign this petition, the present *gobernadorcillo*, together with the *capitán pasado*, the *principales* and the other residents of Cagsawa town come before your grace in due form to inform you about the following:

We feel uneasy to live at Daraga. Some people of our town are spread in several towns of Albay province. Due to the unfortunate event and the lamentable disgrace that we suffer and tolerate due to the horrible happening and the lamentable misfortune that we have suffered, namely: the horrible disgrace of the eruption of Mayon volcano that took place on Tuesday, February 8 and 9, whose lava burned man fields and killed many people from Cagsawa, Albay, Camalig, Guinobatan and, especially Budiao. Many houses were burned by the lava with all they contained. So much so that we cannot live in them anymore for they have been filled with lava and stones. Thus we have recourse to you inviting you to come and see our pitiful condition and show mercy to us granting us permission to move to another site, may be Putiao, whose site is quite free from the eruption of the volcano and can be very useful to us.

Likewise we request you to protect and help us asking the superior of this kingdom of the Philippines the grace to be freed from paying taxes and from the tributes that are due to the king, especially the branch of the rent of tobacco at least for seven or eight years until we build a new town. We request you to bring to the attention of the superior government our plight so that when he visits our place, he grants us an audience and give us the special grace of freeing us from paying taxes...

That is why we ask you to grant us the grace that we ask for and that we hope will be granted by you from your catholic and generous heart. Counting on your grace we sign this petition.

(Siguen las siguientes firmas:) Pedro Thadeo, Francisco Trinidad, Juan Jacob de Santa Mónica, Lorenzo García, Francisco Gregorio, José Cornelio, Carlos del Mundo, Mathías Romualdo, Angelo ... *(alreadable)*, Jose Dimadana, Vizente De San Buenaventura, Juan Feliciano, Pedro Celestino, Juan Diego Bautista, Francisco Raymundo, Juan Antonio Ynocencio, Pedro Mathías Ponciano, José de los ..., Juan Pasqual Espíritu, Mariano Martínez, Julián Cayetano, Pasqual de la Vega, Julian Francisco de los Reyes, Lorenzo de San Jose, Angelo de San Benito Martín Cándido Domingo Valenzuela, Saqueo de los Santos, Estevan Theodoro, Salvador Andres Mendo, Mathias Gonzalez, Gregorio Fabriciano, Juan Carlos, Francisco del Rosario, Julián Briones, Juan Salvador Magnampo, Theodoro Santos de San Buenaventura, Juan Baptista, Santiago Thadeo, Basilio de San Buena Ventura, Jose Francisco Vizente, Pedro Basilio, Andres Espíritu, Diego Mathias, Santiago Pedro San Juan, Eugenio

Salomón, Francisco de San Miguel, Antonio Fernando, Inocencio de los Ángeles, Fernando Gregorio Cayetano, Estevan de Villaman.a, Manuel Alonzo, Roque Francisco, Juan de Jesús, Sebastián Fernando, Gregorio de San Matheo, Miguel Damasio, Estevan Ngalsan, Juan Carlos Bartholomé, Juan Domingo, Felipe García Inocencia, Pedro Advíncula, Vectorio Gervacio, Antonio Jose Marcelo, Cayetano Fernando. (*The list is not complete, since some names are illegible*).

I, Licenciado don Antonio de la Cruz, acting parish priest of Cagsawa and Budiao (since the parish priest is in Manila now) certify that all that is written above is true.

Given on this visit of Daraga, foundation of Cagsawa, on March 19, 1814.

Antonio de la Cruz

19

Letter of “don” Antonio de la Cruz, acting parish priest of Cagsawa and Budiao, addressed to father Francisco Aragonese denying having induced the inhabitants of the towns mentioned to put their residence at Daraga. Daraga, August 15, 1814.

