

CAPITULO 20

DISPONE EL CABO SUPERIOR EL IR A CASTIGAR A LOS SUBLEVADOS DE BOHOL, Y EL CORREGIDOR DE LEYTE A LOS DE BAYBAY

La diligencia, dicen que es madre de la dicha, y más en cosas y casos marciales, en los cuales no se puede negar, pues las experiencias lo muestran que quien pierde punto, pierde mucho: ojalá, y no se hubieran visto en todas las partes del mundo tantos fracasos irremediables por la dilación que con la prevención, y ya que con esta no, con la presteza del remedio, no hubieran sido de monta.

Por esta causa el dicho cabo superior de Pintados juntó del presidio de Cebú, y de otros sobresalientes, luego que tuvo nuevas de lo que pasaba en Bohol, hasta noventa españoles (poco número para otras partes; para por acá, y más tan aprisa, bastante), y con ellos setecientos indios auxiliares, de los que más a mano estaban (aunque de algunos se podía temer no estuviesen algo maleados por la cercanía y parentesco con los boholanos).

Se dispuso luego una moderada armada, de lo que acá llamamos caracoas, y otras embarcaciones menores; pues por estar confines la isla de Cebú y la de Bohol, y harto vecinas, no eran necesarias mayores.

Piratical Raids and Native Uprisings in 17th Century Samar and Leyte - II

CHAPTER 20

THE CABO SUPERIOR DECREES TO GO AND PUNISH THE INSURGENTS OF BOHOL AND THE CORREGIDOR OF LEYTE THOSE OF BAYBAY

It is often said that assiduity is the mother of good fortune; and even more so in martial matters and situations wherein such /saying/ cannot be called into doubt. Experiences prove that he who loses a bit of time, loses much. Would to God that it would be so, then in the world everywhere one would not have seen so many irreversible failures which are a result of delay. If these could have been prevented by some foresight, and if not by this, at least by speedy action, these failures would not have grown to such proportions.

For this reason, once the *cabo superior* of the *Pintados* learned the news of what was taking place in Bohol, he gathered from the garrison of Cebu and from other important garrisons some ninety Spaniards. Elsewhere this would be considered a small number, but out here these were good enough even though gathered so hurriedly. Together with these, he gathered seven hundred native auxiliaries who were on hand even though it was feared that some of them were tainted a little by their proximity and relationship with the Boholanos.

And so a small fleet was readied what we term here *caracoas* and other smaller vessels; larger ships were not deemed necessary since the Islands of Cebu and Bohol are near to each other and are close neighbors.

Pasó luego a dicha isla, y también (que importó no poco) se llevó consigo al Padre Rector, que entonces era de Cebú, que fue el Padre Juan López, persona diestra en las cosas de Bisayas y en su lengua, y dotada de otros talentos y tales que, aun siendo harto mozo entonces, era ya Rector de aquel Colegio, segunda casa de esta Provincia.

Oí contar al dicho Padre, como testigo de vista, mucho de lo que en Bohol y en Baybay (que después fueron allá también, como veremos) había pasado, y así son noticias oculares las que recibí y pondré aquí aunque abreviando circunstancias y hechos particulares por no alargar.

Al principio, pues, del año de veintidós, a seis de enero, llegó a Bohol la armada, y tuvo bien poco que hacer, pues de los que antes se habían agavillado, unos de miedo se esparcieron por los montes, y otros, aunque esperaron en un lugar a su parecer fuerte, que era un peña de las que acá llaman *helian*, les valió poco, pues, apenas embistieron los españoles, aunque con algún desorden (que remedió luego el cabo como tan buen capitán), cuando la desampararon algunos, y otros se dieron las manos cruzadas, pues, llegada la ocasión, vieron cuán falso había sido lo que las *balianas* les habían ofrecido; pues, aunque echaban puños de arena hacia los españoles, no sólo no cegaron pero ni aun un átomo llegó a ellos; y las balas, tan al revés estaban de ser detenidas que al primer "Santiago" mataron algunos de los que estaban en lo más alto, hasta donde alcanzó su ímpetu. Ellos, los indios digo, dispararon flechas, tiraron piedras e hicieron otras diligencias; fueron vanas, pues no hicieron daño de monta en los nuestros; que parece sucedió todo al contrario de lo que los más atentos ministros de Satanás les habían ofrecido, con lo cual duró poco la guerra.

Los indios auxiliares sirvieron solo de hacer montón, o número o, por mejor decir, de testigos, de cuán vanamente habían intentado alteraciones y cuán sin consejo dispuesto y cuán sin fuerzas esperado; y convino no poco que vieses ellos por sus ojos cómo todo

/The cabo superior/ sailed to the said island and took with himself, which was an important move, the Father Rector who was then in Cebu. He was Father Juan López,¹ an individual well-versed in Bisayan affairs, in their language and endowed with other abilities. Such were his talents that even though he was still rather young, he was already a Rector of that college, the second */principal/* house of the Province */of the Jesuits/*.

I heard this said Father relating, as an eye-witness, much of what had happened in Bohol and Baybay, where they went also, as we shall see. Therefore, this is first-hand information which I have learned and which I shall jot down here, although in a somewhat abridged manner, summarizing the various circumstances and particular facts so as not to prolong the narrative.

The fleet arrived in Bohol in the beginning of the year, on January 6, 1621, and had very little to do. Among those who joined the rebels, some scattered themselves over the mountains out of fear; others, even though they waited in a seemingly fortified place, which was a rock called *helian*,² it availed them little. Hardly had the Spaniards initiated the attack, although with some disorder which the good captain soon remedied, when some fled and others gave themselves up with crossed hands. And so when the occasion presented itself, they saw how insincere the *balianas* had been with their promises. Even though they had thrown handfuls of sand at the Spaniards, these not only failed to be blinded, but not even a grain of sand reached them. The bullets were so far from being warded-off that at the first 'Santiago!' they killed some of those who were at the highest peak; that is how far its effect was felt. The natives, I must say, shot their arrows, threw stones and made other attempts but all in vain; no harm of any great consequence was inflicted upon our men. It seems that everything contrary to what the most devoted ministers of Satan had offered them took place. As a result the war lasted for only a short time.

The native auxiliaries only served the purpose of swelling the crowd or numbers, or to put it better: to witness how vainly the rebels attempted the disturbance; how they organized themselves without a plan and how high their hopes ran without any military strength. It was of no little significance that those who fought by the side of the Spaniards clearly saw for themselves

habían sido castillos en el aire lo que los seguidores del *diwata* habían fabricado, y todo cosa de viento lo que habían hecho; e importó no poco que fuesen ellos los que tan a la clara vieron el desengaño propio con el escarmiento ajeno; que siempre le hallaron más a mano todos los que, fiados de promesas falsas, se empeñaron en empresas dudosas, y más tanto como ésta, y para su mayor daño de los que se abalanzaron y empeñaron en más de lo que podían ni cumplir ni ejecutar.

Fue de mucha consideración e importancia la compañía del Padre Rector, Juan López, para remediar en esta ocasión (como hombre plático en las cosas de estos indios), así con el cabo, en orden a suavizar el castigo, como con los indios, para que con más facilidad y confianza se redujesen y rindiesen presto; y fue providencia divina que, de puro confiados o temerarios, esperasen en lugar, a su parecer, fuerte y seguro, pues presto vieron el desengaño, y tocaron con las manos su riesgo; que, si se hubieran dividido por el monte (como es su costumbre) con tropas y puesto en emboscadas, que es su modo de pelear, hubiera sido muy difícil, trabajoso y peligroso de buscar el gato en el garbanzal; e, imposibilitados los españoles de seguirles por el monte (donde ellos son corzos y corren como gamos) se hubiera gastado mucho tiempo y con poco fruto que no hay fortaleza mejor ni más inexpugnable para los indios que los montes, como lo vemos cada día, y los que a ellos se acojen están siempre seguros; que bien pueden escalar muros, subir torres, volar fortalezas y hacer cuanto con envidia de todas las naciones hacen los españoles en un asalto; pero trepar por los montes, bajar y subir valles, pasar ríos donde los caimanes hacen presa, las malezas y espinas deshacen los vestidos, las sanguijuelas se meten hasta los ojos, y donde se está continuamente al agua, al lodo, al sereno y al hambre, que es la que más impide, no le hemos visto aún por acá, ni la condición española lo puede tolerar.

Añadiré aquí una circunstancia (dejando muchas otras que fuera largo de contar), y la oí al mismo Padre, que fue el autor y sujeto de ella. Este fue el Padre Diego Laurencio, persona de mucho ánimo y valor, y que con el suyo, que se halló entonces en

their own disillusion in another's punishment. This punishment was quickly met by those who, trusting in the *diwatas*, embarked upon dubious undertakings and even more so, in a situation like this. This resulted in greater harm to those who threw themselves into it and strove after more than they could actually accomplish or carry out.

The presence of Father Rector, Juan López, exerted wide influence and was of considerable importance in finding a solution on such an occasion. He was an individual of experience in the affairs of these natives; together with the *cabo superior* he was able to tone down the punishment and deal with the *indios* in such a manner that they would surrender and become submissive more quickly and with greater facility and confidence. It must have been an act of Divine Providence that due to their over-confidence or rashness that they would wait in a place, as it seemed to them, which was fortified and safe. Because soon they realized their mistake and sensed the risk that if they would have scattered over the brush with their troops and wait in ambush as was their custom, (this is their manner of fighting) it would have been very difficult and dangerous 'to look for a tom-cat in a plot of land sown with chick-peas'. It would be impossible for the Spaniards to follow them through the thickets where they act like roe-deer and run like the bucks. Much time would have been spent and all with very little profit. There is no better fortress for the natives than the mountains as we see it here everyday, for those who seek shelter in them are always safe. In an assault the Spaniards may well scale walls, climb towers, demolish fortresses and accomplish all sorts of feats to the envy of all nations. But to climb mountains, walk up and through the valleys, cross rivers where crocodiles wait for their prey, where the brambles and thorns turn the clothing into shreds, where the leeches penetrate even to the very eyes, where one is constantly submerged in water, in mud and plagued with night dew and hunger pains (which is the greatest obstacle), this we have not seen as yet around here nor can the Spanish temperament bear up with it.

I shall add here another circumstance, by-passing many others so as not to prolong the matter, as I heard it from the Father who was its author and its subject. This was Father Diego Laurencio, a person of much courage and valor; because of this (he was then residing in the *cabecera* of Bohol, known as Loboc) he was able

la cabecera de Bohol, llamada *Loboc*, pudo detener a aquel pueblo, o a los más de él, a que no siguiesen al *diwata*, como otros.

Estaba el Padre muy suspenso del suceso de nuestros españoles, que sabía habían marchado ya, pero no el fin de su marcha; y mucho más lo estaba de ver los ánimos de los indios que, puestos, como dicen, con un pie como grullas, sólo esperaban el aviso, o próspero o adverso para los españoles, para que, según él, se acabasen de declarar a un lado o a otro; y, según le oí decir varias veces, les veía tan de parte de los suyos, y tan confiados en las promesas falsas de su *diwata*, que hubiera sido todo uno llegar la mala nueva para el Padre y dar sobre él y matarle y robar la cabecera, etc.; a todo lo cual hizo rostro el dicho Padre solo, con ánimo invencible, y lo confieso que se lo oí contar con tanta viveza que, aun oyéndole, causaba alientos y añadía esfuerzo.

Estando, pues, en esta suspensión, y el Padre rogando a Dios (que el cuidado que le molestaba, no le dejaba ni estar despacio, de rodillas, en la iglesia, ni asistir a solas con los indios), cuando por uno de los montes, que está cerca de LOBOC, vieron venir un indio a mucha prisa hacia el pueblo.

Estaba tan distante aunque se podía ver, no empero oír y, entonces el Padre, movido, como el decía, de un vehemente impulso interior, comenzó a dar voces; "¡victoria, victoria! ¡repicad las campanas, que ya los nuestros han vencido al *diwata*!"

Quedaron los indios cortados y sin poderse menear (que esp̃raban, según se vio, lo contrario) y desengañados después cuando llegó el que traía las nuevas, que tardó buen rato en llegar, se fueron, unos tras otros, cabizbajos; si bien el Padre luego mandó llamar a los más principales, y agradeciéndoles (aunque veía lo contrario) el gusto, con que habían recibido las nuevas, y alabando su fidelidad, les convidó a comer y beber e hizo fiestas públicas en señal de su regocijo y en acción de gracias al Dador de las victorias.

Tanto como esto importa en las ocasiones (y entre estos indios siempre) un ánimo valeroso y un corazón invencible, que vence más que las armas.

to bring to a stop in that town most of the inhabitants from following the *diwatas*, as others have done.

The Father was full of anxiety about the undertaking of our Spaniards; for he knew that they had already set out for it, but did not take into consideration the possible consequences. He was even much more concerned in seeing the tendencies of the natives who standing, as they say, on one foot like the cranes, were only waiting for some news, either in favor or against the Spaniards, so that they may declare themselves accordingly for one side or the other. And, as I heard him say a number of times, he saw them greatly inclined to side with the insurgents. They were so over-confident in the false promises of their *diwata* that the arrival of some unfavorable news for the Father, to fall upon him and kill him and pillage the *cabecera* would have been one and the same thing, etc. To all this the Father faced up staunchly all alone and with invincible courage. And I acknowledge that I heard him relating this with so much animation that even the very act of listening to him inspired courage and added strength.

Therefore, the Father being in a state of suspense was praying to Our Lord so that the anxiety which was weighing heavily upon him, would not force him to stay too long kneeling in church nor to be alone with the natives. Suddenly, across one of the hills which is near to Loboc, they saw an *indio* coming in great haste toward the town. Since he was in a distance, he could be seen but not heard; so the Father prompted, as he used to say by some vehement interior impulse, began to shout out-loud: 'Victory! Victory! Ring the bells, for ours have defeated the *diwata*!'

The natives became almost motionless, and speechless; it was obvious that they expected the contrary. They were greatly disillusioned when the one who brought the news, and he was slow in coming, arrived. They began to vanish one by one totally crestfallen. The Father, however, urged the *principales* to be summoned and thanking them, although he could observe their ill-feeling, for the pleasant way with which they had received the news; he praised their fidelity and invited them to eat and drink and had a public celebration held as a sign of joy, and thanksgiving to the Giver of victories.

As much as this amounts to on occasions, (among these natives always) a courageous soul and an invincible heart which are more victorious and conquer more than weapons.

Retiróse con el buen suceso el capitán; y los Padres, que ya le habían visitado y visto, le agradecieron el feliz fin de la empresa, debido a su prudencia, diligencia y valor.

