

The Bisayan Uprising of 1649-1650

A Mid-17th Century Account

INTRODUCTION

The Sumoroy or Bisayan Revolt of the years 1649-1650 may be considered as the first major rebellion to burst wide open during the first eighty-four year period of Hispanization and evangelization in the Philippine Islands. The uprising was very extensive, widespread and held the Island of Samar alone in its murderous and consuming grip for one full year and some three months.

This insurrection had its beginnings in the *Pueblo* of Palapag, Northern Samar or Ibabao, as this region was known in ancient times. On a Tuesday evening, June 1, 1649, two days before the Solemnity of *Corpus Christi*, the castellan of the Palapag Fort, Agustín Sumoroy, plunged his murderous javelin through the heart of Father Miguel Ponce Barberán, initiating a revolt which would steadily gain momentum of unmanageable magnitude.

Gripped severely in the claws of hatred, anger and vengeance, triumvirate Datu Juan Ponce, Datu Pedro Caamug and Sumoroy, daringly spread and instilled terror into the hearts of the townspeople so that they would either join their cause or suffer the consequences of destruction and devastation. And thus, some willingly and others reluctantly joined their ranks and supported the rebellion.

The flames of rancor quickly engulfed the town of Bacor (today the Can-avid-Dolores region) on the Pacific or Eastern Coast of Samar. The people readily joined the rebel elements and sup-

ported their cause most eagerly and most obligingly. The people of the town of Tubig (now known as Taft) also willingly joined ranks with the insurgents and pursued their goals with delight. The inhabitants of the town of Sulat and Borongan, reluctant in supporting such a cause, were terrorized, frightened away by the insurgents who plundered their churches and burned them to the ground in reprisal.

Similar occurrences took place in Catubig, Pambuhan del Norte (or Bayugo as it was known in ancient times), Bobon and Catarman, where devastation had run rampant.

On the Island of Leyte, at about the same time, the people too began to revolt; however, the uprising was short-lived due to the assistance of the people whom the King had in the shipyards on the same island [i.e. on the Carigara Bay].

Not very long thereafter, the sparks of rebellion jumped into the Provinces of Ibalon (now Sorsogon and Albay) and Camarines, where the people declared themselves against the rulers of the Provinces and where a Franciscan Father was murdered. In no time, the uprising broke out on the Island of Masbate, where an *alférez* was killed and where several churches were reduced to ashes.

This presumptuous scheme soon spilled over even onto the Island of Cebu, notwithstanding the fact that its large *pueblo* was well-garrisoned and protected by Fort San Pedro. The *alcalde mayor*, however, put a quick stop to the unrest and uprising, but not before a Spaniard was killed and three churches devastated through burnings.

It is interesting to learn that the Boholanos refused to participate in the rebellion and clung tenaciously to their Faith. Combés, in his *Historia* states: "The Boholanos, on account of their valour, retained their esteem for the faith."

When the short-lived uprising was quelled on the Island of Cebu, a widespread unrest and sparks of revolt began sweeping the large Island of Mindanao. In the Province of Caraga, the men of the village of Linao rebelled by displaying their intention with the murder of the Father Prior, an Augustinian, and several Spaniards at the garrison which was kept there. In fact, almost a dozen of them were attacked and killed; few of them, although badly wounded, managed to escape. Tandag and La Caldera had been drawn into the contest with similar resentments.

Also, on Mindanao, in the Province of Iligan, which borders on Caraga, the Manobos seized the peaceable village of Cagayan. Eventually, the entire coast of Northern Mindanao and the adjacent Island of Camiguin followed their example. In Camiguin, they bound the Prior, a Discalced Augustinian, and placed their feet on his neck.

In the jurisdiction of Zamboanga, the Subanons went astray and broke out into fury in the principal town of Siocon, where they murdered the Jesuit, Father Juan del Campo. In a most atrocious manner too, they killed his companions. The rebellion grew into such a magnitude that it even infected such areas as Butuan, Basilan and Davao.

Meanwhile, back on Samar, and in the Town of Catubig, Sumoroy and his insurgents swept into the village and murdered and martyred the saintly, Father Vicente Damián. As a result then, the conflagration began to singe the western coastal towns of Samar, particularly the town of Paranas (today known as Wright).

The proximate and remote causes of this rebellion reveal themselves quite clearly in the *Relación* and merely detail the events as they occurred in Samar and Ibabao only. The spin-off and the outer waves of this uprising, however interesting these may be, will not be treated here, since this would necessitate a separate study. In fact, the historian Diego de Santa Teresa, O.S.A., offers an excellent exposition of the Manobo Revolt in Mindanao in his interesting work *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos . . . de San Agustín* (Madrid: 1743), Vol. III, Chapter VI.

The mid-17th century manuscript presented here in its Spanish original and in translation appears in publication for the first time. Among the six known accounts, concerning this rebellion, our *Relación* here is the earliest record of this unfortunate event or episode in Philippine history.

The account under consideration here is obviously an annual report and seemingly penned by the Rector of Palapag, Samar, who succeeded the martyred Miguel Ponce Barberán and Vicente Damián respectively. Such annual reports emanating from the provinces and mission stations of the Jesuits were forwarded to the Jesuit Provincial in Manila. In the provincialate, editing and summaries were made and again sent to the General of the Jesuit Society in Rome. Since the original archival material of the Jesuits in Manila is now nowhere to be found there is no abso-

lute guarantee or certainly whether this *Relación* remained unedited.

The Alcina account of the Samar Rebellion may be considered as the second earliest narrative from among the six different accounts known thus far. It is found in *Historia de los Bisayas . . . 1668*, and which was prepared in a preliminary draft long, long before its given date of 1668. In this, still only partially published manuscript, the author included some seven chapters of the finest, most detailed narrative concerning the rebellion of Sumoroy. Unfortunately, a major portion of these chapters in the original manuscript have been badly mutilated and some almost totally destroyed and non-extant. Of the original seven chapters, treating the insurrection and its aftermath, chapters eleven and twelve have about one folio each missing; chapters thirteen, fourteen and fifteen have only nine scrambled paragraphs remaining; chapter sixteen seemingly has only one folio missing and only chapter seventeen is complete and intact. Notwithstanding this tragic and irreparable damage, the extant and surviving material of Alcina does offer some rich details about the insurrection.

Two of the previous issues of the *Philippiniana Sacra* published the above-mentioned material in its original Spanish and preliminary English translation.

The four other remaining accounts of this rebellion provide excellent and interesting details and episodes separately which one account or the other does not offer. They are the following: Francisco Combés, S.J., (1667), Juan de la Concepción, O.A.R., (1788), Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., (1749) and Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., (1898).

The *Relación* has been heavily annotated with the wealth of details culled from the above-mentioned five historians so as to present the episode as complete and as descriptive as possible.

Finally, it would be well to remember that operations to quell the insurrection on the Island of Samar were first begun on April 1650, some nine months after its out-break. The Spanish and Pampango troops arrived and established a garrison and a fort on the Ubasan River and on the Eastern Coast of Ibabao. A larger armada of Lutaos left Zamboanga and arrived to Samar on May 29, 1650. On June 3, one wing of the assault troops made an attack upon the strong fortification and caught a glimpse of the 'Mesa' but were trapped by Sumoroy and his rebels and forced

to withdraw. The following month, on July 2, another contingent with the four-hundred Lutaos, made their determined attack at night through a very difficult and risky pass. They too were trapped and delayed by a heavy down-pour. Notwithstanding the drenching set-back, they stormed the impregnable hill at the break of dawn relentlessly. The enemy caught by surprise, scampered over the cliffs and gorges for their lives.

On the following day, July 3, 1650, the captain and all his armed forces planted their flags of victory on the 'Mesa de Palapag', the insurgent stronghold. However, the back-bone of the rebel and military genius, Sumoroy, still remained to be broken. Although rather seriously wounded in the left shoulder in a previous encounter, Sumoroy managed to flee from his fortress several days earlier. He was secretly carried down in a hammock from the hill accompanied by many of the rebels' wives and children.

Seemingly, by the month of August, 1650, the associates of Somoroy, fearful for their own skins, began making overtures in winning favour with the military authorities. They assured everyone that they would bring Sumoroy to them dead or alive, if they so desired. Through intrigues and clever deception, these once-upon-a-time rebels won a hearing from Sumoroy, caught him off-guard, speared him to death, cut-off his head and threw it at the feet of the Captain Don Ginés de Rojas as a most coveted trophy of war.

La Insurrección En Bisayas Del 1650: Relación De Mediados Del Siglo XVII

**REBELION, CONTRA SU REY, DE LOS INDIOS DEL PUEBLO
DE PALAPAG EN LA ISLA DE IBABAO, SU APOSTASIA
DE LA FE, Y MUERTE POR PREDICADORES DE ELLA
DE LOS PADRES MIGUEL PONCE Y VICENTE
DAMIAN DE LA COMPAÑIA DE JESUS**

Es la isla de Ibabao una de las grandes de Filipinas, aunque no de las mayores; bien conocida por ser la primera tierra que descubren y reconocen las naos que vienen a ellas de la Nueva España. Hace embocadero con la isla de Manila, por donde entran las naos, y ha más de cincuenta años que la doctrinan los Padres de nuestra Compañía de Jesús, con tanta paz, sosiego y seguridad de los ministros, que parecía no haberla mayor en Castilla la Vieja.

Toda era de cristianos, sin hallarse en ella ningún gentil, porque todos los indios sin dificultad alguna se rindieron luego al principio a los españoles y los agasajaron y pagaron tributo, sin ser necesario para ello disparar un arcabuz, reconociendo por su rey al Católico de España. No menos fueron fáciles en sujetar la cerviz al yugo suave del Evangelio, teniéndole por tal, sin que en breve tiempo quedase indio que no se bautizase.

Toda la isla bojeaban los ministros evangélicos y atravesaban por tierra, cuando los mares no eran navegables, sin recelo alguno de los naturales; antes con mucha seguridad y confianza de su fidelidad.

THE REBELLION OF THE *INDIOS* IN THE TOWN OF
PALAPAG ON THE ISLAND OF SAMAR AGAINST
THEIR KING; APOSTASY FROM THE FAITH
AND THE DEATH OF ITS PREACHERS,
FATHERS MIGUEL PONCE AND
VICENTE DAMIAN OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS¹

The Island of Ibabao² is one of the largest in the Philippines although not *the* largest; it is famed for being the first island to be sighted and discovered by the ships which arrive from New Spain. Together with the Island of Manila³ it forms a strait⁴ through which the ships enter. It is over fifty years that it is under the spiritual care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. [The island flourished] in the midst of so much peace, calm and security that there seemed not to be a better one in Old Castile.

This island is totally populated with Christians; not a single heathen is found on it⁵ because all the *Indios* surrendered without any difficulty and acknowledged the Catholic King of Spain as their King at once. They received the Spaniards and paid tribute without any necessity of even firing an arquebus. Nor were they less ready in bowing their heads to the sweet yoke of the Gospel, accepting it willingly so much so that not a native was left there who did not receive Baptism.

The ministers of the Gospel were able to criss-cross the island and were able to travel over-land without any fear of the natives, whenever the seas were not navigable. We worked in the midst of much security and trust because of their fidelity.

Había en ella dos residencias, y parte de otra, que administraban once sacerdotes repartidos en diecinueve pueblos.

Fueron los progresos de Cristiandad muy grandes y casi todos los pueblos tenían fundadas Congregaciones de la Virgen Nuestra Señora, en que se esmeraban los mejores cristianos y mayores principales, frecuentando a menudo los sacramentos de la Confesión y Comunión. En dos cabeceras, en especial, estaban estas Congregaciones más entabladas y lucidas, ya incorporadas en la de la Anunciata de Roma, que son las de Catbalogan y Palapag, pueblos de gran principalía y cristiandad, y aventajados a los demás en la /dines?/ y noticia de las cosas de la fe.

El de Palapag, que es el principal argumento de esta *Relación*, tuvo siempre ministros muy fervorosos y santos, que con perpetua asistencia, por ser la cabecera de diez pueblos donde residen los Superiores, tenían a los indios muy morigerados y devotos.

Pero el enemigo del género humano, no pudiendo sufrir tanta felicidad y tan grandes progresos en la cristiandad de esta isla, toda coronada de hermosas iglesias, muy bien ornamentadas, en especial la de Palapag, con ricos candeleros, custodias y cruces de plata, frontales de tela, colgaduras de damasco y hermosas imágenes de talla, comenzó a urdir una tela con dos hilos a propósito para deshacerlo todo, así lo espiritual como lo material, que daría pena.

El medio que tomó fue introducir dos vicios en los indios de Palapag, que son los que el Espíritu Santo dice en el Cap. 1º del Eclesiástico hacen apostatar a los sabios, lujuria y embriaguez: “Vinum et mulieres apostatarè faciunt sapientes”; que siéndolo los indios tan poco, tanto con mayor facilidad les hacían apostatar, mayormente reinando en ellos con demasia. Fue grande la que en la gente de este pueblo hubo, y señalada entre los demás sus circunvecinos, y admirada de todos.

Dio ocasión en primer lugar al vicio de la lujuria una nao de Méjico, de las que suelen venir a estas partes cada año, la cual, por llegar tarde, dio fondo en un puerto de este pueblo e

On this island there were two residences⁶ with a portion of another which were administered by eleven priests scattered over nineteen towns.

The progress of the Christian Faith was very extensive; in almost all the towns the "Congregation of the Virgin, Our Lady"⁷ had been founded, and to its membership belonged some of the finest Christians and outstanding members of the nobility who were very diligent in frequenting the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, and who observed extremely well all its regulations and obligations. In these two *cabeceras* especially, that is, in Catbalogan and in Palapag, these "Congregations" were better established and were most progressive; towns flourishing in the Christianity and in the nobility of its members; people far more advanced than all the others, in the embracing and in the knowledge of matters pertaining to the Faith.

The town of Palapag⁸ especially, which is the principal subject-matter of this *Relación*, always had very fervent and holy ministers, who by their tireless zeal kept the natives very restrained [in their customs] and very devout. This town was a *cabecera* where the superior resided and to which ten other villages belonged.⁹

The great enemy of mankind, however, not being able to bear so much joy and so much progress in the Christianity of this island, all well-crowned with beautiful churches and very well-furnished, especially that of Palapag which had rich chandeliers, monstrances, crosses of silver, frontals of cloth, tapestry of damask and attractively carved images, began to scheme how to undo everything — the spiritual as well as the temporal in such a manner as to fill one with deepest regrets.

The means which the Evil One employed was to introduce the natives of Palapag to [some horrible] vices about which the Holy Spirit speaks in Chapter One [sic] of the Book of Ecclesiasticus;¹⁰ namely, that lust and drunkenness make wise men go astray. Since these natives are of such simple understanding, all the more are they prone to apostasy and to permit these vices to reign supremely. There was a great tendency among the people of this town to lean toward apostasy, something which the neighboring towns began to hint and wonder about.

In the first place, it was the ships which customarily arrived here to these parts from Mexico which gave rise to the vice of lust. These ships anchored here in this town's harbour¹¹ when-

invernó en él. Los indios de los demás pueblos decían que allí se hicieron las indias de Palapag más deshonestas de lo ordinario, y cobraron demasiada libertad con la comunicación de la gente que venía en la nao, no sin reparo también después de los españoles que iban a aquel pueblo que, escandalizados, decían no haber visto en las Islas mayor disolución de mujeres; y, siendo ellas disolutas, fácilmente también hacían insolentes en este vicio a los varones.

Allegóse a esto la mucha abundancia de vino que se hacía en un río, allí vecino, fácil de llevar a su puesto y barato de comprar; con que todo era beber, hoy en una casa, mañana en otra, con grandes voces y algazara, sin que los Padres fuesen poderosos con sus reprensiones y penitencias, que por esto les daban, para moderar su demasía. Llegó esta a veces a tal punto que, viendo el Padre Rector de allí en una Semana Santa tal disolución y tan grandes voces como daban, y locuras que hacían tomados del vino, se vio obligado a cerrarles la iglesia en aquel santo tiempo, contentándose con decir una misa rezada el Jueves y Sábado Santo, dejando de hacer las demás solemnidades, juzgando a aquel pueblo por indigno de ellas.

Cuando estaban más calientes con el vino, se les representaban con viveza las cargas de la Cristiandad, que ya, como contaminados de este vicio, y del de la carne, su hijo primogénito, en que se habían mucho desenfrenado, se les hacían muy pesadas.

También allí consideraban y conferían entre sí las vejaciones inevitables de astilleros y centinelas para las naos, que eran, para aquel pueblo en especial, carga excesiva, y otras conducciones de gente para otras faenas, y el tributo que con mucha dificultad le pagaban.

Allí trataban de zafarse de estos trabajos, alzándose, pues tenían bsatantes armas para su defensa en un fuerte que estaba unido con la casa de los Padres, artillería, arcabuces, mosquetes y municiones que ellos manejaban bien y las tenían allí los Padres para defender el pueblo de los enemigos que solían ir a aquella costa a robar, venidos de otras islas.

ever they arrived late and were forced to winter here. The *Indios* of other towns often said that the *Indio* women of Palapag became more immoral than they ever were and that they permitted themselves excessive freedom in their dealings with the people who came aboard these ships. These also caught the attention, afterwards, of the Spaniards who visited that town to the scandal of all. The Spaniards said that they have not witnessed greater dissoluteness among the women anywhere else in the Islands, and as a result they lured the men to be more aggressive in this vice.

This evil was compounded by the great abundance of wine that was made at a nearby river and easily transported to their place and made available at a very low price; thereupon all took to drinking, today in one house and tomorrow in another amidst boisterous revelry. Notwithstanding the admonitions and punishments which the Fathers imposed upon them to bring about some moderation, they remained powerless. During one Holy Week their carousing, dissoluteness and debauchery reached such excesses that the Father Rector of that place deemed it proper to close the church during that holy period; they were made to be content with one Low Mass on Holy Thursday and Saturday while all other ceremonies were omitted, since the town was judged unworthy of them.

The more they became intoxicated with wine, the more vividly did they imagine themselves burdened with the Christian Faith. All this seemed onerous to them already; however, the more they fell under the influence of this vice and that of the flesh, the more they lost control of their senses.

It was also during these times that they discussed and talked about the seemingly unavoidable vexations of shipyard labour¹² and watch-out men for the vessels, which became an excessive burden especially for that town; recruitment of the people for other services and the tribute which they had to pay with much difficulty.

They discussed about the possibility of freeing themselves from these burdens and rising up in rebellion because they had enough weapons for their protection at the fort¹³ that was adjacent to the house of the Fathers. There were available artillery, arquebuses, muskets and powder, all which they were capable of handling very well. The Fathers kept all this over there for the defense of the town from the enemies who were wont to ply that coast for plunder when coming from the other islands.

Las palabras que acerca de este alzamiento se dejaban caer, las referían a los Padres algunos viejos celosos para que se pusiese conveniente remedio; mas ellos no daban crédito, atribuyéndolo todo al vino y no a que verdaderamente tuviesen los corazones dañados.