PHNA, Leg. 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

My very reverent father *fray* Francisco Aragonese,

I received a very appreciable letter of your reverence dated on the seventh day of this month to which I now answer and say: that the news they had given you is not in agreement with what I have really done, for I have never induced the people to transfer to Daraga. I did so only after I had received the letter which you had sent me from Manila after I had heard that many people did not want to go to Putiao nor even to work in the two *camarines*. I did so also because I considered that the two above mentioned *camarines* were in great need. That is why I have publicly requested to be accompanied by somebody because I was ready to go personally since there was great need of working in the two *camarines*. Thus, when they will not be ready to go to Putiao, they will be able to explain to you, once they have arrived, the motives of their reluctance.

With that intention I was able to go there with more than two hundred persons who worked in the two *camarines*, where I came to know many of them. I thought that if they were not willing to go there before having seen the place, with much more reason they would not go after they had seen that there was not even water to cook. As a matter of fact they could not cook at the same time due to the lack of water. That is why I had to go to far places looking for enough water for so many people, but I was not able to find any that day. That is why I said that I could not bear

living for a long time in that place. However, I never induced anyone not to live in that place. I just said what I really felt. I did not do it before, nor do I do it now.

Another reason why I never obliged them to work there was the great need they had of buying rice. Because to buy half a *real* of rice sometimes they had to go as far as from Ligao to Polangui or from Tabaco to Malinao. The reason for doing that was that none of those towns, that had been burned, would sell rice anymore, not even at present. So much so that even the poorer people, who did not have a harvest, not even a poor one as was my case, had to go from town to town looking for rice. But we had to stop going to the surrounding towns in search of rice because people do not sell the little rice they had harvested.

Consequently, it seems that even if they gave food to those who should go there to clear the place and build their houses, when they remember their families they will leave the food that is given them and will come to look for food in other towns for their families.

That is the reason why many people do not want to go to Putiao; because from there they do not have a way to go to other towns in search of rice when they do not have any left at home any longer and how hard it is to carry the rice that they harvest in due time from these *visitas* to that place of Putiao in order to be able to live there.

In spite of that, I helped them write a letter to be sent to the *principales* in order to convince them as much as I was able to do it. But they said that they can not go to Putiao. The reason for it, according to them, was that the *capitán* Trinidad sent some *principales* to visit the place before the general meeting held by the *Alcalde mayor* of this province at Ligao, and they said they had not found any piece of land big enough for growing rice there.

Thus when the *Alcalde mayor* asked them where they wanted to build the new town, they said that in the village of Daraga. For that reason he made them swear that they would carry out their plan to transfer to Daraga. They also spoke about other things that I omit. They agreed also to send two representatives, namely, the *gobernadorcillo* and *capitán* Trinidad who will pay him a visit to inform him about everything they had agreed upon.

With this letter I enclose the accounts you asked me for. This is all I can say. May God our Lord give your reverence the grace to live for many years.

Daraga, August 15, 1814.

Antonio de la Cruz

20

Answer of the ministers of the “Hacienda Pública” to the attorney about the transfer of the people of Cagsawa to Putiao. Manila, November 29, 1814.

PHNA, Leg. 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

The ministers of the *Hacienda Pública*, having been informed about the representation in which the Very Reverend Father Francis Aragones, parish priest of the towns of Cagsawa and Budiao, explains the inconveniences of the site of Daraga and the advantages of the site of Putiao for the establishment and advantage of the new foundation, have this to say:

That not knowing the real situation of those places, we can not give you enough information that could help you make the proper decision. The information given by Father Aragoneses, in spite of having the advantage of his great zeal and the experience acquired in the many years of administering the parish of Yraya, served only to make us give the wrong decision about the help given to Camarines. And, in spite of the plan that we saw then and that natural reason recommended to send financial help to the nearest place, the *Alcalde mayor* of the province of Camarines, who had a different opinion, has come to realize that he was mistaken to have done that.

However, he was not mistaken in deciding to choose a person who would take up the responsibility of helping the people of the different towns that have been affected by the eruption of the volcano because town mayors have many other responsibilities besides this one of helping the victims of the eruption of the volcano. Furthermore, they do not have any other person qualified to render that kind of service.

