

The Parish of St. Joachim: Its Genesis and Development (1602-1898)*

As it commemorates its centenary or, more precisely, its 110th year of existence (1878-1988), the parish of St. Joachim has more than 30,000 parishioners, and is confined within the geographical limits of the municipalities of Dolores and Maslog. But some 110 years ago, it had only around 3,2000 souls,¹ though its jurisdictional territory was quite larger: it was made up of all the villages along Bacod (Carolina, now Dolores) river, Jubasan (Loquilocon or Ulot, now Can-avid) river, as well as Tubabao and Jilabaan islands. In other words, it roughly encompassed what today pertains to the municipalities of Can-avid, Maslog and Dolores with Tubabao. The seat of the parish was Paric, the first poblacion of the *pueblo* (township), which evolved from a now-abandoned settlement called Jubasan along the Ulot river. It had three big barrios: Bacod (formerly, a town, but now part of Dolores river bed), Carolina and Dapdap. On Carolina depended the *rancherías* or sitios of Dolores (the future *second* poblacion), Tubabao and Jilabaan.² The parish was then part of the *Vicaría de la Costa Oriental de Samar* or the Eastern Coast of Samar Vicariate of the Diocese of Cebu.

It is not, however, without any significance that these villages were created into a parish. When I waded through the documents on the erection of Samar parishes at the Philippine National Archives, I could

*The Parish of St. Joachim is found in the Island of Samar, province of Eastern Samar, Philippines (Editor's Note).

¹I do not have the actual number for 1878, but Benito Romero de Madridejos, *Pastores y demás Disposiciones Circuladas a los Párrocos de esta Diócesis de Cebú, etc.*, I (Manila: Imp. de Santo Tomás, 1888), p. 292, places the population at 3,391.

²Felipe Redondo y Sendido, *Breve Reseña de lo que fue y de lo que es la Diócesis de Cebú en las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Imp. de Santo Tomás, 1886), p. 224.

not fail to infer that once a *pueblo* became a parish, it was an achievement in itself, considering that a good number of petitions for parish erection by Samareños were rejected for lack of such necessary physical requirements as population and buildings.³ Which is why, when the Royal Decree of 4th April, 1864,⁴ which *officially* created the parish of St. Joachim (I underscored the word *officially* because its constitution as parish was *ordered* on 31st August, 1863), *took effect* on 20th April, 1878,⁵ the parish priest and the parishioners were actually not starting from the scratch. The erection of the parish rather reflects a long development which the *pueblo* underwent. The major aim of this essay is to show how it all began until such time it was seen necessary to make it an independent parish.

II

THE GROUNDWORK for the formation of the parish may be said to have been laid circa 1602 when the Jesuits evangelized the tiny riparian hamlets on Eastern Samar under what is called the *cabecera-visita* complex. Here, the missionaries formed themselves into groups consisting of three or four members based on Palapag (*Residencia de Ibabao*) from where they spread out in teams to the small villages of the area they covered; and as soon as one team returned to the residence, another group set out and so on throughout the year.⁶ Among the Jesuits who set foot on this part of Samar (Ibabao) were Adriano de las Cortes, Didaco Laurencio and Luis de Pedraza.⁷ Later religious personnel included Bartolome Besco, Simon Baptista, Diego Flares, Cosme Pilaes, Pedro de Espinar and Jose Luque.⁸ What they found along the Jubasan, Bacod and Oras rivers were scattered hamlets, called *gamoros*, consisting of probably no more than eight to ten houses, which were linked by foot

³Philippine National Archives, *Erección de Pueblos*, unnumbered legajos, 1803-1898.

⁴Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, Spain, legajo 95, expediente 35.

⁵Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, Spain, legajo 95, expediente 36.

⁶Horacio de la Costa, "The Jesuits in the Philippines (1581-1990)," *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas*, XXXIX, 435 (January-February, 1965), pp. 121-122.

⁷See Cantius Kobak, "Historical Survey of Palapag and the Sumoroy Rebellion," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, II, I (1968), pp. 44-51 for the catalogue of Jesuit personnel.

⁸Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds), "The Jesuit Mission in 1655," *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XXXVI (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), pp. 53-56.

trails. Roads and streets were unknown.⁹ Religion-wise, they were animists, believing that the forces of nature had, or were controlled by, spirits who were rendered beneficent or harmful by magical rites, performed by the *diwatahan*, *tambalan* or *baylana* - most of whom were women!¹⁰ It is not necessary to describe the pre-Hispanic Dolores in detail; it suffices to say that its religio-political structure and socio-economic situation were quite fragmented.¹¹

This fragmentary character of the pre-Hispanic Dolores society was in collision course with the Spaniards' world view. For one, as heirs of the Greco-Roman urbanism, the Jesuits identified civilization with the city. For them, man was not simply a rational animal with a capacity to receive grace, but also a social being living in communion with others, and it is through social contact that he could achieve a measure of his potentiality.¹² Secondly, the Spanish priests, who belonged to the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation and the Age of Baroque, came with the mission of persuading the pre-Hispanic Doloresnons to accept their religion as the whole truth, and viewed the Samareño native beliefs as simply an error and, worst, most likely a work of the devil which could not be allowed to grow and prosper.¹³

For these reasons, the Jesuits worked for the creation of towns or *bungtos*, by embarking on a program called *reducción*, which served as basis for cultural integration. This was an organized process of resettling the natives from their infinitely scattered tiny hamlets into larger villages, where the introduction and growth in the faith may become more viable, and where social intercourse may become more feasible. The missionaries assumed that unless the pre-Hispanic hamlets were congregated into larger villages, it would be difficult to indoctrinate them in the faith, reorganize their tribal society, and exploit the

⁹Cf. Agustín de la Cavada Mendez y Vigo, *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas, etc.*, II (Manila: Imp. de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1876), p. 24.