Un indio, llamado Agustín Sumoroy, de baja suerte, vencido de los dos vicios arriba dichos, fue el primero que comenzó a declararse por todos, lo cual debiera hacer menos que todos, a ley de agradecido, por haber sido amparado y beneficiado de los Padres a título de excelente piloto para las navegaciones; y también por haberle hecho caudillo de los indios que estaban de guarnición en la fuerza; con que era reservado de tributo y de los demás servicios personales del pueblo, y de un pobre hombre hecho ya principal en él.

Este se hallaba en todas las borracheras, excediendo en beber a los demás y en hacer locuras cuando perdía el juicio, de que era gravemente reprendido de los Padres y, en especial el año pasado de 1649, del Padre Miguel Ponce que era allí Rector de toda aquella residencia. Había también muchos años que estaba públicamente amancebado, como otros muchos de su pueblo, y con hijos de la manceba, habiendo dejado a su legítima mujer sin querer hacer vida con ella, aunque los Padres solos lo ignoraban.

Esto vino, finalmente, a noticia del buen Padre Rector Miguel Ponce, que le reprendió paternalmente varias veces por ello con toda benignidad, y después con algún rigor, quitándole la manceba y haciendo viviese en parte menos ocasionada a tan mala comunicación.

Luego que se vio descubierto y despojado de la que él tanto quería, comenzó a descubrir la ponzoña que tenía encerrada en su dañado corazón, y el odio a nuestra santa fe, por ser juntamente hechicero y discípulo de su padre que, dicen los demás indios, lo había sido siempre a lo disimulado, y sacerdote de los ídolos, que en su antigüedad adoraban, hombre de mucha edad y reconcentrado.

The schemes regarding this uprising seeped out and it was reported to the Fathers by some concerned elderly men so that they may do something to prevent it; however, the Fathers could not believe this and attributed it all to the wine. They somehow refused to believe that the hearts of the natives could be so perverted.

A certain native called Agustín Sumoroy¹⁴ who came from a lowly lineage, overpowered by the two aforementioned vices, was the first to declare himself in the name of all against us. He should have been the last one to do so if he had any gratitude in him; for he was aided and sheltered by the Fathers, since he was an excellent pilot at sea. He was also made the head of the garrison at the fort and as a consequence of this, he was exempt from paying the tribute and from other personal services in the town. He had risen from a nobody to a *principal* in the town.

This fellow was present at all the drinking sprees and even out-doing all the others; in his drunken stupor he did all sorts of foolish things for which he was admonished severely by the Fathers especially during the past year of 1649 by Father Miguel Ponce¹⁵ who was then the Rector of the residence. What is more scandalous is that he had lived for many years in public concubinage like many others of his town, fathering several children with the concubine. He had abandoned his legitimate wife and would not live with her; the only ones ignorant of this truth were the Fathers.

Finally, this reached the ears of the good Father Rector, Miguel Ponce, who called his attention to the matter several times: first in all kindness and afterwards with some rigor when he deprived him of his concubine and made her live in a place less conducive to such an evil relationship.

As soon as he learned that his evil ways were discovered and that his woman, whom he loved so dearly was taken away from him, he began to release the venom which he kept in his perverted heart and the bitterness he had against our holy Faith. He was both a sorcerer and a disciple of his father about whom the natives say that he had always been such secretly; that is, a priest of the idols whom they worshipped in the days of paganism. He was a man well-advanced in years and ego-centric.

Estando, pues, este indio en sus borracheras y juntas, que habían hecho algunas veces en su pueblo acerca de rebelarse y apostatar de nuestra santa fe y volverse a sus ritos antiguos, pareciéndole que era buen empeño para todos matar al mismo Rector que tanto les predicaba y reñía sus vicios, borracheras y amancebamientos en el púlpito, confesonario y conversaciones, le decía a su hijo Sumoroy; “Si tú no te atreves a matar al Padre para que demos ya principio a nuestro alzamiento, yo iré en persona a su casa y le mataré.”

El malvado del hijo andaba como preñado con deseos de cumplir la voluntad de su depravado padre, y también la de los del pueblo que se le habían escogido por adalid de esta empresa. Pero no se acababa de resolver, aunque le espoleaba mucho el sentimiento que tenía de verse despojado de la manceba.

Ausentóse con esta perplejidad del pueblo por tres meses a los montes, o a las sementeras, a reocer/?/ su maldad con otros indios, su aliados, sin querer parecer ni acudir a Misa, y sin saber el Padre dónde estaba, que muchas veces preguntó por él. Volvió, finalmente, y se presentó al Padre, el cual, amenazándole con alguna penitencia saludable por sus culpas, y sería bien en castigo de ellas enviarle a Cavite, que es el puerto de Manila, donde hay astillero perpetuo, para que trabajare en él con otros indios que entonces iban allá conducidos de todas las islas, Sumoroy le respondió, aunque medio burlando, al parecer, y sonriéndose, que le mataría si tal hacía; aunque bien entendió que no le decía el Padre aquello de veras, y lo mismo juzgó el Padre de las palabras del indio.

Después de esto, viendo que los ministros del Rey apretaban con rigor de prisiones a los indios que habían de ir al puerto de Cavite, por la resistencia que hacían, nacida del mucho sentimiento que tenían de salir desterrados de su patria con mujeres e hijos, sin esperanza de volver a ella, quisieron gozar de la ocasión e hicieron otra junta y borrachera, y en ella obligaron a Sumoroy, que también estaba sentido de que un sobrino suyo fuese de los conducidos, a que se determinase ya a matar al Padre, que era el principal empeño de su alzamiento, y que le harían escolta

This native [i.e. the father of Sumoroy] held gatherings in the town where during their drinking bouts they discussed the rebellion and about apostasizing from our Holy Faith and about returning to their old practices. He felt that it was a good undertaking for all of them to kill the rector who preached so much to them and reprimanded them about their vices, drinking bouts and concubinages from the pulpit and in the confessional. In personal conversations he said to his son Sumoroy: "If you lack courage to kill the Father so that we may initiate our uprisings, I shall go personally to his house and kill him!"

The wicked son seemed greatly inclined to carry out the will of his depraved father and that of his town-mates who had chosen him as the leader of this undertaking, but he was rather hesitant in making up his mind about it; although the resentment of being deprived of his concubine drew him strongly in that direction.

In the midst of this dilemma he absented himself from the town for some three months and went somewhere into the hills or to the rice-fields brooding over his misfortune together with the other natives, his associates and without even making an effort to show himself at Mass. The Father who did not know his whereabouts, inquired about him many times. Finally, he returned and presented himself to the Father who seemingly threatened him with some salutary punishment for his unchristian behaviour and stated that perhaps it would be a good idea to send him to Cavite and to join all the other natives who were being conducted there from all parts of the island. This is a harbour of Manila with a permanent shipyard. Sumoroy answered him somewhat half-jokingly and with a smile, it seemed, that he would kill him if he did such a thing, although he understood well that the Father was not speaking in earnest; the Father likewise took the remark of the native in a casual manner.

Upon seeing that the ministers [as if agents] of the King were pressing the natives hard with seeming imprisonment to the shipyards of Cavite, they began to show strong resentment. They took advantage of this regrettable circumstance by calling another gathering and a drinking session; here they compelled Sumoroy, who also resented that draft in which his nephew was included among all the others, to make up his mind to kill the Father already, which was the real motive for the uprising.

sus parientes y otras indios alentados, y después saquearían con las armas del fuerte en el cerro que allí cerca tenían, con que quedarían libres de los dos yugos, para ellos tan pesados, de la ley de Dios y del vasallaje al Rey de España.

Este querían vender a los holandeses, y ellos eran la finca de sus esperanzas para salir con su intento, porque cada año rondaban sus costas en busca de las naos que vienen de socorro a estas Islas, que ya era tiempo que llegasen; pero fue Nuestro Señor servido que aquel año no hubiese holandeses por estar ya en Europa publicadas las paces; que, a haber venido, de ellos se querían ayudar para ir levantando todas las Islas y para vivir seguros en tierra de los españoles.

Una devota mujer, que era maestra de las niñas del pueblo a hija del mayor principal de él, se fue al Padre Rector y le dio cuenta de cómo aquella gente se quería alzar y matarle con los demás Padres, y le pidió con lágrimas en los ojos varias veces que se fuese del pueblo. Lo mismo avisaron a un donado español que cuidaba en casa de las cosas temporales, el que le dijo al Padre que sería bien tratar de la fuga; que era el alzamiento tan evidente. El Padre, o porque no se persuadió a que aquello tuviese efecto, o porque le parecía dificultoso escaparse si ellos ya estaban determinados de matarle, juzgando **ser cosa fea** morir huyendo, porque como buen soldado de Cristo no quiso desamparar su puesto, sino procurar de conservar en la fe a los que tenía a su cargo, aunque fuese con riesgo de la vida, se dejó estar así en casa sin hacer demostración alguna, respondiendo al hermano, con gracia, que si los querían matar por cosas temporales, a él la matarían antes por ser el inmediato a ellas y que pedía a los indios lo que era menester para casa, pero no fue por esto, pues mataron al Padre y dejaron vivo al donado, porque, subiendo a la casa el

Sumoroy would be assisted by his relatives and other *Indios* who afterwards they would sack the convent and the church and then burn and reduce everything to ashes; they would also arm themselves strongly with the weapons from the fort and fortify themselves on a hill nearby where they would live in freedom from the double yoke of God's law and from the vassalage to the King of Spain which weighed so heavily upon them.

To realize their scheme they would like to throw in their lot with the Dutch and thus win their confidence since year-in and year-out they were stealthily plying the coasts awaiting the galleons which were returning with assistance for these Islands, for it was already time for them to arrive. It was providential, however, since that particular year the Dutch were not around because a treaty of peace had been announced in Europe. If the Dutch would have been present, surely they would have requested their help in starting the rebellion throughout the islands so as to live securely in the land of the Spaniards.

One devout woman,¹⁶ who was the teacher of the girls in the town school and a daughter of the chief *principal*, went to the Father and reported to him how that people wanted to rise up in revolt and to kill him together with the other Fathers; she then begged him a number of times, with tears in her eyes, to leave the town. They also reported the same thing to the Spanish *donado*¹⁷ who was in charge of the temporal affairs of the Fathers, suggesting that it may be well to plan an escape since the uprising was imminent. The Father, either because it seemed difficult for him to flee if they were already determined to kill him, felt it shameful to die running away. Or perhaps even as a good soldier of Christ he did not wish to abandon his post but remain close to those who were entrusted to him in the Faith, even though it would be at the risk of his life. He, therefore, made up his mind to stay at home without taking any precautionary measures. [In fact] he replied to the brother in jest, that if they wished to kill them because of the temporalities, they would kill him first because he was directly responsible for them and he was the one who dealt with the *Indios* in regard to whatever was necessary [for the needs] of the convent. But this was not the case: for they killed the father and spared the Brother or the life of the *donado*. The sacrilegious Sumoroy went up to the

sacrilego de Sumoroy al tiempo que el Padre Rector Miguel Ponce salía del refectorio de cenar y subía la escalera arriba, le tiró una fiera lanzada, atravesándole el corazón; con que dio su alma a Dios, con los nombres de Jesús y María en la boca, que desde el refectorio oyó el donado.

Este avisó al Padre más cercano, de su muerte, para que fuera a enterrarle; diole sepultura sin solemnidades con la gente que llevaba consigo, y algunos indios devotos del pueblo, porque los demás andaban escondidos, disponiendo las cosas a su intento

Presto sintió el Padre el alboroto de la gente que de mano armada venía sobre el pueblo, dando principio a su alzamiento el mismo día del Corpus, tratando ellos, al tiempo que en otras iglesias se erigían nuevos altares para exponer en ellos el Cuerpo de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, de quemarle, pegando fuego a su iglesia. Mas el buen Padre, con riesgo de su vida, le consumió, y luego entraron aquellos sacrilegos de mano armada en ella, ejecutando su rabia dando cuchilladas a las imágenes, derribándolas en el suelo, acoceándolas y después arrojándolas por los campos. Descolgaron los doseles de damasco e hicieron de ellos turbantes para las cabezas, y, después de no haber dejado cosa alguna sagrada que no profanasen y robasen, pegaron fuego y abrasaron el templo.

Luego, con el mismo furor y rabia, embistieron con la casa del Padre. Quisieron matarle; mas los indios, que había llevado consigo del pueblo de Catubig, le defendieron y se le volvieron a su pueblo, acompañado de otro Padre enfermo que allí había, y del donado.

Y luego que salieron de casa los Padres, la saquearon, y robaron cuanto en ella había, y la pegaron también fuego, y, no estando satisfecha su rabia con lo que hasta allí habían hecho, viendo una cruz muy grande y hermosa que estaba en el cementerio, no pudieron sus ojos sufrir verla en pie, y así la derribaron e hicieron astillas.

Quisieron hacer cómplices de su maldad y apostasía a los demás pueblos, y, en orden a ello, les enviaron embajadas con

house at the time when Father Rector, Miguel Ponce, left the refectory after supper and was going up the stairs; ruthlessly, he struck him with a spear, piercing his heart. In this way, he surrendered his soul to God, pronouncing the names of Jesus and Mary, which the *donado* heard from the refectory.¹⁸

This one [i.e. the *donado*] notified the nearest Father¹⁹ about his death so that he might come and bury him. And he buried him without any solemnity assisted by the people whom he brought along with him together with some devout *Indios* of the town²⁰; the others were now in hiding and plotting new schemes.

Shortly, thereafter, the Father [i.e. Vicente Damián] soon heard the uproar of the people who, armed with weapons, came upon the town and thus started the uprising on the Solemnity of *Corpus Christi*. And so it happened, that while in other churches new altars were erected for the exposition of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, these were setting their church to the torch. The good Father, however endangering his life, would soon have it extinguished also. At once these sacrilegious people broke into it and with weapons in their hands began giving vent to their fury by slashing the images, casting them to the ground, trampling upon them and throwing them out into the fields afterwards. They stripped the canopies of damask and made turbans out of them for their heads. When there was no sacred item left which they could profane or steal they set the temple on fire and reduced it to ashes.²¹

After this, with the same furor they rushed upon the house of the Father and wanted to kill him too, but the *Indios*, whom he had taken along with him from the town of Catubig defended him and took him back to their town, accompanied by another ailing Father who was there together with the *donado*.²²

As soon as the Father left the house, they ransacked it, stole everything that was valuable therein and set it on fire. Since their vengeance was still not satisfied with what they had done thus far, seeing a large and a beautiful cross which was there in the cemetery, their eyes could not bear to see it standing there; so they pulled it down and shattered it into small pieces.

They also wished to make the other towns accomplices of their wickedness and apostasy; for this reason they sent out embassies

fieros/?) y amenazas para que quemasen ellos también sus iglesias, profanasen y robasen lo sagrado de ellas y diesen la muerte a sus ministros; que, si no lo hacían luego, ellos mismos irían a ejecutarlo.

Libróse en esta ocasión de las manos de los apóstatas otro Padre, a quien llevaron unos indios devotos a una isla allí cercana.

Dábales cuidado a los de Palapag el pueblo de Catubig, donde estaban los dos Padres que de sus manos se habían escapado, y persuadidos a que por su respeto no habían quemado los indios su iglesias, como ellos, se partieron para allá con armas de fuego, y, entrando en ella, la saquearon, profanaron y quemaron, como habían hecho con la suya, estándolos mirándolos dos Padres y alguna gente del pueblo que los acompañaba; y matáranlos, sin duda, a no esconderlos con tiempo unos criados.

Enviaron luego a quemar las demás iglesias de la costa, con que en breve tiempo fueron ocho las iglesias quemadas, dejando solas dos por estar lejos y recelarse también de la fidelidad de algunos principales, que estaban ciertos saldrían a su defensa.

Saltaron luego las centellas de este fuego a casi todas las Islas, sin saber cómo, porque casi al mismo tiempo se alborotaron en la isla de Manila dos privincias, la de Ibalon y Camarines, y fueron saqueadas y quemadas algunas iglesias, escapándose con dificultad los religiosos de San Francisco que las tenían a cargo. Pero fue el Señor servido que se apagase presto esta centella, porque acudieron luego con gente armada los alcaldes mayores al remedio.

Luego saltó otra a la isla de Cebú, donde los indios mataron un español y quemaron tres iglesias, que a no acudir tan presto el alcalde mayor de la ciudad de Cebú, cundiera el fuego por toda la isla y la abrasara toda en apostasía.

Sintióse también entonces otro incendio semejante en la grande isla de Mindanao, donde en un pueblo quitaron los natu-

with fierce threats so that they might also burn down their churches, profane them and steal what was sacred in them and put its ministers to death. If they would not accomplish this at once, they themselves would go there to carry it all out.

On this occasion another Father barely escaped from the hands of the apostates whom some devout *Indios* took to a nearby island.

Those of Palapag were worrying about the town of Catubig where there were the two fathers who had escaped from the clutches of the rebels; realizing that out of respect for the Fathers the *Indios* had not burned down the church, as they had done with their own, they set out with their fire-arms and entering the town, sacked it, profaned, and burned it as they had done with theirs. The two Fathers accompanied by some people from that town, witnessed everything; without any doubt, they would have been killed too, had not some of the house-boys hidden them on time.

Afterwards they sent their people to burn the other churches along the coast; so it happened, that in a short time the number of churches put to the torch were eight in all. They by-passed only two because these were some distance and also because they had some misgivings about the fidelity of some of the *principales* with their cause and they felt that these would defend their churches.²³

Soon sparks of this fire spread to almost all the Islands; it is not known how, but almost at the same time two other provinces of the Island of Manila, that of Ibalon and Camarines, rose up in rebellion and some churches were plundered and burned. The Fathers of St. Francis, under whose jurisdiction these were, escaped with some difficulty. God was pleased that this spark was soon extinguished there because the *Alcaldes Mayores* soon after came to the rescue with armed people.

Not long afterwards, another spark jumped over onto the Island of Cebu²⁴ where the *Indios* killed a Spaniard and burned three churches. Had not the *Alcalde Mayor* of Cebu come quickly to the rescue, the fire would have spread throughout the entire island and it would burn in apostasy.

A similar uprising occurred upon the Island of Mindanao, where in a certain town the natives rose in rebellion and took

rales que se alzaron, la vida a un religioso de San Agustín, recoleto, y a algunos españoles, y después quemaron su iglesia y se fueron al monte.

En la isla de Leyte comenzaron luego otros indios al mismo tiempo a alzarse, sino que se atajó en breve este daño con la gente del astillero que el Rey allí tenía en la misma isla.

Después de algunos días pasó el incendio a la contracosta de la misma isla de Ibabao, donde estaban los españoles previniendo armada para el castigo de Palapag, porque en el pueblo de Paranas se comenzaron a ir los indios al monte, dejando sus sementeras y casas. Acudió la gente que se iba juntando en Catbalogan para la facción y, con el miedo de ella, se volvieron presto a reducir y quietar, y, a no cogerse una espía que salió del cerro de Palapag enviado con cartas de los alzados a los principales de los demás pueblos de la isla, se pudiera temer el alzamiento de toda ella, y hubo también recelo de las demás, porque en todas ellas se sentían ya los indios removidos, y cada día venían nuevas de españoles muertos, como en la isla de Masbate que mataron su cobrador, y en la de Ibabao dos españoles centinelas; pero no quiso el Señor de todo que se perdiesen tan grandes cristiandades, donde sin duda tiene muchos predestinados.