They should have taken advantage of the terror caused by the catastrophe of the eruption of the volcano. Now it may be very difficult, not to say impossible, to do what could have been done at the beginning because people are scattered. Besides, since they have been exempted from paying taxes for four years, their leaders feel no need of looking for them. Furthermore, since they have made use of the financial help given to them already, how will they survive in the deserted places where they will be transferred.

To our way of thinking, the towns that will be founded will not even be a shadow of the former ones. Lastly, they may have based their opinion on the arguments of some religious who are administering Iraya. We have even heard that Father Manuel Rollo, parish priest of Ligao is around. He is a well-known priest. He,

and other priests as well, will be able to inform your lordship about the situation due to the knowledge they have in these practical matters, not to say of the good faith that is needed to take the proper decisions as God may provide.

Regarding the resignation of Father Aragonese, due to the imminent dangers to which the site of Daraga is exposed due to the fact that it is near the volcano, we have nothing to say about it. May your lordship decide to do what you consider more convenient.

Office of *Hacienda Pública* of Manila, November 29, 1814.

(*There follow an illegible signature The letter is sealed with the official seal, and, in different ink, the following words: "Manila, 29 November, 1814. Letter of the attorney together with the plans of the province"*).

21

Letter of the district Attorney Ramos to the General Adviser. Manila, December 2, 1814.

PHNA. Leg. 123, No. 5. Original manuscript.

Very Illustrious Sir:

Our district attorney has come to know about the last information of Father Francisco Aragonese, parish priest of the town of Cagsawa, in which he speaks about the advantages of the site of Putiao, rather than the site of Daraga, where it has been ordered that the town of Cagsawa be transferred since it was destroyed by the last eruption of the volcano of Albay.

He has this to say: That on folio 98 of the final dossier expressed the opinion regarding the need of the priests and mayors to agree whether or not transfers should be made and not to frustrate the relay of taxes granted by this superior agency on account of so great a lack of funds of the public finances and the alms with which the inhabitants of this city [of Manila] and its surroundings have contributed. Due to the merit of the dossier, with the decree of folio 103 was approved the transfer of Cagsawa town to the district of Daraga.

However, the already mentioned dossier of the parish priest and the papers that accompany it, shows that the agreement of the town dwellers was not as great as it was believed when such decision was taken and there are reasons to believe that the absence of the parish priest might have given the opportunity to some *principales* to

create such a division and discord as they pondered on the advantages of one site and the disadvantages of the other.

From the reasons given by the ministry of *Hacienda Pública* in the report that precedes this document, it is very difficult to determine from this office which is the best site; however, the fact is that the site of Daraga is very near the volcano and, therefore, it is exposed to a new catastrophe. The natives, however, like it because they will be able to till the soil without having to clear the land and open new spots. Thus it is clearly proven that the new town dwellers are as lazy and indolent as the old Indians. In spite of what has been written in their favour, there are some occasions when going against the common rules, one has to do good to them even if they do not deserve it because they seem not to know it.

The present *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines is able to detect and amend any mistake that his report might contain in which he speaks of the disadvantages of the site of Putiao caused by the information given to him. From then until now a better information might have been given. It is well known that what the government wants is not which site is preferable –A or B–, but which one is less likely to be covered by the eruptions of the volcano and has water as well as labour and pasture lands so that the inhabitants of the place as well as their cattle may be able to live. If it is true that Putiao has all those qualities, I could give orders for the people to transfer there notwithstanding the fact of what was decreed on October 10, 1814; in which case, in spite of the fact that some citizens do not want people to meet because of their personal interests, we could give the same orders that were given to the people of Guinobatan.

Your lordship, therefore, may decide what you think is more just calling the attention of the mayor to what you consider best.

Manila, December 2, 1814.

Ramos.