Castigáronse algunos de los culpados; que otros en el monte se habían puesto en salvo, hasta que pasase aquel primer hervor (que siempre es verdad, y más en casos de la calidad de este, que vale más salto de mata que ruego de buenos). El mayor castigo y el más provechoso para el aumento de la fe fue el reducir algunos de los pueblos de aquella isla de Bohol, menores y que estaban más apartados y expuestos a semejantes excesos (pues ellos habían sido los principales en éste) a los otros pueblos mayores; con que quedaron (como está hoy), solos cuatro pueblos en toda ella, como veremos cuando tratemos de aquella residencia en especial, y otro solo en la de Panglao, que no entró en esta gresca, o, por lo menos, no tanto.

Volvióse a Cebú el cabo superior y dentro de breves días, glorioso con el buen suceso, se partió para las costas de Baybay y Sogor, etc., que eran los pueblos que en la isla de Leyte sucesivamente (o con el mal ejemplo, o con concierto que de antemano tuviesen) se habían también sublevado, que ya el corregidor de la jurisdicción de Leyte, que era el capitán Julio Alonso Bruno, estaba allá con la gente que había podido juntar; y, con la llegada del cabo superior de Pintados que, por serlo, lo era también de la guerra en todas estas jurisdicciones (superintendencia necesaria para este y otros casos semejantes), pues, por haber hecho después a cada alcalde mayor o corregidor independiente (no sé con qué acuerdo y prudencia militar), se ha echado menos y se han retardado mucho los auxilios necesarios para reprimir insultos de amigos pocos quietos y de enemigos y corsarios disolutos; que, por haberlos de esperar de Manila, que está tres veces más lejos de estas islas de Bisayas que la de Cebú, llegan tarde y mal, y a las veces nunca; y así hay poco o ningún remedio (como veremos en su lugar) para reprimir, atajar y aun retornar los agravios que cada día reciben estos pobres de los muchos enemigos que los

On such a happy and festive note, the captain withdrew. The Fathers who already visited with him and saw him, expressed their gratitude for the wonderful success in such an undertaking; all this was due to his prudence, diligence and valour.

Some of the guilty ones were punished; others had sought their safety until the heat of passions cooled off a little. This is always true and even more so in cases such as these, that it is better to provide for one's own safety rather than rely on the interventions of good people. The best punishment and the most profitable one for the Faith was the reduction of some of the towns of that Island of Bohol. The smaller ones and those which were more out of the way and exposed to such similar excesses (it was the smaller ones that have been more involved and guilty for the uprising) were joined to the larger ones. There remained then, as now, only four towns on the entire island as we shall see when we come to speak of that *residencia* in particular. There also remained another one on the Island of Panglao which did not join this uprising, or at least, not to a great extent.

The *cabo superior* returned to Cebu and elated with his victory, after several days, departed for the Islands of Baybay and Sogor, etc. These were the towns which had risen up in revolt one after another on the Island of Leyte. They were either motivated by a bad example or perhaps due to an agreement that they might have made in advance. The *corregidor* of the jurisdiction of Leyte, Captain Julio Alonso Bruno, was already there with the troops he was able to muster. At the same time arrived the *cabo superior* of *Pintados*, who because of this position was at the same time commander of war in all these jurisdictions. This was an important move for this and other similar cases, because afterwards each *alcalde mayor* or *corregidor* were made independent (I do not know with what sort of counsel or military prudence) and thus less had been accomplished in sending the troops to quell insults from little submissive friends and from wanton enemies and pirates. If one were to wait for them /troops/ from Manila, which is always three times the distance than from these Bisayan Islands or that of Cebu, they would arrive late, in poor condition and perhaps never. Therefore, there is little or no way, as we shall see in its place, to repress, cut short and even to make them pay with the same coin for the grievances that each day these wretched ones receive from the many enemies that vex them. Thus, on

molestan; así que en esta ocasión se vio el acierto de tener al superior y cabo de la guerra tan cerca para reprimir lo de Bohol primero, y luego lo de Baybay, y donde hemos ya llegado con todo lo necesario para la empresa.

Habíanse ya congregado los sublevados en un paraje que a ellos les pareció más fuerte y a propósito para resistir, llamado CALANAGA, que está después de la punta de NANGIPUEN (casi en medio de la gran ensenada, pues tiene más de cinco leguas, con que se esconde así a SOGOR), que allí estaban casi en medio de HIMASUA, SOGOR, Y PANAON, y, aunque esta es isla aparte, como ya dijimos, era cabeza de toda la turba engañada en lo eclesiástico (si así se puede decir) de uno llamado PAGALI, hombre bajo y que se había hecho ministro del *diwata* por sola su autoridad y porque era más entremetido que otros, aunque nada entendido; que, si lo fuera, había de discurrir y adivinar el fin que todo aquello había de tener, en lo de la guerra; aunque parece que el más principal era MANCAO, hijo de MANGARIS, (de quien ya dijimos que el señor rey Felipe II se acordó en España, y se le había enviado un aderezo de oro, y luego veremos en qué paró). Con todo, porque había otros datos de Baybay, y aun de Panahon, y estos pocas veces, o ninguna, se sujetan unos a otros, ni se subordinan, que es la mayor fuerza que tienen contra sí mismos (pues donde no hay unión no hay fortaleza; y donde hay división, es cierta la ruina, y esto es verdad evangélica). No parece que había cosa dispuesta, ni aun la gente necesaria junta; que la más era *turba multa* de mujeres, niños y otros, engañados y llevados de la novedad o de su necesidad.

Con esto fue más fácil el que todo se deshiciese y desvaneciése presto; y mucho más luego que se hubieron a las manos los más principales cabezas de la alteración, que fueron MANCAO y otros de Baybay y Panahon, que ni supieron defenderse ni acertaron a huirse.

Hallóse también en esta ocasión, acompañando al cabo superior, como había hecho a Bohol, el Padre Rector de Cebú, Juan López, que poco antes había sido Rector de aquella residencia

this occasion it was clearly seen how wise was the policy of having the higher officer and the *cabo superior* so near so as to be able to put down the uprising of Bohol and then the one of Baybay where we have already arrived with everything necessary for the undertaking.

The insurgents had gathered in a place which to them seemed to be more fortified and well fit to put up a defense called *Calanaga*. This is situated further beyond the Cape of Ningipuen almost in the midst of an extensive cove which is more than five leagues in size, thus hiding Sogor from view. They were almost situated in a place which was equidistant from Himasaua, Sogor and Panaon. Although this is an island by itself, as we have mentioned, it was at the head of the group of the other islands which deceived in religious matters, if the expression is valid, by a certain individual called *Pagali*, who was a man of low extraction and had made himself a minister on his own authority; he was more meddlesome than all the others but not intelligent at all. If he were intelligent somewhat, he would have reasoned out and suspected the end that the entire affair was bound to have in these matters of warfare. Aside from all this, it seems that the more outstanding among them was Mancao, the son of Mangaris about whom we already mentioned that the Lord King Philip II remembered him in Spain and sent him some gold-plated jewelry. Soon, however, we shall see how it all ended. Notwithstanding the fact that there were other datus from Baybay and even from Panaon, these seldom if ever would submit themselves to one another; this seems to be their greatest weakness. Where there is no union there is no strength; where discord reigns, disaster is certain — this is gospel-truth. It seems that nothing had been readied, nor the needed men gathered in troops. At most it was just a large crowd of women, children and others who were duped or carried away by novelty or some necessity.

As a result of all this, little wonder why everything came to nothing and all vanished quickly; this even much more so as soon as the leaders were captured; that is, Mancao and others from Baybay and Panaon who neither managed to defend themselves nor were able to find a way to escape.

On this occasion was present the Father Rector, Juan López, who accompanied the *cabo superior* just as he had done previously in Bohol. Shortly, prior to this, he was Rector of that residence

(que a la de Carigara están sujetos los pueblos de Baybay y Sogor, etc., como veremos en su lugar). Con esto tenía mayores, y no antiguas, noticias y conocimiento de los más principales, y les valió a algunos de ellos que por su poca edad habían sido criados, o sacristanes, de dicho Padre, que les fue de importancia en caso tan peligroso, en que hubieran pagado con la vida, como pagaron muchos otros, el atrevimiento de alterar los pueblos y aunarlos contra la fe que ya profesaban, contra el Rey que ya conocían y con sus tributos, reconocido; y contra la paz pública, que tanto con estas revueltas se alteraba y perdía.

Uno de los que primero fue justiciado fue Mancao, el principal de Himasaua. Debió de ser el que más se empeñó; que, a no haber sido mucha su culpa, parece que se debía tener respeto al amparo que de su padre Mangaris habían recibido los españoles (pues fue el primero que los amparó, recibió, y agasajó en su isla de Himasaua a los primeros españoles), y, de que fue relevante servicio, lo asegura la demostración de un tan grande rey como Felipe II, el regalo de la espada, el renombre de Príncipe con que le saludó, etc., que todo se borró o tiznó con una muerte infame y como de un salteador que se dió al hijo.

Espejo claro de lo que en el mundo pasa y corre, y desengaño no vulgar de lo que somos los hombres; que ayer honraban al Padre, y hoy deshonran al hijo; ayer agasajos con dones, hoy desprecios, o quitárselo todo.

No califico la acción, pues ni me atrevo a reprobarla del todo, ni aprobarla tampoco. Pero, de lo que alcanzo de los ánimos de estos naturales, me persuado que, aunque fue gran freno para los atrevidos, fue, y será siempre mayor impedimento para los mirados y admirados y que, enemigos aún, y que no ignoran este y otros semejantes casos, dirán; "pues no demos entrada a estos, porque no nos impidan la salida; no les hagamos bien, porque no nos hagan mal; guardemos lo que tenemos bien, porque no vengamos a perderlo después para nuestro mal."

in Carigara under which Baybay and Sogor fell as *visitats* and as we shall see in its proper place. As a result of this he possessed very extensive and up-to-date information about the principal ring-leaders. Some of them had been servants or sacristans of the Father and were beneficiaries of much knowledge. Such knowledge was detrimental in dangerous situations as this, in which they would have paid with their lives as many others did pay for instigating the towns into rebellion. They lured many together against the Faith which they already professed; against the King whom they already acknowledged and accepted by paying tribute, and against public peace wherein these rebellions caused so much disturbance and such great losses.

One of the first to be executed was Mancao, the *principal* of Himasawa. Undoubtedly, he must have thought in his heart that since his guilt is not so serious, the Spaniards would have taken into consideration the protection which they have received from his father Mangaris. He was the first who welcomed, received, and entertained on his Island of Himasawa the first Spaniards. And the proof that his service was appreciated was shown by the response of so great a King as Philip II who presented him with a gift of a sword, the title of 'Prince' with which he greeted him, etc. All that was wiped out and tainted with the infamous death as if of a highway robber, which was meted out to his son.

Certainly this is a good example of what takes place and what goes on in the world and no ordinary lesson of what we men really are: yesterday they honored the father, and today they discredit the son; yesterday a graceful reception with gifts, today a contemptuous demand for a return of everything from him.

I do not wish to pass judgment on this action, because I do not dare condemn it altogether, nor to approve of it either. But as much as I can understand the psychology of these natives, I conclude that although it was a great deterrent for the daring one, it will always be a greater hindrance for the more prudent and confused ones. And those who will still remain enemies, will not remain unfamiliar with this and similar other situations, and will be inclined to say: "Let us not allow these individuals to come in so that they may not hinder our exit; let us not do good to them, so that they may not return us evil; let us keep well what we possess, so that through some bad fortune we may not come to the brink of loosing it!

Con el dicho Mancao padecieron suplicio otros dieciséis de los más culpados que con la cabeza de Mancao, y sus cuartos de ellas, llenaron las playas de Sogor y sus circunvecinas, que quedaron vendimiadas con aquellos racimos.

El último que murió y a quien hicieron también cuartos en Cebú, fue Dandu, uno de los principales cabezas; que por esto, y para que fuese escarmiento en Cebú, y porque tenía otros delitos, como fue haber quitado su embarcación al Padre Domingo Bilancio, y aun intentado matarle (pero Dios le tenía reservado para que muriese en Joló después, cautivo, como veremos en otro lugar), y también porque estaba reacio, y no quería morir como cristiano; que lo era de algunos años antes; pero, ni con la dilación mejoró, porque en Cebú murió reacio y sin querer confesarse, ni otras demostraciones cristianas, con que se lo llevó el diablo sin duda alguna.

A Manlopig de Panahon (que Pagali el de Baybay quedó hecho cuartos) que se había hecho *diwata*, o sacrificulo, se lo llevó consigo el corregidor a Catbalogan, cabecera de esta jurisdicción de Leyte y Sámar: y, para que muriese hecho sacrificio de quien se había hecho sacristán, o sacerdote, le quemaron en Catbalogan, delante de mucha gente que concurrió a semejante espectáculo, nunca visto en estas partes.

Y con esto se dio fin a aquel alboroto, primero de estos indios bísayas, y costó dos años, o más aún, el apaciguarlo todo y reducirlo a la primera sujeción, como hoy duran los otros(?) De otras sublevaciones trateremos en su lugar; sólo acabo este Capítulo con añadir que uno, o dos, de los perdonados en esta ocasión, por ser mancebos aún, aunque sus padres murieron por justicia, y a ellos les valió el patrocinio de Padre Juan López, y la poca edad, murieron después por justicia en la playa de Cabalian, dados garrotes por haber, según se les probó (Dios sabe la verdad si fueron ellos) intervenido en la muerte del Padre Domingo Arazu (como veremos en su lugar), a quien el uno de ellos, y que era

Together with Mancao, there were sixteen others of the most guilty who suffered capital punishment. The beheading of Mancao and the quartering of the others filled the beaches of Sogor and neighboring shores in such a manner that it almost appeared like clusters of grapes at harvest time.

The last to be executed and whom they also divided into quarters in Cebu was Dandu, one of the most notorious leaders. So that it may serve as a warning for those in Cebu, he was executed for the following reasons: he was guilty of other crimes /aside from insurrection/ such as trying to steal a vessel which belonged to Father Domingo Bilancio³ and even making an attempt at his life; (God spared him then but afterwards he died in Jolo as a captive, as we shall see in another place) he was also an obdurate sinner and had no intention of dying as a Christian, for he had been one some years before. Although he received plenty of opportunities for a change of heart, he died nonetheless in Cebu in his obstinacy without a desire to confess or without any other sign as a Christian; the devil carried him away without a shadow of doubt.

The *corregidor* took along with himself to Catbalogan, the *cabecera* of this jurisdiction of Leyte and Samar, Manlopig of Panahon who proclaimed himself a *diwatahan* or sacrificer (Pagali was the one who came from Baybay and who was quartered). He who had made himself a sacristan or a 'priest' was made to die as a sacrifice: they burned him in Catbalogan in the presence of many people who gathered for this spectacle never before witnessed in these parts.