Otros dos Padres estaban en la misma costa de Ibabao, que eran sujetos de la residencia de Palapag, en los cuatro pueblos últimos de ella, los cuales, luego que sintieron a los alzados que se les iban acercando a levantar sus indios, se retiraron al último de ellos, por ser más seguro, donde se estuvieron hasta que les llegó nueva de dos iglesias quemadas de la suyas, y, no teniéndose allí por seguros, se pasaron a un pueblo de la contracosta. El uno de estos dos Padres era el Padre Vicente Damián, nombrado ya Rector de aquella residencia por muerte del buen Padre Miguel Ponce, y viéndole corría obligación de acudir al remedio de tanto daño, solicitó armada para reducir los apóstatas y castigarlos.

No surtió efecto alguno bueno de esta facción porque los indios se hicieron fuertes en un cerro inaccesible, y, plantando en

the life of a religious — a certain Augustinian Recollect and several Spaniards — then they burned the church and took to the hills.

On the Island of Leyte, at about the same time, other natives soon began to revolt, but it was short-lived due to the help of the people that the King had in the shipyard on the same island.

After several days the fire of rebellion began to spread to the eastern coast of the same Island [actually, the western coast] of Ibabao where the Spaniards were preparing a punitive force against the rebels of Palapag. In the town of Paranas the natives began to flee to the hills, abandoning their fields and houses. The armed men who were gathering in Catbalogan for the punitive expedition, came to their rescue and frightened them into submission and peace. Were it not for the fortune of intercepting a spy who left the hills of Palapag with letters from the insurgents to the *datus* of the other towns of the island, there would have been the possibility of an uprising throughout the entire island. There was a similar fear that the same thing may happen on the other islands because the natives were restless everywhere. Each day there arrived news of murdered Spaniards, as it happened on Masbate Island where they killed a tribute gatherer and on Ibabao [sic] where they also killed two Spanish sentries. But the Lord of all did not permit that such important missions would be lost, where undoubtedly He has many predestined souls.

There were two other Fathers on the same coast of Ibabao who were subject to the Palapag Residence and who were working in the last four towns that belonged to it. Once they sensed that the insurgents were nearing to stir up the natives to an insurrection, they withdrew to one of the most remote ones for safety; they stayed there until they received the news that the two churches were burned. Later, for fear of safety, they transferred to a town on the western coast of the island. One of these two Fathers was Vicente Damián, already appointed Rector of that Residence due to the death of the good Father Miguel Ponce. Convinced that he was duty-bound to repair all the devastation, he asked for an armed force to reduce the apostates and punish them.

This military enterprise did not have any effect because the *Indios* fortified themselves on an inaccessible hill,²⁵ well en-

él la artillería que tenían, que era la del fuerte de los Padres, con ella y con las demás armas se defendían valientemente. Volvióse la armada a la cabecera de Catbalogan, para engrosarla de más gente y tomar bastimentos que habían faltado.

Los Padres en el ínterin con embajadas procuraban la reducción de aquellos desdichados; ellos, cada día más pertinaces y endurecidos, como gente ya dejada de la mano de Dios, escribían en respuesta mil desvergüenzas; dábanse allá en su cerro al vicio de la deshonestidad, sin freno, casándose a su usanza antigua con muchas mujeres. Diéronse también a la idolatría, siendo el viejo padre de Sumoroy el sacerdote de sus ídolos, haciéndoles sacrificios y hablando con los demonios.

El Padre Vicente Damián, nuevo superior de aquella residencia tan destruida, no cesaba de hacer diligencia para que se acudiese al remedio; más, viendo que este por varios accidentes iba despacio, deseó ir a los cuatro pueblos que antes tenía a su cargo, en particular a los dos que quedaron libres del incendio, porque consideraba aquellas sus ovejas perdidas, descarriadas y huyendo por los montes de las amenazas que les hacían aquellos labos carniceros de Palapag.

Pidió con grande instancia al Padre Vice-Provincial de Pintados, que había llegado de Manila con socorro, que, supuesto que aquella armada, que había de ir a Palapag, iba despacio, él iría, entretanto que se juntaba, a visitar sus cuatro pueblos y congregar sus ovejas, de quienes tenía satisfacción que no estaban rebeldes a Dios ni al Rey, sino temerosos de los de Palapag.

No pareció al Padre Vice-Provincial concederle la licencia que el Padre pedía por el riesgo que corría su persona si los indios del cerro sabían había ido de aquellos pueblos, y así le respondió que mejor era remediar primero el origen del daño, que era

trenched and fortified with the artillery which they pilfered from the fort of the Fathers. With these and with other weapons they defended themselves vigorously. The armed force returned to the *Cabecera* of Catbalogan in order to strengthen itself with more men and supply itself with more provisions of which it it was short.

Meanwhile, the Fathers tried to win back those wretched ones by means of embassies; however, as the days went by, they became more and more obstinate and hardened as men abandoned by the hand of God. They wrote back and responded with a thousand shameless improprieties and on their fortified hill they gave themselves to the vice of impurity, unbridled passion and going into marriage according to their former pagan ways with many wives. They also gave themselves to idolatry; the aged father of Sumoroy being the priest of their idols, offering sacrifices to them and holding converse with the devils.

Father Vicente Damián,²⁶ the new Superior of that residence, which was so badly destroyed, spared no means in seeking out a remedy. Realizing, however, that solutions were very slow in coming, due to various complex situations, he yearned to visit the four towns which fell under his jurisdiction previously and particularly the two which were not affected by the uprising. He saw them as sheep which were lost, wandering and fleeing over the hills from the threats levelled upon them by the blood-thirsty wolves of Palapag.

Persistently he implored the Father Vice-Provincial²⁷ of the *Pintados* [i.e. the Bisayas], who had arrived from Manila with armed men, that in view of such slow military response thus far, he wished to visit his four towns and gather his flock, while the troops were readying themselves. For he was certain that his flock there was not rebelling against God and against their King but were only fearful of the Palapagnons.

The Father Vice-Provincial did not deem it proper that he grant that permission which Father Vicente was requesting, since perhaps he would be running into a big risk if the *Indios* upon that hill would learn that he had left those towns [i.e. those nearby towns which fell under the Palapag jurisdiction]. Instead, he suggested that it would be better to concentrate upon the roots

Palapag, yendo allá con armada, que después era fácil la reducción de los demás.

Sucedió dentro de pocos días la llegada allí de muchos principales de aquellos pueblos que el Padre Vicente quería visitar, clamando por él y rogando al Superior se le diese, que ellos le guardarían de los enemigos que les habían quemado sus iglesias, porque era necesaria su asistencia allá, así para juntar los indios que andaban por los montes, como para la conservación de los dos pueblos adonde no había llegado el daño; y, para salir con su intento, prometían de juntarse todos con su gente para hacer resistencia a los de Palapag y reedificar las iglesias quemadas.

Consultóse el caso entre los Padres que allí estaban congregados con el Padre Vice-Provincial y otros tres capitanes encomenderos de los pueblos alzados que con él habían ido de Manila a la facción, y juntamente se halló allí el alcalde mayor de aquella provincia con otras personas prácticas en la tierra. Todos de común parecer juzgaron por conveniente y forzosa la ida del Padre allá, pues su compañero, que ya se había vuelto a los pueblos que dejaron los enemigos de quemar, prometía seguridad en sus cartas, con el amparo de los indios fieles, y el un Padre, ayudado del otro, los conservarían mejor en su fidelidad.

La alegría con que el buen Padre se partió con sus principales no le cupo en el corazón, sino que la fue a todos manifestando para que le diesen el parabién. No acababan de maravillarse los Padres y españoles e indios, viendo el ánimo y valentía de espíritu con que estaba recibiendo parabienes de su jornada, por parecerle iba expuesto a ganar la corona del martirio, y juntamente ponderaban la mansedumbre con que, como manso cordero, se iba a entrar en los peligros y al matadero, diciendo a todos con rostro risueño y alegre, a la despedida, que se tendría por muy dichoso si muriese en la demanda por conservar a aquellos pobres indios en la fe que tantos años habían tenido.

of the insurrection which was Palapag and head there with an armed force. In this way, the subjugation of the others would become relatively easy.

However, within a few days there arrived many of the *principales* from the towns which Father Vicente wanted to visit himself; they clamoured for his presence among them and assured his Superior that they would protect him from the enemy who had burned their churches. They insisted that his presence among them was necessary so as to gather the people who have wandered over the hills and to preserve intact the two towns not affected by the rebellion as yet. In order to have their request satisfied, they promised to get all there together and resist those of Palapag and rebuild the burned churches.

The problem was discussed together with the Fathers, the Vice-Provincial and three *encomenderos* of the rebellious towns who arrived with him from Manila to plan the resistance. Also, the *Alcalde Mayor* of that Province present with some other persons experienced in the affairs of that region. All were unanimous in judging the convenience and necessity of the Father going there since one of his companions who had already gone back to the towns that the enemies failed to burn stated in his letters that it was safe to return and live under the protection of the loyal *Indios*. What more, one father assisted by the other may better succeed in keeping them all more faithful.

The good Father was over-flowing with joy as he was departing and this joy was so obvious to all as if they should all congratulate him. The Fathers, the Spaniards and the *Indios* all marvelled at him to see such courage and strength of spirit which he manifested as he was congratulated upon his departure. It seemed to him that this was indeed an opportunity for him to obtain the crown of martyrdom. Everyone extolled the apparent meekness which he reflected; for like a meek lamb he was entering the risk of a violent death. With a smile and a joyful countenance during his farewell, he stated that he would consider himself fortunate if he were to die in this undertaking only if to keep these poor *Indios* strong in the Faith which they have cultivated for so many years.

Llevaban perdón general del alcalde mayor para todos los que de aquellos pueblos hubiesen delinquido, que no eran pocos, temerosos de la amenazas que los hacían.

Todos quedaron persuadidos, cuando el Padre se partió con los principales, a que con su sagacidad benigna y suave y con su grande agrado y atractivo, que la tenía extremada, había de hacer mucho, y aun reducir a los apóstatas del cerro con su cartas y embajadas, y más con la nueva que llevaban sus indios compañeros de la gruesa armada que habían visto se estaba juntando para ir sobre ellos al castigo, cuya fama en breve llegaría a su noticia.

Corrió el Padre todos sus cuatro pueblos. Vióse con su compañero, que le recibió con grandes muestras de alegría y dio esperanzas de buen suceso, juntó sus indios, reedificó las iglesias, aunque por entonces pobres, y envió a los alzados amorosos recaudos, escribiéndoles cartas llenas de afecto paternal, convidándoles con la paz, porque había alcanzado perdón general para todos, y así que no tuviesen recelo de bajarse a sus puestos.

Con esto se fueron algunos a presentar al Padre, a los cuales recibió con señales de grande amor, agasajándolos como a hijos. Tuvo nuevas, finalmente, aunque falsas, de otros que bajaron, de cómo los del cerro estaban arrepentidos y no trataban de inquietar a los Padres. Fingieron también que le querían enviar embajadores para que tratasen de conciertos con los españoles (y no era así, sino que estaban rabiosos contra el Padre, porque había reedificado las iglesias que ellos quemaron y congregado los indios que ellos también habían ahuyentado).

Con esto, el Padre se aseguró algo y despidió la gente que en el pueblo de Catubig le hacía escolta, reservando algunos que le acompañasen. Sabido esto de los alzados, que ya tenían urdida su traición, se aseguraron de que no habría resistencia en el pueblo,

He carried along with him a general amnesty granted by the *Alcalde Mayor* for all those who had joined the uprising from these towns who were not a few due to the pressure and threats against them.

When the Father departed with the *principales* all were convinced that through his kind and gentle sagacity and with his affability and pleasantness — for indeed he excelled in shrewdness — he would accomplish much and perhaps even win over to submission the apostates entrenched on the hill through his letters and embassies. And even more so, perhaps, with the news which his native companions carried about the powerful armed force which they themselves had seen which was being mobilized and which would fall upon them as a punishment and about its renown which would eventually come to their knowledge.

The Father visited all four towns of his and established contact with his companion [i.e. the other priest] who received him with great signs of joy and gave him hope of a possible solution in sight. There, he gathered his *Indios*, rebuilt the churches, although for the time being somewhat poorly, and sent the insurgents love-filled messages. He penned letters to them full of fatherly affection, inviting them to peace and assuring them that he had obtained a general pardon for all of them; also that they should not be afraid to return to their places.

As a result of this, some appeared and presented themselves to the Father who received them with utmost signs of affection, welcoming them as if they were his own sons. He also received news about others on the hill who wished to submit and repent and who planned not to molest the Fathers; however, this was not true. They also feigned a wish to send ambassadors in order to come to terms with the Spaniards (this was not so, for they were angered against the Father because he had rebuilt the churches which they had burned and brought together the natives whom they had frightened away).

Upon learning about this, the Father regained some confidence and sent away the man who escorted him in the town of Catubig, keeping few to accompany him. When this reached the ears of the insurgents, for they already had concocted their treason, they made sure that there would not be any resistance in the

de que antes tenían recelo, porque sabían había entre los indios armas de fuego.

Y un lunes, once de octubre del dicho año de 1649, antes que amaneciese, llegaron de repente como cien hombres armados, a quien capitaneaba el parricida de Sumoroy, y cercaron la pobre casilla donde estaba el Padre en oración. Y sin acordarse del amor con que les había acudido en sus necesidades y servido con entrañas de Padre por espacio de cuatro años con tantos trabajos, por ser tan bravos aquellos mares, y no reparando en los muchos beneficios y limosnas que les había hecho, entraron aquellos lobos carnívoros, sedientos de la sangre del cordero, para quitarle la vida.

Luego que oyó el Padre el ruido, sospechó lo que era, y al punto tomó su Cristo en la mano y, abrazándose con él, puesto de rodillas, invocando los dulcísimos nombres de Jesús y de María estuvo aguardando a que le quitasen la vida, ofreciéndosela en sacrificio a aquel Señor que por su amor dio la suya en la Cruz. Quitarónsela con grande inhumanidad, dándole tres mortales lanzadas, siendo de edad de 36 años, enviándole al cielo a gozar la corona del martirio.

No se contentaron los sacrílegos parricidas con haber dado la muerte a quien tan de veras les procuraba la vida, así la del alma como la del cuerpo, porque su furor diabólico dio luego en las pobres alhajas del bienaventurado Padre, no perdonando a ninguna, ni aun a las cosas sagradas, porque todo cuanto allí había lo arrebataron y profanaron.

Esto hecho, como si hubieran alcanzado una gran victoria, se fueron al pueblo a celebrarla con la pobre comida que había en la casa, haciendo salva con muchas cargas de arcabucería.

Dispúsole Dios así que se fuesen al pueblo, para que algunas personas devotas tuvieran lugar de entrar en la casa a sacar el santo cuerpo y darle sepultura, como hicieron, en el cementerio, adonde quedó aquel precioso tesoro, señalado con una estacadilla para después colocarle en otra parte.

Y, finalmente, porque les había traído allí la rabia de ver que el santo Padre había reedificado, como pudo, las iglesias y

town, which they feared before, because they knew that there were fire-arms among those natives there.

And so, one Monday of October 11th of the said year of 1649, before dawn, there suddenly arrived something like one hundred men whose leader was the parricide Sumoroy; they surrounded the poor small hut where the Father was praying. And, without remembering the love with which he had showered upon them in their needs and how he served them with fatherly affection for a space of some four years in the midst of so many trials, because the seas were so rough; not minding the many favours and alms that he had granted them, the blood-thirsty wolves stormed in to deprive him of his life.

As soon as the Father heard the noise, he sensed what it was all about; at once he took the Crucifix in his hand and embracing it, knelt down and pronounced the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary. He waited for them to take his life, offering it in sacrifice to the Lord Who for the love of him laid down His life on the Cross. And so they deprived him of life with the greatest inhumanity, that is, striking him with three deadly blows of the spear. And, therefore, at the age of thirty-six, they sent him to heaven to enjoy the crown of martyrdom.

The sacrilegious parricides were not content with having put to death him who so earnestly procured life for them, both of body and soul, because their diabolical furor soon got hold of the poor belongings of the blessed father. They spared nothing, not even the sacred things because they got hold of and profaned everything they found in their path.

Once they had accomplished this, as if an achievement of the greatest victory, they made for the town to begin the celebration with the meager food that they found in the house, firing salvos and volleys with their arquebuses.

And it happened that God moved them to go the town so that some devout persons could enter the house to withdraw the holy body and give it burial in the cemetery, which they actually did. There they interred that precious treasure and marked it with a small fence so that afterwards it may be transferred to another place.

Ultimately, since the fury and rage had brought the rebels to that place and they saw how the holy Father had rebuilt the

juntado en ellas las ovejas de Jesucristo, que andaban descarriadas, lo quemaron todo y robaron los ornamentos y ahuyentaron los indios, que se fueron yendo de miedo de ellos a los montes. Esto hicieron en tres pueblos, y así quemaron en aquel día dos iglesias que el Padre reedificó, y otra adonde antes no se habían atrevido a llegar, por ver los indios tan alentados.

En este pueblo estaba su Padre compañero, el cual, oyendo los arcabuzazos de los que iban marchando para él, se entró por la espesura del monte con algunos indios devotos que le acompañaban, con no poco dolor de no haber sido participante de la corona de su buen compañero, de cuyo dichoso tránsito le había ya dado aviso un indio, que vino corriendo a traerle la nueva y decirle que se pusiese en cobro, porque corría el mismo riesgo su persona.

En medio de tantos incendios y sacrilegios como estos apóstatas hicieron, no faltaron personas piadosas que diesen señaladas muestras de lo acendrado y firme de su fe, porque de aquellos pueblos alzados se huyó mucha gente a la cabecera de la jurisdicción, que es Catbalogan, donde estaban los Padres y españoles congregados, disponiendo la armada para el castigo.

Una mañana amanecieron en la barra del río de aquel pueblo cuatro navíos de gente de Palapag y Catubig, que iban huyendo de la persecución, los cuales salieron con grande riesgo de que los matasen los alzados, porque sabían eran buenos cristianos y que no habían de faltar en la fe. Estos se dejaron allá sus esclavos, comida y hacienda, y algunos sus hijos e hijas casados, por no hallarse en los sacrilegios, idolatrías y maldades que los apóstatas hacían.

Cada día se iban huyendo muchas personas a los pueblos seguros y fieles, donde se sustentaban de limosnas que con gran piedad les daban así lo Padres y españoles como los mismos indios; otras que estaban en el cerro, violentas, enviaban cartas y recaudos a los Padres pidiendo que las encomendasen a Dios, para que las sacase de entre aquellos sacrílegos y, en particular, la maestra

churches as best as he could and bring together the sheep of Jesus Christ, which they scattered, they frightened them away again, stole the vestments and furnishings and burned down the churches again. The natives fled to the hills out of fear. This they did in the three towns: on that particular day they burned down the two churches the Father had rebuilt, and one in another town where previously they had not dared to enter because they had seen how courageous the towns-folk were over there.