¹⁰See Francisco Alzina, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas . . . 1668*, MS, parte 1, libro 2, capítulos 12-19. The text of this manuscript has been serialized by Pablo Fernández and Cantius Kobak in *Philippiniana Sacra*, UST, Manila.

¹¹For details, see Lope C. Robredillo, "Resistance and Assimilation: A History of Dolores (Eastern Samar), 1602-1898," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, XIX, 2 (1985), pp. 107-109.

¹²John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1959), p. 44.

¹³Cf. Horacio de la Costa, "The Priest in Philippine Life and Society: An Historical View," *The Jesuit*, XXV, 3 (June, 1976), p. 8.

material resources of the land.¹⁴ This was how the *bungto* of Bacod (along Dolores river) and that of Jubasan (along Ulot river) were established, as was true of Borongan and Sulat. Of the last one, for instance, Alzina says: "... fundaron (el pueblo de Sulat) los primeros Padres, que pusieron a dicho pueblo agregando a él muchos pueblecillos o rancherías ..."¹⁵

At Jubasan and Bacod the Jesuits gathered the natives, including those living near the tributaries, for the kick-off at evangelization held at a makeshift church. This consisted largely of the memorization of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, the *Salve Regina*, and of a catechesis of the 14 articles of faith, the 7 sacraments, the 7 capital sins, the 14 works of mercy, the 10 commandments, the 5 commandments of the Church, and the act of general confession.¹⁶ Given, however, the patron-client structure of the Samareña society, the Jesuits were wise-up enough to recognize that if they had to make use of *datus* (chiefs) whose decisions had much bearing and weight on the members of the *sacopan* (barangay).¹⁷ What happened in Sulat illustrates this method well. There, the missionaries converted some *principales* (leading men) and made them catechists. A Sulatnon, named Yaba, for example, was assigned to catechize and the results was more than flattering: "Hizo tan bien su oficio . . . que ella sola había traído a la fe y enseñado a más hombres y mujeres que muchos padres."¹⁸

Apart from this, the Jesuits formed sodalities of the Blessed Mother in Samar towns, like Guivan and Sulat, to strengthen the faith, and it is plausible that they did so in Bacod and Jubasan. These were the predecessors of today's Apostoladas, Antonianas, Legionaries, etc. In addition to their obligation to recite a set of prayers,¹⁹ the members had two duties. They visited the sick and the dying, urging them to receive

¹⁴Pablo Fernández and Cantius Kobak, "17th Century Jesuit Mission in Samar and Leyte: Foundation of Towns and Temporal Administration," *Philippiniana Sacra*, XV, 44 (May-August, 1980), p. 298.

¹⁵Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 1, 3.

¹⁶Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁷Alzina, *Historia* . . . I, 4, 7.; see also James Schott, "The Erosion of Patron-Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXII, 1 (1972), pp. 5-87.

¹⁸Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 3, 3.

¹⁹See Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, etc. (Manila: Imp. de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749), p. 117.

the sacraments and persuading those far from the *bungtos* to submit to catechesis and baptism. Second, they attended funerals with the hope that their presence might forestall ritual drinking, a remnant of the pre-Hispanic religion.²⁰ In other words, they were the physical extension of the Jesuits in the work of evangelization, since the latter were physically and morally incapable of reaching everyone under their jurisdiction. If the Council of Trent permitted any form of lay apostolate, here it was undoubtedly at work!

Several years of missionary endeavor bore fruit, if meager. As of 1616, around 400 natives have been evangelized in Bacod, forming 150 tributes (poll taxes), and around 600 in Jubasan, comprising 200 tributes.²¹ But the most tangible physical evidence of the evangelization work was the construction of the stone rectories and churches (*conventos e iglesias de piedra*), which replaced the temporary ones of nipa and wood.²² If today, one goes to Jubasan, which is not too distant from Binungtu-an (Paric), he will have a glimpse of what was once the ruins of the church. As for the stone church and rectory in Bacod (now, also known as Binungtu-an, i.e., once-a-town-site), which was located around one and a half kilometers from the mouth of Dolores river, both structures now form part of the river bed. The stone walls, though, are still recognizable from the water surface. That these were built on *polo* or forced labor, or on the expenses of the Jesuits themselves who donated part of their stipends and their annual rice allowance as in Leyte,²³ is not, in evidence, clear.

The *reducción* program which made evangelization and culturalization possible was, however, not met with enthusiasm, and it is plausible to say that in this, the Jesuits felt frustrated. This lukewarm reception arose not so much from the fact that the natives scarcely cared for civilization as from their clinging to the fields; to relinquish them was contrary to their settlement pattern. "Ellos están en los montes y rios a su voluntad, donde hacen sus sementeras de que viven y se

²⁰See Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 2, 3.7; Phelan, op. cit., p. 74; see also Francisco Colin-Pablo Pastells, *Labor Evangélica*, II, (Madrid: Henrich, 1902), p. 117.

²¹Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds), "Status of Missions in the Philippines (1609-1616)," *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XVII (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), pp. 206-207.

²²Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 3, 3.

