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Notes and Comments

Church Expenses in Nineteenth Century Cavite

REGALADO TROTA JOSE, JR.

While there is a wealth of literature on the history of the church in the Philippines, much of this tends to deal with its more formal aspects, such as its institutions, the religious orders, inter-church squabbles, and missionary exploits. Very little has been written on the daily life of the churches. To this end I would like to share some findings collected while doing research on the colonial churches of Cavite.

SOURCES OF DATA

The data were collected from four types of primary sources. The first are *Libros de Cargo y Data* or account books kept in each parish. Income or *cargo* and expenses or *data* were noted down for each month, with a resultant *cotejo* or comparison indicating whether the church was in debt or not. Included in the data were the usual expenses for mass wine, oil for the sanctuary lamp, and salaries for parish assistants, as well as church repairs or new acquisitions. Account books were periodically checked and finances tallied during visitations by the Archbishop. After the last entry of the book the *contador* or accountant wrote his tallies and observations, followed by the admonishments and recommendations of the Archbishop. There were also separate account books for the *conventos* or parish priests' residences.

The second set of data includes *presupuestos* or project plans—for church vestments, bells, construction, chalices, or other entities—with the bill of materials and corresponding costs, and the

reconocimientos which are detailed costings for various repairs, usually after a church had been damaged by a storm or earthquake. These are signed by the architects, artists or craftsmen who drew them up, together with their places of work, and are invaluable sources for those forever elusive names.

Finally, there are receipts, which though exceedingly rare, give data similar to the presupuestos, indicating type of job, materials, and author, and correspondence between the Archbishop and his parish priests, thankfully preserved in great quantity in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (AAM), which reveal a lot about the life of the church and its parishioners.

Expenses above a certain amount needed written episcopal approval.¹ Letters of request for approval usually began by describing, in slightly exaggerated terms, the deplorable condition of the church, vestments or whatever it was the *cura paroco* or parish priest needed changed or repaired. It usually helped if he stated that the townspeople were willing to help in the enterprise. Then he would put forth his request, which he had the "honor to elevate and submit for superior approval"—this was usually accompanied by a presupuesto or reconocimiento with other technical information, such as church plans, designs for silver tabernacles, and so forth. (Plans and designs were returned to the sender, which is why so few of them are preserved in the AAM). The *cura* always ended his request by paying obeisance to the Archbishop, not unlike a baroque form-letter— "I humbly and reverently supplicate that, if the project and reasons for its convenience and necessity are found acceptable, His Excellency dignify this with his superior approval, as an expression of his well-known kindness, and his wonderful religious sentiments and zeal, of which he has always given manifest proofs, for the honor of the Catholic religion." The request and list of expenses were passed on to the Vicar Forane of the province, who wrote his own recommendations on the letter itself. This done, the Archbishop penned his decision just below the Vicar's comments. If the request was

1. In 1777 an episcopal permit was needed for church expenses above \$10 (\$ then was the sign for the peso), Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (AAM): *Santas Visitas* (SV), Box 4A1, folder 1777-90, Puerto de Cavite/San Roque, 1777 (the documents are unpagged, though most are arranged chronologically). By 1790 the amount was raised to \$20, AAM: SV, 4A1, 1777-90, Batangas, 1790. In 1848 it was \$25, AAM: *Libro de Gobierno Eclesiastico* (LGE), 1E13, 1846-1862, doc. 305, also doc. 363. Exemptions however were granted to certain trusted clerics; see footnote 44.

approved, the decision ended with another set-cliche, charging the curate to obtain the best quality from the materials and work, but also to use the greatest economy possible, all the while keeping a strict account of all the expenses.

Documentary sources for income include the aforementioned *cargo y data* books. Parish *inventarios*, aside from listing donations of various accessories, decorations, and equipment, occasionally record church assets. The *arancel* was a list of fees for certain church services. In addition, recorded in account books and church correspondence are requests for exemption from paying church taxes (such as that for the upkeep of the seminary), and requests for loans from other churches which were repaid in installments interest-free.

