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El Cadiz Filipino: Colonial Cavite, 1571-1896

By

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DISSERTATION

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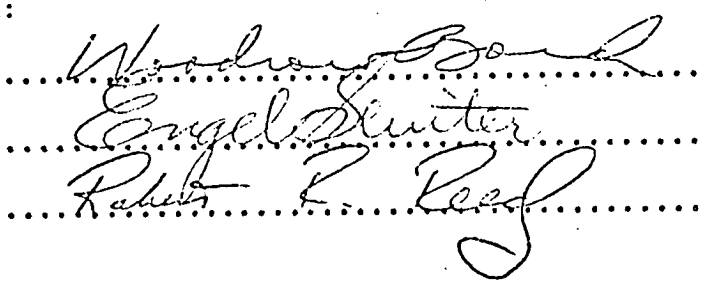

Committee in Charge

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El Cadiz Filipino: Colonial Cavite, 1571-1896.

ABSTRACT

Soledad M. Borromeo

The subject of this dissertation takes up the social and economic history of the province of Cavite in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period. It focuses on the various social and economic changes which transpired in the province during the period 1571-1896 insofar as these could be documented. It also tries to test certain generalizations which have been made about Philippine history in relation to specific facts of local history, e.g., the impact of the Spanish Conquest upon ecological-demographic conditions, settlement patterns, local indigenous leadership, social stratification, the effects of the establishment and abolition of the Manila-Acapulco trade, etc. Above all these I was particularly interested in finding out what conditions existed in the province during the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the revolution against Spain in 1896.

Chapter I discusses the human and the geographic elements in Cavite. Chapter II deals with pre-Conquest Cavite. In Chapter III I examine the effects of the Spanish Conquest upon the province, noting its varying

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impact upon certain coastal areas, especially the port of Cavite and the upland-interior regions. Chapter IV takes up in detail the effects of the Conquest upon man-land relationships in the province: the emergence of the friar estates in Cavite and how these functioned. Chapter V considers the effects of nineteenth century changes upon Cavite such as the opening of the Suez Canal, the abolition of the Manila-Acapulco trade, the acquisition of Mexican independence. In Chapter VI, I have tried to describe the ordering of Caviteño society in terms of social classes. I have been mainly concerned here with defining the existence of an embryonic middle class in Cavite and its implications upon the reform and revolutionary movements of the 1880's-1890's. Chapter VII describes existing conditions in the province immediately before the outbreak of the revolution in 1896. Chapter VIII summarizes my conclusions.

Woodrow Borah

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PREFACE

Rather than follow the overwhelming tendency of many students of Philippine history to write about the political history of the country, often in the form of biographies, studies of the Philippine revolution, the Japanese occupation and the like, I have decided to concentrate upon a slightly different aspect: the colonial history of one Philippine province. Using a considerably reduced unit of investigation, I have focused on the process of socio-economic change in the province of Cavite during the Spanish colonial period insofar as such changes could be documented. Besides providing an opportunity for a shift in emphasis, my study has also given me an excellent chance to look at change, not as it is unilaterally dictated and imposed from above by the Great City--with its host of officials, bureaucrats and merchants--but as it is finally accepted, rejected, or manifestly modified in its implementation in the towns and villages, either through the very conditions of life in those areas or through the option of the provincial folk.

The difficulties have been many. First of all, the

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highly specialized nature of the research presented the problem of looking for data not easily found in conventional libraries. Even the Library of Congress of the United States proved to be of little help. My best bet was the Philippine National Archives, which houses million of Spanish documents dealing with the Spanish colonial administration of the islands. Fortunately, in spite of the uncatalogued state of documents in the PNA, I stumbled upon several bundles on the province of Cavite which made the writing of the dissertation possible. Several bundles on the "Cabezas de Barangay," "Gobernadorcillos," "Chinos," "Erecciones," "Escuelas," "Terrenos," "orden Publico," and a bundle on the "Cavite Mutiny of 1872" I consider prize finds because, except for the fraction of the holdings of the PNA which have thus far been catalogued and microfilmed, most are simply bundled in Manila paper and stored on the seventh floor of the Philippine National Library building which houses the archives. However, most bundles are classified according to provinces and that was a big help indeed.

The state of the PNA eventually presented the further problem of documentation for the thesis because citations in terms of legajos, volumes, and pages were not possible. At the most, documentation could only be

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done by citing the place of provenance, title, and date of the manuscript.

In spite of the valuable information that I found in the PNA dealing with such subjects as agricultural production in Cavite, property holdings, local elite, and the like, very often the damaged state of many documents (due to age, termites, flooding, earthquakes) made it difficult to read certain vital parts. Unavoidably, this in many instances prevented me from making more categorical statements on certain points in the thesis.

Besides the PNA, another repository that proved extremely useful for my purpose was the Archivo de la Provincia de Santisimo Rosario of the Dominican fathers in the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. The Dominicans owned two haciendas in Cavite---Naic and Santa Cruz de Malabon---and they have kept intact considerable records on them in Manila and Quezon City. Comparatively speaking, the condition of documents in the Dominican archives is much better, though they are considerably fewer in number than those in the PNA.

For printed sources, I have used the Newberry Library in Chicago, with its Ayer Collection on the Philippines; the Lopez Memorial Museum and Library in Pasay City, Philippines; the Philippine National Library; the Ateneo de Manila Library; and the University of California Library in Berkeley.

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The dissertation covers a period of over three hundred years--1571-1898--the entire span of Spanish rule in the Philippines. Chapter I deals with the land and the people of Cavite. Chapter II briefly sketches conditions in the province prior to the coming of the Spaniards. Chapters III and IV take up the various consequences of the Spanish Conquest in Cavite: resettlement, the establishment of towns and missions, impact upon local leadership, economy, and the like. Chapter V deals with significant socio-economic changes of the nineteenth century such as the end of the Manila-Acapulco trade, the advent of foreign merchants and firms, and the evolution of a new ethnic group--the Chinese mestizos. Among these changes, I make an attempt in Chapter VI to define a newly developing middle class in the province and the role it was to assume in the reform and revolutionary movements of the 1880's and the 1890's. Chapter VII describes the existing social and economic conditions in the province shortly before 1896 which, I believe, exerted a decisive influence upon the course of events leading to the outbreak of revolution against Spain.

In the preparation of this thesis, I wish to make a number of acknowledgements. I am very grateful for all the assistance I received from all the librarians

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of the following institutions: the Newberry Library in Chicago; the University of California, Main Library, Berkeley; the Ateneo de Manila Library in Quezon City, Philippines; the Philippine National Library; and the Lopez Memorial Museum and Library in Pasay City, Philippines. I am most especially indebted to Professor Domingo Abella, director of the Philippine National Archives; Mrs. Rizalina Concepcion, archivist; PNA; Father Pablo Fernandez, O.P. of the APSR; the History Department, Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley for a grant-in-aid which in part made possible a research trip to Chicago and Washington, D.C. For encouragement, guidance, and useful suggestions, I am appreciative of those that were given me by my dissertation committee members at the University of California, Berkeley: Professors Robert Reed, Engel Sluiter, and my dissertation advisor, Professor Woodrow Borah. My friends Professors John A. Larkin, Nicholas Kushner, and James N. Anderson, who have shown interest and concern in the preparation of the thesis, have also been of help. Above all, thanks are due to my family, in particular my mother, whose kindly concern and generosity made possible a trip to the Philippines for further research on the project.

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I. THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

The sickle-shaped province of Cavite covers an area of 1,288.58 square kilometers (491.52 square statute miles), and is located some forty miles south of Manila.[1] On the north, the province faces Manila Bay, and to the west, the China Sea. The province of Batangas forms part of its southern and eastern boundaries together with Manila. Except at extremities, the coast which extends from Sangley Point[2] (Northeast) to Limit Point (Southwest) is very regular and free from barrier reefs which could obstruct navigation. Its coastline within Manila Bay includes eighty-eight kilometers forming the coves of Bacoor and Cañacao.[3]

Topographically, the province may be divided into two parts: lowland and upland Cavite.[4] Lowland Cavite forms the north and northwestern parts while upland Cavite lies to the west and southwest. The lowland towns which are located in the coastal parts of the province include Bacoor, Kawit, Noveleta, Rosario, Santa Cruz de Malabon, Naic, Ternate, Imus,

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and San Francisco de Malabon. Upland towns include Amadeo, Mendez, Indang, Silang. Towards the interior are Dasmariñas and Maragondong.

Some eight kilometers back from the coast, rising gradually from the sea--on the southwest and south--Cavite is mountainous. Its most prominent peaks are Mount Gonzalez with an elevation of seven hundred and sixty-four meters above sea level; Mount Pico de Loro, with six hundred ninety-two meters; and Mount Dos Picos with five hundred and eighty-two.[5] Tagaytag Ridge between Cavite and Batangas, with an elevation of six hundred meters above sea level looks like an elevated table land. The peninsula of Tanguay, where the towns of San Roque, Caridad and the Cabecera are located, is connected to the rest of the province through the Isthmus of Dalahican.

Most of the province's rivers are navigable by small craft and empty either into the Manila Bay or the Laguna Bay. Thus the Zapote river, Las Canas, El Tartaro, the Imus and the San Cristobal rivers flow into the Manila Bay while those of the Bitukang Manok, the Munting Ilog, the Malaking Ilog, the Calaboso empty into the Laguna Bay.

Slight variations in temperature and rainfall are noticeable between the upland and lowland zones.

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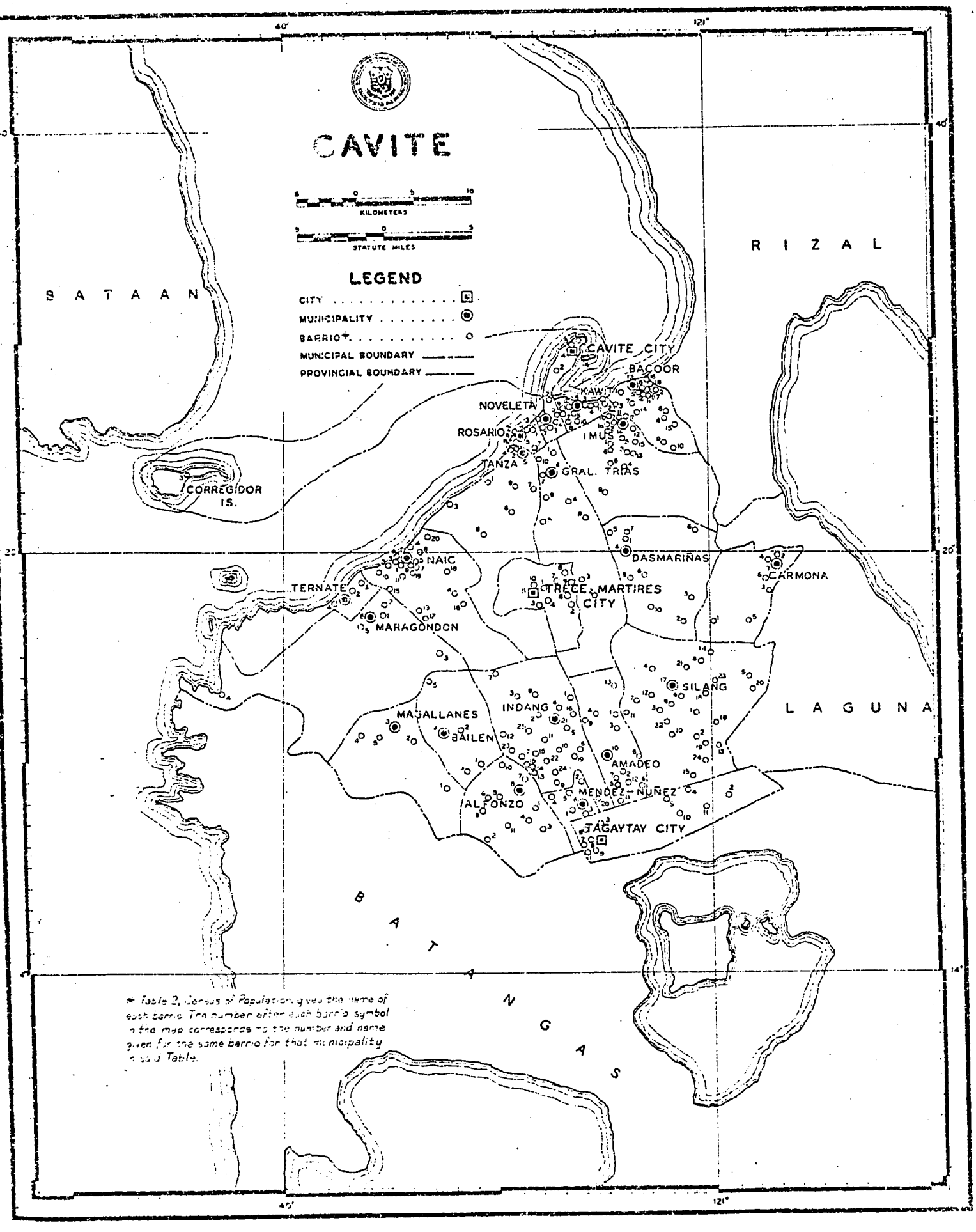

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The northeast monsoon brings heavy rains to the upland areas with a yearly average of 2,576.5 minimum. Mean maximum temprature in these parts ranges from 26.5 degrees to 30.6 degrees centigrade, while mean minimum temperature varies from 18.9 degrees to 21.2 degrees centigrade. In the lowland areas there is less rain, averaging 2,062.0 rainfall per annum. Temperature ranges from 30.6 degrees to 34.4 degrees centigrade mean maximum while the mean minimum varies from 21.2 degrees to 25.4 degrees centigrade.

The landscape and vegetation of Cavite vary as one moves from the mountainous areas of Mount Sungay and Tagaytay. Descending towards the upland towns, vegetation changes from cogonales[6] to alternating cafetales (coffee plantations) and denuded forests. Halfway towards the town of Dasmariñas, the sugarlands abound together with the rice fileds. Approaching San Francisco de Malabon and Santa Cruz, one sees more tubiganes (irrigated paddies)--all the way from Dasmariñas to Imus and Binacayan. In the town of Bacoor, extensive saltbeds, two kilometers in width, dominate the scene continuing on towards the mouth of the river Imus to Binacayan and Kawit.

Upland and lowland Cavite differ somewhat in terms of man's environmental adaptation; while upland Cavite

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is predominantly agricultural, lowland Cavite has a more diversified ecological base. Besides rice, sugar, several varieties of fruits, it also draws part of its traditional income from fishing and salt-making plus some livestock-raising.

Generally, upland soils are friable, loose, granular, of brown to dark brown color, with sufficient organic matter, and drainage is good. Climate and a reasonably fertile soil are responsible for continuous year-long agricultural activity in upland Cavite.[8] In the open field, upland rice is planted once a year by the broadcast method. This is from May to June and the yield per hectare is twenty to thirty cavans. Although this is much lower than yields in the lowland areas, nonetheless it is much higher than in any upland areas in Central Luzon. After the rice harvest, corn, mango, beans, peanuts and other secondary crops are planted. Other types of produce include several varieties of fruits and vegetables.

Lowland soil types include the Guadalupe and hydrosoil types. The Guadalupe type is sticky, plastic dark gray, and of a coarse granular texture, excellent for rice cultivation. The hydrosoil types are under water throughout the year, are mostly sandy-mud to clay and clay-sand-shell, and are located along the coast from

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Bacoor to Kawit. From March to September they are used as fishponds for bangos (milkfish) and for the remainder of the year are used as saltbeds.

Before the Second World War, Cavite could be reached either by ferryboats on the bay or overland from Manila. At present, with improved overland transportation by buses and jeepneys and better road connections, commuters to and from Manila no longer make use of the old ferryboats. The province is also linked to neighboring provinces of Laguna and Batangas through highway systems.

Like most of the Philippines, the population of Cavite racially belongs to the predominant Malay stock and quite typical of most lowland Philippines--it is fairly mixed due to intermarriages with immigrant minority groups such as the Chinese and Spaniards.[9] In the coastal town of Ternate, the population is mostly descended from a colony of Indonesian immigrants brought over by the Spanish Jesuits in the seventeenth century.[10] In the towns of San Roque, Caridad, and the Cabecera, the descendants of former Spanish residents and offsprings of informal unions with native population accounts for its noticeably mestizo population. In the context of this paper, the term mestizo refers to any person of mixed blood resulting from

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intermarriages between natives and the foreign population of the province. Intermarriage explains why in these areas the townspeople are generally of a lighter complexion with obvious western features in terms of face and stature. Nevertheless, most towns are predominantly inhabited by pure Malay natives and Chinese mestizos--welded culturally, racially and linguistically into the Caviteño.

Tagalog is spoken throughout the province. It belongs, like most Philippine dialects, to the Malay-Polynesian family of languages, and is related to the languages of most of insular Southeast Asia. Its use, which originated in the Southern Tagalog region, has spread to the other parts of the country because Tagalog has been designated the national language of the islands. Before the Second World War, the peninsula of Cavite made use of its own peculiar dialect, which has since not been so commonly used--the Chabacano de Cavite.[11] This is a form of pidgin Spanish, where Tagalog and Spanish have been fused into one local dialect. It falls within the category of the dialects spoken in the area of Ermita, Manila before the Second World War and that of Zamboanga. According to Alfredo German, "Chabacano has furnished the Caviteño with a dialect relieved of the essential difficulties in

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Tagalog and Spanish. There are no hard and fast rules regarding gender and number, no particular verb changes in conjugation and no definite word order in sentence construction."[12] Such is perhaps to be expected from most contact vernaculars which have evolved mainly due to the exigencies of contact between two cultures where a lingua franca becomes necessary for the practical purpose of communicating with each other. No other effort was made by its users during its heyday to form a body of literature and to write records in the dialect. Thus according to German the continuous growth of an educated class and the constant influx of Tagalog-speaking groups make further development of the dialect unlikely.[13]

In terms of regional peculiarities regarding behavioral patterns and traits, Caviteños have always been known for their pride and daring ways. Somehow the Latin zest for life is there--most conspicuous in the array of color, bands of music, and sumptuous banquets for which Cavite fiestas were once famous. Pintacasis or cockfight tournaments took the place of the Spanish bullfight but the ringside is even more lively and boisterous, especially when bets are being made.

One notices too a high degree of irritability

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among the Caviteños, frequently exhibited in hotly contested political elections, often accompanied by fraud and bloodshed which have long given the province a measure of notoriety. In an area where alienation from the establishment, whether the Spanish colonial government or the present one, has found expression in overt acts of violence, machismo and related manly virtues of physical prowess, daring and guile remain associated with an institution in Cavite as perennial as the monsoons--banditry. To date, its isolated mountainous regions continue to be the abode of bandits locally known as tulisanes.[14] In the course of its history the province has recorded a continuous line of underworld characters and bandit leaders such as Luis Parang (forest in Tagalog), Tiagong Akyat (to ascend in Tagalog), and more recently Nardong Putik (mud in Tagalog).[15] Patriotic heroism and simple banditry have in fact constituted complicating strands in the socio-political history of the province making it difficult to assess the motives of leaders of both groups at various times.[16] Statements on the Caviteños cited elsewhere in this paper are as conflicting as the complex people to which they refer.[17] Political bossism, though true for many parts of the Philippines, seems an even more acute problem in Cavite. And yet, Cavite is probably one of

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the most highly literate provinces in the Philippines.[18] Cavite has indeed acquired a fairly negative reputation in terms of its peace and order situation, and certainly the controversial character of its population would be an intriguing topic for investigation although it lies beyond the scope of this study.

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II. CAVITE BEFORE THE CONQUEST

The absence of any specific evidence relating to the original inhabitants of the province of Cavite and their culture necessarily obscures our knowledge of pre-Spanish Cavite. As part of the southern Tagalog[1] region near Manila, it seems safe to assume, however, that whatever Father Plasencia relates about Tagalog culture in general may hold true as well for Caviteño pre-Spanish culture in particular.[2] On the basis of this work, and other pieces of fragmentary data, together with some archaeological findings, we may proceed to reconstruct early Caviteño culture and society.

If theoreticians of the ethnic origins of early Filipinos are right, it appears that the Caviteño, before his ethnic make-up was further complicated by the coming of Caucasians, was a composite of several Asian groups, with a predominant Malay base. The Spanish writer Antonio de Morga, who served as an oidor in the Manila audiencia[3] in the early years of Spanish rule, describes the Tagalogs of Luzon thus:

> [The people inhabiting the island of Luzon] as far as the provinces of Manila . . . both along the coast and in the interior, are natives of this island . . . . They are medium

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> height, with a complexion like stewed quinces and both men and women are well-featured. They have very black hair and thin beards and are very clever at anything that they undertake, keen and passionate and of great resolution.[4]

The Caviteños subsisted mainly on a diet of rice and fish supplemented by occasional meat (buffalo, hogs, poultry, deer), vegetables, rootcrops. Mainly a subsistence farmer, he must have produced most of his household needs on a plot of land which he must have held in usufruct.[5] Whether or not he was "a sedentary agriculturalist at an early date"[6] remains problematic because of the absence of any significant evidence supporting this idea, and secondly, in view of the findings of recent research which indicate the more likely widespread prevalence of the practice of swidden agriculture (slash-and-burn agriculture) in most of the archipelago at the time of the conquest, with the possible exception of certain areas in Central Luzon.[7] For example, the presence of "denuded areas" in some parts of the province and the use of the word kaiñgin[8] as a place-name for one of the sitios in the town of Bacoor may lend support to the idea that swidden agriculture was widely practiced in Cavite at some point of time. However, references to the Manila Bay area, including coastal Cavite as having been comparatively densely settled[9] at the time of the conquest may be a

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clue to the existence of sawah agriculture (wet-rice agriculture) at least in the lowland alluvial areas of the province which hug the coast. It may be reasonable to suppose that late in the pre-Hispanic period Caviteños may have been practicing both systems of agriculture with the likelihood that the sparsely populated upland areas in the interior were devoted to swidden agriculture and the coastal lowlands to sawah.

Archaeological findings of H. O. Beyer and E. D. Hester in Tagaytay have yielded a good late Neolithic barkcloth beater, a thin layer of small sherds of common red pottery identical with the early Iron Age material from Novaliches[10] sites, and in the Diesta farm between Amadeo and Indang, whole pieces of fifteenth and early sixteenth century Ming wares, several good midden fragments and a sizeable piece of fifteenth century Sawankhalok tall jarlet have been found.[11] While such findings do not provide conclusive proof of the "existence of barrio Pañgil as early as the fourteenth century"[12] such as suggested by Beyer and Hester, the significance of these excavations lies in the fact that they point to possible maritime relations between Caviteños and the Chinese prior to the coming of the Spaniards. Trade in fact supplemented in a minor sense the agricultural activities of the early

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Caviteños, hand in hand with fishing and some handicraft industries like embroidery, hat- and basket-making, salt-making. Trade was particularly significant for Caviteños living in the coastal parts of the province such as those inhabiting what the Spaniards later referred to as Cavite El Puerto (La Cabecera),[13] the towns of San Roque, Caridad, Noveleta, Bacoor, Kawit, Naic and Rosario. Besides occasional trade with visiting Chinese junks which must have entered in the area of Sangley Point, pre-Spanish Caviteños traded with neighboring towns and provinces by means of barter for they were as yet uninitiated in the use of money.[14] The women are mentioned as having been as active as the men in the business of earning a living and were, according to Father Colin, particularly shrewd in trading.[15]

Where natural resources were abundant, and man-land relations had not yet been rendered complicated by population pressures and the presence of an overlord, the simple life-style of the early Caviteños, like other Filipinos of the time, did not call for more than providing for the basic needs of that particular society: food, clothing, shelter, and protection from the periodic incursions of external enemies. This fact, together with general settlement

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patterns resulting from topographical and ecological considerations, gave rise to a fairly simple framework of government known as the barangay.[16]

Clusters of families tended to settle along river banks, coastal areas or by the roadside, forming fairly populous villages such as those of Bacoor, Kawit and Maragondong.[17] More isolated communities could be found by the rice fields or wherever their means of subsistence necessitated it. Such community governments vested authority upon the person of a chieftain called the máguinoo (or datu)[18] whose main responsibility was to provide needed protection to his followers. In return, members of the barangay rendered him tribute, loyalty and sundry services (planting, harvest, expeditions) when necessary.

The máguinoo derived his authority and power not from tradition, but through personal charm, prowess, and ability to revalidate his leadership by dispensing favors on his subjects. Thus, according to Father Colin:

> The chiefs attain that position generally through their blood; or, if not that, because of their energy and strength. For even though one may be of low extraction, if he is seen to be careful and if he gains some wealth by his industry and schemes, whether by farming and stockraising or by trading or by any of the trades among them such as smith, jeweler or carpenter or even by robbery and tyranny which was the most usual method, in that way he

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> gains authority and reputation, and increases it the more he practices tyranny and violence. With these beginnings, he takes the name datu and others, whether his relations or not, come to him and add credit and esteem to him and make him a leader. Thus there is no superior who gives him authority or title, beyond his own efforts and power. . . .[19]

As independent and self-contained units, barangays not only negated the possibility of unified-centralized political control over the whole archipelago but also led to the continued existence of rather hostile relations between barangays which took the form of chance encounters and retaliatory expeditions.[20] Intermittent warfare together with usury[21] were to account for the institution of slavery in pre-Spanish times, lately qualified by Phelan and others as a system of dependency.[22]

Society was stratified into three categories: the ruling class composed of the chieftains and their families; the freemen or the maharlicas; and the numerous class of dependents called alipin. This last group was subdivided between the aliping namamahay and the aliping saguiguilir. The freemen did not have to pay tribute to the chief but were required to assist him in such undertakings as war expeditions against other barangays, or in planting or harvesting crops. A member of the aliping namamahay paid tribute to his master in the form of one-half of his own harvest and

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rendered him assistance in his various activities but he was better off than the saguiguilir for he could marry without his master's consent and could own property. Actually his status resembled that of the present-day sharecropper rather than chattel slaves. The second type of dependents, the aliping saguiguilir, did not enjoy many of the privileges and rights of the first type. They could not marry without the consent of their master, were required to live within their master's household, and could be sold quite easily, especially if they were not domestic servants of the master. However, they did receive some compensation for their labor but their share of the crop was much less than that of the namamahay. They could also own and dispose of property,[23] a feature of the pre-Spanish system of so-called slavery in the Philippines which makes it rather mild, "lacking the harshness and brutality of European slavery"[24] and prompting contemporary writers to refer to it as a system of dependency and peonage rather than having the attributes of chattel slavery. It allowed ample social mobility, for manumission was practiced. Marriage and even illicit unions between freeborn and dependents, from which issued children, were also avenues of social mobility. Thus a freeborn maharlica who begot children by a dependent woman shared his own social status with

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his wife and children.[25] Before the conquest, the price of manumission was five taels of gold, a tael of gold being equivalent to ten reales fuertes at the time of the Conquest.[26] Aside from the distinctions mentioned between these different social groups, the general life-style of all, including the maguinoo, hardly differed from each other. Dwellings were uniformly made of bamboo and thatch roofing (nipa or cogon grass), and except for the use of symbolic colors and minor refinement in personal attire that set off the ruling class from the rest, everyone wore homespun cottons (loose trousers and jackets for men; blouse and skirt called baro at saya for women) and went about barefooted or on wooden clogs. A diet which consisted mainly of rice and fish was also common to all.[27]

Further leading to the fragmented nature of society was the focus on the family as the most important social unit, typical of many Asian societies. Closely associated with it was, and is, the particularistic nature of social relations. The size and membership of a barangay (where almost everyone was related to each other by affinity or consanguinity) necessarily made the range of contact between individuals more frequent. Hence interpersonal relations tended to be rather informal and direct and this, according to

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O. D. Corpuz, "fulfilling the needs of a simple society, obviated the development of an elaborate bureaucratic apparatus."[28]

Pre-Spanish Caviteños, lacking any form of organized religion, worshipped natural objects like trees, rocks, mountains, birds, rivers, etc. It was a species of animism that aroused the interest of the first Spanish missionaries. They also believed in the idea of spirits called anitos and fertility deities.[29] Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, they tried to propitiate deities by offerings, which, however, did not involve human sacrifices. Together with this plural concept of gods and goddesses they professed belief in one supreme Being called Bathala, and seem to have had a concept of life hereafter, but they had no priestly class who might have worked for the preservation and elaboration of society's culture. Neither did they have temples and other places of worship such as one finds in Java and mainland Southeast Asia. Visibly lacking, therefore, was any evidence of a great tradition as conceived by Robert Redfield[30] that might have paralleled the development of the numerous little traditions everywhere seen in the barangay villages.

It should be noted, however, that Tagalogs of the pre-conquest period possessed a system of writing in the form of character script and the first book printed

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in the Philippines in the early Spanish period was in ancient Tagalog script.[31] Nevertheless, no great body of pre-Spanish Philippine literature exists partly because most of whatever was written were made on flimsy perishable materials (leaves, barks of trees), and partly because many took the form of oral tradition.

A culture exhibiting something less than the monumental achievements of the Aztecs and the Incas on the eve of the Spanish Conquest, in terms of an imperial organization, architectural, and artistic output, that of the pre-Spanish Cavitenos, and the rest of the Filipinos, nevertheless, had an edge over their Amerindian counterparts in other respects, which eventually affected to a significant degree the impact of an alien non-Asian culture upon it. Pre-Spanish Cavitenos were not only capable ship-builders and sailors but they also knew how to fashion tools made of iron. Bronze culverins and cast-iron firearms were used by some native communities at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards.[32] It is not precisely known whether wheeled vehicles were used for land transportation and some scholars have deduced that due to the paucity of roads, sleds instead of wheels may have been more commonly used.[33] The absence of barbarous human sacrifices and a numerous, exploited tributary population made for a

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society that was certainly far from being oppressive or predatory. Neither was it a closed and rigid social system in terms of social classes, nor of exposure to foreign influences.

These notwithstanding, the civilization of the early Filipinos was far from being able to provide the cohesiveness, even in a symbolic way, that was so vital for such a fragmented social structure. Its essentially tribal orientation rendered it easily vulnerable to organized foreign attack in much the same way as was true of some of the native settlements of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. More significantly, the inability of the early Caviteños to formalize native tradition prior to exposure to Western influences was inalterably to affect their entire acculturation to Western modes of behavior, thinking, and attitudes.

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III. THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD: IMPACT OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST UPON CAVITE

The Founding of a Seaport Town: Cavite El Puerto

A rather sparsely populated Cavite,[1] whose inhabitants apparently were far from being satisfied with Rajah Soliman's[2] rule from Manila, submitted to Spanish suzerainty without much resistance.[3] When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, conqueror and first adelantado of the Philippines, arrived in Cavite on May 19, 1571, he found only two populous rancherías in the province--Bacoor and Kawit. According to the earliest tribute count made in 1590,[4] Cavite at that time had a population of about 1,480 which through the early years was to increase[5] slowly, but steadily. Due to its proximity to Manila, and its favorable coastal location, it was immediately designated a Crown encomienda[6] and was, therefore, not subjected to the exploitation of private encomenderos through tribute assessments, as happened in other provinces.