²³Miguel Bernad, "Early Missions in Leyte" *Leyte-Samar Studies*, VIII, 1 (1974), p.

sustentan."²⁴ Miguel Garcia Serrano's comment certainly reflects the general feeling of the pre-Hispanic Doloresnons: "they considered it such an affliction to leave their little houses where they were born and have been reared, their fields, and other comforts in life that it (i.e., *reducción*) could be attained only with difficulty and little fruit would result therefrom."²⁵ It is not known if there was any violent resistance of the Doloresnons toward the policy, but the absence of any rallying point which could have unified them would have precluded violence.²⁶

Since the *reducción* was met with nonchalance, the Jesuits tried not a few ways of enticing the people to live in town, and one of them was the fiesta celebration. Aside from the patronal feast, the Holy Week and the Corpus Christi were observed with such solemnity that the natives were lured into going to the *bungto*, with all its processions, music and dances.²⁷ (Of course, the same is no less true of today.) These efforts, however, little encouraged them to residence in town permanently. As soon as the priests left the *bungto*, it became almost deserted. Thus, whatever they accomplished in their missions seemed lost when they returned, and they had to start all over again, like Penelope: "... el que forzosamente va siempre tejiendo y destejiendo, pues lo que trabajó en 19 o 20 días, a veces menos, a veces más, según son mayores o menores los pueblos, cuando vuelve después, al cabo de uno o dos meses, o más, a dar la vuelta, lo halla todo perdido y olvidado; con que siempre comenzamos de nuevo, y es menester volver a la urdimbre y tramar la tela, que nunca se acaba."²⁸

This opposition by the natives to the relocation program primarily prompted the Jesuits' decision to suppress Jubasan as mission station, even though this was opposed by the *encomendero*, the government officer responsible for the collection of taxes and the evangelization as

²⁴Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), "P. Ignatius Alzina Ad P. Joannem Marin Refert Statum Missionis De Los Pintados, Junio 24, 1660," *Philippiniana Sacra*, XIII 39 (September-December, 1978).

²⁵Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds). *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XX (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), pp. 231-232; cited by Phelan, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁶Robredillo, op. cit., p. 110.

²⁷On the celebrations, see Pedro Chirino. *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (Roma: E. Paulino. 1604: republished in Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969); see also, Alzina, *Historia...*, II, 2, 13-15.

²⁸ARSI, "P. Ignatius Alzina Ad P. Joannem Marin Refert Statum Missionis De Los Pintados, Junio 24, 1660."

well as the protection of the natives.²⁹ (Add to this were the losses sustained by the missionaries from the treachery of the Jubasan river's sand bar.) Alzina describes the natives' renitency to the evangelizing and civilizing efforts thus: "... los indios (i.e., Jubasan) siempre insisten y procuran volver cada cual a sus huroneras, porque a ellos se les da poco de los trabajos y peligros de los ministros; antes, cuanto más impedidos a ser visitados, están más a su gusto; que miran poco sus almas . . . todo es huir de la doctrina y del ministerio y querer a sus anchuras y lejos de los ministros, así de la fe como el Rey."³⁰ In view of this, the town of Jubasan, by 1655, does not appear anymore in the Jesuit annual reports.³¹ The suppression of the town implies that the villagers along Jubasan river had to go to Bacod (along Dolores river) for religious instruction, the administration of sacraments and the solemnities.

But the mission in the *bungto* of Bacod did not endure for long, either. As early as 1669, it was already deprived of its status as town; that is to say, it was also suppressed, like Jubasan and combined with Tubig.³² What precipitated its dismantlement was its participation in the Sumoroy rebellion.³³ When Agustin Sumoroy and his men started in Palapag the Samar insurrection against Spain on the 1st June, 1649, ostensibly in protest against public works³⁴ (but actually, the whole affair started when Fr. Miguel Berberan scolded him for maintaining a *querida*³⁵), Bacod was the first town on Samar to join the insurrection: "El primero que rebeló en la isla de (Ibabao) fue Bacod, en que quemaron la iglesia y casa del Padre."³⁶ The inhabitants showed their support by burning the rectory, the stone church and the *bungto* itself. Spreading

²⁹Bonifacio Salamanca, "Was the Philippine Encomienda a Land Grant?" *Historical Bulletin*, VII, 1 (March, 1963) pp. 34-51.

³⁰Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 3. 3.

³¹See, for instance, Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds), "The Jesuit Mission in 1655, *Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XXXVI (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), pp. 53-56.

³²Alzina, *Historia* . . . , 3. 3.

³³For a very early account on the rebellion, see Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), "La Insurrección de Bisayas del 1650: Relación de Medios del Siglo XVII," *Litterae Annuae*, 1646-1649, *Philippiana Sacra*, XVIII, 52 (January-April, 1983).

³⁴Francisco Combes, *Historia de Mindanao y Sulu* (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897), pp. 490-491.

³⁵Alzina, *Historia* . . . , 3. 12.

³⁶Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, II (Valladolid: Luis de Gavria, 1890), p. 519.

the movement to Tubig, they killed Fr. Vicente Damian,³⁷ persuaded the Tubignons to join the cause, and burnt the rectory and the church, just as they did in Sulat, although, there, they hardly found any accomplices.³⁸ But after two years of fighting, the overwhelming Spanish forces, which included Lutaos, Cebuanos and Pampagueños, quelled the rebellion.³⁹ And as a consequence, Bacod was dealt justice to. Among other punishments, the *gobernador del pueblo* (chief magistrate), the *fiscal mayor del padre* (sacristan-truant officer), and the *mayor principal* (chief principal) were put to death by musketry as a lesson and a warning. Amnesty was proclaimed, but quite a number were punished with slavery. And no less negative, the town of Bacod was dismantled.⁴⁰ Thus, as early as 1660, Bacod was deprived of the services of the Jesuits; and probably having been placed at interdict,⁴¹ the Bacodnons had to attend the solemnities at Tubig. Thus, all the settlements along what are now Ulot and Dolores rivers had to transact business at Tubig, and this state of affairs continued until the suppression of the Jesuits in 1768. By this time, of course, a parish life in which the people went to the priest rather than other way around has evolved. Fr. Charles O'Dyer was the last Jesuit to serve the parish of Tubig.⁴²

When the Franciscans came to Tubig in 1768, Fr. Joaquin Polo was named pastor, and under his care were 2,430 souls.⁴³ As of 1868, the number reached 9,920;⁴⁴ and since it was physically impossible to serve all of them, scattered as they were along the four great rivers (Tubig, Jubasan, Bacod and Oras), the Franciscan took steps to form a new parish out of the Bacod mission. And the most immediate preparation to separate the former Bacod-Jubasan mission from Tubig came 76 years later. The project was initiated by Fr. Manuel Valverde who, in 1839, directed the construction of a church of rubblework (*mampostería*), a rectory (*convento*), and a wooden *escuela de*

³⁷On the life of Fr. Damian, see Velarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178.