In that town there was also his Father companion²⁸ who, upon hearing the shots of the arquebuses fired by those who were approaching towards the town, fled into the dense forest together with some devout *Indios* who accompanied him. Then a native came hurriedly bringing him the news and urging him to flee to safety for his life too was in danger, while he experienced no little sorrow in not having been a participant in the crown of martyrdom together with his good companion about whose happy death he received the news.

In the midst of so many burnings and sacrileges which these apostates perpetrated, there were not lacking pious persons who gave notable proofs of the purity and firmness in faith throughout all these trials, because from those towns which had risen up in rebellion many people fled to the *cabecera* of that jurisdiction, which is Catbalogan, where the Fathers and the Spaniards were gathering and readying an armed force to quell the insurrection.

One morning there appeared on the bank of the river of that town four boats of people from Palapag and Catubig, who were fleeing from the persecution and managed to escape with great risk of nearly being killed by the insurgents, since they were known to be fine Christians and ones that would never waver in their faith. These left behind their slaves, food and property; some even left their married sons and daughters so as not to be present during the sacrileges, idolatries and wrong-doings which the apostates were guilty in perpetrating.

Almost daily numerous persons were fleeing to safe and faithful towns where they lived on the alms provided for them by the Fathers, the Spaniards and by the natives as well. Others who were in the hills, very much against their will, sent letters and messages to the Fathers asking that they commend them to God; that He may liberate them from among those sacrilegious people

de Palapag que pidió al santo Padre Miguel Ponce con lágrimas de los ojos se huyera.

Esta fue llevada al cerro, por fuerza, de su marido que era un gran principal, y de allí escribió una carta al Padre Vice-Provincial, que estaba en Catbalogan, dándole cuenta de cuán inconsolable estaba, viéndose entre gente que hacía tantas abominaciones, idolatrías y sacrilegios con las cosas sagradas, bebiendo con los cálices, etc. Y algunos indios, que de allá se huían, venían diciendo de ella que no cesaba de derramar lágrimas.

Esta devota mujer quiso entregar sus hijos a un indio que de secreto supo se iba a Catbalogan, ya que ella no podía escapar; pero no se atrevió, recelándose que, siendo descubierto y hallado con aquellas tiernas prendas, le quitarían la vida a él y a ellos.

A un indio, llamado Magampo, quisieron por fuerza llevar al cerro, y, porque repugnó constantemente, le mataron y se llevaron su mujer e hijos.

En un pueblo de aquella costa, queriendo los indios quemar su iglesia, a ejemplo de los de Palapag, la maestra, que era gran principal, se entró en ella, diciendo que, si la quemaban, a ella también la habían de quemar dentro. Viendo los sacrílegos la santa determinación de la mujer, desistieron, por su respeto, de su mal intento.

Los indios de los demás pueblos de la contracosta de aquella isla mostraron gran fidelidad a sus ministros que, viéndolos en sus puestos, sin querer huirse por conservarlos a ellos en la fe, aunque bien amenazados de los apóstatas de que los habían de matar, les hicieron siempre escolta, haciendo guardia a las iglesias que tenían estacadas y empujadas /?/ porque no se las quemaran.

En Palapag, que fue el origen de esta apostasía, hubo indios que se entraron por medio de las llamas, cuando se estaba ardiendo su iglesia para librar de ellas las santas imágenes; pero sola una pudieron librar, de la limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora, que era de bulto, con manos y rostro de marfil, hermosísima, copiada

and particularly the school-mistress of Palapag who, with tears in her eyes, so begged the saintly Father Miguel to flee.

This lady was taken to the hill against her will by her own husband who was a very prominent *principal*; from there she wrote a letter to the Father Vice-Provincial, who was in Catbalogan, telling him how inconsolable she felt seeing herself in the midst of so many people who were guilty of such abominations, idolatries, sacrileges and desecration by using the sacred vessels for drinking, etc. Some *Indios* who managed to escape from there, related how she never ceased shedding tears.

This devout woman wanted to entrust her children to a native whom she knew in confidence to be leaving for Catbalogan, since she herself could not escape; but she did not dare to do this for fear that if he was discovered and found with that tender trust, they would kill him and them.

They wanted to carry away a certain native known as Magampo, to the hill against his will and because he resisted tenaciously, they killed him and carried away his wife and children.

In a town of that same coast, when the natives were preparing to burn their own church, after the example of those of Palapag, a certain prominent *principala* and a school teacher entered the church saying that if they burn it, they would have to burn her together with it. The sacrilegious men, upon seeing the holy resolve of this woman, refrained from this evil intent in deference to her

The *Indios* from other towns on the eastern coast of that island demonstrated great fidelity to their ministers whom they saw clinging to their posts so as to keep close to the Faith. They had no intentions of fleeing even though they were seriously threatened by the apostates with death. These natives always escorted the missionaries and mounted guards over the churches which were also protected with palisades so that the enemy could not burn them.

In Palapag, where this apostasy originated, there were natives who threw themselves into the flames when their church was burning in order to retrieve the holy images from the flames; they were able to recover only one — the most pure and Immaculate Conception, a sculpture with an ivory face and hands. It was

de una que está en el insigne retablo de la iglesia de nuestro Colegio de Manila.

El trono en que estaba colocada majestuosamente, se hubo de quedar, sin poderle esconder. Este estaba hecho un ascua de oro, y cercaba toda la imagen de rayos, al cual, viéndole los apóstatas, de pura rabia le hicieron pedazos antes que el fuego le quemase.

A esta santa imagen la puso el indio que la libró en casa de un español, que estaba casado en aquel pueblo, donde había mucha gente recogida en tiempo del tumulto e incendio, y todos la vieron llorar a lágrimas vivas en grande abundancia y sudando el rostro. La devota mujer del español, que era bisaya, enjugó con un pañuelo el sudor y lágrimas, llorando también ella de pura ternura y devoción, viendo una tan gran maravilla.

Esta mujer y toda la demás gente de la casa, examinada jurídicamente del caso, juraron que fue así, y que lo afirmaban como testigos de vista.

Supo aquel parricida, sacrílego e incendiario de Sumoroy este caso, y dijo con donaire y risa: "Miren si siente la Virgen que la quemén su casa, pues llora y suda."

Después de mucho tiempo, cuando ya todos se habían huido, unos al cerro, y otros a pueblos de fieles, hallaron esta santa imagen los que fueron de armada a la pacificación en medio de una sementera, admirándose de que, estando todas las cercanas a ella comidas de venados, jabalíes y otras bestias del campo, de que allí hay mucha abundancia, sola aquella se hallase intacta, aunque estaba sin cerca, llena de comida, lozana, limpia y hermosa, que les sirvió de refresco y juntamente les fue motivo para alabar a Dios y a su santísima Madre que en honra suya obró allí tan grande maravilla. Y no lo fue menor para ellos ver la santa imagen, sin perder su lustre, habiendo estado allí dos meses y caído sobre ella grandes aguaceros.

Fue llevada aquella milagrosa imagen al pueblo de Catbalogan, donde estaban juntos los Padres y españoles, y con otra

extremely beautiful; a replica of one which is found in the reredos of the well-known church of our college in Manila.

The throne upon which she was majestically enthroned had to be left behind, nor were they able to hide it. It glittered with gold and it surrounded the entire image with rays. The apostates full of rage upon seeing it, shattered it into pieces even before the fire could get to it.

This holy image salvaged by that native was placed in the house of a married Spaniard who lived there in that town. During the tumult and burnings, many of the people sought shelter there and all saw the image shedding living tears in great abundance, with perspiration upon its face. The devout wife of the Spaniard, who was a Bisayan, dried the tears and perspiration with a handkerchief, all which moved her in turn into weeping from sheer tenderness and devotion in witnessing such a great wonder.

This woman and all the other people of the household, when the case was legally examined, swore that it was so; they attested to it as eye-witnesses.

That parricidal, sacrilegious, and pyromaniacal Sumoroy heard about this incident and remarked jokingly and sarcastically: "Look, how the Virgin feels about the burning of her house, because she cries and perspires!"

After a long time, when all had already fled; some to the 'hill' and others to the towns of those who had remained faithful, those who had joined the armed force to pacify the land, found in the midst of a rice-field this holy image. They were greatly amazed that all those near it were chewed up by the deer, wild-boars and by other beasts of the fields in which the place abounds, but this one was found intact. Although it was not protected with any hedge, it was surrounded with food, on every side and it remained lustrous, clean and beautiful. The food satisfied their hunger and at the same time this event gave them a reason to praise God and His most Holy Mother, Who in her honour worked there such a great wonder. It was certainly amazing, that even though the image was there for some two months and was drenched by some heavy downpours, it never lost its brightness.

The miraculous image was carried to the town of Catbalogan where the Fathers and the Spaniards were gathered together with

que escaparon unos indios devotos de Catubig, de bulto, con un Niño en los brazos, grande y hermosa, cuando les quemaron su iglesia los alzados, fue colocada en el altar mayor, llevándolas a la iglesia con una solemne procesión.

De esta imagen de Catubig cuentan los indios del mismo pueblo que, yéndola a sacar del incendio, estando ya cerca de quemarse, se la vieron sudar todo el rostro y cuello y, limpiándola una y otra vez, volvía a sudar con gran abundancia. Lleváronla a una casilla, que era escuela de los cantores, en compañía de otra santa imagen de su venerable esposo San José, que tenía al niño Jesús de la mano, y allí volvió a sudar muchas veces.

Esto lo dijeron tres o cuatro indios de buena capacidad, que fueron siempre fieles a los Padres, añadiendo que con juramento lo podían afirmar.

La imagen de la Concepción, que era propia de la iglesia de Palapag, fue la que llevaron en la armada los españoles e indios, cuando se partieron al castigo de los rebeldes, por Capitana y Caudillo.

Casi un año después de haberse comenzado el alzamiento, duró el juntarse esta armada, permitiéndolo Dios así en pena de sus sacrilegios y apostasía y acá que se despeñasen cada día más, dejándoles ir en prosecución de sus deseos de darse a idolatrías y deshonestidades, para después castigarlos por junto con mayores rigores.

Fiados, pues, los nuestros del amparo de la Madre de Dios, que aquellos enemigos de su Hijo tenían tan ofendida, marcharon el cerro arriba, que parecía inaccesible, y, estando ya como en medio de la subida, les embistió el enemigo con tal furia de lanzadas y balazos que mató a algunos e hirió a otros, y hubiera acabado con todos a no hallar reparo en una peña.

Y, aunque los indios, amedrentados de las balas, se pusieron en huida, pero los españoles no, que mantuvieron su puesto valerosamente, sin querer volver pie atrás, aunque les costase a todos las vidas, mientras otra tropa iba por otro camino excusado, aunque muy dificultoso, a darles otra embestida. Estuviéronse allí

another one which some devout natives of Catubig had rescued when the insurgents burned their church. It was well-sculptured and with a Child in its arms; quite large and very artistic. It was brought in a solemn procession to the church and placed on the main altar.

About this image of Catubig, the natives of the same town narrate that when they were retrieving it from the flames, as it was just about to catch fire, they noticed that its face and neck were perspiring; they wiped it time and gain, but it continued perspiring abundantly. They carried it to a small hut, which served as a classroom for the cantors, together with another holy image of her venerable Spouse Saint Joseph, who held the Child Jesus by the hand; there it continued perspiring again many times.

This was reported by three or four natives, known for their reliability and proven fidelity to the Fathers, and added that they were ready to confirm this with an oath.

The image of the Conception, which was the property of the church of Palapag, was the one which the Spaniards and the natives took along with the armed expedition as 'Capitana' and "Caudillo' when they began pursuing the insurgents in reprisal.

It almost took an entire year after the revolt broke out to build up this armed force by God's will and to punish their sacrileges and apostasy. Each day, however, they were falling deeper and deeper into it when they let themselves go and began living according to their desires, giving themselves to idolatry and impurity. Would that we would have punished them all at once with greater rigors.²⁹

And so, our men trusting in the protection of the Mother of God, whom those enemies of her Son had offended so much, scaled the seemingly impregnable hill. When they were about half-way up, the enemy rushed upon them with spear-thrusts, and musket-shots with such a fury that they killed some and wounded the others. They would have finished them all had it not been for the fact that they found shelter behind a rock.

Although the natives, frightened by the shots, took to flight, the Spaniards stood firmly and courageously in their positions, not willing to retreat even if this would cost their lives. Almost simultaneously, another troop took an out of the way trail, extremely steep, to close in on them again. They stood their

fijos mucho tiempo, haciendo cara al enemigo, para que no acudiese a la defensa de la otra tropa.

Y, viéndolos un capitán tan briosos e insolentes, y como triunfando de los españoles, que no pasaban adelante, y oyendo las desvergüenzas que les decían en lengua española, les dijo “¡Ah, perros, callad, que Dios os ha de castigar!” Al punto que esto oyó el Padre de nuestra Compañía que iba con ellos, les animó diciendo a toda su gente que, pues habían dicho aquellos sacrílegos tal blasfemia contra Dios, se podían prometer presto la victoria.

Fueron aquellas palabras grande incentivo a los españoles para su valor, y, prosiguiendo el viaje por la cuesta arriba y juntamente la otra tropa por las espaldas de los enemigos, les ganaron el cerro en que confiaban, despeñándose todos por aquellas breñas, sin aguardar ninguno la pelea, dejándoles la artillería, pólvora y municiones, y todo cuanto en él tenían.

Las calamidades, las hambres, la desnudez, los recelos que estos miserables vencidos padecieron, huyendo por los montes y escondiéndose en sus quebradas del furor de los vencedores, testificaron ellos mismos, cuando a la voz del perdón que se publicó, bajaron muchos de ellos a pedir misericordia al Cabo de la guerra, que en nombre de su Majestad se la prometía.

Llegaban hechos feísimos cadáveres del demonio, que pareció haber encarnado antes en ellos cuando en lo ardiente de su tumulto y rebelión se figuraron demonios encarnados en el furor y rabia con que, encendidos en cólera, embestían en lo sagrado.

Así lo dijeron los fieles que se acogieron a los Padres, porque los vieron echar tales centellas de fuego por sus rostros que más parecían a sus ojos aquellos apóstatas demonios furiosos que hombres precipitados de cólera y rabia. Movidos a compasión, así los Padres como los españoles e indios del ejército les socorrieron con toda caridad de vestido y comida.

ground for some time, facing the enemy so that he might not turn his attention to the advance of the other troops.

The Captain, seeing them so daring and insolent, as if victorious over the Spaniards who were unable to move forward, hearing the shameless words they uttered in the Spanish language, said to them: "Ah, dogs, shut up, for God is going to punish you!" They replied, "What God and what silliness?" When the Father³⁰ of our Society who was with them, heard this, he urged them on saying to all of them that since these sacrilegious people had spoken such a blasphemy against God, they could hope for a swift victory.

Those words were a great incentive to the Spaniards for intensifying their courage; resuming their march up the hill, while the other troops simultaneously began attacking the enemy from the rear. They conquered the hill into which the enemy had put all their trust. They began hurling themselves down those cliffs, leaving behind them the artillery, gun-powder, ammunition and everything they had on that hill; nobody was left to take up the battle.³¹

It is incredible what difficulties, hunger, nakedness and fears that these poor wretched ones suffered when they fled over the hill and hid in the raviness when they had to face the wrath of the conquerors. They themselves bore witness to these when, at the publication of pardon, many of them returned to plead for mercy from the Captain of War, who promised amnesty in the name of the King, His Majesty.

These arrivals looked like hideous devilish corpses; for satan seemed to have become incarnate in them when all was at the height of the uprising. For truly during the rebellion they appeared as incarnate demons due to the furor and rage with which they burned everything and how they rushed with anger against sacred things.

This is how all of this was reported by the loyal ones who had sought the protection of the Fathers. They noticed as if an emission of sparks of fire from their faces; so much so that those apostates appeared in their eyes rather as ferocious demons than men overpowered with anger and rage. Moved by compassion, the Fathers as well as the Spaniards and the natives of the army provided them in all charity, with clothing and food.

A la fama del buen acogimiento que se hizo a los primeros, se fueron bajando otros muchos, de los más culpados, sin recelo.

Daba cuidado el saber era vivo el atizador de este fuego infernal y origen de aquel lastimoso estrago, Sumoroy porque, aunque vencido, no dejaba de hacer ardides de prudente capitán, procurando juntar otra vez la gente que andaba fugitiva por las breñas. Echaba espumarajos de furor por su boca, mostraba nuevos esfuerzos con que disimulaba su pena, y daba esperanzas de poder recobrarse, fulminaba retos, gritaba desafíos, queriendo ostentarse invencible, ya con su gentil disposición y fuerzas, que las tenía grandes, ya con el favor que fingía prometerle el demonio con quien consultaba en sus idolatrías por medio de su malvado padre.

Pero no faltó un esforzado David para contra este soberbio y presumido gigante; porque un principal de un pueblo cercano al de Palapag, de donde era Sumoroy natural, a quien él tenía bien conocido y experimentado, prometió al Capitán del ejército de traerle la cabeza en breves días.

Diósele licencia para ir en su busca y, llevando consigo algunos de sus confidentes y amigos, partió bien armado con ellos al monte donde estaba sitiado. Llegó a su presencia como quien iba huido de los españoles, fingiendo se quería amparar de él y hacerse de su parte.

No temas, le decía, que los españoles te temen, y no hay ya en ellos osadía para embestir con tu gente, escarmentados de la mucha suya que desde el cerro les dejaste herida y muerta. Yo seré contigo con los míos que, poco a poco, irán viniendo en tu ayuda, y otros muchos de estos pueblos, y del mismo ejército español han de venir en tu favor, enfadados ya del modo con que los tratan y de las cosas que les piden.

Aseguróse Sumoroy con estas ofertas, y, cuando estaba más sin recelo y seguro de que había de restaurar lo perdido, embistió con él aquel animoso principal y atravesóle la lanza, dejándole

When the news of the fine reception that the first ones had received for presenting themselves began spreading, many others, and even the most guilty, slowly appeared, fearing nothing.

It was a source of worry to know that the instigator of this infernal flame and of this deplorable havoc, Sumoroy, was still alive. Although he suffered defeat, he did not cease to play the role of the cunning captain. He tried anew to gather the mob that was fleeing over the hills. He was furiously foaming at the mouth and gathering new strength under which he tried to hide his frustration and give new hope so as to rally his forces again. He soon assumed a more defiant role; he shouted challenges and made an attempt to appear invincible not only by means of his genteel bearing and strength, with which he was well-endowed, but also with the assistance that he feigned to have received from Satan himself, whom he consulted through his wicked father.³²

However, there was no lack of a courageous David to appear against this proud and self-conceited Goliath: because a *principal* of a town near Palapag, where Sumoroy had been born and with whom he was well-acquainted and conversant, promised the commander of the army to bring him the head of Sumoroy in a few days.