Administratively, it was not organized into a province until 1614, being then classified as a

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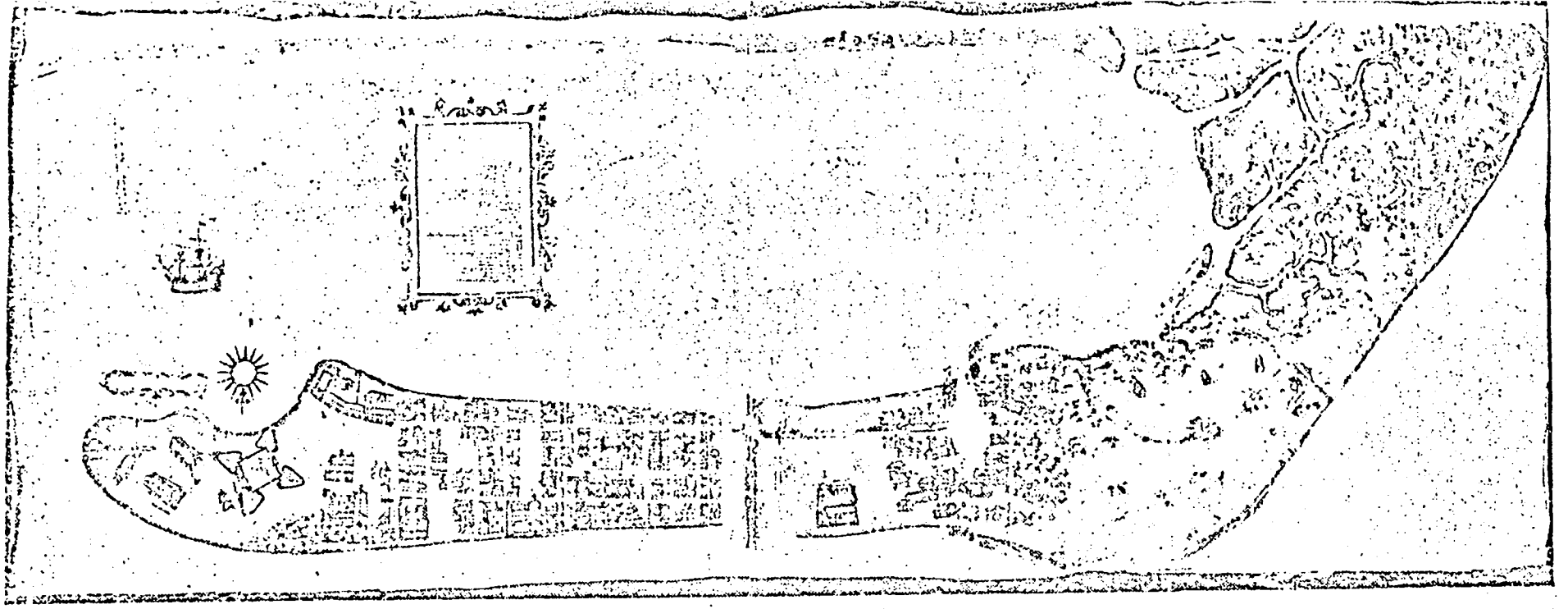
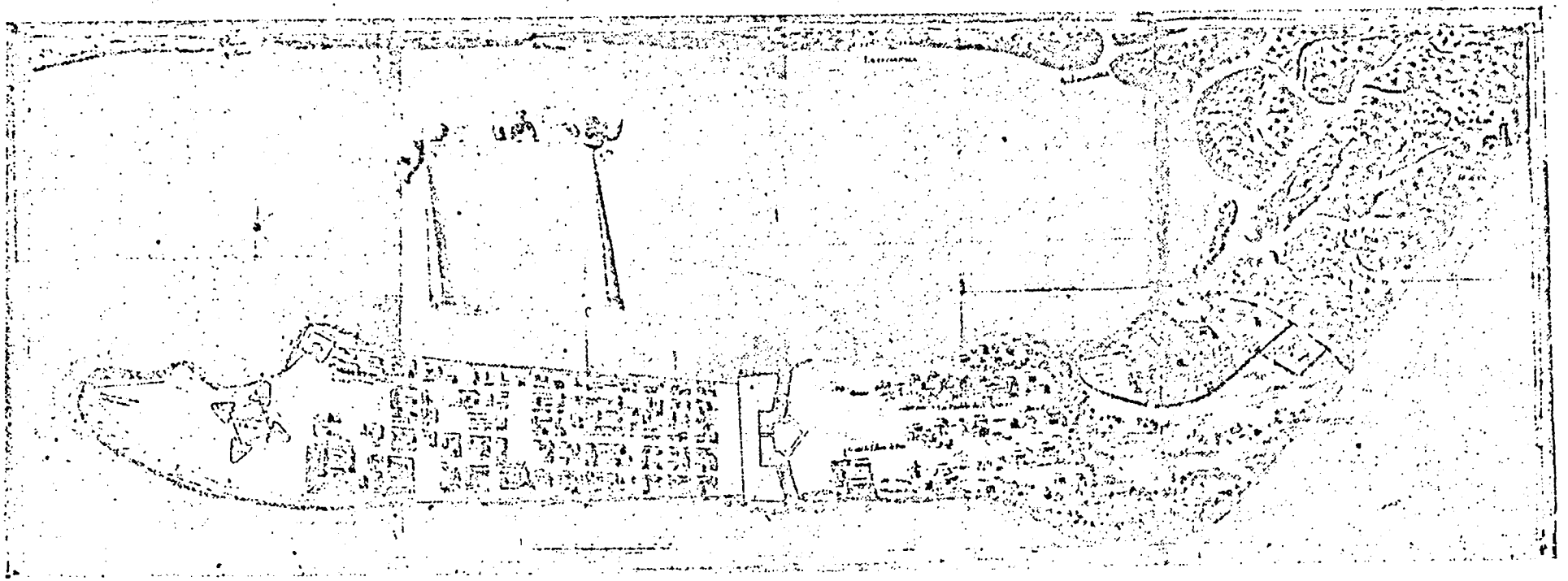


135. Cavite (1659).



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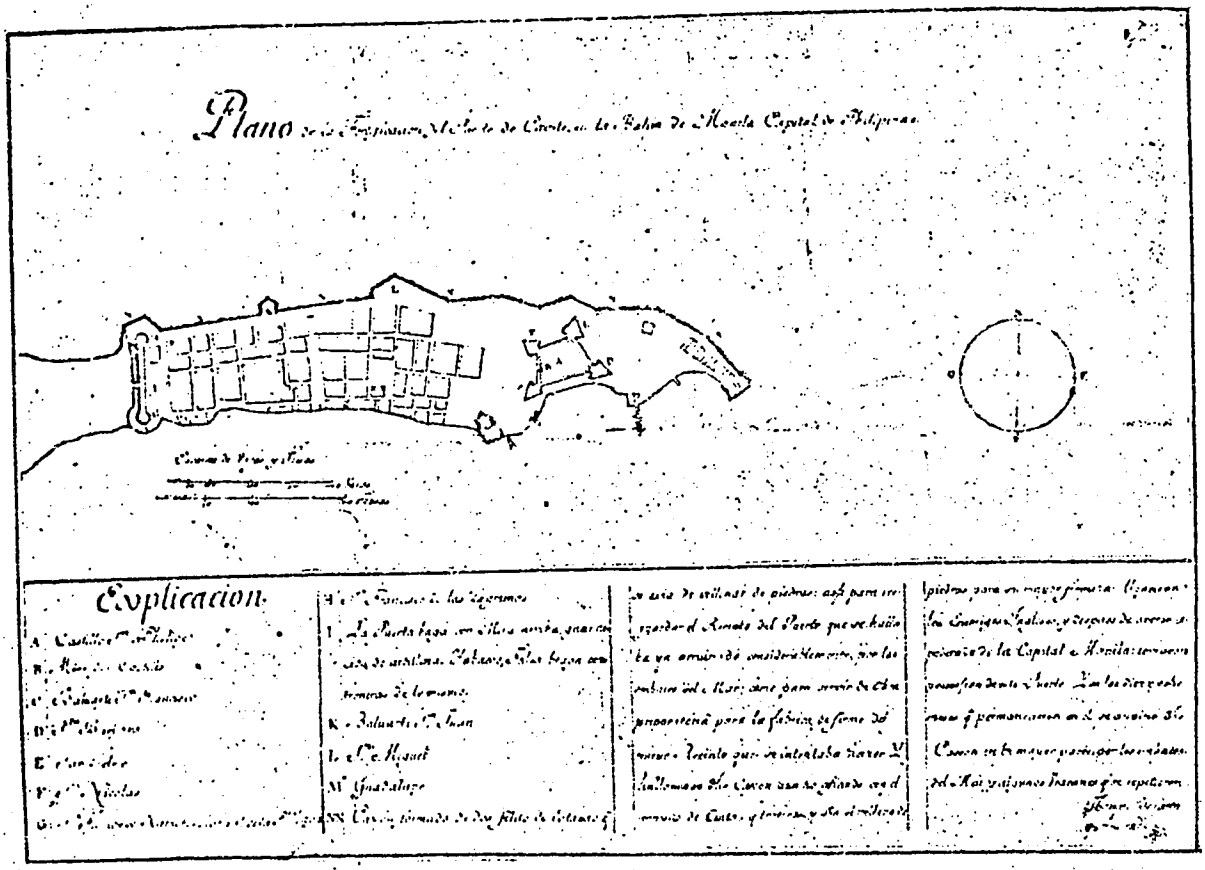
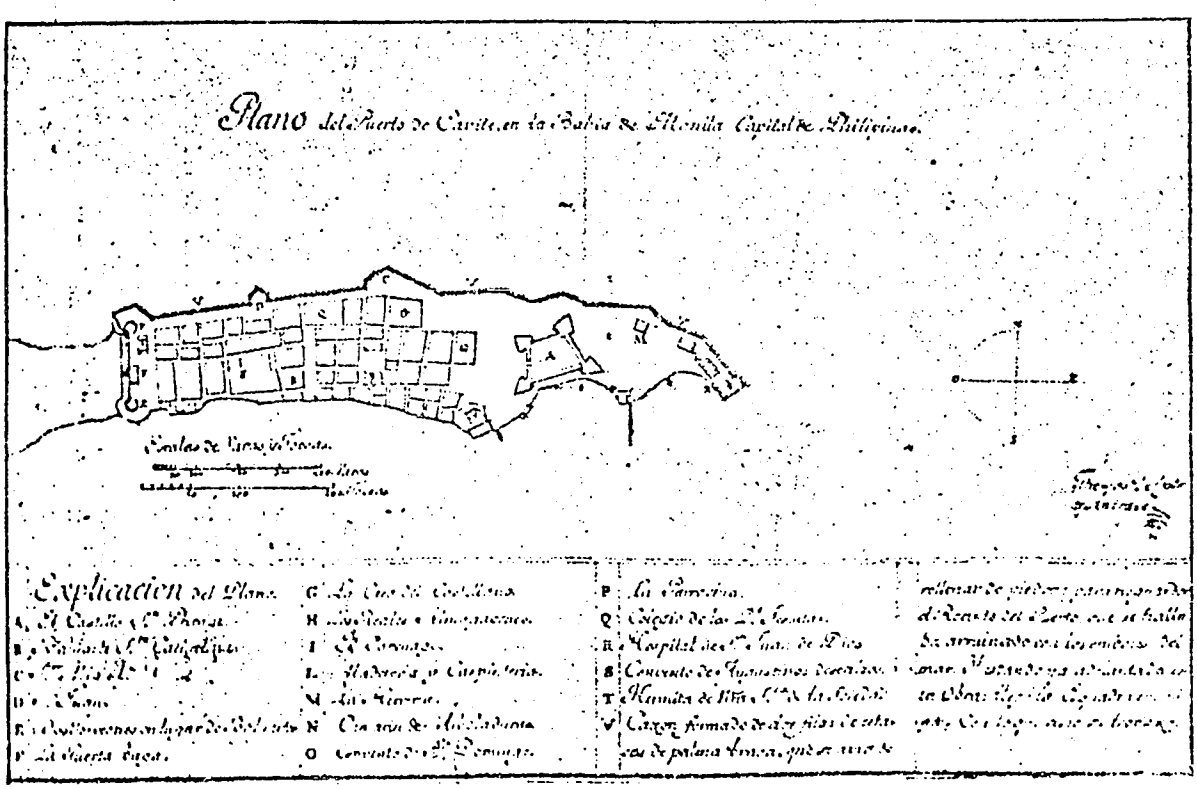


138. Cavite (1763 ?).



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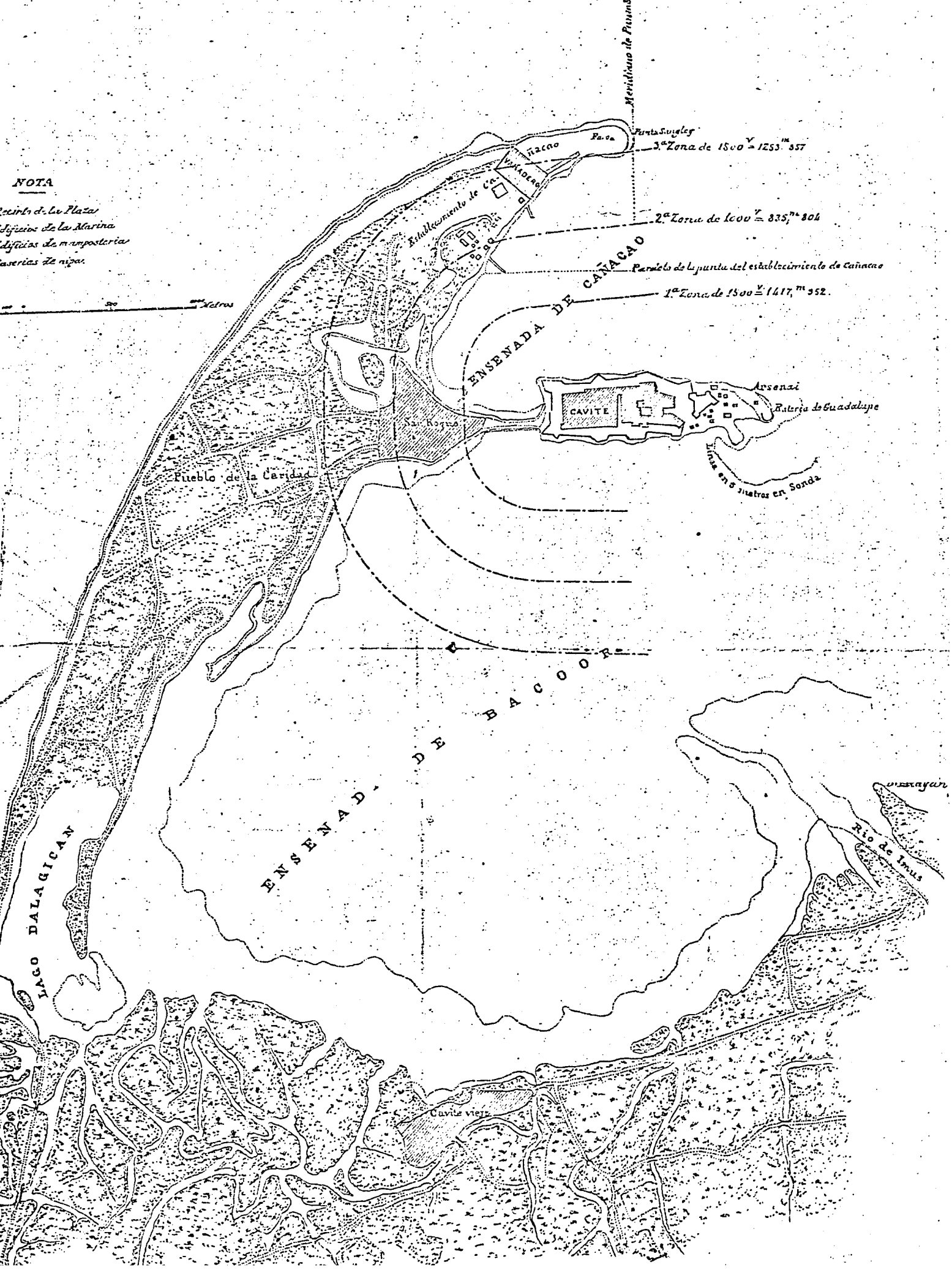

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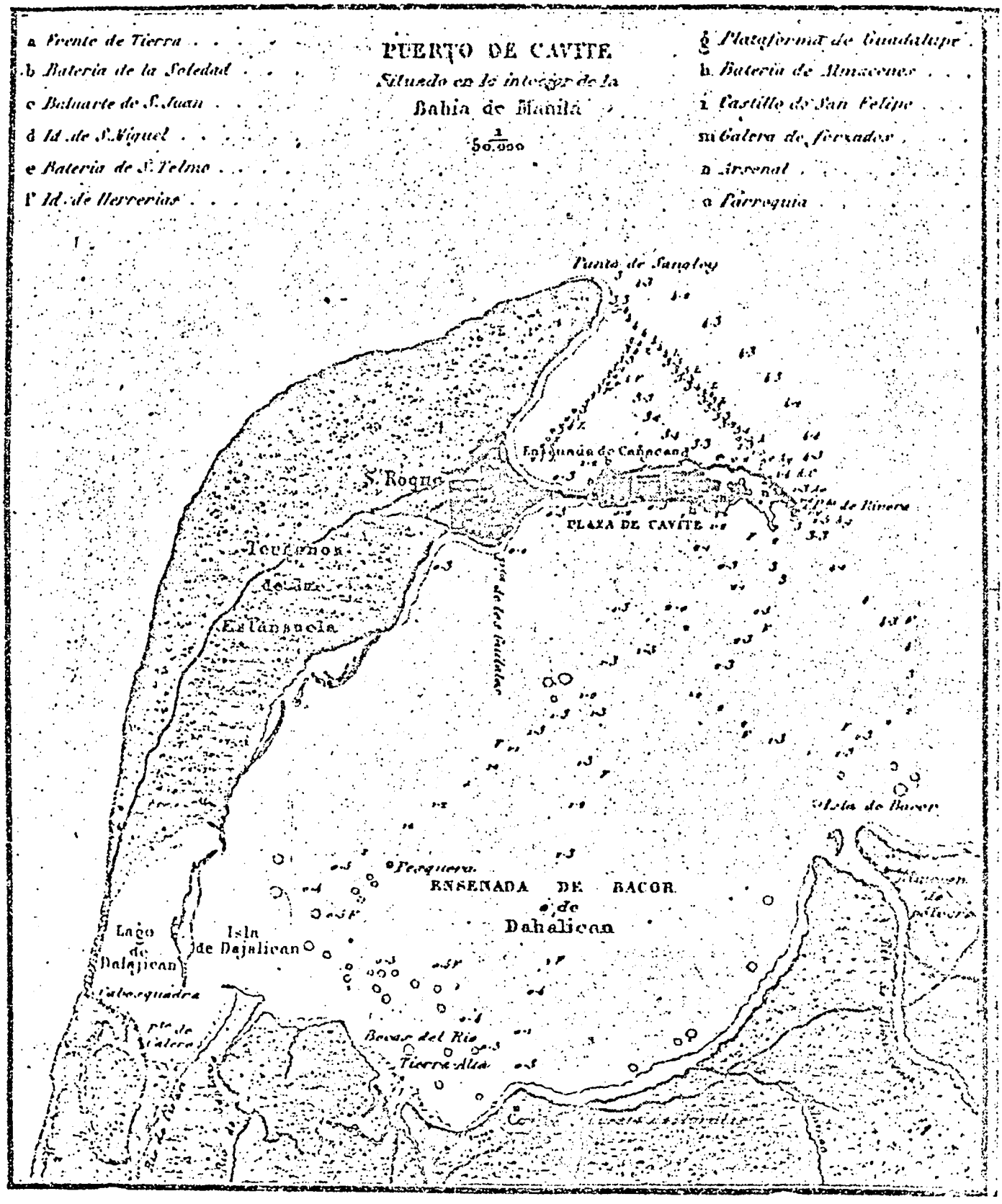

142. Cavite (1852).

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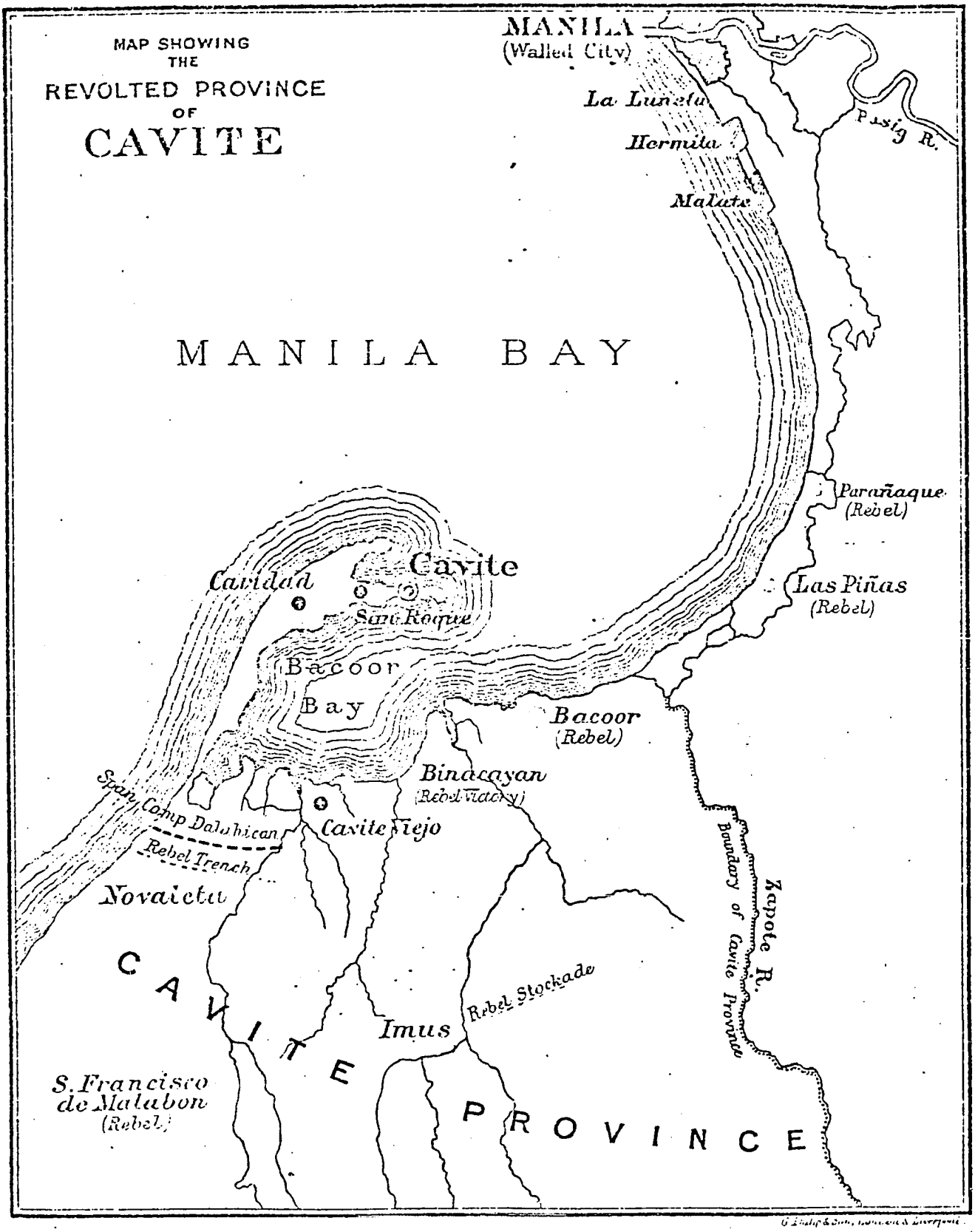

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politico-military province under the charge of a politico-military governor.[7] This was due to the frontier character of Cavite at the time, and the presence of numerous foreign nationals in its port area.[8] The province, known to the natives by the name of Tañguay, was thereafter named Cavite--which is the Hispanized rendering of the Tagalog word for hook, kawit from the sickle-shaped configuration of the Cavite peninsula.[9]

On the Cavite peninsula, a naval station was founded in 1600. The founding of a naval station and shipyard in Cavite, together with the inception of the Manila-Acapulco trade largely explains the development of that part of the province in subsequent years.[10] Expeditions to the south against the Moslems, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Chinese were fitted out from Cavite as were the famous Spanish galleons that yearly crossed the Pacific to Acapulco.[11] The town itself was fortified by a wall commanding the narrow isthmus, which connects it with the mainland, and by Fort San Felipe, which was built in 1690.[12] Since Cavite constituted the first line of defense in terms of protecting the capital city of Manila from foreign attack, its fortifications were built laboriously, if intermittently, over the span of many years through conscripted native and Chinese labor. The fortifications were not completed until 1750.

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The administration of Cavite El Puerto was assigned to a *justicia mayor* who was at the same time designated *castellano de la real fuerza de San Felipe* with a salary of one thousand pesos yearly. He was assisted in the discharge of his duties by a *sargento mayor*, an *ayudante*, and a company of Malabars.[13]

Meanwhile, other towns were founded as groups of natives were resettled in places where they could be instructed in the Christian doctrine by the first groups of religious orders that came. Quite early in the process, members of the different religious orders arrived in the islands to assist in the colonization. The Franciscans were the first to reach Cavite and were in charge of the town of Silang from 1585 to 1611 when they turned it over to the Jesuits.[14] The Recollects founded their first mission in Cavite in 1616 through the efforts of Fray Juan de San Geronimo, and in 1795, the town of Imus.[15] The Jesuits, according to De la Costa, seem to have started their Cavite mission in connection with the lenten missions which the fathers of the college of Manila were invited to give in 1613-14, to attend to the needs of the port. The first Jesuit church was established in Cavite in 1632; and Jesuits were known to have been in charge of several parishes: Silang, Indang, Binacayan, Maragondong, Ternate

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and Kawit.[16] The town of Rosario was founded much later by seculars and then turned over to the Recollects in 1869. For their part, the Dominicans founded the convent of San Telmo at the cabecera to minister to the port population in the year 1618.[17] The parish of San Roque was created in 1688, that of Bacoor in 1752, and that of San Francisco de Malabon in 1753.[18]

Ideally, Spanish colonialism envisioned the resettlement of native populations into compact villages called cabeceras or poblaciones to facilitate conversion.[19] Furthermore, this was in accord with the hispanic tradition of urbanism. As Phelan puts it:

> For the Spaniards, man was not only a rational animal gifted with the capacity to receive grace. He was also a social animal living in communion with his fellowmen. It was only through this daily social contact with other men that he might hope to achieve a measure of his potentiality.[20]

A resettlement program was launched by the colonial government in the late sixteenth century similar to those attempted in New Spain and Peru. While the consequences of this program were rather disappointing in various parts of the Philippines, in Cavite such was not so much the case.[21] Here, efforts to resettle native communities met with mixed responses on the part of the natives, and these were generally of a more positive than negative character. For one thing, the

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creation of a cabecera in Cavite El Puerto quite easily attracted many people to the place. This may be attributed not only to the prodding of the religious and the churches and convents which by then had been built in the area but also tocthe attractions of the rapidly growing seaport town. These must be added to the yearly festivities in honor of the Virgin of Porta Vaga who was designated patron saint of the cabecera on account of her special popularity among seamen.[21] The early mission towns in the more interior parts of the province such as Silang, Kawit, Bacoor, Indang, and Maragondong also became nuclei of poblaciones. In the case of Silang, Father Pedro Chirino, a Jesuit who spent many years in that town attested to the remarkable growth of the Jesuit mission in Silang due to the willingness of the natives to be resettled:

> Although at the cost of great labor on the part of our fathers because it involved their venturing further into mountains and remote places, the growth of this mission has been remarkable. They had to go out in search of people living in huts and fields for it seemed as if the devil in order to keep them away from the true doctrine and gospel had induced them to seek wild, rugged places in which to live, where no one could come to them except with extreme difficulty. The fathers have devoted a great deal of time to this enterprise and have resettled large numbers of people of all sorts, to the great benefit of their souls: men and women of every condition, tender children and persons so aged . . . have thus learned the true gospel.[22]

Another Jesuit, Father Gregorio Lopez, wrote in his

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letter:

> I had occasion to make other visits, shorter than those to the vicinity of Silang, both to attend to the sick who needed assistance and to take ccunt of the houses and people in that countryside. I took the opportunity to persuade them to move into town and to bring their rice and other produce there, endeavoring to accomplish what Your Reverence so much desires. . . . In this matter as in everything else the good diligence and solicitude of my companion priest has been most helpful and to hasten the undertaking in an orderly fashion and comfort and inspire these people with the proper doctrine, the coming of the Father Rector and Father Diego Sanchez was of great importance. Just after Easter, I was called away to Manila and when I was sent back to this town of Silang in Lent, I found the mission very much advanced for the fathers that had remained there had accomodated many new people who kept arriving daily from other towns, including the whole town of Indang, which was in great need. . . .[23]

The religious availed themselves of various techniques in enticing natives to Catholicism. First, they made use of native teachers, especially newly converted natives who, in pre-Conquest times, performed the function of priests and priestesses.[24] The most detailed account of this process is found in Father Chirino's work on the Jesuits in Silang. They also, focused on the dramatic and the spectacular, such as miracles, plagues, pageantry in fiestas and lenten celebrations. The feast day of the Virgin of Porta Vaga, to which reference has already been made, was and still is celebrated during the third Sunday of November. This drew crowds perennially and pilgrims

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from various places. Cockfighting, called pintacasi in Togalog, and other gambling games drew many aficionados from other towns, provinces and even from as far as Manila.[25] Another method was by simplifying catechism to make learning easy for child converts. As in Mexico, children who had been converted were used as models of Christian behavior, paving the way for the conversion of their parents.[26] However, in certain places, especially where resettlement would have disrupted the ecological balance, native resistance was more obvious as in the case of a group of Caviteño farmers who made the following plea against resettlement:

> Si no se permite tener casa en las sementeras distantes del pueblo, equivale señor a no tener sementeras. En la provincia de Cavite, especialmente acaso por la naturaleza y accidentes del terreno, acaso tambien porque la mejor de ella pertenece a corporaciones religiosas o a proprietarios que residen en Manila, las calsadas son veredas, cási intransibles en la epoca de lluvias, que es precisamente la de siembra; faena mas penosa que la de recoleccion. . . . No existe pues, motivo racional para poner trabas al trabajo; para impedir el aprovechamiento de los terrenos nuevamente roturados y regados con el sudor del trabajador . . . quitar todos los cobachos y casas esten cercanas o distantes del pueblo, haya o no sementera donde esten sobre ser contrario a las disposiciones vigentes equivale a entorpecer acaso para muchos anos el buen camino en que esten los que en el trabajo quería librar su subsistencia y la de su familia.[27]

On account of such mixed response to the Spanish program of reducing native population "bajo la toca de

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la campana" (within earshot of the parish church bells), the whole pattern of settlement which evolved in the province of Cavite was a combination of compact and dispersed settlement which in turn became the nuclei of the town-barrio (in Tagalog, bayan-barrio/nayon) complex.[28] For intance in San Roque, people were compactly grouped into a población, cultivating their own town lots. A town in Cavite province followed the gridiron pattern characteristic of most Spanish town sites. The heart of the town is the town plaza[29] in which are located the local church and convent, across which one often finds the presidencia or municipio (town hall). So were the homes of its leading residents which were often built of sturdier materials like wood and masonry, unlike the humbler nipa and bamboo huts of the peasants in the barrios. The municipal market was also located nearby as well as some dry goods stores. On the other hand, barrios were subordinate clusters of population attached to a principal village or población.[30] In Kawit, three principal sitios existed: Tierra Alta, Indang and Binacayan. Tierra Alta had a compact settlement of forty-one houses around the santuario de Magdalena. It was rather peaceful except for the area near the Banalo river which was often used in transit by bandits (tulisanes). The sitio of Toclon had a

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dispersed settlement of one hundred and thirty houses governed by two matanda sa nayon (barrio elders). Bacoor was a fairly bighand compact area with ten sitios: Alima, Salinas, Mambog, Malicsi, Panapaan, Talaba, Niog, Aniban, San Nicolas, Limbonlintos. All were governed by a matanda sa nayon except for Salinas and San Nicolas, which were administered by two tenientes appointed by the superior government. The sitio of Talaba was frequented by bandits due to its nearness to the Zapote river. Imus had six sitios: Medicion, Malagasang, Salitran, Palico and Tampas--all governed by tenientes. The municipality of San Francisco de Malabon, on the other hand, had widely dispersed houses, mostly along the roadside due to the bandits, who posed a constant threat to residents.[31]

While the Spanish conquest brought about a catastrophic decline in the native population of New Spain, together with drastic changes in its ecological orientation, such does not seem to have occurred in Cavite or the Philippines as a whole, at least not in the same dimensions. For one thing, the fact that Filipinos did not live in the same isolation as did the Indians of America before the coming of the Spaniards rendered them immune to diseases brought by the Caucasians and spared them from the kind of demographic disaster that

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American Indians went through.[32] Bonifacio Salamanca, however, has suggested that the Hispano-Dutch wars of the early seventeenth century (1621-1655) could have exacted its own toll from the numbers of the native populations in the coastal parts of the islands, especially the Manila-Cavite area. Nevertheless, he thinks that the decline in population in these areas could not have exceeded fifty percent even at the height of the wars.[33] Available data on the population of Cavite during the early centuries of Spanish rule indicate a slow but steady increase in its population. Thus from 1,480 in 1590,[34] Cavite's population increased to 3,230 in 1620.[35] Of this latter figure, the natives comprised 2,400, the Spaniards 430, and some 400 are listed as foreigners. A century later, the population increased only to 5,905.[36] The sizable number of Spaniards and foreigners in Cavite at this point simply indicates that Cavite was beginning to assume a rather cosmopolitan character due to its status of seaport-town.

The fact that there was no drastic decline in its population meant that the Spanish colonists were not confronted with an acute labor shortage such as that which happened in New Spain. Hence there was no need to apportion the natives under a system of <u>repartimiento</u>[37] for distribution to those in need of their

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services. Repartimiento labor was used only in connection with public works projects sponsored by the Crown. Thus in Cavite, repartimiento was used only in the shipyard for the building and repairing of the King's galleons.

Since this was the case, the pressure upon the native population was expectedly less than on the Indians of New Spain. Although most Caviceños living in the port and San Roque area finally got recruited as seamen, soldiers, and laborers in the shipyard, most Caviteños of the countryside continued to derive their main source of livelihood from agriculture. Even the Spanish attempt to introduce cattle-raising did not pose a threat to the existing ecological equilibrium in the sense of displacing the agricultural basis of its economy.[38] A few carabao (water buffalo) ranches seem to have existed in the vicinity of Manila, including the provinces of Batangas and Cavite, but the pastoral economy as such did not prosper.[39] From the New World, the Spaniards introduced the use of horses which improved somewhat the means of transportation in terms of speed since water buffalos are clearly not as efficient as horses in this respect. Among the most significant New World crops introduced by the Spaniards were maize, tobacco, wheat, sweet potato, and several varieties of

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fruits and vegetables.

To this general pattern of continuity, however, the Cabecera-San Roque area was an exception. In this part of the province, the founding of a seaport-town with its shipyard, fortifications and arsenal significantly altered the way of life of its inhabitants, especially after the inception of the Manila-Acapulco trade.

Although the residents of the Cabecera-San Roque area had depended more upon the sea--fishing and a limited amount of coast-wise trading--than upon agriculture in pre-Spanish times, the establishment of a seaport-town and naval yard in this part of the province after the Conquest made their dependence upon maritime activities complete resulting in the virtual exclusion of all agricultural undertaking.[40] Demands upon native labor in the various preoccupations of a naval station, port and shipyard increased as the Cabecera grew and expanded from an isolated fishing settlement to a leading seaport town for the islands. In the records of the Spanish archives the Cabecera in fact came to be referred to as Cavite El Puerto for it became the main port and alternate capital of the archipelago during the first centuries of Spanish presence.

As soon as the first Spanish colonists saw the possibilities of a lucrative trade between China and New

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Spain, using Manila as an entrpot, the first yearly sailings of the famed Spanish galleons were made with Cavite El Puerto serving as port of embarkation. The earliest description of the port of Cavite is given by Antonio de Morga:

> The entire bay is of good depth and clean and has good anchorage on all parts. It is eight leagues from the entrance to the bar of the river [Pasig]. A large harbor is found two leagues south of Manila, with a point of land that shelters it. That point has a native settlement called Cabit [sic] and it gives its name to the harbor which is used as a port for the vessels. It is very capacious and well sheltered from the vendavels--whether the southwest and the southeast. It has a good anchorage, with a clean and good bottom. There is a good entrance quite near the land, more than one and a half leagues wide, for the ingress and egress of vessels. All the shore of this bay is well provided with fisheries of all kinds. They are densely populated by natives.[41]

Due to its location in reference to Manila, which was very quickly designated the seat of government for the new Spanish colony, and its own merits as a port, Cavite El Puerto was destined to perform the following functions. First, it was to serve as port of embarkation for all Spanish galleons in the Manila-Acapulco run. Second, it was to provide temporary accomodations for transient Spanish officials, clergymen, soldiers, sailors, and merchants when these arrived from or departed for the New World. Finally, its strategic position vis-a-vis Manila made it the natural choice for

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the installation of necessary fortifications to protect the administrative capital of the colony.

The Manila-Acapulco trade provided the main attraction for Spanish colonists in the islands as a lucrative source of income in view of the absence of rich silver mines.[42] From top government officials to bona fide merchants, private individuals, soldiers, seamen and even the clergy--all participated in the commerce such that William Lytle Schurz found justification in the use of the joint appelation "City and Commerce" to refer to Manileños and their participation in the trade, as if the two were one.[43] All who had the capital and right to purchase boletas (right to lade goods in the galleons) eagerly awaited the arrival and departure of each galleon at Cavite. For the silver of Mexico and Peru, Oriental goods were exchanged. Of these the bulk came from China. Porcelain, silk, camphor, and spices were brought to Manila by numerous Chinese junks and sampans during the monsoon season. From Manila and Cavite, these were trans-shipped to Acapulco vía the galleons.

Spain strictly regulated the trade in accordance with mercantilistic principles. Navigation was restricted to only two ports in the two continents: Manila in Asia, and Acapulco in America. This was based on the belief that such would result in a more effective supervision of the traffic. The number of ships participating

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in the trade was also limited. Only two ships, an in-coming and an out-going ship were to be used each year. Actually during the early years of the run, the number of ships fluctuated between three and four. In later years there were times when no sailings were made often on account of bad weather or piracy. The tonnage of each ship was also specified as well as the value of the in-coming and out-going cargo. Minutely detailed and strict as these regulations were on paper, many of them remained unenforced and often circumvented through various means by those who took part in the trade. The entire history of the Manila galleon trade is in fact replete with instances of fraudulent declarations, over-loading, misrepresentations, use of dummies, speculation in the trade on boletas, and the like.