³⁸Alzina, *Historia* . . . , 3. 3.

³⁹Diaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁰Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 3, 17.

⁴¹Probably interdict is meant when Doloresnons say that the town of Dolores was *gindiscomuni3n* or "cursed", see footnote 81 below.

⁴²Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 606.

⁴³Felix Huerta, *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico religioso de la santa y apostólica provincia de S. Gregorio Magno, etc.* (Binondo: M. Sánchez, 1865), p. 333.

⁴⁴Sendido, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

instrucción primaria, where children learned the 3 R's, prayers and the *doctrina* (a summary of Christian doctrine).⁴⁵ The expenditures of the work were defrayed by the *caja de comunidad*, a community fund contributed to by each villager in the amount of half-*real*.⁴⁶ As was the rule, these edifices, which were raised in Paric, were the first to be constructed in the making of the parish; otherwise, the petition of the people to erect one would never have merited the approval of the governor-general.

In the early 1840's, Paric already functioned like an independent town, save that it had no resident priest: it had its own set of officials and had jurisdiction over the *visitas* or barrios of Bacod (of which Dolores was part), Dapdap and Oras. In 1844, for example, the following were town officials: Juan de lo Reyno, *gobernadorcillo*; Francisco Bonifacio, *teniente de Oras*; Francisco Obedencio, *teniente de Dapdap*; and Juan Gabrelo, *teniente de Bacod*.⁴⁷ (Note that the surnames do not sound familiar to us; this is because the *Alfabeto de Apellidos*, from which our present surnames were taken, was not issued to the towns until 1849 by Governor-General Narciso Claveria.⁴⁸ In spite of the fact, however, that Paric was already politically organized, had enough population to compose a parish, and the necessary buildings - all of which being prerequisites for parish erection, the petition could not be acted upon, since the lack of personnel prevented the Franciscans from sparing one to minister the newly conceived parish. (In fact, when the barrio of Oras, for instance, was separated from Paric or Dolores in 1850, it had to share a priest with Tubig until 1863.)⁴⁹

It was only on 31st August, 1863 that Paric was *ordered separate* from Tubig,⁵⁰ but the Royal Decree which confirmed it, that is to say, which *officially* made Paric both a municipality *and* parish was issued

⁴⁵Huerta, loc. cit.

⁴⁶Manuel Buzeta y Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de las Islas Filipinas*, (Madrid: Jose de la Peña, 1851), p. 168.

⁴⁷Philippine National Archives, *Elección de Gobernadorcillos*, unnumbered legajo, 1844: "Apunta acompaño a VS una noticia que comprendo los gobernadorcillos, etc., 15 Mayo, 1844."

⁴⁸Narciso Claveria y Zaldina, *Catálogo Alfabeto de Apellidos*, Manila: November 21, 1849.

⁴⁹Huerta, op. cit., p. 344.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*; see also Apolinar Pastrana, "The Franciscans and the Evangelization of the Philippines, 1578-1900," *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas*, XXXIX, 435 (January-February, 1965), p. 86.

only on 5th April, 1864, through the Governor General of the Philippines, Don Ramon de Echague (1862-1965), providing for the parish priest the annual endowment of P600.00 to support the mission.⁵¹ The creation of both the municipality and the parish came at the same time because the Church and the State were one. But for lack of personnel, the erection of the parish (but not the municipality, which was immediate) *took effect* only on 20th April, 1878, when the Decree of Parish Erection was issued by the Bishop of Cebu, Benito Romero de Madridejos (1867-1886).⁵² In short, it was *ordered* constituted as parish on 31st August, 1863, *officially* created on 5th April, 1864, and *canonically* erected on 20th April, 1878. The parish category under which St. Joachim was classified was *parroquia misión*, a mission-parish administered by a religious (namely, a Franciscan), but subject neither to the *patronato* (royal patronage) nor to the *visitación* (the pastoral visit by the bishop); it was, however, a self-sufficient parish.⁵³ Although Fr. José del Olmo⁵⁴ was the assigned pastor in 1878, he did not actually administer the parish until 1879; but records show that as early as 1877, it was already being served by no less than the parish priest of Tubig, Fr. Gil Martinez.⁵⁵

But the 1878 canonical erection was only the real beginning; much remained to be done. And for the friars who also identified culture and civilization with the city, the tendency of the parishioners toward fragmentation was difficult to comprehend and continued to be a problem, as this was a major constraint toward evangelization. It was mainly for this reason that the Samar parish priests became road builders. Fr. José del Olmo, for instance, directed the road construction from the *visita* of Carolina (now, barrio of Can-avid) to the barrio (now a town) of Motiong, with the help of the friars at Borongan, Tubig and Sulat: "por inciativa y bajo la dirección del P. José del Olmo, se abrió un camino desde la visita o barrio de Carolina, comprensión de Paric, hasta el barrio de Motion jurisdicción de Paranas: yendo todos los días el

⁵¹ Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, Spain, legajo 95, expediente 35.

⁵² Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, Spain, legajo 95, expediente 36.

⁵³ Pablo Fernández, *History of the Church in the Philippines* (Manila: UST Central Seminary, 1972), pp. 39-40.

⁵⁴ Eusebio Gomez Platero, *Catálogo Biográfico de los Religiosos Franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas* (Manila: Imp. de Santo Tomas, 1880, p. 797.

