READINGS IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY

By

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NICOLAS ZAFRA
Professor of History
University of the Philippines

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NEW EDITION

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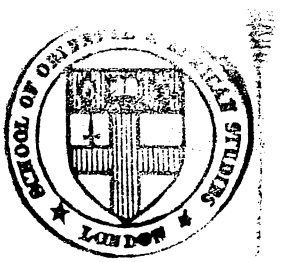

p. 22 - line 4 - omit "his" after "and"

36 - " 7 - "east" not "weast"

39 - " 4 - "hand" not "had"

41 - " 35 - "lances" not "lanches"

44 - " 17 - "Soon," not "Son"

46 - " 2 - "survivors," not "survisors"

47 - " 17 - "fourth" not "fourt"

48 - footnote 2, line 7 - "an" not "and"

59 - line 15 - "Santisteban" not "Satisteban"

61 - " 6 - "1556" not "1558"

71 - " 22 - "Eight," not "Eigh"

82 - footnote 3, line 11 - "at," not "as"

85 - line 8 - "huge," not hugh"

88 - " 25 - "commodity," not "commidity"

97 - " 11 - "sun," not "sum"

103 - " 26 - "son," not "sons"

109 - " 23-25 - omit the sentence, "And of those who die..."

109 - " 30 - "Sisiburanen," not "Sisiburanan"

109 - footnote 1, line 1 - "mythology," not "methology"

114 - line 30 - "possess," not posses"

120 - " 12 - omit "of" after "were"

123 - " 17 - "lot," not "lost"

148 - last line - "spoken," not "apoken"

155 - line 27 - omit "an" after "ate"

155 - " 17 - "Dimatanassan," not "Dimatanaesan"

157 - line 1 - "circumstance," not "circimstance"

162 - " 6 - add "that" after "sum"

165 - " 38 - "It," not "If"

165 - " 43 - add "to" after "go"

176 - " 15 - "rewards," not "regards"

177 - " 1 - "encomienda," not "encomiendas"

178 - " 2 - add "for" after "persons"

185 - " 11 - "Islands," not "Islans"

188 - " 9 - "gates," not "gaves"

194 - " 11 - add "and" after "Spanish"

206 - " 18 - "pepper," not "papper"

210 - " 32 - "merchandise," not "merchanduse"

228 - " 29 - "of," not "our"

274 - footnote 2, line 7 - "contrary," not "contrarty"

275 - line 29 - "those," not "whose"

285 - footnote (second to the last line) - "decrees," not "decreed"

291 - lines 9-10 - omit "surrendered"

299 - line 6 - "Historia...," not "Historica"

312 - " 14 - "vengeance," not "veangeance"

318 - " 7 - "condition," not "conditon"

338 - 2nd to last line - "Real," not "head"

339 - line 5 - "progress," not "progres"

341 - " 14 - omit "by" after "rendered"

351 - " 3 - "that," not "what"

353 - " 13 - "If," not "It"

362 - Line 3 - "pamave," not "panave"

385 - " 25 - "was," not "were"

388 - " 16 - "1855," not "1858"

390 - " 12 - "Sturgis," not "Sturgiss"

390 - " 22 - "fame," not "same"

392 - " 9 - "jeering," not "jearing"

399 - (7th from last line) - add "was" after "fact"

401 - line 12 - "an," not "and"

403 - (5th from last line) - "on," not "no"

419 - (4th from last line) - "howitzers," not "hotitzers"

423 - line 3 - "guaranteed," not "guarenteed"

428 - " 26 - "miserable," not "misderable"

429 - " 8 - "taeles," not "tailes"

433 - " 7 - "bridge," not "bride"

436 - " 8 - "mayores de," not "mayor se"

440 - lines 11-12 - "cabezas," not cabeza"

444 - " 5 - add "not" after "shall"

446 - " 14 - "Nueva," not "Nueve"

447 - (3rd from last line) - "college," not "follege"

449 - line 3 - "1 piastre," not "1 piastres"

451 - " 8 - "franc," not "frac"

451 - " 14 - "orphan," not "orphans"

452 - footnote, line 4 - "inmates," not "inamates"

453 - line 24 - "newspaper," not "newapaper"

455 - " 20 - "overtures," not "overtunres"

457 - " 6 - "joyous," not "jojoys"

p. 458 - line 27 - "pirouettes," not "pirouttes"

465 - " 19 - "pesos," not "persos"

466 - last line - "Girls'," not "Girl's"

468 - line 15 - "where in 1872," not "where 1871"

469 - (3d paragraph, 6th line) - "raged," not rayed"

469 - (" " , 11th line) - "concession," not "succession"

471 - line 7 - "constituent," not "consetituent"

481 - " 1 - "SIX," not "SEVEN"

483 - " 3 - omit "on" after "Affair"

557 - " 17 - "Fort," not "Forst"

580 - " 25 - "os," not "es"

580 - " 31 - "virtudes," not "vitudes"

581 - " 10 - New paragraph begins with "Uninformed"

666 - footnote, line 4 - Period after "Cabinet"

Brief accounts in the form of summaries of leading events of various periods of Spanish history have been included to enable the student to understand more clearly the nature and significance of events in the Philippines and their relationships to contemporary events in Spain and in Europe.

I wish to express hereby my gratitude to many of my former students and to friends and colleagues who, in one way or another, helped me in the preparation of the Readings. I wish to thank particularly Miss Josefa M. Saniel who gave much of her time and effort to the reading of the proofs.

N. ZAFRA

University of the Philippines
November, 1947

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Readings in Philippine History has been prepared meet the need for reading materials of students who take the course, History 5, given in the first two years of t College of Liberal Arts. This course takes up the history of the Philippines from Magellan's voyage of discov to the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution. Not ever thing in this period, however, is considered. The gene outlines of the history of this period, as well as the main events and personalities of Philippine history, are presumed to be quite familiar to those who enroll in this course. Main interest is directed to a few selected facts, incidents and episodes of this period and these are studied on the basis of materials gathered from vario sources, primary and secondary. It is hoped that, in this way, the student not only will acquire a fuller knowledge of the subjects studied, but also may gain familiarity wit and appreciation of, the vast store house of materials from which a history of the Philippines may be written. Moreover, through frequent handling and analyzing of some of these materials, the student may gain valuable experience and training in the application of the principles and methods of historical criticism.

The Readings is not designed to supply the needs of the historical researcher or investigator. The latter will have to explore the vast field of Philippine historical literature itself, using as guides such bibliographical aids as Retana's Aparato Bibliografico, Robertson's Bibliography of the Philippine Islands, and Tavera's Biblioteca Filipina. The Readings is intended mainly to meet an urgent and imperative need arising from the inadequacy the facilities of our libraries in the way of handy and convenient collections of historical sources suitable a proper for our purpose.

Most of the materials contained in the Readings ha been taken from the 55-volume collection, The Philippine Islands, compiled and edited by Emma H. Blair and James Robertson, and published by the Arthur H. Clark Co., Clev land, U. S. A. This is the most complete and extensive compilation of Philippine source materials in English so far produced. Some of the materials in the Readings, ho ever, have been drawn from sources outside of Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands. There are a few ments which, as far as I know, have not appeared in a work in English translations before this time.

PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION

In this new edition of the Readings in Philippine History, many changes have been introduced. Apart from numerous corrections, improvements and additions throughout the text, changes were made in some of the documents which appeared in the preceding edition. Some documents have been omitted altogether. In the case of other documents, passages have been left out for the sake of brevity. In their abbreviated forms, however, the latter still retain their essential character and value as sources of historical information. These changes have been made to make possible the addition of new material without increasing too much the volume of the new edition.

Notable among the new features of the present edition are the material bearing on the life and works of Rizal. These have been added in view of the enactment of Republic Act No. 1425, popularly known as the Rizal bill. The law provides for the giving of courses on the life, works and writings of Rizal as a part of the curricula of all schools, colleges and universities of the Philippines, public and private. Such courses are needed, according to the sponsors of the measure in Congress, to imbue the youth of the country with the ideals of freedom and nationalism of Rizal. The new material on Rizal in the Readings will, it is hoped, contribute in some way to the fulfillment of the aims and objectives of the law. Select passages from well known works of Rizal have been included in the present edition to enable the student in the course in Philippine history to acquire a clearer understanding and a better appreciation of Rizal and of his place and significance in the history of the Philippines.

A new chapter, the last, has also been added in the Readings. Under the title, "Philippine Independence in the New Age", the chapter is intended to serve as a fitting epilogue to the story of the Philippine Revolution. It tells of the continuation, during the American regime, of the independence struggle which was started by the Katipunan Society under Andres Bonifacio in August 1896.

I am grateful to all my colleagues in the Department of History who have rendered valuable assistance, in one form or another, in the preparation of the present edition. I wish to thank in particular, Dr. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon, Professor Josefa M. Saniel, Misses Justina A. Saltiva and Donata Taylo, Mr. Aurselio S. Estanislao Jr., Mr. Alberto C. Morales, Mr. Oscar M. Alfonso, Mr. Leopoldo R. Serrano, and Miss Flordeliza Vicente.

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December, 1956

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PART ONE

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF MAGELLAN'S VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

1. Introductory Survey

The voyage of Magellan to the Philippines, one of the great accomplishments of Spain in early modern times, was an event of the reign of Charles I (1516-1556).[1] It ranks in historical importance with Columbus' voyage to the New World in 1492 and Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1498. These voyages were the prelude to that great event of early modern times which history writers refer to as the Commercial Revolution.

From the standpoint of Spanish national history, the voyages of Columbus and Magellan were the sequel of an important event which took place in the Spanish Peninsula in the

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1 - Charles I was the son of Mad Joan (Juana la Loca), daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Philip, the Handsome (el Hermoso), son of Maximilian of Austria, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Besides being King of Spain, he was Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. He was elected Emperor of the Empire shortly after his accession to the Spanish throne.

A descendant of the Hapsburgs of Austria, Charles I founded the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty which ruled Spain for nearly two hundred years. The other Spanish Hapsburgs were Philip II (1556-1598), Philip III (1598-1621), Philip IV (1621-1665) and Charles II (1665-1700).

later Middle Ages. This was the union through marriage of two of the then leading states in the Peninsula, the kingdom of Castilla-Leon and the kingdom of Aragon. On October 14th, 1469, Princess Isabel of Castilla-Leon was betrothed to Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon. This event signalized the culmination of the centuries-old process of national evolution which had been in progress in the Peninsula and in which the small independent Christian states in Spain were united and consolidated into bigger states and kingdoms. The ultimate outcome of this process was the emergence of Modern Spain, destined to play a leading role in European affairs in early modern times.

Under Ferdinand and Isabella (1474-1516), frequently referred to by Spanish writers as Los Reyes Catolicos, the new Spain, following the example of Portugal, embarked upon the task of finding a new trade route to the countries of the Far East. The need for such a route was keenly felt at that time throughout Western Europe. For the old trade routes over which the riches of the Orient, from immemorial time, found their way to Europe, no longer proved adequate and satisfactory. For one thing, the Mediterranean Sea, over which the goods from the East were carried to Western Europe, was controlled by the maritime city states of Italy. Because of their favorable geographical situation in relation

to the terminals of the old trade routes, the merchants of the Italian city states had a decided advantage over the merchants of Western Europe in the international competition for control and domination of the trade with the East. Besides, the countries in the eastern Mediterranean, where the old trade routes had their terminals, were gradually falling into the hands of Moslem Powers.

Portugal pioneered in the task of finding new routes to the countries of the East. Under the patronage and encouragement of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), Portuguese sailors undertook voyages of discovery and exploration along the Atlantic coast of Africa. Prince Henry did not live long enough to see the realization of the Portuguese dream of reaching the East by a direct all water route. However, the project that he had started was carried on by the Portuguese with undiminished zeal. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz reached the southernmost tip of Africa. The Portuguese called the place "Cape of Good Hope," a name chosen to express their undying faith in the ultimate success of their undertakings. Twelve years later, they had the great satisfaction of seeing their dream come true. In 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed into the harbor of Calicut, India, bringing to a successful conclusion one of the most memorable voyages in early modern times. At last a direct all-

water route to the East had been found which could give traders from Western Europe freedom and immunity from interference or control on the part of the maritime city states of Italy and the Moslem states in Western Asia.

It was, however, to the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella that the honor belongs of accomplishing the first truly epoch making voyage of modern times. Six years before Vasco da Gama accomplished his memorable voyage, Christopher Columbus, sailing under the flag of Spain, and, following a bold plan of his own to get to the countries of Eastern Asia, had successfully crossed the Atlantic Ocean and had come upon a new world, (1492).

2. Pope Alexander VI's Bull "Inter Caetera".

Columbus' achievement gave rise to misunderstanding and controversy between Spain and Portugal. For it was generally believed then that the world was much smaller than its actual size and that Columbus had reached islands off the eastern coast of India. Portugal contended that Columbus had gone into regions which at that time were being discovered and explored by her own navigators.

To settle the controversy between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI issued in 1493 a papal bull establishing a line of demarcation between the areas assigned for dis-

covery and exploration to the rulers of these states. The "Inter Caetera," as this document is known, was promulgated May 4, 1493. Important portions of the document are the following:[1]

> Among other works well pleasing to his divine Majesty and cherished of our heart, this assuredly ranks highest; that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian law be exalted and everywhere increased and spread ... Wherefore, recognizing that as true Catholic kings and princes such as we have always known you to be, and as your illustrious deeds already known to almost the whole world declare, you not only eagerly desire but with every effort, zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; that besides you have already long ago dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors, as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the divine name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Moors, we therefore not unrighteously hold it as our duty to grant you even of our own accord and in your favor those things whereby daily and with heartier effort you may be enabled for the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to accomplish your saintly and praiseworthy purpose so pleasing to immortal God. In sooth we have learned that according to your purpose long ago you were in quest of some far-away islands and mainlands not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith the inhabitants of them; ... that with the wish to fulfill your desire, you chose our be-

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1 - Blair & Robertson, The Philippine Islands, vol. 1, pp. 97 ff. In subsequent citations, Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands, will be referred to by the abbreviated form, B. & R.

loved son, Christopher Colon, ... to make diligent quest for these far-away, unknown mainlands and islands through the sea, where hitherto no one has sailed; who in fine, with divine aid, nor without the utmost diligence, sailing in the Ocean Sea discovered certain very far-away islands and even mainlands that hitherto had not been discovered by others... Wherefore, as becoming to Catholic kings and princes, after earnest consideration of all matters, especially of the rise and spread of the Catholic faith, you have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands with their inhabitants and the dwellers therein, and bring them to the Catholic faith... By tenor of these presents, we do give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and towns as well as all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antartic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to the west and south to be distant one hundred leagues from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cabo Verde. With this proviso however that none of the islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birth day of our Lord Jesus Christ just past in the present year one thousand four hundred and ninety three. Moreover we make, appoint and depute you and your said heirs and successors owners of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso however that through this gift, grant, and assignment of ours no right conferred on any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and mainlands up to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be considered as withdrawn or to be withdrawn. More-

> over we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you promise, nor do we doubt your compliance therein to the best of your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit, you send to the said aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and dwellers therein, in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals...