This commerce, which lasted for about two hundred and fifty years, affected in more ways than one, the fortunes of Spain's fledgling colony. For one thing, the Manila galleon, as Phelan says, constitute "the single life-line that provided the sinews of Spain's distant colony: silver and friars."[44] The Mexican subsidy[45] which was a grant to help the colonial government meet its expenses, for years supported the Philippines even while Spanish colonial bureaucrats debated the wisdom of retaining the islands. Equally, as is common know-

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ledge in Philippine history, the friars' continued presence in many parts of the country buttressed Spain's hold upon the Philippines. Since the galleon trade constituted the main economic interest of colonial bureaucrats, such a focus diverted whatever interest these might have had in developing other aspects of its economy. Thus native industries were neglected and very little effort was exerted in tapping natural resources for economic development.[46] In addition, since the galleons were the only means by which the Philippines communicated with the viceroyalty of New Spain, and through which in turn, Spain governed the Philippines, the type of Hispanization to which Filipinos were exposed was necessarily filtered through Mexico. If one considers the insignificant number of Spaniards who went to the Philippines in comparison with those who went to Spanish America, the extent of Hispanization experienced by the Philippines in general was at best weak and Mexicanized.[47]

The impact of the Manila-Acapulco trade upon the Philippines varied greatly according to region. In distant provinces like Pampanga, the influence of the trade appears to have been rather minimal. With the exception of the requirement that rice be supplied to the port of Cavite, and occasionally the recruitment of workers for the shipyard, the Pampanga ecological balance was hardly

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affected. Most Pampangueños remained peasant cultivators. However, in Manila and Cavite, the impact of the commerce was more of an immediate and direct nature.

As one can see on the map of Cavite and the Manila Bay area, the Cavite peninsula provides a kind of sheltering protection from winds and baguios (tropical storms).[49] This was the main reason why the galleons were careened and moored in Cavite. Although goods and silver coming from Mexico were eventually brought to Manila, most activities related to the commerce like lading the galleons, building and repairing these, providing temporary quarters for incoming and outgoing passengers,--all these were done in Cavite El Puerto. A rather picturesque description of Cavite El Puerto during the heyday of the trade in the seventeenth century is provided by Percy A. Hill:

> The port of Cavite was busy but two months during the year, at the time namely of the arrival and departure of the galleons linking the Philippines with the portage from Acapulco to Vera Cruz to far-off Spain. The dockyards, with their coolie gangs, offered little interest: the babbling on the ropewalks, the thuds of the calkers' mallets as these hearties repaired the leaky caravels and galleons for their battle with old ocean. Chinese journeymen craftsmen were trailed about the yard by Malay apprentices. The Malays, familiar with the Credo and the Pater Noster, in their flimsy hempen garments and salacot sombreros[50] crowded to the churches on Sundays and feast days--churches built by the labor forced from them to the tune of forty days a year. They listened to the sermons in a strange language, crossed themselves, told their beads, perhaps even confessed,

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> and then kissing the hand of the cassocked castila,[51] went further in the fields to worship at the shrines of nature--as their forefathers for generations before them did. Such was Cavite in 1677.[52]

Attesting to Cavite's newly acquired commercial significance due to its port activities is the statement of Fray Miguel Serrano of Kawit:

> . . . puede decir que es un curato de todas las naciones, por las muchas que de las cuatro partes del mundo acuden a aquel puerto, especialmente entonces que era más opulento, más florido y mas universal el comercio.[53]

As Cavite's commerce expanded, seamen of many nations did frequent its port and being thus no different from others of their kind, brought with them the usual concomitants of any port-of-call: vices, disease, a boost for the local hostelries, and other related commercial activities. It was for this reason that representatives of the different religious orders concentrated their efforts on the port and adjacent towns. The Jesuit, Murillo Velarde, marvelling at its extensive commerce but obviously disgusted with the corruption of morals at the port, refers to Cavite as "a parish of all nations [where] the wolves of all nations come . . . from all parts to trade. . . . It might better be called a herd of goats than a flock of sheep."[54]

However the nature and amount of the returning cargo from Acapulco, and Cavite's restricted role in the commerce, set limits upon any possibilities that it

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might have had of becoming actually a great maritime center. Unlike the American end of the trade where tons and tons of Oriental cargo necessitated the holding of a fair for the disposal of these goods, a fair did not become necessary in Cavite nor even in Manila itself. The Manila-bound galleons brought only silver, some cochineal, wines and a few European goods plus passengers--officials, clergymen, soldiers. This fact obviated the need for prolonged trading activity in the area after the ship had anchored. Even the pancada and the feria,[55] which took place in Manila, were more closely associated with arrival of the Chinese junks than the Spanish galleon.. A limited group of Spanish merchants in Manila and Cavite, and of course, the Chinese appear to have been the only ones who more directly benefited from the trade. Native participation was non-existent and if at all, such was minimal and incidental.[56] Not the commerce itself, but the port activities related to shipping affected the life of the native. These included work in the construction and repair of the galleons, provision of work-crews for manning these ships, and the establishment and maintenance of its fortifications.

If the Manila-Acapulco trade paralleled the mines of New Spain and Peru in terms of providing the main

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attraction for Spanish colonists in the New World, so did the labor regime in Cavite correspond to the repartimiento labor systems employed in the mines of Potosi and Zacatecas in terms of the notoriously rigid demands imposed upon native labor in these areas.[57] Actually Cavite was just one of several shipyards founded by the Spaniards in the Philippines. The others were located in Marinduque, Camarines, Mindoro, Masbate, Manila and Pangasinan.[58] But the fact that Cavite was also the port for careening and lading the galleons was to place inordinate demands upon local labor resources in the province such that these had to be supplemented by recruitments from other provinces, not to mention the use of Chinese coolie labor.[59]

Native labor was provided through the repartimiento system by which gangs of natives were conscripted and distributed to the different branches of the shipbuilding industry where they were needed.[60] This was done by the castellano as officer-in-charge. Depending upon their work skills, the men were assigned as woodcutters, tool grinders, rope-makers, and the like. Workers were paid wages plus a daily ration of rice in accordance with the nature of their skill and nationality.[61] Thus native woodcutters were each paid seven to eight reales monthly plus daily rice ration. Masters who laid out, prepared

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and rounded the masts and topmasts were paid three to four pesos monthly plus double the amount of rice rations. These were the rougher aspects of work in the shipyard and as such did not include Spanish workers. But where Spaniards were involved as in the class of common seamen, these were paid one hundred pesos each year plus thirty gantas (six liters) of rice each month. In the case of skilled craftsmen, Chinese blacksmiths received twenty reales each month plus rice rations, while native blacksmiths received only twelve reales each month plus the corresponding rice ration. The difference in wages between Chinese and native workers may have been due to better skills on the part of the former, but the higher salary rate for Spanish employees in comparison with Chinese and native workers within the same category shows obvious wage discriminatory practices prevailing in the shipyard.

Besides minimal wages and skimpy rice rations, work conditions in the shipyard itself were oppressive. According to Jose Estudillo, quoted in H. de la Costa:

> [The workers] are drafted from the four provinces of Tondo, Bai [Laguna], Bulacan and Pampanga. . . . They are turned out for work at three o'clock in the morning and are given no rest until almost eleven. They are back to work at one and do not stop until ten at night. There is neither Sunday nor holiday for these wretches and their quarters are some ruined sheds open on all sides to wind and weather. They sleep on the hard ground and not minded by their natural lack of foresight, for

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> they bring with them not so much as a piece of matting on which to lie. Little food and hard work cause many of them to fall sick, and then they have nowhere to go but this college [Jesuit] for the good of their souls and the relief of their suffering. It is sometimes necessary to keep them in the college for some time to get them back on their feet again.[62]

All accounts concerning the labor regime in Cavite seem to agree that the most strenuous and hazardous part of the work involved the cutting and hauling of timber for construction:

> As they were so large, the timber needed was scarcely to be found in the forests and thus it was necessary to seek it with great difficulty in the most remote of them, where once found, in order to haul and convey it to the shipyard, the towns of the surrounding country had to be depopulated of natives who get it with immense labor, damage and cost to them [sic].[63]

On a more official basis, Governor Alonso Fajardo y Tensa wrote to Felipe III about the deplorable condition in Cavite:

> The shipbuilding carried on in the islands on your Majesty's account, is the total ruin and death of these natives as all tell me. For in addition to the danger caused by it in withdrawing them from the cultivation of their lands and fields, whereby the abundance of foods and fruits of the country is destroyed--many of them die from severe labor and harsh treatment. Joined to this is another evil, namely that every Indian who takes part in the shipbuilding is aided by all the neighborhood where he lives with a certain number of pesos on account of the small pay that is given them on behalf of your Majesty.[64]

Added to the natural hazards of cutting timber were abuses committed by overseers in charge of recruiting workers and the issuance of labor exemption permits

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called falla. Such permits could be secured in exchange for a fee. Sometimes recruiters tried to get more workers than needed due to the opportunities for gain offered by the falla fees.[65] The frequent incidents of fleeing natives, as well as uprisings like the Sumuroy and Pampanga revolt are recorded instances of native opposition to further recruitment for labor in the Cavite shipyard.[66] No other labor system in islands seems to have had such a notorious reputation as that in Cavite itself.

Modification in the composition and character of Cavite's population, especially in the port area, was an inevitable result too of its development as a leading port of the islands. Besides the dominant native population, there were, of course, the Spanish colonists, mostly government officials, clergy, sailors and soldiers, some of whom usually proceeded to Manila for assignment. However at times there were others who did stay in Cavite. Many of these were of Mexican origin or creoles.[67] These were mostly either vagabonds, mutinous soldiers and seamen serving a sentence, or men simply seeking promotion which they could not get in America or Spain. Long lists of Mexican recruits are found in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico from such places as Queretaro, Valladolid, Cuernavaca,

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Guanajuato, Acapulco, and Guadalajara.[68] Although most of these came from the lowly groups in society, not everyone did. The guachinangos[70] or low-class soldiers were the types of colonists that interacted the most with the native population. It was also through this group aside from the friars, that whatever Mexican-Spanish influences trickled into Cavite and the rest of the country were mediated. Certain words in the dialects for everyday use have been traced by Rafael Bernal to Mexican origins.[71]

The famous Regiment of the King which was the only standing army (400-600) was composed of natives of Mexico and Peru.[72] A few Negro slaves from Africa and India brought over by Portuguese ships, and a ward of Moslem Lascars[73] gave the port added cosmopolitan touch.[74] Meanwhile, in a neighboring town that soon was to be named Ternate, an entire community of Indonesians called Mardicas were shipped over by the Spanish Jesuits in 1662 after they fled from Ternate island in the Moluccas due to the impending attack of the Chinese pirate Koxinga.[75] Bringing with them their own culture and dialect, which was a kind of pidgin Portuguese, the Mardicas were responsible for the quaint Cavite Ternateño dialect, which is almost totally incomprehensible to the rest of the province's population.[76]

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There was also the growing Chinese group, whose numbers fluctuated from time to time. Their numbers must have noticeably increased following the opening of the Manila-Acapulco run and among those who chose to stay, many inter-married with native women. The offsprings of such unions became the nucleus of a new ethnic group--the Chinese mestizos--who in later centuries were to assume a significant role in the social, economic and political life of the province and the whole country as well.[77]

Mainly because only few Spaniards ventured to go to the Philippines the colonial establishment was handicapped right from the start by a dearth of administrative personnel.[78] Of the few that came, a good number were members of the religious orders which explains why the clergy inevitably assumed a prominent role in the administration of the colonly. Inevitable, too, was the retention of pre-Conquest native chieftains in their capacity as local leaders in the barrios and towns of the province. Indeed, it became characteristic of Spanish colonial policy[79] to maintain the preexisting native elite, and in Cavite, this was not surprising for the local elite had hardly offered any resistance to the Spanish conquerors.[80]

Within the newly created colonial bureaucracy, the native elite served as the final channel of commu-

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nication between the indigenous population and the higher echelons of government. It is quite obvious, that under the new set-up, the former máguinoos no longer had the final say in the government.[81] Now they had become a mere cog in the administrative wheel. Stripped of so much of their former powers, they were the bottom rung of the administrative hierarchy in their capacity as gobernadorcillos (petty governors) and cabezas de barangay (village heads).[82] Thus instead of being the chief law-maker, executive, and judge in his own barangay, each functioned as a mere spokesman of the administration, assisting in the implementation of its laws and ordinances. Former barangays gave way to the barrios and sitios of Spanish times, and to cabeceras, if they were fairly populous. Many were grouped together to form the first towns such as Kawit, San Roque, Silang and Bacoor.[83] Town administration was placed in the hands of a gobernadorcillo while barrios were under the responsibility of cabezas de barangay.

The governadorcillo as a town-head was drawn from a group of native elite, mostly former chieftains, called the principalia.[84] Through the years, the principalia came to be composed of former gobernadorcillos and cabezas whose main prerogative over the rest of the townspeople was exemption from payment of the tribute.[83] The

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gobernardorcillo was elected to office by a body of electors including six cabezas and six ex-gobernadorcillos. Such election, however, had to be approved by the local parish priest and then forwarded to the central government in Manila for approval. For selection to the position of gobernardorcillo, besides membership in the principalia, one had to be a native or a Chinese mestizo; be twenty-five years of age; a local resident; able to read and write; and must have had previous experience as a deputy gobernadorcillo or cabeza without any unfavorable record. His term of office was one year. "Once installed, he carried a tassled cane as an emblem of his authority and went about his people often accompanied by his deputies."[86]

The gobernadorcillo's most important duty was the collection and forwarding of all tax and tribute receipts from his area to the provincial capital, making sure that there were no shortages in the receipts on the basis of expected income. Expected income was predicted on the basis of tribute counts furnished by the local priest. In the event of a shortage, the governadorcillo had to pay the difference from his own pocket. Like all bureaucrats exercising powers of government over territorial divisions in the Spanish colonial system, he was both an executive and a judicial official

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although of a petty sort. His judicial authority was final in civil cases involving trifling sums as well as petty criminal cases. If the latter were of any importance, his duty was to make preliminary investigation of the case and forward it to the provincial governor. He cooperated with the parish priest to see that the townspeople attended the religious services and observed the holidays. He was obligated to see that residents did not live in idleness; that they either lived from farming land or raising livestock. Supervision of forced labor services was also under his charge. Although he had a salary of two pesos a month--a trifling sum indeed--he was expected to meet municipal expenses out of his own resources. Such were maintenance of the cuadrilleros who guarded the Casa Tribunal (court-house) and the pueblo; the up-keep of the local jail; the provision of desks, paper, personnel in the local post office. With regard to public works projects, he was supposed to look after the construction and maintenance of bridges and roads, for which purpose conscripted labor was used. If there were no appropriations by the provincial government for wood and iron parts, the gobernadorcillo was left to his own devices.[87] If there were no state monopoly shops in the town, all articles under state monopoly were consigned to the gobernadorcillo,

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who kept accounts and remitted proceeds to the central monopoly administration. He was also required to provide for the needs of transient Spanish officials in town.

The gobernadorcillo was assisted in these functions by four or five tenientes and three supernumeraries: a juez de sementeras who looked after the boundaries of cultivated lands; a juez de ganados who was responsible for the branding of livestock; and a juez de policia who looked after police matters. With regard to paperwork, since he often did not understand Spanish, he had to depend upon a local personage who had a smattering of the language. This was the directorcillo. The directorcillo was usually a student from one of the colleges in Manila unable to finish his studies but one who at the same time had lost the habit of working on the soil. Sometimes he had passed his youth as a clerk without pay in the provincial government or a discharged soldier who had reached the rank of corporal and had some acquaintance with office work. The cabezas de barangay were responsible for maintaining peace and order in the numerous barrios which in turn composed a municipality. All these officials held office at the Casa Tribunal which, in spite of its impressive name, was in the Philippines but a make-shift

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structure of grass or nipa thatch and bamboo or wood and almost bare of furniture. Unlike the substantial abode of the local cura (parish priest) whose convent was always constructed of masonry, the casa was often a sorry-looking structure indeed, until attempts were made to upgrade some of them during the late nineteenth century.[88]

The matanda sa nayon was a village official in many Tagalog regions, who, though not officially designated, played an important role in the rural areas.[89] This was especially true in the coastal parts of Cavite where depredations from pirates posed a constant threat. Generally, the matanda sa nayon was a resident who inspired respect from its inhabitants because of his age, descent, or well-known benificence and was, as a result, often obeyed by all. His most important function was to maintain harmony within the village. Although he was not always necessarily the oldest in the barrio, he frequently was. Such local leaders had the ability to unite the residents for defense purposes since often enough the government failed to provide for it. At times the matanda sa nayon was also the gobernadorcillo but oftentimes he was an entirely different person, who aside from the parish priest was the second most respected person in the community.

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On the basis of the above it seems that local native officials were no more than harassed functionaries in the colony.[90] Yet there is evidence to show that these bureaucrats were not altogether insignificant puppets in their own localities. Within their own territory they did make their influence felt such that an unknown Spanish writer for the magazine Illustración Filipina was forced to admit that without genuine and earnest cooperation from these local bureaucrats, the execution of ordinances from the central government would have been altogether impossible.[91] In a more positive sense, gobernadorcillos and cabezas often took initiative in airing complaints and grievances on behalf of their constituents. It is enlightening, for instance, to come across numerous expedientes penned by governadorcillos and cabezas arguing for the cancellation of land rent for a certain year due to crop failure; requesting protection against bandits; or exemption from tribute on the part of some residents.[92] Even more so, to come across a written protest signed by the wives of principales from the town of Bacoor on behalf of their imprisoned husbands who had failed to render communal services. After arguing lengthily, the wives ended by saying quite plainly that such rendering of communal services on the part of their husbands who

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were principales was simply beneath the dignity of their position![93]

On the other hand, these bureaucrats, partly to keep the local government in solvency, partly because they could easily get away with it, learned quite early the tricks of the game of corruption. Since they were left to their own devices with regard to financing municipal expenses, they often resorted to methods that "were not always just and quite illegal."[94] Mention has already been made of the falla by virtue of which one could get exemption from rendering forced labor services. Gobernadorcillos and cabezas being in charge of granting such falla permits at times managed to raise extra-legal funds either for the community or for their own personal use. Sometimes these native bureaucrats exacted double the prescribed payment for food and necessities which the local cabeza or gobernadorcillo was required to provide transient travelers.[95] Further, since the townspeople had to provide the local priest with food and other supplies, the native functionaries could raise the amount and then take a cut from it. In spite of frequent references to the fact that many prominent townsmen were reluctant to assume the position of either a gobernadorcillo or a cabeza due to the onerous and burdensome nature of the responsibilities attached to such offices, still it appears

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that where such positions offered some prospect of material advancement, people did aspire and compete for these offices. Thus an anonymous writer for the Ilustración Filipina points to the fact that in some places electioneering practices could be observed, e.g., candidates had to have enough funds to hand out among the voters.[96]

One of the significant changes ushered in by the coming of the Spaniards was the abolition of the servile groups whom they referred to as slaves. With this, therefore, the three social class categories of pre-Spanish times gave way to a dual class system within the native population during the early colonial years: the class of principales, hitherto composed exclusively of former maguinoos, became infiltrated by members of other class groups such as the timawas (manumitted freemen of pre-Spanish times). This development is indicated by a document found in the Philippine National Archives penned by a Spanish bureaucrat critical of the new situation, and blaming the observed recalcitrance of newly elected cabezas on the presence of timawas in several cabecerías in Cavite. Thus the case of Calixto Mediran, cabeza of Imus, is cited for his refusal to turn over daily ten polistas (conscripted laborers) for work. Another accusation made by

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the same writer pertains to two cabezas, Ramon de los Reyes and Felix Torres, former timawas, rumored to be associates of the notorious Cavite bandit, Luis Parang. Thus the document concludes:

> . . . con tan indecentes e indignos cabezas, que estraño es que el grande pueblo de Imus sea el mas malo de todo? Que maravilla es que todos los robos y saqueos que sucedense encuetran individuos del pueblo de Ymus, cuando los cabezas que les debian dar ejemplo son los primeros?[97]

On the basis of these observations certain revisions may have to be made with regards to the nature of native participation in the colonial administration under Spain. Clearly, though occupying the lowest ranks in the colonial bureaucracy, these native bureaucrats were not altogether insignificant mouthpieces of the central administration. Sharply limited by law in the exercise of their powers and theoretically burdened by innumerable shortcomings of the central government, these officials did in fact exercise considerable influence within their respective localities. The realities of local provincial life to a large extent determined how effective centralist efforts could be in trying to reach out to the different municipalities in the colony through ordinances and decrees. Under the strict supervision of the local cura, in some instances it managed to do so. However, in other cases it miserably failed in its effort. Distance was one drawback; the other

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could be a group of unsympathetic and uncooperative principales.

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IV. MAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN COLONIAL CAVITE: THE HACIENDAS

For as long as the lucrative galleon trade lasted, the cabecera constituted the all-important part of Cavite Province to the Spaniards. However more than two-thirds of Cavite was, and still is, predominantly agricultural, and unlike the port area, it was this agricultural countryside that shared many things in common with the rest of the country and all of Southeast Asia. The retention of much of indigenous heritage in these parts was an inevitable result of its minimal exposure to Hispanization. Few Spaniards, with the exception of the missionaries who ventured into the hinterland areas, found attraction in the monotonous and uneventful life in the other towns and barrios.[1] Even the idea of establishing themselves as hacendados owning acres of agricultural land hardly offered comparable inducement to settle in the more remote parts of the province as did the galleon trade in the Cabecera. Thus Phelan's concept of minimally and indirectly Hispanized[2] Filipinos may be exemplified by these Caviteños of the countryside who continued to speak in their native Tagalog dialect instead of the Chabacano of the Cabecera.

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The same Caviteños tilled their lands and grew rice as in the days of the barangays, providing a pattern of ecological continuity in contrast to the changes simultaneously being undergone by the cabecera.

A word about pre-Conquest land tenure patterns in the Philippines. Owing to the paucity of materials on the subject, to date this remains a hazy and problematical topic. This is unfortunate, for a more definitive statement on the matter could provide the necessary key to an understanding of the land situation in the islands during the succeeding colonial period. Whether or not, for instance, pre-Spanish Filipinos had any notion of individual land ownership is subject to debate.

In an effort to throw some light on the subject, Reed describes the likely evolution of the Philippine territorial system before the coming of the Spaniards. In the first place, Reed, like Fox, supports the idea that the most pervasive system of land use in prehistoric Philippines must have been swidden agriculture.[3] Low population density and the abundance of virgin lands in the Philippines at the time, according to Reed, may have encouraged such widespread dependence upon swidden agriculture.[4] Furthermore, he points to the fact that the shifting character of swidden agriculture implies the very likely absence of a concept of private

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land ownership; rather "the community in common held rights to the use of land . . . [yet] despite the absence of a concept of private land ownership . . . kaingin cultivators did have a keen sense of usufruct rights."[5] Towards the late pre-Hispanic period Reed believes that wet-rice agriculture may have finally evolved such as indicated in early Spanish sources.[6] However, the practice seems to have been largely confined to the island of Luzon, particularly "in riverine stretches, low-lying swamps, in the northern and eastern shores of Manila Bay, along the Lingayen littoral and on the fringes of Laguna de Bay . . . ."[7] The implication of such a development, according to Reed, was a likely revision of usufruct rights over land which may have led to the development of the notion of private land ownership in such places. Thus according to Reed,

> Of primary importance is the impression that in the increasingly sedentary village, irrigated land, the quality of which reflected labor inputs of independent farmers and their families, no longer belonged to the community as a whole. This is emphatically underscored by the nature of emergent tenure restrictions. While usufruct rights continued to govern agricultural exploitation of the forested tingues, such was not the case in the padi lands. In the irrigated lowlands an individual owned and could alienate his property at will. The fact that others were able to acquire wet-rice lands "after purchase or inheritance" indicates that possession was both fee simple and fee tail. It is not intimated herein that personal possession of agricultural property proved widespread in pre-Hispanic times.

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> for, as Phelan has demonstrated so successfully, the dramatic transformation from communal holdings to individual retention of land awaited the imposition of Spanish legal concepts.[8]

This reconstructed picture of the evolution of the Philippine territorial system as a whole could very well have held true as much for Cavite in most other places in the country. Still, the fact that we have not ascertained whether or not pre-Spanish Caviteños were predominantly swidden agriculturalists or sawah cultivators,[9] does not allow us to make further inferences on the Cavite situation with regards to its pre-Hispanic land tenure system. I am inclined to agree with Reed that in all probability, even if the notion of private land ownership may have been known in the Philippines shortly before the Conquest, such may not have been so pervasive a pattern. Perhaps lending support to this view is a passage in the Boxer Codex referring to the rather tenuous hold that a barangay member had over his cultivated lands:

> Thus [the Tagalogs] have no king among them nor persons deputized to administer justice nor personages for government. . . . The chiefs do as they please, removing and giving lands as they wish for little reason. . . .[10]

Thus the dominant person of the máguinoo could have constantly rendered precarious such types of ownership in the context of the barangay, keeping the practice of private land ownership from being actually institution-

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alized. That technicalities of formal ownership hardly concerned the native cultivator as much as effective occupation of his land may be further inferred from the fact that the imposition of the tithe was not violently resisted in the beginning. To be sure, tithe collection in Cavite had been made originally on a voluntary basis. Ferdinand Blumentritt has alleged that the canon or land rent of later Spanish times, came from the tithe, in a manner suggesting that native owners had been cheated out of their rights. According to Blumentritt:

> Natives had voluntarily paid the tithe to parish priests but due to the absence of a recorder's office, and the original purpose of the tithe becoming forgotten, the payment came to be considered in later years as rent, and the land, consequently held to be not the possession of the cultivator but a leasehold from the parish priest or order.[11]

Similarly, a complaint filed by some inquilinos (native lessees) of Kawit, Bacoor, and Silang in 1861 regarding the canon, seems to lend credence to Blumentritt's statement:

> . . . poseedores comon dejamos dicho de los torrenos sitios en los barrios de Balocbaloc y Siran, desde tiempo inmemorial, trasmitiendose de descendencia en descendencia por cuantos titulos tiene establecido el derecho habiles para la transferencia de propiedades, nuestros antepasados establecieron una derrama voluntaria y anual con objeto de invertir su producido en objetos utiles al pueblo de nuestra naturaleza como son construccion de puentes, entretenimiento y reparo de calzadas. Esta contribucion asistida por los contribuyentes con una cuota proporcionada al producido del terreno que poseia asciende a ochenta y ocho

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> pesos anuales. Se ve por lo espuesto, que esa contribucion no es ni puede tener el caracter de las con que estan obligados los habitantes de esta pais, a sus legitimos y amados. Soberanos no es por tanto, ni puede ser objeto de las atenciones de los recaudadores de hacienda publica, ni sus delegados y para ultima consecuencia, ninguno esta autorisado a exigirnos aumento ni esceso de ninguna especio de la referida contribucion, por razon de que nuestra voluntad fue la unica ley para la institucion de este servicio. . . .[12]

Finally, one must bear in mind that the abundance of available land which could be had virtually for the asking must have delayed the evolution of the idea of land as having a salable value until the time when subsistence agriculture gave way to commercial agriculture.[13] By then land as such came to possess an intrinsic value in the eyes of the native, i.e., besides usufruct it could be a source of wealth in itself.

Reference has been made to the fact that the Cavite-Manila areas, owing to their fairly dense populations and coastal location, were promptly declared crown encomiendas after the Conquest. Since juridicially, the institution of the encomienda was distinct from that of the hacienda,[14] the crown decreed at the same time the distribution of land grants to deserving Spanish soldiers, clergymen and colonists which were neither communally nor individually owned at the time of the Conquest.

Exhibiting little interest in agriculture, the few Spaniards domiciled in Cavite confined themselves mostly

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to the Cabecera and its commerce. Still others preferred to remain in Manila as absentee landlords.[15] Most of those who developed an interest in acquiring landholdings in the province were members of the religious orders who acquired land through various means: donations, grants, purchases, and at times even by outright usurpation of native land.[16] The evidence regarding the mode of acquisition of friar lands in Cavite is conflicting, but Endriga seems inclined to believe that titles on the whole might have been genuine though with some exception.[17]

There were several friar haciendas that emerged in Cavite. Those owned by the Recollects which included the Hacienda de San Juan and Hacienda de San Nicolas, collectively referred to as the Imus Estate. These occupied the whole town of Imus, parts of Bacoor, Kawit, and Dasmariñas.[18] The Hacienda de Naic belonged to the Dominicans as well as the Hacienda de Santa Cruz de Malabon. The Agustinians owned the Hacienda de San Francisco de Malabon and Rosario. The size, extent, and economic significance of these friar estates in the interior towns and barrios precluded the existence of native and even mestizo landowners, unlike in other provinces. As such, noticeably lacking therefore in Cavite was the existence of a powerful native cacique landowning group. This in turn

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would have an important bearing upon the course of events in Cavite in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It would throw light upon the nature of native leadership in the province and can probably explain why the revolution centered in the area.

To provide a more graphic picture of the extent of friar holdings in Cavite, one has only to point to the fact that total friar landholdings in Cavite exceeded the total agricultural area of the province.[19] Thus of the total friar holdings, amounting to 47,111 hectares in Cavite, 40,881 were agricultural land representing the total area of available agricultural land for all of Cavite. This of course means that, besides agricultural land, the friars had other types of landholding in the province. With reference to the total Philippine picture, friar lands in Cavite represented more than one-fourth of all friar landholdings in the Philippines, which means that in no other province did friar estates assume so prominent a role.

The town of Imus, the richest rice-growing area of Cavite, comprised more than half of what was known as the Imus Estate of the Recollects. It was formerly a barrio of Cavite El Viejo (Kawit) but with the growth of its population and revenue, it became a separate pueblo in 1795.[21] Besides the town of Imus, parts of

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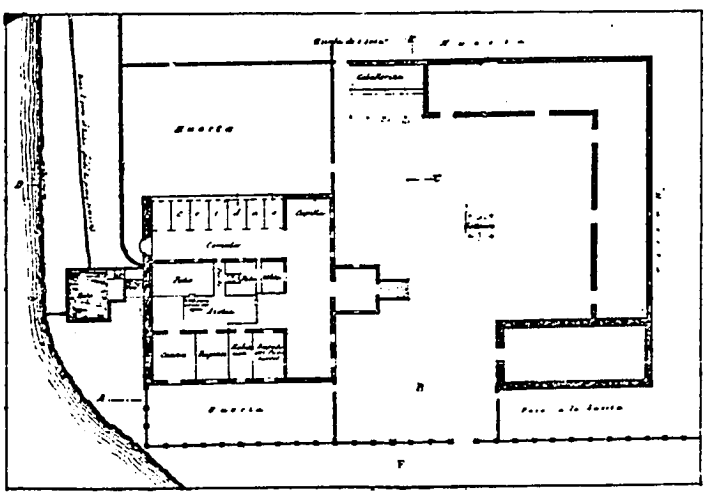
da del Tibagán y adelante hasta el camino de San Nicolás, batiendo la Casa-hacienda de Imus y posesionándose de ella, y á Marina siga de frente, y por si la lucha es más ruda hace entrar en la línea de ataque parte de la media Brigada Villalón, que ocupa puesto entre el Coronel Núñez y la 2.ª Brigada.

Las cornetas baten marcha, emprendiéndola los aguerridos Batallones que dejan á retaguardia el camino transversal ya citado, avistando entonces Marina una trinchera algo á la izquierda, por lo que emplaza contra ella la batería de Carpio, á cuyos certeros disparos escapan sus defensores, entre los que estallan algunas granadas, produciéndoles incalculables destrozos en su huída.



Plano de la Casa-hacienda de Imus.

Floor Plan of the Casa Hacienda of Imus. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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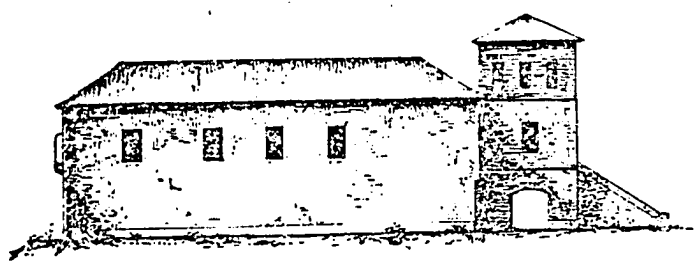
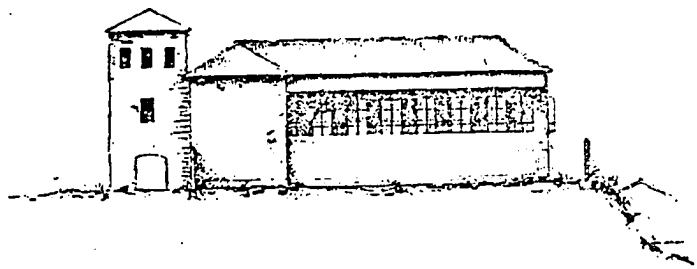
el humo y lengüetadas de fuego que aparecen sobre la Casa-hacienda, oyéndose á poco salir del mismo lugar muchas y fuertes explosiones



Vista por A B.

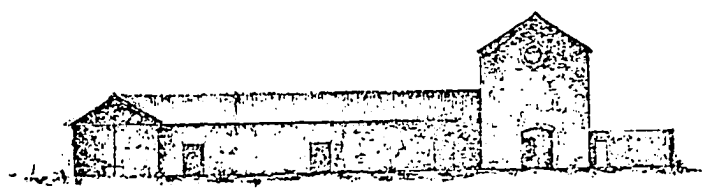
que sólo pueden tener su causa en el incendio de las minas que contra nosotros preparó el enemigo en los alrededores de sus defensas.

Casi al mismo tiempo otro incendio aparece en el arrabal situado



Vista por C D.

delante de nuestras fuerzas, y con tal intensidad y rapidez se propaga, merced á los *bahays* de nipa, que arden como si fueran de yesca, que muy en breve una cortina de llamas y un humo negro y densísimo cubre todo el frente, ocultando Imus á las miradas de la División.



Vista y corte por E F.