⁵⁵ Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental, Madrid: Spain, "Listas de los Nombres de los Párrocos Sacadas de las Tablas Capitulares," MS.

referido P. Olmo a visitar los trabajos que duraron unos seis meses. Para la apertura de este camino contribuyeron los Párrocos de Tubig, Sulat y Borongan en la cantidad de \$500, cien cavanos de palay, y varias herramientas.⁵⁶ The road from Oras to Paric, which passed through the barrio (now town) of Dolores, was built through the enterprise of Fr. Fernando Estebán, the parish priest of Oras (1875-1879).⁵⁷ Because of their efforts, the Doloresnons could already travel to Borongan from Oras by land in 1890.

For the majority of the parishioners, especially those who lived along the river banks, the roads had scarcely any pragmatic use, since their economy and agriculture were no more than subsistence.⁵⁸ Practically, hardly any arguments could convince them of the advantages of *población* life. Indeed, if many settled in places far removed from the priest and the center of government control, they did so for various reasons: to flee from the forced labor, to avoid paying taxes, to escape religious obligations, among others. The Spaniards called them *cimarrones* or *remontados* ("los huyen del pueblo"⁵⁹), but in the Doloresnons dialect, they were known as *luuc*. And sometimes, of course, they had no other choice than to flee. It was known, for instance, that a Borongan friar not infrequently publicly reprimanded some natives for misbehavior in church services, and this often resulted in violence on the part of the Boronganons whose *amor propio* had been punctured. A native set the town on fire in revenge, and when the law ran after him, he had no other recourse but to escape.⁶⁰

Since not a large number could be lured into joining the *bungtohanos*, the friars, like the Jesuits, went to them for catechetical instructions and baptism. Records do not provide examples on how the cura of St. Joachim parish evangelized the *remontados*, but what transpired in Borongan was certainly reflective of the normal process. Reports a Franciscan of Borongan in 1848: "Last week (I) have made an excursion to the *cimarrones* of the mountains, and I returned very

⁵⁶Valentin Marin y Morales, *Ensayo de una Síntesis de los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas*, II (Manila: Imp. de Santo Tomás), p. 381.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁵⁸The primitive agriculture is reflected in Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden Predicadores* (Zaragoza, 1693), p. 638.

⁵⁹Alzina, *Historia* . . . , II, 3, 3.

⁶⁰Bruce Cruikshank, *Samar: 1768-1898* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985), pp. 37-38.

content, having left them all registered and grouped in a *visita* about six hours away, three (hours) by land and a regular trail and the (other three) (by) navigating a grand river. I baptized twenty, five of whom were adults and the others children, and left eleven catechumens who wanted baptism but who yet do not know catechism. I believe they will be baptized at Lent . . . (and) they will begin paying tribute at the beginning of next year. This new *visita* has about 300 souls divided into three tribes distant from a central point where a parish house and a chapel had been made to which they can gather easily. Seven couples have received the sacraments of marriage, two pairs who are still catechumens will be married when they are baptized. The other six couples with natural marriage will all be married this year, it being necessary to give them time to learn the doctrine . . .⁶¹ So remarkable in this account is not so much the constraints imposed on the ministry as the fact that catechetical instruction or education *always* preceded the administration of sacraments, all because of the zeal of the friars - something parish priests can learn from!

It was this method of evangelization which gave birth to the present *visitas* or *barrios*. Maydolong, for instance, was formed in this manner. "Maydolong . . . fue erigido con los infieles que el celoso P. Fray Vicente Mérida convirtió por los años de 1820 . . ."⁶² For if the people could not be enticed into dwelling in the *población*, at least they had to live in big settlements to facilitate instruction. The *población-barrio* complex was, in other words, a compromise that ensued from the encounter of the Samareño culture with the Spanish civilization. And to enhance the evangelization work, the *visitas* followed the form of the town: it had its own patronal feast which became - and is - an occasion for instruction and baptism, and an *ermita* (chapel). As of 1880, the best known of these settlements, aside from Dapdap and Balagon, were Dolores, Jinolaso, Jilabaan and Tubabao, which were sitios of Carolina. The first and the last and probably the rest had their respective chapels. Describes Sendido: Paric "tiene las visitas denominadas Carolina, en ella están haciendo iglesia de tabla y dependen de esta visita las rancherías de Tubabas (sic) y Jilabaan . . . Dolores . . . y Jinolaso . . . La otra visita denominada Dapdap, con capilla de nipa y cementerio de empalizada."⁶³ By 1893, each *barrio* had its civil officials: *teniente* (captain), *juez* (deputy), and *alguacil* (constable).⁶⁴

⁶¹Philippine National Archives. *Erección de Pueblos*, legajos 112-117, n, 27 (1848-1880), cited and translated by Cruikshank, op. cit. p. 131.

⁶²Huerta, op. cit., p. 305.

⁶³Sendido, op. cit., p. 223.

⁶⁴Philippine National Archives, *Provincia de Samar*, unnumbered legajo, 1894: "Relación de los Nombramientos para constituir los tribunales municipales."

This *población-barrio* complex was a compromise which prevailed all throughout the Spanish regime. In 1893, for instance, the 3,718 parishioners⁶⁵ were dispersed as follows: 30.0% lived in the *población*; 35.7% lived three miles from it; 17.0% lived 3 to 6 miles; 4.2% lived 6-12 miles; 13.0% over 12 miles; 65.8% resided in the *población*; 82.8% within six miles; and 87.0% within 12 miles.⁶⁶ The 69.9% who lived outside were distributed in 5 *visitas* and 20 barrios, mostly along Bacod river, a few of the rest along Ulot river.⁶⁷ And though most of these were on river banks, they were not easily accessible, since the friar either travelled on foot or rode in a *baloto* (banca). From the *población* for instance, Jinolaso could be reached in 10 hours at best; Dolores was negotiated within half-hour by the friar.⁶⁸ Since it was quite improbable to reach all the 69.9%, considering that the parish had only one friar, it was quite logical that the barrio folks were more susceptible to the influence of pre-Hispanic beliefs. Their alienation from the priest largely accounted for their re-interpretation of Christianity in their own terms, mixed with pagan beliefs and practices. If to this is added the better political supervision and mobilization of projects in the *población*, then it is clear why they were lagging behind in the assimilation of Spanish culture, far removed as they were from the mainstream of provincial economic and cultural exchange. This most likely explains the nuances in policy (*policía*) which gave birth to the stigma attached to the word, *irayanhon*, connoting inurbanity, rudeness, uncouthness, and implying inferiority.⁶⁹