2. Treaty of Tordesillas

King John of Portugal did not find quite satisfactory the arrangement established by the Pope. He felt that the demarcation line established by the Papal Bull was not far enough to the west to include regions which, by reason of prior discovery and exploration by Portuguese navigators, properly belonged to Portugal. He demanded that the line be moved farther to the west. The Portuguese demand was taken up in a conference of Portuguese and Spanish commissioners held at Tordesillas in 1494. In that conference the Treaty of Tordesillas was concluded, June 7, 1494. Important portions of the Treaty are the following:[2]

> Whereas, a certain controversy exists between the said lords as to what lands, of all those discovered in the Ocean Sea pertain to each one of the said parts respectively; therefore, for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and love of the said King of Portugal for the said

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2 - Ibid.

King and Queen of Castilla, Aragon, etc., they, their said representatives, acting in their name and by virtue of their powers herein described, covenanted and agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said Ocean Sea --- from the Artic to the Antarctic pole. This boundary, or line shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cabo Verde islands, being calculated by degrees, or by any other manner, as may be considered the best and readiest, provided the distance shall be no greater than above said. And all lands, both islands and mainlands, found and discovered already, or to be found and discovered hereafter by the said King of Portugal and by his vessels on this side of the said line and bound determined as above, toward the east, in either north or south latitude, on the eastern side of the said bound, provided the said bound is not crossed, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to the said King of Portugal and his successors. And all other lands --- both islands and mainlands, found or to be found hereafter, discovered or to be discovered hereafter, which have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castilla, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound, determined as above, after having passed the said bound toward the west, in either its north or south latitude, shall belong to, and remain in possession of, and pertain forever to the said King and Queen of Castilla, Leon, etc., and to their successors...

Yten: In order that the said line or bound of the said division may be made straight and as ready as possible the said distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cabo Verde islands, as hereinbefore stated, the said representatives of both the said parties agree and assent that within the ten months immediately following the date of this treaty, their said constituent lords shall despatch two or four caravels. These vessels shall meet at the island of Grande Canaria (Grand Canary Island), during

this time, and each one of the said parties shall send certain persons in them, to wit, pilots, astrologers, sailors, and any others they may deem desirable. But there must be as many on one side as on the other, and certain of the said pilots, astrologers, sailors, and others of those sent by the said King and Queen of Castilla, Aragon, etc., and who are experienced, shall embark in the ships of the said King of Portugal and the Algarbes; in like manner certain of the said persons sent by the said King of Portugal shall embark in the ship or ships of the said King and Queen of Castilla, Aragon, etc.: a like number in each case, so that they may jointly study and examine to better advantage the sea, courses, winds, and the degrees of the sun or of north latitude, and lay out the leagues aforesaid, in order that, in determining the line and boundary, all sent and empowered by both the said parties in the said vessels, shall jointly concur. These said vessels shall continue their course together to the said Cabo Verde islands, from whence they shall lay a direct course to the west, to the distance of the said three hundred and seventy degrees, measured as the said persons shall agree, and measured without prejudice to the said parts. When this point is reached, such point will constitute the place and mark for measuring degrees of the sun or of north latitude either by daily runs measured in leagues, or in any other manner that shall mutually be deemed better. This said line shall be drawn north and south as aforesaid, from the said Arctic pole to the said Antarctic pole. And when this line has been determined as above said, those sent by the aforesaid parties, to whom each one of the said parties must delegate his own authority and power, to determine the said mark and bound, shall draw up a writing concerning it and affix thereto their signatures. And when determined by the mutual consent of all of them, this line shall be considered forever as a perpetual mark and bound, in such wise that the said parties, or either of them, or their future successors, shall be unable to deny it, or erase or remove it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE MAGELLAN EXPEDITION

The Treaty of Tordesillas gave Spain the right to venture into the unexplored regions of the South Seas as the Pacific Ocean was then called. Spain, however, did not make use of this right until many years later. In the meantime, Portugal had gone to the East and had started in earnest laying down the foundations of a vast colonial empire in that part of the world. In 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut, India. In 1509, Albuquerque acquired Goa, on the western coast of India, and made it the capital of Portugal's colonial empire in the East. In 1511, Albuquerque captured Malacca from the Malays. That same year he dispatched an expedition in search of the Spice Islands.

In 1519, Spain launched an expedition of her own to the East. That year Ferdinand Magellan left the port of San Lucar de Barrameda on a voyage of discovery which eventually took him to the Philippines.

The story of the Magellan expedition is told in two important source documents: Pigafetta's account, first published in Italian in 1800 under the title, "Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo"; and a letter written in Latin

in 1522 by Maximilianus Transylvanus entitled, "De Moluccis Insulis".[1]

Pigafetta's account was written by an eyewitness of the events related therein. For Pigafetta was a member of the Magellan expedition. He went through the hardships and vicissitudes of the voyage and was one of the few among the members of the expedition who came back to Spain alive. He wrote the story of that memorable voyage around the world using as his main source of information the copious notes that he had taken down from time to time of things that happened in the course of the voyage.

Transylvanus wrote his story on the basis of the testimonies gathered by him from Sebastian del Cano, the navigator who piloted the Victoria back to Spain in 1522, and from the other survivors of the expedition. Transylvanus' "De Moluccis Insulis" has a significance of its own in Philippine historical literature. It was the first account to be published in Europe relative to the Philippines.

(1) The following is the story, in part, of the Magellan expedition as told by Pigafetta:

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1 - Pigafetta's account is in vols. 33, 34, B. & R. Transylvanus' "De Moluccis Insulis" is in vol. 1, B. & R., p. 305, ff.

Departure from Spain

On Monday morning, August X, St. Lawrence's Day, in the year abovesaid,[2] the fleet, having been supplied with all the things necessary to the sea, (and counting those of every nationality, we were two hundred and thirty-seven men), made ready to leave the harbor of Siviglia.[3] ... From Siviglia to this point (i.e., San Lucar), it is 17 or 20 leaguas by river. Some days after, the captain-general, with his other captains, descended the river in the small boats belonging to their ships. We remained there for a considerable number of days in order to finish (providing) the fleet with some things that it needed. Every day we went ashore to hear mass in a village called Nostra Doña de Baremeda (our Lady of Barrameda), near San Lucar. Before the departure, the captain-general wished all the men to confess, and would not allow any woman to sail in the fleet for the best of considerations.

We left that village, by name San Luchar, on Tuesday, September XX of the same year, and took a southwest course. On the 26th of the said month, we reached an island of the Great Canaria, called Teneriphe, which lies in a latitude of 28 degrees, (landing there) in order to get flesh, water, and wood...

Mutiny at San Julian

In that port which we called the port of Santo Julianno,[4] we remained about 5 months. Many

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2 - 1519.

3 - Sevilla. Magellan's fleet consisted of the following vessels: Trinidad (Flagship, 110 tons), San Antonio (120 tons), Concepcion (90 tons), Victoria (85 tons), and Santiago (75 tons).

4 - This port, located at latitude 49° South on the shores of Argentina, was reached March 31, 1520.

After crossing the Atlantic, Magellan's fleet took time exploring the coast of South America. Cape Santo

things happened there. In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know some of them, it happened that as soon as we had entered the port, the captains of the other four ships plotted treason in order that they might kill the captain-general. Those conspirators consisted of the overseer of the fleet, one Johan de Cartagena; the treasurer, Alouise de Mendosa; the accountant, Anthonio Cocha and Gaspar de Cazada. The overseer of the men having been quartered, the treasurer was killed by dagger blows, for the treason was discovered. Somedays after that, Gaspar de Cazada, was banished with a priest in that land of Patagonia. The captain-general did not wish to have him killed, because the emperor, Don Carlo, had appointed him captain. ...

At the Strait of Magellan

Then going to fifty-two degrees toward the same pole, we found a strait on the day (feast of the) eleven thousand virgins (i.e., October 21), whose head is called Capo de le Undici Millia Vergine (i.e., cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins) because of that very great miracle. That strait is one hundred and ten leguas or 440 millas long, and it is one-half legua broad, more or less. It leads to another sea called the Pacific Sea, and is surrounded by very lofty mountains laden with snow. There it was impossible to find bottom (for anchoring), but (it was necessary to fasten) the moorings on land 25 or 30

Agustino on the most eastern headland of Brazil was reached toward the end of November, 1519. Rio de Janeiro was reached on December 13. Leaving Rio de Janeiro on December 26, the fleet proceeded to the estuary of the Rio de la Plata. Here it remained until February 2, 1520. From the Rio de la Plata Magellan sailed to the port of Santo Juliano. Winter had begun and Magellan decided to stay there throughout the winter months. He left port San Julian August 24, 1520. On October 21, 1520, the fleet arrived at the entrance to the Strait of Magellan.

brazas away. Had it not been for the captain-general, we would not have found that strait, for we all thought and said that it was closed on all sides.

After entering that strait, we found two openings, one to the southeast, and the other to the southwest... We went to explore the other opening toward the southwest. Finding, however, the same strait continuously, we came upon a river which we called the river Sardine (i.e., Sardines), because there were many sardines near it. So we stayed there for four days. During that period we sent a well-equipped boat to explore the cape of the other sea. The men returned within three days, and reported that they had seen the cape and the open sea. The captain-general wept for joy, and called that cape, Cape Dezeado (i.e., Desire), for we had been desiring it for a long time... In order that your most illustrious Lordship may believe it, when we were in that strait, the nights were only three hours long, and it was then the month of October. The land on the left-hand side of that strait turned toward the southeast and was low. We called that strait the strait of Patagonia. One finds the safest of ports every half legua in it, water, the finest wood (but not of cedar), fish, sardines, and missiglioni, while smallage, a sweet herb (although there is also some that is bitter) grows around the springs. We ate of it for many days as we had nothing else. I believe that there is not a more beautiful strait in the world than that one. ...

The Voyage Across the Pacific

Wednesday, November 28, 1520, we debouched from that strait, engulfing ourselves in the Pacific Sea. We were three months and twenty days without getting any kind of fresh food. We ate biscuit, which was no longer biscuit, but powder of biscuits swarming with worms, for they had eaten the good. It stank strongly of the urine of rats. We drank yellow water that had been putrid for many days. We also ate some ox hides that covered the top of the mainyard to prevent

the yard from chafing the shrouds, and which had become exceedingly hard because of the sun, rain, and wind. We left them in the sea for four or five days, and then placed them for a few moments on top of the embers, and so ate them; and often we ate sawdust from boards. Rats were sold for one-half ducado apiece, and even then we could not get them. But above all the other misfortunes the following was the worst. The gums of both the lower and upper teeth of some of our men swelled, so that they could not eat under any circumstances and therefore died. Nineteen men died from that sickness, and the giant together with an Indian from the country of Verzin. Twenty-five or thirty men fell sick (during that time), in the arms, legs, or in another place, so that but few remained well. However, I, by the grace of God, suffered no sickness. We sailed about four thousand leguas during those three months and twenty days through an open stretch in that Pacific Sea. In truth it is very pacific, for during that time we did not suffer any storm. We saw no land except two desert islets, where we found nothing but birds and trees, for which we called them the Ysolle Infortunate (i.e., the Unfortunate Isles). They are two hundred leguas apart. We found no anchorage, (but) near them saw many sharks. The first islet lies fifteen degrees of south latitude, and the other nine. Daily we made runs of fifty, sixty, or seventy leguas at the catena or at the stern. Had not God and His blessed mother given us so good weather we would all have died of hunger in that exceeding vast sea. Of a verity I believe no such voyage will ever be made (again).

Arrival at the Philippines

At dawn on Saturday, March 16, 1521, we came upon a high land at a distance of three hundred leguas from the islands of Latroni, an island named Zamal (Samar). The following day the captain-general desired to land on another island which was uninhabited and lay to the right of the above mentioned island in order to be more secure and get water and have some rest. He had two tents set up on the shore for the sick and

had a sow killed for them. On Monday afternoon, March 18, we saw a boat coming toward us with nine men in it. Therefore, the captain-general ordered that no one should move or say a word without his permission. When those men reached the shore, their chief went immediately to the captain-general giving signs of joy because of our arrival. Five of the most ornately adorned of them remained with us, while the rest went to get some others who were fishing, and so they all came. The captain-general seeing that they were reasonable men, ordered food to be set before them, and gave them red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, bocasine, and other things. When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish, a jar of palm wine, which they call uraca (i.e. arrack), figs more than one palmo long (i.e. bananas), and others which were smaller and more delicate, and two cocoanuts. They had nothing else then, but made us signs with their hands that they would bring umay or rice, and cocoanuts and many other articles of food within four days. ...

Those people became very familiar with us. They told us many things, their names and those of some of the islands that could be seen from that place. Their own island was called Zuluan and it is not very large. We took great pleasure with them, for they were very pleasant and conversable. In order to show them greater honor, the captain-general took them to his ship and showed them all his merchandise - cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, mace, gold, and all things in the ship. He had some mortars fired for them, whereas they exhibited great fear, and tried to jump out of the ship. They made signs to us that the abovesaid articles grew in that place where we were going. When they were about to retire they took their leave very gracefully and neatly, saying that they would return according to their promise. The island where we were is called Humunu; but inasmuch as we found two springs there of the clearest water, we called it Acquada da li buoni Segnialli (i.e. the Watering place of good Signs) for there were the first signs of

gold which we found in those districts. We found a great quantity of white coral there, and large trees with fruits a trifle smaller than the almond and resembling pine seeds. There are also many palms, some of them good and others bad. There are many islands in that district, and therefore we called them the the archipelago of San Lazaros, as they were discovered on the Sabbath of St. Lazarus. They lie in X degrees of latitude toward the Arctic pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty one degrees from the line of demarcation.

At noon on Friday, March 22, those men came as they had promised us in two boats with cocoanuts, sweet oranges, a jar of palm-wine, and a cock, in order to show us that there were fowls in that district. They exhibited great signs of pleasure at seeing us. We purchased all those articles from them. Their seignior was an old man who was painted (i.e., tattooed). He wore two gold earrings (schione) in his ears, and the others many gold armlets on their arms and kerchiefs about their heads. We stayed there one week, and during that time our captain went ashore daily to visit the sick, and every morning gave them cocoanut water from his own hand, which comforted them greatly. There are people living near that island who have holes in their ears so large that they can pass their arms through them. Those peoples are caphri, that is to say heathen. They go naked with a cloth woven from the bark of a tree about their privies except some of the chiefs who wear cotton cloth embroidered with silk at the ends by means of a needle. They anoint themselves with cocoanut and with leenseed oil, as a protection against sun and wind. They have very black hair that falls to the waist, and use daggers, knives, and spears ornamented with gold, large shields, fascines, javelins, and fishing nets that resemble rizali, and their boats are like ours. ...

On the afternoon of holy Monday, the day of our Lady, March twenty-five, while we were on the point of weighing anchor, I went to the

side of the ship to fish, and putting my feet upon a yard leading down into the storeroom, they slipped, for it was rainy, and consequently I fell into the sea, so that no one saw me. When I was all but under, my left hand happened to catch hold of the clew-garnet of the mainsail, which was dangling (ascosa) in the water. I held on tightly, and began to cry out so lustily that I was rescued by the small boat. I was aided, not, I believe, indeed through my merits, but through the mercy of that font of charity (i.e., of the Virgin). That same day we shaped our course toward the west southwest between four small islands, namely, Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien.