Alerta los del pueblo al avance de nuestros Batallones, cuando les vieron traspasar la trinchera y aparecer en la planicie, comprendie-

The Casa Hacienda de Imus. From Federico de Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Size and Extent of Friar Haciendas in Cavite at the End of the Spanish Regime[20]

Hacienda	Area in Hectares
Imus Estate	18,419 hectares 56 areas 12 centiares
Naic Hacienda	7,922 hectares
Santa Cruz de Malabon	8,902 hectares 27 areas 50 centiares
San Francisco de Malabon	13,000 hectares
Rosario	

several municipalities--Bacoor, Kawit, and Dasmariñas were included in the Imus Estate. Within the estate were plow-lands planted with rice and sugar cane, cut up into parcels of various dimensions and plots which the friars leased out to inquilinos for a fee called the canon. Rivers which crossed and surrounded the estate provided irrigation for half of its territory, with the rest being dry and uncultivated. Some forty-five dams, canals, underground ditches and warehouses were among the investments put into it by the Recollects. They were valued by the Americans at the turn of the century at $105,000 Mexican dollars, with the entire estate having been assessed at $1,605,303.[22] Besides rice and sugar lands, the estate also included orchards, saltbed,

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urban and rural lots, fisheries, and beachlands. In 1884 the Imus Estate produced crops valued at $122,150, which included 120,000 cavans of sugar at $700; 25 cavans of corn at $25.00; 90,000 mangos at $900; 1000 pineapples at $100; and 4000 betel nuts at $400.[23]

The Casa Hacienda which housed the friar administrator and his retinue was located within the town limits of Imus. There were various out-buildings, granaries, and stables for the horses. The San Nicolas House was in Dasmariñas and the whole estate was walled by masonry, being bounded on the north by town lands of Bacoor and Kawit, on the south by the town of Silang and on the east by the Ligas river which rises at Bacotnabato and separating the estate from the next town of Las Pinas.[24]

There are at least two versions to the manner by which the Recollects acquired their landed properties in Cavite. One source claims that the friars took over native agricultural land through a gradual process of deception, which started from the extension of irrigation facilities to the native rice growers of Imus.[25] Thus the story goes that shortly after the founding of the town, a wealthy Spaniard established himself in the area and started raising horses. An acute lack of water made the growing of grass for fodder rather diffi-

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cult, so he set up a dam for irrigation. Farmers in the adjacent areas availed themselves of these facilities, for which the Spanish charged one peso per cavan of seed sown on the irrigated territory. When the Spaniard left for Spain, administration of the dam was left to the Recollect curate of Imus. Although for some time the same rent was charged from the parishioners for the use of water, it was later increased to two, then three, then four cavanes. Other dams were constructed and more farmers from neighboring barrios availabed themselves of these. Thereupon the curate imposed more demands, including the contribution of lumber for the construction of a chapel and convent house. In time a lay brother was appointed administrator of the water supply, thereby separating this function from that of the parish priest. In due course, written contracts came into use whereby farmers agreed not only to pay for the use of water but were also charged an additional fee of one peso for each house site, besides increasing the rental to six cavanes. By the 1860's, taxes began to be imposed on mango trees and sugar cane, perhaps because these had become commercialized crops by then. The townspeople began to suspect that water dues had become not simply charges for the use of irrigation facilities but also for the use of the land. This was substantiated by an inquiry made by

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a royal commissioner into the titles of the Recollects to the hacienda which showed that even for crops planted on the mountainside and which therefore did not use the water from the dams, the farmers had to pay rent.

Another version, issued by the Cavite provincial records office, seems to show that nothing was irregular in the manner by which the Recollects acquired their estate.[27] According to these documents, the Imus Estate originated in grants made at the beginning of the Spanish rule by three governors-general to various persons: one estancia de ganado mayor and four caballerías of land in Imus granted December 18, 1590 to Diego Vazquez de Mercado by Gomez Perez Dasmarinas; another estancia and two caballerías of land in Bacoor and Binacayan granted March 5, 1591 to Andres Conchuela by the same governor; another estancia de ganado mayor in the limits of Parañaque granted to the native Hospital of Manila by Governor Santiago de Vera February 21, 1591; two parcels of land granted to the same hospital by Governor-General Luis Perez Dasmariñas August 26, 1594; another estancia de ganado mayor and two caballerías of land in Parañque to Antonio Cañedo y by Governor Santiago de Vera on February 3, 1590; another estancia in the sitio of Zungues to Capitan Luis Perez on May 20, 1591, granted by Governor Luis Perez Dasmariñas.

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To these grants of a total area of five estancias de ganado mayor, twelve caballerías and two parcels were added: five adjoining caballerias of land bordering upon the last-named estancia, sold by certain natives under date of July 18, 1631 to Juan Veñegas, who in turn sold them to Juan de Olea on December 22, 1631; one thousand ordinary brazas of land in Binacayan sold by Capitan Gaspar Pizarro to Dona María de Roa on December 8, 1645; one parcel of land twenty-five brazas wide by one hundred brazas long bordering upon the river of Cavite El Viejo which Dona Maria de Roa bought on November 4, 1631 from Benito Landicho and about one thousand brazas of land bordering upon Bacoor sold by Juan Sisi to Juan de Olea on July 14, 1626. The last buyer gradually acquired all these parcels and formed with them an estate called San Juan del Rio. This was inherited by his wife Dona Maria de Roa and was passed on to her daughter Dona Micaela Lizarralde. In 1635, this was sold at auction for $12,500 to Tomas de Endaya, who on January 8, 1686 executed a public instrument before a notary public declaring that the estate was the exclusive property of the Recollects because he had acquired the estate with the funds and in the name of the said corporation. Two other parcels of land came to form part of the Imus Estate: the estancia of Bagumbayan, on September 23, 1583, granted to Dona Lucia Villescas by Diego de Ronquillo.

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This was inherited by Dona Magdalena Yllescas. Her heirs then sold it to Leocadia Yllescas who in turn sold it to Juan Zulueta on May 23, 1650. Inherited by his widow, it was donated to Jose Solis on September 9, 1690 and this owner sold it to the Recollects on October 3, 1690 for $1,500.

Another parcel was the estancia of Santa Cruz which became part of San Nicolas hacienda. In 1596 it was sold by Alonso de Redenas to Diego Fernandez Victorio who transferred it to Pedro de Zarate, who in turn sold it to Dona Hipolita Zarate in 1642. This lady donated it to the Recollects in exchange for three yearly high masses and beef to be donated to the Franciscans in Manila. In 1699, Juan Ozaeta y Oro, commissioner of pardons and land adjustments, conducted proceedings of comparisons of titles in the area of the Imus Estate, rendering a decision about the legitimacy of its titles.

The origins of the other haciendas owned by the friars in the province are known to us in less detail or hardly at all. Naic, which seems to have been the more productive of the two Dominican estates in Cavite, was originally a barrio of Maragondong.[27] It was organized into a separate town in 1791. Naic had its first church around 1800 constructed of wood and bamboo but not until 1835 did it have its first stone

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church. Its growth in the years following may be seen in the increase in the number of cabecerías in the town from eighteen in 1845 to twenty-six in 1867 to fifty-four in 1888.[28] This was something which the Dominicans liked to attribute to the improvements derived by the natives from the presence of their hacienda. Thus according to a Dominican writer:

> . . . éste pueblo de Naic no posee otra fuente de riqueza que los terrenos de esta hacienda, porque la pesquería y algunas otras pequeñas industrias a que se dedican estes naturales les rinden muy escasa ganancias, lo que verdaderamente les ofrece lucrativas y seguras utilidades son los terrenos de la hacienda con el regadio y demas facilidades procurados por sus dueños.[29]

The hacienda de Naic consisted of one hundred and four quiñones of dry land and three hundred quiñones of irrigated land.[30] Part of the Dominican investment in the hacienda were several sugar mills, a rice mill, and a distillery. All of the estate was farmed out to inquilinos and sub-leasing to kasamas existed. Cattle were also raised. While the town supplied Manila with palay (unhusked rice), sugar and rice, it imported textiles, vinagre, bejuco, dried fish from the city.[31]

As in the case of the Imus estate, the origins of the Hacienda de Naic could be traced to certain grants made during the early years of Spanish rule.[32] Some estancias de ganado mayor in Maragondong and Malabon were

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granted to leading citizens of Manila. These in turn became subsequently the property of a certain General Esguerra, uniting them in one hacienda. Upon his death, Esguerra divided the property among his heirs into three parts: San Francisco de Malabon, Santa Cruz de Malabon and Naic. Naic was sold in a bankruptcy proceeding by Esguerra's daughter to Pedro Oriosolo who conveyed it to the Jesuits. The hacienda thus became known as Hacienda de Sarmiento. But when the Jesuits were expelled, it was sold at public auction to Pedro Orbezua who sold it to the Dominicans for $25,000. The hacienda was also known as Hacienda de San Isidro Labrador. On the other hand, archival records which deal with complaints of natives against clerical usurpation of their land tend to cast doubt upon the veracity of statements made by the religious as to the legitimacy of their titles to their landholdings. For instance, a complaint filed by one Pastor Poblete, native of the town of Naic, accuses the friar administrator of having despoiled him of his land:

> Pastor Poblete, indio, natural y vecino del pueblo de Naic, provincia de Cavite, a UE lleno del mas profundo respeto, exponge: que teniendo la intima conviccion de la razon inconcusa que me asiste y alentado por la seguridad de que . . . desmentida imparcialidad y nobles sentimientos de UE haran . . . los derechos del debil sobre las injusticias del fuerte me he permitido por segunda vez elevar a los pies de UE mi humilde voz

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> impetrandole se digne, por un rasgo de quidad dictar la resolucion que su elevado criterio crea conforme a justicia en el reverente escuto que tuve la alta honra de presentar a UE en el mes de Julio ultimo sobre el despojo de una sementera desmontada por mis padres y por mi, hecho por el administrador de terrenos de los pp. dominicos en el citado pueblo de Naic.[33]

Available evidence seems to indicate that the provision of labor for use in the Cavite haciendas did not pose as much a problem to the friar landlords as did the early haciendas in New Spain. There is no reason to believe, for instance, that Caviteño population could have declined as much as to have resulted in the abandonment of the cultivation of the countryside. Consequently, debt-peonage in the manner in which it existed in New Spain, and as a means of binding labor to the land, did not seem to have been resorted to by the friars of Cavite.[34]

Labor in the haciendas was supplied from two principal sources: the sistema de jornaleros and the sistema de inquilinos.[35] The sistema de jornaleros simply meant employing hired day laborers to work on the fields. The inquilino system on the other hand was a leasehold system and appears to have been the more common method used in all friar haciendas in the province. It was in fact a most convenient way of deriving income from land already occupied and cultivated by a numerous native popu-

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lation at the time of the Conquest. If Calderon and Blumentritt's versions[36] on how the religious acquired their rights to their estates are correct, then the inquilino system must have proved to be an easy way for the friars to acquire proprietary rights over native landholdings without the necessity of physically easing them out of their fields, something which would have entailed disruption of the pre-existing equilibrium.

Theoretically, the inquilino system is one in which the landowner divided his estate into parcels with each tenant being provided with a work animal and agricultural implements to work the land as if it were his own property.[37] Labor is provided by the tenant while expenses incidental to production are borne by the landowner as well as risks incurred due to natural causes such as typhoons, locust infestation, drought. Advances are normally made to the tenants against their estimated share in the course of the year while crops matured. Some of these went even beyond the full value of their share so that in nearly every case the full crop remained in the hands of the estate owner. The inquilino system was and still is a common agricultural practice in the Philippines in the manner just described. But as adopted by the friar landlords of Cavite, the inquilino system meant merely the parcelling

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out of the estate into ground plots to tenants in exchange for a fixed land rent called canon. Rent was usually five cavans of palay per cavan of seed planted.[38] Often, however, inquilinos did not work the land themselves but subleased them to tenant-cultivators called kasamas. These subleases were supposed to have been illegal and therefore cancellable by the friar-owners. But since it was rarely discovered and at times even done with the tacit consent of the landowner, the practice continued.[39] In such a case, the inquilino paid the rent from the year's crop, with the remainder divided between the inquilino and the kasama according to their own separate arrangement. From this one may infer that in cases of subleasing, chances of exploitation might have occurred more in the inquilino-kasama relationship rather than the landlord-inquilino relationship in terms of sharecropping practices and the likelihood of debt peonage. The friars would have had little or nothing to do with the kasamas in such an arrangement. As long as a fixed rent was paid by the inquilino, the friars had nothing to do with providing work animals, tools, or advances to the kasamas. These details were attended to by the inquilino.

Thus one may visualize life in these Cavite haciendas most of which were consolidated from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century. Unlike

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most haciendas of Mexico, instead of a centrally-administered and self-sufficient agricultural unit, those of Cavite were composed of numerous autonomous farming plots within one big hacienda,[40] in which each cultivator's ties with the friar-owners were expressed mainly in terms of rent assessments and the use of whatever common facilities the hacienda chose to provide: dams, wells, ditches. Paternalistic relationships such as those found in the great haciendas of Mexico could not possibly have developed and elaborated to the same degree in Cavite under such conditions. For one thing, the friar administrator lived in the Casa Hacienda and often the collection of the land rent was entrusted to a lay brother. The tenants on the other hand lived in the barrios and poblaciones of the several municipalities included in the estate. At times poor tenant cultivators lived near their paddy fields. Moreover, since inquilinos and kasamas were far from the immediate reach of the friar landlords this arrangement minimized possibilities of native exposure to Hispanized ways, making Cavite haciendas rather weak and ineffective agents of acculturation.

Peasants in Cavite

A significant result of the Spanish conquest as far as man-land relationships were concerned was the

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emergence of a genuine peasantry in the province as conceptualized by Eric Wolf.[41] In differentiating peasants from primitive cultivators, Wolf Maintains that in primitive society, "most production is geared to the use of the producers or to the discharge of kinship obligations, rather than to exchange or gain."[42] Furthermore, "producers control the means of production, including their own labor, and exchange their labor and its products for the culturally defined equivalent goods and services of others."[43] In peasant societies, however, Wolf claims that:

> . . . such simple systems have been superseded by others in which control of the means of production, including the disposition of human labor, passes from the hands of the primary producers into the hands of groups that do not carry on the productive process themselves, but assume instead special executive and administrative functions, backed by the use of force. The constitution of a society in such a case is no longer based on the equivalent and direct exchanges of goods and services between one group and another; rather goods and services are first furnished to a center and only later redirected. In primitive society, surpluses are exchanged directly among groups or members of groups; peasants, however, are rural cultivators whose surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers that uses the surpluses both to underwrite its own standard of living and to distribute the remainder to groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific services in turn.[43]

Thus in the evolution of societies, the emergence of peasants constitutes a step forward in civilization, where civilization is taken to mean "the development of a complex social order based on the division between rulers and food-producing cultivators."[45] The existence

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of asymmetrical relationships in peasant societies (versus more symmetrical ones in primitive societies) is manifested through the exaction of such things as rent (regardless of whether it is paid in terms of labor services, produce or money) and through the use of coercive superior power, forcing peasants to produce a surplus specifically meant to meet such requirements. Inevitable, therefore, is the integration of peasant societies within a larger system such as the state "where the cultivator becomes subject to the demands and sanctions of power-holders outside his social stratum."[46]

In Cavite, we find that one of the immediate consequences of the Spanish Conquest was the end of the pre-Hispanic political decentralization of the barangay system and the imposition of centralized Spanish administration. Together with political centralization came efforts to siphon off local surplus produce for the support of a new non-productive and essentially parasitic class of colonists. These took the form of exactions such as the tribute, the vandala (forced plantings), labor conscription (polos y servicios), the tithe, and other dues. While in pre-Conquest times most natives tilled for subsistence, and were subject to nominal tributary dues to their local chieftain,

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after the Conquest, not only did the native cultivator experience a gradual loss of proprietary rights over his fields, he was expected to produce a surplus intended to meet tax and tribute obligations. An obvious subordinate-superordinate relationship between the native population that worked the land and the Spanish colonial overlords thus developed, not quite of the same order as that of the chieftain-subject relationship of pre-Spanish times. Now a centralized Spanish colonial state had to be serviced and provisioned regularly by the native population, in effect linking the heretofore isolated life of the native cultivator with the economies of near and distant areas. No longer were they left alone to raise root-crops and rice for subsistence. They were obligated to produce supplies needed by the Spaniards even if these had to be introduced from across the Pacific. Cavite, for instance, was one of the few places in the Philippines where attempts were made to raise wheat to supply the needs of the Spanish population in the province and Manila.[47] Rice, salt, fish and other sea produce, fruits, vegetables, coffee, sugar--all increasingly found their way into Manila conveyed either across the bay through water transport or overland by buffalo carts and skillful ambulant traders such as described by Macmicking.[48]

Whether or not native discontent with the cultural

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imposition of the hacienda system flared up in the form of agrarian uprisings prior to the eighteenth century is problematic. Although unrest might expectedly have come from the ranks of the kasamas or the inquilinos, neither printed nor archival records available mention anything on the subject. At the most natives seem to have aired their grievances through written complaints and petitions invariably penned by inquilino-principales. One of these documents is quoted in full in Appendix II to give the reader an idea of how such tenants expressed themselves to their landlords with regards to such matters.[49]

Prior to the outbreak of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 and the Revolution of 1896, the only recorded armed uprising in Cavite took place in the year 1745.[50] This was part of a general agrarian unrest in several provinces of the southern Tagalog region which included the towns of Silang, Indang, Imus, Bacoor, and Kawit in the province of Cavite; Parañaque, Las Piñas, and Tagüiig in Rizal; Hagonoy in Bulacan; and several parts of Laguna province. The immediate cause was the discovery of a fraud committed by the Dominicans with the connivance of a clerk of court regarding a survey made of lands on the Cavite-Laguna border. The fraudulent survey turned over to the Biñan estate (in the province of

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Laguna) of the Dominicans lands which actually pertained to the municipality of Silang in Cavite. Several documents found in the archives of the University of San Tomas in Manila provide additional information on this uprising not otherwise found in Blair and Robertson or other printed sources. Because these letters were penned by the native leaders of the uprising, we are now able to see this incident from a slightly broader perspective. One letter signed by the principales of the town of Silang and addressed to Fray Joseph de San Vicente, administrator of the Dominican estate of Biñan, tells us of the plan of the natives to march to the friar's place to protest the injustice done to them involving the despoilation of their land by the said friar.[51] It tells of the native plan to demolish the house and irrigation facilities constructed on the land usurped from them by the Dominicans. It appears from this letter that previously, the friar had demolished the natives' rice granary in the area without giving prior notice. Finally, mention is made of the fact that the friar administrator had shown obvious partiality to Chinese and Chinese mestizo lessees. The letter is signed 28th of April 1745, by Joseph de la Vega, Francisco Santos de Medina, Ignacio Marcelo, Andres Pulido, Andres Lopez de Montoya,

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Francisco Gonzales--all of the town of Silang. Another letter addressed to the Juez Comisario by the same principales makes a representation against further loss of native lands to the Dominicans. In the tumult, some sixty armed men in Silang attacked the Spaniards. The uprising lasted until 1751. Its most active leaders were Joseph de la Vega, Agustin de Loyola and Damian de Toledo.

Like most institutions of the colonial period, opinions vary on the subject of the friar estates in Cavite. One group sympathetic to the colonial regime and the friars tends to defend the institution, citing its more benign aspects. A document in the Philippine archives called Cuestionario de Cavite, 1881, which must have been an attempt to compile various data on the province sums up the role of the hacienda in the life of the Caviteños:

> Los colonos de las haciendas de comunidades religiosas se quejan infundadamente de esclavitud, ninguna traien fuera de pagar el justo canon, que no si es alto o bajo; pero es lo cierto que reciben los auxilios que necesitan en sus calamidades, los socorren lo que pueden y si trabajen, disputan bienestar el que no trabaja no consigue nunca estas beneficios.[52]

Vicente Barrantes, a Spanish writer, cites a number of services which he attributes to the institution:

> . . . son las mas productivas y mejor labradas por lo mismo que ellos no sacrifican al colono como los industriales particulares y que conociendo al indio

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> mejor que nadie le traten con paternal dulzura y no dejen carecer de nada, pues las casas de estas haciendas son para el colono hospital, botica, escuela, granero y almacen.[53]

Another Spanish writer, Emilio Reverter Delmas, points to the contributions of the haciendas to the economic well-being of the colony:

> Estes grandes fincas de los religiosos del archipelago viene a ser como inmensos poderosos granjas agricolas que can grande utilidad al pais.[54]

Carlos Maria de la Torre, one-time governor-general of the Philippines, notes that throughout the archipelago the only well-run agricultural estates were those owned by the religious:

> . . . las haciendas de los frailes [son] las únicas bien cultivadas. En Filipinas no hay quien puede comprar esas fincas, ni quien tenga capital para emplearlo en su cultivo y hacerles producir lo que producen en manos de los frailes.[55]

Defending the religious from the charge of imposing excessive rent upon the native inquilinos, Marcellan de San Jose says:

> Los naturales se dedican a las faenas del campo de las que reportan ventaja no conocidos en otros pueblos por el canon modico que tributan al proprietario, y por la suavidad y buen trato empleado en la exaccion de sus rentas. . . .[56]

On the other hand, some Spanish bureaucrats, like Simon de Anda y Salazar, and Filipinos active in the reform movement of the 1880's, such as Isabelo de los Reyes and Felipe Calderon, had the opposite things to say about the friar estates. Simon de Anda y Salazar

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denounced the treatment given to the natives working in these haciendas referring to the latter as veritable slaves of the friars.[57] Felipe Calderon, in his testimony before the American Commission regarding certain practices of the religious in running their estates, claims that the friars made use of pre-printed lease contracts, the terms of which were obviously favorable only to the religious. He also flatly denied that the rent collected was low, adding that besides the land rent, one had to pay for each mango tree planted at the rate of three reales each year. Moreover, according to Calderon:

> Every year, the lands under lease are measured and there is a saying among the people of the province of Cavite that the land grows each year. Besides all these, the rental must be paid in products of the soil, and it must be paid when these products are cheapest in the market. To measure grain, for instance, they have in the provinces what is known as the "cavan of the devil" which is a larger size than the legal measure. But the devil's cavan which the friars used to collect the rent has twenty-six liters. Besides all of these, in every quantity of cavans paid in the way of rent, there has to be added a number of these to make up for the losses in the storage houses through what rats and other rodents have eaten up.[58]

Between these extreme views on the Cavite haciendas one may presume that the truth lies perhaps somewhere in between. Much more remains to be known about the functioning of this institution in Cavite as well as in other parts of the Philippines where friar estates

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existed. But for the moment a number of things can be said about it. Certainly, it looks as though when compared with the manner in which Spanish colonizers put the Indians to work in tropical America and the way other parts of Southeast Asia fared in the hands of more enterprising colonizers, the case of Cavite haciendas appears to have been a rather milder instance of exploitation. Between the 1740's and the outbreak of the Philippine revolution of 1896, one sees a long gap in terms of occurrences of similar outbursts. This of course excludes banditry, which has characteristically menaced the Cavite countryside through the centuries, although some writers tend to interpret this sort of outlawry as an expression of agrarian discontent. In all probability, the take-over by religious of practically all available agricultural land in the province could have mitigated excesses which could have been committed by secular landlords. Thus the rigors of a more thorough and systematic exploitation, as happened in the plantations of Java under the Dutch culture system, were spared the Caviteños.

Meanwhile, clerical possession of so much agricultural land made of most Caviteños inquilinos, kasamas, and jornaleros throughout the colonial period. Until late in the nineteenth century this meant that no

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significant socio-economic distinction separated one group of native Caviteños from the other. In places like Pampanga, peasant-landlord relationships provided the basic stabilizer of the existing social order because of strong paternalistic ties binding the patron-client dyad.[59] In Cavite, however, vertical linkage between friar landlords and native cultivators was not as strong. Peasant-landlord relations in Cavite were weakened not only by the almost autonomous condition of inquilinos vis-a-vis the friar administrator, but also by the fact that in Cavite the landlord was neither a rich native nor a Chinese mestizo but a Castilian friar. Thus the intrusion of racial antagonisms aggravated by a snowballing native sentiment against the friars as a group negated whatever paternalistic ties might have linked peasant cultivators and inquilinos to the friar landlords. Vertical ties were thus over-shadowed by possibly stronger horizontal ties among inquilinos and kasamas. If there is any validity to the theory that a weakening of vertical ties in a peasant society facilitates social action, then Cavite may well be a case in point. One should only bear in mind that leadership in the revolution of 1896 was provided by principales-inquilinos of Cavite whose ties with their kasamas may have been closer and more binding than those with their friar landlords.

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V. THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD: THE WATERSHED YEARS

The distance and isolation of Spain's Philippine colony lasted for as long as the Spanish galleons made their year-long sailings between Manila and Acapulco--voyages that all the more seemed to highlight the remoteness of Spain's only colonial possession in Southeast Asia. But events of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe and the Americas were of such a momentum as to cause ripples in even the stagnant waters of a seemingly unchanging colony. Indeed, an age of revolutions in Europe and America could not but have had its repercussions, even in distant lands and peoples, especially if such movements had relevance to these particular societies. The Seven Years' War between England and France brought British troops to Manila and adjacent areas, including Cavite--these becoming occupied territory from 1762-1764.[1] Spain's entanglement with the wars of Napoleonic Europe and the resulting political instability in the peninsula were reflected in the manner in which she governed her colonies. The jockeying for power between Spanish Liberals and Conservatives meant that alternately the colony would also be run by men of these ideas. England, in search

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of outlets for her manufactures, found some of these markets in Asia. Thus renewed interest in colonialism unleashed by the forces of the Industrial Revolution saw the English, the French, the Germans, the Dutch scouring various parts of the globe looking for markets and sources of raw materials. The opening of the Suez Canal shortened the distance between Europe and Asia. Steam navigation was to bring the era of sailing vessels to a close . . . and with it went the Spanish galleons. As if to destroy one of the enduring links of the colony with an older order, the Manila-Acapulco run was terminated when the last galleon sailed in 1815.[2] Close on the heels of the end of this commerce was the acquisition of Mexican independence in 1821. Thus ended two and a half centuries of Spanish colonization vía the Mexican viceroyalty.

Meanwhile Manila and other subsidiary ports in the Philippines were opened to foreign shipping in accordance with the newer economic policies of most of Western Europe. An immediate consequence of this was the entrance of foreign merchants such as the English and the Americans into Manila. The first foreign business houses were established in Manila in the 1820's, such as the American firms of Russell-Sturgis Company and Peele, Hubbell and Company.[3] Benito Legarda provides us with a succinct analysis of how the opening of the

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Philippines to foreign trade revolutionized its agricultural economy:

> In the half century between 1820-1870, the Philippines were transformed from a subsistence economy to an agricultural export economy. Symptomatic of this were (a) a significant rise in the level of trade; (b) an increasing concentration on the commodity composition of exports; (c) an increasing concentration on the geographic distribution of trade; a decline of the native textile industry and heavy imports of foreign textiles; and the conversion of rice from an export item to an import item, which occurred principally because the factors of production were diverted from its culture to the growing of export crops. Such a transformation was brought about neither by government policy nor by plantation agriculture but by the operations of foreign merchants of which Britain ranked first.[4]

These foreign merchants were responsible for the introduction of new forms of business organizations, the formation of merchant-banking houses, the use of bills of exchange; the introduction of new methods of production, such as steam-powered cordage manufacture, iron mills for sugar-making, etc.; the encouragement of the opening of new lands for cultivation, and the development of new products as abaca for export.

One of the charms of digging into the particulars of provincial history lies in the fact that it affords the student of local history a chance to test generalizations hitherto accepted as being applicable <u>in toto</u> for the rest of the country. An example of these many generalizations in Philippine history is that the termination of the Manila-Acapulco trade and the opening of

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TABLE SHOWING BIG LEAP IN PHILIPPINE FOREIGN TRADE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY (In Pesos)[5]

Year	Imports	Exports	Total Trade
1825	1,850,032	1,006,012	2,856,644
1850	3,178,249	3,573,067	6,751,316
1875	12,215,153	18,920,475	31,135,628
1893	25,913,870	35,187,966	62,101,836

(With Britain, Europe, Australia, the United States, China, Singapore, Dutch East Indies, India)

Manila and subsidiary ports to foreign commerce had a salutary effect upon the Philippines.[6] Such a conclusion is true only to a limited extent, for it benefitted only the entrepreneureal and landholding elite in the colony, hardly improving the lot of the peasantry. Moreover, when such measures are considered in connection with their possible effects upon, say, the local economy of the province of Cavite, the generalization would appear to need qualification. Indeed the termination of the galleon trade seems to have had the following immediate effects upon Cavite. First, its position as port and second capital of the archipelago during the heyday of the galleon trade was undermined by the subsequent shift in focus from Cavite to Manila, where steamships came to port with increasing frequency. After the termination of the Manila-

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Acapulco trade, the port of Cavite was confined mainly to inter-island shipping with occasional foreign ships calling at the port such as the Dutch ship Jan Daniel which came from Cardiff April 12, 1861 with a cargo of coal consigned to Jenny and Company.[7]

Four years after the end of the Manila-Acapulco trade, a lieutenant of the U.S. Navy, John White, visited Manila and Cavite and provided us with a valuable description of the port of Cavite at that time:

> Cavite, which is the port of Manila, contains also the marine arsenal and is the naval depot of all Spanish possessions in the East: it is situated on the eastern extremity of a low bifurcated peninsula of a semi-lunar shape, which extends into the sea. . . . The castle of San Felipe, a regular and once a formidable fortress, defends the town, which is about three-fifths of a mile in length and less than a quarter of a mile wide. . . . The churches are spacious and in good style, but bear the marks of decayed grandeur: there are also several convents, though thinly tenanted. . . . The number of inhabitants in the town is about four thousand, which is somewhat less than one-half of its population not a half a century since. In short, Cavite, once flourishing and populous, is now a mere shadow of its former respectability. . . . The arsenal is on the southeastern side of the point on which the town is built and overlooks the inner harbor. It is constructed in an extensive and excellent plan and possesses great facilities for building, repairing and equipping the largest ships: but the increasing poverty, apathy and neglect of the government, coupled with the devastating hand of time, have combined to stamp on every feature of this once noble and magnificent establishment, the rude and melancholy characters of desolation and approaching ruin, and the visitor, instead of being saluted with the busy hum of industry, the cheerful sounds of various implements of the mechanic arts and crowds of people

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> employed in the several occupations of a dockyard, finds himself ushered into the cheerless abodes of silence and the demon of ennui and the sallow and meagre visages of the few half-paid, half-starved and half-dejected officers, in tarnished uniforms, who, like so many spectres, flit by him and meet his view in listless groups, exhibiting the most striking assemblages of half-subdued pride, profound gravity and forced resignation, proclaim in a language the most emphatic, these objects as the legitimate vassals of the gloomy domain.[8]

Accompanying this eclipse as a major port of the colony was its inevitable decline in commercial importance. Although Cavite never truly blossomed into a great maritime city in the manner of Singapore, Batavia, or Manila, its former prosperity, artificially bolstered by the Manila-Acapulco trade, had made it a fairly important trade center during the early colonial years. With the end of the galleon trade and the advent of foreign commerce with other countries, luxury imports from China which formed the bulk of Philippine exports to Mexico were replaced by agricultural staples like sugar, hemp, indigo, tobacco--none of which Cavite produced in such quantities as to constitute truly significant exportable items. It should be noted that Cavite's economic orientation has always been more diversified than predominantly monocultural provinces like Pampanga or Negros. Fishing, salt-making and subsidiary cottage industries such as embroidery, basket- and hat-making, pottery, and others

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afforded the natives other sources of income.[9] Hence Cavite's dependence upon agriculture is not nearly so complete as in predominantly one-crop areas. It follows that while the opening of the Philippines to foreign trade had a pronounced effect upon such local economies as Pampanga, Iloilo or Negros by drastically increasing their agricultural output, it was not necessarily so to the same degree in Cavite. To be sure, among the sugar-producing provinces affected by the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1850 and the corresponding increase in European demand for sugar, Cavite is mentioned together with Pampanga, Batangas, Cebu, Iloilo, and Negros as having had noticeable increase in sugar production.[10] Sugar, coffee, and pimienta cultivation were encouraged in the province by the Economic Society and the Royal Philippine Company for purposes of large-scale production for export, but results were only moderately successful.[11] Cavada, writing about general conditions in the province in the 1870's, noted a general increase in its agricultural production which amounted to ₱850,487 pesos fuertes in value. It produced 10,949 piculs of sugar, 13,598 piculs of coffee; 380,716 cavans of palay, and fifty-five piculs of abaca.[12] Still this was nothing compared with the corresponding figures for the one-crop province of Pampanga.[13]

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The decline of the port of Cavite could also have been due as much to the end of the galleon trade as to the determined opposition of Manila against the continued importance given to Cavite. Reverter Delmas alludes to this when he tries to explain thus:

> No es poca tambien la oposición de la capital [Manila] cúyo río solo tiene doce pies de profundidad y cúyo comercio marítimo de altura irá seguramente al primer puerto cercano [Cavite] que se une con vía ferrea con la capital.[14]

Most of Cavite's produce actually supplied the needs of Manila and surrounding provinces instead of constituting a sizable part of Philippine exports abroad. Of growing importance was the so-called comercio de cabotage by means of which agricultural produce was floated down-river or across the bay on rafts, cascos, balsas, and other forms of native water transport, finally reaching the markets of Manila through the Pasig river.[15] The main destination in the city was often the Divisoria Market, which to this day remains an important commercial and business distributing center in Manila's most crowded and busiest district. Goods included sugar, betel nuts, rice, coffee, salt, fruits, and fish. Those who predominated in this type of commerce were mostly Chinese and Chinese mestizos, plus some native traders. According to Macmicking, provincial traders usually arrived in Manila in November and made their

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purchases; then returned to the provinces to sell them.[16] If they were successful, they wrote to their agents in Manila to continue purchases of goods. It was not until they had ascertained the temper of the market through the sale of the first lots that their largest purchases were made through April, which were the best months for the sale of piece goods in the market. Improved communications with Manila through steam-shipping and better mail, coupled with the increasing frequency with which local traders trafficked with Manila resulted in closer ties between Manila and Cavite.[17] Thus instead of its outward maritime orientation during the days of the galleons, centering in the Cabecera, Cavite began to develop closer economic ties with Manila, mainly as a supplier of agricultural produce. Noting the growing significance of this internal trade system, Sancianco y Gozon writes:

> Recibe Manila por agua todas sus subsistencias y la estadistica del cabotage mencionara algunos cargamentos, pero la pasaran desapercibida los que en milliones de cascos, lanchas, bancas, paraos, guilalos, etc., y en mucha mayor cantidad total, se deslizan a lo largo y al abrigo de las costas desde Batangas, Bataan, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Morong, Laguna. . . .[18]

A featured essay in the magazine Ilustración Filipina describes this fluvial commerce in more detail rather akin to the fluvial markets of Thailand:

> Las aguas del cuadaloso río Pasig, las costas de la estensa bahía de Manila y los rios y esteros de las provincias immediatas, se hallan a todas

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> horas surcadas por unas voluminosas y al parecer con pocas condiciones para una ligera navegacion y que toda su hechura parece tener el caracter chino marcado, recordando algo del champan estrambotico, con su elevada popa y la proa abiguada de colorines y grotescas figuras--El Casco--formada por gruesas y grandes trozos de madera; se halla completamente exento de quilla, presentando una superficie plana que forma vuelta or elevacion por proa y popa a la cúal tiene adherido un colosal timón que forma curvas especiales en su contorno y que queda separado de la linea de calado del casco, cosa de vara y media. Estas embarcaciones expeciales, salen de las astilleras de Malabon, Cagayan, etc. . . . De estas pesadas barcos se hace grande uso, tanto en el río como en los demas puntas que hemos indicado; en ellos traen a la capital desde las provincias de Laguna, Cavite, Pampanga, etc., infinidad de frutos, lena, madera y otras clases de carga y vuelven con piedra para construccion, efectos de mueblaje y comestibles.[19]

Besides giving Cavite's trade an inward orientation focused on Manila, this type of commerce, together with the shift from subsistence agriculture to export crop economy; linked the erstwhile separate economies of the natives, the Chinese, and the Europeans in the colony.[20] The heretofore isolated and self-sufficient economy of the peasant-cultivator was increasingly involved with the Manila-based economy of the Western merchants, whose increased demands for certain agricultural products inevitably affected the agricultural work habits and output of the native.[21] Cash advances were made by such foreign merchants as well as the provision of better agricultural facilities to native cultivators to encourage a bigger and better crop yield each year;[22] and most of these were made possible through middlemen

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agents who regularly frequented the provinces in representation of the foreign interests in Manila. Many of such middlemen-agents were Chinese and Chinese mestizos--a newly emerging ethnic group in colonial Philippine society to which we must turn next.