He was given permission to go in search of him; taking along some of his trusted men and friends, he departed with them for the hill well armed. It was there that Sumoroy carried on the fight. He arrived in his presence as if one who was fleeing from the Spaniards, feigning to be seeking his protection and wishing to go over to his side.

"Do not be afraid," he said to him, "because the Spaniards fear you and there is no courage left in them to come to grips with your men; you have taught them a lesson by the great numbers of their men that you left wounded or dead upon the hill. I shall be with you with my men, who little by little shall be coming to your help; many others from these towns and even from among the ranks of the Spaniards shall come to side with you. For they are already disgruntled by the way in which they treat them and the demands they make upon them."

Sumoroy grew confident with these promises and when he was less apprehensive and more certain that he would regain what he had lost, that courageous *principal* rushed upon him and ran

allí muerto. Sus compañeros pusieron las suyas en ristre para con los demás, los cuales se pusieron en huida, viendo a su caudillo difunto. Cortóle la cabeza el venturoso triunfador, y, llevándola por glorioso trofeo al Capitán, se la echó a los pies con admiración del ejército; y, después de haberle todos aclamado su valentía y celebrado su triunfo, se le dio muy crecido premio.

Grandemente desmayaron los secuaces de Sumoroy con este suceso. De aquí tomó ocasión el nuevo Rector de aquella Residencia para enviar una embajada al que los rebeldes tenían nombrado rey y superior de todos (que Sumoroy solamente era general de las armas). Prometióle que le alcanzaría el perdón si se bajaba con su gente a poblado, y juntamente el quedar con la misma honra y preeminencias de principal y cabeza de los de su pueblo que antes tenía.

Poco fue menester para reducirle, porque se temía de otro suceso semejante al de Sumoroy. Bajó, finalmente, con lo más lucido de los apóstatas y con el mayor número de ellos, y, echándose a los pies del Capitán, pidió con humildad misericordia. Ofrecióse a hacer cruda guerra con su gente a los que quedaban en los montes, y, que en caso que pudiese no cumplir su promesa, le cortase la cabeza.

Consiguió el perdón, reforzó su escuadra con la gente que le añadió el Capitán y mostró tanto valor y destreza en reducir los que quedaban que, en pocos días que anduvo por el monte, volvió cargado de cautivos y despojos, habiendo muerto muchos de la parentela de Sumoroy, que se le resistieron, y entre ellos el idólatra de su padre.

Esto fue causa de que los que se escaparon de sus manos, viniesen con las suyas cruzadas a pedir perdón. Uno de los cautivos que trajeron fue la principala con quien Sumoroy estaba mal amigado. A esta la remitieron a Manila con otros que se vendieron por esclavos. Cúpole a ella por dueño una mujer, hija de un calabrés, cómitre que había sido de galera. Fue permisión divina que cayera en tales manos para que de ellas recibiera la pena que tenía merecida. Portóse con ella su ama como hija de tal padre, haciéndola trabajar de día y noche, y castigándola cruelmente si no lo hacía.

his spear through him, leaving him dead. The fortunate conqueror cut-off his head and carrying it as if a glorious trophy to the captain, threw it at his feet to the great admiration of the entire army. Thereby, all had acclaimed his bravery and celebrated his triumph by giving him a very substantial reward.

The followers of Sumoroy, then, greatly lost courage as a result of this unexpected turn of events. The new Rector of that residence sent an embassy to the newly chosen 'king' and leader whom the rebels had selected (because Sumoroy was only like a general of war before). He assured him that he would obtain for him a general pardon if he would come down with his followers to the towns; also that he would be permitted to retain the same honors and prestige of a *principal* and head-man over the towns-people which he held previously.

Little was necessary to convince him, because he feared that what had happened to Sumoroy might also happen to him. Finally, he came down with some of the most elite of his apostates and with a great number of others. Throwing himself at the feet of the captain, he begged with humility for mercy. He also offered to make a relentless war with his men against those who were still in the hill; in case that he failed to keep his word, the captain may cut-off his head.

He obtained pardon, reenforced his squadron with the men which the captain added and showed so much valour and a skill in reducing those who had been left in the hills that in a few days that he took to the mountains, he returned laden with captives and spoils. Many of the relatives of Sumoroy who opposed him, were killed and among them the idolatrous father [i.e. of Sumoroy].

As a result of all this, many who evaded his clutches, came down with crossed hands to beg pardon. One of the captives whom they brought with them was the *principala* with whom Sumoroy maintained illicit relations. She was sent to Manila with others who were sold as slaves. It fell to her lot to have as a mistress a woman, a daughter of a native of Calabria, who had been a galley boatswain. It was an act of Providence that she fell into such hands, so that she received from her the punishment that she had deserved. Her mistress treated her as it fitted the daughter of such a father, making her work by day and by night and punishing her cruelly if she did not.

Viéndose la pobre principal, que antes era servida de sus esclavos, esclava y tratada con tanto rigor de aquella furiosa mujer, quiso más morir luego que vivir vida tan penosa, y, echándose un lazo al cuello, se ahorcó; con que fue a pagar al infierno su apostasía y sus lujurias con penas eternas la que no quiso sufrir las temporales que Dios la ofrecía en recompensa de sus culpas.

Toda la familia y paniaguados de Sumoroy murieron miserablemente: unos pasados a cuchillo en la furia de la guerra, otros de hambre en las quebradas de los montes, y otros a manos de los mismos a quienes ellos engañaron con sus embustes. Bien escarmentados quedaron los que consiguieron perdón — así en cabeza ajena como en la propia, y reconocieron por castigo de Dios aquello mismo que ellos antes tuvieron por dicha.

Luego trataron de reedificar sus iglesias, de hacer sus casas, de cultivar sus tierras, porque en ellas no les había quedado sustento alguno, y, hubieran perecido sin duda, si los pueblos vecinos y los Padres no les hubieran socorrido con sus limosnas.

Hagamos ya algunos elogios de las virtudes de los dos santos Padres que murieron, sin duda, *in odium fidei*; pues se ha visto en esta *Relación* cuán grande le tuvieron estos apóstatas en lo que, consiguientemente a sus muertes, obraron en los templos, ornamentos, imágenes, cruces y vasos sagrados, llevándose los para beber en ellos; porque, en odio de lo personal de estos Padres, permitió Dios se hiciesen todos capaces, de que no fue, por ser entre todos los ministros evangélicos los que con más afabilidad y mansedumbre trataban los indios, no siéndoles cargosos ni pesados, antes bien dándoles todo cuanto había en casa, con grande liberalidad y caridad.

[The *Relación* continues with an incomplete "Elogio del Santo Padre Miguel Ponce"].

The wretched *principala* who before was waited upon by her slaves, now seeing herself as a slave and being treated with so much rigor by that violent woman, preferred to die already rather than go on living such a painful life. Casting a noose around her neck, she hung herself; thereupon she went to hell to pay for her apostasy and her lasciviousness with eternal torments. She who did not wish to bear the temporal sufferings which God offered to her in atonement for her sins.

The entire family and all the accomplices of Sumoroy died miserably: some by the sword during the fury of war; others from hunger in the ravines of the mountains; still others, at the hand of those whom they deceived with their falsehoods. Those who obtained pardon, learned well their lesson from the experience of others and as well as from their own. They acknowledged as a divine punishment that same thing which before they considered as a blessing.

Ultimately, they turned their attention to the rebuilding of their churches, constructing their houses and cultivating their fields for no means of sustenance had been left whatever. They would have perished, without doubt, if the neighbouring towns and the Fathers had not come to their help with their alms.

Let us now jot down some praises to the virtues of the two saintly Fathers who had died without doubt *in odium fidei*; because we had seen in the *Relación* how great was the hatred of these apostates and what they had done after their death; what they did in the temples, with the vestments, the images, crosses and sacred vessels; how they carried them away and used them for ordinary drinking purposes.

This, however, cannot be attributed to the personal hatred of the natives for the Fathers; because among all the evangelical ministers, they excelled in affability and meekness in dealing with the natives. They were not a liability or a burden to them, but rather they shared with them all that they had at home with great liberality and charity.³³

FOOTNOTES

¹ ARSI (Archivum romanum societatis Jesu). Ms. *Phil.* 7 fols. 667-678, *Litterae annuae*, 1646-1649. This *Relación* was acquired by Cantius J. Kobak from the Central Archives of the Jesuits in Rome through the kindness and generosity of Father Josephus Calas Teschitel in October 1966.

² In ancient times, historians and chroniclers referred to the eastern coast of Samar in this manner, while the western coast was always called Samar. Oftentimes, writers mistook Samar and Ibabao for two separate islands.

³ Many of the early historians referred to the Island of Luzon in such a manner. In fact, Alcina has an interesting item about the name 'Luzon'. "By way of information, I add that the reason why these Islands were called 'Lusonia' — the Portuguese called them 'Lusones' prior to the coming of the Spaniards — may be due to this well-known point which, in the eastern part of these islands, is the one projecting farther into the sea and therefore may be the source of its origin [i.e. luson/may-loson], that is the name of the said point. The same may be said of the Island of Manila which was formerly called "Luson". It is very likely that this ancient name may have originated from either of the two islands, because they call their land with this name, foreign to the inhabitants of this district as well as to those of the other island. We have already said what 'Luson' implies and and its ordinary use everywhere." (*Historia de los Bisayas...1668*, Part I, Chapter 3.)

⁴ San Bernardino Straits situated between the southern tip of Luzon and the northern tip of the Samar Island. In pre-Hispanic times it was called by the Samareños *Tagbalaran*. "It is called the Strait of San Bernardino because the first discoverers gave this name to a small barren islet which is almost situated in the middle of this channel." (Alcina, *op. cit.* Part I, Chapter 5.)

⁵ This statement must not be taken at face value, but in a manner of speaking only. Such observations are made in moments of fervor and enthusiasm and are meant to point out that intense efforts are exerted in promoting the work of evangelization. We know for a fact, that as late as the year 1853, the problem of gathering people from the interior and the hills still had not been solved in Samar. Cf. "Historical Survey of Palapag, Samar and the Sumoroy Rebellion of 1649," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1968, pp. 58-60.

⁶ That is, the two *cabeceras* of Palapag and Catbalogan and the *cabece-rilla* of Tubig, now known as Taft, Samar. During the Jesuit administration (1596-1768), a certain number of missionaries were assigned to each *cabecera* or *residencia*, where all lived in community. It was from these central mission stations that they fanned out to other towns and *visitas* for their evangelical labours, very often for a period of some eighteen or twenty days. The towns that fell under the Palapag jurisdiction prior to the uprising are the following: Bobon, Catarman, Pambuhan or Bayog, Laoang, Bacor, Tubig, Sulat and Borongan. The missionaries assigned to this *residencia* were (the list is perhaps incomplete): Miguel Ponce Barberán, Vicente Damián, Julio Aleni (or Giulio Antonio Jobi), Baltasar Porticela and a *Donado*, Luis González.

⁷ Alcina, treats this matter in one of his chapters in the *Historia*. Cf. *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVI, Number 47, May-August 1981, pp. 289-295.

⁸ The most N. town on the mainland of Samar, NE, shore, opposite Batag Island, about fifty-eight miles N. by E. of Catbalogan. The first standard-bearers of the gospel on the Island of Samar were the Jesuit missionaries who established their first mission-station in a large ancient village of Tinago, today known as Dapdap, on the western coast of the island. This pioneering task of evangelization was begun on October 15, 1596, when Father Francisco Otazo, Bartolomé Martes and Brother Domingo Alonso were assigned as its first ministers.

Shortly, thereafter, another mission residence was established in Catubig, Samar on a great river of the same name. This *cabecera* assumed the responsibility for the vast region of northern and eastern Samar. Since the early missionaries found Catubig too far removed and too deep in the interior, the central mission station was created in Palapag for greater convenience and accessibility about the years 1605-1606.

Then, too, about the year 1616 Catbalogan was made the new *cabecera* for the western coast of the island and Tinago was abandoned since it was so frequently attacked, sacked and burned by the Muslim predators and plunderers.

And thus, Palapag and Catbalogan remained as the two central residences for the entire period of the Jesuit evangelization until their expulsion from the Philippines in the year 1768. When the Franciscans replaced the Jesuits on Samar, they immediately placed friars in each respective town as parish priests and the central residence idea was abandoned.

Alcina gives us a brief, but interesting description of Palapag in the mid-1600's. "The first town that is found on this coast, near the said *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*, is Palapag. And because it is located as if in the center of all the others, it is for this reason established as a *cabecera*. It is situated a little less than a league inland and on the bank of a river which will not admit vessels even of small tonnage at ebbtide. With the rising tide, however, the boats may enter.

"The above-mentioned river is very tranquil with its banks full of trees and a good number of springs in its watersheds. The vicinity of the town especially is full of many small springs. And one of them has its origin amidst many pebbles and stones. Hence, the land on which the town and the church stand are called *palapag* (which in this language means 'a rocky area full of pebbles or crushed rock').

"This town and church are placed under the patronage of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady. The church is constructed of masonry while the convento is a 'mestiza' as we call it here (that is the lower portion is of stone and the upper portion of wood). Both edifices are surrounded by a stone wall with four *baluartillos*. I completed the construction work on both of these structures in the year 1663

"It has very beautiful orchards with many fruit trees and coconut palms, etc. Therefore, from the physical point of view it is one of the best, if not the best *cabecera* in this ministry. In the spiritual sphere it is no less inferior to the others; however, due to the uprising or insurrection which occurred in the year 1649... they earned a stigma which will be difficult to eradicate. This is still something which tarnishes their good reputation even today [i.e. 1668]. Cf. Alcina's "Description of the Towns of Sulat, Tubig, Bobon, Catarman and Palapag and the Sumoroy Uprising in 1649," Cantius J. Kobak and Pablo Fernández, *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 49, January-April, 1982, pp. 139ff.

For further description of the Palapag *cabecera*, Cf. "Aftermath of the Palapag's rebellion, as reported by Alcina, and a description of the towns of Bangahun, Cabongahan and Tinagob," Pablo Fernández and Benito Vargas, *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 50, May-August, 1982, pp. 115-121.

⁹ Only nine of the towns can be pin-pointed with certainty during this year of rebellion, namely: Bobon, Catarman, Pambuhan or Bayog, Laoang, Bacor, Tubig, Sulat, Borongan and Libas (today San Julián). Perhaps, the tenth one could have been on Biri Island.

¹⁰ Properly, Chapter 19 of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, verse 2: "Wine and women lead intelligent men astray." Jerusalem Bible. By strange coincidence, Alcina in his *Historia* has the same quotation in Part II, Book 3, Chapter 11. Cf. *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 49, January-April 1982, pp. 157 & 159.

¹¹ The people of Palapag and the missionaries played an all-important role in sheltering and securing the richly laden Manila Galleons returning from Mexico. On numerous occasions the double port of Palapag offered its harbours as a place of refuge from Moro and Dutch pursuit; on other occasions these *Naos*, as the Spaniards called them, would seek shelter from unfavourable winds or seas or merely drop anchor for water, food, fuel or even pass the winter there when they would arrive too late in the season to continue through the Straits of San Bernardino.

These ports were situated off the coast of Palapag to the west, close to the Isle of Lauan. One on the outskirts, called Cahayagan, formed the three islets of Lauan, Batag and Cahayagan; the other, the so called inner port, more secure than the first and called Calomotan, was behind the Island of Lauan in the strait which it forms with the mainland at Palapag. From there the galleons would proceed safely before Cahayagan and Lauan, mounting the long point of Oot, after which is another island called Tabones... Cf. "Historical Survey of Palapag, Samar and the Sumoroy Rebellion of 1649," Cantius J. Kobak, *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. 2, Number 1, 1968, pp. 48-49.

"The year 1666 was perhaps the most memorable one for the people of Palapag and its Royal Port. The Galleon *La Concepcion* arrived late and was not able to make its passage through the San Bernardino Channel because of the *vendavales* or unfavorable winds. It made port at Palapag and the villagers hosted a large number of passengers and a total of some eighty Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits and others.

"The Jesuit Rector, Melchor de los Reyes, received the visitors with much rejoicing; he hailed them to the accompaniment of music and ringing of bells. The religious were housed in the choir and galleries of the church and *convento*; people invited all the guests and provided an abundance of food. A pleasant and a crystall-like river flowed near the residence for bathing and recreation. There were brooks, besides, in great numbers to suit any taste. Some passengers were provided with small boats, while the others remained there till March of the following year, since the weather was so obstinate." (*Op. cit.*, p. 53).

Alcina, in his *Historia*, makes the following observation concerning these ports of Palapag. "Between the two islands of Batag and Lauang there is a bay or a channel well suited for holding many galleons. Some years ago, about six Dutch ships spent several days awaiting the galleon which was arriving to these Islands from Acapulco. However, their plans did not materialize because God watched over her that year, and even upon some others, with special providence.

"Some time later, in this same place, while I was Rector of Palapag, the galleon *Concepción* was anchored and waiting for favorable weather

in order to proceed to Manila. This occurred in the year 1664; in the year 1666 the same *Nao* was again anchored here (in a place called Calomotan). Again, this was the same place, where more than thirty-four years earlier another galleon, the *Espíritu Santo*, sought shelter with some religious and others as re-inforcements for the Islands. Also some years prior to this, a galleon which had sailed for New Spain as 'Almiranta' was lost here upon its return trip—leaving its hulk here. This occurred because the pilots were not familiar with this spot. The Dutch had made soundings of these places long, long before this, and it ought to be a shelter for our galleons whenever they are overtaken by the southwesterly winds or when prevented from entering the mouth of the straits. If they shelter here they will be secure and at the same time near the *Embocadero*..." Alcina, *op. cit.* Part II, Book 3, Chapter 4, in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 49, January-April, 1982, pp. 143-144.

¹² That is compulsory corvée labor or 'polo'. Drafting men for labour in the shipyards was a vexing problem and caused much resentment, especially among the Bisayans. It is imperative that we explore this matter, since it was one of the causes and reasons why the rebellion was spawned. Alcina, again, gives us a fine index to the problem.

"Let us add to this that about this same time, in the Bay of Carigara, in a place called Caragano, two galleons were built one after the other and one larger than the previous one. One was called *Nuestra Señora de Guía* (which made only one voyage and afterwards was lost while sailing for Cambodia). The other galleon was *San Francisco Javier* which perished in Borongan on her second voyage to Mexico, as we have already stated, with a great loss of people, goods, money, etc. The *Indios* were completely exhausted from these ship-buildings and not a few were broken in health while others have died. I was an eyewitness of this since I was Rector of Carigara at the time that the first galleon was constructed, and I saw the grievances they suffered. However, these were greatly lessened because the official in charge lent me a kind ear and remedied all that I requested and brought to his attention.

"The payment they received for building the second galleon (the first was very well paid and almost always through my good services) were little pieces of paper — some of them were not much wider than the palm of my hand. I kept some of them for many years, but payment never came. And thus they sent them home, without any pay or food. As a result some were forced to sell their knives or axes in order to eat and provide for their needs.