At Limasawa

On Thursday morning, March twenty-eight, as we had seen a fire on an island the night before, we anchored near it.5 We saw a small boat which the natives call boloto with eight men in it, approaching the flagship. A slave belonging to the captain-general, who was a native of Zamatra (i.e., Sumatra); which was formerly called Traprobana spoke them. They immediately understood him, came alongside the ship, unwilling to enter but taking a position at some little distance. The captain seeing that they would not trust us, threw them out a red cap and other things tied to a bit of wood. They received them very gladly, and went away quickly to advise their king. About two hours later we saw two balanghai coming. They are large boats and are so called /by those people/. They were full of men, and their king was in the larger of them, being seated under an awning of mats. When the king came near the flagship, the slave spoke to him. The king understood him, for in those districts the kings know more languages than the other people. He ordered some of his men to enter the ships, but he al-

5 - The island referred to here was Limasawa, a small island lying a short distance south of Leyte.

ways remained in his balanghai, at some little distance from the ship until his own men returned; and as soon as they returned he departed. The captain-general showed great honor to the men who entered the ship, and gave them some presents, for which the king wished before his departure to give the captain a large bar of gold and basketful of ginger. The latter, however, thanked the king heartily but would not accept it. In the afternoon we went in the ships /and anchored/ near the dwellings of the king.

Next day, holy Friday, the captain-general sent his slave, who acted as our interpreter, ashore in a small boat to ask the king if he had any food to have it carried to the ships; and to say that they would be well satisfied with us, for he /and his men/ had come to the island as friends and not as enemies. The king came with six or eight men in the same boat and entered the ship. He embraced the captain-general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of raw rice, two very large orade, and other things. The captain-general gave the king a garment of red and yellow cloth made in the Turkish fashion, and a fine red cap; and to the others (the king's men), to some knives and to others mirrors. Then the captain-general had a collation spread for them, and had the king told through the slave that he desired to be casi casi with him, that is to say, brother. The king replied that he also wished to enter the same relations with the captain-general. The captain showed him cloth of various colors, linen, coral /ornaments/, and many other articles of merchandise, and all the artillery, some of which he had discharged for him, whereat the natives were greatly frightened. Then the captain-general had a man armed as a soldier, and placed him in the midst of three men armed with swords and daggers, who struck him on all parts of the body. Thereby was the king rendered almost speechless. The captain-general told him through the slave that one of those armed men was worth one hundred of his own men. The king answered that that was a fact. The captain-general said that he had two hundred men in each ship who were armed in that

manner. He showed the king cuirasses, swords, and bucklers, and had a review made for him. Then he led the king to the deck of the ship, that is located above at the stern; and had his sea-chart and compass brought. He told the king through the interpreter how he had found the strait in order to voyage thither, and how many moons he had been without seeing land, whereat the king was astonished. Lastly, he told the king that he would like, if it were pleasing to him, to send two of his men with him so that he might show them some of his things. The king replied that he was agreeable, and I went in company with one of the other men.

When I reached shore, the king raised his hands toward the sky and then turned toward us two. We did the same toward him as did all the others. The king took me by the hand; one of his chiefs took my companion: and thus they led us under a bamboo covering, where there was a balanghai, as long as eighty of my palm lengths, and resembling a fusta. We sat down upon the stern of that balanghai, constantly conversing with signs. The king's men stood about us in a circle with swords, daggers, spears, and bucklers. The king had a plate of pork brought in and a large jar filled with wine. At every mouthful, we drank a cup of wine. The wine that was left [in the cup] at any time, although that happened but rarely, was put into a jar by itself. The king's jar was always kept covered and no one else drank from it but he and I. Before the king took the cup to drink, he raised his clasped hands toward the sky, and then toward me; and when he was about to drink, he extended the fist of his left hand toward me (at first I thought that he was about to strike me) and then drank. I did the same toward the king. They all make those signs one toward another then they drink. We ate with such ceremonies and with other signs of friendship. I ate meat on holy Friday, for I could not help myself. Before the supper hour I gave the king many things which I had brought. I wrote down the names of many things in their language. When the king and the others saw me writing, and when I told them their

words, they were all astonished. While engaged in that the supper hour was announced. Two large porcelain dishes were brought in, one full of rice and the other of pork with its gravy. We ate with the same signs and ceremonies, after which we went to the palace of the king which was built like a hayloft and was thatched with fig /i.e., banana/ and palm leaves. It was built up high from the ground on huge posts of wood and it was necessary to ascend to it by means of ladders. The king made us sit down there on a bamboo mat with our feet drawn up like tailors. After a half-hour a platter of roast fish cut in pieces was brought in, and ginger freshly gathered, and wine. The king's eldest son, who was the prince, came over to us, whereupon the king told him to sit down near us, and he accordingly did so. Then two platters were brought in (one with fish and its sauce, and the other with rice), so that we might eat with the prince. My companion became intoxicated as a consequence of so much drinking and eating. They used the gum of a tree called anime wrapped in palm or fig /i.e., banana/ leaves for lights. The king made us a sign that he was going to go to sleep. He left the prince with us, and we slept with the latter on a bamboo mat with pillows made of leaves. When day dawned the king came and took me by the hand, and in that manner we went to where we had had supper, in order to partake of refreshments, but the boat came to get us. Before we left, the king kissed our hands with great joy, and we his. One of his brothers, the king of another island, and three men came with us. The captain-general kept him to dine with us, and gave him many things.

Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king who came to our ships. All the dishes of that king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out /molto in ordine/, and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. At

his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all of gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his his teeth appeared as if bound with gold. He was perfurmed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted /i.e., tattoed/ all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Calagan. When those kings wished to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we were. The name of the first king is Raja Colambu, and the second Raia Siaui.

Easter Sunday Mass at Limasawa

Early on the morning of Sunday, the last of March, and Easter day, the captain-general sent the priest with some men to prepare the place where mass was to be said; together with the interpreter to tell the king that we were not going to land in order to dine with him, but to say mass. Therefore the king sent us two swine that he had had killed. When the hour for mass arrived, we landed with about fifty men, without body armor, but carrying our other arms; and dressed in our best clothes. Before we reached the shore with our boats, six pieces were discharged as a sign of peace. We landed; the two kings embraced the captain-general, and placed him between them. We went in marching order to the place consecrated, which was not far from the shore. Before the commencement of mass, the captain-general sprinkled the entire bodies of the two kings with musk water. The mass was offered up. The kings went forward to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer the sacrifice. When the body of our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshiped Him with clasped hands. The ships fired all their artillery at once, when the body of Christ was elevated, the signal having been given from the shore with muskets. After the conclusion of the mass some of our men took communion. The captain-general arranged a fencing tournament, at which the kings were greatly pleased. Then he had a cross carried in and the nails and a crown, to which immediate reverence was made. He told the kings through the interpreter that they were the standards given to him by

the emperor his sovereign, so that wherever he might go he might set up those his tokens. (He said) that he wished to set it up in that place for their benefit, for whenever any of our ships came, they would know that we had been there by that cross, and would do nothing to displease them or harm their property (property: doublet in original MS.) If any of their men were captured, they would be set free immediately on that sign being shown. It was necessary to set that cross on the summit of the highest mountain, so that on seeing it every morning, they might adore it; and if they did that, neither thunder, lightning, nor storms would harm them in the least. They thanked him heartily and (said) that they would do everything willingly. The Captain-general also had them asked whether they were Moros or heathens, or what was their belief. They replied that they worshiped nothing, but that they raised their clasped hands and their face to the sky; and that they called their god "Abba". Thereat the captain was very glad, and seeing that, the first king raised his hands to the sky and said that he wished that it were possible for him to make the captain see his love for him. The interpreter asked the king why there was so little to eat there. The latter replied that he did not live in that place except when he went hunting and to see his brother, but that he lived in another island where all his family are. The Captain-general had him asked to declare whether he had any enemies, so that he might go with his ships to destroy them and to render them obedient to him. The king thanked him and said that he did indeed have two islands hostile to him, but that it was not the season to go there. The Captain told him that if God would again allow him to return to those districts, he would bring so many men that he would make the king's enemies subject to him by force. He said that he was about to go to dinner, and that he would return afterward to have the cross set up on the summit of the mountain. They replied that they were satisfied, and then forming in battalion and firing the muskets, and the captain embracing the two kings, we took our leave.

After dinner we all returned clad in our doublets, and that afternoon went together with the two

kings to the summit of the highest mountain there. When we reached the summit, the Captain-general told them that he esteemed highly having sweated for them, for since the cross was there, it could not but be of great use to them. On asking them which port was the best to get food, they replied that there were three, Ceylon, Zubu, and Calaghann, but that Zubu was the largest and the one with most trade. They offered of their own accord to give us pilots to show us the way. The Captain-general thanked them and determined to go there, for so did his unhappy fate will. After the cross was erected in position, each of us repeated a Pater Noster and Ave Maria and adored the cross; and the kings did the same. Then we descended through their cultivated fields, and went to the place where the balanghai was. The kings had some cocoanuts brought in so that we might refresh ourselves. The Captain-general asked the kings for the pilots for he intended to depart the following morning, and (said) that he would treat them as if they were the kings themselves, and would leave one of us as hostage. The king replied that every hour he wished the pilots were at his command, but that night the first king changed his mind, and in the morning when we were about to depart, sent word to the Captain-general, asking him for love of him to wait two days until he would have his rice harvested, and other trifles attended to. He asked the Captain-general to send him some men and help him, so that it might be sooner; and said that he intended to act as pilot himself. The Captain sent him some men, but the kings ate and drank so much that they slept all the day. Some said to excuse them that they were slightly sick. Our men did nothing on that day, but they worked the next two days. ...

Those people are heathens, and go naked and painted. They wear a piece of cloth woven from a tree about their privies. They are very heavy drinkers. Their women are clad in tree cloth from their waist down, and their hair is black and reaches to the ground. They have holes pierced in their ears which are filled with gold. Those people are constantly chewing a fruit which they call "areca" and which resembles a pear. They cut the fruit into four parts, and then wrap it in the

leaves of their tree which they call "betre" (i.e., betel). Those leaves resemble the leaves of the mulberry. They mix it with a little lime, and when they have chewed it thoroughly, they spit it out. It makes the mouth exceedingly red. All the people in those parts of the world use it, for it is very cooling to the heart, and if they ceased to use it they would die. There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs (bananas), oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo, wax, and a quantity of gold in that island. It lies in a latitude of nine and two thirds degrees toward the Arctic pole, and in a longitude of one hundred sixty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. It is twenty five from the Acquada, called Mazaua.6

We remained there seven days, after which we laid our course toward the northwest, passing among five islands, Ceylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baybai and Gatighan. ...

Arrival at Cebu

At noon on April seven, we entered the port of Zubu passing many villages, where we saw many houses built upon logs. On approaching the city, the captain-general ordered the ships to fling their banners. The sails were lowered and arranged as if for battle and all the artillery was fired, and action which caused great fear to those people. The captain-general sent a foster-son of his as ambassador to the king of Zubo and an interpreter. When they reached the city, they found a vast crowd of people together with the King, all of whom had been frightened by the mortars. The interpreter told them that that was our custom when entering into such places, as a sign of peace and friendship, and that we had discharged all our mortars to honor the king of the village. The king and all of his men were reassured, and the king had us asked by his governor what we wanted. The interpreter replied that his master was a captain of the greatest king and prince of the world and that he was going to discover Malucho, but that he had come solely to visit the king because of the good report which he had heard from the king

6 - It is now called Limasawa.

of Masaua, and to buy food with his merchandise. The king told him that he was welcome(literaly: he had come at a good time); but that it was their custom for all ships that entered their port to pay tribute and that it was but four days since a junk from Ciama (i.e. Siam) laden with gold and slaves had paid him tribute. As proof of his statement the king pointed out to the interpreter, a merchant from Ciama who had remained to trade the gold and slaves. The interpreter told the king that, since his master was the captain of so great a king, he did not pay tribute to any signior in the world, and that if the king wished peace, he would have peace, but if war instead, war. Thereupon, the Moro merchant said to the king Cata raia chita, that is to say "Look well, sire". These men are the same who have conquered Calicut, Malaca, and all India Magiore (i.e., India Major). If they are treated well, they give good treatment, but if they are treated evil, evil and worse treatment as they have done to Calicut and Malaca. The interpreter understood it all and told the king that his master's king was more powerful in men and ships than the king of Portogalo, that he was king of Spagnia and emperor of all the Christians, and that if the king did not care to be his friend he would next time send us many men that would destroy him. The Moro related everything to the king who said thereupon that he would deliberate with his men, and would answer the captain on the following day. Then he had refreshments of many dishes, all made from meat and contained in porcelain potters, besides many jars of wine brought in. After our men had refreshed themselves, they returned and told us everything. The king of Mazaua who was the most influential after that king and the Signior of a number of islands went ashore to speak to the king of the great courtesy of our captain-general. ...

On Sunday morning, April fourteen, forty men of us went ashore, two of whom were completely armed and preceded the royal banner. When we reached land all the artillery was fired.

Mass Baptism in Cebu

After dinner the priest and some of the others went ashore to baptize the queen, who came with forty women. We conducted her to the platform and she was made to sit down upon a cushion, and the other women near her, until the priest should be ready. She was shown an image of our Lady, a very beautiful wooden Child Jesus, and a cross. Thereupon she was overcome with contrition and asked for baptism amid her tears. We named her Johanna after the emperor's mother; her daughter, the wife of the prince, Catherina, the queen of Mazaua, Lisabeta, and the others each their (distinctive) name. Counting men, women and children, were baptized eight hundred souls. The queen was young and beautiful, and was entirely covered with a white and black cloth. Her mouth and nails were very red, while on her head she wore a large hat of palm leaves in the manner of a parasol, with a crown about it of the same leaves, like the tiara of the pope; and she never goes any place without an attendant. She asked us to give her the little Child Jesus to keep in place of her idols; and then she went away. In the afternoon the king and queen, accompanied by numerous persons came to the shore. Thereupon, the captain had many trombs of fire and large mortars discharged, by which they were most highly delighted. The captain and the king called one another brothers. That king's name was Raia Humabon. Before that week had gone, all the persons of that island, and some from the other islands were baptized. We burned one hamlet which was located in a neighboring village because it refused to obey the king or us. We set up the cross there for those people were heathens. Had they been Moros, we could have erected a column there as a token of greater hardness, for the Moros are much harder to convert than the heathen. ...

There are many villages in that island. Their names and those of their chiefs are as follows: Cinghapala, and its chiefs, Cilatan, Ciguibucan, Cimaningha, Cimatichat, and Cidantabul; one, mandaui, and its chief, Apanoaan; one Lalan, and its chief, Theteu; one, Lalutan, and its chief, Tapan;

one Cilumai; and one, Lubucun. All those villages rendered obedience to us, and gave us food and tribute. Near that island of Zubu was an island called Matam, which formed the part where we were anchored. The name of its village was Matan and its chiefs were Zula and Cilapulapu. That city which was burned was in that island and was called Balaia. ...