Socio-economic change in nineteenth century Philippines, among other things, meant a visible modification of the ethnic composition of the population of its lowland areas.[23] The blending of the predominant Malay indigenous population with two other racial strains--Spanish and Chinese--was to account for the considerably mixed character of the population of lowland Philippines, comprising what may be designated as its core population today. Intermarriages between native women and resident Spaniards and Chinese altered here and there its ethnic character, the extent of modification varying from locality to locality, depending upon the tendency of these foreign groups to settle in an area.

Two types of hybrids are identified in colonial Philippine society: the mestizos españoles,[24] who were born of a native and a Spanish father or mother; and the mestizos sangleyes[25] who were eventually to assume the more important role in the economic, social, and political development of the country. By reason of

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their steady increase in numbers, their easy assimilation into the fabric of native society, and certain favorable rights and privileges extended to them by the colonial government, the latter were in a position to forge ahead as merchants, petty businessmen, landowners, and even as local municipal functionaries. Like natives, they enjoyed the same legal rights, such as the freedom to transfer residence and participate in local politics. Though they paid tribute, it was intermediate between the rate paid by the natives and that paid by full-blooded Chinese, which was several times heavier. However, they were not subject to as much service obligations to the government as were the natives. In general, they were inclined to identify themselves with the culture of their Filipina mother and to be thus easily assimilated into native rather than Chinese society.[26] Often their alienation from Chinese culture was replaced by an obvious preference for the adoption of Hispanized ways, viz., Catholicism, the use of Tagalized or Hispanized names, to effect a Spanish countenance by mode of dress or even speech. Thus Ferdinand Blumentritt says of this interesting group:

> The Chinese mestizos form an interesting class of the Philippine population. Raised in the Catholic religion, they are simply Filipinos and the circle of culture to which they belong and for which they strive is the Christian European.

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> They are the most active and enterprising class in the islands. Unlike the Spanish mestizo, they do not push into the clerical, medical and legal professions but they are shrewd businessmen and contractors and the business of lending money is largely carried on by them in a thoroughly businesslike way.[27]

Underscoring the positive contributions of the Chinese mestizos to the larger society, Ferrando grudgingly acknowledges the fact that the only good result of Chinese immigration was the Chinese mestizos:

> Los beneficios que las islas reportan de esta laboriosa casta de mestizas de sangleyes . . . es la única ventaja que resulta de la venida de los chinos. Son generalmente graves, generosos, economicos, limpios y asentos; se dedican al comercio, a la agricultura y a las artes. Saben conservar, lo que adquieren y en las fiestas, casamientos y entierras gastan con mucha profusion. Son los verdaderos potentados del pais y los que dan el dinero adelantado a los indios con interes para cobrarse en la cosecha. . . . Tienen en sus casas muchos santos de funcion de iglesia. En la clase de mujeres las hay muy piadosas que por lo regular son mas activas que los hombres y tienen gran talento, tanto para manejar sus intereses, como para acrecentarlos con seguridad. . . .[28]

In Cavite, its Chinese mestizo population appreciably increased following the expulsion of the Chinese from the islands in 1750. Most remaining Chinese withdrew to Manila and Cavite as a consequence of this decree.[29] In 1816, there were 5,072 Chinese mestizos in Cavite to 31,064 natives.[30] In 1879 this increased to 8,467 mestizos to 25,485 natives.[31] By the end of the Spanish regime, Cavite had one of the highest percentages of Chinese mestizos: thirteen per cent of its

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Mestiza de europeo.

A Spanish Mestiza. From Fede[illegible]ico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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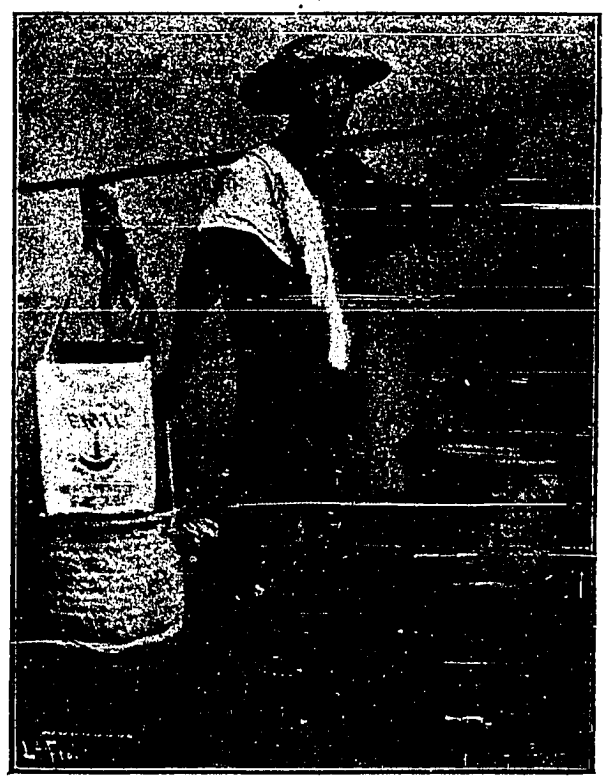

Chino conductor de raciones en los convoyes.

A Chinese Ambulant Vendor of the Late Nineteenth Century. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Mestiza de chino.

A Chinese Mestiza. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Mestizo de chino.

A Chinese Mestizo. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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population.[32] Chinese mestizos tended always to outnumber Spanish mestizos, even in the Cabecera and San Roque. Most Chinese mestizos could be found in the towns of Bacoor, Imus, San Roque, Kawit, and Dasmariñas.[33]

Chinese mestizos of Cavite, unlike those of Pampanga, tended to adopt full Tagalog or Hispanized names rather than simply modifying their Chinese names. For example, in the province of Pampanga, Chinese residents who wished to be assimilated by conversion to Catholicism usually assumed a Christian first name and merely altered their Chinese surname, e.g., Carlos Palanca, Juan Yaptinchay, etc.[34] A perusal of lists of Chinese mestizo names under the gremio de mestizos sangleyes (guild of Chinese mestizos) for several towns in Cavite shows that such names were hardly distinguishable from those of the natives. The following are samples of Chinese mestizo names in Cavite:

Mestizos Sangleyes de Imus
(Gremio de Mestizos Sangleyes--Cabeceria de D. Liberato Tagle, 1882)[35]

Liberato Tagle	Lucio Aransasu
Juana Sabali	Felipe Tarin
Baldomero Tagle	Cesareo Cionco
Monica Sapica	Lucina de Guzman
Domingo Dairet	Telesfora Topacio
Romana Juan	Catalina Calocada
Petrona Saguilayan	Adriana Saulog
Marcela Bautista	Sinforoso de Castro

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Feliciano de Guzman
Nicomedes Villanueva
Manuel de Guzman
Hilaria Camarce
Andres Marimbao
Domingo Nayaca
Miguela Sarinas
Santiago Camua
Higino Sapida
Brigido Matro
Gabriel Carino
M

Leon Cuevas
Manuela Camerino
Roberto Tirona
Agustin Ylano
Pedro Marquez
Sarmiento
Sarreal
Sayoc
Lamzon
Madlansacay
Virata
Monzon

Mestizos Sangleyes de Bacoor

Lucas Tirona
Gabriel Malbal
Domingo Espiritu
Pablo Herrera
Anacleto Alejandro

Mestizos Sangleyes de Naic

Yubienco
Cailao
Bustamante
Poblete
Vazquez

Mestizos Sangleyes de Kawit

Mateo
Alejandro
Aguinaldo
Tirona
Encarnacion
Legazpi
Jimenez

With the exception of the names Yubiengco, Lamzon, Camua, and Cionco, it will be noted that most of these names are either Spanish or native Tagalog. Why Caviteño Chinese mestizos differed from Pampanga mestizos in this regard is rather difficult to explain. However,

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such a practice must have facilitated mestizo assimilation into native society, resulting perhaps in the early formation of a fairly homogeneous native society in Cavite. Moreover, the frequent occurrence of names of Chinese mestizos in cabeza and gobernadorcillo lists for the province reflects considerable infiltration of the ranks of native elites by such Chinese mestizos. Belonging to the province's principalia class as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century were the Tironas, the Encarnaciones, the Aguinaldos, the Legazpis, the Gimenezes of Kawit; the Ylanos, the Viratas, the Monzons, the Topacios of Ymus; the Pobletos, the Bustamantes, the Vazques, the Nazarenos of Naic; the San Agustins, the Basas, the Ballesteros, the Inocencios of San Roque; the Cuencas, the Espiritus, the Lazaros, the Cuevas, the Mirandas, the Pagtachans, the Narvaezes of Bacoor; the Madlansacays, the Espinelis, the Reyeses of Silang; and the Alvarezes and the Saluds of Noveleta. It is however difficult to pin down the approximate time when such mestizos began to assume elite status in local Caviteño society due to the discontinuous and fragmentary nature of available cabeza and gobernadorcillo lists available for Cavite in the Philippine archives (1839-1896). The following are names of Chinese mestizos who were either cabezas or gobernadorcillos in various

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towns of the province for several successive years (1839, 1854, 1858, 1861, 1864, 1881, 1886, 1896):[36]

Kawit:
- Legazpi
- Tirona
- Mateo
- Encarnacion
- Aguinaldo

Imus:
- Topacio
- Ylano
- Reyes
- Monzon

San Roque:
- San Agustin
- Basa
- Filoteo
- Jose
- Fernandez
- Ballesteros

Rosario:
- Encarnacion
- Basa

Bacoor:
- De Cuenca
- Lazaro
- Espiritu
- Cuevas
- Miranda
- Pagtachan
- Narvaez
- Javier

San Francisco de Malabon:
- Estandarte
- Lumanog
- Alis

Silang:
- Madlansacay
- Espineli
- Reyes

Indang:
- Mojica

Maragondong:
- Pareja
- Loyola
- Villacarlos
- Malimban

Noveleta:
- Alvarez
- Salud

Naic:
- Poblete
- Bustamante
- Nazareno

The economic dynamism of their Chinese progenitors exhibited itself among these mestizos. When the Chinese were expelled from the islands between 1750-1850, the

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mestizos took over their role in local business--retail, wholesale, and in artesanry.[37] The transformation of Philippine agriculture from subsistence to export crop in mid-nineteenth century saw the rise to prominence of this group as middlemen servicing the needs of foreign commercial houses in Manila. As previously indicated, these mestizo middlemen were the ones who offered cash advances to native cultivators in order to induce the latter to produce for a surplus. We have also said elsewhere that where in many other Philippine provinces Chinese mestizos became known as a landowning group because of the scramble for landholdings in the nineteenth century, this did not happen in Cavite since practically all agricultural land had been pre-empted by the friars. Instead they became active as middlemen, engaged in petty retail trade, worked as artesans or worked leasehold lands as inquilinos of the religious.

Acquisition of a certain measure of wealth enabled some mestizo families to provide education for their sons beyond that minimally provided by the colony.[38] Education in turn meant social and political consciousness among members of this group. Many of the reform leaders of the nineteenth century came from Chinese mestizo families.[39] So did most principales

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of Cavite who eventually led the revolution in the province such as the Aguinaldo brothers, the Tironas, the Riego de Dios, etc. Thus while it is true that the absence of a numerous creole or Spanish mestizo group (except in Manila and port cities like Cavite and Zamboanga) possibly delayed the outbreak of the Philippine revolution against Spain, such a vacuum was eventually filled up by the growing Chinese mestizo group.[40] Predicting the potentially subversive character of the Chinese mestizos, Manuel Scheidnagel had the following to say about them:

> Sin hacer precisas distinciones y naciendo de tal supuesto una idea enteramente equivocada, que conviene mucho desterrar, pues la inconveniencia grande para nosotros y para el archipelago donde radica es en el cruzamiento de los naturales con los chinos, que resulta lo mas perverso possible y por desgracia muy abundante--se llama mestizo sangleyes.[41]

Such a prediction was, on the whole, confirmed by the facts of the revolution. Although the mestizos cannot have been solely responsible for launching the revolution of 1896 because everyone took part--natives and Chinese and Spanish mestizos--still it cannot be denied that the Chinese mestizos constituted a significant portion of its rank-and-file. Noting the existence of broad mass support for the movement and the role of many Chinese mestizos as leaders, Rafael Guerrero wrote:

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> Todas las sublevaciones habidas en este siglo en el archipelago no tenían base en la masa del pueblo y mucho menos en la masa indigena; pero hoy, si; hoy hay en todos los pueblos de Filipinas un numero de gentes, mestizos casi todos, que agitan y mueven la opinion, procuran que el pueblo se haga concienca refleja de lo que significan derechos individuales y libertades.[42]

Enrique Polo de Lara spoke of the mestizos in the the same vein:

> El mestizo Filipino, es el mestizo de todas partes; el heraldo de la inquietud, el consejero intranquilo, y el difícil para obedecer con las leyes coloniales. Todo gobernante debe de fijar en ellas muy especialmente su atencion para con la habilidad del mando, sin sacarlos de los derechos de las leyes, no confundirlos con las masas vulgares de los sometidos é ignorantes; hay que recordar siempre, que viven dos siglos mas adelantados que el resto de sus comarcanos.[43]

In contrast, the Spanish mestizos of Cavite were thinly scattered in the province; most of them congregated in the Cabecera and the neighboring town of San Roque. Tribute-exempt, and identified with the whites in the colony, they did not get assimilated into native society as easily as did the Chinese mestizos. Their insignificant role in society compared to the Chinese mestizos is made pointedly clear by Blumentritt:

> The Philippine Spanish (creoles) and their hybrids have never played an active and leading role in the country, as they did in Spanish America. . . . In political matters, the creoles have withdrawn timidly into the background rather than boldly taken a stand. . . . They and their offsprings are entirely devoid of backbone.[44]

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Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the legal distinction between Chinese mestizos and native indios was formally put to an end with the abolition of the tribute and the use of the term Filipino to refer to both groups--with the resulting identification of interests, not quite found between native indios and the Spanish mestizos. Such a commonality of interests, most of which were grievances against the existing colonial regime, found expression in the propaganda output of the reformist ilustrados (educated Filipinos), many of whom belonged to the emerging middle class in the colony.

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VI. THE ORDERING OF SOCIETY: A CAVITEÑO MIDDLE CLASS?

Pre-Spanish Philippine society was structured into a small upper chieftain class, a larger class of freemen, and an even larger class of servile-dependents. Birth, landholdings, and the possession of a number of unfree dependents determined one's status. The coming of the Spaniards, however, altered somewhat the basis and structuring of the Philippine social class system to a dual one following the abolition of slavery and the merging of the free and dependent groups into one, at least insofar as Spanish law was concerned. Status inevitably became based upon landholdings, financial wealth, education, and skin color rather than on birth or the possession of unfree dependents, as society evolved from the pre-Hispanic barangays based upon subsistence-barter economy to a Hispanized plural society lately brought upon the threshold of a money economy.[1]

Constituting societies quite apart from the native were those of the Spanish and the growing Chinese population. Within Spanish society, one finds still a separate class system. Its upper stratum included the

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peninsulares or European-born Spaniards, the insulares or creoles, and the Spanish mestizos who were mostly high government officials, church prelates, officers of the military establishment. Then there were the rich merchants, plantation managers, who comprised a small middle class among the resident Spaniards, while lower ranking government employees, clerics, and non-commissioned officers of the army made up the lowest class. But regardless of their place of birth and social origin, occupation and education, the Spanish and Spanish mestizos belonged to the upper stratum of Philippine colonial society as a whole. The story of Neneng Sanchez' father in Ventura Lopez Fernandez' short social novel about nineteenth century Cavite illustrates this point.[3] The novelette published in 1892 is entitled El Filibustero, and is particularly useful in giving us insights into social norms and values of the times in the town of San Roque, Cavite. As the story goes, Neneng Sanchez' father was the son of a poor Spanish soldier who settled in the Philippines and married a native woman. Though a mestizo, he looked very Spanish and had in fact benefited from it because he was regarded as a pure Spanish in San Roque. Speaking of Quicoy Sanchez (Neneng's father), the author says:

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> En la actualidad vivía en el pueblo como un gran senor; con honores de capitan y ganas de volverlo a ser, convertido en prestamista de frutos de la tierra y litigante perpetuo en todo el que tenía mas que el. La daba de muy espanol y gracias a eso, sus relaciones con el elemento peninsular de la provincia eran muchas, si bien no todos creían en la sinceridad de su españolismo.
>
> Sin embargo de esto, visitaba y era visitado de algunos espanoles (y sobre todo de los que no tenían un pedazo de pan para llevar a la boca) lo cúal aún le valía algo porque todavia vale mucho el nombre espanol.[4]

Besides lending support to Salamanca's contention, this shows that unlike in Spanish America, the cleavage between peninsulares and insulares in the Philippines was not serious. Thus even Spanish mestizos formed a part of the select group of whites in the province.

With regard to the native population, besides the initial streamlining of its class system, social mobility was given a certain push by the abolition of slavery,[5] the advent of a money economy, the availability of educational opportunities to those who could somehow afford it, and the substitution of elective for hereditary municipal positions.[6] One important result was the growth of the principalia group over the centuries. Elsewhere in this monograph, it has been pointed out how former timawas (manumitted slaves) rose to the status of principales in Cavite.[7] Moreover, in the nineteenth century, we have also seen how the acquisition of wealth enabled many Chinese mestizos

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to infiltrate the ranks of the native principales. On the basis of available evidence, it appears that from this principalia group evolved what might very well have been an embryonic middle class in Cavite province during the nineteenth century. If one were to visualize the structure of Caviteño society at the time, one could see that between an almost negligible number of upper-class townsmen in possession of an above-average wealth, and the poor landless kasamas (peasant-cultivators), there was this growing intermediate class of Cavitenos, drawn from the numerous inquilino-jornalero residents of the province but different from the rest in that they were doing better, i.e., had improved their lot materially as to have risen just a little bit above the ranks of the peasantry. Through dint of industry and sheer resourcefulness, there were always, in many towns of the province, some families that managed to rid themselves of the shackles of wretched poverty, viz., to add some wooden parts to an otherwise plain bamboo-thatch hut, to buy that much-longed-for aparador, to make that decisive transfer to the poblacion, and to be able to send at least a child or two to the nearest parochial school. If one must designate the term middle class to mean a particular group in the province, it would have to be applied to this category of Caviteños.

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In trying to arrive at a definition of what constituted Cavite's middle class at this time, it is mainly income, occupation, concomitant life-style, and the existence of a discernible esprit de corps that I propose to use as a gauge of middle-classness, with education only as a secondary and incidental consideration.[8]

To start with, I wish to clarify the use of the term middle-class in the context of this essay. The concept of social classes, in general, has often been associated in the past with Western societies, particularly those of Europe. Thus originally, the middle class referred to the bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Europe, basically an urban breed, suffused with Adam Smith liberalism and the idea of free enterprise. Lest the use of the term in this paper result in any misconceptions, I will begin by pointing out what the Caviteño middle class was not.

In the first place, he was not a man of the urban areas, but rather still basically a rural creature just beginning to sample the congenial albeit more complex aspects of town life. Occupationally, he was not mainly a merchant or a craftsman or a farmer. He was invariably an inquilino or a leaseholder who drew part of his income from the agricultural produce of his leaseholding, partly by engaging in petty trade, buy-

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ing and selling, money-lending, or by running some household industry such as embroidery, weaving, or even running a small-scale business enterprise such as owning a modest sari-sari store (dry goods town store). Often as an inquilino, he did not directly have to tend his agricultural leasehold but sublet it to peasant-cultivators. Thereby the inquilino was relieved of the drudgery of tilling the soil and was able to occupy himself with subsidiary economic pursuits in order to augment his income. In this sense, what is here termed the Caviteño middle class brings to mind Mao Tsetung's concept of social classes in the rural areas.[9] In trying to differentiate classes in the rural areas, Mao presents us with five categories: the landlord, the rich peasant, the middle peasant, the poor peasant, the worker. The landlord is defined as one who owns the land but exerts no effort in its cultivation, who does so by exploiting the labor of others and derives his major income from it by the exaction of land rent. In Caviteño society this, of course, corresponded to the friars and a few lay Spanish and mestizo landowners. His category of the rich peasant was one who:

> . . . as a rule owns land . . . or only part of [it] and rents the remainder [or] has no land of his own at all and rents all of his land. . . . generally has a rather more and better instruments of production and more liquid capital than

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> the average and engages in labor himself but always relies on exploitation for part or even the major part of his land and practices exploitation through land rent or may engage in industry and commerce. . . .

This type of peasant did not seem to have existed in colonial Cavite insofar as possession of land was concerned since virtually everyone leased land from the friars. The middle peasant who generally merely rented land, with a fair amount of farm implements, derives his income wholly or mainly from his own labor, generally does not sell his labor power, and as a rule does not exploit others and is in many cases himself exploited probably more nearly approximates our definition of the Caviteño middle class. On the other hand, the poor peasant corresponds to the kasama who as a rule had to rent land, was subject to exploitation, had to pay land rent and interest on loans and to hire themselves out to some extent. This, according to Mao, is the main distinction between the middle peasant and the poor peasant. The worker refers to the jornalero or farm laborer, who owned no land or tools and earned his living wholly or mainly by selling his labor power.

In terms of income, the share of the Caviteño middle class in provincial wealth was rather modest and considerably less than that which accrued to the handful of truly rich upper-class people. Yet many

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could afford still to make donations to the church or the revolution (as the case may have been) in terms of so many cavans of rice, chickens, etc., and participate in the yearly celebration of the town fiesta with considerable sumptuousness. Oftentimes, if one was fairly active in the locality and was in the good graces of the local priest, he could even be elected to any of the available municipal positions even if he was a Chinese mestizo. To this class belonged many of the principales of each town in Cavite, the names of whom have already been mentioned earlier.

Class differences between poor, landless kasamas who were invariably located in the barrios and the town-dwelling middle class found expression in the tendency of both groups to regard each other as different, one referring to the other as the town residents (taga-bayan). On the other hand, the latter referred to the former as the barrio-dwellers (taga-barrio), with the usual undercurrent of mutual indifference if not outright antipathy. However, it seems that the predominantly rural aspect of provincial life coupled with the symbolic ties between inquilino and kasama reduced to a minimum whatever possible latent animosities there were between kasamas and middle-class inquilinos. Added to this, of course, is the fact that the blurring of class

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antagonism between the two may have been due to the common antipathy directed toward the friar landlords. It may even be possible to say that such overwhelming animosity towards the friar landlords likely explains minimized class differences between, on one hand, lower- and middle-class men, and, on the other, the handful of native upper-class men.

In almost every town where one or two upper-class families lived, not only were these known throughout the town as first families, but oftentimes their domicile stood prominent as the only "bahay na bato" (house of brick and masonry) in the area, built in the fashion of Spanish homes of the period.[10] Upper-class houses were located by the town plaza, near to the sources of power--economic and political as well. Customarily, the rich stood as sponsors for the biggest event of the year: the town fiesta. As hermano mayor the function carried with it not only considerable prestige but also a tremendous outlay of expense. Thus the hermano mayor incurred practically all the expenses for the provision of several brass bands and a sumptuous feast at his home to which everyone was welcome as long as the festivities lasted. One's prestige and status were locally gauged on the basis of how much one spent for the fiesta as hermano mayor, a conversation topic in the town that far outlasts the celebra-

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Autoridades indígenas de Cavite.

Caviteño Principalia. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Familia tagala: clase ilustrada.

An Upperclass Caviteño Family of the Late Nineteenth Century. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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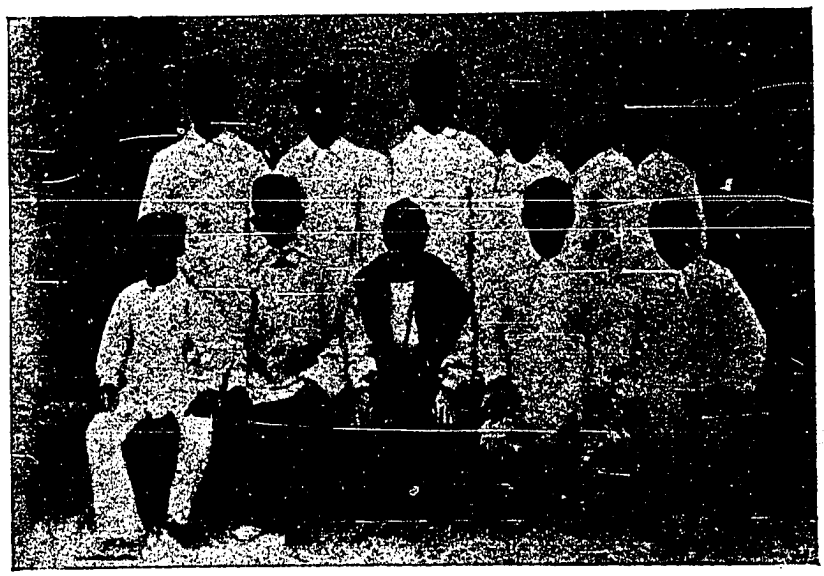

Familia tagala: clase media.

A Middleclass Caviteño Family of the Late Nineteenth Century. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Tagalos de la clase jornalera.

The Caviteño Laboring Class of the Late Nineteenth Century. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Tagalos de la clase pobre.

Paupers. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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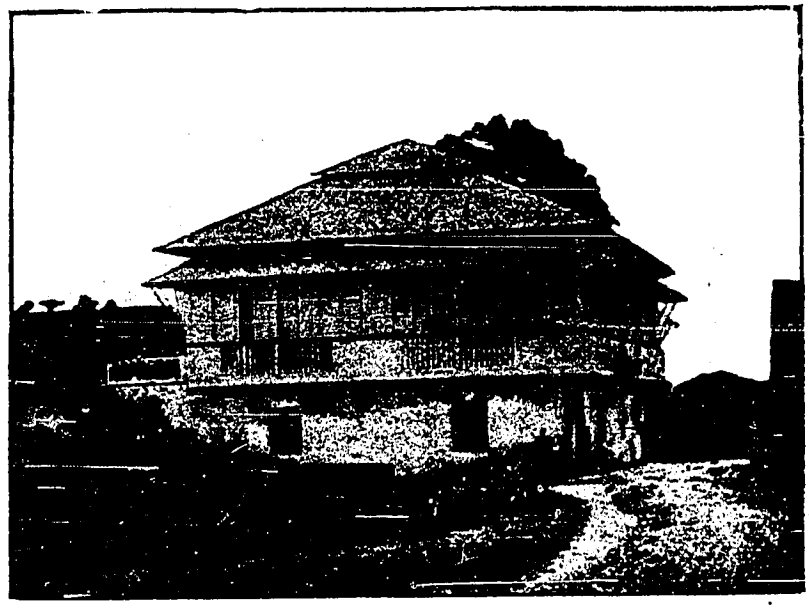

Casa de materiales fuertes.

An Upperclass Caviteño Home of the Late Nineteenth Century. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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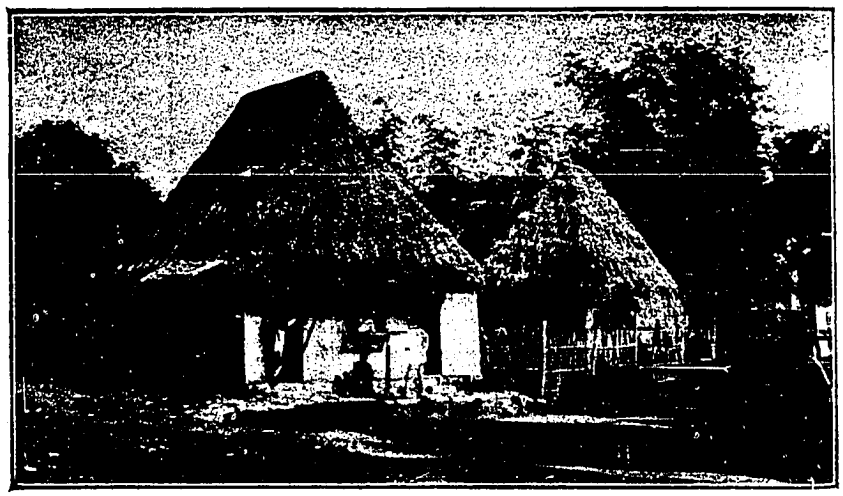

Bahays de caña y nipa.

Typical Peasant Huts of Bamboo and Nipa. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Carro empleado en los convoyes.

Typical Caviteño Peasant Means of Transport. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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Diversión favorita de los tagalos

Cockfighting Aficionados of Cavite. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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tion. On this subject, Ventura Lopez Fernandez' description of the observance of the town fiesta of San Roque provides us with a lot of local color and some idea of the nature of class relations during such social functions in the province:

> El hermano mayor por su parte, que ya sabemos lo era éste año Quicoy, dispuso su casa según costumbre, para el baile, y dío una gran comida, émula de los banquetes de Balthazar; el edificio estaba colgado de percalinas de los colores nacionales, colocadas banderas por todas partes; rica vajilla estentaba la mesa, siempre puesta. Y un continuo ir y venir de comensales se sucedia en ella. Allí el pavo relleno, el jamon en dulce y los pollos; los embutidos, las conservas, los platos mas caros y sabrosos de la cocina europea, alternando con la morisqueta con los aperitivos de todas clases, los entremeses y los postres mas variados, no faltaban tampoco los vinos de todas marcas, desde el Jerez hasta el Champagne, ni era poco tambien el consumo que se hacia del Benedictino y Chartreusse.
>
> Esto era para los castilas y personas distinguidas del pueblo, cuya mesa se hallaba arriba en el piso alto; pero abajo, en el zaguan de la casa, había otra para los pobres y gente menuda, donde se servía toda clase de porquerías indígenas, sin faltar el clásico lechon, que tantas indigestiones cuesta a los convidados acudían sin parar desde mañana a la noche.
>
> Es fabuloso lo que aquel día gastaría Quicoy, quien recibía correctamente vestido de frac a todo el mundo con la mas fina cortesía; como que según cálculos aproximados, con la comida y el baile no estaria la fiesta en menos de mil o mil y quinientos pesos; mas bastante le importaba a el gastarse aquel día toda su fortuna, con tal de verse presidiendo la fiesta bajo las envidiosas mirados de todos.[11]

The degree to which Hispanized ways were adopted by a given family was also an index to its class status, mainly because exposure to Hispanic culture was directly

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proportional to one's ability to afford it financially. In this regard, the middle class and the upper class shared a general acquaintance with urban Manila in the manner that the lower-class peasants did not. Middle-class Caviteños were initiated to Manila culture either on account of periodic business trips to Manila markets or because one's family was able to defray expenses of a Manila education.[12] It should be noted that it was not very easy even for most middle-class men to educate their children in Manila, as it was for the rich upper class, who beyond a Manila education could even send their children abroad to Spain, France or Germany.

Many of the so-called rich ilustrados active during the era of reform (1880's-1890's), like the Basas, the Inocencios, the Osorios, the De las Alas, belonged to the educated upper class of Cavite. Francisco Osorio, a Chinese mestizo, and nephew to Antonio Osorio-Roxas, was one of the Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite.[13] Both uncle and nephew were millionaires. The Inocencio brothers, Maximo and Doroteo, were affluent mestizos from San Roque who became active revolutionaries.[14] Maximo Inocencio was a rich proprietor-architect-contractor and a freemason whose political activities implicated him in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, because of which he was deported to Ceuta for a period of ten

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years. His involvement with the revolutionary society of the Katipunan years later led to his execution at the Plaza de Armas on September 12, 1896. Belonging to the same class were the Basas of Cavite city. Jose Basa-Enriquez, Pio and Ramon Basa were all active reformers. Roman Basa was the first president of the Katipunan.

Several documents in the Philippine archives shed light upon the structure of colonial Caviteño society. I have prepared a table on the basis of information drawn from one of these documents. The table provides a general estimate of the ratio of upper-class Caviteños to middle-class Caviteños. It shows the distribution of income derived yearly from rural property in several towns of Cavite during the late nineteenth century. Individuals were classified in three income categories on the basis of such income-source: (a) those who drew a yearly income of 200-300 pesos from their properties; (b) those who drew an income of 600-1000 pesos; (c) those who drew a yearly income of more than 1000 pesos from such holdings.[15]

The listing does not include corporate clerical holdings and thus of course excludes the majority of landed estates in Cavite. It shows that among the individual owners of rural property in the province, only

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three drew an income of more than 1000 pesos a year from such property; fifteen persons drew six hundred to one thousand pesos yearly; and the rest drew two hundred to six hundred pesos.

Number of Persons in Each Income Category
(From rural property income only)

Towns	Income Categories		
	First	Second	Third
Kawit	13		
Noveleta	3		
Silang	17	12	
Marag.	10	3	1
Naic	30		1
Rosario	6		
Amadeo	12		
Nunez	12		
Carmona	13		
Caridad			1

Income derived from urban property was separately assessed by the government. The following table provides us with information about such urban properties and the names of the province's leading proprietors. Heading the list was a Chinese millionaire from Cavite City--Antonio Osorio-Roxas, also known by his Chinese

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name of Tean-Quengco.