If, therefore, evangelization was effective anywhere, it was surely not in the barrios and sitios. Aside from the Dolores non disposition toward fragmentation, two other factors handicapped the effectiveness of Franciscan ministry. First of these was the Moro or Muslim piratical incursions⁷⁰ which became frequent on the eastern coast from 1754 to 1778, though much lesser than in the western littorals for reasons of geography and armament; and its seriousness can be gauged from the decline of population on the east coast: from 10,365 to 7,272 in 1800.⁷¹

⁶⁵Philippine National Archives, *Memoria de Samar*, unnumbered legajo, 1893.

⁶⁶Cruikshank, op. cit., p. 223.

⁶⁷Philippine National Archives, *Memoria de Samar*, unnumbered legajo, 1893.

⁶⁸Sendido, loc. cit.

⁶⁹Robredillo, op. cit., p. 188.

⁷⁰See José Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Piratería Malayo Mohametana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1882), for Muslim raids.

⁷¹See Cruikshank, op. cit., pp. 84-100 for Muslim raids on Samar.

(Of course, the decrease may be attributed more to dispersal to remote areas than to captivity and sale in Asian slave markets.) In September 1838, three men from Paric were captured by the Muslims: in 1847, the number increased to seven. Many others may not have been recorded. Among other effects, the Muslim incursions dissuaded people from settling down in the *población* and drove them deeper into the hinterlands instead, thus also in no small measure accounting for the hamlets which could be reached through almost impassable trails. To be sure, it is to the credit of the Franciscans, like the Jesuits, that the parishioners were protected from those piratical attacks. That in 1814, the *gobernadorcillo* of Paric, together with that of Tubig, asked the permission of the national government to purchase a cannon for defense could imply that under the leadership of the Franciscans, the people fortified the town, and perhaps supported boats against the Moros.⁷² But the damage which these raids wrought in terms of consequences on evangelization was not easily reparable.

The same is no less true of the epidemics, which frequently struck the whole island even before the coming of the Jesuits in 1596. The record that gives the probably earliest account on Samar dates the epidemics in 1602 in which many in Jubasan and Bacod perished.⁷³ But during the Franciscan period, the great epidemics, mainly due to open wells from which people drunk, took their heavy tolls, mostly in the 1880's: 1846, 1850, 1876 in which Paric ranked 35th among the *pueblos* with the highest death rates, and in 1894. In 1882, it ranked 24th, but in 1883, it ranked eleventh, the top ten being Catbalogan, Villareal, Paranas, Gandara, Calbiga, Balangiga, Tarangnan, Sulat, Catubig and Oras, in that order; the death ratio for the whole island being 55.9 per thousand and for Paric, 57.4%. That is to say, of the around 6,000 Samareños who died of cholera in 1883, nearly 200 came from Dolores or Paric.⁷⁴ And like the Muslim attacks, these epidemics occasioned population dispersion, and so, whatever achievement in civilization may have been attained at this stage was relatively paralyzed. Moreover, it was deplored that many blamed Christianity for these epidemics which were given as punishment by the native gods for the relinquishment of the old religion by the populace.

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³Emma B. Sir and James Alexander Robertson (eds), "The Jesuit Mission in 1656." *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XXVIII (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), pp. 92-93.

⁷⁴I owe the statistical treatment to Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

In view of these encumbrances, it should be regarded as natural upshot that evangelization became all the more confined to the población of Paric. The friar had simply no control over the much diffused population; if Catholicism in the barrios and sitios was perceptible at all, it was in the *ermita* or *capilla* to which the *cura* occasionally went, especially during fiestas and *santos ejercicios* for religious instruction and baptism. In other words, the parish was *población*-centered, and what sociologically testified to the faith of the *bungtohanons* were the parish church, the rectory and the cemetery. Sendido describes these structures as follows: "Iglesia: de mampostería, excepto el testero que es de tabla (la pared de la fachada está cuarteada por los temblores); techada de nipa; mide 20 brazas de longitud, 6-1/2 de latitud, y 3 de altura; pavimento de argamasa mal alcobado. El baptisterio y sacristía de tabla y nipa. - Cementerio: cercado de empalizada. Casa parroquial: de tabla, techada de nipa, en mal estado."⁷⁶ Sendido made this observation in 1884 when Fr. Victoriano Padro was the *cura*,⁷⁸ and it is curious that the word *mal* appears twice: the church was *mal* alcobado, the rectory in *mal estado*.

This is far from being a mirror of negligence. On account of and sensing the danger posed by, the frequent and strong floods of the Ulot or Loquilocon river causing the erosion of the river bank on which the *población* stood (a big portion on which several houses were built having become part of the river bed), the towns-people saw the futility in improving the rectory and the church; after all, the immediate need was to transfer the población to a safer place. And so it was.⁷⁷ Authorized by Don Emilio Terrero y Perinat (Governor-General, 1885-1888) in 1886,⁷⁸ the parish priest, Fr. Juan Vicente Carmona,⁷⁹ together with the town officials and the people, transferred the *población* in 1887 to Dolores,⁸⁰

⁷⁶Sendido, loc. cit.

⁷⁸Platero, op. cit., p. 802.

⁷⁷Martin y Morales, loc. cit.