The Mactan Affair

On Friday, April twenty-six, Zula, a chief of the island of Matan, sent one of his sons to present two goats to the captain-general, and to say he would send him all that he had promised, but that he had not been able to send it to him because of the other chief Cilalulapu, who refused to obey the king of Spagnia. He requested the captain to send him only one boatload of men on the next night, so that they might help him and fight against the other chief. The captain-general decided to go thither with three boatloads. We begged him repeatedly not to go, but he, like a good shepherd, refused to abandon his flock. At midnight, sixty men set out armed with corselets and helmets, together with the Christian King, the prince, some of the chief men, and twenty or thirty balanguais. We reached Matan three hours before dawn. The captain did not wish to fight then, but sent a message to the natives by the Moro to the effect that if they would obey the king of Spagnia, recognize the Christian King as their sovereign, and pay us our tribute, he would be their friend; but if they wished otherwise, they should see our lances wound. They replied that if we had lances they had lances of bamboo and stakes hardened with fire. (They asked us) not to proceed to attack them at once, but to wait until morning, so that they might have more men. They said that in order to induce us to go in search of them, for they had dug certain pitholes between the houses in order that we might fall into them. When morning came forty-nine of us leaped into the water up to our thighs, and walked through water for more than two crossbow flights before we could reach

the shore. The boats could not approach nearer because of certain rocks in the water. The other eleven men remained behind to guard the boats. When we reached the land, three men had formed in three divisions to the number of more than one thousand five hundred persons. When they heard of us, they charged down upon us with exceeding loud cries, two divisions on our flanks and the other on our front. When the captain saw that, he formed us into two divisions, and thus did we begin to fight. The musketeers and crossbowmen shot from a distance for about a half-hour, but uselessly; for the shots only passed through the shields which were made of thin wood and the arms (of the bearers). The captain cried to them, "Cease firing! cease firing!" but his order was not at all heeded. When the natives saw that we were shooting our muskets to no purpose, crying out they determined to stand firm but they redoubled their shouts. When our muskets were discharged, the natives would never stand still, they leaped hither and thither, covering themselves with their shields. They shot so many arrows at us and hurled so many bamboo spears (some of them tipped with iron) at the captain-general, besides pointed stakes hardened with fire, stones, and mud, that we could scarcely defend ourselves. Seeing that, the captain-general sent some men to burn their houses in order to terrify them. When they saw their houses burning, they were roused to greater fury. Two of our men were killed near the houses, while we burned twenty or thirty houses. So many of them charged down upon us that they shot the captain through the right leg with a poisoned arrow. On that account, he ordered us to retire slowly, but the men took to flight, except six or eight of us who remained with the captain. The natives shot only at our legs, for the latter were bare; and so many were the spears and stones that they hurled at us, that we could offer no resistance. The mortars in the boats could not aid us as they were too far away. So we continued to retire for more than a good crossbow flight from the shore always fighting up to our knees in the water. The natives continued to pursue us, and picking up the same spear four or six times, hurled it at

us again and again. Recognizing the captain, so many turned upon him that they knocked his helmet off his head twice, but he always stood firmly like a good knight, together with some others. Thus did we fight for more than one hour, refusing to retire farther. An Indian hurled a bamboo spear into the captain's face, but the latter immediately killed him with his lance, which he left in the Indian's body. Then, trying to lay hand on sword, he could draw it out but halfway, because he had been wounded in the arm by a bamboo spear. When the natives saw that, they all hurled themselves upon him. One of them wounded him on the left leg with a large cutlass, which resembles a scimitar, only being larger. That caused the captain to fall face downward, when immediately they rushed upon him with iron and bamboo spears and with their cutlasses, until they killed our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide. When they wounded him, he turned back many times to see whether we were all in the boats. Thereupon, beholding him dead, we, wounded, retreated, as best we could, to the boats, which were already pulling off. The Christian King would have aided us, but the captain charged him before we landed, not to leave his balanghai, but to stay to see how we fought. When the king learned that the captain was dead, he wept. Had it not been for that unfortunate captain, not a single one of us would have been saved in the boats, for while he was fighting the others retired to the boats. I hope through (the efforts) your most illustrious Lordship, that the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times. Among the virtues which he possessed, he was more constant than ever any one else in the greatest of adversity. He endured hunger better than all the others, and more accurately than any man in the world did he understand sea charts and navigation. And that this was the truth was seen openly, for no other had had so much natural talent nor the boldness to learn how to circumnavigate the world, as he had almost done. That battle was fought on Saturday, April twenty-seven, 1521. The captain desired to fight Saturday, especially holy to him. Eight of our men were killed with him in that battle, and four Indians, who had become Christians and who come afterward to aid us were killed by the mortars

of the boats. Of the enemy, only fifteen were killed, while many of us were wounded.

In the afternoon, the Christian king sent a message with our consent to the people of Matan, to the effect that if they would give us the captain and the other men who had been killed, we would give them as much merchandise as they wished. They answered that they would not give such a man, as we imagined (they should do) and that they would not give him for all the riches in the world, but, they intended to keep him as a memorial.

On Saturday, the day on which the captain was killed, the four men who had remained in the city to trade, had our merchandise carried to the ships. ...

The Return Voyage to Spain

On Tuesday night as it drew near Wednesday, February eleven, 1522, we left the island of Timor and took to the great open sea called Laut Chidol. Laying our course toward the west southwest, we left the island of Zamatra, formerly called Traprobana, to the north on our right hand, for fear of the king of Portoghala; ... In order that we might double the cape of Bonna Speranza (i.e., "Good Hope"), we descended to forty-two degrees on the side of the Antarctic Pole. We were nine weeks near that cape with our sails hauled down because we had the west and northwest winds on our bow quarter and because of a most furious storm. That cape lies in a latitude of thirty-four and one-half degrees, and is one thousand six hundred leguas from the cape of Malaca. It is the largest and most dangerous cape in the world. Some of our men, both sick and well, wished to go to a Portuguese settlement called Mozambich, because the ship was leaking badly, because of the severe cold, and especially because we had no other food than rice and water; for as we had no salt, our provisions of meat had putrefied. Some of the others however, more desirous of their honor than of their own life, determined to go to Spagnia living or dead. Finally by God's help, we doubled that cape on May six at a distance of five

leguas. Had we not approached so closely, we could never have doubled it. Then we sailed northwest for two months continually without taking on any fresh food or water (refrigerio). Twenty-one men died during that short time. When we cast them into the sea, the Christians went to the bottom face upward, while the Indians always went down face downward. Had not God given us good weather we would all have perished of hunger. Finally, constrained by our great extremity, we went to the islands of Capo Verde. Wednesday, July nine, we reached one of those islands called Sancto Jacobo, and immediately sent the boat ashore for food, with the story for the Portuguese that we had lost our foremast under the equinoctial line (although we had lost it upon the cage of Bonna Speranza), and when we were restepping it, our capitain-general had gone to Spagnia with the other two ships. With those good words and with our merchandise, we got two boatloads of rice. We charged our men when they went ashore in the boat to ask what day it was, and they told us that it was Thursday with the Portuguese. We were greatly surprised for it was Wednesday with us, and we could not see how we had made a mistake; for as I had always kept well, I had set down every day without any interruption. However, as was told us later, it was no error, but as the voyage had been made continually toward the west and we had returned to the same place as does the sun, we had made that gain of twenty-four hours, as is clearly seen. The boat having returned to the shore again for rice, thirteen men and the boat were detained, because one of them, as we learned afterward in Spagnia, told the Portuguese that our captain was dead, as well as others, and that we were not going to Spagnia. Fearing lest we also be taken prisoners by certain caravels, we hastily departed. On Saturday, September six, 1522, we entered the bay of San Lucar with only eighteen men and the majority of them sick, all that were left of the sixty men who left Malucho. Some died of hunger; some desserted at the island of Timor; and some were put to death for crimes. From the time we left that bay (of San Lucar) until the present day (of our return), we had sailed fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty leguas, and furthermore had completed the circumnavigation of the world from east to west. On Monday, September eight, we cast

anchor near the quay of Seviglia, and discharged all our artillery. Tuesday, we all went in shirts and barefoot, each holding a candle, to visit the shrine of Santa Maria de la Victoria (i.e., "St. Mary of Victory"), and that of Santa Maria de l'Antiqua (i.e., "St. Mary of Antiquity").

Leaving Seviglia, I went to Vagliadolit (i.e., Valladolid), where I presented to his sacred Majesty, Don Carlo, neither gold nor silver, but things very highly esteemed by such a sovereign. Among other things I gave him a book, written by my hand, concerning all the matters that had occurred from day to day during our voyage. I left there as best I could and went to Portagalo where I spoke with King Johanni of what I had seen. Passing through Spagnia, I went to Fransa where I made a gift of certain things from the other hemisphere to the mother of the most Christian king, Don Francisco, Madame the regent. Then I came to Italia, where I established my permanent abode, and devoted my poor labors to the famous and most illustrious Lord, Philipo de Villers Lisleadam, the most worthy grand master of Rhodi.

The Cavalier

ANTONIO PAGAPHETTA.

(2) Transylvanus own story of the Magellan expedition is told in part, in the following excerpts:[1]

Background of the Expedition

Not long ago one of those five ships returned which the emperor, while he was at Saragossa some years ago, had sent into a strange and

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1 - B. & R., Vol. 1, p. 305, ff.

hitherto unknown part of the world, to search for the islands in which spices grow. For although the Portuguese bring us a great quantity of them from the Golden Chersonesus, which we now call Malacca, nevertheless their own Indian possessions produce none but pepper. For it is well known that the other spices, as cinnamon, cloves, and the nutmeg, which we call muscat, and its covering (mace) which we call muscat-flower, are brought to their Indian possessions from distant islands hitherto only known by name, in ships held together not by iron fastenings, but merely by palm-leaves and having round sails also woven out of palm-fibers. Ships of this sort they call "junks" and they are impelled by the wind only when it blows directly fore or aft.

Nor is it wonderful that these islands have not been known to any mortal, almost up to our time. For whatever statements of ancient authors we have hitherto read with respect to the native soil of these spices, are partly entirely fabulous, and partly so far from truth, that the very regions, in which they asserted that these spices were produced, are scarcely less distant from the countries in which it is now ascertained that they grow, than we ourselves. ...

Now it was necessary for our sailors, who have recently returned, to sail round the whole world and that in a very wide circuit, before they discovered these islands and returned to Europe; and, since this voyage was a very remarkable one, and neither in our own time, nor in any former age, had such a voyage been accomplished, or even attempted, I have determined to send your Lordship a full and accurate account of the expedition.

I have taken much care in obtaining an account of the facts from the commanding officer of the squadron,[2] and from the individual sailors who have returned with him. They also made a statement to the emperor, and to several other

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2 - Sebastian del Cano.

persons with such good faith and sincerity, that they appeared in their narrative, not merely to have abstained from fabulous statements, but also to contradict and refute the fabulous statements made by ancient authors. ...

Some thirty years ago, when the Castillians in the West and Portuguese in the East, had begun to search after new and unknown lands, in order to avoid any interference of one with the other, the Kings of these countries divided the whole world between them, by the authority probably of Pope Alexander VI, on this plan, that a line should be drawn from the North to the South pole through a point three hundred and sixty leagues West of the Hesperides which they now call Cape Verde Islands, which would divide the earth's surface into two equal portions. All unknown lands hereafter discovered to the east of this line were assigned to the Portuguese, all on the west to the Castillians. Hence it came to pass that Castilians always sailed southwest, and there discovered a very extensive continent, besides numerous large islands, abounding in gold, pearls and other valuable commodities, and have quite recently discovered a large inland city named Tenoxtica (Mexico) situated in a lake like Venice. Peter Martyr,[3] an author who is more careful as to the accuracy of his statements than of the elegance of his style, has given a full but truthful description of this city. But the Portuguese sailing southward past the Hesperides (Cape Verde Islands) and the Fish-eating Ethiopians (West Coast of Africa), crossed the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, and sailing eastward discovered several very large islands heretofore unknown. Thence, by way of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, they arrived at the shores of India within the Ganges, where now there is the very great trading station and the kingdom of Calicut. Hence they sailed to Taprobane which is now called Zamatara (Sumatra). Thence, they came to the Golden Chersonesus, where now stands the well-peopled city of Malacca, the principal place of business of the East. After this they pene-

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3 - Author of De orbe nono Decades, 1516.

trated into a great gulf, as far as the nation of the Sinae, who are now called Schinae (Chinese), where they found a fair-complexioned and tolerably-civilized people, like our folks in Germany.

And although there was a somewhat doubtful rumour afloat, that the Portuguese had advanced so far to the weast, that they come to the end of their own limits, and had passed over into the territory appointed for the Castilians and that Malacca and the Great Gulf were within our limits, all this was more said than believed, until four years ago, Ferdinand Magellan, a distinguished Portuguese, who had for many years sailed about the Eastern Seas as admiral of the Portuguese fleet, having quarreled with his king, who he considered had acted ungratefully towards him, and Christopher Haro, brother of my father-in-law, of Lisbon, who had, through his agents for many years carried on trade with those eastern countries, and more recently with the Chinese, so that he was well acquainted with these matters (he also, having been ill-used by the King of Portugal, had returned to his native country, Castille), pointed out to the emperor, that it was not yet clearly ascertained, whether Malacca was within the boundaries of the Portuguese or of the Castilians, because hitherto its longitude had not been definitely known, but that it was an undoubted fact that the Great Gulf and the Chinese nations were within the Castilian limits. They asserted also that it was absolutely certain, that the islands called the Moluccas, in which all sorts of spices grow, and from which they were brought to Malacca, were contained in the Western, or Castilian division, and that it would be possible to sail to them, and to bring the spices at less trouble and expense from their native soil to Castile. The plan of the voyage was to sail west, and then coasting the Southern Hemisphere round the south of America to the East. ...

The emperor and his council considered that the plan proposed by Magellan and Haro, though holding out considerable advantages, was one of very considerable difficulty as to execution. After some delay, Magellan offered to go out himself, but Haro

undertook to fit out a squadron at the expense of himself and his friends provided that they were allowed to sail under the authority and patronage of his Majesty. As each resolutely upheld his own scheme, the emperor himself fitted out a squadron of five ships and appointed Magellan to the command. It was ordered that they should sail southwards by the coast of Terra Firma, until they found either the end of that country or some strait, by which they might arrive at the spice-bearing Moluccas.

Departure of the Expedition - Discovery of the Strait of Magellan

Accordingly on the tenth of August, 1519, Ferdinand Magellan with his five ships sailed from Seville. In a few days they arrived at the Fortunate Islands, now called Canaries. Thence they sailed to the islands of Hesperides (Cape Verde), and thence sailed in a southwesterly direction towards that continent which I have already mentioned (Terra Firma or South America) and after a favorable voyage of a few days discovered a promontory, which they called St. Mary's. Thence they coasted along this continent, which extends far on southwards, and which I now think should be called the Southern Polar land, then gradually slopes off in a westerly direction, and so sailed several degrees south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Not till the end of March in the following year, (1520), did they arrive at a bay, which they called St. Julian's Bay. ... They stated that the longitude was fifty-six degrees west of the Canaries.