And therefore with this, the upheaval was brought to a near conclusion, the first among these Bisayan *indios*. It took some two years or more to quell the entire affair and bring matters back to their first and original subjection, just as the other Bisayans remain until today. About other uprisings, we shall treat in their proper places. I only bring this chapter to an end by adding that one or two of those pardoned on this occasion (they were still young although their fathers had been executed; then too, they profitted from the intercession of Father Juan López because of their tender age) died afterwards executed on the beach of Cabalian. They were garroted for having (as it was proved to them — God knows the truth and whether they were the ones) taken part in the death of Father Domingo Arazu, (as we shall

entonces más muchacho, llamado Tuniga, mató con un *baladao*, y este era primo hermano de Buligan, que era gobernador de Cabalian cuando sucedió dicha muerte, (y a quien quitó el dogal de la garganta el dicho Padre Juan López, como dijimos, por haber sido en esta ocasión complice); acabó con otro después; que tres fueron justiciados; que a las cosas que Dios tiene dispuestas absolutamente, nunca les falta su cumplimiento, pues nada puede contra la divina presciencia y providencia.

CAPITULO 21

VIENEN LA PRIMERA VEZ A ESTAS ISLAS DE PINTADOS LOS CAMUCONES Y ROBAN LA CABECERA DE CATBALOGAN

Comenzaremos a tratar del enemigo más vil, más ratero, más bárbaro y más cobarde que hay quizás en cuantos se oponen a los españoles y sus allegados en otra cualquiera parte del mundo, que es el camucón, y con ser tal (como veremos cuando tratemos en especial de las calidades de los enemigos que tienen estos pobres bisayas en el Libro Quinto de esta Segunda Parte), es el que más roba, más cautiva, aflige más y persigue más continuamente a estos pobres naturales.

Ya dijimos arriba, en el Capítulo 19, cuándo comenzaron a infestar los mindanaos, sanguiles y caragás a estos bisayas y la causas por qué antes no eran sus enemigos. Comenzaron estos, que llaman camucones, a venir a estas islas de Leyte, Sámar e Ibabao y sus adjacentes, el año de mil seiscientos y veinticinco.

Y lo que los otros más alentados no habían hecho, hicieron ellos, llegando hasta Catbalogan, cabecera de los corregidores y alcaldes mayores de esta jurisdicción, y la robaron y saquearon, llevando no pocos cautivos, así de dicho pueblo como de los que encontraban en varios navichuelos, o pescando o navegando de unas partes a otras, buscando su vida, que algunos perdieron, y otros la libertad, en sus manos, que no han sido ni son pocos los que corren, y han corrido, esta fortuna después acá, como veremos más largamente.

see in its place how one of the younger ones, called Tuniga and first cousin of Buligan, Governor of Cabalian, killed him with a *baladao*⁴. (It was him whom the said Father López spared from hanging; for as we have said, he was an accomplice on this occasion). He was executed with another individual afterwards which made it three in all; that events absolutely predetermined by God always come to happen, for nothing can stand against the divine foreknowledge and providence.

CHAPTER 21

THE CAMUCONES COME TO THESE ISLANDS OF THE PINTADOS FOR THE FIRST TIME AND PLUNDER THE CABECERA OF CATBALOGAN

We shall begin treating now the most vile, predatory, savage and most cowardly enemy that there exists perhaps among those who oppose the Spaniards and their allies in any part of the world; these are the *Camucones*.¹ Therefore, as such, as we shall see when we deal more in detail with the characteristics of these enemies in Book Five of this Part II, with whom these poor Bisayans must deal. This enemy is one that loots most, seizes the greatest number of captives and harasses these natives relentlessly.

Previously, in chapter nineteen, we have cited the reasons and causes why the *Mindanaoans*, *Sanguiles* and *Caragas* were enemies of these Bisayans. Now these who are called *Camucones* began to plague these Islands of Leyte, Samar, Ibabao and neighboring islands in the year 1625.

What all others, who were more daring, had failed to achieve, these succeeded. They reached Catbalogan, the *cabecera* of the *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* of this jurisdiction, and sacked and devastated the town. They carried away not a few captives, not only from the said town but also those they caught sailing in their small boats, those fishing here and there and even some others who were coming and going, searching to seek-out their livelihood. Some of these lost their lives and others lost their freedom in their hands. Certainly, those who have met this misfortune then and until now are not a small few as we shall soon see at greater length.

Llegó este ratero enemigo a Catbalogan, que no hallo otro epíteto que mejor le convenga; pues, como los ratones infestan siempre, y sin descuidarse, cualesquiera cosa, y las mayores más, sin que valgan los gatos a espantarlos, las ratoneras a cogerlos y el rejalgalar a consumirlos, sino que ellos lo roen y consumen todo poco a poco, así estos camucones, sin que los españoles les pueden echar la garra ni coger entre uñas, sin que las fuercecillas que hay ya hechas les puedan coger, aunque son bastantes para defenderse de ellos, sin que haya contagio ni veneno que les acabe; son los que dejan todos estos pueblos raídos y robados, sin perder lance ni pasarse apenas año que no vengan vacíos y se vuelvan llenos de cautivos y de presas; y tal vez que en (tiesas?) de lo que roban, tan bien hallados con estos sus robos, que parece se vienen como a cosa hecha, sin dificultad, y se vuelven, deshecho esto, con toda facilidad, sin que hasta hoy se les haya hecho roncha considerable ni oposición de monta.

Al amanecer de un sábado fue cuando llegó la primera vez a Catbalogan; y, como acá, por haber todos los sábados misa solemne a la Virgen Santísima (el fin de esta institución fue para que guarde de enemigos a estos naturales), se repica al alba para la Salutación Angélica o *Ave Marías* del aurora, estaban actualmente repicando (que parece les recibían con repique solemne); y ellos saltando en tierra, con tan poco prevención de los que vivían en Catbalogan que los más estaban durmiendo; y en nuestra casa (que ya se había poco antes tocado a levantar, y estaban en ella un Padre y un Hermano, que el Superior o Rector no estaba en ella sino en otra visita), apenas tuvieron lugar de acabarse de vestir, pues antes de calzarse, el Padre oyó las voces del Hermano que le avisaba cómo estaba el camucón allí.

This rat-like enemy reached Catbalogan. I am unable to find a better term to describe this enemy more fittingly. Just as the rats always attack everything without relenting; and so, the more enticing the bait the more there are of them, ready to devour everything. The cats are of no avail in warding them off; the rat-traps are unable to catch them, and no poison seems capable of exterminating them. On the contrary, they gnaw and devour everything little by little. This is how these *Camucones* are: the Spaniards are incapable of catching them and holding them in their grip. The small forts which have already been erected are unable to impede their incursions, but they do afford some protection and refuge from them. However, there is no remedy or any possible antidote which could eliminate them. This is an enemy that does not leave any of these towns without plundering and devouring them completely — not missing a single opportunity. Not a year passes without the enemy coming here empty-handed and departing heavily-laden with captives and booty. Obviously, they find themselves much at ease with all this pillaging; they seem to come here in a routine-like fashion without encountering any opposition. Once they undo everything here, they leave with such ease that up until now no appreciable resistance had been shown them nor any considerable harm had been inflicted upon them.

This enemy arrived to Catbalogan for the first time on a Saturday, early at dawn. It is a custom here on all Saturdays to have a Solemn Mass in honour of the Most Holy Virgin; the reason for this practice was that She might protect these natives from these enemies. At day-break, the bells are usually rung for the Angelic Salutation and the Hail Marys. As the natives were ringing the bells at that moment, it seemed as if they were doing so to receive the enemy in a solemn manner; for they were jumping ashore without any fear of opposition, knowing that those who lived in Catbalogan were all fast asleep. In our convent, shortly before the ringing of the bells to announce the rising, they barely had time to dress and put on their shoes when the Father (the Brother and the Father were the only ones home because the Father Superior or Rector was not home and was out in another *visita*) heard the shouting of the Brother who was announcing the presence of the *Camucones*.

Tan a la sorda llegó que ni fue visto ni oído antes, y tan de repente que él mismo se fue nueva de sí mismo; y a no ser ellos gente tan cobarde y tímida (que, en llegando dan un gran alarido, más para espantar que para asegurar la gente, más de miedo de alguna oposición o celada que de aliento o valentía), apenas si hubiera escapado persona de monta de las del lugar, como se escaparon casi todas hasta las mujeres y niños, y sólo quedaron algunos viejos o enfermos, impedidos por falta de fuerzas.

Acordóse el Padre (llamábase Jerónimo Pérez, y era nuevo aún en esto de Bisayas) que estaba el Santísimo en el Sagrario (y no fue poco, con el sobresalto y miedo que es natural, que se acordase), y, juntamente por tener la llave del Sagrario consigo, que fue suerte en caso tan repentino, echó mano a ella, bajó como se hallaba, sin cingulo y aun sin medias, que no dio lugar la prisa; abrió el Sagrario, sacó la custodia y entróse con ella en la sacristía a tiempo que el Hermano, por otra parte, estaba en la huerta, escondiendo entre unas matas de piñas, que se suelen espesar mucho, una partida de pesos del Rey, que el día antes le habían dado a guardar, y era la cosa de más monta y que con más facilidad se podía esconder en aquella prisa.

Llegar a la sacristía y sentir que derribaban las puertas de la iglesia los enemigos, fue uno. Vióse el Padre embarazado con la Santa Custodia; y, atajado ya, no se le ofreció otra cosa más que dársela al Hermano y salirse por una ventana baja (alcancéla yo algunos años después en el mismo ser que de la sacristía pasaba a la huerta), y de ella se salió al campo, y, por estar aquella parte pantanosa y cerca del monte, pudo, sin ser visto, irse así a la espesura, que no está lejos, sin atreverse (como le oí decir varias veces) aun a volver a mirar hacia atrás, porque le parecía que le impediría para ir más aprisa y que le seguía el enemigo; con que

They arrived so stealthily that they were not seen or heard at the very beginning; so sudden was their arrival that their very presence was the news itself. They are a people so timid and so cowardly that upon their arrival on that spot, they give out loud shouts so as to frighten away the populace rather than to get hold of them. Certainly, this is a greater sign of fear and of some kind of an ambush rather than a sign of courage and bravery. If it were not for this, hardly any person would have escaped; however, almost all escaped including the women and children. Only some elderly and sick men who lacked any strength stayed behind.

The Father, whose name was Jerónimo Pérez and who was a rather new arrival in these Bisayan missions, remembered that the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the tabernacle; it was no small matter to have remembered it at a moment such as this full of terror and fright, which is natural under such circumstances. It was his good fortune to have had the key with him for the tabernacle; he got hold of it and went down as he was, dressed without his sash or socks (for the urgency of the moment did not allow him more). He opened the tabernacle and took out the *custodia santa* and carried it toward the sacristy. At this time, the Brother was in the garden hiding in the midst of some pine-apples, (which are usually a heavy crop) a certain amount of money belonging to the King and which someone had turned over to him the day before for safekeeping. It was the most important thing that could be hidden with some facility in the midst of such haste.

Now as he, the priest, reached the sacristy, he realized that the enemy was pulling down the church doors. The Father seeing that he was almost trapped with the *custodia santa* had no alternative but pass it on to the Brother and escape through a low window. Some years later, I had the opportunity to see this place and note how the window gave access to the garden. And so, from there, he went out to the open field, which was rather swampy and which led to the wooded area. Not having been noticed and without daring to even look back, he made for the brush, as I once heard him say. He felt that the enemy was pursuing him and to even glance back would slow down his speed. Since this enemy

se salvó entonces; que estos enemigos no se atreven a ir lejos de la playa.

El Hermano, que se llamaba Juan de la Cruz y había ya más años que estaba por acá, cuando se vio con la custodia del Santísimo en la manos y oyó las voces desmedidas de los enemigos, que iban ya subiendo a la casa (le oí contar yo después que dijo): “Señor, perdonadme, que yo no soy sacerdote ni tengo lugar decente donde esconderos y guardaros. Vos sois todopoderoso”; y, diciendo y haciendo, miró a unas matas de piñas que estaban más espesas y dejóse bajo de ellas la custodia (que de la partida de pesos, porque el tiempo no le dio a más lugar, había hecho lo mismo); y con esto se salió también por la huerta, como el Padre lo había hecho, y se fue tras él al monte, sin otra mayor prevención que las ansias de caminar y correr mucho por no ser alcanzado; que visto sí fue del enemigo, que estaba ya en los corredores de nuestra casa cuando el Hermano se salía por la huerta, y él mismo los vio y fue visto; pero ellos, cebados con la presa, no se cuidaron de seguirle, ni a él ni a los otros, sino que fueron quebrando puertas, descerrajando cajas y cajones y cargando en sus embarcaciones todo cuanto había en la casa e iglesia, sin que hubiese quien se lo impidiese ni estorbase; y, habiendo hecho lo mismo de las casas del corregidor y escribano, que eran las que tenían más fasto/sic/; que las demás poco o nada tenían, se llevaron cautivos algunos que estaban presos en el cepo, y alguno de ellos por causas capitales⁴; con que se libró por este camino de la cárcel, y después, huyéndosele al enemigo, no muy lejos de Catbalogan, quedó totalmente libre; que de otra manera hubiera pagado con su vida sus pecados; que por algo se dijo: que no hay mal que no venga por bien, como se vio en este caso.

Como fue saliendo el sol y encumbrándose, se fueron conociendo y reconociendo en el monte los que se habían con la escasa luz de la madrugada emboscado, aunque no tan lejos de Catbalogan que dejasen de oír las voces y algazara del enemigo, y los golpazos con que descerrajaban y quebrantaban las puertas y arcas, etc.

Encontráronse allá el Padre y el Hermano, que le contó cómo había dejado al Santísimo entre la espinas, porque le embara-

does not dare to go far inland from the seashore, he was thus able to escape them.

The Brother, whose name was Juan de la Cruz, had been here for more than two years. When he saw that he had the *custodia santa* in his hands and when he heard the tumultuous shouts of the enemy which was making its way up to the house, as I heard him relate this later, this is what he uttered: "Lord, forgive me that I am not a priest nor do I have a decent place where to hide and keep Thee!" As he was muttering these words, he cast a glance at the heavy crop of pineapple bushes and there he placed the *custodia santa* under them. As regards the money, he did the same, since there was no time for any other course of action. Taking care of these matters, he also went out through the garden as the Father had done and followed him to the woods without taking anything along except the desire to flee as quickly as possible in order not to be overtaken. Certainly, the Brother must have been seen by the enemy when he was going out through the garden, for they were already on the corridors of our house. Since they busied themselves with stripping the place, they did not care to pursue him nor any others; they continued breaking down the doors and forcing open the small and large chests and hauling them away to their ships. They carted away everything they found in the house or in the church without anyone opposing or preventing them. They also stripped clean the houses of the *corregidor* and that of the scrivener which were the more profitable ones. Since the other houses had nothing of value, they carried away as captives some who were held prisoners in the stockade. One of these was imprisoned there for a very serious offense; later and not far from Catbalogan he also escaped from the enemy, and became completely free. Otherwise, he would have paid with his life for his sins. Truly, there is no evil from which some good does not result in some way, /as for him/.