TOWNS AND PARISHES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CAVITE

Up to the eighteenth century there were only a few towns in the province of Cavite. The capital, the Port of Cavite, was a smaller version of Intramuros, with stone houses and five churches within its ramparts. Nearby were San Roque, Bacoor, and Cavite el Viejo, with Maragondon further down the coast. In the cool mountain hinterlands to the south were Indang and Silang. Naic and San Francisco de Malabon probably had their beginning as towns somewhere in the first half of the eighteenth century, with only Santa Cruz de Malabon (separated from San Francisco de Malabon in 1780) and Imus (from Cavite el Viejo in 1795/6) emerging at the end of the century. With the rise in the economy and population in the nineteenth century, more towns were founded, beginning with Rosario in 1845. The number of towns founded along the coast (Rosario, Ternate [founded 1856] and Caridad [founded 1868]) and those from the rice-producing lowlands (Carmona [1857] and Perez Dasmarinas [1886 or 67]) and the towns founded in the uplands (Bailen [1858], Alfonso [1859], Amadeo [1872], Mendez Nuñez [1875] and Magallanes [1880]) —indicates a remarkable growth of population perhaps due to the production of coffee and abaca.²

2. San Roque and Caridad are now parts of Cavite City. Many towns in Cavite have changed their colonial names: Cavite el Viejo is now Kawit; San Francisco de Malabon,

The early parishes were administered either by the secular clergy, (Cavite Puerto, San Roque and Bacoor) or the Jesuits (Cavite Viejo and Silang, and later Maragondon, Indang and Naic, which were *visitas* of Silang) although the Franciscans had Silang for a few years in the late sixteenth century. The Jesuits stayed until 1768 when the order was suppressed, after which their parishes (technically more like quasi-parishes) were passed on to the seculars, many of whom were by now indios or mestizos. By the end of the eighteenth century the seculars managed all but one of the eleven parishes of Cavite, including those of San Francisco de Malabon and Santa Cruz de Malabon. The only parish under the religious clergy was Imus, run by the Recollects and located in their hacienda acquired in 1686. A few more parishes were founded and placed under secular care in the nineteenth century—Rosario (1845), Bailen (1858), Ternate (1863), and Magallanes (1885/6). However the Jesuits' return in 1859 set loose a chain of events that eventually deprived the seculars of most of their parishes. Royal decrees in 1849 and 1861 transferred secular parishes, as soon as they were vacated, to the hands of the regular clergy, specifically the Dominicans and Recollects. Cavite Viejo in 1851 was the first to go, with Maragondon in 1885 the last. This in turn only added to the worsening struggle between the secular and religious clergy, culminating in the tragedy of 1872 with the execution of Padre Burgos, Zamora and Gomes, the last being parish priest of Bacoor and Vicar Forane of Cavite.

A study of the religious history of Cavite then is important in obtaining a clearer picture of the growth of the church in the Philippines. At one point or another, representatives of all the major religious orders were stationed in Cavite. Together with Pampanga, the province had the longest tenantry under the seculars in the country. When we find that a great number of these seculars were indios or mestizos, the study becomes even more meaningful. It was in Cavite where the raging controversies concerning friar lands, religious/secular and government/secular relations, *tulisanes*, and loyalty to the Roman church during the Revolution, were particularly grounded.

Gen. Trias; Santa Cruz de Malabon, Tanza; Bailen, Gen. Aguinaldo. Perez Dasmariñas has dropped its first name, while Mendez Nuñez, its last. To conform with the period under study, I shall use the colonial names (these names are also used in the filing system of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila).

We do not intend to dwell on these issues here. Instead, by giving details on the normal run of parish affairs in nineteenth-century Cavite, we may help in providing a more realistic depiction of those times.

PARISH BUILDING ACTIVITY

One of the more striking observations made as one pores over the account books is the constant building activity. Storms were perennially blowing down wood and nipa structures, unroofing churches and conventos, dousing and damaging paraphernalia and works of art. Earthquakes shook foundations and cracked walls, necessitating at times the complete demolition of a section of a church with its subsequent rebuilding. Every so often there would have to be a change of woodwork, due to the rapacious appetites of *gorgojos* or *anay* (termites). Slowly increasing populations demanded enlarged churches. We may cite, too, the unspoken rivalry among parish priests, whether indio secular or Spanish friar, in constructing and decorating the best churches and conventos.