As soon as Magellan observed that the weather was less stormy and that the winter began to break up, he sailed out of St. Julian's Bay on the twenty-fourth of August 1520, as before. For some days he coasted along to the southward and at last sighted a cape, which they called Cape Santa Cruz. Here a storm from the east caught them, and one of the five ships was driven on shore and wrecked, but the crew and all goods on board were saved, except an African slave who was drowned. After

this the coast seemed to stretch a little south eastwards, and as they continued to explore it, on the twenty-sixth of November (1520) an opening was observed having the appearance of a strait; Magellan at once sailed in with his whole fleet, and seeing several bays in various directions, directed three of the ships to cruise about to ascertain whether there was any way through, undertaking to wait for them five days at the entrance of the strait so that they might report what success they had. One of these ships was commanded by Alvaro de Mesquita, son of Magellan's brother, and this by the windings of the channel came out again into the ocean whence it had set out. When the Spaniards saw that they were at a considerable distance from the other ships, they plotted among themselves to return home, and having put Alvaro their Captain in irons, they sailed northwards, and at last they reached the coast of Africa, and there took in provisions, and eight months after leaving the other ships, they arrived in Spain, where they brought Alvaro to trial on the charge that it had chiefly been through his advice and persuasion that his uncle Magellan had adopted such severe measures against the Castilians. Magellan waited some days over the appointed time for his ship, and meanwhile one ship had returned, and reported that they had found nothing but a shallow bay, and the shores stony and with high cliffs; but the other reported that the greatest bay had the appearance of a strait, as they had sailed on for three days and had found no way out, but that the farther they went the narrower the passage became, and it was so deep, that in many places they sounded without finding the bottom; they also noticed from the tide of the sea, that the flow was somewhat stronger than the ebb, and thence they conjectured that there was a passage that way into some other sea. On hearing this Magellan determined to sail along this channel. This strait, though not then known to be such, was of the breadth in some places of three, in others of two, in others of five or ten Italian miles and inclined slightly to the west. ...

Crossing the Pacific

Magellan saw that the main land extended due north, and therefore gave orders to turn away from the great continent, leaving it on the right had, and to sail over that vast and extensive ocean, which have probably never been traversed by our ships or by those of any other nation, in a northwesterly direction, so that they might arrive at last at the Eastern ocean, coming at it from the west, and again enter the torrid zone, for he was satisfied that the Moluccas were in the extreme east, and could not be far off the equator. They continued in this course, never deviating from it, except when compelled to do so now and then by the force of the wind. ... After sailing for three months and twenty days with good fortune over this ocean, and having traversed a distance almost too long to estimate, having had a strong wind aft almost the whole of the time, and having again crossed the equator, they saw an island, which they afterwards learnt from the neighboring people was called Inuagana.[4] When they came nearer to it, they found the latitude to be eleven degrees north; the longitude they reckoned to be one hundred and fifty-eight degrees west of Cadiz.

Arrival in the Philippines

Our men then sailed towards Selani,[5] but a storm caught them so that they could not land there, but they were driven to another island called Massana,[6] where the king of the three islands resides. From this island they sailed to Subuth (Zebu), a very large island, and well supplied, where having come to a friendly arrangement with the Chief they immediately landed to celebrate divine worship according to Christian usage - for the festival of the resurrection of Him who has saved us was at hand. Accordingly with some of the sails of the ships and branches of trees they erected a chapel, and in it cons-

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4 - An island in the Marianas.
5 - The Ceylon of Pigafetta.
6 - Limasawa.

tructed an altar in the Christian fashion, and divine service was duly performed. The chief and a large crowd of Indians came up, and seemed much pleased with the religious rites. They brought the admiral and some of the officers into the chief's cabin, and set before them what food they had. The bread was made of sago, which is obtained from the trunk of a tree not much unlike the palm. This is chopped up small, and fried in oil, and used as bread, a specimen of which I sent to your Lordship; their drink was a liquor which flows from the branches of palm-trees when cut, some birds were also served up at this meal; and also some of the fruit of the country. Magellan having noticed in the chief's house a sick person in a very wasted condition, asked who he was and from what disease he was suffering. He was told that it was the chief's grandson, and that he has been suffering for two years from a violent fever. Magellan exhorted him to be of good courage, that if he would devote himself to Christ, he would immediately recover his former health and strength. The Indian consented and adored the Cross and received baptism, and the next day declared that he was well again, rose from his bed, and walked about and took his meals like the others. What visions he may have told his friends I can not say; but the chief and over twenty hundred Indians were baptized and professed the name and faith of Christ. Magellan seeing that this island was rich in gold and ginger, and that it was so conveniently situated with respect to the neighboring islands, that it would be easy, making this his headquarters, to explore their resources and natural productions, he therefore went to the chief of Subuth and suggested to him, that since he had turned away from the foolish and impious worship of false gods to the Christian religion, it would be proper that the chiefs of neighboring islands should obey his rule; that he had determined to send envoys for this purpose, and if any of the chiefs should refuse to obey this summons, to compel them to do so by force of arms. The proposal pleased the savage, and the envoys, were sent: the chiefs came in one by one and paid homage to the Chief of Subuth in the manner adopted in those countries.

The Mactan Affair

But the nearest island is called Mauthan (Matan), and its king was superior in military force to the other chiefs; and he declined to do homage to one whom he had been accustomed to command for so long. Magellan, anxious to carry out his plan, ordered forty of his men, whom he could rely for valor and military skill to arm themselves and passed over to the island Mauthan in boats, for it was very near. The chief of Subuth furnished him with some of his own people, to guide him as to the topography of the island and the character of the country, and, if it should be necessary to help him in the battle. The king of Mauthan, seeing the arrival of our men, led into the field some three thousand of his people. Magellan, drew up his own men, and what artillery he had, though his force was somewhat small, on the shore, and although he saw that his force was much inferior in numbers, and that his opponents were a warlike race, and were equipped with lances and other weapons, nevertheless thought it more advisable to face the enemy with them, than to retreat, or to avail himself of the aid of the Subuth islanders. Accordingly he exhorted his men to have courage, and not to be alarmed at the superior force of the enemy; since it had often been the case, as had recently happened in the island (Peninsula) of Yucatan, that two hundred Spaniards had routed two or even three hundred thousand Indians. He said to the Subuth islanders, that he had not brought them with him to fight, but to see the valour and military prowess of his men. Then he attacked the Mauthan islanders, and both sides fought boldly; but as the enemy surpassed our men in number, and used longer lanches, to the great damage of our men, at last Magellan himself was thrust through and slain. Although the survivors did not consider themselves fairly beaten yet, as they had lost their leader, they retreated; but as they retreated in good order, the enemy did not venture to pursue them. The Spaniards then, having lost their admiral, Magellan, and seven of their comrades, returned to Subuth, where they chose as their new admiral John Serrano, a man of no con-

temptible ability. He renewed the alliance with the chief of Subuth, by making him additional presents, and undertook to conquer the king of Mauthan.

Massacre at Cebu

Magellan had been the owner of a slave, a native of Mollucas, whom he had formerly bought in Malacca; and by means of this slave, who was able to speak Spanish fluently, and of an interpreter of Subuth, who could speak the Moluccan language, our men carried on their negotiations. This slave had taken part in the fight with the Mauthan islanders, and had been slightly wounded, for which reason he lay by all day intending to nurse himself. Serrano, who could do no business without his help, rated him soundly, and told him that though his master Magellan was dead, he was still a slave, and that he would find that such was the case, and would get a good flogging into the bargain, if he did not exert himself and to do what was required of him more zealously. This speech much incensed the slave against our people: but he concealed his anger and in a few days went to the chief of Subuth, and told him that the avarice of the Spaniards was insatiable: that they had determined, as soon as they should have defeated the king of Mauthan, to turn round upon him, and take him away as a prisoner; and that the only course for him (the Chief of Subuth) to adopt was to anticipate by treachery. The savage believed this, and secretly came to understanding with the chief of Mauthan, and made arrangements with him for common action against our people. Admiral Serrano, and twenty seven of the principal officers and men, were invited to a solemn banquet. These, went unsuspectingly, for the natives had carefully dissembled their intentions, went on the shore without precautions, to take their dinner with the Chief. While they were at the table, some armed men, who had been concealed close by, ran in and slew them. A great outcry was made: it was reported on our ships that our men were killed, and that, the whole island was hostile to us; our men saw from on board the ships, that the handsome cross, which they had set up in a tree, was torn down by the natives and cut into fragments. When the Spaniards,

who had remained on board, heard of the slaughter of our men, they feared further treachery: so they weighed anchor and began to set sail without delay. Soon afterwards Serrano was brought to the coast a prisoner; he entreated them to deliver him from so miserable a captivity saying that he had got leave to be ransomed, if his men would agree to it. Although our men thought it was disgraceful to leave their commander behind in this way, their fear of the treachery of islanders was so great that they put to sea, leaving Serrano on the shore in vain lamenting and beseeching his comrades to rescue him. The Spaniards having lost their commander and several of their comrades, sailed on sad and anxious, not merely on the account of the loss they had suffered, but also because their number had been so diminished, that it was no longer possible to work the three remaining ships.

The Return Voyage

On this question they consulted together, and unanimously came to this conclusion, that the best plan was to burn one of the ships, and to sail home in the two remaining. They therefore sailed to a neighboring island, called Cohol (Bohol), and having put the rigging and stores of one of the ships on board the two, others, set it on fire. Hence they proceeded to the island of Gibeth.[7] Although they found that this island was well supplied with gold and ginger and many other things, they did not think it desirable to stay there any length of time as they could not establish friendly relations with the natives and they were too few in number to venture to use force. From Gibeth they proceeded to the island of Porne (Borneo). In this archipelago there are two large islands: one of which is called Siloli (Gilolo), whose king had six hundred children. Siloli is larger than Porne, for Siloli can

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7 - Quipit, a port on the northwest part of Mindanao.

hardly be circumnavigated in six months, but Porne in three months. Although Siloli is larger than Porne, yet the latter is more fertile, and distinguished as containing a large city of the same name as the island. ... On leaving this island our men having paid their respects to the king, and propitiated him by presents, sailed to the Moluccas, their way to which had been pointed out to them by the king. Then they came to the coast of the island of Solo, where they heard that pearls were to be found as large as dove's eggs, or even hen's eggs, but that they were only to be had in very deep water. Our men did not bring home any single large pearl, as they were not there at the season of the year for pearl-fishing. They said however that they found an oyster there the flesh of which weighed forty-seven pounds. ... Son after our men had sailed from Thedori, the larger of the two ships (the Trinidad) sprang a leak, which let in so much water, that they were obliged to return to Thedori. The Spaniards seeing that this defect could not be put right except with much labor and loss of time, agreed that the other ship (the Victoria) should sail to the Cape of Cattigara, thence across the ocean as far as possible from the Indian coast, lest they should be seen by the Portuguese, until they came in sight of the southern point of Africa, beyond the tropic of Capricorn, which the Portuguese call the Cape of Good Hope, for thence the voyage to Spain was easy. It is also arranged that, when the repairs of the other ship were completed, it should sail back through the Archipelago and the Vast (Pacific) Ocean to the coast of the continent, which we have already mentioned (South America) until they came to the Isthmus of Darien, where only a narrow neck of land divides the South Sea from the Western Sea, in which are the islands belonging to Spain. The smaller ship accordingly set sail again from Thedori, and though they went as far as twelve degrees south, they did not find Cattigara, which Ptolemy considered to lie considerably south of the equator; however after a long voyage, they arrived in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and thence sailed to the Cape Verde Islands. Here this ship also, after having been so long at sea, began to be leaky, and the men, who had lost several of their companions through hardship in the course of their adventure, were un-

able to keep the water pumped out. They therefore landed at one of the islands called Santiago, to buy slaves. As our men, sailor-like, had no money, they offered cloves in exchange for slaves. When the Portuguese officials heard of this, they committed thirteen of our men to prison. The rest eighteen in number, being alarmed at the position in which they found themselves, left their companions behind, and sailed direct to Spain. Sixteen months after they had sailed from Thedori, on the sixth of September 1522, they arrived safe and sound at a port (San Lucas) near Seville. These sailors were certainly more worthy of perpetual fame, than the Argonauts who sailed with Jason to Colchis, and the ship itself deserves to be placed among the constellations more than the ship Argo. For the Argo only sailed from Greece through the Black Sea, but our ships setting out from Seville sailed first southwards, then through the whole of the West, into the Eastern Seas, then back again into the Western.

CHAPTER THREE

LATER ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION, 1525-1565

1. The Loaisa Expedition

The return of the Victoria in September, 1522, with survisors of the Magellan expedition aroused in Spain great enthusiasm and interest. King Charles I himself was much impressed by what had been accomplished. Shortly after the return of the Victoria he gave orders for the launching of a new expedition to the East "to reap the fruits of Magellan's discoveries." It was his aim to extend to the East the Spanish colonial empire.

Preparations for the new expedition were completed in the summer of 1525. A much larger expeditionary force than the one led by Magellan was assembled. It included seven vessels and 450 men. In command of the expedition was Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, a distinguished Spaniard, a man well versed and experienced in the art of navigation. Accompanying him as ranking officer was Sebastian del Cano, who had made a name for himself as an able pilot and navigator by successfully bringing home the Victoria. One of the members of the expedition was a young man named Andres de Urdaneta. Urdaneta, like many a young man of his time, was full of the spirit of adventure. He joined

the expedition desirous of seeing new lands and strange peoples in the East.

The Loaisa expedition, with all the preparations made to assure its success, came to an inglorious end. Misfortune and disaster awaited it on the long and arduous way to the East. The fleet left the port of Coruña on July 24, 1525. Even before the Strait of Magellan was reached, three ships had been lost, - two were wrecked and one deserted. Later, after the passage of the Strait had been accomplished, another ship was forced to separate from the fleet. Shortly after the fleet entered the Pacific Ocean, a series of misfortunes befell the expedition in rapid succession. Four hundred leagues from the Strait of Magellan Loaisa died July 30, 1526. His successor, Sebastian del Cano, also died a few days after assuming command. The third commander, Toribio de Salazar, died September 15, 1526. The fourt in succession to the command of the expedition, Martin de Iñiguez, lived until July 11, 1527, when he, too, died. The last commander, Hernando de la Torre, succeeded in bringing the fleet to one of the Moluccas Islands, but no better luck awaited him there. He and his companions fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

Of the original group that started on the venture, only a few lived to tell the story of this ill-fated expe-

dition. One of them was Andres de Urdaneta. He and the other survivors returned to Spain in 1536.

An important source of information on the Loaisa expedition is the account written by Andres de Urdaneta. This was published in Spain shortly upon Urdaneta's return from the East in 1536.[1] In this account, Urdaneta made some interesting observations regarding the lands he visited in the East, their natural productions, and the customs and peculiarities of their inhabitants. The following are portions of his observations on Mindanao and the Moluccas:

> Arriving at Bendanao (Mindanao), we anchored at the port of Bizaya.[2] Later on we went ashore in a small boat to trade with the inhabitants of the place. The latter had swine and hens, but they would not sell any of these to us. These people are well dressed. They wear cotton and silk clothes and satins from China. In this island of Bendanao there is much gold. They offered to sell to us a quantity of this metal. Here we

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1 - It bears the title "Relacion del Viaje de la Armada del Comendador Ga de Loaisa a las Islas de la Espececeria..." It was published in Valladolid, Feb. 28, 1537. The document is found in Coleccion de Doc. Ineditos del Real Archivo de Indias, vol. 5, Madrid, 1866.

2 - The identity of this port is not known. The expedition touched at various places on the eastern coast of Mindanao but there is no port at present under that name anywhere in Eastern Mindanao. Urdaneta, however, stated that "forty leagues from there (the port of Bizaya) we came to another island which is called Talao." Urdaneta was referring here to Talaud, and island south of Mindanao. On the basis of this reference, it can be said that the port of Bizaya must have been located somewhere on the southeastern coast of Mindanao.

got an Indian whom we brought to Maluco. The latter told us that every year two junks from China came to the place to buy gold and pearls of which there is an abundance. Cinnamon also abound in the western part of the island...

The island of Maluco which produce cloves are Tidore, Terrenate, Motil, Maquian, and Bachan... In this five islands eleven thousand six hundred quintales more or less of cloves are raised every year...