As the sun was rising and breaking the deep shadows, those who had sought refuge in the woods, with the help of the light, began to recognize one another. They were not too far from Catbalogan because they could hear the voices and the revelry of the enemy and the loud blows with which they were opening doors and unlocking the chests, etc.

The Brother met the Father there and informed him how he left the Blessed Sacrament among the pineapple bushes, because

zaba mucho tan Santa carga, y fue pareciendo la demás gente que se había escondido, y, entre ella, era la mujer del corregidor con dos hijas suyas (todas *in albis*, como estaban en la cama, que no tuvieron lugar para más); pero si estaban faltos de ropa, más de comida, pues nadie se había acordado ni aun pensado en llevar algo, que con la prisa y el susto no se les ofreció; con que aquel día ayunaron el traspaso, pues todo él, casi por lo menos hasta cerca de ponerse el sol, estuvo el enemigo muy a su salvo embarcando cuanto quiso, que fue cuanto halló; dejando a la iglesia de Catbalogan, que era de las de mejores alhajas de acá, sin un trapo tan solo. En la casa dejaron muchos trastos, de cosas que no pudieron cargar, arroz y otras cosas de sustento, que fue de mucha importancia para los que se fueron volviendo poco a poco a sus casas; y el Hermano se volvió a la nuestra a ver primero el destrozo; y fue a reconocer el lugar donde había dejado la custodia y la partida y hallólas ambas, que, por estar en la espesura de las piñas, no fueron vistas del enemigo, que no fue poca dicha; y dio aviso después al Padre, que pudo volver aquella noche a dormir a ella en la cama del galgo(?), ya que no el sueño; que, como estaba cansado y exhausto (después de haber comido un poco de *linogao* que el Hermano dispuso; que no había comodidad para más), la durmió como una piedra, según él decía, sirviéndole la sotana sólo, y la camisa que llevó, de colchón, sábanas y todo lo demás necesario; que a todo esto vivimos expuestos por acá los misioneros evangélicos.

Al Superior de esta cabecera le sucedió por especial providencia de Dios (que acá la experimentamos muchas veces, sin saberlo hasta después de los sucesos) que se detuvo en el pueblo de Paranas, donde estaba visitando, por no sé qué accidente, de modo que no pudo partirse para llegar a Catbalogan al amanecer, como había avisado y solía, y la dicha detención fue bastante para que llegase cerca de *Madalonot* (es una punta que está entre Paranas y Catbalogan, aunque más cerca de esta), alto ya el sol, y vio algunos de los que por la playa se iban huyendo, y no faltó quien le capeó y avisó cómo el enemigo estaba en la cabecera; que, sin este aviso,

the holy burden was too heavy for him. Soon, other people who were in hiding began to appear; among them was the wife of the *corregidor* with her two daughters who were completely naked since they quickly got out of bed and had no time to dress. All were in great need of clothing, but even more, there was a dire need of food since none had remembered or even given this a thought. Frightened and preoccupied with running away, no one made any effort to bring something along. And so the entire day, all were so hungry that they eventually overcame their hunger pangs. Meanwhile, the enemy remained in the town taking to the ships as much as he wished or as much as he possibly could find. And so, the church in Catbalogan, which was one of the best furnished in the region, was left even without a single cloth. In the *convento* they left pieces of furniture they were unable to haul away; rice and other foodstuffs which were of great need to those who were slowly returning to their houses. The Brother too came back to our house first to see the damage and then he proceeded to examine the place where he had left the *custodia santa* and the money. There he found them both intact for they were hidden in the most dense area of the pineapple patch and were not seen by the enemy. This was no small blessing! He then informed the Father who had returned that night to catch a bit of sleep in bed, if not slumber hopefully. Since he was very tired and exhausted, he ate some *linugao* that the Brother prepared for him and then slept like a log, as he was wont to relate later. His cassock and shirt served as his mattress, bed-sheets and whatever else is usually needed. To such inconveniences we, the apostles and missionaries, are always exposed.

In the case of the Superior of this *cabecera*, some special Providence of God had intervened; here we experience this many times although we are not conscious of it until these events pass. He was delayed in the town of Paranas where he was conducting a visitation for what reasons, I do not know. Since he was unable to depart so as to arrive in Catbalogan by dawn, he served a notice as was his custom. This said delay was enough to cause him to arrive near *Madalonot* (this is a cape located between Paranas and Catbalogan and nearer to the latter). Now because the sun had broken and was high, he was able to notice some of those who were fleeing along the seashore. There were some of these who crossed his path there and warned him about the enemy's presence

daba sin pensar con él: y con esto se volvió hasta tener otro de lo que pasaba, como lo tuvo el día siguiente, en que supo como todo lo habían robado sin dejar cosa de valor, chica ni grande, de la iglesia y de la casa, sino lo que no pudieron cargar de más volumen; conque dio gracias a Dios que le libró a él y a los Padres, aunque no las alhajas.

Y con esto, llevó de Paranas las necesarias para decir misa y lo demás concerniente a los santos sacramentos y su administración, mientras se disponía el hacerlos para adelante.

Lo que sólo tiene bueno este enemigo, ratero y vil, es que no quema, como los otros, las iglesias, casas y pueblos, sino que se los deja como estaban. Quizás será (aunque yo pienso que es por no detenerse a eso, que no le es de provecho) por dejar los nidos intactos donde pueda en otra ocasión coger los pájaros que en la primera se escapan.

Añado otra circunstancia, que añade más calamidad a este caso y aun denota alguna providencia especial de Dios; ésta es que en aquel pueblo de Catbalogan había en aquella sazón peste (que había comenzado el año antecedente en estas islas de Pintados y duró más de otro después), y con ser verdad que en tal coyuntura habían de ser muchos los muertos por el enemigo, no fueron sino muy pocos; porque si no fue cual o cual, que estaban muy al cabo, y por su gran flaqueza no pudieron huir, los demás se animaron a hacerlo (que, por estar el monte cerca, les fue más fácil); y así, alentándose, se escaparon, y aun oí decir que se escapó alguno que estaba ya oleado, y que él y otros con el susto y nuevo aliento que el miedo les causó, quedaron libres del contagio; que (según contaron algunos de los cautivos que después se escaparon) se le fue pegando al enemigo, con que llegó a su tierra con muchos menos de los suyos; de modo que, aunque vino por lana, volvió

in the *cabecera*. Perhaps, without this bit of information, he might have walked straight into their midst. Because of this complication, he turned back until he gathered more news as to what was really taking place. This he obtained the next day when he learned how the enemy had robbed everything without leaving behind one item of value in the church whether it was large or small or even in the *convento*. The only exceptions were the more bulky items which they could not cart away. Nonetheless, he gave thanks to God for sparing him and the others, although not the valuables.

Consequently, he took from Paranas² the items necessary for offering Mass and all that is needed for the administration of the other sacraments with provisions to replace these in the future.

The only good quality with which this vile and destructive enemy is endowed with, unlike the others, is the fact that he does not burn the churches, houses and towns; he leaves them as they are. Perhaps the reason for this is so that (although I am of the opinion that they do it to save time and because it is more profitable for them) he may, on another occasion, catch the birds that in the first attempt had escaped his claws.

I add here another circumstance which complicates the disaster and which even implies some special providence of God. At that particular time, in the town of Catbalogan, a pestilence was plaguing the townsfolk. It began the previous year here in these islands of the *Pintados*³ and lasted for about another year here. And although it is true that under such circumstances the number of those killed by the enemy should have been greater, they were much less. Aside from one or another who were very close to death and could not flee on account of their extreme weakness, the others took heart and fled for the woods which were not too far and it was easier for them to do so. I even heard it said that some who had received Extreme Unction were somehow freed from the contagion and were able to escape too; perhaps this was due to fright and new courage they gathered. Some of the captives, who later escaped, reported that the enemy was contaminated with this and thereby lost many of its men even before arriving to their own lands. And so, even if he came to get wool, he returned all the more shorn. The little clothing which the enemy stole from the natives and some of the sick with pestilence whom they carried away, contaminated them. So these /the

trasquilado, y, la poca ropa que hurtó a los indios y algunos de los enfermos que llevó cautivos, de los que no se dieron tanta prisa como debieran, etc., peleó por todos, y quiso Dios que, ya que de manos de los españoles que debían defender a estos pobres, se salían horros, pagasen en las de Dios y del contagio la carta de horro con sus vidas.

Fuele tan bien en esta primera salida y jornada al camucón (aunque con el contagio que llevaron, fueron muchos los que no volvieron más acá), que dispusieron el volver otra vez el año siguiente de seiscientos veintiséis, y así lo hizo, llegando a Catbalogan segunda vez, muy a lo seguro, como lo había hecho en la primera el año antecedente; pero, a la verdad, no logró esta segunda embestida tan bien como la primera, porque los PP. y el corregidor, que siempre fue muy afecto a ellos y éralo el capitán Juan de León Vandaló, se habían prevenido con una fuercecilla, o reducto, de palos solos, pero bastante para defenderse allí, aunque no para ofender a lo lejos, porque no tenían pieza aún de artillería (como poco después la hubo y sirvió muy bien, como veremos), ni aun otras armas de fuego en abundancia, sino cual o cual arcabuz mosquete, que tenían los españoles.

No llegó tan a la sorda el camucón esta vez como la pasada, pues fue sentido antes de los centinelas que avisaron con algún tiempo; aunque tan poco que apenas las personas solas de los españoles y sus mujeres se pudieron retirar a la fuercecilla; que ya los Padres por tenerla muy cerca de su casa, estaban en ella.

Llegó el camucón y quiso embestir así a nuestra casa e iglesia; pero alcanzábanles las balas de los arcabuces y mosquetes, y así se volvieron atrás; y, dando con sus embarcacioncillas (en otro lugar diremos cómo son) en la otra parte del pueblo, junto de una fuentecilla que nace en la misma playa, llamada Tomalistis, poco más de tiro de mosquete, se volvieron a desembarcar, y, abrigándose con las casas del pueblo, comenzaron a robar en algunas de ellas; pero, como en las casas de los indios no había cosa de monta, se fueron con poca vergüenza acercando a las de los españoles, y en especial a una que estaba la más cerca de la fuercecilla de palos, y

clothing, the captives and the contagion/ fought for all others and in behalf of all. And God saw to it that since they emerged free from any harm from the Spaniards who should have defended these poor people, they /the enemy/ would pay for all at the hand of God, through the curse of pestilence, with the price of their lives.

The *Camucones* fared so well in this first raid and expedition (although due to the disease with which they were contaminated many never again returned) that they made ready to return on the following year of 1626. And so it was that they arrived to Catbalogan for the second time as if to a place which belongs to them, as they did on the first occasion the previous year. In truth, however, they did not succeed in this onslaught as well as they did on the first one because the Fathers and the *corregidor*, who was always very devoted to them and whose name was Captain Juan de León Vandaló, prepared himself extremely well. He built a small fort or a redoubt out of logs only but good enough to defend himself from within, yet insufficient for an offensive since they were not provided with any artillery pieces. Afterwards they acquired one and it served them well. Neither were they provided with other firearms in any quantity, except one or another arquebus or musket which the Spaniards possessed.

The *Camucones* did not arrive this time as stealthily as in the past because this time the sentries caught sight of them and quickly passed the word around. However, there was so little time that only the Spaniards and their women were able to withdraw to the fort. Since the fort was so near, the Fathers were already there.

When the *Camucones* arrived and wished to storm our church and house under these circumstances, they fell within the range of the fire from the arquebuses and muskets; as a result, they turned their backs and began directing their small vessels toward another part of the town. There they landed again near a small spring which had its source on the seashore and was called *Tomalistis*; the distance was a little more than a musket-shot. Taking shelter in the houses of the town, they began ransacking some of them, but as the houses of the natives had nothing of value, feeling no shame they began moving in the direction of the houses of the Spaniards. They came close especially to the one that was near the fort; this one belonged to the scrivener of this jurisdic-

era del escribano de esta jurisdicción (que se llamaba el alférez Alonso de Alaras), que después fue contador y capitán en Cebú y murió viniendo de México por capitán y maestro de la nao *Encarnación* que se perdió en Bulan, como veremos en su lugar.

Como el escribano vio desde la fuertecilla que estaban ya dentro su casa y que iban descerrajando cajas y hurtando su hacienda, no lo pudo sufrir y más cuando oyó a un Hermano nuestro, que ya era otro el que estaba en Catbalogan, llamado Agustín Leal (que había sido en el siglo de los que llaman de la "hoz capera", y muy alentado y valiente, como era público acá, de todo el tiempo que había servido al rey nuestro señor en plaza de artillero y condestable, etc.), que dijo que aquello era deshonor de españoles, dejarse hurtar a sus barbas la hacienda; que los que lo fuesen, le siguiesen; que aquella befa no se podía sufrir sin discrédito de la nación y bríos españoles.

Cogió el Hermano un machete largo y una rodela que acaso topó, y saltó el primero de la fuercecilla, y tras él dicho escribano, cuyas cajas iban ya abriendo, y otros; que no llegaron a ocho por todos, aunque también se alentaron algunos indios a seguirles. Los camucones (que es gente vilísima) así que los vieron venir desde la casa donde estaban, y otros de las otras, sin esperar a bajar por las escaleras como habían subido, se echaban de las ventanas y corredores abajo, dejando no solo lo que habían comenzado a hurtar sino aun sus mismas lanzas (que pocos son los que las traen) y *asagaías* de *bacacaies*, que es su ordinaria arma; y, corriendo a toda prisa, se recogieron a sus embarcaciones, que algunos alcanzaron a nado, porque ya se habían levado, viéndolos volver tan despavoridos como si todo el mundo los viniera detrás (que tanto ánimo como éste es el suyo).

Y con esto, no llevaron esta vez de Catbalogan más presa que su prisa, ni más hacienda que el que contar de esta su apresurada retirada. Tanto como esto importó el retiro algo fuerte, no fortaleza, para poderlos esperar, y un ánimo alentado que se atrevió a despreciarlos y salirles a la cara, aunque ellos no les mostraron

tion. His name was Ensign Alonso de Alaras, who afterwards became purser and Captain in Cebu⁴ and died coming from Mexico as Captain and ship-master of the galleon *Encarnación*,⁵ which suffered shipwreck in Bulan, as we shall see in its place.

When the Scrivener saw from the little fort that they were inside his house and that they were unlocking the chests and robbing his belongings, he could no longer bear it. And even more so when he heard a remark of a Brother of ours who was now in Catbalogan and was called Agustin Leal (while out in the world he had been one of those who were called 'de la hoz capera'; he was very courageous and brave. This was common knowledge around here always and how he had served the King our Lord in the task of artilleryman and constable, etc.) who said that what was happening was a dishonor to the Spaniards. How could they allow themselves to be robbed of their belongings right under their very noses? Those who are true Spaniards should follow him; that this insult is intolerable and a discredit to the nation and to Spanish courage.