Depending on the completeness of data, one can almost count how many stone blocks, bricks, floor boards, beams, etc., went into the construction of a church. (This is possible for Imus, which has a complete set of cargo y data books, with meticulous accountings). Most churches used cut stone blocks (*sillares* and *sillaretas*). Aside from local quarries, a great supply of these came from Meycauayan, Bulacan; other sources were Guadalupe (including the cave of Doña Jeronima),³ Binangonan, Jalajala, and Tierra Alta (now Noveleta). Bricks (*ladrillos*) and tiles were also used; Imus by the late 1820s was manufacturing these in commercial quantities.⁴ Other suppliers of brick were Cavite Viejo, Las Piñas and San Pedro Macati. Bricks, tiles and stone were bound together by mortar (*argamasa*) and plastered over with stucco (*paletada*). Both mortar and stucco were manufactured by "cooking" lime (*cal*) from crushed shells (*talaba* or *ostiones*) in kilns (*hornos*) fueled with much firewood (*leña*) which was then mixed with sand (*arina*) and pumice (*pedra buga*). Ostiones and piedra buga were gathered in Las Piñas, Parañaque, San Roque and Estan-

3. Parish Archives (PA) Imus: *Libro de Cargo y Data* (LCD) II, June 1835.

4. PA Imus: LCD II and succeeding volumes.

suela; lime was also obtained from Las Piñas, Binangonan and Manila.

The interminable and often monotonous repetitions of *sillar*, *ladrillo*, *cal*, *leña*, etc. in the accounts are sometimes relieved by a few surprises. We find, for example, the first glimmerings of the truth behind the "eggs in the mortar" story. There are references in the Bacoor cargo y data accounts for 1808, 1824 and 1825 to duck eggs mixed with the mortar. Doubting Thomases may check the signature for 1824—P. Mariano Gomes. There is another surprise: honey (*miel*) was combined with the eggs in all three entries.⁵ Further, in 1828, 200 duck eggs were used in the paletada for the *algive* (cistern) of the convento in Imus.⁶

Flooring consisted of wooden boards (*tablas*), which were eventually replaced with floor tiles (*baldosas*), glazed tiles (*azulejos*) or granite slabs (*pedra china*); the last two materials were imported from Manila. Marble was used very sparingly and in only a few churches. Roofs of temporarily constructed churches, such as those of visitas and new parishes, were invariably of cogon. As the church became more substantially built, the cogon was replaced with roof tiles (*tejas*), and then by galvanized iron sheets, the church in Indang being one of the first to use them, in 1869.⁷

A great variety of wood was used to make beams, pillars trusses, supports, *retablos*, altar frontals, church benches, *santos*, and various other ornaments: *acle*, *amuquis*, *banaba*, *baticulin*, *calamansanay*, *dongon*, *guijo*, *macupa*, *mangachapoi*, *molave* or *molauen*, *narra*, *tangili*, *tindalo*, *yacal*, and others. Though Cavite was rich in timber-yielding forests, *trozos* (logs) were sometimes imported from Cavite Puerto, San Roque, Las Piñas, Parañaque, Manila, and Tambobong (Malabon), and even from places as far away as Bataan,⁸ Zambales, Mindoro and Cebu.⁹ P. Gomes through his years as Vicar of Cavite learned much about the nature

5. PA Bacoor: LCD 1788-1823 "guevos de pato . . . (torn) . . . La largamasa (mortar) del patio, \$2.2; miel que se co a pr. . . (torn) (largam) asa \$1.0" March 1808; LCD 1824-50, "Huevos de pato, y miel para la mezela de cal de dichas baldosas (flagstones—for the church transept \$0.6)," October 1824, and "300 huevos de pato, y miel para el canal del dicho techo (church roof), \$2.0," May 1826.