If it should please Your Majesty to order the establishment of trade with Maluco, to the end that all the cloves, nutmegs, and mace gathered in those islands could be brought to España, then of necessity all those who wish to buy these articles will have to go to wherever Your Majesty commands that the traffic in these articles be made. For Your Majesty should know that nowhere else in the known world are cloves, nutmegs, and mace produced. Therefore, to Your Majesty these islands of Maluco and Banda should be of great interest for from spices alone they bring an income of more than 600,000 ducados a year...

2. The Saavedra Expedition

Two other expeditions were despatched to the East subsequent to the departure of Loaisa: the Sebastian Cabot expedition, dispatched from Seville, Spain, on April 13, 1526, and the Saavedra expedition, which was launched from Mexico, on October 31, 1527. The Cabot expedition consisting of four ships and 250 men failed to reach its destination. After spending three years exploring the eastern coast of South America in a futile attempt to discover a shorter route to the East, fighting hostile Indians, and searching

for gold, it returned to Spain, arriving there in August, 1530.

The Saavedra expedition was prepared by Hernando Cortes, Viceroy of Mexico, in compliance with an order from Charles I. It was the first Spanish venture to the East to be launched from the New World. Placed under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra, cousin of Cortes, the expedition set out to accomplish four objectives: (1) to rescue Juan Serrano and other Spaniards who had been left in Cebu in 1521; (2) to look for the Trinidad, one of the vessels in the Magellan expedition; (3) to find out what befell the Cabot expedition; and (4) to follow up the Loaisa expedition and render to it whatever assistance it needed.

Saavedra brought with him a letter from Hernan Cortes, Viceroy of Nueva España, for delivery to the King of Cebu. In that letter, Cortes expressed, in the name and on behalf of the King of Spain, his regrets for Magellan's actuations in Cebu. "The King grieved," Cortes wrote, "at having a captain who departed from the royal commands and instructions that he carried, especially in his having stirred up war or discord with you and yours." Cortes also requested the release of Spaniards held captives by the King of Cebu. "This Emperor our lord," he wrote, "will be much pleased if you will deliver to this captain (Saavedra) any of the

Spaniards who are still alive in your prison. If you wish a ransom for it, he shall give it you at your pleasure and to your satisfaction."[1]

With three ships and 110 men the Saavedra expedition sailed from the port of Zaguatanejo, Mexico. Like the Loaisa expedition before it, it met with misfortune and disaster on the way. Somewhere in the mid-Pacific, two of Saavedra's vessels were wrecked. With only one vessel with him, Saavedra succeeded in reaching Mindanao, but he was unable to go to Cebu as he had planned to do in fulfillment of one of the objectives of his expedition. His lone vessel was swept by strong winds to Tidore, one of the Moluccas islands. Here he met the remnants of the Loaisa expedition. After staying for about two months in Tidore, Saavedra prepared to go back to Mexico. He was not destined, however, to see Mexico again. He died at sea, October 9, 1529.[2]

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1 - The full text of the letter is in B. & R., Vol. 2, p. 39, ff.

2 - An important source of information on the Saavedra expedition is the account written by Vivencio de Napoles entitled "Relacion Hechas por Vivencio de Napoles, del Viaje que Hizo la armada que Hernan Cortes Envió en Busca de las Islas de la Especeria." It is found in Martin Fernandez de Navárrete's Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde mes del siglo XV, vol. 5, Madrid, 1837.

3. The Treaty of Zaragoza

Spain's venture in the East with the Magellan expedition gave rise to a dispute between Spain and Portugal over the ownership of the Moluccas and other islands in the East. Spain claimed that these lands were within the Spanish side of the line of demarcation as fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Portugal on the other hand, maintained that the lands in question rightly belonged to her by reason of prior discovery and occupation.

Two conferences were held in 1524 to settle the controversy, - one at Victoria, Spain, in February 1524, and another at Badajoz, April 11 to May 31, 1524. No satisfactory result came out of them. In 1529, the two nations finally were able to reach an agreement. By this time, Spain was no longer in a mood to make further attempts at colonization in the East. She had incurred heavy expenses in fitting out the Loaisa, Cabot, and Saavedra expeditions and up to that time, no favorable report had been received from any of them. Under the circumstances, Spain was inclined to agree to relinquish whatever rights she claimed in the East especially if in so doing she could obtain a large sum of money from Portugal. The Treaty of Zaragoza, conluded April 22, 1529, represented a withdrawal on the part of Spain, at least for the time being, from further

colonial ventures in the East.

Important provisions of the Treaty are the following:[1]

> Inasmuch as there existed a doubt between the said Emperor and King of Castilla, etc., and the said King of Portugal, etc., concerning the ownership, possession, and rights, or possession or quasi possession, navigation, and trade of Maluquo and other islands and seas, which each one of the said lords, the emperor and king of Castilla and the King of Portugal declares as his, both by virtue of the treaties made by the most exalted, powerful, and Catholic sovereigns, Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, rulers of Castilla, grandparents of the said emperor and the King, Don Joam the Second of Portugal (may they rest in glory) about the demarcation of the Ocean Sea and by virtue of other rights and privileges which each one of the said emperor and monarchs asserts to belong and pertain to said islands, seas, and lands belonging to him of which he is in possession; the said emperor and monarchs have covenanted and agreed as to the said doubts and disputes in the following form and manner:
>
> First, the said grand chancellor, the bishop of Osma and the commander-in-chief of Calatrava, attorneys of the said emperor and sovereign of Castilla declared that they, in his name, and by virtue of their said power of attorney would sell and in fact did sell from this day and for all time, to the said King of Portugal, for him and all the successors to the crown of his kingdoms, all rights, action, dominion, ownership, and possession or quasi possession, and all rights of navigation, traffic, and trade in any manner whatsoever; that the said emperor and king of Castilla declares that he holds and could hold howsoever and in whatsoever manner in the said Maluquo, the islands, places, lands, and seas, as will be declared hereafter; this, with the decla-

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1 - B. & R., vol. 1. The treaty was ratified by King Charles I of Spain the day following the signing of the Treaty. King John III ratified it later on June 20, 1530.

rations, limitations, conditions, and clauses contained and stated hereunder for the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats of gold,[2] paid in the current money, of gold or silver, each ducat being valued in Castilla at three hundred and seventy-five maravedis.[3] The said King of Portugal will give and pay this amount to the said emperor and King of Castilla, and to the persons whom his Majesty may appoint, in the following manner: one hundred and fifty thousand ducats to be paid at Lixbona, within the first fifteen or twenty days after this contract, confirmed by the said emperor and king of Castilla, shall have arrived at the city of Lixboa, or wherever the said King of Portugal may be; thirty thousand ducats to be paid in Castilla - twenty thousand at Valhadolid and ten thousand at Sevilla, by the twentieth day of the month of May of this present year; seventy thousand ducats to be paid in Castilla at the May fair of Medina del Campo of this same year, at the terms of the payments of said fair; and the hundred thousand ducats remaining at the October fair at the said town of Medina del Campo of this same year, at the terms of the payment of the same - all to be paid over and above the rate of exchange. ... The aforesaid sale is made by the said emperor and king of Castilla to the said King of Portugal on condition that, at whatever time the said emperor and King of Castilla or his successors, should wish to return, and should return, all of the said three hundred and fifty thousand ducats without any shortage to the said King of Portugal or his successors, the said sale becomes null and void and each one of the said sovereigns shall enjoy the right and authority which he now holds and claims to hold, both as regards the right of possession or quasi possession, and as regards the proprietorship, howsoever and in whatever manner they belong to him, as if this contract were not made, and in the manner in which they first held possession and claimed to hold it, and this contract shall cause no prejudice or innovation.

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2 - A "ducat" was a gold coin worth, in former times, about $2.2879, or about ₱4.57 Philippine currency.

3 - Maravedi was a Spanish copper coin introduced by Ferdinand and Isabella. It was worth nominally 1/34 real.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said attorneys, in the names of their said constituents, that, in order to ascertain what islands, places, lands, seas, and their rights and jurisdiction, are sold, henceforth and forever, by the said emperor and King of Castille, by this contract under the aforesaid condition, to the said King of Portugal, a line must be determined from pole to pole, that is to say, from north to south, by a semicircle extending northeast by east nineteen degrees from Maluquo, to which number of degrees correspond almost seventeen degrees on the equinoctial, amounting to two hundred and ninety-seven and one-half leagues east of the islands of Maluquo, allowing seventeen and one-half leagues to an equinoctial degree. In this northeast by east meridian and direction are situated the islands of Las Velas and of Santo Thome, through which the said line and semicircle passes. Since these islands are situated and are distant from Maluquo the said distance, more or less, the deputies determine and agree that the said line be drawn at the said two hundred and ninety-seven and one-half leagues to the east, the equivalent of the nineteen degrees northeast by east from the said islands of Maluquo, as aforesaid. The said deputies declare that, in order to ascertain where the said line should be drawn, two charts of the same tenor be made, conformable to the chart in the India House of Trade at Sevilha, and by which the fleets, vassals and subjects of the said emperor and king of Castilla navigate. Within thirty days from the date of this contract two persons shall be appointed by each side to examine the aforesaid chart and make the two copies aforesaid conformable to it. In them the said line shall be drawn in the manner aforesaid; and they shall be signed by the said sovereigns, and sealed with their seals, so that each one will keep his own chart; and the said line shall remain fixed henceforth at the point and place so designated. This chart shall also designate the spot in which the said vassals of the emperor and king of Castilla shall situate and locate Maluquo, which during the time of this contract shall be regarded as situated in such place, although in truth it is situated more or less distance eastward from the place that is de-

signated in the said charts. The seventeen degrees eastward shall be drawn from the point where Maluquo is situated in said charts. For the good of this contract the said King of Portugal must have said chart, and in case the aforesaid be not found in the House of Trade of Sevilha, the said persons appointed by the said sovereigns shall make said charts within one month, signed and sealed as aforesaid. Furthermore navigation charts shall be made by them, in which the said line shall be drawn in the manner aforesaid, so that henceforth the said vassals, natives, and subjects of the said emperor and king of Castilla shall navigate by them; and so that the navigators of either part shall be certain of the location of the said line and of the aforesaid distance of the two hundred and ninety-seven and one-half leagues between the said line and Maluquo.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed, that, in all the islands, lands, and seas within the said line, the vessels and people of the said emperor and king of Castilla or of his subjects, vassals or natives of his kingdom, or any others (although this latter be not his subjects, vassals, or natives of his kingdoms) shall not, with or without his command, consent, favor, and aid, enter, navigate, barter, traffic, or take on board anything whatsoever that maybe in said islands, lands or seas. Whosoever shall henceforth violate any of the aforesaid provisions, or who shall be found within said line, shall be seized by any captain, captains, or people of the said King of Portugal and shall be tried, chastised and punished by the said captains, as privateers and violators of the peace. Should they not be found inside of said line by the said captains or people of the said King of Portugal and should come to any port, land, or seigniory whatsoever of the said emperor and king of Castilla, the said emperor and king of Castilla, by his justices in that place, shall be obliged and bound to take and hold them. In the meantime the warrants and examinations proving their guilt in each of the above-said things, shall be sent by the said King of Portugal, or by his justices, and they shall be punished and chastised exactly as evil-doers and violators of the peace and faith.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by said deputies that the said emperor and king of Castilla shall not, personally or through an agent, send the natives of his kingdoms, his vassals, subjects, or aliens (and although these latter be not natives of his kingdoms, or his vassals or subjects), to the said islands, lands, and seas within said line, nor shall be consent nor give them aid or favor or permit them to go there, contrary to the form and determination of this contract. Rather he shall be obliged to forbid, suppress, and prevent it as much as possible.

Item: It is covenanted that the said emperor and king of Castilla command letters and instructions to be given immediately to his captains and subjects who are in the said islands that they do no more trading henceforth and return at once, provided that they be allowed to bring freely whatever goods they shall have already bartered, traded, and taken on board. ...

Item: It was covenanted and agreed by the said deputies in the names of their said constituents that the treaties negotiated between the said Catholic sovereigns, Don Fernando and Dona Ysabel and the King of Joam the Second of Portugal in regard to the demarcation of the Ocean Sea shall remain valid and binding "in toto" and in every particular, as is therein contained and declared, excepting those things which are otherwise covenanted and agreed upon in this contract. In case the said emperor and king of Castilla returns the sum which according to this contract is to be given in the manner aforesaid, thus canceling the sale, the said treaties negotiated between the said Catholic Sovereigns Don Fernando and Dona Ysabel and the said King Dom Joam the Second of Portugal, shall remain in full force and power, as if this contract were not made; and the said constituents shall be obliged to comply with it in every respect, as is therein stated. ...

4. The Villalobos Expedition

The return of Urdaneta to Spain in 1536 and the publication a year later of a report of his experiences in the East served to draw public attention once more to the lands and peoples of the Far East. For one thing, it reawakened Charles I's interest in Spanish colonial enterprise in that part of the world. Shortly after Urdaneta's return, Charles I gave orders to the Viceroy of Nueva España, Antonio de Mendoza, to despatch a new expedition to the East. The treaty of Zaragoza, which had assigned all lands lying west of a line 297-1/2 leagues east of the Moluccas to Portugal, was still in existence. Apparently, King Charles I, in ratifying the treaty, did so with some mental reservations. It would seem that he did not consider the treaty as having at all extinguished Spain's rights to the lands discovered by Magellan and formally taken possession of by the Spaniards for the King of Spain.

In compliance with the King's orders, a fleet of six ships, carrying three hundred men, sailed from Navidad, Mexico on November 1, 1542. In command of the expedition was Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, brother-in-law of Viceroy

Mendoza.[1] The voyage across the Pacific was a pleasant one. On the way the Spaniards discovered Palau and several other islands of the Carolinas Archipelago. On February 2, 1543, the fleet reached the eastern coast of Mindanao. At Sarangani, Villalobos started to build a colony, putting his men to plant food crops. Villalobos' men, however, did not find tilling the soil much to their liking, saying that they had come "not to plant, but to make conquests." The colony experienced many hardships. Food was scarce and Villalobos was forced to send out ships to neighboring islands in search of provisions.

Of the hardships endured by Villalobos' men at Sarangani, Fray Geronimo Santisteban gave a vivid account in a letter he wrote to the Viceroy of Spain in February, 1547. Among other things, Fray Satisteben wrote:[2]

> If I should try to write to your lordship in detail of the hunger, need, hardships, disease and the deaths that we suffered at Sarragan, I would fill a book ... In that island we found a little rice and sago, a few hens and hogs, and three deer. This was eaten in a few days, together with what remained of the ship food. A number of cocoa-palms were discovered; and because hunger cannot suffer delay, the buds which are the shoots of the palms were eaten. There were some

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1 - The command of the expedition was first offered to Pedro de Alvarado. Upon the latter's death, Andres de Urdaneta was asked to take command. Urdaneta declined the offer, whereupon Villalobos was chosen.

2 - B. & R. Vol. 2, p. 65.

> figs and other fruits. Finally we ate all the dogs, cats and rats we could find, besides horrid grubs and unknown plants, which all together caused the deaths, and much of the prevalent disease. And especially they ate large numbers of a certain large variety of gray lizard, which emits considerable glow; very few who ate them are living. Land crabs also were eaten which caused some to go mad for a day after partaking of them, especially if they had eaten the vitals. At the end of seven months, the hunger that had caused us to go to Sarragan withdrew us thence.