22

Opinion of the general adviser to the Governor that the “Alcalde mayor” de Camarines be ordered that, following the opinion of father Aragoneses, the town of Cagsawa be transferred to the site of Putiao. Manila, 12 December, 1814.

PHNA, Leg. 126, N° 4. Original manuscript.

Father Aragoneses, parish priest of the town of Cagsawa, puts forward again

the negative consequences that shall follow from the implementation of the decision to establish the town of Cagsava in the *visita* of Daraga. Since this is only one quarter of a league away from the above mentioned town, it remains exposed to the same disaster and destruction than Cagsava for its proximity to the volcano and that with this small variation there is hardly any advantage.

At the same time he describes Putiao as a beautiful place to form a town, because it has an excellent port and a famous river, abundance of wood, *bejuco* and *nipa* to build the houses, fish and shellfish in the river and the port; it is appropriate for all kinds of plantations, and he adds that even cinnamon trees have been found there. That the Indians were not opposed to this foundation, since there were already fourteen houses built there, except those attached to the old fields without taking into account the danger of being destroyed by the volcano. The only objection is that in the vicinity there are only forests that are to be cleared up in order to be able to cultivate the land. But those who have visited the place inform that it is easy to do. And this is what seems to them harder to do.

Let this description be compared to the one made by the *Alcalde mayor* on folio 91, in which it is stated that Putiao is an inconvenient place, that there is hardly ground big enough to make a bad *visita*, that there are not fields that can be cultivated neither water to irrigate them. On the contrary, the parish priest affirms that there are many rivers. Being this the situation and the opinions so different, one does not know whom to believe. It is true that the *Alcalde mayor* based his opinion on the arguments of others, especially those of father Manuel Royo. If this were here attending the *Capítulo intermedio*, he could be asked for a report in order to make sure that the decision in the right one.

Nevertheless, and without prejudice to what your Lordship may think about this, and being urgent, on the other hand, the dispatch of this dossier, you should advise the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines that notwithstanding what was determined in the decree of 10 October regarding the translation of the town of Cagsava to the *visita* of Daraga, he does it to the site of Putiao, being true the conditions mentioned by father Aragonese, just in case there are some inaccuracies in the reports that were given him and in agreement with the said parish priest and gathering on his part as many reports as he may consider convenient from other persons that do not expect any advantage from the decision in order not to risk the danger of making a mistake in this resolution.

At the same time, let him take into consideration how dangerous it is to establish the new town in a place so close to the volcano, and that in order to avoid this danger any other place should be preferred, even if it lacks some not essential things.

Finally, let him try his best to get an agreement on this matter so that it may be done what is more convenient for the common good, not bothering any more your Excellency with a matter that can only be decided upon after having visited and observed the place with his own eyes.

Manila, 12 December, 1814.

Suarez.

Manila, 13 December, 1814.

Regarding the presence in this capital of reverend father fray Manuel Royo, he will inform according to what the general adviser mentions on paragraph 4 of his previous report, taking care to verify it as soon as possible.

23

Letter of Father Manuel Royo, parish priest of Ligao, to the Governor General of the Philippines about the convenience that Cagsawa town be transferred to the site of Putiao due to the advantages that that town has for its residents. Santa Ana de Sapa, December 14, 1814

PHNA, Leg 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

Very Illustrious *Señor*,

With due obedience to the decree of your lordship in order that I inform you about the site and place of Putiao that belongs to the town of Cagsawa, I have this to say.

That on the twelveth, I took a boat at that port in order to come to this capital city. With that motive I took notice that from the two *visitas* of Cagsawa called Lacab and Gapó until the pier of the river the earth is quite plain. There are some streamlets that cross the way. So I think that in that place there can be many harvests. The river of Budiao has excellent water, I think, and its abundance can give many harvests. It seems to me that the river of Putiao has excellent water and its flow is abundant up to the place where the little parish church is now located.