6. PA Imus: LCD II, "200 huevos de Patos para la paletada (stucco work) de el Algive (cistern), \$1.3," March 1828.

7. AAM: *Inventarios* (INV), 14A1, 1810-1905D, Indang, 19 October 1869.

8. AAM: *Estado General* (EG), 4C8, 1823-1906A, San Roque, 19 April 1811.

9. PA Imus: LCD III, May 1838 (Zambales); LCD II August 1825, LCD III September 1837, and LCD III January 1840 (Mindoro); and LCD III May 1835 (Cebu).

of wood. For example, when the parish priest of San Francisco de Malabon sent a presupuesto listing *bansalaguin*, *camayuan*, *malarujat* and *calantas*, the Vicar noted the doubtful quality of these, and instead suggested replacing these with wood more resistant to anay, such as the *dungon* of Maragondon and yacal of Angat for beams, *banaba colorado* or *calamansanay* for floor boards, and the *baticulin legitimo* for ceilings (1863).¹⁰ Another time he proposed the substitution of *banaba*, which did not resist the effects of lime, with molave or ipil for inner walls (Indang, 1863).¹¹

The transport of all these building materials taxed the colonial Filipino's imagination, if not his muscles. Imported stuff from Manila was brought in *cascos* which docked at the ports of Cavite and Naic. *Talacsanes* of firewood, *cavanes* of cal, and other loads reached the inland towns via navigable rivers, on *cascos* and rafts (*balsas*), or overland, hauled in *carretones* by carabaos. P. Gomes was constantly admonishing his priests to appoint persons of great confidence to oversee such important tasks as the transport of materials.

CHURCH MUSIC

The outfitting of churches was a never-ending process: vestments and altar cloths (*ornamentos*) were worn out and torn, ecclesiastical vessels broken, cracked bells recast, outmoded silver and gold accessories melted and reformed into modern styles, old altars dismantled and sent to newly erected parishes, new articles replaced old ones. We will not inventory the various pieces of equipment, decoration and accessories used in a church (that would be time and space-consuming) but instead will devote a few words to that much-forgotten aspect of church life, music.

Despite the disappearance of virtually all the old instruments and song books in Cavite, a faint reconstruction of the musical life of the churches is still possible, through gleanings from the archives. As outlined by the cura parroco of San Francisco de Malabon in 1848, a presentable ensemble to accompany church service should include at least two violins, a bass, a clarinet, and one flute—he envied the church in Cavite Puerto to which

10. AAM: EG, 4C7, 1822-1927A, San Francisco de Malabon, 16 May 1863.

11. AAM: INV, 14A1, 1810-1905D, Indang, 10 February 1863.

Spaniards and European flocked, because there was enough money to afford musicians.¹² (A half century later his parishioners were to be the first to hear the “Himno Nacional de Filipinas,” which was played during consecration instead of the usual Spanish national anthem.) The small ensemble was to grow in number of instrumentalists, and we find the first references to the *orquesta* (their salaries) by the late 1870s: in Indang in 1876,¹³ in San Francisco de Malabon in 1879,¹⁴ and in Imus in 1884.¹⁵

The organ and later the harmonium were much appreciated additions. In Bacoor in 1809 an organ was installed; costing \$300 (\$ then was the sign for *peso*), the parishioners were able to defray \$100 from their own contributions. A special wide *pabellon* of Ilocano *manta* cloth was even made to protect it from dust.¹⁶ Julian Felipe, composer of the “Himno Nacional” and native of Cavite, was himself an organist at the parish of that port for about a quarter of a century, from 1874. (Since his work had amplified to include other activities like training the choir, he asked for a raise in salary in 1885; he got it, from \$6 to \$8, monthly).¹⁷ Choir singing probably consisted in the main of plain chant, books of which were present or acquired in the middle of the century by Imus (1849),¹⁸ San Francisco de Malabon (1866),¹⁹ and Santa Cruz de Malabon (1868).²⁰

WORKERS, ARTISANS AND THEIR COMPENSATION

Aside from costs of materials and repairs, the records show how much was paid laborers, artisans and others for various services rendered. The figures in themselves are not always clear, as meticulousness of accounting varied with each parish priest—some recorded expenses per number of laborers and how much each was paid per day (*jornal*), others simply jotted the total cost of an operation without enumerating how many laborers were involved.

12. AAM: EG, 4C7, 1822-1927A, San Francisco de Malabon, 27 March 1848.

13. PA Indang: LCD 1858-1919, April 1876.

14. PA Gen. Trias (San Francisco de Malabon): LCD 1854-1887, February 1879.

15. PA Imus: LCD IV, April 1884.

16. PA Bacoor: LCD 1788-1823, February 1809.

17. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905A, Puerto de Cavite, 21 and 23 September, and 5 October 1885.