After about eight months in Sarangani, Villalobos, despite his instructions to the contrary, decided to go to the Moluccas. He reached Tidore April 24, 1544. Here he and his men fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Villalobos was put aboard a Portuguese vessel to be returned to Spain. In Amboina he contracted illness from which he died (1546). He was assisted in his dying moments by Francis Xavier, a Jesuit missionary, the future St. Francis Xavier, "Apostle of the Indies." Xavier was in the Moluccas at that time engaged in Apostolic work.

Although the Villalobos expedition like its predecessors failed in its mission, it had one notable accomplishment to its credit: it gave to the Philippines a new name, Felipinas, from Felipe, the name of Charles I's son and heir to the Spanish throne. Felipinas was originally applied to some islands in the Leyte-Samar region, but in its modified form Filipinas, it was later given as a per-

manent name to the entire archipelago.[3]

5. The Legazpi Expedition

The failure of the Villalobos expedition had quite a sobering effect upon Charles I's colonial ambitions. It dampened his ardor and enthusiasm for the extension of Spain's colonial empire in the East. Up to the year of his abdication (1558), no new colonial venture was undertaken. It remained for his son and successor, Philip II, after whom the Philippines had been named, to bring to a realization his cherished dream and ambition - the founding of a permanent Spanish colony in the Far East.

Three years after his accession as King of Spain (1556), Philip II took the initial steps towards the eventual fulfillment of the Spanish dream of empire in the East. In September 1559, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy of Mexico, Luis de Velasco, instructing him to prepare a new expedition to the East. Velasco was ordered to despatch two

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3 - There are two important sources of information on the Villalobos expedition. One is a letter written by Fray Geronimo de Santisteban dated February 22, 1547, to the viceroy of New Spain. Santisteban was in the expedition of Villalobos. The other is Garcia Descalante Alvarado's Relacion del viaje de Ruy Gomez (sic) de Villalobos, Lisboa, 1.o de agosto, 1548.) These accounts are found in the Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos.

ships "for the discovery of the Western islands toward the Moluccas." In another letter written at the same time, the King invited Andres de Urdaneta to join the proposed expedition.

Urdaneta was at that time living in an Agustinian convent in Mexico. He had entered the religious life not long after he returned to Spain from the ill-fated Loaisa expedition. Now well advanced in years, he expected to spend the rest of his life in retirement in the simple and peaceful surroundings of the Agustinian community in Mexico. But his reputation as a cosmographer and as a navigator had not been forgotten. The King was aware that the services of a man of Urdaneta's knowledge, ability and experience were greatly needed to insure the success of the proposed expedition.

The King's letter must have touched a responsive chord in Urdaneta's heart. Despite the handicaps of age and the inconvenience of having to go out again into the world at the sacrifice of the peace and quiet of community life, he accepted the royal invitation, placing himself entirely at the service of His Majesty. It may be presumed that he found in the King's offer a new opportunity, not only to serve his King and his country, but God Himself. For he was aware of the fact that an important objective of the

enterprise was the extension of the Christian faith to the inhabitants of the Indies.

Five years were spent in preparing for the new venture. In November, 1564, the fleet that was to carry the expeditionary force was ready to sail. Instructions had been drawn up and a commander had been chosen. On Father Urdaneta's recommendation, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition. Father Urdaneta himself was made chief pilot of the fleet, charged with the important mission of bringing the expedition safely to its intended destination.

No better men could have been chosen to lead the expedition than Father Urdaneta and Legazpi. Both performed the tasks assigned to them efficiently and well. Father Urdaneta piloted the fleet with great skill and succeeded where his predecessors had failed. Moreover, in compliance with royal instructions, he charted a safe route for vessels to follow in crossing the Pacific on their way back to España from the Philippines.

Legazpi, like Father Urdaneta, was quite advanced in years when he received the appointment to lead the new expedition to the East. A native of Zumarraga, Guipuzcoa,

Spain, he had left Spain as a young man to find fame and fortune in the New World. He was not quite successful in his quest of material wealth, but in his actuations as a humble employee in the Ayuntamiento of Mexico he acquired a reputation for honesty, patience, tact, and loyalty to duty.[4] His known qualities and virtues made him fully deserving of the important post to which he was appointed. Chivalrous, courageous, upright, steadfast in his loyalty and devotion to God and Country, Legazpi was a worthy representative of the best type of Spanish character of his age, an age which produced Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra, Ignatius Loyola and Saint Teresa of Avila. In his dealings with the Filipinos, he invariably displayed a spirit of good will and conciliation. He sought to secure his objectives without undue resort to threats, display of force, or unnecessary sacrifice of human lives. To him belongs much of the credit for the establishment on firm and permanent foundations of Spanish rule in the Philippines.

On September 1, 1564, the Audiencia of Nueva España gave the necessary instructions to guide Legazpi in the expedition. Among other things, Legazpi was instructed

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4 - For nearly thirty years he served as scrivener (escribano) of the ayuntamiento of the city of Mexico.

to proceed with the fleet "in search of and to discover the Western Islands situated toward the Malucos, but you shall not in any way or manner enter the island of the said Malucos, ... but you shall enter other islands contiguous to them, as for instance the Filipinas, and others outside the said treaty, [Zaragoza] and within his majesty's demarcation, and which are reported also to contain spice." Two months later, the fleet carrying the expedition sailed from the port of Navidad.

The story of the Legazpi expedition is told by Legazpi himself in a letter which he wrote from Cebu in 1565. The letter in part read as follows:[1]

> I wrote to your excellency from Puerto de la Navidad giving as full an account as possible up to that port. Now I shall do the same, for I consider it a debt justly due, and I shall always consider it so whenever the opportunity presents itself. I am enjoying good health, thanks be to our Lord; and the same can be said of the whole camp, a thing which ought not to be looked upon as of little importance. May our Lord grant to your excellency the good health that I wish.
>
> On Tuesday, November 21, three hours before dawn, I set sail with the fleet that was at Puerto de Navidad. For five days the fleet sailed southwest, but on the sixth we directed our course westward until we reached the ninth degree. We sailed on in this latitude in search of the island of Los Reyes, in order that we

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1 - Letter written by Legazpi to Viceroy of Mexico, B. & R., vol. 2, p. 196 ff.

might go from that point to the Felipinas. A week after we had taken this course, we awoke one morning and missed the patache "San Lucas," with Captain Don Alonso de Arellano in command. There had been no stormy weather to make it lose sight of us; nor could it have been Don Alonso's fault, for he was a gallant man, as he showed. It is believed that it was due to the malice or intent of the pilot. And as he had already been informed about the expedition that we were making, and the course we were to sail, and as he was fully instructed as to what he must do in case he should lose sight of us (as actually happened), and whither he must proceed to await us, we expected all the time that we would find the vessel in some of these islands. But up to this time we have heard nothing of it, which gives me not a little uneasiness. After the fleet had sailed for fifty days in the same course between nine and ten degrees, a degree more or less, we reached land, which proved to be an island inhabited by poor and naked fishermen. This island was about four leagues in circumference, and had a population of about two hundred men. That same day we sailed between two other small islands, which were uninhabited and surrounded by many reefs, which proved very troublesome to us for five or six days. At the end of that time we decided that the fleet should continue its course along the thirteenth degree of latitude; so that we might strike a better land of the Filipinas, which the pilots were finding already, and should not strike Vindanao. We followed our course in this latitude, and on Monday, January 21, we came in sight of land, which afterward proved to be one of the Ladrones Islands, called Gua. We directed our bows to that island, but we were no more than two leagues from it when fifty or sixty praus under sail surrounded the fleet. These praus were furnished with lateen sails of palm mats and were as light as the wind; this is a kind of boat that sails with remarkable speed, either with the wind or at random. In each canoe were from six to eight Indians, altogether naked, covering not even the privy parts, which men are wont to cover. They laughed aloud, and each of them made signs

inviting us to his own town (for they were from different villages) and promising to give us food there. At break of day we coasted the island and the next morning we cast anchor in a very good port. The day had scarcely begun when a great number of those praus appeared about us. There were so many of them, who came to trade with us, that some of our men who counted them affirm that there were more than four or five hundred of them around the ships. All that they had to sell us were articles of food, namely, potatoes, rice, yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane; excellent bananas, and several other kinds of fruit. They also brought ginger, which grows in this island in so great quantity that it is a thing to wonder over; and they do not till or cultivate, but it comes up and grows of itself in the open fields, just as any other herb. The natives shouted at us, each one inviting us to buy of him. ...

This island is called Ladrones, which according to the disposition of the inhabitants, is the most appropriate name that could have been given it. Eleven days after reaching this island, we set sail following our course in the aforesaid latitude. After sailing eleven days more with good weather, we finally came in sight of Filipinas, where we finished our voyage. According to the experiments and opinions of the pilots, we covered more than two thousand leagues from Puerto de la Navidad to this island, although I have heard that they were deceived as to the distance. On the afternoon of the same day in which we came to this land, we cast anchor in a beautiful bay, called Cibabao, and there we remained seven or eight days. Meanwhile we sent two boats, one south and the other north (for this island is located north and south) to see whether they could find some good port or river. One of them returned minus a gentleman of my company, called Francesco Gomez, and with the report that, for ten leagues north, they had found neither port nor river. The gentleman was killed by some Indians, after he disembarked to make blood-friendship with them, a ceremony that is considered inviolable. This is observed in this manner: one from each party must draw two or three

drops of blood from his arm or breast and mix them, in the same cup, with water or wine. Then the mixture must be divided equally between two cups, and neither person may depart until both cups are alike drained. While this man was about to bleed himself, one of the natives pierced his breast from one side with a lance. ...

Leaving this bay, we sailed south until we reached the end of the island, where the land turns west. Just south of this island are other islands between which this island there is a straight channel running west. The fleet passed through this channel, and on the second day from our departure from Cibabao, after having sailed nearly thirty leagues, we reached a port of Tandaya island.

In this port a small river empties itself into the sea through an estuary. Some of our boats sailed up this river and anchored at the town of Cangiungo. The natives received them neither with peace nor war; but they gave our men food and drink. When they were about to eat, an Indian came to them, who spoke a few words in the Castilian tongue, saying "Comamos" (let us eat"), "bebamos" ("let us drink"), and answering "si" ("yes"), when questioned by Anton Batista "Billalobos (Villalobos)" and "Captain Calabaca." It seems that he had traded with the people of the fleet of Billalobos, according to what was gathered from him. And because he said this, this native vexed the ruler of the village, and never came back. The next day I wished to go to the same village, and found the natives hostile. They made signs that we should not disembark, pulled grass, struck trees with their cutlasses, and threateningly mocked us. Seeing that in this case cajolery could not suffice, we withdrew in order not to disturb them; but as we departed, they began to shower sticks and stones after us, and I was obliged to order the soldiers to fire their arquebuses at them; and they never appeared again. This town has a population of twenty or thirty Indians.

On arriving at that port, I despatched Captain de Goiti with a boat and a frigate, well

supplied with men and provisions, to discover some port along the coast. On the way he was to examine thoroughly the town of Tandaya, which was not very far from where we were, and other towns of the island of Abbuyo. Deceived by the appearance of the coast, he sailed on past the coast for fifteen leagues, without seeing anything. Finally he reached a large bay on which was situated a large town containing many families; the people had many swine and hens, with abundance of rice and potatoes. He returned to the fleet with this news, which gave us not a little content, for all were longing for land-products. The fleet left this port, and in the afternoon of the next day we reached the abovementioned bay, where we anchored in front of the large town of Cavalian. One thing in especial is to be noted --- namely, that wherever we went, the people entertained us with fine words, and even promised to furnish us provisions; but afterward they would desert their houses. Up to the present, this fear has not been in any way lessened. When we asked the people of this village for friendship and food, they offered us all the friendship we desired, but no food whatever. Their attitude seemed to me to be quite the contrary of what had been told me by those who had gone there; for they had said that, in this village of Cavalian, which is located on the island of Buyo, Spaniards were received and were well treated. Now they did not wish to see us, and on the night of our arrival, we were made thoroughly aware of this; for they embarked with their wives, children, and property, and went away. The next day, a chief called Canatuan, the son of Malate[2] who is the principal chief of the town, came to us; but I detained him in the ship, until provisions should be sent us from land (paying for them to their satisfaction), because of his not returning to the village and because his father was very old and blind. But this proved no remedy, to make them give us anything but words. It was determined that the people should go ashore. And so

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2 - In the relation published in Col. doc. ined. Ultramar, ii, pp. 265-277, where these transactions are recounted in greater detail, these names are spelled Camutian (Camutuan, Camotuan), and Maletec, respectively. B.&R., Notes.

they went, and we made a fine festival, killing for meat on that same day about forty-five swine, with which we enjoyed a merry carnival --- as payment for which articles of barter were given to the chief whom I had with me. The latter sent us ashore with an Indian, to give these articles to the owners of the swine.

This chief, Canutuan, by signs and as best he could, informed me of the names of the islands, of their rulers and people of importance, and their number. He also promised to take us to the island of Mancagua,[3] which was eight leagues from this island. We set sail with the Indian, and when we reached Macagua I sent him three others, who went him to their village in a canoe, after giving them some clothes. He was quite well satisfied, according to his own words, and became our friend.

This Macagua, although small, was once a thickly populated island. The Castilians who anchored there were wont to be kindly received. Now the island is greatly changed from former days, being quite depopulated -- for it contains less than twenty Indians; and these few who are left, are so hostile to Castilians, that they did not even wish to see or hear us. From this island we went to another, called Canuguinen.[4] Here we met with the same treatment. As the natives saw our ships along the coast, they hastened to betake themselves to the mountains. Their fear of the Castilians was so great, that they would not wait for us to give any explanation.

From this island the fleet directed its course towards Butuan, a province of the island of Vindanao; but the tides and contrary winds drove us upon the coast of an island called Bohol. Here we cast anchor, and within a small bay of this island we made some necessary repairs to the flagship. One

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3 - Apparently the same as the Massaua of earlier documents. Ibid.

4 - In the relation cited above, note 92, the name of this island is spelled (p. 277) Camiguinin. Ibid.

morning the almiranta[5] sighted a junk at some distance away. Thinking it to be one of the smaller praus, the master-of-camp despatched against it a small boat with six soldiers, after which he came to the flagship to inform me of what he had done. Seeing that he had not sent men enough, I despatched another small boat with all the men it could hold; and the master-of-camp himself with instructions how he was to proceed, reached the boat and junk, which were exchanging shots. The junk seeing that the boat contained so few men, defied them. When the second boat arrived it found some of the men wounded, and that the junk had many and well-made arrows and lances, with a culverin and some muskets. The junk defied the second boat also. Shouting out in Castilian, "a bordo! a bordo!" (board! board!") They grappled it, and on boarding it, one of our soldiers was killed by a lance-thrust in the throat. Those aboard the junk numbered forty-five soldiers. Fourteen or fifteen of them jumped into a canoe which they carried on their poop deck, and fled. Eigh or ten of the others were captured alive, and the remainder were killed. I have been assured that they fought well and bravely in their defense, as was quite apparent; for besides the man they killed, they also wounded more than twenty others of our soldiers. In the junk were found many white and colored blankets, some damasks, almaizales[6] of silk and cotton, and some figured silk; also iron, tin, sulphur, porcelain, some gold, and many other things. The junk was taken to the flagship. Its crew were Burnei Moros. Their property was returned to them, and what appeared, in our reckoning, its equivalent in articles of barter was given to them, because their capture was not induced by greed. My chief intent is not to go privateering, but to make treaties and to procure friends, of which I am in great need. The Burneans were much pleased and satisfied with

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5 - The second ship of the fleet, "San Pablo." The "San Pedro" or flagship was spoken of as the capitana. Ibid.