⁷⁸For the bureaucratic process involved in the transfer of a *población*, see the parallel in Philippine National Archives, *Erección de Pueblos*, unnumbered legajo, 1809-1898 (1863), which contains documents on the transfer of the parish seat of Nuestra Señora de Dolores from Libas to Nonoc (now, San Julian). A shorter account is given in "Nombre Oficial de cada Barrio de los que Componen el Municipio de San Julian, fecha en acuerdo con la orden ejecutiva No. 2, serie 1911," MS.

⁷⁹Julian Cruz Manjavacas, "Notas para la continuación del Catálogo Biográfico del Padre Eusebio Gomez Platero, MS, Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental, Madrid, Spain, p. 128.

⁸⁰Marin y Morales, loc. cit.

a barrio of Carolina.⁸¹ "Las autoridades eclesiásticas y civiles se han traslado a la visita de Dolores . . ."⁸² Not everyone, of course, in the poblacion of Paric transferred to the new one of Dolores; most likely on account of the economic and cultural implications which the transfer would entail, a few remained in Paric, others went to the sitio of Maria Angeles (now, *población*, of Can-avid).⁸³ Because of this change of *población*, the seat of the parish was likewise placed at Dolores which simultaneously became the administrative center of the whole *pueblo* or municipality (renamed Dolores after the name of the *población*), with a total of 3,653 parishioners.⁸⁴

The transfer of parish seat required that the parishioners give priority to the construction of the parish complex (rectory, church, cemetery, school and the tribunal), if the parish was not to be suppressed. Thus, from 1889 to 1893, Fr. Juan Vicente Carmona, who served Dolores for 11 years (1886-1897), raised a *mestiza* parochial house of wood and stone, a spacious church of rubble work and wood,⁸⁵ *a casa tribunal*, and a parochial house for boys and girls. Explains Marin y Morales: "El P. Juan Vicente Carmona, desde los años 1889 a 1893, construyó con ayuda de sus feligreses una casa parroquial con el primer piso de mampostería y lo restante de madera y una Iglesia muy espaciosa en cuya construcción se han empleado todos los adelantos

⁸¹If Dolores was already in existence as barrio at the time it became the new or *second población* in 1887, the question may be raised: when was it founded as a settlement (*gamoro*)? An historical criticism of the oral tradition known to Juana Gulferic and Gregorio Forteza, and told to Angel Hobayan, Sr., et. al. Philippine National Library. "The History and Cultural Life of the Municipality of Dolores," *Historical Data Papers* (1952-1953), would indicate that Dolores was formed by the townspeople of Bacod who did not return to it after it was placed at interdict and subsequently suppressed. This tradition would therefore date the birth of Dolores between 1649 and 1651. The repeated claim (see for instance the 1987 Dolores Town Fiesta Souvenir Program) that it was born in 1888 is unmistakably based on a recent tradition.

⁸²Antonio Sanchez de la Rosa, *Diccionario Español-Bisaya* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. de Santos y Bernal, 1895), pp. 25-26.

⁸³Sangler et al (directors), *Censo de las Islas Filipinas tomado bajo la dirección de la Comisión Filipina en 1903* (Washington: Oficina del Censo de los Estados Unidos de America, 1905), p. 21, placed the population of Can-avid at 1,107 for 1908.

⁸⁴Estado General de los Religiosos, etc. (Manila: Amigos de Pais, 1888), p. 14.

⁸⁵This was the church burnt on Gen. Vicente Lukban's orders in 1901, see Lope Robredillo, "The Dolores Resistance Against the Americans, 1901-1906," *Studies in Dolores History*, 2 (1988), p. 6. For the history of the present church built under the initiative of Fr. Francisco Tizon, see Emiliana Program, 1966 Dolores Town Fiesta, pp. 15-17 and updated by Flora Robin, "The Dolores Parish Church: Its Story," Souvenir Program, 1985 Consecration of the Parish Church, pp. 9-10.

modernos, compatibles con las condiciones en que se encuentran la mayor parte de los pueblos del Archipiélago. La Iglesia ofrece un aspecto muy agradable y en su construcción se han empleado maderas ex-cogidas; tiene cimientos hasta la altura de un metro y medio, de mampostería. Además de los edificios dichos, tiene este pueblo una casa tribunal de madera y un espacioso edificio, también de madera, que dividido por su mitad sirve para escuelas de niños y niñas."⁸⁶

That the parish complex included the school for boys and girls should not come as a surprise. As it was at the time of the Jesuits,⁸⁷ so the education of the young rested on the shoulders of the clergy, this time under the Franciscans, whose educational objective was the formation of good and responsible Christian citizens by teaching them the rudiments of learning, namely, the three R's, and some basic arts and skills. In spite of the 1863 removal from the friars the control of primary education, they still functioned as local inspectors of schools since 1867.⁸⁸ But here again, education was *población*-centered. Even as late as 1895, during the incumbency of Don Pedro Hecido as *gobernadorcillo* ⁸⁹ Dolores had only two teachers: Don Damiano Pomasin, *maestro de niños*, and Dona Dionesia Hubirit, *Maestra de niñas*.⁹⁰ Aside from the lack of personnel, the school was hardly availed of by all Doloresnons, for the majority - the barrio children - were concerned with the fields. In other words, in terms of both religion and culture, the barrio folks remained in a geographic disadvantage, and their isolation from culture and religion paved the way for much of the present religio-cultural nuances.

IV

THAT IN brief, is the short history of the formation of the parish of St. Joachim, and its development until it had Dolores for its parochial seat.⁹¹ And on the whole, little in the structure has fundamentally changed, if one might observe from a historical and sociological view-

⁸⁶Marín y Morales, op. cit., pp. 484-485.

⁸⁷See Chirino, op. cit., pp. 31 et passim.

⁸⁸Lorenzo Pérez, *Labor Patriótica de los Franciscanos en el Extremo Oriente* (Madrid, 1929), p. 56, cited by Pastrana, op. cit., p. 94

⁸⁹Juan de Medina, *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina* (Manila: Tip. y Lit. de Chofre y Comp., 1893), p. 534.