18. PA Imus: LCD III, March 1849.

19. PA Gen. Trias: LCD 1854-1887, July 1866.

20. AAM: INV, 14A3, 1808-1909D, Sta. Cruz de Malabon, 3 May 1868.

There is also mention of the *paquiao* system (in Indang, in the purchase and transport of timber, 1865).²¹ Aside from wages, food—rice, fish and meat—and other amenities—*buyo*, *cigarillos*, *tabaco*—were provided the workers, even polistas and other ordinary laborers (*peones* and *gastadores*): how widespread or limited this practice was though is hard to verify, due to incompleteness of cargo y data books.

There was the *arquitecto*, if the parish was lucky enough to find or afford one; in their stead projects were usually prepared and executed by *maestros de obras* (sometimes called *alarifes*) or *maestrillos*. There were *carpinteros*, *aserradores* (sawyers), and *concheros* (those who fitted shell panes into windows); *canteros* and *pedreros* (stonecutters), *albañiles* (masons, bricklayers), and *fogoneros* (those who took care of the lime-producing *hornos*). *Banqueros*, *casqueros* and *carreteros* were paid for delivering needed materials. Furthermore, there were the *herrero* (blacksmith), *cerrajero* (locksmith), and *cerero* (candlemaker). For furniture and accessories, the services of the *escultores*, *pintores*, *doradores* or *doradistas* (gilders) and *plateros* (silversmiths) were availed of; for vestments and altar cloths, *costureras*, *sastres* and *bordadores*. Each of these groups had its own overseer or supervisor (*capataz*, *maestor*, or *sobrestante*), or contractor (*contratista* or *otorgante*). For music, there was the *organero*, who set up and fixed organs, the *organista*, and any number of instrumentalists and singers (*cantores*). Finally there was the parish secretary (*escribientos* or *amanuense*), and laundrywoman (*lavandera*). Due to the province's proximity to Manila, many specialized projects were undertaken by artists with *talleres* or workshops in such districts as Santa Cruz.

The very presence of these expense records casts some shadow on the extent of the "forced labor" exacted from the people in building churches. Correspondingly, there is the question whether, out of all these accounts on paper, the payments reached the people concerned. Vicar Gomes repeatedly charged parish priests with being "assiduous and constant in their personal vigilance over the laborers, payment of wages of workers, and accounting, as well as over the materials and their good quality" (Indang 1864).²² Sure-

21. PA Indang: LCD 1858-1919, April 1865.

22. AAM: INV, 14A1, 1810-1905D, Indang, 5 October 1864.

ly if there were discrepancies in payment P. Gomes would have heard of them and written about them? The question begs for more research and statistical analysis.

FUND RAISING

To follow up on the “forced labor” stories a bit further, the documents mention quite a number of times the willingness of the people to help build the church and convento and to contribute materials. This is especially so in the new parishes. To begin with, before a town or parish could be erected, it was required that a church, priest’s residence, and municipal hall should have been built, however provisional. The cura parroco had to state in his presupuesto whether his parishioners were willing to help or not. Fr. Salesa of Carmona in 1866 wrote that the town had promised forty laborers a day, some carpenters and masons, even a *maestro de obras*. Everybody agreed to work *sin interes alguno* and consistently until the project was finished; in particular the maestro was greatly interested in directing the work even without receiving a single *centimo*. Some residents of the adjoining town of Biñan were willing to contribute stone including transport.²³ In Mendez Nuñez Fr. Santiago Roy noted the spirited disposition of the people to help and contribute in the construction of their church. They had donated a choice piece of land on which to build it; with their donations a plan and presupuesto were prepared, and they had also stocked hundreds of cavans of lime and thousands of pieces of cut stone; all able-bodied men had promised to work one day a month, without ceasing to contribute other materials. Fr. Roy however still requested for some *polistas* to expedite the work (1885).²⁴ Similarly, in Alfonso, the total cost of the construction of the convento was \$55—the cost of nails and shells for the window panes. The residents contributed everything else (1867).²⁵ Later, in the reconstruction of the church, only 2,950 stones of the 32,000 had to be paid for, as the rest were donated (1888).²⁶ In Bacoor the *bagontaos* (young men) and *dalagas* con-

23. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905A, Carmona, 21 October and 17 and 26 November 1866.

24. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1848-1902B, Mendez Nuñez, 19 December 1885.

25. PA Alfonso: LCD I, January 1867.

26. PA Alfonso: LCD I, August 1888.

tributed 1,250 pieces of logs and flagstones for the repair of the church (1824).²⁷ Many other instances of donations, whether large or small, are recorded in the cargo y data and inventarios. However, as with other accounts each relation should be put in context. For example the curate of Alfonso, Fr. Tomas Monforte, in his request to the Archbishop to construct a church, wrote of the good disposition of his parishioners in helping with the project (1876).²⁸ However, the next year he wrote to his Dominican superiors that the church, of bamboo and cogon, was in a deplorable state, due to the abandonment of the people and to lack of church funds.²⁹

Raising funds for church construction or repair was always a problem, since this always involved large sums of money. It was common for one church to borrow money from another, interest-free, of course, with the prior approval of the Archbishop. New parishes frequently received material support from their mother parishes. Some parishes could rely on help from local church organizations. For instance Cavite Viejo, rich in history but not so in funds, often procured support from the Obra Pia of its patroness, Santa Maria Magdalena,³⁰ Similarly, Indang took extra funding from the Cofradia del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus. Those administered by the regular clergy received generous donations from their mother houses in Intramuros.

The new parishes in the interior mountain towns were often poor, and church work was many times suspended for lack of funds. Professional services and some types of church accessories were not always easily available. The cura of Magallanes wrote in 1887 that it was difficult to procure things for his church, since he had to get these from Manila and thus absent himself from the parish.³¹ In Mendez Nuñez, P. Moxica could not yet send a presupuesto because there was no maestrillo available (1891).³² Many times the parish priests advanced their own personal funds to keep the projects going, aside from donating ecclesiastical vessels and

27. PA Bacoor: LCD 1788-1823, October 1824.

28. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905B, Alfonso, 31 March 1876.

29. Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomas: *Cavite*, doc. 5, December 1877.

30. The various transactions are recorded in: PA Kawit (Cavite el Viejo): Cargo y Data de la Obra Pia de Santa Maria Magdalena, 1826-71.

31. AAM: INV, 14A1, 1808-1909C, Magallanes, 14 May 1887.

32. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1848-1902B, Mendez Nuñez, 14 December 1891.

vestments to the parish. Agricultural lands were provided for the upkeep of the church, such as in Carmona.³³

Listed in the 1824 and 1834 inventories of Bacoor are two parcels of riceland. One of these, yielding 8 cavans of palay, belonged to the cura, Br. Domingo Sevilla Pilapil, and passed on to the church after the latter's death in 1822.³⁴ In addition, old Bacoor townfolk still talk about the *banig ni San Miguel*, which according to Dr. Isagani Medina referred to a saltbed.³⁵

Through initial collation of data we may single out the richer towns of Cavite. The old town of Maragondon, for example, in 1874 lent \$1,000 each to Perez Dasmariñas and Cavite Viejo, and was then noted as the parish with the most funds in the Vicariate.³⁶ By 1880 San Francisco de Malabon had still to collect a total of \$4,752: \$1,252 from Imus, lent in 1876, and \$3,000 from Santa Cruz de Malabon and \$500 from Cavite Viejo, both lent sometime earlier.³⁷ Later in 1886 Indang lent \$2,000 each to Alfonso and Mendez Nuñez.³⁸ In fact, Maragondon and San Francisco de Malabon were so rich they decided to convert their silver coins into church ornaments, such as frontals and candlestands; this was also to prevent theft of cash, as had happened to Rosario.³⁹ (Ironically, not a sliver of silver may be found today in Maragondon church.) Parishes outside Cavite who also provided loans were Antipolo and Taytay.

CURBING CHURCH EXPENSES

Tucked among the pages of cargo y data books and ecclesiastical correspondence are various comments on the spending procli-

33. AAM: EG, 4C8, 1850-1905B, Carmona, 22 June 1866.

34. The 1824 inventory is located between ff. 12v and 15, in PA Bacoor: LCD 1824-36, while the 1834 one is in AAM: SV, 4A3, 1832-1834C, Bacoor, 2 January 1834.