"The *Indios* of these Pintado Islands patiently bore all this which fell upon them in such quick succession and endured it for a long time even though it made matters worse. However, when new levies were being forcibly raised to complete the number of men required for the new shipyard, the people's patience began to give way, thereby spawning an uprising in many towns, Palapag among them, and thus leading to a widespread rebellion. When an order arrived imposing the said 'harigues' (we call them thus over here, using this general term) for the said purpose, some approached the Rector, Father Miguel Ponce — about whose virtues we shall speak in its place. Since the town was a *cabecera*, they petitioned him (the *cabeceras* over here have larger churches and houses for the Fathers, since in them we hold our gatherings as previously mentioned) to exempt them from that burden of 'polo'. They feared that the people might lose their control and start a turmoil since they were so agitated and ill-disposed.

"This is what the *principales* all stated. However, they themselves together with others had gone over to the other side many days prior to this request; they also held a number of secret meetings and drinking spree. During these sessions they had sworn that they would rather die first than permit any woman or child to be taken from their towns..." *Op. cit.*, Part

II, Book 3, Chapter 11, in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 49, January-April, 1982, "Alcina's Description of the Towns of Sulat, Tubig, Bobon, Catarman and the Palapag Uprising in 1649," Pablo Fernández and Cantius J. Kobak, pp. 155 & 157.

Francisco Combés, in his monumental work *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*, provides more interesting observations on the matter and even clearer data.

"This [uprising] was occasioned by the oppressions arising from our public works — which is a motive that should appeal to them, since they were the ones interested in the defense of the coasts against their enemies... The losses of galleons made it necessary to maintain in that province a shipyard. Since the Island of Manila (Luzon) provided their quota for their own shipyards, there remained a shortage and a great need of other hands for the shipyards established here in the Bisayas. It was necessarily, therefore, to demand from each province a certain number — a quota of hardly one from each village — and this so equitably that to worldly prudence these allotments seemed advantageous, for which many would eagerly ask.... They greatly resented this political compulsion to citizenship and the formation of villages so that they would live as men. Those... nearest to Manila had obeyed the decree without opposition, but these remote provinces immediately made such demonstrations of displeasure that all of us perceived the difficulty of enforcing the demand; hence, several of us undertook to make representations with the authorities. Don Diego de Fajardo was the Governor, a man so harsh in his methods, and having so little pious regard for the religious ministers, that their intercession only made him more cruel, on account of his dogmatic opinion which he followed, that the ministers are the ones who oppose the royal service. Accordingly they all gave up any active opposition, but moderated in a thousand ways the execution of the decree which they saw could not be avoided sometimes with gifts, sometimes with considerations of utility.

"The men of Ibabao (Samar), trusting in the ruggedness of their coast or the inaccessibility of their mountains, or in the succor which had been positively promised to them by the Dutch — who every year make port on their coasts, awaiting with their armed fleets the relief sent us from Nueva España — immediately declared themselves against us..." (Combés, Francisco, *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*, W. E. Retana, ed. Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897 (1667), Cols. 490-491. Also in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 38, pp. 101-102).

The historian Díaz also adds some other pertinent details in describing this seemingly oppressive situation. "...Governor Don Diego Fajardo — with intentions of relieving the nearby provinces of Tagalogs and Pampangos from the burden of working at the harbour of Cavite, in the building of galleons and vessels necessary for the conservation and defense of these islands — had ordered the *alcaldes* of Leyte and other provinces to send men thence to Cavite for that employment. That was a difficult undertaking, because of the distance of more than one hundred *leguas*, and the troubles and wrongs to the said *Indios* that would result from their leaving their homes for so long a time... As soon as the inhabitants of Palapag saw that the *alcaldes mayores* were beginning to collect men to send them to the harbor of Cavite, they began to go oftener to the meetings in the house of Sumoroy and his father and to begin (when heated with wine, the ordinary counselor of the *Indios*) to organize their insurrection..." (Casimiro Díaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas... Parte Segunda*, Valladolid: Luis de Gaviria, 1890, pp. 517ff. Also in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.)

Cf. also Juan de la Concepción, *Historia General de Philipinas*, Sampaloc, Balthasar Mariano, Tom. VI, Cap. IX, pp. 247-250. Similar reasoning is also found in Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús: Segunda Parte*, Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía

de Jesús, 1749, fols. 171v-172. There is no translation of this account in Blair and Robertson.

¹³ There is no available detailed description about the fortification of Palapag extant; however, Delgado in his *Historia*, written in 1751, makes a passing comment: "...on the northern coast of Samar, Palapag has its ancient wall with a bulwark and a watchtower about half a league from the sea; it has cannons of iron which were left there by a wrecked galleon in early days." (Juan José Delgado, *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas*, Manila: Eco de Filipinas, 1892 (1751), Vol. I, p. 239.

Alcina mentioned that the church and convento were both enclosed by a stone wall with four *baluartillos*, which he completed in the year 1663. (*Op. cit.* Part II, Book 3, Chapter 4

¹⁴ This is the only account which provides us with the Christian or Baptismal name of Sumoroy. The name 'Sumoroy or Sumodoy' in the Waray-Bisayan is a descriptive name or an *agnay*, (a nickname). It is derived from the root SODOY and means 'to visit, to come and to come-and-go, to be here and there.' Somoroy is the future of SOROY or SODOY and means 'he who carries the commission or responsibility; one accustomed to go hither and thither.' Combés, also describes Sumoroy as an *Indio* from Samar who was an expert in navigating the seas and one who was highly esteemed by the Jesuits. (*Op. cit.*, col. 736)

Alcina throws additional light on the person of Sumoroy when he writes: "...he was a frequent visitor to the house, familiar with the Fathers and head of the soldiers (who are detailed in the *cabecera* for their defense from other enemies over here) ... (Alcina, *op. cit.*, Part II, Book 3, Chapter 11). In Chapter 12, Alcina adds: "And so, on the first day of June, Sumodoy retired as usual to the sentry box as was his custom and which was like a small fort and within the stockade of the house of the Fathers and joined by means of a passage-way to the barracks of the soldiers on duty..." (*Ibid.*) In other words, Sumoroy was a castellan of the Palapag fort and a very trusted man of the Jesuit missionaries.

¹⁵ Miguel Ponce Barberán was born in the year 1605 in Peñarroya, Aragón, Diocese of Zaragoza. He attended the University of Alcalá under dire circumstances of poverty and studied philosophy and two years of theology. Notwithstanding his trials, he made great progress in virtue and had intentions of entering the Society of Jesus. At about this time, the Procurator from the Philippines arrived from Rome to Madrid and circulated a letter searching for recruits for the Philippine missions. Intent in responding to the call for the missions, he quickly made his way for Madrid to meet with the Procurator but found him gone. He pursued him afoot, sleeping in fields and nourishing himself with the 'bread of tears', so to say. He journeyed all the way to Carmona where he overtook the Procurator. Miguel was so burned and tanned by the sun that he resembled a negro; it was for this reason that the said Procurator refused to accept him. He rationalized in this manner: in the Indies, color is an accident which carries much substances for the *Indios*.

Adamant and determined in his pursuit, Miguel offered to go along with the mission as a servant; this offer too was spurned by the Procurator, Father Encinas. Nonetheless, Miguel tagged along with the group as a helper and companion as far as Sevilla. With unflagging determined persistence he embarked for a voyage to Mexico with the mission group and served as a cook for them. Upon arriving in Mexico in 1631, he was finally admitted to join the Society of Jesus. After four months of exemplary Novitiate life he embarked with the group of missionaries for Acapulco and again during the voyage served as a cook with utmost humility and concern.

Upon arrival to the Philippine Islands, he entered and completed his ecclesiastical studies in the Jesuit College of Manila. After demonstrating unusual qualities of worthiness and virtue, he was ordained to the Sacred Priesthood. As a result of his extraordinary fervor and dedication, he was destined by his superiors to the most difficult and most challenging missions in the Bisayas; namely, to Samar and Ibabao.

Beginning with the year 1638 and then for the next eleven years, Father Miguel Ponce Barberán laboured zealously in this most trying mission station of the Jesuits. After serving well as an evangelical coadjutor for some years, he was named Rector of the Palapag *Cabecera*, an office which he deemed too sublime for his profound humility. However, he was prevailed upon to accept the responsibility, even though he preferred to remain a slave and a servant in the Society. Ultimately, rather than concentrate on the title of Superior or Rector, he plunged into dedicated service with utmost zeal and joy. He demonstrated heroic zeal in the salvation of souls and was instrumental in reaping a rich harvest through his preaching; his knowledge of the language contributed greatly to this evangelical endeavour. However, if his preaching was highly efficacious, his exemplary life was even more so.

Deeply imbibed with the spirit of simplicity and humility he always wore poor and well-worn vesture, ate frugal meals, abstained from wine and milk under the pretext that these caused drowsiness. He passed his days in the exercise of virtue and in the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The greater portion of the night he spent in prayer, reading and spiritual exercises. He practiced the 'disciplina' until blood-flow and wore the 'cilicium' or hair-shirt constantly, offering his life for the welfare and salvation of souls.

He was truly a genuine son of Saint Ignatius, risking his very life for the welfare and salvation of souls and ultimately perished like a good shepherd at the age of forty-four and in the eighteenth year in religious life on June 1 (not on the eleventh, as Pedro Murillo Velarde states), 1649. The Jesuit canonical books state that Father Miguel made his profession (votos del biennio) in Manila on October 4, 1633 and his final vows in Palapag on May 12, 1467. (Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, Lib. II, Cap. XXIV, fols. 175v-176).

¹⁶ That is, Doña Angelina Dinanugan, wife of Don Juan Ponce, the prime mover of the uprising. She hailed from Catubig, Samar and was a 'maestra de las niñas', and an ideal Christian in every way. (Cf. Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, fol. 172v.). Alcina writes: "The Father had been notified earlier about these secret gatherings and meetings by some of the more peace-loving *Indios* and especially by the "Maestra" who was also the *principal*. She was greatly esteemed, possessing sound judgment and a much better Christian than the majority of them and a leading *principal* of that town. This she knew because her husband who hid it from her and did not trust her while sober, did reveal all to her when she returned home one day and when he was under the influence of wine." (*Op. cit.*, Part II, Book 3, Chapter 11). In Chapter 12, of the same work, Alcina adds: "Although the Father Rector, Miguel Ponce, had been warned by some of the natives more loyal to God, the King and to the Law of Christ, such as Doña Angelina Dinanugan, he paid little attention and never thought that it would go to such extremes. The above-mentioned *maestra* revealed everything to him by word of mouth and in writing secretly so as not to arouse the suspicions of her husband who was deeply involved . . ."

¹⁷ He was Luis González. An individual who dedicated his life in serving the Jesuit ministers in a capacity greater than just a domestic and comparable to a lay-brother. Perhaps a better word would be 'an oblate'. (Cf. Alcina, *op. cit.*, Chapter 12,

¹⁸ Since the various accounts give added little details not found here in the *Relación*, it may be well to present them here.

"A Tuesday, then, the first day of June in the year 1649, the traitor selected for his sacrilegious parricide; and, as a thief in the house, who knew its avenues of entrance and egress very well, he took his stand within, awaiting the father at the top of the stairway, when he should ascend it after supper. While the father halted on the stairs to say the prayer for the souls in purgatory — for which, it happened, the bells were tolling — Sumoroy hurled a javelin at him from above which pierced his breast and immediately brought him to the ground; nor did he breathe again, spending his last energy in pronouncing the sweet names of Jesus and Mary." (De la Concepción, *op. cit.*, p. 232; and Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104).

The historian Díaz presents this episode in this manner: "They quickly appointed leaders: Don Pedro Caamug, Don Juan Ponce and Sumoroy. They then discussed the murder of the Father minister, Miguel Ponce of the Society of Jesus, an Aragonese, at the suggestion of that malignant sorcerer and priest of the devil, the father of Sumoroy, who charged that undertaking upon his son. On Tuesday evening, the first of June, 1649, he went to the house of the father, who had just eaten his dinner, and was ascending a narrow ladder to quarters. Sumoroy awaited him at that place, and hurling his lance, pierced his breast from side to side, and left him dead, without more time than to say 'Jesus, Mary.'" (Díaz, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116).

Murillo Velarde gives an almost identical account of this particular tragic moment in the life of Father Miguel. Cf. *Op. cit.*, fol. 172 v.

Alcina himself, is even more thorough and descriptive in narrating the last moments of Father Miguel.

"And so, on the first day of June [1649], Somodoy retired as usual to the sentry box as was his custom and which was like a small fort and within the stockade of the house of the Fathers and joined by means of a passage-way to the barracks of the soldiers on duty. Meanwhile, the Father Rector and another Father, Julio Antonio Jobi [also known as Aleni], a native of Trent, who was staying with him, came down for supper to the refectory which was on the ground floor of the house. He took supper in the midst of great peace and without any premonition of what was awaiting him. Afterwards, he went up the stair-way which was rather narrow and permitted only one person to pass. The Father Rector went up first while the other Father tarried behind washing his hands. When his head became visible above the stairs, Somodoy raised his lance; and before the Father had a chance to place his foot on the second to the last rung, he plunged it into his breast. The power of the blow forced him to fall backwards and roll down the stairs with profuse bleeding.

"To the rescue of the rector came the Father and a Brother or a Spanish *donado*, known as Luis González, who was there at the moment and who had been living there for many years and was in charge of the cellar. All that they heard repeatedly from the lips of the Rector was, 'Jesus, Mary...'. (*Op. cit.*, Part II, Book 3, Chapter 12).

¹⁹ That was Father Vicente Damián who was engaged in the apostolic labours in Catubig. There was another priest in the *cabecera* of Palapag together with Father Miguel and Brother Luis González; he was Father Giulio Aleni, or as Alcina referred to him, Julio Antonio Jobi. It seems that he was suffering from a mild mental condition. In Blair and Robertson, we find this interesting footnote giving his bio-data. "Giulio Aleni, S.J., was born in Brescia, Italy in 1582 and entered the Society of Jesus in the year 1600. After professing the humanities he was immediately sent to China.

He landed at Macao in 1610 and entered China in the year 1613 where he laboured until the year 1649." (*Op. cit.*, p. 116).

²⁰ "This occurred on Tuesday night; the following day was the Eve of *Corpus Christi*. Because of this, the Father who was ministering in Catubig [i.e. Vicente Damián] arrived to Palapag to join in the solemnity of the Most Holy Sacrament. He learned about the murder of Father Rector immediately upon his arrival at the Palapag River. Fearful that something similar may happen to him, he was inclined to turn back, but as he did not hear any noise or turmoil, he gathered up some courage and continued on.

"Upon reaching the house, he did find the Father dead and helped with arrangements for his burial. At the funeral there were hardly any people present; some were full of uncertainty, others were suspended between fear and suspicion as to how everything may end. The Father desired that they sing, or rather chant in a lamenting manner the Vespers of *Corpus Christi* in the afternoon, as it was eventually done by several chanters.

"In the morning, the Father held a procession and sang a Solemn Mass with very few men and a greater number of women in attendance amidst much perplexity. Some of the natives were unaware as to what has transpired; others were skeptical about what they actually heard but slowly began to come to grips with the awful reality of it all. All of them, suspended between doubt and fear, were unwilling to take sides either with or against the conspirators. Those who were involved and committed to an oath were not more than ten in number.

"When the Fathers were about to embark an unusual incident took place. The Brother had gone aboard ahead of them with some of the belongings he was able to gather; the father of Catubig too was leaving accompanied by his servants. Not far behind was Father Julio making his way aboard. However, two armed natives appeared and one of them raised his spear and cuirass ready to slay him. His companion then put his hand on the spear and said: 'Leave this unfortunate man alone for he means no harm! Besides, he seems to be mentally disturbed.' Certainly, what that man said was true. Several days prior to this the Fathers had begun to suspect his soundness of mind due to some of the strange things he was doing. Under these circumstances, it all became even more clear that his condition was not normal; he was not violent but simply a man with a mental problem. Ultimately, he died in this abnormal condition or state." (Alcina, *op. cit.*, Chapter 12).

"For two days the fathers remained at home in suspense, without understanding the cause of this evil deed, or knowing who was its author. The rebels, themselves delayed to commit sacrileges by breaking with shame and declaring themselves insurrectionists." Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 492. Also in BR, vol. 38, p. 104.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits began moving out of Palapag, fearful that perhaps something more fearful may yet be coming. "As a consequence of such an indecision on the part of the natives, the missionaries found a little relief. The two fathers and the *donado* resolved to gather the most valuable things from the house, board a boat and get away from Palapag. Beginning their preparation on the same afternoon of *Corpus Christi*, they were able to carry out their plan. On the following day, the three of them together with some house-boys (although some had already escaped), the *berigas* and the boatmen whom the father had already brought along from Catubig, they helped themselves to a vessel of moderate capacity which was in a *camarin* near a river... and with very little preparation, they hurriedly went aboard with the few people available. They were able to take a writing desk and some of the money belonging to the *cabeceira*; also some of the necessary utensils for cooking food and a little clothing. Just as

the people began taking to the streets, armed with spears and cuirasses, they put out to sea and left the town." Alcina, *op. cit.*, Part II, Book 3, Chapter 12. Also in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. 17, Number 49, p. 165.

"Finally, on the day of *Corpus Christi*, about noon, the murderer came in sight, leading the multitude, and openly declaring that it was he who had slain the father, blatantly defying the whole world. They gave the fathers and the brother whom they found in the house, the opportunity to flee from it; and immediately, as barbarians and enemies of God — forgetting the faith and Christian belief of so many years, in which they have grown up — they sacked and burned the church and house, profaning the vestments, and cutting from them drawers and turbans according to their old-time usage." Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 492 and in BR, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²¹ Díaz, in his account, describes this phase in the following manner. "Next day they despoiled the house and church of its furniture and holy ornaments; profaned the altars and sacred images; scattered the holy oils and used the silver chrismatories for the *ajonjoli* oil with which they anoint their hair.

"It was the will of Divine Providence to show forth the devout fidelity of the women amid the infidelity and apostasy of the men; for, the day before that spoliation, Doña Angelina Dinanugan, wife of Don Juan Ponce, accompanied by another fine Christian woman, Doña María Malon, went to the church and saved some holy images and vestments, besides a chest belonging to the Father, with the little that it contained, which they afterwards surrendered to him. Among the images that devout woman saved from the sacrilegious hands of the rebels was an image of our Lady of the Conception, which was kept with great propriety in the house of Doña María Malon, and which was often seen to sweat abundantly and to shed tears, a miracle which spread throughout the village. When the perfidious Sumoroy heard of it, he said: 'The Virgin Mary is weeping. Let us see if she weep if we burn the house! And he went thither, with other men like himself and set fire to it. But Divine Clemency did not permit the fire to catch in that house, although it was of bamboo and nipa like the others. The husband of Doña María Malon, called Don Gabriel Hongpon [de la Concepción gives this name as Ronfun, while Murillo Velarde cites it as Nongipun], was a head-man and only he and all his people remained faithful to God and to their King. God gave him courage to resist so many, who always respected him as he was so influential a man in that village of Palapag. (*Op. cit.* in BR, Vol. 38, pp. 116-117).