Table Showing Value and Ownership of Urban Property in Cavite Circa 1889[16]

Names	Value of Property (In Pesos)	Yearly Rent
Cavite City:		
Antonio Osorio	₱25,250	₱1,854
Maria Osorio	26,000	1,380
Enrique Rodriquez	11,600	1,806
Maximo Inocencio	28,170	2,124
Doroteo Inocencio	23,170	664
Toribio Moreno		640
Enrique Franco	9,200	1,060
Benito S. Agustin	8,400	1,008
Josefa Franco	7,700	762
Isabel Trias	6,000	566
Manuel Trias	6,000	1,104
Angel Salamanca	5,000	324
Manuel S. Agustin	4,300	648
Ciriaco Manalac	3,000	360
Ana San Agustin	2,900	348
Alfonso San Agustin	2,500	216
Joaquin San Agustin	2,550	360
Jose Basa Enriquez	2,106	216
Naic:		
Blas Cena	300	30
Ildefonso Carocenas	1,700	170
Mariano de Castro	5,530	528
Victor de Castro	4,300	516
Telesforo Canseco	480	48
Ignacio Deosomito	500	50
Maria Yubiengco	500	50
Simeon Yubiengco	200	36
Rosario:		
Anastacio Estandarte	2,500	250
Santa Cruz:		
Crispin Cenizal	500	50

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Table (cont'd)

Amaya:		
Norberto Colmera	₱ 300	₱ 72
Ismael Yan Yatco	1,500	150
Noveleta:		
Mariano Alvarez	300	120
Mateo Alvarez	360	36
Binakayan:		
Sotera Aguinaldo	300	30
San Roque:		
Yap Naiguioc	400	48

As the table shows, non-Spanish upper-class men in Cavite drew most of their income from their urban property, which consisted mostly of business shops, stores, miscellaneous establishments located primarily in the Cabecera (Cavite city). Urban proprietors who exceeded the one thousand peso mark in terms of yearly income from these sources were Antonio Osorio-Roxas, Maria Mauricio, Enrique Rodriquez, Maximo Inocencio, Enrique Franco, Benito San Agustin and Manuel Trias, all of the Cabecera.

Since records are so fragmentary, the only means by which one can have an idea of the composition and and role of middle-class Cavitenos in local society is by taking a given municipality, Naic, to be a representative sample of other municipalities in the province.

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Available records for the province of Cavite in the Philippine archives pertain mostly to this town and others are preserved in the Dominican archives of the University of Santo Tomas in downtown Manila.

For the year 1895-1896, the municipality of Naic had the following serving as local municipal officials and principales: Cristobal Bustamante, capitan municipal; Blas Cayas, Melencio Valenzuela, Francisco Narareno, Matias Poblete, Mauricio Vazquez, Nicolas Toco, Rafael Jocson, Potenciano Papa, Blas Cena, Daniel Pilpil, Leoncio Yubiengco, Julio Cayas and Leoncio Velasco, principales. The financial status of these principales and the electors who voted them into office were as follows:[17]

Don Leoncio Velasco	₱1,750
" Ciriaco Nazareno	950
" Potenciano Papa	890
" Anselmo Antangan	690
" Nicolas Toco	400
" Francisco Catigasan	270
" Cipriano Benedicto	250
" Marcial Vazquez	240
" Damian Anuat	220
" Julio Cayas	195
" Andres Gonzales	170

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" Pedro Poblete	160
" Saturnino Cordero	150
" Maximo Oduna	140
" Lorenzo Cena	120
" Vicente Nazareno	110
" Claro Bustamante	120
" Fernando Arenas	80

Many of these names are also found in the list of inquilinos of Naic for 1891 who contributed ten or more cavanes of palay for the church:[18]

Catalino Jocson	24 cavanes
Ciriaco Tanega	22
Rita Poblete	22
Concepcion Poblete	19
Potenciano Papa	18
Leonora Suzara	17
Telesforo Canseco	16
Macario Ramirez	16
Blas Cena	15
Cristobal Bustamante	13
Maria Tampoc	12
Mateo Ramirez	12
Maria Papa	11
Agustin Lobos	10

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Nicolas Toco	10 cavanes
Manuel Riego	10

When the revolution against Spain broke out, practically the same people became active contributors to the cause of the revolution in terms of supplies, arms, and money. For example, when contributions for the purchase of arms for the Katipunan were asked the following were listed as contributors:[19]

P. Valentin	₱1,000
Potenciano Papa	1,000
Epifanio Arenas	1,000
Ciriaco Tanega	800
Prudencio Arenas	700
Blas Cena	600
Anselmo Antangan	500
Leonora Suzara	500
Maria Cena	400
Rafael Jocson	400
Ignacio Deosomito	200
Melencio Valenzuela	100
Nicolas Toco	100
Guillermo Buenaflor	100
Francisco Nazareno	50
Daniel Pilpil	50
Fermin Arenas	50

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Genoveva Jocson	₱ 50
Chino Ka	50
Chino Bengi	50
Juana Nazareno	25
Felipa Hernandez	25
Lorenzo Ylang	25
Maria Deosomito	25
Lorenzo Cena	17
Susana Guintua	5
	₱9,057

Many of these names are repeated as contributors for the purchase of supplies for the tribunal of Naic:[20]

First Class (₱50 each):

Valentin Velasco, Ciriaco Tanega, Potencia Papa, Leoncio Velasco, Epifanio Arenas, Prudencio Arenas

Second Class (₱35 each):

Telesforo Canseco, Ciriaco de Castro, Blas Cena, Nicolas Toco, Gregoria Nazareno, Julia Perea, Julio Cayas, Anselmo Antangan, Ciriaco Nazareno, Victor Arenas, Leonora Suzara, Guillermo Buenaflor

Third Class (₱25 each):

Matias Poblete, Ramon Poblete, Marcial Vazquez, Tomas Poblete, Rafael Jocson, Melencio Valenzuela, Francisco Vazquez, Ignacio Deosomito, Felipa Fernandez, Justo Tibayan, Doroteo Poblete, Isidora Nazareno

Fourth Class (₱10 each):

Cirilo Arenas, Damian Anuat, Daniel Pilpil, Francisco Nazareno, etc.

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Fifth Class (₱5 each):

Andres Gonzalez, Cipriano Benedicto, etc.

The Chinese: ₱53

The following are inferred from the above data. That in Naic there were about three persons rich enough to contribute ₱1000.to the revolution when it broke out: P. Valentin, Potenciano Papa, and Epifanio Arenas, all of whom may be considered of the upper class. That most contributors to the church or the revolution were inquilinos. The fact that they could contribute money or goods to these causes implies that they were definitely better off than the impoverished kasamas and that such inquilinos roughly pertained to the middle-class category as defined in this paper. And finally, many were of Chinese mestizo descent, especially the Yubiengcos, the Pobletes, the Bustamantes, the Tocos, the Vazquez, the Nazarenos and several others who constituted prominent middle-class families in Naic. We may thus conclude that by the late nineteenth century, the town of Naic and presumably other towns of Cavite as well did have an embryonic middle class with a significant portion of Chinese mestizos who became active members of the town's principalia, serving as gobernadorcillos and cabezas. Did the group exhibit signs

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of possessing any esprit de corps? Collectively and contemptuously referred to by the local Spaniards as "brutes loaded with gold," the middle-class group in Cavite was aware of its existence as a distinctive class within colonial society, separate from the toiling peasants in the fields by virtue of a sense of material achievement consequent to the socio-economic changes of the late nineteenth century. Likewise, they were apart from the handful of rich natives and mestizos in the Cabecera as well as from the Spanish population in the province which stood above all else. Thus when Emilio Aguinaldo, one of the leaders of the revolution in Cavite, rallied his fellow Caviteños to rise up in arms,[21] he spoke as a middle-class man whose overwhelming animosity towards the friar landlords tended to obscure but not obliterate existing class differences between himself and the bulk of his followers who belonged to the peasant masses.

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VII. CAVITE ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

Nationalist Filipino historians, probing into the causes of the revolution of 1896 against Spain, have time and again underscored the politico-racial nature of Filipino grievances against the colonial power.[1] Thus, the controversy over secularization, the execution of the three priests, the abuses of the friars and bureaucrats have been repeatedly cited as factors contributory to the outbreak of the revolution.[2] Without necessarily undermining these factors as powerful forces in arousing Filipino consciousness, I think the time has come for students of Philippine history to consider other aspects of the problem if more convincing explanations are to be had.[3] For this reason I believe that one might have a better chance of getting nearer the truth if one would venture to ask questions localized and specialized enough that touch upon issues vital to the existing social and economic order in the areas of the Philippines that led the revolution. One wonders why it took the Filipinos so long to stage a revolution against Spain, when most of Spanish America did so some eighty years earlier. And when the decision

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to separate from the metropolis finally came, why did the southern Tagalog provinces spearhead the movement? Above all, why Cavite? Answers to these questions cannot be sought alone in the biographies of revolutionary heroes and the political history of the revolution of 1896 but by taking a close look at the provinces which led the movement and by inquiring into prevailing social and economic conditions which might have had a bearing upon the causes of the upheaval.

What then do we know about Cavite in the decade of the 1880's-1890's? By the last decades of the nineteenth century, Cavite already showed the cumulative effects of colonization, seen, among other things, in the dichotomous development of the port area and towns, and the agricultural countryside. Although the unending stretch of rice and sugarlands from Zapote to Maragondon and the hemp and coffee plantations of the upland areas seem to have undergone very little change over the years, the port area on the other hand and some of the province's leading towns bore the unmistakable stamp of three and a half centuries of Spanish domination. By this time, Cavite El Puerto had earned the reputation of being the Little Cadiz of the Philippines--"El Cadiz Filipino."[4] Its physical aspect, its ethnic composition, the language and ways of its people--all definitely showed visible

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signs of Hispanization not quite paralleled in other towns of the province or the rest of the islands except parts of Manila and Zamboanga. Its proximity to Manila made it rather sensitive to the changing currents emanating from the administrative center. As Manila evolved into a primate city exhibiting what Wickberg calls a more sophisticated form of Hispanic urban culture, Cavite and surrounding places felt the effect of such a change in varying gradations.[5] To a certain extent, Cavite El Puerto became a replica of Manila. Regular steamers such as the Yangco ferry and the naval ferry, fifteen miles of macadam road, daily mail service, telegraph and rail lines linked Cavite with the capital.[6] Reminiscent of the days of Morga and Alava were its old crumbly fortifications. Its buildings were all of stone including several churches and convents, an extensive tobacco factory, a couple of theatres, some casinos and several government offices. It had a pleasant paseo where residents were wont to spend their late afternoons and early evenings for a breezy respite from the heat of the day. Here resided the governor, the judge, the attorney, a number of treasury, administrative and military officials, besides the regular garrison and employees of the arsenal. Its population, though still predominantly native, had a good portion

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of Spanish peninsulares and creoles, Chinese, and both types of mestizos. From such curious intermingling of races and cultures evolved the Chabacano of Cavite peculiar to its port area and San Roque.

Three miles south was an area called Tierra Alta, with its many villas and country houses serving as a good resort place for foreigners recuperating from tropical heat. It must have been a quaint little town that Reverter Delmas described as "la ciudad cuyas cosas son todas de piedra . . . es sumamente alegre y la de Filipinas que mas semejanza tiene con las poblaciones de Europa."[8]

And yet Cavite, like Manila during these years, struck the occasional foreign visitor as being rather sluggish, not unlike many colonial cities of the tropics. Samuel Kneeland, who visited Manila and its vicinity in the 1890's, had the following observations:

> There is none of the new city activity which clusters not about churches, convents, offices, hospitals and schools. The prospect is one of barren decay and society is made up of religious orders and petty cliques. The peninsular Spanish look down upon those born in the islands and the latter upon mestizos and Indians. These strata of society mingle for a time under the agitations of the day like oil and water, but very soon separate into their respective classes; [there seems] to be no unity except in the hatred for the foreigners, especially for the Chinese.[9]

In spite of its apparent state of sluggishness, the province was beginning to show signs of restiveness

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that was to climax in full-scale rebellion towards the close of the century. Not immediately visible to the occasional visitor were certain vital changes transpiring in the province which were to bring matters to a head in relation to the fate of the existing colonial order.

In the first place, racial antagonisms which tend to develop in most multi-ethnic societies exhibited themselves with growing frequency, now against the foreign population in general, now against the Chinese, now against the Spaniards. The massacre of Manila's foreign population in 1819,[10] the Novales Mutiny of 1823,[11] and the Cavite Mutiny of 1872[12] are the ones that come to mind. The Novales Mutiny was precipitated by a decree replacing existing creole-Mexican military personnel with newly arrived peninsulares.[13] The cachuchas, a pejorative term given to the recent arrivals, were brought over by the new governor-general Juan Martinez Alcovenda y Vorela. Furthermore, two batallions of artillerymen in Manila--native and Spanish--were fused but with obviously wide differences in salary and marks. Andres Novales, who was either a creole or a Mexican, and whose removal from his post precipitated the coup, led the uprising. Some eight hundred men were involved but the mutiny was easily crushed.

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The case of the Cavite mutiny of 1872, which was actually a military uprising of limited local significance, turned out to have far-reaching consequences. Here the precipitating cause was Governor Rafael de Izquierdo's[14] abolition of the traditional tribute exemption and retirement privileges of workers in the arsenal of Cavite, plus their declassification into the ranks of those who toiled in public works. Forty men of the marine infantry and twenty-two artillerymen attacked and captured the Fort of San Felipe in the Cabecera, killing some officers who resisted. By ten o'clock the fort fell into rebel hands and a cannon was fired to announce to the sleeping townspeople the take-over. However, the failure of the rebels to get the support of the seventh infantry guarding Cavite and that of allies expected to come from Manila led to their easy defeat by government forces.

Although the mutiny may be considered as an isolated barracks uprising, it gained nationwide reknown because the incident was used by the clergy to prosecute a number of persons (natives, mestizos, creoles) identified with the movement to Filipinize parishes (question of secularization).[15] The clergy alerted the administration about the supposedly subversive character of the affair and implicated these persons

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as instigators of rebellion. A decade of repression followed the execution of three Filipino priests--Fathers Jose Burgos, Jacinto Zamora (curates of the Manila Cathedral), and Feliciano Gomez (curate of Bacoor, Cavite). The three were accused of conspiring to overthrow Spanish rule in the islands. Reacting to this policy of repression, Filipinos launched a campaign for reforms at home and abroad under the leadership of such men as Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez-Jaena, Jose Risal, etc. Newspapers, books, articles, essays, various forms of satire were used by the reforming expatriates. Rizal, towering above everyone else, wrote his famous social novels critical of existing conditions in the colony: the Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo.

Thus while in earlier centuries, native ire was often diverted towards such foreign groups as the Chinese, in late nineteenth century the tendency was to focus against the Spanish colonial master, specifically the friars.

But to denounce the friars as having been solely responsible for the outbreak of the revolution is to reduce the complex causes of the movement to absurdly simple terms. To be sure, in the province of Cavite,

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evidence shows that native animosity against the friars focused upon the issue of their extensive landholdings.[16] The very size of these holdings, and the duration and high rate of occupancy, coupled with the vast powers of the friars locally, rendered the latter vulnerable to attack. If we consider, however, that such landholdings had been in existence and were consolidated as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, together with the fact that no recorded native reaction against them exists except the uprisings of 1745-50, it follows that the friar estates in Cavite per se could not have sufficed to trigger a major revolution. What is here being suggested is that certain developments of the late nineteenth century rendered intolerable a state of affairs which in earlier years could have passed without causing an upheaval. In other words, a changed historical context could have had a more abrasive effect.

Developments symptomatic of the advent of what one might refer to as hard times for the colony became evident during the 1880's-1890's. A business recession which began in the 1880's, coupled with an acute monetary crisis, persisted until the outbreak of the revolution.[17] In this connection, the petition of the Manila Chamber of Commerce in 1895, reproduced in La

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Politica de Espana en Filipinas, mentions the existence of hard times even prior to 1896.[18] Graciano Lopez-Jaena also makes reference to the critical condition of the Manila mint, the general decline of foreign trade and this so-called hard times:

> The Philippines are flat broke... . . The Philippines do not have a red cent. This is regrettable but it is a fact. . . . The calmness with which the governor and officials of that country view the alarming crisis which the decline of trade has brought may occasion some surprise. It need not. It is simply an instance of the lack of foresight which characterizes colonial governments and which has brought colonies in the past to the brink of ruin.[19]

Added to this was the drastic decline in the prices of basic export commodities like indigo, abaca, and sugar.[20] A canker attacked coffee plantations of Cavite and Batangas, causing the product virtually to disappear from the market.[21] The peak of coffee production in the Philippines took place in the mid-1880's but drastically fell in the 1890's as the following table shows.[22] Coffee provinces affected were Cavite, Batangas and Laguna. The table which follows is indicative of this trend.

Although figures are incomplete, the general decline in agricultural production is indicated by the sudden reduction in the output of the Dominican hacienda of Naic in the 1880's. Thus while Naic's produc-

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Coffee Shipments of the Philippines
1856-1897 (In Tons)

Year	Tons
1856	437
1865	2,350
1871	3,336
1880	5,059
1881	5,383
1882	5,052
1883	7,451
1884	7,252
1885	5,209
1886	7,337
1887	4,998
1888	6,702
1889	5,841
1890	4,796
1891	2,869
1892	1,325
1893	307
1894	309
1895	194
1896	89
1897	136

tion for 1881 was valued at $16,050, the following year its production was worth only $8,200.[23] Unfortunately, no available records exist for the more important hacienda of Imus on account of the destruction of Recollect records in Manila during the Second World War.

Since the average per capita income in Cavite was very low,[24] such a deterioration of economic conditions must have aggravated the situation even more. Pressure upon the inhabitants of the province must have

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been considerable, particularly among the poor kasamas, who, in the words of Isabelo de los Reyes, "swelled the ranks of the revolution."[25] One must not also ignore the fact that at this time, Cavite's population density had increased so that it ranked fifth in population per square kilometer in the provinces in the colony. The following table is illustrative of this:

Population Density in the First Five Most Populous Provinces of the Philippines Circa the 1880's[26]

Province	Population	Area	Density
Manila	324,367	673 sq. km.	481.97/sq. km.
Batangas	308,110	2,815 sq. km.	109.45/sq. km.
Pampanga	207,375	2,176 sq. km.	95.22/sq. km.
Bulacan	264,205	3,420 sq. km.	77.30/sq. km.
Cavite	69,797	1,200 sq. km.	58.16/sq. km.

As the economic situation worsened in the 1890's, tenant-landlord relations deteriorated and hacienda operations became subject to attack and criticism by propagandists like Felipe Calderon, Isabelo de los Reyes, and even the Austrian friend of Dr. Jose Rizal, Ferdinand Blumentritt. Commenting on the management of friar estates in Cavite, De los Reyes writes:

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> It is reported of the friar-hacienderos of Cavite that where the ground rent is payable in money they assess it on the basis of an arbitrary price for paddy or hulled rice which they fix themselves and if a tenant refused to agree to this they take back the land whidh he has under lease, land which he has been developing all this time at his own expense. If the ground rent is payable in kind, the lay brother in charge of collection has a sample cavan placed in a vessel of water and if any grains float to the surface the entire crop is considered to have many of these hollow or empty grains. The rice is then winnowed by means of a high-powered winnowing machine which blows away much good grain to the inqulino's loss. Moreover, the rice soaked in water is not counted in the delivery as it is customary to take it for the hacendero's horses as a gift.[27]

Other unfair practices mentioned by the same writer include the imposition of a surcharge on all trees planted in the area and the use of arbitrary measurements.

Although one may not be very easily inclined to accept statements critical of the friars coming from obviously anti-friar propagandists such as the above, statements made by foreign writers may be less biased. Blumentritt, in explaining the rise of the Katipunan as a secret society responsible for the revolution of 1896, says:

> The rise of this society was due to the pressure of social conditions. A large part of the landed property belongs to the monks so that the peasants there live only as tenants or better said, as colonists. In recent years, the monks foolishly raised the rent and this was all the harder as the sugar failure and the buffalo pest had

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already reduced the peasants to sad straits.[28]

Carlos Gilman Calkin, another foreign writer, is similarly inclined to blame the uprising in Cavite to backrenting in the friar estates, noting that the prevalence of brigandage near the estates could be indicative of agrarian discontent.[29] Indeed brigandage, which has always been a part of Cavite's history, especially of its upland regions, became even more rampant and menacing as the revolution drew near. Eventually numerous bands of these so-called tulisanes joined the revolution.[30] Where in previous years a hike in land rent did not elicit protest from the inquilinos, protest did happen in the 1890's. It is not surprising, then, that a complete breakdown between landlord-tenant relations should occur during these years as anti-friar sentiment grew. Simultaneous with the breakdown in the vertical landlord-tenant relations was the closing in of whatever gap separated inquilinos from kasamas. This was all that was needed to render precarious the existence of the Spanish regime--a newly emergent cohesiveness among peasants and their inquilinos.

Something in the character of the Caviteños and their leadership is worth noting at this point, since both following and leadership finally make a revolution possible. It has been pointed out that the Caviteños

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have a reputation for their pride and reckless daring, traits which have been correlated by Rafael Guerrero with the existence of institutional banditry in the province:

> Los habitantes de esta provincia, aunque algunos historiadores los han calificado de dociles, por no conocerlos sin duda, distan mucho de serlo, siendo los de los pueblos muy belicosos que han dado gran contingente a las partidas de bandoleros [tulisanes] y los de los pueblos bajos, sobre todo los proximas al puerto de Cavite, muy pillos y en general, poco compasivo.[31]

Another Spanish writer, Cavada y Vigo, writes in the same vein about Caviteños:

> . . . son muy poco respetuosos, altivos y llenos de vicios.[32]

Besides their fearlessness and pride, Caviteños acquired a reputation for being strongly anti-Spanish and quite unlike the pro-Spanish Pampagueños; the former did not show much tendency to emulate Hispanic examples. Thus, according to an anonymous Spanish writer:

> En los pueblos costeros de esta provincia que son los que están mas en contacto con la cabecera y con la capital del archipelago, se nota una relajamiento moral, apenas perceptible en los del interior . . . cierta altivez y despego para con los peninsulares. . . . No guarda al nombre español la veneracion y respecto a que siempre acostumbrado.[33]

Less disparagingly, Margarita Hamm says of the Caviteños:

> The people of the province are noted for their intelligence and also for their revolutionary

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Centinela insurrecto.

A Caviteño Insurgent. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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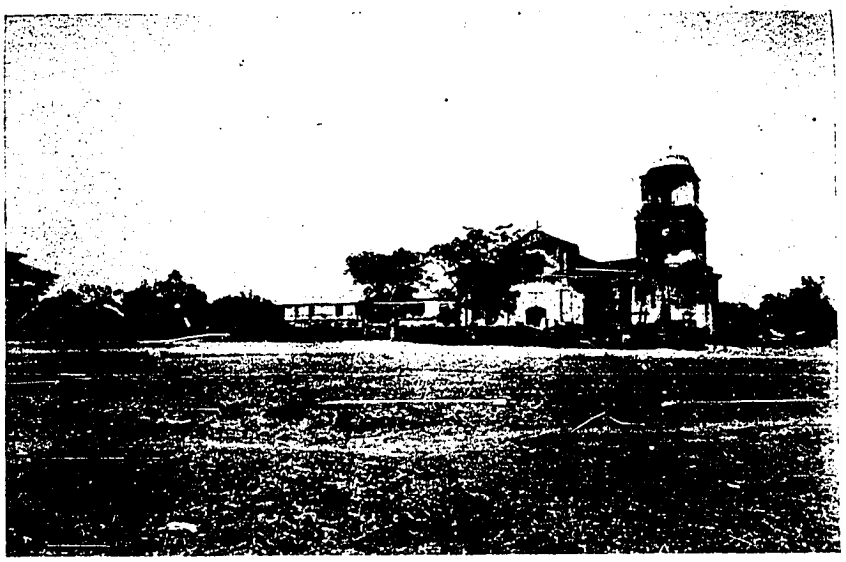

Iglesia y Convento de Imus.

The Church and Convent of Imus, Cavite. From Federico Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de Filipinas (Madrid, 1898).

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> spirit. Many of the natives have had the advantage of education as have a larger percentage of the halfbreeds. They detest Spanish rule and have an unrelenting hatred of the friars to whom they ascribe most of their misfortunes.[34]

A significant percentage of Cavite's population actually had access to a fair amount of education.[35] The revolutionary leadership in the province, composed mostly of middle-class principales had at least the rudiments of basic education. Others, like Emilio Aguinaldo, managed even to go to Manila for a college education. A few upper-class leaders like Edilberto Evangelista, Severino de las Alas, and the Basa brothers, were not only full-fledged professionals but even had been abroad to Europe for their education. Their followers on the other hand were composed of inquilinos, kasamas, and jornaleros--the bulk of the province's population, who had nothing to lose in the event of a revolution. Landless, at most they could aspire only to become inquilinos under the existing regime. The contrast here between Cavite and the province of Pampanga is striking. In Pampanga, some rich natives and many Chinese mestizos became part of the landowning group and ties between landlords and tenants were strong.[36] The stability of such a relationship, according to John A. Larkin, made Pampagueños averse to anything which would have upset the status quo.[37] In Cavite, however, foreign clerical

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landlords had completely taken over the richest agricultural land, making most Caviteños alien to their own land.

To sum up, Cavite spearheaded the revolution because of a number of factors which for some time had aggravated Spanish-Indio relations in the southern Tagalog area, but which in Cavite were brought to a head by certain conditions peculiar to the province. First of all, friar dominance, though a distinct feature of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, was of a more pronounced character in Cavite than in any other part of the colony, mainly due to the pervasive presence of the friar estates. One-fourth of all clerical landholdings in the colony were in Cavite, and these represented more than the total of the province's agricultural territory. For the landbound peasantry and inquilinos, the issue of ousting the friar landlords became a common interest and goal. Secondly, the geographic proximity of the province to Manila, reinforced by improved communications and regular commercial intercourse, by the late nineteenth century had effected a closeness with the administrative capital enabling the province to be more sensitive to changes emanating from the center. More significant was the rise to prominence of a hybrid group--the Chinese mestizo--whose affluence

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and education catapulted them to leadership within the context of native society. Many of these composed an incipient middle class in Cavite from whose ranks came several leaders of the revolution. Neither should we forget the fact that the reprisals which followed the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 struck real terror among the residents and served to motivate the movement for reform and revolution. Finally, the advent of hard times caused by an acute monetary crisis, the decline in prices of basic export commodities, coffee infestation, a rice crop failure, topped by a tactless decision on the part of the friar landlords to hike rents, triggered the revolution in Cavite.

On August 19, 1896, the secret revolutionary society called the Katipunan organized by the working class of Tondo,[38] was discovered by the Spanish authorities. Its discovery led to the premature outbreak of the revolution in Manila on August 25, 1896..[39] After a brief skirmish in the outskirts of Manila, the rebels were dispersed by the Spanish guardia civil.[40] Its founder, Andres Bonifacio,[41] meeting with other leaders of the society, decided that an attack upon the Spanish stronghold at San Juan del Monte[42] would simultaneously be made with katipunero attack on the guardia civil outpost in San Francisco de Malabon, in Cavite. The San Juan

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attack was a successful rout of the Spanish forces, but the one scheduled for Cavite did not occur because of failure of the rebels to get their signal. On August 31st, katipuneros of San Francisco de Malabon led by Artemio Ricarte, a schoolteacher, agreed to proceed with original plans.[43] Accordingly, between ten o'clock and eleven o'clock in the morning, the rebels gathered at a nearby carinderia at the side of the trail called Pasong Kalabaw. Hearing of the unusual aggrupation of men in the area, the capitan municipal, Eugenio Viniegra, instructed his men to disperse the group. When the men refused, the capitan de cuadrilleros threatened them--then the commotion started and San Francisco de Malabon was up in arms. Meanwhile, in the town of Noveleta, the Alvarez men--Mariano, Pascual, and Santiago, led the local katipuneros (Magdiwangs) in capturing the town hall, killing the capitan of the guardia civil, and persuading the guardia civil to join the rebels.[44] At this point, the katipuneros of Kawit (Magdalos) who had earlier been lukewarm about the revolution, joined the movement. On August 29-30, under Emilio Aguinaldo, they attacked the friar estate of Imus during a siege which lasted for two days.[45] The Casa Hacienda was sacked, killing several friars inside who had congregated from different towns to celebrate the feast day of Saint

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Augustine. Some two thousand rebels thrust themselves upon the Casa, shouting "Death to the friars!" The revolution in Cavite was on.

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VIII. CONCLUSIONS

In undertaking the study of such a specialized topic as the history of Cavite Province during the Spanish colonial period, I was in part interested in following a recently developing trend in Philippine historical writing which focuses on local histories such as that which John A. Larkin has done for the province of Pampanga. However small the geographic extent of the Philippine archipelago, I share with Larkin and several others the belief that there is a need to write regional-provincial histories because the discontinuous physical layout of the Philippines can only mean possibilities of idiosyncratic evolution of its various parts. Undoubtedly, a generalized treatment of Philippine history which depicts the process of change as if it applied to a monolithic whole leaves much to be desired since such a treatment runs the risk of tending to be superficial and of being insensitive to regional-provincial variations in matters of historical change.

I singled out the province of Cavite in particular for several reasons. For one thing, Cavite by itself represents a type quite unique among all the other provinces in Southern Luzon. While provinces like Laguna,

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Bulacan, Rizal, and Batangas tended to represent, at the time, the more rural aspects of the Philippines on the one hand, and Manila represented the urbanized-westernized part on the other, Cavite stood somewhere in between. I have pointed out how the province had undergone change such that ethnically, linguistically, and culturally parts of Cavite unmistakeably showed visible signs of Hispanization, notwithstanding the fact that its more interior regions remained predominantly rural and less exposed to foreign influences.

Besides enabling me to follow the process of socio-economic change in one specific area, my choice of Cavite afforded me the opportunity of looking closely at the pre-existing socio-economic conditions in the one province that spearheaded the Philippine revolution against Spain. My own dissatisfaction with the manner in which current nationalist Filipino historians explain the outbreak of the revolution of 1896 has prompted me to look at the issue from a slightly different angle: from the social and economic point of view. Heretofore, most historians writing about the Philippine Revolution have made much of strong anti-friar sentiment among native Filipinos because of racial discrimination (especially in connection with the question of secularization of Philippine parishes),

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excessive wealth and power, obscurantism, and a generally corrupt and inefficient administration heavily influenced by the religious orders. Although this thesis largely supports such a belief, I have also tried to show that insofar as the province which started the revolution was concerned, there was more to it than simple exasperation with the presence of the friars. To be sure, I have pointed out that although friar dominance was a distinct feature of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, in Cavite it was of a more pronounced character mainly due to the pervasive presence of the friar estates in the province. In contrast with other parts of the country, where caciquism constituted a major grievance among peasants against native and mestizo landlords, in Cavite we have seen that neither natives nor mestizos managed to form a distinct landholding class, since most Cavite agricultural land had been pre-empted by the religious orders. Therefore, ranged against friar landed interests in Cavite was a fairly united native-mestizo group of landless peasants and leaseholders. Comparing Cavite with the province of Pampanga, one notes that while the stability of the landlord (Spanish, native, or mestizo)-tenant relationships in the latter province did not seem to have engendered strong anti-Spanish sentiments, the rather

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tense relations between Caviteño tenants and the Spanish friar landlords may have been responsible for the development of a virulent anti-Spanish spirit in Cavite.

Moreover, the geographic nearness of Cavite to Manila, reinforced by improved communications and more frequent commercial intercourse in the late nineteenth century, effected a closeness between Cavite and Manila which rendered the province more sensitive to changes emanating from the center. Even more important was the emergence of a hybrid group--the Chinese mestizos--whose affluence and education catapulted them to leadership within the context of native society. Thus, although the province was wanting in a numerous Spanish creole population, such as in Spanish America provided a reservoir for potential revolutionary leadership, the deficiency was made up by the expansion of the Chinese mestizo population in Cavite, Manila, and several other provinces. From this group came not only most of the leadership in the reform and revolutionary movements in Cavite during the nineteenth century but also an embryonic middle class that I have tried to identify in Chapter V. Besides the presence of potential leadership in the province and its peculiar nearness to Manila, a set of historical circumstances in the

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1880's made for an entirely changed historical context which provided an immediate backdrop to the outbreak of the revolution in Cavite: an acute monetary crisis, the decline in prices of basic export crops, coffee infestation and rice crop failure made for hard times during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. These, coupled with the decision of the friar landlords in Cavite to hike the land rent, must have played an important part in causing a closing-in of ranks among peasant kasamas and their inquilinos when the call for revolution was made by principales like Emilio Aguinaldo and others.

Although I am convinced that social-economic factors played a significant part in the revolution in Cavite, I am aware that there is a need to substantiate further such a belief. For instance, the existence of hard times in the 1880's, to which a number of sources allude, needs further elaboration. I had particular difficulty in trying to establish per capita income in Cavite during the last years of the nineteenth century because only one set of figures relating to the province's population and production for each town was available to me for analysis. Similarly difficult to ascertain was the cost of living in Cavite for there were no figures at all available for the purpose.

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Another complicating factor was the fact that at that time the economy of the province was not yet sufficiently monetized. Notwithstanding all these, I still say that further research on the causes of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 cannot afford to ignore economic and social considerations such as those that I have brought up in this paper if a more realistic assessment of the whole question is made.

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APPENDIX I

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE AGRARIAN UNREST IN CAVITE, BULACAN, AND LAGUNA, 1745

I. Letter of the Residents of the Town of Silang, Cavite, Addressed to the Juez Comisario, Dated 8 May 1745. From the APSR, Libro Tomo 55.