35. Dr. Isagani Medina, personal communication, November 1984.

36. AAM: INV, 14A1, 1849-1899B, Perez Dasmariñas, 24 July 1874, and AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905B, Cavite el Viejo, 10 February 1874 (Kawit also borrowed \$500 from Gen. Trias, *ibid.*). By 1892 \$2,000 was still owed Maragondon by Naic (AAM: INV, 14A2, 1848-1902A, Naic, 10 March 1892), of which half was paid by 1897 (*ibid.*, 19 July 1897); Ternate owed \$400 (AAM: INV, 14A3, 1808-1909D, Maragondon, 20 January 1892).

37. PA Gen Trias: LCD 1854-87, October 1876; and AAM: EG, 4C7, 1822-1927A, San Francisco de Malabon, 31 July 1880.

38. PA Indang: LCD 1858-1919, April 1886.

39. AAM: INV, 14A3, 1808-1909D, Maragondon, 18 February 1853; converting silver into church ornaments was suggested by Vicar Mariano Gomes. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905A, San Francisco de Malabon, 29 May 1866.

vities of others. The cura of Bacoor, P. Domingo Sevilla Pilapil, was admonished by the Archbishop not to spend too much for candles during fiestas (1816).⁴⁰ Similarly, the cura of Imus, Fr. Guillermo Royo was cited for excessive expenses for oil for the sanctuary lamp (1855).⁴¹ His successor, Fr. Toribio Minguella, was reprimanded for buying a carpet without prior authorization, and received an episcopal warning (1867).⁴² Some priests, in their drive to see the church completed, readily advanced their own money, so that the parish owed large sums to their *parrocos*. Such was the case with the redoubtable builder of Imus church, Fr. Nicolas Becerra, who was admonished by Archbishop Segui to temper his spending lest the debt the church owed him to be so exorbitant it would be difficult to pay back (1834).⁴³

Quite edifying is the career of P. Mariano Gomes, parish priest of Bacoor and later Vicar Forane of Cavite province. In 1831 he was heartily commended by Archbishop Segui for the zeal with which he kept his church clean and in order, and was granted the privilege of spending up to \$30 for church use without soliciting episcopal authorization.⁴⁴ His constant application to parochial duties so impressed the Archbishop that he was appointed Vicar Forane of Cavite in either 1847 or 1848, a post he held until his arrest and subsequent martyrdom in 1872. Vicar Gomes rose to the occasion, and through his dealings with co-pastors revealed his strong will and his egalitarian nature. The AAM are full of his comments on plans for Cavite church projects passed on to him by the Archbishop. He frankly noted down whether he found the proposed expenses acceptable, cheap, expensive or even questionable. Whenever he could, he looked for cheaper substitutes without loss in quality; he also looked into the appropriateness of materials for certain projects. He was continually admonishing the curas to be watchful over the materials, especially in the working of silver,⁴⁵ and gave guidelines to that effect. His pronouncements were always taken seriously by the Archbishop and were often incorporated in the latter's decision on the projects.

40. PA Bacoor: LCD 1788-1823, Santa Visita, 21 May 1816.

41. PA Imus: LCD III, Santa Visita, 8 February 1855.

42. PA Imus: LCD IV, Santa Visita, 23 January 1867.

43. PA Imus: LCD II, Santa Visita, 13 January 1834.

44. PA Bacoor: LCD 1824-50, Santa Visita, 4 January 1831.

45. AAM: INV, 14A2, 1836-1905A, San Francisco de Malabon, 13 June 1866.

There were of course, disagreements, an example of which was when the parish priest of Ternate, P. Esteban del Rosario, sought approval from the Archbishop for a project to rebuild his church and add a tower, damaged by the earthquakes of 1874. He needed \$10,151.88. Vicar Toribio Minguella found certain inconsistencies in del Rosario's presupuesto—among others, the dismantling of the sacristy cost more than the dismantling of the entire church. The Vicar then went to Ternate with a maestro of his confidence, and reported to the Archbishop that all indispensable work would cost \$981; work on the sacristy and other work, which was not as pressing, would reach \$721.4. The Archbishop then authorized the initial release only of \$981.⁴⁶

46. AAM: EG, 4C7, 1855-1912, Ternate, 17, 24, 26, and 27 March, 30 May, and 3 June 1874.