From that place until the castle, which is located by the river site, it took me two hours. I noticed that the river is becoming quite abundant in water due to the fact that many streamlets enter it, and that its water is very soft. I noticed that at both sides there are *nipa*, *bejuco* and other good kinds of wood. The port is quite good and

it is protected from winds. But only the boats of the provinces can enter it due to the lack of depth. As for what the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines insinuates in his report which I requested him to make about the port mentioned, it seems that he did not understand me well. What I told him was that in case the above mentioned town would be founded at Daraga, there will always be a *visita* at Putiao.

What made think that way was the fact that since father Aragoneses had gone to Manila to solicit the necessary funds for the building of the towns that had been burned by the lava and the port of Putiao being the nearest to those towns, the inhabitants of Cagsawa would see the advantages that having a *visita* in that place would bring to them. Furthermore, I knew very well from our chronicles that Putiao in former times had been the biggest *visita* of the town of Cagsawa which later on was attached to that of Gapó.

Without any doubt, establishing a town at Putiao would be very useful. All that area located at the south of Camarines is very depopulated. Consequently, it is exposed to the sudden attacks of the Muslims for lack of proper defence. The Muslims have many farms in the islands of Burias and Masbate. They fabricate their boats, and when the time allows it, they do not miss the opportunity to rob and win over any thing they find valuable along the coast.

Once the town of Putiao is founded, as well as that of Panganiran and, on the other hand, adding the towns of Donsol and Quipia to the province of Camarines, which now belong to the province of Albay, we could succeed in populating the coast. Thus we could help one another fighting against the Muslims. In my way of thinking, the lack of the proper defence in the coast is one of the mayor obstacles that prevent the inhabitants of Cagsawa and Guinobatan from transferring to the above mentioned coast. I state, without any doubt that, if after the eruption of Mayon volcano, there would have been launches in those coasts to defend them, many people that had been living in the towns burned by the lava, and even from the surrounding towns such as Ligao, would have transferred to the coast.

There is no doubt that Daraga is a site exposed to the eruptions of Mayon volcano for it is only about one and a half kilometres away from Cagsawa. About ten houses were burned in that place as *don* Francisco Basilio, *capitán pasado* of Cagsawa admitted. For your information, Albay town that is farther from the volcano has been transferred to another place.

It seems to me that the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines is better informed now about the site of Putiao. I say that not only because of the two orders he issued addressed to the *gobernadorcillo* of Cagsawa, but because of what I noticed in said Mayor when I left for this capital.

This is all the information I can give your lordship about this issue.

Santa Ana de Sapa, Manila, December 14, 1814.

Father Manuel Royo.

24

Office of the Adviser to the Governor General of the Philippines informing him about the opinion of Father Manuel Royo about the issue of transferring the town of Cagsawa to the site of Putiao. Manila, December 14, 1814.

PHNA. Leg. 126, No. 4. Original manuscript.

From the report that precedes and has been given by the reverent father fray Brother Manuel Royo on the present date, which corroborates everything that Father Francisco Aragoneses, parish priest of Cagsawa, had given to you, it comes out that the site of Daraga, due to it being near Mayon volcano, is not the proper place to re-establish Cagsawa on it as has been written in the Superior Decree dated October 10, 1814.

Since from the above mentioned report of the already mentioned Father Royo there comes out that the *Alcalde mayor*, better informed about the advantages of the site of Putiao to build the parish church there, has issued two orders (from which it follows that he has changed his mind regarding where to build the new parish church) in virtue of which you are requested to start building the parish church of Putiao in keeping with the opinions of the Fiscal and the Assessor. They assured us that there is an excellent river there with good water in its well sheltered port with good lands to till: plenty of wood, nipa, etc.

The order shall be inserted in the report to be given to the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines. Father Aragoneses will be informed about it too.

(There follow two illegible signatures; the letter is duly sealed).

Issued at the office of the *Superior Gobierno* on December 17, 1814.

I informed the very Reverent Father Francisco Aragoneses about the superior decree, which he signed. I bear witness to it. A copy of this document was sent to the office of the *Alcalde mayor* of Camarines on the same date.