²² "After the Fathers and the said Brother left and found themselves out of danger, they were greatly relieved. The minister of Catubig was eager to see how matters stood there and wanted to retrieve some of his personal belongings. And thus, he went to Catubig while the other Father and Brother moved on. They were all very fortunate in not running into any harm and succeeded getting out of danger by reaching the other side of Baliuag. However, along the Palapag and the Salagan Rivers, and all along the way as far as Laoang there was never a lack of someone who would not shout some offensive words against them. Yet, there no one who dared to harm them or attack their vessel. There is no doubt that for this they were deeply indebted to Gods' special mercy which protected them all the way.

"The Father who went up to Catubig found the natives in a fearful uproar though not up in arms. Those, however, who gathered around him assisted him in bringing together the images of the Virgin and Saint Joseph, as we have already stated, also the frontals, vestments, and the more valuable furnishings of the church which he left behind in a *camarin* or a hut which served as a place for the chanters. All these items he entrusted to a certain Tagalog named Pedro Caobos, who always proved himself loyal, and his son Don Vicente Tongbanua who always served the Father and

serves them even today with great diligence and faithfulness..." Alcina, *op. cit.*, Chapter 12 and in *Phil. Sacra*, Vol. XVII, No. 49, Jan.-Apr., 1982, p. 167.

²³ After Palapag, the first village to make an uprising was the town of Bacor [i.e. today the Can-avid-Dolores region] situated on the eastern or Pacific coast of Samar or Ibabao as it was known then.

"The insurgents also incited the inhabitants of Catubig, who also revolted. They killed a Spaniard, and burned the church and the house of the father minister, after having plundered it. The contagion having spread to other villages, the people did the same in Pambuhan or Bayog, Catarman and Bobon. The rebellion then passed on and spread to the Provinces of Ibalon (Albay) and Camarines where they killed a Franciscan religious, the guardian of Sorsogon. They also killed Alférez Torres in Masbate. In Caraga, the inhabitants of the village of Linao revolted and killed their minister, a discalced Augustinian, and a few Spanish soldiers of a small *presidio* established there; the rest escaping the fury of the insurgents. In Iligan, the village of Cagayan, a mission of our discalced religious, revolted. In the adjacent Island of Camiguin, a mission of the same religious, where they bound their minister and set their feet on his neck. The Subanos mutinied in the jurisdiction of Zamboanga, in the village called Siocon, where they killed Father Juan del Campo of the Society of Jesus. Díaz, in *BR.*, *op. cit.* pp. 117-118.

An interesting reflective note of the historian Combés may be well inserted here. "In the rest of the provinces — either because they perhaps regarded it as somewhat discreditable that the men of Ibabao should display their valour in order to oppose the Spaniards, and they themselves not do so, or because all of them were (as some desire to be) in communication with the Dutch — they proceeded to follow the example and imitate the boldness of the men of Palapag. Our arms would be found greatly embarrassed if those of the Dutch were to add confidence to the insolence of the Indios. And, at the very least, there would not remain a province which would not be up in arms, and no minister or Spaniard of those who were scattered among them would escape. But God our Lord, who chastised as a Father, and chose to correct with clemency the wickedness with which the Spaniards abuse and subject these natives — and as a warning to the latter, to confirm them in the truth of our holy faith and disabuse them of their errors — so adjusted the times that although the Dutch fleets had not failed to come to these islands for the ten past years, about that very month [i.e. June], in this year the peace (i.e. the treaty of Westfalia signed in 1648 by some European warring nations, among them Holland and Spain. This treaty brought to an end the Dutch inroads into Philippine waters), kept them away, and the publication of it arrived here in good time, so that our forces were left free for the punishment of the rebels. Combés, *op. cit.* cols. 492-493; also in *BR.*, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²⁴ The narrative of Díaz holds that the uprising did not break out in Cebu. He writes: "The villages of the Islands of Cebu and Bohol, who are warlike people, were wavering in their loyalty, but Divine Clemency did not permit them to declare themselves against us," *Op. cit.*, *BR.*, vol. 38, p. 118.

On the other hand, Combés account confirms the position of this *Relación*. "This presumptuous act disturbed the peace of Cebu Island. The natives, not fearing the strong fort and the city so near them, defied us since another officer was slain there... The Boholanos, on account of their valour retained their esteem for the Faith..." Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 493 and in *BR.*, *op. cit.*, p. 106

²⁵ This high, flat, fortress-like hill is known as the 'Mesa de Palapag' or in the Waray-Bisayan language 'Bubuyaon'. It is situated southeast of Palapag and a distance of about eight hours walk from the *población*.

It is said that it is some eighty leagues in length and at its summit is found a small lake. Cf. Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa, *Diccionario Español-Bisaya para las Provincias de Samar y Leyte* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. de Santos y Bernal, 1895), p. 319.

It would be well to elaborate here that this undertaking did not have any effect whatsoever, but compounded matters a bit.

"As soon as the *alcalde-mayor* of Leyte heard of the insurrection, he collected all the vessels and men possible, but these were fragile means to oppose so vast a multitude of insurgents and desperate men. Consequently, although they went to Palapag with the said *alcalde mayor*, one Captain, Don Juan Gómez de Tres Palacios y Estrada, they served no other purpose than to make the rebellion worse, and to encourage the enemy.

"The latter entrenched themselves on an impregnable hill called the 'Mesa de Palapag'; and what is the greatest cause for surprise is that a Spaniard called Pedro Zapanta, who had married an *Indio* woman in Palapag, went along with them. But the insurgents gave him his pay by killing him, in order to take away the woman — a worthy reward for his incredible treason. They made trenches and strong stockades, with many sharp stakes and snares; also many stone boulders suspended, which by being thrown upon the strongest army, would cause cruel injury." Díaz, in BR., *op. cit.*, p. 119

"All in all, those of Ibabao aroused the utmost anxiety, their insolence continually calling us to arms; for, not content with atrocities in their own country, they went to disquiet another region. They even disturbed those who dwelt on the opposite coast of Samar, threatening them with ruin if they did not follow the lead of the others. Their attempts began to be dangerous, since they stirred up the village of Paranas [today known as Wright, Samar], which is only *leguas* from the seat of our jurisdiction Catbalogan, where the *alcalde mayor* resides...

"In other villages, the natives were in arms, and regarded us all with apprehension. At the outset, the *alcalde-mayor* was ready with such force as he could assemble — adventurers in the Province, mestizos, and *Indios*; but, as the former were all collectors of tribute and the latter all relatives of the insurgents, some were not accustomed to arms and the hardships of campaigning, and the others could not use weapons against those of their own blood. Accordingly, this instead of checking their fury, only rendered their boldness more insolent, and gave unwonted force to their arms; and men who before did not find enough woods in which to hide themselves, from a Camucon ship, now went so far as to make daybreak assaults on our troops, and slew our men before our very eyes..." (Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 493-393. Also in BR. *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

²⁶ This dedicated and zealous Jesuit minister was born in Messina, Italy on October 13, 1613. He studied Latin in the college of the Society of Jesus and even at that early age manifested signs of virtue and a natural inclination toward piety. He entered the novitiate of the Jesuits on March 16, 1630, where he continued to mature in virtue as well as in knowledge. He completed his four-year course in the Arts and Grammar in Milan demonstrating a beautiful balance between letters and the spirit. Upon returning to Messina in pursuit of theological studies, he learned that in the *Indies* and especially in the Philippines, many were dying as pagans due to the great lack of missionaries. Caught passionately in the grips of this reality and awareness, he had an ardent desire to go to the Philippines and convert these souls. However, he encountered some difficulties and trials but he mingled all these with fervent prayers so as to receive the gift of a missionary vocation.

Just about that time, Father Diego de Bobadilla, Procurator of the Philippine Province of the Jesuits was in Europe recruiting soldiers for the spiritual conquest of the Islands. Vicente wrote a letter to the Jesuit General, begging to be given the opportunity to leave for the Philippines. Shortly, thereafter, he received a very disappointing response which stated that there was no more room for him among the missionaries already selected. Unrelenting in his strong desire, he pleaded with God most fervently. In order to find some relief for his affliction of disappointment, he approached a grand servant of God named Nicolás with whom he had many dealings and who was very familiar to him. This was a man of exemplary life and great piety; one who spent long hours in prayer without leaving his house; one who was shown a lot of mercy from God and even revelations. When Vicente approached him with his problem, Nicolás as if penetrated and entered his soul and upon returning, he assured him saying: "Do not be disturbed and do not fret, for this year you shall leave for the Philippines!" Vicente replied: "Would that it would be so! But our General wrote me and said that there is no room." But the venerable Nicolás responded, in turn, with determination: "You shall go, you shall go, for there is a letter forthcoming!" Lo, and behold, upon returning home, he found a letter waiting from the General stating that he is to take the place of someone who was no longer going.

Thrilled with the resolve and the news, Vicente departed for Naples and there he met up with another obstacle; namely, there will be no departure until the complete group of missionaries are gathered. Hence, he was asked to return to Messina. Again, he took recourse to the Blessed Virgin and the spiritual director of the house, Father Vicente Carrafa. Finally, he made his way for Genoa where he was ordained to the priesthood, preceded by deep prayer and penitence, and then offered his first Mass.

The newly-ordained, Father Vicente Damián, left for the Philippines in the year 1643. He completed his two years of studies in theology in Manila and desiring to fulfill his pledge of converting souls to God, he was sent to labour in the difficult mission of Ibabao [i.e. Samar]. And so it was in this region that he released all his enthusiasm and fervor that filled his heart to over-flowing. He preached to the people in such a wonderful spirit that they readily forgot about their barbaric ways and crude customs and lived not only as Christians (neo), but in greatest christian devotion and never failed to recite the Rosary in their homes together. On all Sundays during *siesta* they all gathered in church to recite the rosary before the most Holy Virgin and daily they did the same in their houses. He urged them also to stop calling one another by their primitive names and use their baptismal names. He also introduced and popularized the use of sacramentals in daily life such as the use of holy water and the crucifixes which all were urged to have in their homes. The people were also taught to venerate the saints whenever they entered the churches and to commend their souls, their children and their fields to their intercession. He celebrated the *fiestas* with grand solemnity and processions; in order to attract the natives, he introduced dances, fireworks and other ingenious attractions. Those who frequented confession and were fine practicing Christians were given Holy Communion. And so that all may persevere in the faith and grow maturely he established various congregations to the Blessed Virgin wherein he enlisted especially the *principales* of the communities. In Bacor the people were badly divided, quarreling and at odds with each other; he managed to root out this animosity and succeeded in introducing peaceful relationships among them.

He never preached anything he himself was not; in all his actions he exuded devotion and holiness. He was very humble, and always dressed poorly; modest in his manners, pleasant, lovable and deeply mortified. He was a man of deep prayer and austere penance and was greatly admired by the *Indios*. At mid-night he would rise to fervent prayer and persevere

thus through the night till morning. He recited the Divine Office diligently and paid close attention to every word in particular.

When the Rector of Palapag, Miguel Ponce Barberán, was murdered brutally, Father Vicente was named Rector by the Superiors. He assumed the obligations of a good shepherd and turned to his flock with solicitude and deepest concern for their spiritual and bodily welfare. He was in Catubig through the month of September where through his frequent exhortations, he reduced various natives to submission and to rebuild the destroyed church.

On October 11, 1649, in the morning there arrived to Catubig a hundred men in eight vessels led by the perverse Sumoroy. An *Indio* hurried to the house of the Father who was at prayer and shouted: 'Father, here they are from Palapag and they want to kill you! You must run away!' The Father, however, did not move or budge, but said: "That I will never do, for I wish to shed my blood in defense of the Faith!" And taking a crucifix into his hands, which he always carried with him, he knelt down again in prayer. Before the rebels entered the house of the Father, two of the helpers gathered around him to protect him. When the insurrectos entered they quickly attacked the Father and the two 'muchachos' with their lances and killed all three of them. Sumoroy then, together with his associates, burned the new church — a 'camarin' which had been reconstructed by the priest and his townsfolk.

His remains were buried with great honors by the faithful and he was venerated as a martyr of Christ. A certain Father Juan Nadasi and Mathias Taner wrote and said that Father Vicente died in the odour of sanctity and for the faith and that they saw a portrait of him engraved in Europe and a painting of him as a martyr of Christ. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, fols. 176-178.

²⁷ He was Diego Patiño, Vice-Provincial for the Bisayas with residence in the *Cabecera* of Catbalogan, Samar.

Father Patiño was born in Tarancón, Diocese of Cuenca, in the year 1598. He joined the Society of Jesus in the year 1613 and left for the Philippine Islands from Toledo in the year 1622. A dynamic and a zealous missionary, he laboured well and for many years among the *Indios*. He spent many years in the Bisayas ministering in Catubig, Samar and as Rector of Catbalogan, Samar. Later he was assigned to the missions of Malanao, Iligan and Dapitan where he suffered much from the unfavorable climate, but where he was loved and admired deeply by the people. He always reached out with help and assistance to anyone in need like a pious and venerable father. His command of the Waray-Bisayan language was excellent and he thus preached with extraordinary fervor and spirit to the Bisayans. He made a translation of the catechism of Cardinal Bellarmine, prepared a *Vocabulario*, wrote sermons and many other works in the language of Iligan. All these works were greatly useful for the natives and of tremendous help to the ministers.

Among the many tasks and duties assigned to him was the responsibility of secretary to the Philippine Jesuit Province, Rector of the College in Manila and eventually he was elected Provincial of the Society. Those under his charge were always governed with great understanding, consideration, delicacy, in a religious and a very charitable manner.

The last assignment as Provincial Procurator necessitated voyages to Madrid and Rome. In one of his sea-travels, he was attacked by a serious illness (*quebradura*) near Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands. Father Francisco Bello, his companion, had him taken to the city and to the infirmary of the Dominican Fathers in search of assistance and remedy. Through the kindness of the religious there, he received charitable care and attention and

eventually all the Sacraments where he died in their hands after prolonged and fervent acts of love of God and sorrow for his sins.

Father Diego Patiño's demise occurred on July 26, 1657 at the age of 59 years; forty-four years in the Society and twenty-one years after his profession of the four vows. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. VIII, fols. 250v-251.

²⁸ This seems to be Father Baltasar Porticela. This is ascertained from the scrambled fragments of the Alcina manuscript concerning the Palapag Rebellion. In one of these short passages we read: "On the other hand, Father Vicente insisted on returning there; he had asked permission from Father Vice-Provincial to withdraw for several days to the town of Catubig (where Father Baltasar Porticela was at the time) to make a retreat and prepare himself for his return, or as he was wont to say, to die for the faith. This yearning was instilled in him after numerous requests made previously to Father Baltasar . . ." Alcina, *op. cit.*, Part II, Book 3, scrambled portions from either of the chapters: 13, 14 or 15.

Murillo Velarde provides no bio-data about Father Baltasar Porticela; Colín-Pastells gives his name only in passing and shows him labouring in Catbalogan, Calbiga, Paranas, Hibatang and Capul. Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), Lib. IV, Tom. III, apéndice, p. 721.

From the triennial reports of the Jesuits, we also learn that Father Porticela laboured in Dulac in 1628, in Dagami in the year 1643 and in Catbalogan as Rector in the year 1651. (ARSI, *Phil.* 2, fols. 16, 22v, and 24.

²⁹ Since our *Relación* here direly lacks all the colorful and dramatic details offered by Combés, Díaz and Alcina, it is imperative that we offer or present passages from these accounts.

"The government authorities in Manila learning that the revolt was continually gathering strength, and that the insolence of the insurgents was moving beyond all manageable limits, acknowledged how important it was to repress it and undertake its chastisement in all earnest . . ." Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 494.

"And so Governor General Don Diego Fajardo called and held a council of war and all agreed to entrust this undertaking to the commander of the galleys, Andrés López de Azaldigui, with the rank of lieutenant of the captain-general. This commission empowered Don Andrés to summon Spaniards and troops from all the fortified posts. *Ibid.* He was a soldier of many good qualities: brave, prudent, and fortunate in the enterprises that had been entrusted to him. What more, he was a prime favourite with the soldiers because of his liberality. Díaz, in BR, *op. cit.* p. 120.

"And so, he made all the necessary arrangements for the difficult undertaking, but he soon recognized the risk that he incurred; many now have looked up to the rebels of Palapag as restorers of their liberty and were enjoying their many successes. And that in our reverses we had cause to fear them as enemies, was well known to them. As a result, a large fleet of native vessels was needed for the transportation of provisions and military supplies; but, the greater the number of these that were thus assembled, the greater was the danger of provoking them to hostility. Hence, the general wrote to Manila, demanding galleys; and there, in order to avoid the expense of galleys and the perils of rough seas, they dispatched orders that the armada should come from Zamboanga — since the loyalty of those people against the Bisayans, as against old-time enemies, could not be doubted." Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 494 and in BR, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

"Hence, Don Andrés López de Azaldigui, left Manila with the best men whom he could enlist, both Spaniards and Pampanguenos and voyaged for

Catbalogan, Samar, the capital of that Province. There he mustered thirteen oar-vessels and two champans. His first order was to send vessels to Panay and Iloilo for food. Well informed of the condition of the rebels of Palapag, he found that he needed more war-supplies for that conquest; for the insurgents had extended their revolt to many villages of the islands, and the other neighboring islands were apparently prepared to follow their bold acts, if they were at all fortunate." (Díaz, in BR, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121).

"The armada was dispatched as promptly as possible by the commandant of Zamboanga. Meanwhile, Azaldigui is summoned by the government to investigate the loss of the galleon *Encarnación*. The task of mobilizing the armadas and military forces against the Palapag insurrectos was assigned to Captain Ginés de Rojas, a brave soldier. However, he was one who had a poor reputation with the soldiers and they held him in low regard.

"Don Ginés de Rojas assembled the thirteen oared vessels and the champans, in the latter of which he stowed the food. Likewise the fleet of Zamboanga came up with four *caracoas* and some Spaniards, and four hundred Lutaos. These Lutaos are *Indios* of that region who have been recently converted to our Holy Faith from the errors of the cursed sect of Mahomet, by the efforts and toil of the religious of the Society. Their commandant was their master-of-the-camp, Don Francisco Ugbo, a Lutao and a brave man; their *sargento-mayor* was Don Alonso Macombo, also a Lutao. The chief commander of the fleet was Captain Juan Muñoz, the admiral was Juan de Ulloa, and the captain was Suárez, who were veteran soldiers." Díaz, in BR, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

"Just about the same time when the Lutaos were leaving for Samar, there arrived to Zamboanga they newly-assigned Rector of the college, Father Francisco Martínez. Since Father Alejandro López was now free of responsibilities, he joined the armada which needed his presence and assistance, for this was going to be an important venture and a serious undertaking.

"All fortified themselves with the holy sacraments, as solicitously as Christians of very long standing could do. Great was the rejoicing which this armada caused in all the towns where it landed, notably in the City of Cebu, where the Lutaos were known (and most of them, especially those who commanded the joangas, and the reputation of being pirates), at seeing them now as Christians, repairing to the churches with so much devotion and attending divine worship with such fervor — those very people who had ravaged the islands with fire and damaged nearly all the churches of the Bisayas with their outrages and robberies. Those, who yesterday were enemies, but today bearing arms in our aid; and those who yesterday were cruel enemies to God, now the avengers of insults to Him. Tears sprang to the eyes of all and they did not cease to give a thousand thanks to the fathers for their labours, so effectual — not only in the conversion of that Moro people, but for the benefit of these Christian communities, removing their terror and turning their dread and mistrust of the Moro arms into joy and expectation of success." (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 495 and in BR, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110).