The Brother got hold of a long cutlass and a buckler which he found by chance and was the first to jump out of the fort. On his heels went out the Scrivener, whose chests they were forcing open already, and several others who numbered not more than eight in all. Some of the natives gathered up courage to follow them also. The *Camucones*, the most vile of all people, as soon they saw them coming from the house where they were, they did not trouble themselves going down-stairs as they came up, but plunged out of the corridors and through the windows down below. They left behind not only what they had begun to steal but also their own spears (those who bring them are very few) and *asagaías de bacacaies*⁶ which are their ordinary weapons. They ran speedily for shelter to their vessels which some reached only by swimming, because the vessels had already started sailing when they saw them running with such terror as if the whole world were closing in on their heels. Such as this is their courage!

And so this time, they did not carry away any other booty from Catbalogan than their haste; nor any other property than their stories about their quick retreat. To what wonderful advantage that little fort, not a fortress, stood out! It overpowered them! Only a courageous heart dared to challenge them and face them; they, in turn, only showed their backs. O!, if

más que las espaldas. ¡O, si hubiera quién a estos pobres les defendiera, y cuán fácil fuera!

CAPITULO 22

SALEN TAMBIEN LOS JOLOES A ROBAR ESTAS ISLAS.
ROBAN UN ASTILLERO Y LLEGAN HASTA
CATBALOGAN, AUNQUE SIN PROVECHO,
Y VA EL CAMUCON A IBABAO, etc.

Hemos ya llegado a la quinta y última diferencia de enemigos que comenzaron casi con la fe a perseguir, infestar y maltratar a nuestros bisayas, ya cristianos; y, parece que el enemigo común, viendo que se le iban de las manos tantos como con la fe cristiana le dejaban, armó, animó y sacó de sus tierras a los que no lo eran para que les infestasen fieles, no habiéndolo hecho antes cuando infieles aún por las razones que ya apuntamos arriba; que es cierto que no ha sido ni es poco contraste para su fe, ni poco riesgo y peligro para sus ministros (que en esto pasan y corren los mismos que ellos), y en parte más cuanto los montes, expuestos a las incomodidades y peligros de ellos, cuanto menos hechos estamos a semejantes retiros, que cada cual puede considerar cuáles son.

Son los joloes (como veremos en el Libro Quinto), descendientes de bisayas, y de que ellos se precian; y de los enemigos que salen a robar esta isla son los más alentados, briosos y mejores soldados que cualquiera de los otros, aun que los mindanaos.

El año de mil seiscientos y veintisiete, recién llegado a estas islas el maestre de campo Don Juan Niño de Tabora, gobernador de ellas; no trato de las calidad, cristiandad, celo y valor de este caballero, porque no es de mi instituto, virtudes todas de un buen gobernador cristiano que las tuvo todas con el valor y esfuerzo militar, bien conocido en Flandes. Los que escribieron las cosas de Manila y sus gobernadores, darán noticias; sólo digo en breve

there were only someone who would defend these poor ones! How simple it would be!

CHAPTER 22

THE JOLOANS SALLY FORTH ALSO TO PLUNDER THESE ISLANDS. THEY RAID A SHIPYARD AND REACH CATBALOGAN TO NO AVAIL, AND THE CAMUCONES GO TO IBABAO, ETC.

We now come to treat of the fifth and last kind of enemy who began to harass, molest and maltreat our Bisayans almost simultaneously with the beginnings of Christianity. It seems that the common enemy /Satan/, seeing that he was losing so many who were embracing the Christian Faith and who were deserting him, fortified, encouraged and enticed from their lands those who were not yet Christians so that they might harass those Bisayans who already became Christians. They did not molest them while they were still pagans for the reasons that we have previously pointed out. It is a fact that this had been no small burden on their Faith nor an insignificant risk and danger for the ministers (who in this regard suffer and run the same /risk/ as they /the faithful/ and in a way even a greater one, for it is more difficult and over-bearing for each priest to flee over the hills where he becomes exposed to discomforts and dangers. If we are so little unaccustomed to such or similar 'retreats' let each one just imagine what these must be like!

As we shall see in Book Five,¹ the Joloans² are descendants of the Bisayans and they take pride in this. Among the enemies who come to pillage this island, these are the most daring, energetic and better soldiers than any of the others, not excluding the Mindanaoans.

In the year 1627, the *maestre de campo* Don Juan Niño de Tabora,³ was a new arrival to these Islands and possessed many virtues as a Christian Governor (I do not treat of the noble qualities, Christian zeal, and courage of this gentleman). Together with these he possessed valour and military expertise so well known in Flanders. Those who wrote about the affairs of Manila and its Governors should make it known to us in greater

que, a lo que vi (que le alcancé vivo) y oí a los que le conocieron más, no ha pasado a estas Islas (sin agraviar a nadie), ni en calidad de sangre, ni en puestos de milicia y hazañas en ella, ni en virtud cristiana otro que le haya excedido ni aun quizás igualado.

Envió primero este caballero a Joló (diremos en su lugar dónde está esta isla y sus calidades, y de los moradores algo más, aunque en la Primera Parte dijimos sus pocos) a Don Cristóbal de Luego, y después al maestro de campo Don Lorenzo de Olaso, caballero de valor conocido, y ni el primero ni el segundo hicieron facción de monta; que el modo de pelear con estos indios ha de ser muy distinto del de Flandes y otras partes.

No trato de estas jornadas porque no hago Historia General ni Anales; y, aunque fueron tocantes a estas islas de Bisayas (pues a ellas pertenece la de Joló y sus adyacentes) mi intento es sólo escribir lo tocante a la fe, especialmente. Véanse los principios que hubo de ella después en lo de Joló (aunque duraron tan poco que sólo se quedaron en asomos) en la historia que imprimió de Mindanao nuestro Padre Francisco Combés con mucha elegancia y acierto.

Con ocasión de las invasiones que fueron a hacer a Joló los españoles, envió el régulo de aquellas islas a la ciudad de Manila por su embajador, oí, para ajustar, al parecer, paces, a Dato Hache, vasallo suyo indio, de tanto valor, esfuerzo y ardides militares, y tan alentado y mañoso que se puede contar entre los piratas de más nombre que ha habido, no digo por acá sino aun en el Africa; y es cierto que pudo competir con Barbarroja y con otros de los más nombrados por allá.

No fue despachado el contenido a su satisfacción en Manila; antes estuvo muy a pique, (según oí decir allí) de que no le hiciesen un flaco servicio allá y quitasen la vida (que quizás hubiera sido mejor si había causas); que con eso no hubiera hecho después los muchos asaltos, robos y muertes que hizo, dando principio a ellos (pues, vuelto a su tierra, revolvió luego acá

detail. I only put down in brief as I saw it (I arrived here when he was still living) and as I heard it from those who know more about him. There has not come to these Islands (without undermining anyone's good name) anyone else who may have excelled or even equalled him either in nobility of blood or in military rank, prowess or in Christian virtues.

This gentleman first sent to Joló (in its place we shall describe where this island is, its particular nature and a little more about its inhabitants even though in Part One we have said a little about it, Don Cristóbal de Luego and the *maestre de campo* Don Lorenzo de Olaso, a gentleman of well-known valour. Neither the first nor the second accomplished anything substantial because the manner of waging war against these *indios* must be very much different from that of Flanders or elsewhere.

I do not treat these expeditions because I am not writing a General History or any Annals. Although these have reference to the Bisayan Islands (because to them belongs Joló and its neighboring islands), my purpose is to write only about matters pertaining to the Faith in a more particular way. The beginning of this expedition as it occurred in Joló can be found (although they were so short-lived that they cannot be considered more than mere attempts) in the *History of Mindanao*⁴ which our Father, Francisco Combés, had written with elegance, accuracy and sent to the press.

During the invasion which the Spaniards made upon Joló, the King of this island sent to the City of Manila as his ambassador Datu Hache⁵ (I heard) so that he would conclude what seemed like a peace treaty. He was an Indian vassal endowed with great courage, strength and military astuteness. He was so brave and skillful that he may be considered among the most notorious pirates that ever lived. I do not say this in these regions here only, but even in Africa. Certainly, he can vie with Barbarossa and with others of greatest renown over there.

His mission in Manila was not expedited according to his wishes. On the contrary, he found himself in a serious predicament (as I heard it said) of becoming a victim of some foul play over there and almost lost his life (this might have been better if there were reasons for doing this). If this were the case, he would not have carried out the many attacks, raids and killings which he did. He left for his own land, returned as a head of a

con armada) con quemar el astillero nuestro que estaba en Bagatao, que cae en la isla de Manila, en la costa que mira hacia el sur, no lejos del embocadero grande de San Bernardino, y confín con la isla de Sámar a Ibabao y sus adyacentes, como Ticao, Burias, Masbate, Capul, etc., y no fue el mayor mal el de haber quemado la fábrica que estaba ya adelante, muerto al maestro mayor, llamado Juan Martín, con muchos otros; cautivando no pocos y entre ellos a la mujer de contramaestre, Doña Lucia, etc., sino que se llevó las piezas de artillería que tenían para su defensa, y con que hizo después tanto que, como veremos en su lugar, aunque de paso, costó muchas vidas de españoles el cogerle años después cuando fue allá el señor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera.

Robado y quemado el dicho astillero, pasó a la isla de Leyte, y parece que se dividió en dos tropas, pues la una (en que es cierto que no iba Dato Hache sino otro principal), llegó a la cabecera de Catbalogan, que ya estaba más prevenida que las veces pasadas, pues tenía ya una pieza de artillería de hierro colado, de buen porte; y aunque dio fondo, saltó en tierra más arriba del pueblo (en una punta llamada Cugao), que en bajamar queda toda en seco, de arrecifes y piedras descubiertas, no pudo hacer lances, porque de la fuercecilla la dispararon la pieza que llegó harto cerca de la embarcaciones, con que las retiraron más; y contra algunos de los más alentados, que iban caminado por la playa hacia el pueblo, salieron de emboscada, junto de la punta de Tomalistis, algunos indios a quien capitaneó un tagalo, llamado Don Andrés, que era alentado y se les opuso con hartos pocos compañeros al punto que llegaron a dar vista al pueblo, aunque algo lejos.

Con esta emboscada y con otra contingencia particular que fue que las bacas que había en dicho pueblo, recién sueltas del corral, se fueron por la playa adelante como acostumbraban; y, como era aún de mañana y estaban algo lejos, y delante de ellas se vinieron algunos indios que dispararon un arcabuz, entendieron que era tropa de gente que venía contra ellos, y, volviendo las

fleet and began burning our shipyard which was located in Bagatao⁶ on the Island of Manila and on the coast facing southwards and not far from the larger entrance of San Bernardino Strait, directly opposite of the Island of Samar and Ibabao and its neighboring /islets/ of Ticao, Burias, Masbate, Capul, etc. It was not the greatest evil to have burned the structure of the galleon which was well near its completion, having killed the *maestro mayor*, called Juan Martín, with many others; capturing not a few and among them the wife of the *contramaestre*, Doña Lucia, etc., but in addition to this, he carried off the artillery pieces that they had as their protection and with which later he did so much [damage] (as we shall see in its place but only in passing) that in order to trap him later it cost the Spaniards many lives when Señor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera⁷ went there.

After having raided and burned the said shipyard, they went on to the Island of Leyte where it seems they have divided themselves into two separate troops. One of these, wherein it seems certain that Datu Hache was not present but another *datu*, reached the *cabecera* of Catbalogan which was now better prepared than on previous occasions since it was provided with an artillery piece of cast iron and of good calibre. Although he anchored in one place, he went ashore somewhat further away from the town toward the cape called *Cugao*, which is a low point when the tide is out and where the reef and stones are exposed. But he was unable to catch any prey because they fired the artillery piece at him from the small fort and the canon-balls fell near the ships. In view of this, he retreated somewhat and pulled away with the vessels. Some of the more daring ones went walking along the shore toward the town while other natives were lying in ambush near the Cape of Tomalistis commanded by a Tagalo called Don Andrés. He was courageous and gave opposition with only a few followers as soon as they [enemy] appeared within viewing distance of the town, although not too close to it.

This ambush and another peculiar occurrence took place in this fashion: the cattle which they had in the said town was just released from its corral and stampeded along the sea-shore as was their custom. Since it was early morning and they were a bit far away with a few natives in front of them /the cows/, who fired the arquebus, they /enemy/ thought that they were a troop of people who were coming toward them and therefore, turning

espaldas, corrieron hacia sus embarcaciones y se acogieron a ellas y se levaron sin dejar hecho daño alguno; antes recibiendo algunas heridas, y no se supo si a algunos los llevaron muertos, que los rastros de la sangre lo demostraban.

Todo esto me contó el dicho Don Andrés algunos años después de este suceso; que él vivió más de doce después, fue muy fiel y diligente fiscal mayor de los PP. de Catbalogan, donde me refirió a mi lo dicho, y otros también, que entonces se habían hallado allí; y el que dispuso la pieza, hizo la puntería y la mandó disparar fue un Padre de los nuestros, llamado Martín de Lisalde, vizcaíno, gran ministro y lengua bisaya, que después murió en Capul, como veremos en su lugar.

La tropa en que iba el Dato Hache, como llevaba mejor caudillo, hizo más destrozos y robos. Entre otros pueblos que robó fue el de Ogmuc, dejándole abrasado con la casa de los PP. e iglesia y todas las de los indios; y, lleno de despojos y cautivos, se volvió a su isla de Joló, de donde en muchos años no paró de hacer salidas, siendo uno de los mayores piratas que infestaron estas Islas, y que llevó de ellas mucha cantidad de cautivos, como diremos en su lugar.

Tanto como esto montó el mal agasajo que le hicieron en Manila. Y lo malo es que no lo pagaron allá, sino estos pobres indios que no le debían cosa; que siempre los más flacos llevan la peor parte; y, como dijo el mejor de los satíricos romanos: *quidquid debuerant reges, plectuntur equivi(?)* La venganza que después se hizo en los joloos cuando fue allá el señor gobernador Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, tocaremos en su lugar.

En este mismo año que el joló andaba por estas islas de nuestros bisayas tan feroz, vino tercera vez el camucón, y fue la primera en que intentó salir del embocadero para afuera (que después acá lo ha hecho y hace muchas veces) y pasar a las costas de Ibabao (que por la braveza de sus mares parece habían de ser menos

around they ran towards their vessels. In them they sought protection and set sail without having inflicted any damage; on the contrary, they received some wounds. It was not ascertained whether they carried away some of the dead where traces of blood were evidence of it.