(There follow the signature of Father Francisco Aragoneses plus three others that are illegible).

Letter of the “Alcalde mayor” of Camarines don Antonio de Zúñiga to the Governor of the Philippines. Nueva Cáceres, November 16, 1815.

PHNA, Leg. 126, N° 4. Original manuscript.

Very Illustrious *Señor*:

From the very moment when I went for the elections and saw the town of Daraga, I realized that it was too organized for it to be transferred to Puteao and I informed Father Aragonese about it. However, I gave all the orders which I considered proper in order to carry out in the best possible way your superior order. I did my best to convince Father Aragonese and the majority of the people to recognize Puteao. However, he did not go to the place because he was very tired due to the fact that he had been travelling for 17 days and it was very hot during those days.

Bearing in mind the information given me by the commissioner, when I saw that place, I realized that it was very good to found a town on it. Taking that into account, I gave the proper orders to begin building on it. But nothing was advanced before hand. On the contrary, people continued building houses in spite of the threat that I made to them repeatedly. That was the outcome of my being far away. No one among them encouraged the people to carry out my orders. They seem to dislike Putiao. And they dislike their parish priest even more, so much so that, when he was quite sick, no one bothered to pay him a visit, not even the *gobernadorcillo* who should have been the first one to pay him a visit.

Thus, bearing in mind the undertaking, how far it was, and taking into account that they were always bothering me with demands that I let them finish building the town; taking into consideration also that the material that they had ready to build their houses were rotting, as was also the case with the church-building and the parroquial house; taking also into consideration that they preferred me to live in a house in which I would not get tired; since they were resolved to live and to die at Daraga and not to move to another province as Father Aragonese had suggested; furthermore, realizing that they were scattered in the hills which are around Mayon volcano thus risking being submerged by the lava the moment we least expected, I decided that all of them move to Daraga where they would live more safely and that no one be allowed to live where the sound of the bell cannot be heard.

In the meantime I wrote you. The answer was to send me the representative so that an agreement that would please you would be reached.

May the Lord guard your Lordship for many years.

Nueva Cáceres, December 16, 1815.

Very illustrious *señor*.

Antonio de Zúñiga.

Very Illustrious *señor*, José de Gardoqui.

GLOSSARY³⁰

Alcalde – Mayor of a town.

Alcalde mayor y capitán a Guerra – The governor and chief magistrate of a province or *alcaldía*.

Barangay – Kinship unit of 30-100 families at the coming of the Spaniards. Made into a political unit by the Spaniards for taxation purposes.

Cabezas de barangay – The local officials charged by the Spaniards with collecting the tribute of his *barangay*.

Capitán – Besides its use as a military rank, it was commonly used as the title of *gobernadorcillo*, and became the official title after 1893.

Capitán pasado – Former *capitán*.

Cara parroquial – Residence of the parish priest.

Casa Real – Municipal hall.

Don – Title given to a person with superior studies or who enjoys certain authority.

Escuela de Niños – Boys school.

Gobernador general y capitán a Guerra – Governor general of the Philippines, who enjoyed the supreme civil and military authority.

Gobernadorcillo – The chief municipal magistrate in Filipino towns. Like the *Alcalde mayor* on the provincial level, he had both executive and judicial functions, and to him the *cabezas de baranbay* were subject.

Ministro de doctrina – Parish priest of a town that had its own church.

³⁰ See John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Readings in Philippine Church History*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979, 405-410.

Principales – The Spanish term for the pre-Spanish datu class and their descendants.
From this class came the cabezas de barangay and gobernadorcillos.

Real – Rial, one-eighth of a silver peso.

Real Audiencia – The tribunal which served as supreme judiciary of the Philippines,
and likewise as advisory council to the governor who was its president.

Señor – Sir, lord, mister.

Superior Gobierno – The government of the Philippines.

Timawas – Common people.

Visita – Small settlement with only a chapel, but no resident priest.