⁹⁰Secretario Gobierno General, *Guía Oficial de las Islas Filipinas para 1898* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. Chofre y Comp. 1899).

⁹¹For a more extensive treatment, see Robredillo, *Leyte-Samar Studies*, XIX, 2 (1985), pp. 105-147.

point. The parish which the Jesuits and the Franciscans handed down, if it may be described historically and sociologically, was in the final result *población*-centered and organization-oriented. If the Church was ever visible in the populace, it was largely in the religious organizations (the sodalities, now the *cofradías*, the CWL, the K of C, the *Josefinas*, etc.) constituting, as mentioned earlier on, the virtual extension of the parish priest who nevertheless remained the *factotum*: "el Padre es todo en cada pueblo."⁹² Being *población*-centered, the numerous settlements were in some measure neglected save during *barrio fiestas*, Holy Week, and occasional weddings, baptisms, and funerals; and being organization-oriented, it was quite too hierarchical and it had the tendency to cater to a few, sometimes even bordering on, if it may be admitted, elitism, with the different organizations being task or project oriented. The lack of personnel, the settlement patterns, the raids, the epidemics, and other external factors no doubt had something to do with the result; but one need not overlook the theological framework under which the Jesuits and the Franciscans worked and expired. They labored within a Catholicism after the Council of Trent and Vatican I: a Catholicism of Counter-Reformation and in an Age of Baroque. That this continued to date, one may always have the appropriate arguments at hand.

Today, however, the Church works within a different Catholicism, and therefore the challenge which the parish faces today is to translate the new theological model of the parish presented by the Vatican Council II, convoked almost 25 years ago. Veering away from the feudal idea of territory and endowment, it defines the parish in terms of community and pastoral care, of people gathered in the Spirit, by the Gospel and by the Eucharist. Under this model, something of the old has to go, and the new has to be explored. The success of this kind of parish - if it is not irrelevant to close an historical essay with a biblical comment, and if a biblical scholar rather than an historian should have the last word - "is solely and purely in the growth of the life of the Spirit. She is not judged by the number of her members, the property she owns, the institutions she operates, the influence she has in the secular world of politics and economics. She may and sometimes must engage in all these things to fulfill her mission; but she has not accomplished her mission unless through these things men become one with Jesus in the Spirit. It is not therefore encouraging to hear Catholics speak of these

⁹²ARSI, "P. Ignatius Alzina Ad Joannem Marin Refert Statum Missionis De Los Pintados, Junio 24, 1660."

activities as if they were the index of the flourishing condition of the Church. We simply do not know when the Church is flourishing because we lack the standards by which it should be measured."⁹³

LOPE C. TOBREDILLO

University of St. Tomas

Rome

APPENDIX

THE ROYAL DECREE OFFICIALLY CREATING DOLORES (OR PARIC) INTO A MUNICIPALITY AND PARISH

Gobierno Superior Civil de las Islas Filipinas

Por el Ministerio de Ultramar con fecha 5 de Abril último bajo el no. 151 se nos ha comunicado la Real Orden que copio:

"Exmo. Sor. Dada cuenta a la Reina (q. D. g.) del expediente que V.E. acompañó a su carta del 31 de Agosto del año próximo pasado relativo a la erección de una nueva Parroquia en el Pueblo de Paric (Dolores), distrito de Samar, correspondiente al Gobierno de Visayas en ese Archipiélago, S. M. oído el consejo de Estado en pleno ha tenido a bien aprobar dicha erección conforme a lo propuesto en el expresado expediente, disponiendo que la dotación de seiscientos pesos que se asignan al Párroco hasta tanto que el número de tributos de su feligresía, le produzca una renta equivalente se incluya en el presupuesto del próximo año económico. De Real Orden lo digo a V.E. para su conocimiento y efectos consiguientes."

Y habiéndola mandado cumplir en esta fecha, la traslado a V.R. para conocimiento y fines consiguientes.

Dios gue. a V.R. ms. a.s. Manila 14 de Junio de 1864.

Rafael Espulino Echague

M.R.P. Provincial de S. Francisco

⁹³John McKenzie, *The Power and the Wisdom* (New York: Image Books, 1965), p. 207.

THE CANONICAL DECREE ERECTING
THE PARISH OF ST. JOACHIM

Obispado de Cebú, Filipinas

Con fecha 20 del actual hemos decretado lo siguiente:

"Habiendo sido aprobada por Real Orden de 5 de Abril de 1864 y Superior Decreto de 14 de Junio del mismo año del Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Civil y Vice-Patrono Real de estas Islas la erección en parroquia del pueblo de Paric (Dolores) separándola de su matriz Tubig (Taft) en el Distrito de Samar, previa instrucción del oportuno expediente en que se oyó a las personas interesadas; y contándonos la necesidad y conveniencia de que dicho pueblo se constituya en parroquia independiente en uso de las facultades que nos corresponden por los Sagrados Cánones y muy especialmente por el Santo Concilio de Trento en el Cap. 4, Ses. 21 de Reform. con el que está conforme la Ley 4, tit. n 6. lib. 10 de la Recop. de Indias, venimos en erigir y erigimos canónicamente el pueblo de Paric (Dolores) en parroquia independiente con jurisdicción espiritual separándola de su matriz Tubig y señalando a esta nueva parroquia por límites los mismos que le fueron designados civilmente. Y siendo necesario nombrar un Sacerdote de las cualidades necesarias que atienda a su administración espiritual, venimos a nombrar como Cura Interino, al R.P. Fr. José del Olmo, religioso Franciscano propuesto por su Prelado regular."

Lo que comunicamos a V.R. para su conocimiento y efectos consiguientes.

Dios gue. a V.R. m.s. a.s. Cebu 20 de Abril de 1878.

Fr. Benito Romero de Madridejos, Obispo

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