In addition to that gathering force, three others came from Cebu: Captain Don Francisco de Sandoval and Juan Fernández de León, who brought many men from Siao, Caraga, and other Provinces.

"When all those forces were assembled in Catbalogan, Samar, Don Ginés de Rojas divided them into three divisions: two under the command of Sandoval and León, and the third in his own charge. He ordered Captain Sandoval to go to his encomienda at Catubig, and thence, with all the men whom he could assemble, to go to reduce the village of Palapag. Captain León was ordered to go with his men through Tubig (Taft), Sulat, Borongan and other villages — first, however, to go to Guiuan, to get as many men as possible from there. Don Ginés de Rojas chose the towns of Catarman and Bobon, where his encomienda lay.

"Nothing worthy of note happened to Captain Don Francisco de Sandoval, but the *Indios* of Bacor prepared an ambush against Juan Fernández de León in a very dangerous pass. Juan Fernández had gone out, embarking on the River Nasan, which is very rapid because of its swift current and at one place it has a fall about two spear-lengths in height. Consequently, in order to proceed, one must unload the boats and carry them over this obstacle. It was there that the enemy set up an ambush for Juan de León, but it was disclosed by a friendly *Indio*. Our men firing their muskets and arquebuses at the side, the *Indios* fled with great loss. Our men, then, proceeded to the bar of the river, where they fortified themselves in a reinforced stockade. Sandoval did the same in Catubig, as did Don Silvestre de Redas, whom Don Ginés sent as a reinforcement to Sandoval.

These appointed leaders and captains continued to invite and pacify the many Samareños who presented themselves. But those who were entrenched on the hill, confident in their stronghold and defense, persisted obstinately in their revolt, and made attempts to lure the other towns not to declare in our favour. Don Ginés fortified his post, and ordered each captain to do the same with his contingent, for he had resolved to blockade and capture the insurgents on the hill by hunger. Sumoroy's men learned from their spies that Don Ginés had but a few men in his quarters, as the rest had gone to get provisions. They took advantage of such an opportunity and made way for the post at night by the river. When they felt that our men were very careless and sound asleep, they pulled out some stakes from the fortification of Don Ginés and entered in a disorderly manner. But the sentinels, hearing the noise, sounded the alarm. Don Ginés, awaking, seized his sword and buckler; accompanied by those who followed him hastily, confronted the enemy, and drove them to flight with a great loss — as was judged from the abundance of blood that was seen in the camp in the morning. Although none of our men died in the encounter, some were wounded. One ball struck Sumoroy on the shoulder and wounded him somewhat. They seemingly dragged all their dead out of the fortress and threw them in the river, leaving only one corpse behind. Don Ginés did not care to pursue them, fearing some ambush, which would have been easy in that darkness." (Díaz, in BR, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123).

"The captain wearied himself much with various fortifications, and kept the men exhausted; he engaged in the same fatiguing labour those of the armada." (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 496 or BR, *op. cit.*, p. 111). The soldiers grumbled much at the great caution and prudence of Don Ginés de Rojas, who thought only of strengthening his fortification, rather than busy himself with the enemy. This disenchantment with cutting down trees of the forests rose to such a pitch that the *sargento-mayor* of the Lutaos, Don Francisco Macombo, approached Don Ginés impatiently and stated that neither he nor his men had come from Zamboanga to cut timber but to fight the Palapag enemy." (Díaz, in BR, *op. cit.*, p. 124).

³⁰ He is Father Alejandro López, who just completed his term of office as Rector of the Zamboanga *Presidio* and residence. Pedro Murillo Velarde states, in his account of the revolt, that he accompanied the armada that left Zamboanga for Palapag, Samar. (*Op. cit.*, Lib. II, Cap. XXIII, #426).

Father Alejandro López was born in the month of July 1604 in Jaca de Aragon. At the urging of his wealthy uncle, Alejandro, and his parents went to live in Mexico in the year 1623 when he was nineteen years old. Through the great generosity of his uncle, Alejandro was sent for studies in the city where he pursued three years of schooling and showed excellence in the study of philosophy. At about that time, Don Juan Niño de Tabora was preparing to sail for the Philippine Islands as Governor-General elect. The uncle now obliged Alejandro to go along on the voyage so as to accompany his large shipment of silver intended for all sorts of commercial undertakings.

Alejandro embarked for the Philippines in the year 1626 accompanying the valuable cargo of his uncle. In Manila he entered the College of San José in the month of August, and pursued the study of theology for a period of five years, showing no less excellence than he did in philosophy. After learning about Saint Ignatius, he plunged into deep reflection and prayer to learn and discern God's will for him and his future. He then resolved to enter the Society of Jesus with a determination to persevere in that life perpetually, obliging himself under vow. With due consent of his spiritual director, his vow was approved, but he was urged to seek ordination first. He offered his first Mass in the College of San José on the Solemnity of Saint Joseph in the year 1631. Shortly, thereafter, he entered the Jesuit novitiate and eventually was permitted to pronounce his first vows as if he were a Jesuit in long standing. For a period of four years he exercised the office of procurator of the College of Manila with fine responsibility; however, he yearned and longed to be engaged in the labour of salvation of souls, but left the matter in the hands of his superiors. The authorities seeing his fervor assigned him to the ministry among the Chinese or Sangleyes of Santa Cruz district. He discharged his task of preaching, catechizing and administering the sacraments to the Chinese in this *pueblo* under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits with utmost zeal and dedication. Father Alejandro mastered the Chinese language notwithstanding its difficulty in a very short period of time and preached fluently. His ministry among the Chinese and the Japanese was extremely fruitful. Under his expertise too, a beautiful, large and spacious church was built for God's glory and for the edification of the Chinese.

In the year 1637, Father López sailed with Father Marcelo Mastrili and the Governor General, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera for Mindanao. In the following year these, together with Father Pedro Gutiérrez, Rector of Zamboanga, Father Juan de Barrios, confessor of the Governor General, Father Melchor de Vera, Father Francisco Martínez, Father Gregorio Belín and Alejandro López sailed for Jolo with the armada on January 4, 1638. During this expedition, Father Alejandro had to endure many dangers and risks; escorted the troops, cared for the infirm, confessed the soldiers and assisted all with the greatest charity.

Father Alejandro's dealings and relations with the Moros in Jolo were extremely cordial. Quickly he learned and mastered their language and began preaching and catechizing among the Joloans.

While in Mindanao with the armada, Father Alejandro encountered a tough, rugged and malicious *Cabo* named Ginés Ros y Avilés, who was a terrible trial to him. However, the Lord in his kindness and mercy did bring him consolation. He was given the grace to bring a certain mora to the Faith by baptizing her; however, she died shortly thereafter. Father López gave her a most beautiful and solemn burial, to the amazement of all her relatives, friends and acquaintances.

Father Alejandro López was also blessed with the gift of curing and healing several individuals on the very brink of death. Oftentimes, by invoking the Blessed Mother and by sprinkling holy water, amazing things would happen. Then too, he was instrumental in releasing several from the grips of satanic possession.

He was extremely generous with everyone especially the infirm, the unfortunate, those in dire need, never counting the cost or giving any consideration to the difficulties involved.

In Zamboanga, he built a beautiful church and a house for the ministers. But even more, his life was a very exemplary one and given to model religious observance. His life was an inspiration to everyone and a reminder of what they ought to be and become.

He was also of great assistance in school, where he taught the *doctrina* to a very large number of children. There he also administered the sacra-

ments, offered Mass for them and organized a choir and promoted fine christian living.

The Kinglet of Mindanao, Cachil Corralat, was full of admiration for Father Alejandro when he was the Rector of Zamboanga.

In the year 1645, February 26, Father López sailed with some soldiers to a place called Simuay at the invitation of the *Reyezuelo* Corralat and his son Tiruley. From the moment he arrived there, he never ceased speaking about the Faith, about Christ, the Holy Virgin; he even offered them as gifts many images of the saints and even chanted the *Salve*. He also offered Mass in their midst and all were full of wonder and curiosity and delight . . . He received permission from the Kinglet to preach the Gospel among some of his people and there was no lack of fruitfulness among several of the Moros. Only the Caciques and the *Panditas* remained stubborn, firm and aloof . . . The Kinglet favoured Father Alejandro and presented him a fine gift of Christian captives.

He left Zamboanga in the year 1635 for a meeting and was elected Procurator of the Province of the Society of Jesus, third in line and thus remained in Manila as a secretary to the Provincial. However, he never ceased his ministry to the infirm, the needy; attending to confessions and various spiritual needs of the natives.

When an uprising took place in Mindanao again, Governor General Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara invited Father Alejandro López to assist, since he was so familiar with the region and its many problems. On the thirteenth of December, 1655, he received the crown of martyrdom together with Father Montiel and other Spaniards who accompanied the armada (embassy).

Father López manifested heroic virtue in so many different ways. He ministered and preached to the Spaniards, Chinese, *Indios*, to the Lutaos, to the Mindanaos, Joloos, Moros and non-Christians; from all these sectors he drew a rich harvest . . .

It is interesting to learn also that Father Alejandro had written a fine volume on the Lutao language which was very popular and which refuted, with excellent reasoning, the Mahommetan Sect and its teachings. He also produced a *Grammar* and a *Vocabulario* in the same dialect or language which was extremely beneficial for the missionaries labouring in that region. Into the same language he translated the *Doctrina* of Cardinal Bellarmine, not less useful for the missionaries as well as for the *Indios*. He also penned a fine *History of Mindanao*. Prayer and work absorbed all of his time; what more, he spent much before the Blessed Sacrament in adoration. He was ever firm in the vow of chastity and faithful in living in poverty . . .

He was martyred at the hands of the Moros only once, but he mortified and martyred his body, that irreconcilable enemy of the soul, numerous times at his own hands — with hairshirts, discipline, fasts, vigils, penitence and other stringent ascetical practices.

He made his first profession (los votos del biennio) in Manila on September 8, 1633 and his final vows in Zamboanga on December 2, 1634. He was martyred in the year 1655, December 15. (Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, fols. 238v-247v).

³¹ Since the *Relación* had omitted so many rich and interesting details and presented this phase of the contest in such general and broad outlines and strokes, it is well to present here several of the other well-executed accounts. Hence, we shall back-track somewhat and make a re-run of the events that transpired in the storming of the 'Mesa de Palapag' with all their richness of detail.

"Don Ginés de Rojas was not displeased to see the willingness and eagerness of his soldiers to fight. Therefore, he had the men called to arms and

arranged the attacks [i.e. on May 29, 1650]. He formed two divisions for the attack and left the third to guard the camp. The assault was made from two different positions or approaches: one by the open path which was extremely well defended by the rebels; the other, was a precipitous cleft in the formidable rock which was passable for the birds alone — for it was a huge, steep cliff and so narrow at the place where the camp of the insurgents was established that only a single man could enter the opening at one time. This was called by the natives in their own language 'the eye of a needle'.

"The troops climbed up that impossible crevice on hands and feet unable even to carry their own arms; these were passed on by those following behind. The insurrectos had posted a sentinel at its summit to advise them of any strange move. In this pass, only a few would be necessary to come to his aid and would be sufficient to prevent many from effecting an entrance, so impossible was the approach.

"The Captain, Don Ginés de Rojas, entrusted that difficult undertaking to Captain Silvestre de Rodas, a native of Rota, and a soldier of great renown in his time, about whom are recounted incredible exploits performed in Terrenate. He gave him command of the Lutaos soldiers, with their commander Don Francisco Macombo; Don Ginés himself took the battalion of the soldiers who attacked the hill in front. The vanguard and rearguard were placed in command of Captains Sandoval and Juan Fernández de León. The assault arranged in such positions of readiness, Don Ginés engaged the enemy with great valor to the sound of drums and trumpets. All moved up the hill under difficult and dangerous conditions, since the rebels suspended large tree trunks and boulders with rattan. When they cut the rattan and would permit these to crash upon us, incredible damage could have resulted. However, Divine Providence, directed these missiles to places where we were not. Nonetheless, our men went up that hill with dogged determination, but the enemy met them with even greater stubbornness which led to desperation. The damage inflicted upon them by our arquebuses did not cool their obstinacy, for they made attempts to throw themselves upon our spears and swords in their determination to die while killing others . . .

"This phase of the battle lasted many hours and the enemy often being relieved, for they had many daring and well-armed men in their stronghold or natural rock-fortress. Don Ginés de Rojas, seeing that the fury of the enemy was invincible (for they were fighting more like lions than like men), and that his men could no longer endure the heat of the battle, and as a result of fatigue and numerous wounded, he had a retreat sounded, leaving more vigorous experience for another day. The insurgents also retired, satisfied at the resistance that they had shown, even though their losses too were quite numerous.

The attempts and successes of the brave Silvestre de Rodas, with his Lutaos in charge by Don Francisco Ugbo and Don Alonso Macombo, were very different from that of Don Ginés. On the second of July, 1650 [Alcina states, June 3], these made the assault in the most difficult point — which was the 'eye of the needle' in the rock, as we have stated above and through which Silvestre de Rodas was the first to pass. He chose the silence of night, a time when they were least likely to be discovered. Climbing up one by one, without carrying their arms, but passing them on from behind as they ascended. At about the middle of their ascent, they were caught and impeded by a heavy, drenching rain and downpour, which lasted for a great part of the night . . . When the rains stopped, even though they were all completely drenched and soaked, they resumed their climb and reached the entrance of the rock to the stronghold. It was a very, very opportune moment for just then the sentinel left his post in search of matches for a fire or a smoke. (Díaz, in BR., *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126).

Combés, in his narrative, recalls this particular moment regarding the sentinel in this manner. "The time while the rain fell was enough to enable

all the soldiers to reach the top without danger They halted there, waiting for daylight; when the rain gave opportunity to the sentinel, he came back, waving a torch in order to light his path. Our men could have slain him, but they let him go, so as not to raise an alarm." (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 497)

"Taking advantage of this opportunity, Silvestre de Rodas and some of the foremost, who were the most vigorous, were able to enter the fortress atop of the hill. The sentinel returned with a torch in his hand and when he was near, perceived the effects of his carelessness and was under the impression that our forces were already upon him. He looked in astonishment, and then, hurriedly taking flight, began to cry out and announce that our men had penetrated the stronghold by means of the rock.

"Confused and lacking in counsel, a panic terror seized all of the rebels and forced them into disorganized flight, so that Silvestre de Rodas and the Lutaos were allowed to become masters of the stronghold." (Díaz, in BR., *op. cit.*, p. 127).

"Our troops, seeing that they were discovered, marched toward the fortifications. So quickly they reached them that the enemy at once took to flight; our men pursued them with their arms, but the enemy quickly escaped, by dangerous precipices and paths which they know so well. But the Spaniards did not choose to divert much of their attention to the fugitives, rather taking care to occupy promptly their 'Rochelle' [an allusion to LA ROCHELLE, considered the most strongly fortified town in France]. (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 497). "Unfurling their victorious banners, they took possession of the lodgings, trenches, and the food of the enemy. (Díaz, in BR., *op. cit.*, p. 127).

"Accordingly, they erected their fortifications, and occupied them with their artillery, supplies, and weapons. From that place, they sent for the commander, Captain Don Ginés de Rojas, who came up to take possession of the gains made by the arduous efforts and daring bravery of the men of Zamboanga. In this enterprise, Captain Francisco de Ugbo, then commander of the Zamboangan armada, and Captain Silvestre de Rodas, and old soldier of Terrenate, especially distinguished themselves.

"The Lutaos dispersed throughout the stronghold and breaking into a house, found the mother of the traitor and parricide Sumoroy; they dragged her out and tore her to pieces. Sumoroy himself had been sent down from this rock fortress the day before, secretly in a hammock, and all the children and women the rebels had already placed in safety. The day that they learned about the Zamboangan Armada, they felt that their cause was lost . . . Thus came to an end, this longed-for undertaking and War of Ibabao . . . Accordingly, the armada and its men took their departure, leaving the islands thankful for what they had accomplished and edified by their good example. (Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 497-498). Cf. also the highly interesting narrative of Alcina on this phase of the assault. He provides many other noteworthy details and descriptions. See, the translated text in "Alcina's Description of the Towns of Sulat and Tubig, Bobon, Catarman and of the Palapag Uprising in 1649," Cantius Kobak and Pablo Fernández, *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XVII, Number 49, January-April, 1982, pp. 181, 183 and 185.

³² "The chief leader Sumoroy and his sorcerer father refused to put in an appearance, or to talk of peace. But the very ones whom he had caused to rebel killed him, and carried his head to Don Ginés de Rojas, although they had been so loyal to him before that when the *alcalde-mayor* of Leyte went at the beginning to reduce them to peace, and asked them as the first condition to deliver to him the head of Sumoroy, they, making light of the request, sent him the head of a swine. But afterwards, as a token of their true obedience, they delivered the head without anyone asking for it. Don

Juan Ponce remained in hiding in the Island of Cebu for a long time, but after having obtained pardon, he returned to Palapag; there he committed crimes that were so atrocious that the *alcalde-mayor* seized him and sent him to Manila, where he paid for those crimes on the scaffold.

"He who had the best end was Don Pedro Caamug; for he was the first to present himself, and showed great loyalty in the reduction of the others. He continued all his life to be a very quiet person and was made governor of his town, where he had been highly esteemed by all. It was also proved that he was not the one who had killed Father Vicente Damián with his own hands, although he was captain of that band. Moreover, it was found to be advisable to overlook much on that occasion, as the peace of all the Pintados Islands, who were awaiting the end of the rebels of Palapag, depended on it." (Díaz, in BR., *op. cit.* pp. 127-18).

It would be well to add this little item of interest here about the Lutao commander and warrior, Don Francisco Ugbo. "... he returned from the Samar and Ibabao campaign wounded and attacked by a serious malady which was declared mortal. This captain learning that his last hour was at hand, showed how deeply rooted was the Christian faith in his heart, even though it was only of recent growth. He received the holy sacraments with extraordinary devotion and reverence, exhorted all his family and acquaintances to become good Christians, and in the midst of his intense pains endured them without complaint or resentment. In his testament he commanded, as his last wishes, that his property should be shared among his relatives and his soul [i.e. offering Masses for its repose]. He died while making fervent acts of contrition, to the admiration and consolation of those who were present (de la Concepción, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274 or BR. *op. cit.*, pp. 138).

Finally, it would be well also to look into the account of Pedro Murillo Velarde, who gives some information on the end of the various personages and individuals connected with the rebels. See, *Historia . . .*, *op. cit.*, Lib. II, Cap. XXIII, fols. 174v-175.

³³ The microfilm did not provide any further data on Fathers Miguel Ponce Barberán and Vicente Damián for it must have been a cut-off point made by the librarian. However, we did include a thorough biographical data of both of the martyred Jesuits in our earlier footnotes.