Nosotros todos del pueblo de Silan jurisdicción de Cavite, principales y otros que residen en otro pueblo comparesemos con toda reverencia ante el Señor Juez Comisario y decimos sobre la venida de él en éstos pueblos con la misión emanada por los señores presidente y oidores de la audiencia y real chancellería de éstas Islas para que nos averigüe de nosotros las cosas a qué hemos llegado y sobre éste todo nosotros nos humillamos con la sumisión y promptos obedecer y executar qualesquiera mandato del senor juez que executaremos de todo corazon y sumisión como personal del Rey Nuestro Señor para averigüar y apasiguarnos por lo que pedimos Señor sesinua darnos una escritura por donde conste que nosotros seamos seguros de que no se nos hara a nuestras personas mujeres, casas y bienes por el Senor Juez quando comparecisemos en presencia de otro señor para

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la averiguación sobre las cosas pendientes y otros que combenga averiguar y que seamos amparadas de todo su poder en qualesquiera que pudamos sea culpados que luego al instante hemos de volver a nuestras casas y assi mismo pedimos y suplicamos al señor por lo que passo del litigio de este pueblo en la estancia de Biñan que no se busque a nosotros en las Tierras de la referido hacienda para que se suspenda los injustos ruydos que puede sobre venir por las otras tierras en donde puede benir alguna moja o cantalita y cosa que no podemos consentir nuestras corazones en que puede benir los malos pleitos pero en qualesquiera terras hemos de dar el cumplimiento y sumision estamos todos prometos a obedecer qualesquiera mandato del Señor que ha de averiguar todo conforme a derecho en que pedímos perdon en todo quanto contra derecho que podemos ser culpados por ser inutilies y no conozer la razon por ser miserables tagalos y faltos en todos y no tener otra busca mas que labranza de sementeras que ha largos tiempos desde primero estamos poseiendo y nuestros antepasados infieles y sobre este despojo de otras nuestras tierras hemos expe . . .? . . .
El fín y la última pobreza porque en estas tierras que estamos cultivando nos biene a misericordia de Dios es como nuestra Nave que nos da la vida y que estos si nos quite no tendremos con que poder servir al RE Nuestro

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Señor tributos, polos y demas obligaciones, a nuestras mujeres, hijas y la comida diaria. Vestuario y otras cosas semejantes y esto no ha mucho que nos han quitado las referidas tierras hemos quedado totalmente padeciendo y a nuestras cabezas de barangay por el suplemento que han echo a sus tributantes que sean ausentado por no tener tierras que cultivan nuestro pueblo por aver cogido diferentes estancias del . . . por cuya razon clamamos a la largueza y pieded del RE nuestro señor para que incline los misericordias aydos del Señor--Otro asi pedimos y suplicamos ya que aquellos tierras que no se nos quiten de nuestra jurisdiccion y del governador actual. . . . Nicolas de Leon, Miguel Valencia, Francisco de Toledo, Lazaro Ramos, Francisco de Loyola, Bernardo Javier, Francisco Solis; Miguel de Guevara, Leoncio Espineli, Manuel Perez Xiron, Julian Pascual, Felipe Villafuerte, Juan Dimaranan, Ignacio Balahadya, Pedro de la Cruz, Joseph Morales, Diego Gonzales, Balthazar de Mendoza, Marcos Madlangsacay, Carlos Poblete, Lucas Bagumbayan.

8 May 1745, Binan.

II. Letter of the Residents of the Town of Silang Written in Tagalog, Addressed to Fray Joseph de San Vicente, Dated 28 April 1745. From APSR, Libro Tomo 55.

Mahal na Padre Fray Joseph de San Vicente:

Walang ibang sadhya ytong aming munting sulat sa

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mahal na padre condi an pagbibigay ng magandang arao at cami napas salamat sa magandang capalaran mo mahal na Padre na yaon naoay maparati ha gang Cailan . . . at isa pay ay ibinabalita namin saiyo mahal na Padre na bucas con awa ng Panginoong Dios na Jesus ay cami darating diyan sa Bayan na sa manga lupa namin na iniong nagahis sadicatuiran (tabi sa lakas ng iong pilac) na ang aming gagawin ay iguiguiba ang bahay ninyong ginagawa sa paso nang monting Ilog sampo nang manga presang nacacapit sa aming lupa na itoy hindi pagtalicod namin sa Panguinoon na caia ang aming hiyao ay mabuhay ang pananampalataya, mabuhay ang Santa Iglesia at mabuhay si Phelipe (Ingatan nang Paguinoon Dios) na caia namin naysipan yto ay dahilan sa dicatuiran inyong isasal sa aming na dina cami binigyan loob nang paguiguibat pagwawakat ng aming Camalig sa Latag, na dina cami pinaglogalan ng manga ylang arao nang mga inquilino mo no cami ay orapronobis y manga sila ang magmisrenobis toloy pabulaan pa sa amin na di magagawa ang ano mang banta baguit ang winiwicapa sa amin sa boong Silang ay walang lalagui taloy pinan hinaiangan mo ang iyong biniling polvora natatalaga sa amin. Mana itong lahat ay domating sa aming balita . . . at ang isa pa ay dinaramdam namin ang dimo pagbibigay nang. . . sa Latag at Lantic sa manga taga Silang nasomonod diyan at piramigaimo sa manga Sangley et mestizo.

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. . . Joseph de la Vega, Francisco Santos de Medina, Ignacio Marcelo, Andres Pulido, Andres Lopez de Montoya, Francisco Gonzales.

28 April 1745, Silang.

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APPENDIX II

A PETITION OF THE INQUILINOS OF IMUS HACIENDA

Los inquilinos de la Hacienda de San Juan del Rio de Imus en comun ante V.P. Rma en la mejor fra que aia lugar y con la mas profunda humillación nos presentamos y decímos--que el nosotros no devemos estar obligados a éste excesivo terrasgo y si solo a estar en la costumbre. La Segunda. han seguido los inquilinos de otra hacienda de Biñan y Santa Rosa no solo por la libertad de las pensiones referidas sino tambien por la majoría de la tierra pues es público y notorio que la abundanzia de agua de aguellas presas el medio quinon de quatro cavanes de semilla cojen dos cientos y mas cavanez y an las de nuestra Hacienda de Imus la major tierra y nueva abocada en las sanghas apenas dan ciento y cinquenta cavanes el medio quiñon, con que es visto que ni aún librandonos de tributos y polos no podemos ni devemos seguir esta nueva imposición con grave perjuicio (?) sino que solo devemos estar en la costumbre.

La Tercera y la mas fuerte porque aundado casso y no concedido que pagando nosotros otros cinquenta cavanes

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por quiñon y por medio quiñon veinte y cinco cavanez de este nuevo impuesto con la libertad de otros tra. rcs. y polos, y agregandose aun mas el que tengamos la mejoría que tiene aquellas tierras de Biñan y Santa Rosa la mayor parte de nosotros no podemos ni devemoz seguir otra nueva imposición respecto que quando nos fueron entregadas otras tierras se hallavan criazas y montuozas que para ponerlas en estado del beneficio que aora estan han costado mucho sudor travajo y dinero a nuestros antepasados y los que no credaron este beneficio han pagado el valor de la hechura para apropriarnos del sabor de las sementeras que cada uno tenemos todo lo que hacemos presente a V.P. Rma afin de que biendo su gran caridad las rasones que nos asisten se sirva demandar a otro Padre Administrador se siga en otra Hacienda la costumbre antiguà en la que no faltaremos como hasta aqui hasiendo a V.P. Rma presente que sin embargo de las trez atrasadas y malas cosechas de los trez últimos años Padre Administrador de otra Hazienda Frai Pedro de San Buenaventura ha distribuido unas listas a los cavecillas y matanda de naiones en las que señalan fazadamente, y por la regla general en lo que subcesivo, que nosotros hemos de pagar el terrasgo este presente año en palai, por cada quiñon cincuenta cavanez, por el medio quiñon veinte y cinco,

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y por el quatro doce y medio, cuio señalamiento nos dio a entender otro padre administrador que fue por ord. de V.P. Rma arreglando a los terrasgos de Biñan y Santa Rosa, porque esta providencia es mui gravosa como pernisio a todos nosotros hicimos representación a otro padre administrador quien solo nos dio del consuelo de que este ano pagaríamos el tributo del terrasgo al precio en que saliere que desde luego sera el de las demas Haciendas y que para los años subcesivos nos hemos de estar en otra imposición en cuia atencion ocurrimos a la piedad V.P. Rma afin de que se sirva mandar a otro padre administrador sobre sea escuse y retire otra ord. y se siga como hasta aqui desde inmemorial tiempo de pagar el quiñon catorze pesos en reales y si en palai según saliere el valor del tributo (en los que incluyen el peso del pintacasi haiega uno travajo en otra hacienda otro peso por el agua en cada quiñon que los pagamos junto con el terrasgo anualmente) porque parece deve ser asi en haversa y xigan de justica las rasones siguientes: La Primera. porque el establecimiento del terrasgo presente de Biñan y Santa Rosa fue por convenio pudrio entre aquel Padre Administrador con sus Inquilinos que por un quiñon de tierra han de pagar cinquenta cavanez y a su respecto el mittad pero mejorandoles de no pagar el tributo por otros inquilinos ni ser pensionados en

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los polos y servicios personales en vebiendo otros (?) y polos en los otros cinquenta cavanez de terrasgos que pagan por quiñon y así no teniendo como no tiene este convenio entre pasados hemos cumplido con nuestros respectivos terrasgos diligenciando y empenando nuestros cortos haveres para ello. Por tanto.

AVP Rma Pedimos y suplicamos se sirva de providenciar como llevamos referidos sobre que no procedemos de malicia.

Francisco de los Santos; Miguel de los Santos; Francisco Bautista; Matteo Esguerra; Mariano de la Cruz; Espiritu de la Rosa; Clemente Navarro; Agapito Briones; Andres Pioguinto; Leon Francisco; Salvador de la Cruz; Martin de la Cruz; Domingo de los Santos; Manuel de Medina; Lucas de la Cruz; Isidro Clemente, Capitan Espiritu Ignacio; Francisco Carlos; Lorensa de la Cruz; Vicente de la Llave; Esteven de los Santos; Andres Sison; Antonio Sison; Joseph de los Reyes.

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APPENDIX III

A PETITION FROM THE WORKERS OF SAN ROQUE

Alejandro Dionisio por sí y a nombre del Patricio Constantino, Lino Mateo, Benedicto Montez, Pedro Garcia, Jose Martinez, Cecilio Anastasio, Arcadio Ramos, Mariano de los Reyes, Nazario de Guevara, Tomas de los Santos, Ignacio Suarez, Jose Bernal, Braulio San Jose, Gerardo de la Cruz y Juan Desiderio de quienes acompaño la correspondiente autorizacion para el efecto todos mayores de edad, vecinos del pueblo de San Roque, jornaleros dependientes del arsenal de Cavite, ante UE con todo respeto debida me presente atentamente espongo: Que por decreto de este Superior Gobierno de 29 de Noviembre 1871 que respetamos y obedecemos su decreto abolir desde 1 de Enero 1872 el privilegio de no pagar tributo que los operarios e jornaleros de la maestranzo de artilleria de la plaza de Manila y del arsenal de Cavite, venian (?) disfrutando en virtud de los decretos de la superintendencia delegado de hacienda de 20 de Abril de 1820 y 14 Noviembre 1826.

Ignoramos, Exmo Sr, si una vez obligados nosotros

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al pago del tributo por esa declaración espresa del superior decreto citado, es consecuencia precisa que obligados quedemos tambien al trabajo en las obras comunales y al desempeño de los cargos concegiles. Esto es que el gobernadorcillo y los principales de nuestro pueblo nos obligan a uno y otra, tanto que todos nosotros tenemos indispensable (?) ante que pagan las fallas por obras comunales y cuatro de nosotros, Patricio Constantino, Lino Mateo, Benedicto Mendoza y Pedro Garcia so ahora cabezas de barangay.

No venimos Exmo Sr, producir queja alguna contra el gobernadorcillo ni contra los principales del pueblo de San Roque, porque vendríamos a fundar la queja en la ignorancia nuestra sobre los efectos consiguientes del Superior Decreto ya mencionado. Nuestro objeto is presentar a la alta justificacion de UE algunas consideraciones peculiares a nuestra clase de jornaleros dependientes del arsenal de Cavite en relación a la obligacion de concurrir a las obras comunales y a la desempenar cabecerías y otros cargos consegiles.

La concurrencia a las obras comunales que es redimible, constituye de suyo una obligación alternativa e eleccion del tributante el cual 6 trabajo 6 paga las fallas que son la redencion del trabajo. Pero para nosotros esa obligacion deja de ser alternativa y queda convertida en contribucion directa de tres pesos

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anuales que son el importe de las fallas por cada tributante. Consiste esto, Exmo Sr. a que si bien como jornaleros nada ganamos si no trabajamos, no por eso podemos faltar al trabajo tres dias seguidas sin una causa insuperable, so pena de ser perdidos y de nuestra subsistencia y de la de nuestras respectivas familias. Asi esta dispuesto y lo exigen los muchos continuous y diferentes trabajos que hay en el arsenal de Cavite. Nosotros en vista de esto y en la alternativa de pagar tres pesos al ano y de quedarnos sin oficio si hemos de concurrir a las obras comunales, tenemos que optar necesariamente por lo primero, siguera (?) haciendo un sacrificio un medio de nuestra pobreza.

Pero al menos respecto a las obras comunales podemos re (?) se exige a favor del propuesto para el cargo por cualquier desfalco que pudiese haber en el desempeño de cabeceria. Esa garantía salva indudablemente los intereses de la hacienda publica de cualquiera eventualidad, pero en cambio perjudica al propuesto para el cargo cuando es pobre y mas todavia encontrandose en nuestras circumstancias. Si por desempeñar bien la cabecería faltesemos a nuestro trabajo en el arsenal de Cavite y fuesemos despedidas (?) las principales de San Roque nos han de mantener o nos han de proporcionar otro oficio? De seguro que no Exmo Sr, porque diran

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con razon que a que ello no se habían obligado. Por el contrario, si por cumplir bien nuestro oficio en el arsenal, quedase abandonada la cabecería como es consiguiente y resultarse un desfalco, los principales de S. Roque que han de dejer de exigirnos lo que por nosotros abonasen y en caso de formación de causa criminal por el desfalco, nos han de librar de la pena que now impusiera y de la prisión preventiva que se dictara durante el procedimiento? De seguro tambien que no, Exmo Sr, porque respecto de lo primero dirán que su responsabilidad no éra mas que subsidiario y respecto de lo segundo que carecen de facultades para ello. Por manera que es muy precaría y desgraciada nuestra situacion, mirada bajo cualquier concepto con el particular de que se trata.

Nos permitiremos ahora Exmo Sr, esponer con todo respecto a UE una razon de deduccion que creemos favorable a nuestra solicitud.

Tres escribientes de la Tesoreria Central promovieron espediente en solicitud de exencion de polos y servicios personales y por decreto de la Superintendencia de los Ramos y Arbitrior y Cajas de Comunidad de estas Yslas de fecha 29 Mayo 1870 se resolvio la pretencion en sentido favorable. Para ello se subo presente el articulo 9 de la Ordenancia de Yntendentes en

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el que se manda que a todos los empleados de la Dirección, administración y Resguardo de las Rentas se les exima y releve de cargas publicas y concegiles para que no les ocupen ni distraigan de sus cargas y pueden tener la punctual y debida asistencia a ellos; y ademas se tubo en consideracion que el obligar a los escribientes de las oficiras del Estado a que trabajen en las obras comunales de sus respectivos pueblos, seria apartarlos de sus ocupaciones en perjuicio del servicio publico.

Nos es, ni sera nunca nuestro animo ni pensaremos jamas equipararnos a los empleados de Hacienda, ni pretendemos que se apliquen a favor nuestro las disposiciones peculiares que rigen respecto de los mismos. Empero, observara las justificaciones de UE que en esas disposiciones citadas no se tiene en consideracion las circumstancias de si los interesados perciben o no sueldo del Estado, sino que el espiritu y el fin principal de estas disposiciones es el evitar que se distraiga a los servidores del Estado de la puntual y debida asistencia a sus respectivas dependencias y que se les aparte de sus ocupaciones porque todo redunda en perjuico publico.

Aunque simples jornaleros, Exmo Sr, que debemos ser considerados como servidores del Estado, porque trabajos en un Establecimiento del Estado, nuestros

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trabajos son para el Estado y el Estado mismo es el que nos paga nuestros jornales.

Bajo esta consideración creemos tambien Exmo Sr, que debe hacerse estensivo a nosotros, como es de caracter general, el espiritu y la tendencia de las disposiciones mencionadas a fin de que con las obras comunales y con los cargos consegiles no se impida la asistencia diaria a nuestros trabajos; sin perder tampoco de vista la circumstancia de que pretendemos casi lo mismo que lo que han obtenido los escribientes de las oficinas del Estado, cuando nuestros trabajos como jornaleros del arsenal de Cavite, son sol a sol, horas a que no llegan ordinariamente los trabajos de aquellos.

Si las razones espuestas no son aun suficientes para apoyar nuestra solicitud, permitanos UE que presentemos a la consideracion de UE los largos años de servicio que llevamos prestado día por día en el mismo arsenal de Cavite. De 12 a 13 años es el tiempo que van recomiendo nuestros respectivos servicios al Estado, como UE puede verlo en la adjunta relación, expresiva también del oficio de cada uno de nosotros. Uno es necesario ya demonstrar a UE que a esos servicios han acompanados siempre la buena conducta y la asiduidad y constancia en la asistencia al trabajo y en el trabajo mismo, porque en otro caso nuestras servicios no hubieran

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llegado al tiempo que respectivamente llevan.

En vista todo lo espuesto y con fiado en la justicia, bondad y alto criterio de UE y en la proteccion que esta superioridad dispense a los servidores del Estado.

A UE suplico y ruego encarecidamente que habiendo por bastante la autorizacion que expresa la adjunta relacion y previos los informes que esta superioridad estime necesarias, se sirve UE declararnos exentes de polos y servicios personales del arsenal de Cavite y mandar en consecuencia que se releve de los cargos de cabezas de barangay que desempean cuatro de mis representados que son Patricio Constantino, Lino Mateo, Benedicto Mendoza y Pedro Garcia y que se nombre a otros que tengan bienes y reunen las circumstancias necesarias al ejercicio de dichos cargos. En determinado asi la justificacion de UE administrara cumplida justica a la vez que hara merced a los recurrentes. Cavite 24 July 1874.

sgd. ALEJANDRO DIONISIO

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APPENDIX IV

PROCLAMATION

Ahora que inauguramos la segunda epoca de nuestros esfuerzos, desde estas montañas, siempre fieles a nuestra libertad e independencia, dirigimos nuestros voces a todos los que en sus hechos sienten lates nobles corazones; a todos los hermanos que tengan espiritu y honor, dignidad y Patria.

No hacemos distinciones de razas; llamamos todos los que poseen honra y dignidad nacional; lo mismo el filipino como el asiatico, el americano o el europeo todos sufrimos; y a todos los que sufren, invitamos a levantar un pueblo caido y atormendado, una patria destrozada y empujada en el lado de envilecimento. No exceptamos a nadie ni al mismo español; porque hidalgos españoles militan en nuestras filas; libres de preocupaciones y amantes solo de justicia, defienden nuestra demanda, demanda de personalidad y de dignidad patriotica.

A las armas, nobles corazones, a las armas! Basta ya de sufrimientos! El pueblo filipino es arrastrado en el degradacion! La patria llora en el envilecimento de

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sus hijos.

Mirad nuestro altar manchado por las ordenes religiosas que han convertido los objectos mas sagrados en avascantas cajas de esplotación. Sin cuidarse de la pobreza, ni de la moralidad ni de la higiene pública, el fraile solo mira el oro para bautize, para cazar 6 para enterrar. Infieles, amancebados o pasto de cuervos y perros son los tagalos que no tienen dinero. Unicamente el rico es bendecido o sacramentado.

Mirad nuestro hogar. Las pilares y terrenos regados con el sudor de sus mayores son arrebatados por el insaciable convento, despotico y saqueador de nuestros frutos mientras vocean sus votos de pobreza y de castidad.

Ay de la familia si guarda algun ahorro! Ay de la madre si cuida alguna flor bien parecida! Pronto se convertiera en lagrimas de deshonra y de destierro pera inocentes padres y hermanos. Ved la ley hollada y convertida antes en celada que en defensa del filipino, por todas partes la amenaza y el soborno. El municipio degradado; la Administracion y Hacienda devorados por la inmoralidad y el agio. En el gobierno y altos puestos del Estado donde el indigena es prospripto, impresa lo arbitrario, haciendo depender la seguridad no del derecho propio, sino de la irresponsable voluntad de cual-

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quiera de las autoridades. El error y el engaño por lema de la enseñansa pública; en las escuelas y en la prensa la tiranía absoluta; a todos lados la ignorancia, la deshonra, el vicio y corrupcion.

Nada valen las denuncias legales, las quejas, las demandas en forma legitima, solo han merecido el desprecio. Que se ha hecho de nuestros solicitudes legales para expulsar a los frailes del suelo filipino? Que se ha hecho de nuestros discursos y razonamientos para la debida representacion de Filipinas en las cortes espanoles?

O civilizacion y cultura! Los firmantes, los que claman pacificamente el ampara de la ley, todos son ahorcados o desterrados.

Basta, basta de escandalo! A las armas. Filipinos, a las armas hermanos. Alento al bien comun, aspiramos a la gloria de obtener la libertad, la independencia y la honra de la Patria. Aspiramos a una ley comun creada por todos los ciudadanos, que sirva de garantia y de respeto para los mismos, sin esceptuar a ninguna personalidad. Aspiramos a un gobierno que represente todas las fuerzas vivos del Pais y en el tomen participacion los mas aptos, los mas dignos en virtudes y talento, sin mirar su nacimiento, su fortuna, ni la raza a que pertenecen. Aspiramos a que en todo el archipelago no pese

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ninguna fraile, ni permanezca ningun convento, ni centro alguno de corrupción, ni partidarios de esa teocracia que ha hecho de este suelo otra España inquisitorial. En nuestras filas el orden sera siempre respetado. Bajo nuestra bandera gobernara siempre la justicia.

Dignos hijos de la libertad que tan unicamente nos han arrebatado, mostraremos al mundo que somos dignos de tener un gobierno propio, una Patria propia como tenemos idioma propio.

Rechazemos el nombre que ya nos dan nuestros enemigos. Somos hijos fieles que despreciando vidas y hacienda, comodidades y todo linaje de inconvenientes, damos la sangre por la salud de la Patria, por el bienestar de nuestro conciudadanos y la redencion de nuestros hijos. Viva Filipinas libre!

signed: EMILIO AGUINALDO
Filipinas, Julio 1897

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FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

[1]Census Atlas of the Philippines, 1940 (Manila: 1972), I, No. 5.

[2]Sangley Point (Punta de Sangley) derives its name from the fact that in early Spanish times that part of Cavite had a fair concentration of Chinese migrant population. See Percy A. Hill, Romance and Adventure in Old Manila (Manila: 1964), 156-62.

[3]Federico de Monteverde y Sedano, La campaña de filipinas, la division Lachambre (Madrid: 1898), 23.

[4]Dominador Rosell, "Cavite Province," Philippine Magazine (August, 1938), 384. Unless otherwise indicated, most of the information pertaining to the geography of the province is taken from this same source.

[5]Monteverde y Sedano, 24-39.

[6]Cogonales refers to that variety of tall blade grass growth common in many parts of the Philippines.

[7]U.S. National Archives, BIA, "Local Geographical and Historical Notes, Province of Cavite," September 16, 1915, 1. See also the Fifth Annual Report, Philippine Commission, 1904 (Washington: 1905), 445.

[8]Rosell, 384. F. L. Wernstedt and J. E. Spencer, The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, 396.

[9]Census for the Philippines, 1903 (Washington: 1905), 435.

[10]Also referred to in documents as the "mardicas" people, the Ternatenos were evacuees from the island of Ternate in the Moluccas brought over by the fleeing Spaniards after the Spanish decision to abandon its

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Indonesian outposts in the wake of the impending attack of the Chinese pirate Koxinga upon the island of Luzon in the 1660's. E. Blair and A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands (Cleveland: 1903-09), XXXVI, 221.

[11]There are a couple of good studies on the Chabacano de Cavite. One is an unpublished master's thesis by Alfredo B. German entitled "The Spanish Dialect of Cavite" (U.P., 1932), and the other is by Keith Whinnom entitled Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands (Hongkong: 1956).

[12]German, 224, passim.

[13]Ibid.

[14]The word tulisan comes from the Tagalog word "tulis" meaning pointed--obviously referring to the pointed weapons such as daggers and bolos often used by the bandits of the time.

[15]Luis Parang and Eduardo Camerino were notorious Cavite bandits of the nineteenth century. Tiagong "Akyat" (in Tagalog "akyat" means "to ascend") made the newspaper headlines in the 1930's in the same manner that Nardong "Putik" (in Tagalog, "mud") did in more recent years.

[16]Writing just around the turn of the century, James Leroy comments on banditry in the Philippines:

> "That banditry has always had in it an element of revolt against friar rule or civil tyranny in the villages and was to that extent participated in by the more independent, if also often lawless and brutal men of the masses is unquestionable. That it has more closely assumed a political aspect in recent years, during the more clearly defined revolt against Spanish rule and during the warfare against American sovereignty is also apparent. Rizal in numerous passages has shown the political origin of much of this outlawry though as he was writing for political purposes he was disposed to overstate this element in the modern outlawry of the Philippines. Even though there is some trace of distorted patriotism in the movements of some of the bandits, they are in general mere criminals and self-seekers. . . ." James Leroy, Philippine Life in Town and Country (New York: 1905), 132-33.

The role of banditry in the Cavite revolution of 1896 is dealt with in this paper in Chapter VII.

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[17]See, infra, 161-162.

[18]Census of the Philippines, 1960, I (Manila: 1962), 17-18. Percentage of literacy (ten years and over) in Cavite as of 1960 was 83.7%, ranking fifth among the provinces with the highest literacy rates. Manila had 91.5%; Rizal and Camarines Norte with 89.9%, Zambales, 86.5%; Bulacan and Quezon, 85.6%. See also Wernstedt and Spencer, 628-629.

Chapter II

[1]The Southern Tagalog region includes all the Tagalog-speaking provinces near Manila: Bulacan, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal, Cavite and Bataan. More recent regional classification identifies Cavite as part of what is designated as Southwestern Luzon which includes the provinces of Laguna, Batangas, Cavite, the western arm of Quezon Province and parts of Rizal Province adjacent to Laguna de Bay. See Wernstedt and Spencer, 392-408.

[2]Father Juan de Plasencia was a Franciscan who went to the Philippines in 1577 with a group of friars of the same order. Under Governor Santiago de Vera (1585-90), he was assigned to prepare an authoritative account of Philippine customary law. The result was an account of the customs of the early Tagalogs called "Las costumbres de los tagalos." The English translation is in BR, VII, 173-196.

Another important source of information on the subject is the CR Boxer Codex, portions of which have been published in the Philippine Journal of Science, 4 (1958), 325-453, entitled "The Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago: Being Chapters of a Late Sixteenth Century Manila Manuscript."

[3]The Manila audiencia as the highest judicial tribunal in the colony was founded in 1853. BR, XXV, 41.

[4]BR, XVI, 74. Morga's narrative on the early Filipinos, entitled "Sucesos de las islas filipinas," along with the accounts of Fathers Plasencia, Colin, and Chirino, constitute a set of vital sources on the early Spanish colonial period in the Philippines and are translated in BR.

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[5]See infra, 63-67.

[6]H. O. Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology," PJS, LXXVII (Manila: 1949), 242.

[7]Robert Fox, The Philippines in Pre-historic Times, 36. See also Robert R. Reed, "Origins of the Philippine City: A Comparative Inquiry Concerning Indigeneous Southeast Asian Settlement and Spanish Colonial Urbanism" (unpub. diss., Berkeley, 1972), 90-91, 99-117.

[8]Swidden or shifting agriculture is defined as "any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously (implying periods of fallowing which always average longer than periods of cropping)." In Central America it is known as milpa, and in Mexico, coamile. In the Philippines, it is called kaingin. The word swidden is a revived English word for "burned clearing." See Harold Conklin, Hanúnoo Agriculture: A Report on an Integral System of Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines, 1.

[9]Although by modern standards Cavite may seem to have been comparatively sparsely populated at the time of the Conquest, nevertheless it was one of the few places in the archipelago that had a relatively dense population particularly along its coastal parts near Manila. Bonifacio Salamanca mentions four places in the island of Luzon that were fairly densely populated around 1570-71:

(a) The Bicol region, especially the area of Lake Paracale.

(b) Southwestern Luzon,which includes the Manila Bay Area and Cavite.

(c) The Pangasinan-Lingayen area.

(d) The Ilocos region, especially the Rio de Cagayan area.

See Bonifacio Salamanca, "Man's Role in Changing the Surface of Luzon: A Skeletal Survey," Historical Bulletin (1962), VI, 337. Similarly, Wernstedt and Spencer claim that "Southwestern Luzon was a relatively heavily populated region when the Spaniards came to Manila in the 1570's. In addition to the often-noted settlements on Manila Bay around the mouth of the Pasig River, there were points of settlement around the shores of the Laguna de Bay. Cavite, inside the entrance to Manila Bay was an old point of settlement." Wernstedt and Spencer, 397.

[10]Novaliches is a town some ten miles north of Manila.

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[11]Beyer, 242. Tagaytay, Amadeo and Indang are located in upland Cavite.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Cavite El Puerto is also frequently referred to as La Cabecera in early documents on Cavite. This refers to the old port and city of Cavite located on the land protruding from the peninsula. Its location then is not quite the same as that of present-day Cavite city. Monteverde y Sedano, 23.

[14]According to Antonio de Morga, "Their customary method of trading was by bartering one thing for another, such as food, clothing, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fishing grounds, palm trees. Sometimes a price intervened which was paid in gold as agreed upon as in metal bells brought from China. These bells they regarded as precious jewels; they resemble large pans and are very sonorous. . . ." BR, XVI, 128.

[15]BR, XL, 82-98.

[16]The word barangay originated from the name of a boat used by migrant groups of Malays who were believed to have come to the Philippines from Borneo in pre-Spanish times. BR, VII, 174; XVI, 120.

[17]U.S. National Archives, BIA, "Local Geographic and Historical Notes, Province of Cavite, September 16, 1915," 1. Bacoor and Kawit are lowland coastal towns of Cavite, while Maragondong lies towards the interior upland part of the province.

[18]The word maguinoo is the Tagalog name for a chieftain corresponding to the Visayan datu. See BR, XL, 86; also Juan R. Francisco, "Tagalogs at the Spanish Contact," Historical Symposium on the Beginnings of Christianity in the Philippines, 206-234.

[19]BR, XL, 86-87.

[20]O.D. Corpuz, The Philippines, 23.

[21]Regarding usury in pre-Spanish Philippines, Morga claims that "loans with interest were very common and much practiced and the interests incurred were excessive. The debt doubled and increased all the time while payment was delayed until it stripped the debtor of all

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his possessions. . . . When all their property was gone, they became slaves." BR, XVI, 127-128; VII, 173-184.

[22]John L. Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines, 20-22. Other writers, however, tend to disagree with this qualification of Phelan, claiming that as in other countries of the Malay world, Philippine slavery at times could be harsh and that it could have been a more complex institution than what Phelan has described in his book. See Bruno Lasker, Human Bondage in Southeast Asia, 36.

[23]Note the varying views of Phelan and Francisco on the rights of the saguiguilirs to own property. While Francisco claims that the saguiguilirs could not own property, Phelan holds the opposite view. See Phelan, 21; Francisco, 213.

[24]Phelan, 22.

[25]Francisco, 214; BR, 173-184.

[26]See T. H. Pardo de Tavera's annotations on the text of Plasencia's "Los custombres. . ." quoted in Nicolas Zafra's Readings in Philippine History, 120-121.

[27]BR, XVI, 75-78.

[28]Onofre D. Corpuz, The Bureaucracy in the Philippines, 7.

[29]BR, XVI, 131-135.

[30]Robert Redfield, "The Cultural Role of Cities," Economic Development and Social Change, III, 1954, 53-73.

[31]Texts of the Christian doctrine written in ancient Tagalog script are in an old Philippine edition of the Belarmino which was used by such scholars as Tavera (Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos) and Ignacio Villamor (La antigua escritura filipina).

[32]BR, XVI, 82.

[33]See Fox, 31-32.

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Chapter III

[1]See supra, 12.

[2]Rajah Soliman was one of the more powerful chieftains of the Manila area whose sway had extended to surrounding parts like Cavite. It is also theorized that Manila at the time of the Spanish conquest probably was no more than an oversized barangay. See Robert Reed, "Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: Impact of Church and State," UMJEAS, XI (March, 1967), 24-48. See also Horacio de la Costa, Readings in Philippine History, 19-20.

[3]According to Juan de la Concepcion, "The master-of-camp left with his armada for the port of Cavite to get supplies from the south. In Cavite, peace was made with many principales of the nearby towns who desired friendship with the Spaniards to liberate them from the tyranny and abuses of Rajah Soliman." J. de la Concepcion, Historia general de Filipinas, I, 407; El Oriente, Ano 2, Nu. 16 (Junio 16, 1876), 8; Nicholas Cushner, "Legazpi," Philippine Studies (1965), XIII, 200.

[4]E. Blair and J. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, VIII, 99.

[5]Cavite population as derived from tribute counts of 1591 was estimated at 1,480 for the whole province. It increased to 3,230 by 1620, then to 5,905 in 1735. See Census of the Philippines 1918, I, 132.

[6]BR, XXXIV, 308.

[7]Almanaque filipino y guia de forasteros (1834), 155; Juan J. Delgado, Historia general de filipinas, 42; Rafael Guerrero, Historia de la guerra de Cuba y la insurreccion de Filipinas, 1895-97, IV, 12. In the seventeenth century the port and city of Cavite was placed under the charge of a castellano who administered justice; a garrison; and a secular cura. There was a convent of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and the Recollects, and a hospital of St. John of God. BR, XXXVI, 95. A good map of early Cavite showing its fortifications and prepared by engineer Richard Carr, who was then in the employ of the Dutch, is found in BR, XXXVI, 215.

[8]Diego de Aduarte, Historia de la provincia del Santissimo Rosario . . . , II, 123.

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[9]F. Monteverde y Sedano, 23; J. Delgado, 42.

[10]BR, XXXVI, 95.

[11]M. Scheidnagel, Aquende y allende de Suez,1143; J. Ferrando, Historia de los padres dominicos . . ., I, 729; BR, XXXII, 90-91.

[12]U.S. National Archives, Bureau of Insular Affairs, "Local Geographical and Historical Notes, Province of Cavite, September 16, 1915," I.

[13]BR, XXXVI, 95.

[14]Patricio Marcellan de San Jose, Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino, 76-80.

[15]BR, XXI, 125-136; 182-183; Martinez de Zuñiga, Estadismo de las islas Filipinas . . . , I, 319; J. Felix de la Encarnacion, Estadistica de la provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino, 24.

[16]P. Chirino, Relacion de las islas Filipinas, 1600, 470-476; H. de la Costa, The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1769, 369. De la Costa describes the devotional life of the people of Silang, Cavite on the basis of the "Annual Letter of 1614":

> "Every day the church bells ring for all the children to come to the church. There they go in procession through the town, chanting the catechism in their native tongue. The passing of the procession, so numerous (there are as many as 200 boys) and so devotional, is a constant delight to the beholder. They return to the church where they recite the principal points of the Christian doctrine and answer questions on them. Then they hear mass, after which they betake themselves to school. Some learn their first letters, others are further exercised in the catechism; no one is permitted to work on the farm or help his parents until he is first solidly grounded in the faith. On Sundays, all the people, young and old, attend a catechism lesson in the church." Ibid.

[17]BR, XXXII, 90-91; Ferrando, I, 729.

[18]Rafael Díaz Arenas, Memorias historicas y estadisticas de Filipinas, I, 12.

[19]John L. Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines, 44-47.

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[20]Ibid. See also Reed, "Hispanic . . .," 40-49.

[21]Phelan, 46-47. The feast day of the Virgin of Porta Vaga is celebrated on the third Sunday of November each year, traditionally a big feast featuring novenas, fireworks, pilgrimages, from various parts, cockfights, and the like. BR, XXI, 182-183; Zuñiga, Estadismo . . . , I, 319.