The said Don Andrés related this incident to me some years later. He lived for more than twelve /years/ afterwards and was a very faithful and diligent 'fiscal' of the Fathers in Catbalogan, where he related this incident to me and just as I have recalled it here. Also others who have found themselves in this situation at the time did the same. The individual who set-up the artillery piece, aimed and fired it was a Father of ours, called Martin Lissalde,⁸ a Viscayan and a great minister and Bisayan linguist who later died in Capul as we shall see in its proper place.

The fleet commanded by Datu Hache, since it was under more capable leadership, caused terrible havoc and devastation. Ormoc, from among the many towns, was left in ashes together with the house of the Fathers, the church and all the houses of the natives. Overflowing with spoils and captives the enemy returned to his Island of Joló where for many years he never ceased making his sorties since this one was one of the most successful pirates who harrassed these islands and who took from them a good number of captives, as we shall say in its place.

And so all this was the result of the bad reception which was accorded him in Manila. And the more regrettable thing is that they did not suffer any set-back over there, but all was borne by these poor natives who were not responsible for anything. Always, it is the weaker ones who are made to suffer; or as the best of the Latin satirical poets put it: "The subjects are punished for what the kings are guilty of." Now about the punishment inflicted upon the Joloans afterwards when the Lord Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera went there, we shall speak about it in its place.

During these same years when the Joloans came over to these islands of our Bisayans so violently, the *Camucon* arrived for the third time and it was the first attempt they made through the mouth of the strait into the wide open sea (and ever since he had succeeded, he repeats this many times) and passed over to the coasts of Ibabao (here, because of the turbulent ocean, it seems

cursados; pero, como comenzó y como le salió bien, ha proseguido hasta ahora, y proseguirá, pues no hay quien se lo impida).

Llegó, pues, en ocasión que un Padre nuestro que venía de Manila, recién llegado de España, o de Italia, que fue el Padre Baltasar de Porticela, venía a ser ministro de estos naturales, como lo fue muchos años después; y, aunque vieron de algo lejos la embarcación en que dicho Padre iba y la siguieron un buen rato, desconfiaron de alcanzarla y se volvieron atrás; con que llegó el Padre con bien a Catbalogan y dio las nuevas de dicho enemigo (que allí no se sabían aún), con lo cual se dispusieron; y, después, como veremos luego, cuando volvieron de las costas de Ibabao, les dieron en caperuza.

Pasó, pues, el embocadero y la temida punta de Baliquatum, sin daño; llegó al pueblo de Viri, que entonces estaba aún en la isla de este nombre (que es la primera que se topa saliendo del embocadero afuera hacia el Oriente, algo apartada hacía el Sur de la isleta de San Bernardino, que como dijimos ya, es la que da su nombre al dicho embocadero); quemaron la iglesia y pueblo de dicho Viri y robaron todo cuanto hallaron; aunque no fue mucho, porque allí no había alhajas ni ornamentos algunos, y así sólo material padeció con algunos cautivos que alcanzaron por pies.

De allí pasaron (sin entrar en esta ocasión a los pueblos que están en el camino, pero metidos los ríos muy adentro) a la isla de Lauang, y por poco alcanzan allí al Padre Pascual de Acuña, de quien dijimos ya que fue cautivo de los caragas, y entonces era rector de la residencia de Palapag, cuya visita más cercana es Lauang (que así se llama también el pueblo del mismo nombre de la isla).

No hallaron qué robar en él, y así quemáronle con la iglesia y casas del pueblo, que eran pocas y malas; pero no se volvieron todos; que algunos quedaron muertos, alanceados de los naturales de dicha isla, de la cual no llevaron cautivo alguno, porque estaban

that this should be navigated with minimal frequency; but as the enemy began with favorable results it had continued to do so repeatedly up until now and will go on because there is no one to impede him).

The enemy, therefore, arrived at a time when one of our Fathers was coming from Manila to be a minister among these natives; he was Father Baltasar de Porticela,⁹ a new arrival from Spain or from Italy, who was to be a minister among these natives and who remained so for many years to come. Although they saw from afar the boat in which the said Father was /sailing/ and pursued it for a good while, they eventually lost hope of catching-up with it and turned back. The Father, therefore arrived safely to Catbalogan, where he informed everyone of the presence of the said enemy (for it was not as yet known). Upon learning about this, they prepared themselves and afterwards as we shall soon see, they frustrated the attempts of the enemy when they were returning from the coasts of Ibabao.

The enemy, therefore, sailed through the *embocadero*¹⁰ and the much-feared Cape of Baliquatum without any disaster and arrived at the town of Viri;¹¹ it was located on the island of the same name (it is the first island one encounters when leaving the *embocadero* towards the east. It is a little towards the south of the Islet of San Bernardino which, as we have said already, is the one which gave the strait its name). They burned the church and town of Viri and carried away all that they were able to find, although it was not too much since there was nothing of value nor any sacred vestments. And thus, there were only some material losses and a few captives who were caught while running away from them.

And so from there they went on (without entering any of the towns along the way on this occasion, which are situated rather inland on the banks of rivers) to the Island of Lauang,¹² where they almost captured Father Pascual de Acuña, about whom we have already said that he was a captive of the Caragas. He was at that time, Rector of the Palapag¹³ residence, whose nearest *visita* was Lauang (the town bears the same name as the islet).

They did not find anything worthwhile stealing; so they put it to the torch where there were only a few, poorly constructed ones. Not all the raiders were able to escape because some of them were killed and speared by the natives of the said island and

ya prevenidos y habían escondido con tiempo a las mujeres, niños y viejos en la mayor de delante, que es la grande de Ibabao.

De Lauang pasaron a la barra del río de Palapag, cabecera de todo lo de Ibabao. Estaba en ella de visita el Padre Provincial Juan de Bueras (que ni los Provinciales se escapan acá de estos riesgos; antes es uno de los mayores que tienen acá cuando salen a visitar), y se vio obligado a retirarse al monte y esconderse en él; que era sólo el único refugio de por acá antes que se hiciesen las fuercecillas que, como veremos, se han ido haciendo en varias partes. Allá pasó algunos días con las comodidades que un monte raso, con aguas, serenos, sanguijuelas, mosquitos y otras mil sabandijas ofrecen con abundancia, y más con el poco repuesto que se pudo llevar con la prisa, que fue solo un poco de bizcocho y alguna fruta seca (que mucho seco era necesario para tantas humedades).

Quedóse el Padre rector en la cabecera para animar y juntar los indios, que se juntaron algunos; y, mientras iban a reconocer al enemigo, uno de ellos disparó un arcabuzazo en ocasión que estaba dudándose si entraría o no en el río (que si no es en pleamar y de grande marea, no se puede llegar al pueblo, sino con balotos pequeños, y estos arrastrando).

Como oyeron la respuesta, echaron de ver que eran ya sentidos, y así se volvieron atrás sin tratar de subir al pueblo (tan vil y cobarde como esto es este enemigo), y el mismo día se volvieron por la misma parte por donde habían venido hacía el embocadero; con lo cual avisaron al Padre Provincial, que volvió a la cabecera y dio muchas gracias a Dios de verse libre de los enemigos y del riesgo que habían corrido con ellos; y entonces, por asegurarse, se subió al río de Catubig; y su compañero, que lo era el Padre Juan López, al de Panbuhán, que uno y otro están bien lejos de la mar, aunque ni por esto se escapó el de Panbuhán en otra ocasión, como veremos.

from which they were unable to carry-off any captives because they were on the alert. They had hidden the women and children on time and the elderly men in the bigger island fronting it; namely, the large Island of Ibabao.

From Lauang they sailed on to the mouth of the river of Palapag, which is the *cabecera* of all Ibabao. The Father Provincial, Juan de Bueras,¹⁴ was there on a 'visitation' (not even Provincials are spared here from these dangers; on the contrary, this is one of the greatest difficulties which they encounter when they arrive here for the visitation), and it was necessary for him to withdraw to the mountains and hide there. That was the only shelter over here before the small forts were constructed and which, as we shall see, were put up in several places.

There he spent several days in the midst of the comforts which the rolling mountains /provided/, in the swamps, under the sky at night, in the midst of the leeches, mosquitoes and a thousand other small and nasty insects or reptiles in great abundance. Added to this difficulty was the small amount of food that was taken along in the midst of all that hurry and which consisted in a few biscuits and some dry fruits (a lot of that 'dryness' was necessary so as to counter-act that humidity).

The Father Rector /meanwhile/ remained in the *cabecera* so as to give spirit and bring the natives together, as /eventually/ some did gather together. As they were going to reconnoitre the enemy, one of them fired an arquebus at a moment just when the enemy was deliberating whether or not to enter the river (for when it is not a high and a strong tide, one cannot reach the town /by way of river/ except with a small *baloto* and only by dragging it. When they heard the shot, they realized that they had been detected and so they turned back without trying to go up to the town (how wicked and cowardly this enemy really is). And so on the same day they returned the same way they arrived here, towards the *embocadero*. Thereupon they informed the Father Provincial who returned to the *cabecera* and expressed great thanks to God for keeping him free from the enemy and from the danger which he ran into on their account. And so for greater security he went up to the Catubig River while his companion, Father Juan Lopez went to the river of Pambuhan, both being far from the sea. Notwithstanding this, the town of Pambuhan was not spared on another occasion as we shall see. And it is good to remember

Y es de advertir que esta coyuntura de retirada y trabajo de recogerse al monte el Padre Provincial y su compañero, era ya en ellos llover sobre mojado, como suelen decir, pues había pocos días que habían escapado de un grande riesgo de la vida.

Este fue que, viniendo embarcados desde Manila para esto de Pintados o Bisayas en una *caracoa*, que acá llamamos, suficientemente capaz y bien esquipada de indios bisayas, los mejores remeros y mejor gente de mar, aunque no todos igualmente (porque hay *iraias* entre ellos, que ya dijimos lo que son) de todas estas islas. Navegaron costearo la isla de Manila y, trayéndola siempre a mano izquierda hacia el embocadero; que la derrota era para Palapag, que está fuera de él, quedó en el tablaje, que llaman de Marinduque.

Es ésta una isla de medio tagalos y medio bisayas (como diremos en su lugar), que cae entre la grande isla de Manila (que la tiene hacia el Norte) y la de Mindoro (que la cae a la parte del Sur); y así, por el un lado como por el otro es aquel distrito de mar (que tendrá de cuatro a cinco leguas de ancho, poco más o menos, a uno y otro lado) de los malos, sino de los peores de estas Islas, por alterarse allí mucho los mares con furiosas corrientes, y se han perdido en uno y otro lado muchas embarcaciones grandes, y aun galeones; pues de una vez sorbió allí la mar seis, sin que hasta hoy se haya visto rastro de ellos.

En este paraje, pues, aunque más cerca de la isla de Manila, pasada la grande ensenada que llaman de Batangas, les dio un temporal tan recio que fue necesario acogerse a la tierra, cerca de una punta que llaman de Calilaya, y probar de meterse dentro de un río, suficientemente capaz, que está allí, aunque sin pueblo cerca.

Hicieron sus diligencias, y fue suerte topar el río de plena mar, para poder pasar su barra (que son siempre las peligrosas por acá) y meterse dentro, como lo intentaron hacer y lo consiguieron; si bien cuando pensaban escapar el mayor riesgo, se hallaron en no menor peligro.

Tenía el río, al fin de la barra, ya dentro de la madre, una punta de arrecife, que con la marea llena y rebentazón /sic/ de las olas, no se veía bien de lejos. Rompieron estas a fuerza, diremos; y cuando estaban casi seguros, a su parecer, reconocieron el

that this incident of fleeing and trial of seeking shelter in the woods on the part of the Provincial and his companions was in their case like "rain on wet ground" as they were wont to say; since it was only a few days when they had escaped from a serious threat of death.

It was like this: they were coming aboard a *caracoa*¹⁵ as we call it here, from Manila and bound for the Bisayas. It was sufficiently large and well-manned by the Bisayan natives who are the best rowers and navigators among all these islanders. However, not necessarily all of them or to the same degree since among them are *iraias* (we have already said who these are). They were coasting along the Island of Manila, having it always on their left, towards the *embocadero*. The vessel was making its way for Palapag which lies outside of the strait. They made a stop in the *tablaje* as they call it in Marinduque. This is an island inhabited by half-Tagalogs and half-Bisayans and as we shall see in its place, which is located between the large Island of Manila (it is on its north) and that of Mindoro (located towards the south). And so on one side and on the other is the sea (which might be four or five leagues wide, more or less from one side to the other) extremely dangerous if not the worst in the islands. Because this sea becomes very stormy there with turbulent currents, many large ships and even galleons have been lost on one or the other side. On one occasion the sea swallowed six /ships/ where up until now there is no trace of any of them.

In this area, therefore, and closer to the Island of Manila having left the large Bay of Batangas, they were stricken with such stormy weather that they were forced to look for shelter on land, near the cape which they call Calilaya and to look into the possibility of getting into a river large enough which was there even though there was no town nearby.

They took all necessary steps and were fortunate enough to find the river at high tide which would permit them to enter (here they are always dangerous because of the sandbars). They made the attempt and succeeded; thinking they have overcome the greatest danger, they soon found themselves in a more serious one.

The river had, at the end of its entrance and well embedded, a pointed reef which the high tide and the beating waves prevented from being seen from afar. They managed to break through the waves, we might say, and when they were almost safe, as they

peligro de los bajos, tan a tiempo crudo que, turbados los que gobernaban, y más un hermano nuestro (que era harto diestro en cosas de la mar, aunque poco dichoso en ella), en lugar de decirles a los remeros: *Sibug*, que quiere decir “virar hacia atrás”, les dijo: *daion*, que es “pasemos adelante”; y el pasar fue dar en las peñas y abrirse la embarcación como una granada que, aunque por las cates y andumios (que ya dijimos tienen por acá todas las embarcaciones de algún porte), no se fue luego a pique, pero hundióse, quedando dentro del agua todo, y los Padres con no poco peligro de ahogarse.

Sacáronles de él la diligencia de los indios que en estos casos son como peces, y trabajan famosísimamente. Lleváronlos a tierra (con no poco consuelo de los Padres de pisarla); pero ella toda era un pantano (como son comúnmente por acá las que no están en las playas de tierra, por ser manglares espesísimos). Con los cayarnes, que ya nadaban encima del agua, les hicieron sendas chozuelas en la parte que se halló más enjuta; pero ni tenían qué mudarse, empapados en agua, ni qué comer, que todo se había hundido.

Hiciéronles fuego, con que ya una parte antes y otra después de los vestidos que llevaban puestos fue cada cual enjugando a sus solas. Buscaron los indios algo de arroz par comer ellos y los Padres, pues en el paraje, ni muchas leguas de allí no había pueblo ni de dónde sacar qué comer; mucho peligro sí de negrillos del monte (que los hay no pocos por aquel paraje); y con esto esperaron la misericordia de Dios; que estos son los gajes de nuestros Padres Provinciales por acá, y el dicho Padre Juan de Bueras tuvo poca dicha en sus navegaciones, de que Dios le sacó salvo siempre, aunque bien malparado no pocas veces.