[22]Chirino, Relacion . . ., 470-476.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Zuñiga, Estadismo . . . , I, 319.

[26]Reed, "Hispanic . . .," 44-49; BR, XIII, 161-210.

[27]PNA, "Terrenos Cavite, 1850."

[28]PNA, "Descripción de rancherías y sitios in Cavite, 1838."

[29]D. V. Hart, The Philippine Plaza Complex: A Focal Point in Culture Change, 1-8, passim.

[30]Phelan, 47.

[31]PNA, "Descripción . . ., 1838."

[32]Phelan, 105-106.

[33]Salamanca, "Man's Role . . .," 339. The Dutch made several attempts to dislodge the Spaniards in the Philippines in the seventeenth century, specifically focusing upon the Cavite-Manila area. At one point, the appearance of a Dutch fleet off the coast of Cavite caused such "confusion in Manila and Cavite [so that] Licentiate Andres de Alcaraz and the gentlemen of the Audiencia put aside their togas and girded on their swords." BR, XVII, 102-143.

[34]BR, VIII, 96-99.

[35]BR, XXV, 110.

[36]Census of the Philippines, 1918, I, 132.

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[37]In the history of Spanish colonialism, repartimiento refers either to the division and allotment of goods or services, usually labor services among the colonists. BR, XVIII, 177; XXII, 283; XVI, 165.

[38]Phelan, 111-112.

[39]Daniel Doeppers, "Spanish Alteration of Indigenous Spatial Patterns on the Central Plain of Luzon, 1565-1780," 163. The Spaniards introduced horses, horned cattle, sheep, geese, grapes, figs, wheat, pepper, coffee, cacao, sugar, and tobacco among others. M. de Zuñiga, An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, I, 9-10.

[40]Zuniga, Estadismo . . . , I, 319; Census of the Philippines, 1903 . . . , I, 376.

[41]BR, XVI, 108.

[42]Phelan, 96; William L. Schurz, The Manila Galleon, 155.

[43]Ibid., 154-190.

[44]Phelan, 96.

[45]The real situado, contrary to previous assumptions, was not only drawn from excise taxes (almojarifazgo) collected from Philippine exports to Mexico. It was actually a grant from the general treasury of Mexico to help subsidize the Philippine colony and far exceeded the amount of the almojarifazgo remitted from Mexico to Manila. See Pierre Chaunu, Les Philippines et le Pacifique Iberique xvi^e, xvii^e, xviii^e siecles, 43-44.

[46]Zuñiga, Estadismo . . . , I, 305.

[47]Rafael Bernal has provided us with additional information on the nature of Philippine hispanization which alters significantly previously held notions on the subject. In his book Mexico en Filipinas: estudio de una transculturacion, Bernal argues that because of a longer direct association of the Philippines with Mexico than with Spain, most of the hispanic influences upon Philippine culture are more traceable to Mexican rather than Peninsular origins. He cites not only a long list of important government officials and

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religious of Mexican origin who served in the Philippines but he also emphasizes the more important role played by the numerous group of common soldiers and seamen from Mexico known as the guachinangos in this acculturation process. In Mexico, guachinango refers to a kind of fish but is also commonly used as a nickname for Mexicans. In addition, Bernal enumerates a number of words for items of daily use among Filipinos which are of Mexican origin, such as cacao, panocha (brown unrefined sugar), achuete (food coloring), avocado, atole (mixture of rice and water; in Mexico, mixture of corn and water); camote (sweet potato); cacahuate; camachile; calachuchi (a kind of flower common in the Philippines but which in Mexico is known as cacalosuchtli); chico (fruit of the chico or tzictli tree); guava or guayaba, papaya, petaca, petate, sili (chili), zapote (chico tree), sincama (jicama), tamales, tiangui (market), zacate (pasture). Significantly, the Tagalog words for mother (nanay) and father (tatay) appear also to be of Mexican origin, the Nahua word for mother being nana and for father tata. See Bernal, 109-125. Other words in Tagalog are traceable to Caribbean origins such as cacique (local boss), canoa (boat), casaba, maiz, maguey, nagua (shirt), tabaco.

The chabacano dialect of Cavite city is also more the result of the blending of Mexican Spanish and Tagalog rather than Castilian Spanish and Tagalog. Ibid., 121.

Furthermore, according to Bernal, such Philippine institutions as the compadrazgo; the yearly fiestas in honor of a town's patron saint; the play called moro-moro (in Mexico, moros y cristianos); Lenten celebrations featuring flagellants; and the santacruzan (the story of St. Helena and King Constantine) exhibit obvious Mexican influences more than Peninsular Spanish. Two famous religious images which even at present are the object of much veneration among Filipinos came from Mexico: the Nuestra Senora de la Paz y del Buen Viaje de Antipolo, Rizal Province; and the Black Nazarene of Quiapo, Manila. Ibid., 123.

[48]John A. Larkin, "The Evolution of the Pampangan Society: A Case Study of Socio-Economic Change in Rural Philippines," (Unpub. diss., N.Y.U., 1966) 34-59.

[49]See map of Manila and Cavite, supra., 23.

[50]Salacot is a native peasant hat made of nipa palm worn mainly for protection from tropical heat and rain.

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[51]The word kastila was more commonly used by natives to refer to the Spaniards instead of the word españoles.

[52]Percy A. Hill, Romance and Adventure in Old Manila, 109-114.

[53]Domingo Collantes, Historia de la provincia del Smo. Rosario de Philipinas, I, 27-29.

[54]BR, XLIV, 43-44.

[55]Schurz, 77-78.

[56]BR, XVI, 165; XVIII, 174-184.

[57]BR, XVIII, 130-131; PNA, "Petition of polistas in the Cavite arsenal to be excused from work to attend to their agricultural pursuits . . .," Leg. 74, nu. 26, Cavite, 1806-1807.

[58]BR, XVIII, 174.

[59]Ibid., 231.

[60]BR, XVIII, 184; PNA, Leg. 75, nu. 26.

[61]BR, XXVI, 140; XVIII, 174.

[62]Quoted in: H. de la Costa, The Jesuits . . ., 536.

[63]BR, XXXVIII, 43.

[64]BR, XVIII, 130-131.

[65]See T. Agoncillo and O. Alfonso, A Short History of the Filipino People (Quezon City: 1960), 88.

[66]BR, XXXVIII, 114-115; 141. Detailed statistics on the rigorous labor regime in the Cavite shipyard are not available, but the following excerpts from several reports on the conditions in the Cavite shipyards are illuminating:

> "When a fleet was being prepared in Cavite there were generally one thousand four hundred of these carpenters there. Just now there are very few, for when the Mindanao enemies burned one galleon and two petaches in the past year, . . . they captured more than four hundred of the workmen and killed

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more than two hundred others; while many have died through the severe work in the building. And because they have been paid for five years nothing except a little aid, many have fled from the land; and so few remain that when the last ships sailed from the city of Manila last year, six hundred and eighteen (1618), there were not two hundred of these indians in Cavite." BR, XVIII, 174-175.

"The loss of so many ships caused us great sadness of heart. The greatest hardship fell to the indians, for they cannot live without ships. When one is lost it is necessary to build another, and that means the cutting of wood. Six or eight thousand indians are assembled for that task and go to the mountains. On them falls the vast labor of cutting and dragging the timber in. To that must be added the blows that are rained down upon them, and the poor pay, and bad nourishment that they receive. At times, religious are sent to protect and defend them from the infernal fury of some Spaniards. Moreover, in the timber collected for one ship, there is [actually enough] for two ships. Many gain advantage at the cost of the indians' sweat, and later others make profit in Cavite, as I have seen." BR, XXXVIII, 42-43.

[67]BR, XVIII, 318; Bernal, 102-103; Census of the Philippines, 1903 . . ., I, 480.

[68]"A list, with personal data of one hundred and eighty soldiers recruited in Mexico and sent to Manila in 1776 to reinforce the King's regiment," AGN, "Ramo de Filipinas, Reel 6, Exp. 6 (1776), 91-164; "Roster of Mexicans who applied for the Tropa Veterana of Manila, with personal data and reasons for enlisting," AGN, Ramo de Filipinas, Reel 14, Exp. 8 (1794), 275-326; "List of 708 Vagrants destined for Manila from Acapulco . . .," AGN, Ramo de Filipinas, Reel 14, Exp. 8 (1794), 309-320.

[69]Wenceslao Retana, Indice de personas notables y otras de otras de calidad que han estado en Filipinas desde 1521 hasta 1898, passim.

[70]See footnote 47 above.

[71]Bernal, 102-103.

[72]Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, 480.

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[73]BR, XXXVI, 214.

[74]Ibid., 221.

[75]Spanish involvement in the Moluccas dated back from the appearance of Magellan's ships in the area and was not to terminate until Spanish withdrawal from Ternate in 1667. For most of the time, "a quadrangular rivalry for the archipelago existed between the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English. The English were the first to be eliminated in 1623. Although Spain had been originally interested in the Moluccas, the islands remained for her a liability. Spanish interest in the Moluccas was complicated by two factors--the peculiar nature of their relations with the Portuguese, and the entrance of the Dutch to the area. After the early rivalry between the Iberians for the Moluccas, the Spaniards accepted Portuguese claims of priority (Treaty of Zaragossa, 1529), and for a time turned their attention elsewhere. The Portuguese were frequently engaged in hostilities with the native rulers so in 1581 Governor Ronquillo sent an expedition from Manila to help the Portuguese reacquire Ternate. This was due to the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns under Felipe II in 1580-1640. However, before the end of the century, the Dutch had reached Java and cast their eyes eastward towards the Moluccas, expelling the Portuguese from Ternate and Tidore in 1605. Four hundred Portuguese withdrew to Manila. For this reason, Governor Pedro de Acuña led a formidable expedition to reconquer the Moluccas in 1606. Acuña succeeded in clearing the area of the Dutch, establishing a strong Spanish post on Ternate and confining Dutch operations to other parts of the East Indies.

In the 1640's, the Dutch were back again, deriving tremendous profits in the spice trade of the Moluccas. However, the Spaniards stubbornly clung to their hold on Ternate until the threat of a Chinese pirate descent on Manila, that of Koxinga, led to the Spanish abandonment of the post in 1662." See Schurz, 138-141.

[76]Whinnom, passim.

[77]Edgar Wickberg, The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1580-1898, 3-41, passim.

[78]O. D. Corpuz, The Bureaucracy in the Philippines, 32-33.

[79]Ibid., 107-115.

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[80]Conception, I, 407. The absence of any significant Caviteño resistance against Spanish rule may have derived from the hostility of the Caviteños towards the Muslim Rajah Soliman of Manila. As Reed points out, "Despite the efforts of Soliman to subdue barangays along the littoral of the Manila Bay, many of the chieftains involved had been able to maintain their independence and traditional authority. During his short cruise along the thickly settled coast between Cavite and the mouth of the Pasig, Goiti encountered many Filipinos who complained of the fact that Soliman persisted in plundering their villages and killing those who resisted his power." See Reed, "Origins . . . ," 148-149.

[81]Corpuz, The Bureaucracy . . ., 112-113.

[82]Ibid., 108; Phelan, 126-127; De la Costa, Readings . . . , 184-186.

[83]BR, XXVIII, 85.

[84]Corpuz, The Bureaucracy . . . , 108-110.

[85]Phelan, 123.

[86]"El Gobernadorcillo," Ilustración Filipina, año 1, nu. 20 (Deciembre, 1859), 165.

[87]Ibid., 112-113.

[88]According to Reed, in the nineteenth century, "certain regions in the Philippines began to enjoy moderate prosperity from commercial agriculture which in turn made possible general improvements of public and private buildings. Accordingly, casas tribunales in some parish capitals were transformed into quite imposing edifices." See Reed, "Origins . . . ," 321-322.

[89]"El Indio Viejo," Ilustración Filipina, año 1, nu. 7 (Junio 1, 1859), 51.

[90]Corpuz, The Bureaucracy . . . , 112-117. De la Costa, Readings . . . , 184-186.

[91]"El Gobernadorcillo," 165.

[92]PNA, "Queja de los cabezas de barangay de Imus contra su cura párroco y el gobernadorcillo del mismo

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por obligarlos a hacer servicios de vigilantes en las garitas." Leg. 75, nu. 54; "Exposition of the principales of Carmona, Cavite due to land problem, 1745"; "Petition of the Inquilinos of Imus Hacienda."

[93]PNA, "Queja de varias mujeres de principales de Bacoor por la prision de sus esposos por no haber hecho los trabajos comunales," Leg. 75, nu. 64. Cavite, 1861.

[94]Corpuz, The Buraucracy . . . , 114; Eliodoro Robles, "Centralism and Local Government in the Philippines in the Nineteenth Century," (unpub. diss., Fletcher, 1959), 115-118.

[95]Corpuz, The Bureaucracy . . . , 114; Also, according to an anonymous write-up on the gobernadorcillo in El Oriente: "La autoridad que más directamente ejerce sus funciones sobre sus administrados es a no dudar el gobernadorcillo, especie de alcalde pedaneo y juez de paz, pero que se diferencia de estos dos funciones en tener mayores atribuciones y una cohorte o estado mayor que secunda sus disposiciones," El Oriente, ano 2, nu. 14 (Enero 2, 1876), 9.

[96]"El Gobernadorcillo," 166.

[97]PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, 1755."

Chapter IV

[1]Phelan, 155.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Reed, "Origins . . . ," 99-108.

[4]Ibid., 103-104.

[5]Ibid., 105.

[6]Ibid., 108-117.

[7]Ibid., 110.

[8]Ibid., 112-113.

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[9]See, supra, 12-13.

[10]"The Manners, Customs of . . . ," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXVII (1958), 423.

[11]F. Blumentritt, The Philippines: A Summary Account of Their Ethnological, Historical, and Political Conditions, 47.

[12]PNA, "Terrenos Cavite," T. 1, 1861.

[13]Jose N. Endriga, "A History of the Spanish Friarlands in the Philippines," (unpub. M.A. thesis, Madison, 1969), 27, 33-43.

[14]James Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies," HAHR, XLIX (1969), 411-429.

[15]PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, Memoria de Noveleta, 1890."

[16]The first crown attempt to inquire into the tenure of lands held by the friars in the Philippines late in the seventeenth century was when it commissioned Bernardino Valdez, a member of the Council of the Indies, as juez particular y privativo, to collect all the sums due to the royal hacienda of Peru.

[17]Ibid., 56-60. A couple of smaller privately owned haciendas mentioned are the hacienda of Jesus Maria y Joseph owned by D. Rafael Darwin, former subdelegate of Cavite, and located in the town of Indang; and the hacienda Iturralde in Noveleta. See PNA, "Memoria de Cavite, 1881"; Ayer coll., "Observaciones sobre el estado politico y economico de las yslas filipinas," anon., 18th century.

[18]Endriga, 22.

[19]Ibid., 58-59; Census for the Philippines, 1903, IV, 199.

[20]Endriga, 58-59.

[21]U.S. Congress, "Interview of Felipe Calderon, October 17, 1900," Sen. Doc. 190, 56th Cong., 2nd sess., 1901, 135.

[22]Endriga, 46.

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[23]PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, Estadistica, 1884."

[24]Fifth Annual Report, Philippine Commission, 1904 (Washington: 1905), 780.

[25]Sen. Doc. 190, 269-280.

[26]"Report on the Examination of Titles to Friar Estates . . . ," U.S. House Doc. No. 2, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., 1903, 812-814.

[27]APSR, mss., seccion "Cavite," tomo único, doc. 6, folios 223-227, Naic, 1888.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Fifth Annual Report, Philippine Commission, 1904 . . . , 795.

[31]APSR, mss., sección "Cavite, Naic, 1888 . . .," folios 223-227.

[32]Sen. Doc. 190 . . . , 75.

[33]PNA, "Terrenos Cavite," T. 1.

[34]This is implied in the fact that non-payment of the land rent could often mean eviction from the land and easy replacement with another inquilino. An example is the case of Feliciano Nocon of Naic, Cavite, who failed to pay the rent for which reason he was evicted, his plot later being assigned to Estanislao Angeles. See APSR, mss., t. 152, 73.

[35]John Foreman, The Philippine Islands, 313; Endriga, 44.

[36]See infra, 66, 91 for statements of Calderon and Blumentritt.

[37]Foreman, 313; Endriga, 44.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Palgrave's statement on the noticeable absence

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of centrally-administered estates seems applicable to the Cavite situation then:

> ". . . all are distinguished by the peculiar absence of one feature, rarely missed elsewhere in the colonial tropics, namely large estates. These lands--cane lands, coffee lands, hemp lands, alike all are divided and subdivided and however vast the green carpet of cultivation may be in its total extent, the irregular patches that make it up are not less infinite in number than capricious in shape . . . ." W. Gifford Palgrave, The Far-Off Eden Isles: Country Life in the Philippines Fifty Years Ago, 57-58.

[41]Eric Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Meso-america and Central Java," in J. Potter, et al., Peasant Society, A Reader, 236-242.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ayer coll., "Memoria sobre la fortificacion . . . 1840," 74.

[48]Robert Macmicking, Recollections of Manila and the Philippines During 1848, 1849, 1850(Manila, 1967),106.

[49]BR, XLIV, 126-127.

[50]BR, LXVIII, 27-34; APSR, libro t. 55.

[51]Ibid.

[52]PNA, "Cuestionario de Cavite, 1881."

[53]Vicente Barrantes, Apuntes interesantes . . . , 3.

[54]Emilio Deverter Delmas, La insurreccion de filipinas, 1896-1897, I, 125-126.

[55]Carlos Maria de la Torre, Manifiesto al país sobre los sucesos de Cavite (Madrid: 1872).

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[56]Patricio Marcellan de San Jose, Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino . . . , 80-81.

[57]BR, L,154.

[58]Sen. Doc. 190, 137.

[59]Larkin, 135-136; 170-173.

Chapter V

[1]BR, XLIX, 53.

[2]The last galleon left Manila for Acapulco in 1811 and the one from Acapulco left for Manila in 1815. See Foreman, 271.

[3]Manila actually became a free port earlier than supposed. This is indicated by the fact that the Astrea, a Derby-owned ship, entered the Manila Bay on October 2, 1796, unloaded and sold its non-Asian goods of wood compasses, hats, madeira wines in Manila. See Thomas and Mary McHale, Early American-Philippine Trade, Journal of Nathaniel Bowditch, 19.

[4]Prior to 1817, the main exports of the Philippines included copper, mother-of-pearl, bird's nest, tortoise shells, saltfish, cotton, sugar, rice, black pepper. After 1850, it consisted mainly of sugar, hemp, coffee. See Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change, Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century Philippines," (unpub. diss., Cambridge, 1955), 4.

[5]Ibid., 361. These figures pertained only to each year as indicated.

[6]See standard texts in Philippine history, e.g., T. Agoncillo and O. Alfonso's A Short History of the Filipino People, 157-158.

[7]Shipping movements at the ports of Manila, Cavite and subsidiary ones are indicated in the issues of the Gaceta de Manila in mid-nineteenth century. Issues consulted are for the period February-December, 1861, which have been reproduced in microfilm by E. Wickberg

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and are located in the U.C. Main Library, uncatalogued. Gaceta de Manila, I, No. 44 (April 12, 1861), 2.

[8]John White, U.S.N., "Manila in 1819," Historical Bulletin, VI (1962), 82-91. This constitutes to date the first description of the Philippines by an American. White left Salem, Massachusetts in January, 1819.

[9]U.S. National Archives, BIA, "Local Geographic and Historical Notes, Province of Cavite," September 16, 1915, 3.

[10]Census for the Philippines, 1903 . . ., IV, 28.

[11]Maria Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, La real compañía de Filipinas, 267.

[12]Agustin de la Cavada, Historia geografica, geologica y estadistica de filipinas, I, 172-173.

[13]Larkin, 94-99.

[14]Deverter Delmas, I, 330.

[15]PNA, "Memoria de la provincia de Cavite, 1881"; Rafael Diaz-Arenas, Memoria sobre el comercio y navegacion de las islas filipinas (Cadiz: 1838), 24.

[16]Macmicking, 228-229.

[17]U.S. National Archives, BIA, "Local . . .," 2; Cavada, I, 172.

[18]G. Sancianco y Gozon, El progreso de Filipinas, 195.

[19]Ilustración Filipina, II, 2 (March 1, 1860), 50.

[20]Wickberg describes the interrelationships between these three economies in colonial Philippines thus:

> "The native economy was a subsistence one, of mostly local orientation and concern. But it was affected by the western economy in areas near Spanish settlements, especially in the Manila area, where the overwhelming majority of Spaniards took up residence. The Spaniards of Manila drew upon the area surrounding the Manila Bay for provisions. The native economy in this area was also affected by the imports of Chinese cloths and Mexican silver reaching the area in exchange for these provisions

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sent to the Spaniards. As for the Chinese economy, besides maritime trading between China and the Philippines, it included artesanry, both in Spanish settlements and in the nearby native villages and the important function of provisioning the Spaniards. In this function the Chinese acted as a link between the western economy and the native economy, taking Chinese imports to the villages in exchange for the Spanish community." See Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 6-7.

[21]Larkin, 64-65; Wickberg, 47.

[22]Ibid.

[23]As of 1876, Cavada estimated the population of Cavite on the basis of ethnic considerations thus:

Indios [native Filipinos]	95,164
Mestizos	18,636
Peninsulares	1,401
Criollos	633
Chinos	428
Estrangeros	14

See Cavada, I, 166.

[24]Blumentritt, The Philippines . . ., 32.

[25]Although native Filipinos have always referred to local Chinese as "intsik," the Spaniards referred to them as Sangleyes. The word Sangley comes from the Chinese verb "xang liu" which means to trade; the word "xang lei" in turn means a trader. See Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, 480.

[26]E. Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine Society," Journal of Southeast Asian History, V (1964), 63-65.

[27]F. Blumentritt, Consideraciones acerca de la actual situación de filipinas, 33.

[28]J. Ferrando, Historia de los padres dominicos . . . , I, 34.

[29]Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 23.

[30]APSR, mss., seccion "HCF," "Provincia de Cavite, Estadistica, 1815," folios 1 - 29.

[31]Computed from the figures of Marcellan de San Jose, 76-88.

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[32]Around 1900, there were about 19.5% in the district of Tondo, 13.5% in Pampanga, 10% in Bulacan. Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, 443.

[33]PNA, "Number of Foreign Residents in Cavite, 1894."

[34]Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 191-192.

[35]PNA,"Provincia de Cavite, gremio de mestizos sangleyes (Bacoor, Naic, Kawit, Ymus), 1881-1883."

[36]PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, relación de las cabezas de barangay (1839-96)."

[37]Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 28-29. According to Wickberg, although by 1810 the mestizo population of the Philippines totaled only 5% of the overall population, of more significance was the fact that most of these concentrated in the more westernized and economically advanced parts of the country. Over sixty per cent were in the provinces of Tondo, Bulacan, and Pampanga; fifteen per cent in Bulacan and twelve percent in Cavite. Ibid., 25.

[38]Most schools in Cavite as in other provinces were only elementary schools, earliest ones having been founded in 1789 for Naic, 1822 for Ymus, 1832 for San Roque. See PNA, "Escuelas Cavite, 1892."

[39]Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 33-34.

[40]See Deverter Delmas, I, 385.

[41]Manuel Scheidnagel, Colonization española . . . , 11.

[42]Rafael Guerrero, Cronica de la guerra de Cuba y la revolución de filipinas, 1895-97, V, 36.

[43]Enrique Polo de Lara, Estudio social y politico de las yslas filipinas, 44.

[44]Blumentritt, The Philippines . . ., 32.

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Chapter VI

[1]Phelan, 115-116; 118-127.

[2]Bonifacio Salamanca, The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913, 6-7. See also Reed, "Hispanic . . . ," 145.

[3]Ventura Lopez-Fernandez, El filibustero, 39-41.

[4]Ibid., 40.

[5]Phelan, 94, 114-115.

[6]Corpuz, The Bureaucracy . . . , 109-110.

[7]See, supra, 59.

[8]I found useful the ideas of K. Marx and P. Sorokin in this conceptualization of social classes in the province. See R. Bendix and S. Lipset, Class, Status and Power, 28.

[9]Mao Tsetung, How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas (Peking: 1969).

[10]See Rizal's description of Capitan Tiago's house which may be considered representative of upper-class type homes of the period, in The Lost Eden, 1-3.

[11]Lopez-Fernandez, 87-89.

[12]Ibid., 7-8; 82-85; Wickberg, The Chinese . . ., 129.

[13]Mariano Ponce and Jaime C. de Veyra, Efemerides filipinas, 183.

[14]Ibid.

[15]PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, Estadistica, 1889."

[16]Ibid.

[17]APSR, "Provincia de Cavite, Acta del municipio de Naic, 1895-96, relación de los bienes de los electores."

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[18]APSR, "Provincia de Cavite, lista de los que han contribuido cavanes de palay para la iglesia . . . ."

[19]APSR, Telesforo Canseco, Historia de la revolucion filipina en Cavite, 1892, 46.

[20]APSR, "Provincia de Cavite, lista de los contributores para comprar armas para el Katipunan . . . ."

[21]APSR, "Aguinaldo's Proclamation, dated July, 1897."

[22]

Chapter VII

[1]See Gregorio F. Zaide, The Philippine Revolution; Teodoro Agoncillo, The Revolt of the Masses, 1-17.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Wickberg, The Chinese . . . , 147-167. See also James Leroy's views on the subject in BR, LII, 135.

[4]Deverter Delmas, I, 337; also, Manuel Scheidnagel, Aquende y allende al Suez, 143.

[5]Wickberg, The Chinese in . . . , 127-145. The following are the attributes of a primate city: (1) it is the largest city in the nation, "distinctly supereminent among urban places not only in population, but also in functional diversity and effective national influence"; (2) "In most cases it is the capital of a state, the locus of internal migration, a hub of nationalistic ferment, and the multifunctional center of the country's economy"; (3)"In addition to these elements of primacy, the paramount urban place generally has at least two times as many inhabitants as the second city of the nation." See Reed, 431-432. Reed's voluminous work on the development of Manila as a primate city in Southeast Asia constitutes to date the most recent addition on the subject of primate cities. Well conceived and substantiated by detailed documentation, Reed's dissertation abounds in fresh new insights into the early geographic history of the Philippines, the product of painstaking, imaginative research and analysis.

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[6]U.S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Military Notes on the Philippines, September 1898, 117-118.

[7]Ramon Fernandez y Perez, Anuario . . . , 371; Francisco Baranera, Compendio geografico de las islas filipinas . . . , 50-61.

[8]Deverter Delmas, I, 279-280; Guerrero, IV, 123.

[9]Samuel Kneeland, "Manila and Its Surroundings," Harper's Magazine (March, 1890), 624. John Foreman, who traveled around the country in the 1890's and visited several towns in Cavite described Kawit as ". . . a dirty fishing town, strewn with nets, canoes, sails, bamboos [with a] few rows of rough and tumble shops and in the middle of this uninteresting group is the large church and convent. The only amusement was to listen to the townsfolk disputing in broken Spanish." See Foreman, 453. Passing through the town of Naic, he observes that most of the land belonged to the dominican corporation "whose estate house was an imposing building, well-constructed, with a large high-walled enclosure occupying all one side of the public square." Ibid. Similarly, in the town of Santa Cruz, ". . . the arable land upon which the town depends, belongs to a religious corporation." However, the town impressed Foreman as "a neat little place . . . . The square and the native shops are tidy and there are a few well-to-do natives living here. . . . There are several water-power rice husking mills in the locality." In Indang and Silang, the coffee country, he notes that there was a certain excitement about coffee prices, presumably due to a mounting rise in the Manila market, so that "several brokers in fact had come to adjust bargains for the next deliveries." Ibid.

[10]Blumentritt, The Philippines . . . , 39.

[11]Blumentritt, Consideraciones acerca . . . , 7. Andres Novales is believed to have been either a creole or a native of Mexico who was ordered removed from his post upon arrival of fresh recruits from Spain. He was transferred to Southern Philippines and it was for this reason that he plotted with some eight hundred others in the service which resulted in the killing of Governor Folgueras among others. Novales was subsequently captured and executed and the revolt completely crushed. Bernal, 102-103.

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[12]Edmond Plauchut, "The Cavite Uprisings of 1872," Historical Bulletin, IV, No. 4(December, 1960), 8-9. Plauchut's narrative was originally published in the Revue des deux mondes (March-May, 1887). See also, PNA, "Orden Publico, Leg. 6, Provincia de Cavite, 1872." This bundle includes two sets of documents. Those which deal with the January 1872 uprising, popularly known as the "Cavite Mutiny," and those which speak of a strike which occurred in the same arsenal on September 2, 1872. Apparently there was no connection between the two events. Among those arrested and exiled was a prominent Caviteño from the Cabecera named Maximo Inocencio who was to figure prominently later during the revolutionary period in Cavite.

[13]Plauchut, 2-9.

[14]Governor Izquierdo's repressive policy was in marked contrast to that of his predecessor, Governor Carlos Maria de la Torre, whose liberal administration featured the influx of liberal ideas from abroad and a more tolerant approach towards the natives.

[15]See Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera's comments on the Cavite Mutiny and its repercussions in the Census of 1903, I, 376-380.

[16]Endriga, 58.

[17]BR, LII, 217; Emilio Diaz Moreu, La situacion de Filipinas, 65; Isabelo de los Reyes, La sensacional memoria . . . , 48-49; Foreman, 292.

[18]BR, LII, 147. A general world depression took place in the years 1893-1895. In the United States the gold crisis brought about the Panic of 1893. See Otto C. Lightner, The History of Business Depressions, 186-188; also, Clement Juglar, A Brief History of Panics and Their Periodical Occurrence in the United States, 145; Maurice W. Lee, Economic Fluctuations: Growth and Stability, 129.

[19]Graciano Lopez-Jaena, "La situación aflictiva de Filipinas," in J. C. de Veyra, Discursos y articulos varios, 110-114.

[20]Ramon Reyes Lala, The Philippine Islands, 201; De los Reyes, La sensacional . . . , 48-49.

[21]Ibid.

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[22]Foreman, 337-338.

[23]APSR, "Documentos oficiales y particulares sobre las haciendas de Santa Cruz y Naic," mss., T. 152.

[24]In Cavite, the average per capita income in 1884 was ₱5.78 yearly. This figure is computed on the basis of population over total production for each town in Cavite in 1884. See PNA, "Provincia de Cavite, 1884." On the basis of these figures, the towns of Imus (₱48.08), Dasmariñas (32.45), San Francisco de Malabon (₱17.05), Santa Cruz de Malabon (₱12.71) and Rosario (10.66) had the highest per capita income in the province while the lowest included the towns of Mendez (₱1.52), Bacoor, (₱1.93), Indang (₱1.34). These exceedingly low per capita income figures for the province may have been mainly due to the fact that Cavite at the time, like most provinces in the Philippines, was still not significantly monetized.

[25]De los Reyes, 48-49.

[26]Deverter Delmas, I, 140; Guía oficial . . . 1886, 661. At the time, Manila had a density of 481 per square kilometer; Bulacan, 77 per square kilometer and Cavite with 58 per dquare kilometer.

[27]De los Reyes, 48-49.

[28]Blumentritt, The Philippines . . . , 47.

[29]J. Calkin, "The Filipino Insurrection of 1896," Harper's Magazine (1899), 473.

[30]The Fifth District Souvenir: A Statistical, Historical and Commercial Handbook. Provinces of Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Mindoro, Marinduque, I, 334. The fact that fugitive bandits were at times given shelter and assistance from pursuing authorities seems to give credence to the idea that since banditry had peasant support in the province, it can be taken as a manifestation of agrarian misgivings against the established colonial order. Thus according to a decree issued by Governor Gandara on January 14, 1869: "Los frecuentes y escandalosos atentados de que están siendo objeto los pueblos de la provincia de Cavite por partidas de malhechores que no pueden ser extreminados a causa de la decidida proteccion que les dispensa la gente de mal vivir a personas timidas que los ocultan y dispensa la gente de mal vivir a personas timidas que los ocultan y facilitan su fuga en los momentos de persecución tienen con motivo

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llenos de favor a los vecinos pacificos y hacen que sea la misma provincia, sin que la autoridad pueda evitarlo, el foco y punto de reunion de muchos criminales, con perjuicio de muy sagrados intereses . . . ." See Miguel R. Berriz, Diccionario de la administracion de Filipinas, 749.

Commenting on the role of banditry in the revolution against Spain, Deverter Delmas says:

> ". . . importancia suma revistieron los sucesos desarrollados en la provincia de Cavite durante los últimos días del mes de Agosto, en que varias y numerosos partidas de tulisanes que en junto ascendían a mas de 3000 rebeldes, invadieron y ocuparon los pueblos de Noveleta, Imus, Bacoor, Naic, Kawit, Rosario, etc." Deverter Delmas, I, 302.

[31]Guerrero, IV, 122.

[32]Cavada, I, 167.

[33]PNA, "Cuestionario de Cavite, 1881."

[34]Margharita Hamm, Manila and the Philippines, 87; Monteverde y Sedano, 58.

[35]On the question of middle-class and ilustrado participation in the revolution, the following remarks of Deverter Delmas are interesting in view of Agoncillo's contention that the revolution was one initiated and launched by the masses:

> "Quien han sido los principales instigadores de estas fanaticos indios? Quienes los jefes del horible complot contra los españoles aqui residentes? Pues los mas favorecidos, los mas beneficiados por la patria, los mas pudientes e ilustrados de esta raza india y mestiza; los que mas obligados y reconocidos debían estarla a sus bondades, favores y mercedes, los que tienen tratamiento de excelantísimos señores, los que ostentan en su pecho condecoraciones españoles, en malhora concedidas,los que a sus generosidad deben ilustración y una posicion social, los que ocupaban puestos y desempeñaban cargos oficiales con que les había honrado España, los que ejercian autoridad en nombre de la nacion y del rey . . . . Interminables son las listas de jueces de paz, capitanes municipales, cabezas de barangay, doctores, abogados, farmaceuticos, maestras de escuela, escribientes, etc., que figuran entre los revoltosos y los detenidas . . . ." See Deverter Delmas, I, 480.

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[36]Larkin, 135-136; 170-173.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Tondo, then as now, was a laboring class section. Lala, 75.

[39]The various conflicting versions as to the place and date of the "Cry" are cited in Agoncillo, The Revolt . . . , 348-349; Zafra, Readings . . . , 612-615.

[40]Artemio Ricarte, Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte, 10.

[41]To date the most detailed account on the history of the Katipunan and its founder, Andre Bonifacio is still Agoncillo's The Revolt of the Masses.

[42]San Juan del Monte is a suburban city now in the outskirts of Manila.

[43]Ricarte, Memoirs . . . .

[44]Canseco, 4; Delmas, I, 40.

[45]Deverter Delmas, I, 305.

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----------. "Casa Hacienda de San Isidro de Naic." Mss. Libro Tomo 440.

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