Buscaron también los indios lo demás que pudieron de la ropa y trastos de los Padres, en especial las petacas de libros y papeles,

thought, they became aware of the danger of getting into shallow waters, and all happened so suddenly, that those who were piloting the boat lost their bearings, especially our Brother (who was very skillful in the art of navigation, although not too blessed in its actual execution), who instead of telling the rowers "Sibug" which means, reverse or row backward, he shouted, "Daion!" which means 'let us go forward' or 'come on'. And so 'to come' meant to run against the reef and the ship opened-up like a pomegranate. But with the outriggers and *andumios*¹⁶ (which we have already said that all boats with a certain tonnage are provided over here) it did not sink at once. However, it went down half-way with all its cargo under water and the Fathers were in no small danger of drowning.

The quick response of the natives extricated them from this danger. In situations like this they are like fish and their resourcefulness is deserving of all praise. They helped them ashore and the fathers were extremely happy stepping upon it but it was all swamps (which is a common thing here since the sea-shores are not sandy and are heavily covered with mangrove. From the *cayarnes*¹⁷ which were floating over the water, they made for them two small shacks in a more dry place. They had no change of clothes, soaked as they were, nor did they have anything to eat since all went to the bottom.

The natives made a fire for them and each one of the Fathers took his turn drying first the front of himself and then the back. The natives searched for some rice so that they and the Fathers may have something to eat because in that place, or even for many leagues around, there was no town nor even a place where to find something to eat. On the other hand, there was much danger from the *Negritos*¹⁸ coming from the mountains (there are not a few of them in that area). And having done all that they possibly could, they waited for the mercy of God. These are the hardships of our Father Provincials here. The said Father Juan de Bueras was very unfortunate with his sea travels from which, nonetheless, God brought him out to safety even though he was badly tried several times.

The natives also searched, as much as possible, for the clothing and belongings of the Fathers, especially for the leather bags containing books and papers. They were lucky enough to find

que fue harta dicha hallarse algunos, que les sirvió de entretenimiento el lavarlos y solearlos mientras buscaban remedio.

Había sido el Padre Juan López ministro del pueblo de Bondoc, que cae en aquella costa, aunque algo lejos del paraje donde sucedió el naufragio; y, por haberlo dejado ya la Compañía por lo malsano y apartado, era ya, y es hoy, de clérigos (aunque están los pueblos la tierra adentro por miedo de los enemigos). Fue allá con algunos de los indios pláticos con no poco trabajo, que después lo contaba él mismo (y se lo oí no pocas veces) con harta prisa y mucha viveza.

El Hermano, de los trozos de la embarcación, procuró hacer una bien mala y mal aderezada; pero ni el tiempo ni el lugar lo daban para más. Dispuesta ésta, aunque tal cual (porque el Padre compañero no hallaba avío ni volvió tan presto), se embarcó en ella el Padre Provincial hasta Capul; y de allí, algo mejorado pero nada mejor abastecido, pasó a Palapag, adonde llegó después de algunos días su compañero con no mejor comodidad.

Y cuanto trataban de descansar del naufragio pasado, les sucedió la retirada y huída al monte; porque se verifique, y más lo experimentamos los que acá estamos despacio, lo del Apóstol: *Periculis in mari, periculis in solitudine, etc.*

Este es el naufragio del Padre Provincial; que me pareció ponerlo aquí porque sucedió en aquellos primeros años y en la sazón del enemigo que íbamos contando.

Al enemigo camucón, cuando volvía de retirada de lo de Ibabao, lo esperó en lo de Samar (que es su ordinario camino y es donde más daño hace y ha hecho todos los años), el corregidor, que lo era aún el capitán Juan de León; que, como práctico y diestro en esto de por acá, no lejos de Catbalogan con algunas embarcaciones medianas, que armó, de los pocos españoles, entre cobradores y otros aventureros que pudo juntar.

some which they enjoyed washing and drying in the sun while they too were searching for a solution to their predicament.

Father Lopez had been a minister in the town of Bondoc, which is situated on that coast, although quite far from the place where the shipwreck occurred. Since already then the Society had given up the area because it was too remote and rather unhealthy. It was then as it is today a ministry of the secular clergy (the towns are inland, however, for fear of the enemies). He went there with some natives, familiar with the region, with no little difficulty but with much speed and haste, as he himself often recalled (I heard it myself from him not a few times).

And so from the salvaged portions of the boat, the Brother made another one which was rather poor and not well constructed, since he neither had the time nor did the place allow him to make anything better. This completed in a rather tolerable manner, the Father companion in the meantime did not find any provisions nor did he return too soon) and the Father Provincial embarked in it as far as Capul. And from there, with a little improvement but by no means better provisioned, he passed on to Palapag, where his companion arrived some days later with no better means either.

When they were contemplating in taking a respite from the past shipwreck, again they were forced to flee to the hills. So much so that what the Apostle says: "Periculis in mari, periculis in solitudine, etc."¹⁹ might be fulfilled. We who stay here permanently, have plenty of experience with all this.

Such was the [story] about the shipwreck of the Father Provincial. I have written about it here because it occurred during these first years [of our ministry] and at a time when the enemy was around here [i.e. plaguing and raiding these islands].

The *corregidor*, who at that time was still Captain Juan de Leon, a man of experience and skill in these matters over here, waited in the Samar area (this is the ordinary route by which the enemy causes and had caused so much damage every year) for the *Camucon* enemy. It was in a place not too far from Catbalogan and with a few boats of average tonnage which he was able to fortify. [In this] he was aided by a few Spaniards; some of them were tax-gatherers and others were adventurers whom he was able to muster.

Antes de salir, ofreció a la Virgen de Catbalogan (que la primera vez la habían acuchillado los camucones y héchole dos rasguños uno en el rostro y otro en el cuello) y al Niño Jesús, que tiene en sus brazos (es la imagen de bulto entero y estatura ordinaria), otro que le cogía casi todo el cuello (aunque después la renovaron y quitaron estas señales), que le daría el pillaje que hiciese a los enemigos, y de ello se labraría una corona de plata y otra el Niño Jesús (que hoy las tienen ambos en las cabezas).

Con esta buena propuesta le salió la empresa dichosa; topó al enemigo, peleó con él, aunque su pelear fue huyendo, que nunca el camucón espera cara a cara; cogióle algunos navichuelos con lo que había en ellos, robado o suyo, aunque poca gente, porque ellos, viéndose acosados, dejan las embarcaciones y se tripulan en otras para remar más y huir más a prisa; y con esto, vitorioso, se volvió a Catbalogan, donde cumplió lo que había ofrecido a la Virgen.

Y esta sola vez, desde entonces hasta hoy, se le ha dado pellizco considerable a este enemigo, y el que, más se aventajó (porque no lo dejemos sin alabanza que se le debe) fue un soldado mancebo, mozo entonces, hoy es sargento mayor, y, cuando escribo esto, alcalde mayor y castellano de Caraga, llamado Martín Sánchez, que mostró entonces sus muchos bríos y valor, peleando como un Cid, y siempre lo ha mostrado después acá; que no es bien que dejemos sin su loa, aunque breve, de quien por sus manos y hazañas merece eternamente memoria.

Prior to putting out to sea, he offered to the Virgin of Catbalogan (the first time it had been knifed by the *Camucones* who made two slashes: one on her face and the other on her neck) and to the Child Jesus whom she bore in her arms (the image is a full life-size statue) and which had a deep slash in its neck. Afterwards, however, both were restored and these marks were removed. He promised to present to her /the Virgin/ all the booty that he would take from the enemies so that it may be used in fashioning a crown of silver for her and another for the Child Jesus (today both have them on their heads).

And so with this fine pledge, his enterprise was a success. He encountered the enemy, engaged him in battle, (the enemy's manner of fighting consists in flight; the *Camucones* never fight face to face) and captured some small vessels with all they carried, stole or which was theirs. [They caught only] a few captives because when they are fiercely pursued, they leave their ships and transfer to others so as to row more vigorously and thereby flee more quickly. Once this was accomplished, he returned victoriously to Catbalogan where he fulfilled what he had promised to the Virgin.

This was the only occasion between them and till today [i.e. c. 1640] that this enemy was pressed so considerably. The one who excelled most (may we not deprive him of praise that is due him) was a young soldier, an up-start then; today he is a *sargento mayor* and as I write this an *alcalde mayor* and a *castellano* of Caraga, named Martín Sánchez. At that time he gave proof of his great strength and valour, fighting like 'Cid'. As previously so now too he has proved himself the same. It is not improper to conclude here with some due praise, although brief, for him whose bravery and prowess deserves a lasting remembrance.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 20

¹ He was born in Muratalla and in the Diocese of Murcia, Spain on December 27, 1584. He entered the Jesuit Society in the Province of Toledo on October 9, 1600 and arrived in the Philippines on July 16, 1606. He died in Manila on September 3, 1659. (de la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 613).

² It should read ELIHAN. This was a place of refuge in times of attack and a shelter inaccessible to the Muslim or pagan pirates.

"It was also their custom in the olden days and a very common practice to look for certain elevated places or hillocks, and sometimes really high mountains with steep cliffs to protect themselves from the enemy. Also it was on these *elihan*, as they called them, that they built *gamoros* (settlements).

"In some pueblos... the *elihan* was near the town where they retired in time of enemy attack. Some of them are such that they scarcely have a path for one person, and very rough at that. And even though it is rough, they make it more so by design, cutting the rocks or the earth and making it steeper. There they have portable ladders which they make very long and very easily with bamboo. These they place or take away by pulling them up, and so they live safely from all invasion. Providing there whatever they may need for their sustenance, they secure themselves in these places for as long as the need lasts." (Alcina, *op. cit.*, Part I, Lib. 4, chapter 2).

³ He was an Italian Jesuit, Giovanni Domenico Bilanci, born in Licii, Kingdom of Naples, Italy in the year 1573. He entered the Society on September 27, 1589 and arrived to the Philippines on May 1, 1602.

⁴ "This is a very common dagger of the Bisayans the shape of which is similar to the iron tip of their lances called *songil*. However, it is somewhat thinner and without the angle or squared shape in which these tips end at its bottom. The small ones are about a *palm* in length and have a handle shaped in the form of a cross. They grasp the end of this between the index finger and the middle one and therefore avoid the possibility of being wounded from above or from below.

"They make use of these weapons when trapped at such close distance that they are unable to utilize the lances. Whenever they use them, and they always carry them along, they have them tied to their wrist with a cord so as not to lose control. Attached to this cord they are accustomed to carry tuft of hair which came from their concubines; or sometimes the tails of squirrels or other similar things of this nature. These too are customarily dyed. They call this little distinguishing feature a *colili* and it is a kind of fetish of the young men. A Bisayan who does not carry along his *baladao* is rare indeed; even the very young boys carry one. (Alcina *op. cit.*, Part I, Lib. 4, cap. 10).

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 21

¹ "Dióse este nombre, que no se usa ya en la etnografía moderna, a los piratas que ocupaban unas islitas, actualmente sujetas al rey de Borneo, comprendidas entre ésta y Tautai. Cuando robaron el pontifical del arzobispo, hallábase aquel prelado girando la visita diocesana en el partido de Bondoc. Los camucones fueron los que martirizaron al P. Juan de las Misas, cogiéndole en la travesía que intentaba hacer entre Tayabas y Marinduque." Francisco Combés, *Historia de Mindanao, Joló y sus adjacentes*. (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897), "Vocabulario etnográfico," Tabla Quinta, col. 777.

² This town is situated on the western coast of the island of Samar at the mouth of a river on the NE shore of Maqueda Bay and ten miles East of Catbalogan.

After about the first decade of American occupation, the town's name had been changed from Paranas to Wright, after one of the American Governors, Luke E. Wright. To this very day, however, many people still refer to the town as Paranas.

"Paranas vel palanas, laja o losa de piedra al modo de las piedras: paranasun, vel, palanasun. Donde hay estas losas." Mateo Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya*, (Don Gaspar Aquino de Belén: Manila, 1711), A typescript copy of the microfilm, p. 483.

See also: Fr. Félix Huertas *Estado... 1865*, pp. 307-308 and *Ensayo de una Síntesis de los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas de Filipinas*, ed. por el P. Valentín Marín y Morales, dominico, Vol. II, p. 134 (Manila: 1901), Vol. II, p. 134.

For a very interesting and a highly informative description of the town of Paranas and other twelve towns of Samar Island in the year 1775, it would be extremely worthwhile to consult two excellent manuscript documents found in the Franciscan Archives of Pastrana (now newly-transferred to Madrid and known as the Franciscan Ibero-American Archives). A. P. Caj. 41, leg. 3, "Descripción de los trece pueblos de que se hizo cargo nuestra Provincia de Sámar, por Fr. Joaquín Martínez, Ms. 12 hojas en folio, 1775," and "Relación de la visita hecha a Sámar por el mismo. Contiene relaciones de las costumbres de los samareños; armas de que disponen para su defensa de los moros; estipendios que cobran los doctrineros y atraso en que se encuentran los pueblos, escrito por cada uno de las doctrineros que administran los pueblos de dicha Provincia, Ms. 28 hojas, en folio, 1775," especialmente folios 5-6v.

Also very valuable material for the early history of Paranas may be culled from the Archivum romanum societatis Jesu (ARSI) *Litterae annuae* (Samar y Leite) *Phil.* 5, 1596-1612; *Phil.* 6 (I), 6 (II), and 6 (II), and 7 (III) 1620; *Phil.* 7 (I) 1631; *Phil.* 8, 1640-1749. Mss.

³ This is a Spanish term, of course, and it means 'the painted ones' or better, people who are tattooed. Cf. *Leyte-Samar Studies*, 'Alzina's Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas...1668,' Vol. IV, No. 1, 1970 (Cantius J. Kobak), pp. 17-26.

⁴ This island is situated in the central Philippines and belongs to the Western Bisayan group of islands (the other three are: Panay, Negros and Bohol).

Cebu is the Spanish form for the Bisayan variants: Sugbu, Subu, Sogbo, Sibú or even Sugbong. The term seems to be derived from the Bisayan

"Sogbo (vel Sobo) — meter en el agua, no todo sino parte; y los que bañan, cuando todo el cuerpo..." Sánchez, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

Alzina, in his *Historia... 1668*, has a very interesting comment on the term and on Cebu as a city itself.

"We begin with that which is today considered the chief city among the Bisayans (though among them they never explicitly recognized nor now recognize it as such, since as we have seen all of them were mutually independent), and the first where the Spaniards set foot on landing in these islands, namely, *Sugbo*. This is the name in Bisayan, and it has two meanings pertaining to the function and the location of the *poblacion*. One meaning is from 'ombro', by which those who gave it this name would indicate perhaps that it was (like the shoulders of the human body) that which sustained and carried the burden of communication and trade, as do all cities. Or perhaps they gave it this name because in this language it has another meaning, namely, to throw itself into the water, because it was (and still is, though only a small portion remains) on a beach or tongue of land which seems about to plunge into the waters of the sea. Level with it there is a beautiful plain, surrounded and capped on almost all sides by hills, which if they are not very tall were still high enough to make the lowland flats deserve their name; and if, as we shall see, all or nearly all the large settlements of the ancient Bisayans were completely in the water, as is said of Venice, or partly in the water and partly on the beach, as are some places in Europe, this settlement which seemed ever about to slip into the water was quite fittingly given this name. (Still, the name might have been given in a spirit of moralizing). There is a third derivation for the word *Sugbo* which means 'sadness'. The significance of this name was a token of what the devil must have felt on seeing himself, as he did, deprived of this city, which was the first in which the Faith began to be established in these islands, not merely of the Bisayans but of the Philippines or of Luzon which comprise all those of the Archipelago. Even though there are not yet many of them under the standard of the Christian Faith — I do not know whether there are more lacking it than it, or not — (as we shall see in another place), nevertheless, the name 'sadness' which either was imposed upon or was the significance of this word was most appropriate to make the devil sorrowful as was abundantly clear at the beginning. For great things began here. The faith has spread afterwards into other islands, and God willing, will continue to spread until all the islands will end subject to the yoke of the Gospel (would that we all may see this!).

The particular location of this city, when and how our holy Catholic Faith began there, we shall treat in another part. Of the notable things which it has in its present state; concerning its population and size in the olden days before the Spaniards arrived here, this is the subject matter of the present chapter. We shall say something of what we have heard from some of the natives, for I was able to speak to not a few of those who had already reached the age of reason when the Spaniards arrived to make permanent settlement. /We shall also report/ what these saw and heard from their elders, who were those found in this city by Magellan, the first to arrive there when he discovered the straits which to the present day are called by his name, and who died as later we shall state in the Island of Magtan near Sugbu or Sibuyan, as the Spaniards now call it, corrupting the word. Only a narrow arm of the sea separates them across which a stone could be thrown by someone with a strong throwing arm, and any arquebus or musket could overshoot the distance. It is a good anchorage able to take sea-going vessels even though they may be very large; the port is big enough /for/ a great number of such ships, and it is protected by reason of its being surrounded by land on all sides, with just the above-mentioned channel on the east. This faces toward what they call today Engaño Point (because it has deceived many who do not know the channel, and not just a few have been lost there. By the part which faces south or southeast another opening emerges toward what today is called Sebu el viejo or Talisay.

If what these old people say is true, and I have heard it from them on various occasions, we can say that the settlement, let's call it the ancient city of Zibu, was one of the biggest and perhaps the largest of these islands. For not only did it run along the coast from east to west forming a half-moon by more than a half league in extent from the place which today is called Mandawi down to what is the Spanish city; it went beyond today's city toward the southwest and as far as what today is called Talisay, more than another half league. From Mandawi east for a quarter league I have seen, and there can still be seen, the stumps of what they call *harigues*, which are the posts or columns on which they base, support, and build their houses. Hence, the old settlement stretched for a league and a half in length along the beach. How many rows of houses and how many streets there were I have not been able to discover for certain. They merely say that they were many, and that the entire plain back of the mountains which today they call San Jose (because there is a *visita* over there of this saint, and a church for *Indios* subject to the Padres of San Agustin the first teachers and preachers of the faith in these islands as we shall see in due season) was filled with houses, even though they were not arranged in any order. The leader of Zebu could at the sound of the bell (which as we have seen they call *agong* and used and still use) bring together many thousands of men at arms. Thus they were assembled by the chief of Zibu when he rebelled and apostatized from the Faith. /This is the man/ who was baptized in the beginning, won over by Magellan; he took the name of Don Fernando and with him /were baptized/ his wife, children, relatives, and dependents to the number of eight hundred persons, as is related in a history of India Oriental, written and published by a Benedictine Monk (fol. 344) where it can be seen. But since his conversion was not divine but human and inspired by his desire to enlist aid against his enemies (as we shall see next, they were all mutual enemies), when Magellan died his faith and Christianity were ended. He wanted to kill Magellan's companions, as we shall see in greater detail in the second part when we discuss the faith of these Bisayans, the first to receive it in this archipelago, who conserved and conserve it to this day, as we shall relate in its place with all its circumstances.

From what has been said one can conclude, and this is why it was discussed, that this city of Zibu was very large and populous; that it had much commerce with not only the islands nearby but also with those more removed, like Brunei, Macasar, in mangrove fruit, woven boxes, etc., as it is witnessed by the remains still extant of jars, large plates, and other things brought from these islands. They are not brought today because they no longer trade with them but only when the Macasanes /traded/ extensively. From the above-mentioned history of the Indies one gathers that /Cebu/ was a stopover for the Portuguese on route to Maluco from India or Malaca, because the history relates how a large Portuguese ship arrived when the companions of Magellan were in great distress (seeing the fury of the rebellion, and not wishing to assist the /Spaniards/, as they could have, if only because they were fellow Christians) nor to be held up, because they were afraid, they raised sail and set out for Maluco. How greatly this city has diminished in its temporal aspect we shall discuss in the second part, if God lets us get that far." Preliminary Translation in typescript, Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, 1960, Part I, Book 4, Chapter 1.

⁵ The *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion y Desengaño*, "... In 1649 the *Encarnacion*, late from Acapulco, crashed on the Sorsogon coast of Luzon near Bulan." William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, (E. P. Dutton and Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1959), p. 259.

⁶ The first word of the phrase is Spanish and should read 'azagaya' and means javelin, spear or half-pike. The word *bacacay* is from the Bisaya (Waray-Waray) and means bamboo. See Alzina's *Historia*, *op. cit.*, Part I, Book 4, Chapter 10 for a discussion on the warfare of the Bisayans, the types of weapons, both offensive and defensive, etc.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 22

¹ Herein is a clear indication that Alzina wrote Part II in five books. Currently only three books are extant and all of them in a fragmentary condition.

² "Malayos mahometanos de la tribu especial que los etnógrafos designan con el nombre de 'moros-samales'. Ocupan la isla de Joló y parte de algunas otras pequeñas inmediatas. Con razón pondera el P. Combés a la nación joloa (cols. 31, 32). En las expediciones piráticas solían ir: 1o, los datos que mandaban las fuerzas; 2o, los lutaos guerreros voluntarios mercenarios; 3o los calibuganes guerreros obligados; 4o los esclavos bogadores, algunos de ellos prácticos o guías e intérpretes. (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 779).

³ Governor General of the Philippines 1626-1632. Horacio de las Costa, in his fine work *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, makes a record of this little item pertaining to Don Juan Niño de Tabora: "...the church was completed in 1633, and became the shrine of a little wooden image of the Blessed Virgin which Governor Tabora brought with him from Acapulco in 1626. This statue was to symbolize in a special way the deep affection of the Tagalogs for the Mother of God. It became known as Our Lady of Antipolo, and when later in the century it was borne across the Pacific by the galleons as their tutelary patroness, it also acquired the title of Our Lady of Peace and Happy Journey — Nuestra Señora de Paz y Buen Viaje." (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1961), p. 369.

⁴ *Historia de Mindanao, Joló y sus adjacentes*, (Madrid: Herederos de Pablo del Val, 1667), Re-edited by W. E. Retana, Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897.

In W. E. Retana's *Aparato Bibliográfico*, we find this interesting observation regarding the work of Francisco Combés.

"This history... has always been considered one of the most valuable pearls of Philippine literature, for Combés was an uncommonly intelligent observer who personally visited most of the localities which he describes, while occupying himself a high position in his Society, so that he not only wrote but made history. His book and that of Forrest... were up to the time of Semper's travels the authorities followed by all geographers, although it is improbable that more than a few ever saw Combés original, of which in all Middle Europe only a copy is to be found (Chamisso's copy given to the Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin)... Especially interesting are the notes on the negritos, showing that two hundred years ago Negritos were comparatively common in localities in Mindanao where they have now entirely disappeared. The zoologist, too, will be interested in P. Combés statement that wild elephants were to be found then in the islands.

"The commentary is especially valuable in giving information on the history of those islands derived from unprinted sources. The Preface contains Combés' biography, the history of Mindanao, and ethnographical, linguistic, and bibliographical notices. As Retana is an excellent bibliographer, he is at his best here, while in history his point of view is very partisan. In the linguistic portions we find traces of the pen of P. Pastells, long a missionary in Mindanao and in the Philippines..." Vol. III, p. 1379, no. 3879. Blumentritt. (Reproducido por Griffin en su *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* pág. 135).

Francisco Combés, was born in Saragossa, Spain on October 5, 1620. He entered the Jesuit Province in Aragon on May 25, 1633 and arrived in the Philippines on July 7, 1643. He died in Acapulco on December 29, 1665. Horacio de la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

⁵ Hache or Ache. He was one of Jolo's most influential Datu's and later Rajah Bungsu's chief minister. De la Costa, *ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

⁶ This is an offshore islet in the Camarines, where the Bicol region shipyard was burned by Dato Hache in 1629. A new galleon was being constructed at the time. *Ibid.*

⁷ Governor General in the Philippines during the years 1635-1644.

⁸ See, "Father Ignacio Alcina to Father Juan Marín: On the State of the Missions of the 'Pintados' June 24, 1660," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XIII, No. 39, September-December, 1978, p. 529.

⁹ See, *ibid.*, p. 543.

¹⁰ The mouth or the entrance of the San Bernardino Strait was known to the Spaniards as the *Embocadero* and sometimes as the *Paso de Acapulco*. Alzina, in one of his books, in the *Historia...* mentions that this passage or strait was called 'tagbaloroan' by the Samareños, meaning 'wavey'.

"... to get out to sea the galleon had to follow a tortuous channel which runs in a general southeasterly direction to the Strait of San Bernardino proper... as a rule, the time consumed in clearing from the straits was inordinately long. The galleon which carried Gemelli Careri sailed from Cavite on the twenty-eight of June and it did not reach the open sea until the tenth of August. The *Santisima Trinidad* in 1755 was a month on the way and the *San Carlos Borromeo* in 1766 took three weeks to pass the straits. Gemelli describes this part of the route as a 'labyrinth of islands, eighty leagues in length, and very dangerous'.

"...Driving squalls and fogs were frequent, while shifting tides and treacherous currents threw the galleon about in the winding channel, where shoals and rocks and low-lying islands menaced her safety." William Lytel Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

"Numerous swirls and eddies are found in the channel between Capul and Luzon, the water seeming to boil up from beneath, the center of the eddy in some cases appearing to be at least a foot higher than the edge." *Ibid.*, p. 22 footnote 2

"If the galleons reached the neighborhood of the islands even in late June (from Acapulco) they might find the monsoon blowing across the entrance of the *Embocadero*. At such times to try to enter that labyrinth of islands and shoals with its swirling, shifting tides and currents, was to court destruction." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹¹ Or Biri Islet. One of the 259 dependent islands and islets of Samar situated off the NW coast and the largest of the Balicuatro group. The town of Biri lies on the Se coast of the Islet. It measures some 14 square miles.

"...In the east, very near the same island of Capul, is that of Biri, adjacent to the missions of Catarman and Bobon under the priests of the Society. This island, being on the forced passage of the *embocadero*, appears to be on the watch for ships from Castille. It has now very little few people, for the enemy, Camucon, had carried them off little by little. Though they are Bisayans and speak the Bisayan language, they have another tongue which they speak among themselves; it is distinct from that spoken in Capul. Their nearness to each other makes more evident the difference in their language and origin." "Alzina's *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas...*

1668," in *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1970, p. 25. Alzina's curious note and observation is that the people on the Island of Biri spoke a completely different dialect. Although there are no traces of this separate language on Biri today, there is, however, on the Island of Capul, or Abac as it was known in ancient times, a completely different language still spoken to this very day...

¹² This island is situated off the N. coast of the Island of Samar, to which it belongs as a dependent islet, and is separated by a narrow channel which communicates with the Port of Palapag. Cf. also: Felix Huertas, *Estado...* 1865, (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Cía, 1865), pp. 308-309.

¹³ The most N. town on the Island of Samar and situated on the NE shore, opposite Batag Island and 58 miles N. by E. of Catbalogan. Cf. "Historical Survey of Palapag, Samar and the Sumoroy Rebellion of 1649," in *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1968, pp. 44-91. Also see Huertas, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300 and *Ensayo de una Síntesis de los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas de Filipinas*, ed. por el P. Valentín y Morales, O.P., Vol. II, (pp. 290-612), p. 126.

¹⁴ Born in Burgos, Spain in April 1583. He entered the Jesuit Province in Toledo in 1602 and arrived to the Philippines in the year 1622. He passed away in Mexico on February 19, 1646. de la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

¹⁵ Alzina himself describes this ancient Bisayan vessel in this manner: "... caracoa is another vessel which they used to have and still do today /1668/. It closely resembles the brigantines of Spain, although the former is larger in size because of the quantity of *Darambas*, as we said, of *cates* and *burcilantes* which they. For these islands they are the best ships or vessels and the most suitable for far fleets. These people used them in ancient times when, as infidels, they went out to plunder other enemy islands, and as we shall see all of the islands used to be. They look like small galleons, as we have said. More than these... they have the capacity to carry three or five rows of oars; this is the case at present in the war fleets which are built in the name of His Majesty and at his expense. On these the rowers and hands are *Indios* and the garrison and fighters are Spaniards. With these one can travel in as much comfort aside from the fact that they displace much less water, than with galleons and brigantines over there..." *Op. cit.*, Part I, Book 3, Chapter 10.

¹⁶ Should read ANDAMIO. This is a Spanish term and means a gang-board or a kind of scaffold. The Waray-Waray term for it is 'balayan' or 'quiritaan'. *Andamiu* or *andamyu* means to make into, put a gangplank to. Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa y Antonio Valeriano Alcázar, *Diccionario Español-Bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, Tercera ed. (Manila: Imp. y Lit. de Santos y Bernal, 1914), p. 51.

¹⁷ Should read, CAYAN[es]. This is a Spanish word and means a matting placed on certain Philippine boats to protect the persons within.

¹⁸ These are seemingly the original inhabitants of the Philippine Islands and often referred to by such variant forms as: Ita, Eta, Aita, Ati, Ate, Agta. "Perhaps derived from the Malayan word *HITAM* (black) or *ITUM* so common in all Philippine languages. These are pygmy-like people, very small in stature with kinky hair, still found in several regions of the Archipelago." John M. Garvan, *The Negritos of the Philippines*, ed. Hermann Hochegger (Horn-Wien: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1964) 288 pp. The above-mentioned work is perhaps the most thorough publication on the Negritos. See also, Alzina, *op. cit.*, Part I, Book 4, Chapetr 10.

¹⁹ II Corinthians, 11:26.