6 - A veil of thin gauze worn by the Moros. Evidently the term is used in this connection, as the Mohammedans of these islands were called Moros (Moors) by the Spaniards. Ibid.

this liberality displayed toward them, thus showing how fickle they were.

On the same day that the boats went to the junk, I despatched the patache "San Joan" with orders to go to Butuan and sail along its coast, and to find out in what part of this island the cinnamon is gathered, for it grows there. They were also to look for a suitable port and shore where a settlement could be made. While the patache went on this mission, I kept the boat of the Burneans and the pilot. This latter was a man of experience, and versed in different dialects; and he informed me of much regarding this region that I wished to know. Among other things he told me, that if the Indians of this island avoided this fleet so much, I should not be surprised, because they had great fear of the name of Castilla. He said that while we were among these islands no Indian would speak to us; and that the cause for this was that about two years ago, somewhat more or less, some Portuguese from Maluco visited these islands with eight large praus and many natives of Maluco. Wherever they went they asked for peace and friendship, saying that they were Castilians, and vassals of the king of Castilla; then when the natives felt quite secure in their friendship, they assaulted and robbed them, killing and capturing all that they could. For this reason the island of Macagua was depopulated, and scarcely any inhabitants remained there. And in this island of Bohol, among the killed and captured were more than a thousand persons. Therefore the natives refused to see us and hid themselves - as in fact was the case. Although, on my part, I did my best to gain their confidence, giving them to understand that the Portuguese belong to a different nation and are subjects of a different king than we, they did not trust me; nor was this sufficient, for they say that we have the same appearance, that we wear the samd kind of clothing, and carry the same weapons.

In this island of Bohol live two chiefs, one called Cicatuna and the other Cigala, who through the Bornean's going inland to call them, came to the fleet. From these chiefs I heard the same

thing that I had been told by the Burnei pilot and his companions, in regard to the great robberies that the Portuguese committed hereabout, in order to set the natives against us - so that, on our coming, we should find no friends. This fell out as they wished, because, although Cicatuna and Cigala made friendship with me, we could put no confidence in them; nor would they sell us anything, but only made promises.

While in this island, I despatched a frigate to reconnoiter the coast of certain islands that could be seen from this island. The chief pilot and Joan de Aguirre accompanied it, and it was supplied with sufficient food, men, and provisions. Coming to the entrance between two islands, they were caught by the tide and drifted to the other entrance of the channel; and in order to return, they sailed around the island. On this island they saw a town where the Moro pilot declared that he was known, and that he was on friendly terms with its inhabitants; but under pretense of friendship, the natives treacherously killed him with a lance-thrust. The space of one week had been given to them, but it took much longer; for the return could be accomplished only by sailing around the island which was one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference.

When the patache returned from Butuan, it reported that they had seen the king, and that two Moro junks of the large and rich island of Luzon were anchored in the river which flows near the town. The Moros sold our men a large quantity of wax. When the men of Luzon saw our tostones they were very much pleased with them, and they gave nearly twenty marks of gold, which they had there in that island, giving for six tostones of silver one of gold; and they said that they had more gold, if our men would give them more tostones, and that in exchange for the latter they would give them ten or twelve quintals of gold which they had there in that island. ...

While in the bay of the island of Bohol, I was very anxious about the frigate, since it was to be gone but one week; while twenty-one days had passed, and it was nowhere to be seen. Meanwhile a prau which I had despatched with two soldiers and the

chiefs Cicatuna and Cigala to the island of Cubu to endeavor to ascertain some news concerning it, had returned, bringing no news whatever of its whereabouts. On Holy Saturday, three hours before daybreak, while we were thus plunged in great anxiety and grief, fearing that our companions might have been lost, captured, or killed, the shout "the frigate! frigate!" was heard in our fleet. Turning my glance, I beheld it entering the bay. Only the Burnei pilot was missing; the others looked well and strong, although they had suffered from hunger. On arriving, they informed us that the island which they had coasted had a circuit of one hundred and fifty leagues, and that on their return they had passed between it and the opposite coast of Cubu.[7] They reported that this island of Cubu was densely populated, containing many large villages, and among them were many people inhabiting the coast, and inland many cultivated districts. The above-mentioned soldiers who went to Cibu in the prau with Cicatuna and Cigala said that the same thing was to be observed on the other coast, and that the port of the town of Cibu admitted of anchorage, and was excellent. I decided to take the fleet to that island - a plan I carried out, with the intention of requesting peace and friendship from the natives, and of buying provisions from them at a reasonable cost. Should they refuse all this I decided to make war upon them - a step which I considered justifiable in the case of these people; for it was in that same port and town that Magellanes and his fleet were well received. King Sarriparra and nearly all the natives were baptized, and admitted to our holy faith and evangelical teaching, voluntarily offering themselves as his majesty's vassals. Magallanes and more than thirty of his companions were afterwards killed while fighting in behalf of this island against the people of Matan, a thickly populated island situated near this one. Afterward the two islands made peace privately between themselves, and the inhabitants of the town of Cibu killed many of the Spaniards of the same fleet, and drove the remaining few away from their land. Hence we see that all this is sufficient occasion for any course

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7 - Apparently referring to the island of Negros.

whatever. In accordance with this last opinion the fleet left the port of Bohol and we reached the port of Cibu on Friday, April 27, 1565. We had scarcely arrived when an Indian came to the flagship in a canoe, who said that Tupas, the ruler of the island, was in the town, and that he was going to come to the fleet to see me. A little later there came from the village, an Indian, an interpreter of the Malay language, who said, on behalf of Tupas, that the latter was getting ready to come to see me, that he would come on that very day, and that he would bring ten of the principal chiefs of that island. I waited for them that whole day; but as I saw that the people were much occupied in removing their possessions from their houses and carrying them to the mountain, and that during all this day and until noon of the next, Tupas, the son of Saripara, who killed the men of Magallanes, did not come, I sent a boat with father Fray Andres de Hurdaneta and the master-of-camp, in order that, in their presence, the government notary, with Hieronimo Pacheco, interpreter of the Malay tongue (which is spoken by many of the natives of this land), might request the natives, as vassals of the king of Castilla, to receive us peaceably. They were to assure the people that I did not come to do them any harm, but on the contrary to show them every favor, and to cultivate their friendship. Three times this announcement was made to them, with all the signs and kind words possible to win their friendship. But at length -- seeing that all our good intentions were of no avail, and that all the natives had put on their wooden corselets and rope armor and had armed themselves with their lances, shields, small cutlasses, and arrows; and that many plumes and varicolored headdresses were waving; and that help of men had come in <u>praus</u> from the outside, so that their number must be almost two thousand warriors; and considering that now was the time for us to make a settlement and effect a colony, and that the present port and location were exactly suited to our needs, and that it was useless for us to wait any longer; and seeing that there was no hope for peace, and that they did not wish it, although we

had offered it - the master-of-camp said to the natives through an interpreter: "Since you do not desire our friendship, and will not receive us peacefully, but are anxious for war, wait until we have landed; and look to it that you act as men, and defend yourselves from us, and guard your houses." The Indians answered boldly: "Be it so! Come on! We await you here." And thereupon they broke out into loud cries, covering themselves with their shields and brandishing their lances. Then they returned to the place whence they had set out, hurling their lances by divisions of threes at the boat, and returning again to their station, going and coming as in a game of cañas.[8] Our men got ready and left the ships in boats; and as the boats left the ships for the shore, in accordance with the order given them, some shots were fired from the ships upon the multitude of praus anchored near a promontory, as well as at the landsmen upon shore, and upon the town. But, although they had showed so great a desire for war, when they heard the artillery and saw its effects, they abandoned their village without waiting for battle, and fled through the large, beautiful, and fertile open fields that are to be seen in this region. Accordingly we remained in the village, which had been left totally without provisions by the natives. We pursued the enemy, but they are the lightest and swiftest runners whom I have ever seen. When we entered the village, all the food had already been taken away. However, I believe that there will be no lack of food. In exchange for our hardships this is a good prospect, although there is no hope of food except through our swords. The land is thickly populated, and so fertile that four days after we took the village the Castilian seeds had already sprouted. We have seen some little gold here, on the garments worn by the natives. We are at the gate and in the vicinity of the most fortunate countries of the world, and the most remote; it is three hundred leagues or thereabouts farther than great China, Burnei, Java, Lauzon, Sumatra, Maluco, Malaca, Patan, Sian, Lequios, Japan, and

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8 - An equestrian exercise with reed spears. Ibid.

other rich and large provinces. I hope that, through God's protection, there will be in these lands no slight result for his service and the increase of the royal crown, if this land is settled by Spaniards, as I believe it will be. From this village of Cubu, I have despatched the ship with the father prior (Urdaneta) and my grandson, Phelipe de Zauzedo, with a long relation of the things which I boldly write here to your excellency. They will inform his majesty at length, as persons who have been eyewitnesses of all, especially of what has taken place here, the state of the new settlement, and the arrangements made for everything. It remains to be said that, since this fleet was despatched by the most illustrious viceroy, my master, of blessed memory, and further, chiefly because of being an enterprise that every gentleman should all the more favor, inasmuch as it pertains naturally to your excellency, as the heir of the glory resulting from this expedition --- your excellency should favor it in such a manner that we may feel here the touch of your most illustrious hand, and so that aid should be sent as promptly as the necessity of our condition demands. For we shall have war not only with the natives of this and other neighboring islands of the Philippinas (which is of the lesser import), but --- a thing of greater consequence -- we shall have to wage war with many different nations and islands, who will aid these people, and will side against us. On seeing us settled in this island the Portuguese will not be pleased, nor will the Moros and other powerful and well-armed people. It might happen that, if aid is delayed and is not sent by you to us with all promptitude, the delay will prove a sufficient obstacle, so that no result will follow from the work that we have accomplished. I beg his majesty to send us some aid with the promptness, which rightly should not be less than in that city of España, where his majesty resides. And because it is worth knowing, and so that your excellency may understand that God, our Lord, has waited in this same place, and that he will be served, and that pending the beginning of the extension of his holy faith and most glorious name, he has accomplished most miraculous things in this western region, your excellency, should know

that on the day when we entered this village, one of the soldiers went into a large and well-built house of an Indian, where he found an image of the child Jesus (whose most holy name I pray may be universally worshiped). This was kept in its cradle, all gilded, just as it was brought from España; and only the little cross which is generally placed upon the globe in his hand was lacking. This image was well kept in that house, and many flowers were found before it, no one knows for what object of purpose. The soldier bowed before it with all reverence and wonder, and brought the image to the place where the other soldiers were. I pray the holy name of this image which we have found here, to help us and to grant us victory, in order that these lost people who are ignorant of the precious and rich treasure which was in their possession, may come to a knowledge of him.

CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY FILIPINO CIVILIZATION

The Filipinos whom the Spaniards encountered in the Philippines were the direct descendants of the Malay immigrants who came to the Philippines from South and Southeast Asia in successive waves of migration centuries before the arrival of the Magellan expedition. In their new homes, the Philippine Malays set up their own forms of political and social organization, of which the unit and pattern was the balangay or barangay to use the Spanish transcription.

Of the estimated population of 500,000 then occupying the Philippines, a considerable number were living in single barangays consisting of from 30 to 100 families and ruled by datos or maginoos. The rest were living in larger political units, large communities or confederacies of barangays, under rajahs, haris or sultans. The rulers governed their respective barangays or confederacies of barangays in accordance with established laws, customs and traditions. The people carried on trade among themselves and with their Oriental neighbors. They had systems of writing, consisting of syllabaries. They had their own

religious beliefs and practices,as well as their own standards of morality and their own sense of values.

For the study of early Filipino civilization, the writings of four well-known authorities will be used - Antonio de Morga, Miguel de Loarca, Juan de Plasencia and Francisco Colin.

Antonio de Morga was a high official in the Spanish government in the Philippines. He was a member of the royal Audiencia in Manila. At one time he served as acting governor of the Philippines, 1595-1596. He had during his residence in the Philippines (1595-1603) good opportunities for observing conditions in the Philippines and the ways of life of the Filipino people.

The work which he wrote, under the title "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" (Events in the Philippine Islands), is a narration of events in the Philippines from the first discoveries by Europeans in the East until his own time. It was published in Mexico in 1609.

Of particular interest to the student of early Filipino civilization is the eighth chapter of the Sucesos, for this chapter contains Morga's observations on various aspects of Filipino life.

The following are portions of the eighth chapter

of Morga's Sucesos:[1]

Geography of the Philippines

The islands of the eastern Ocean Sea, adjacent to farther Asia, belonging to the crown of España, are generally called, by those who navigate thither by way of the demarcation of Castilla and Castilla's seas and lands of America, "the Western Islands;" for from the time that one leaves España, he sails in the course of the sun from east to west, until he reaches them. For the same reason they are called "Eastern Islands" by those who sail from west to east by way of Portuguese India, each of them circumscribing the world by voyaging in opposite directions, until they meet at these islands, which are numerous and of varying size; they are properly called Filipinas, and are subject to the crown of Castilla. They lie within the tropic of Cancer, and extend from twenty-four degrees north latitude to the equinoctial line, which cuts the islands of Moluco.[2] There are many others on the other side of the line, in the tropic of Capricorn, which extend for twelve degrees in south latitude. The ancients affirmed that each and all of them were desert and uninhabitable, but now experience has demonstrated that they deceived themselves; for good climates, many people, and food and other things necessary for human life are found there, besides many mines or rich metals, with precious gems and pearls, and animals and plants, which nature has not stinted.

It is impossible to number all the islands - counting larger and smaller - of this vast archi-

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1 - B. & R., vol. 16, pp. 69-133.

The full text in English of Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas is in volumes 15 and 16 of the Philippine Islands. Blair and Robertson have included in their edition the notes made by Rizal in his own edition of Morga (Paris, 1890), as well as those taken from Stanley's translation of Morga (Hakluyt Soc. ed., London, 1868.)

2 - The present limits of the Philippine Archipelago are as follows: 116° 40' and 126° 34' east longitude, and 4° 40' and 21° 10' north latitude.

pelago. Those comprised in the name and government of Filipinas, number about forty large islands, besides other smaller ones, all consecutive. The chiefest and best known are Luzon, Mindoro, Tendaya,[3] Capul, Burias, Masbate, Marinduque, Leiti, Camar, Ybabao, Sebu, Panay, Bohol, Catenduanes, Calamianes, Mindanao, and others of less renown.

The first island conquered and colonized by the Spaniards was Sebu. From there the conquest was started and continued in all the neighboring islands. Those islands are inhabited by people, natives of the same islands, called Vicayas; or by another name, Pintados -- for the more prominent of the men, from their youth, tattoo their whole bodies, by pricking them wherever they are marked and then throwing certain black powders over the bleeding surface, the figures becoming indelible. But, as the chief seat of the government, and the principal Spanish settlement, was moved to the island of Luzon -- the largest island, and that one nearest and opposite to Great China and Japon -- I shall treat of it first; for much that will be said of it is similar

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3 - It is very difficult now to determine exactly which is this island of Tendaya, called Isla Filipina for some years. According to Father Urdaneta's relations, this island was far to the east of the group, past the meridian of Maluco. Mercator locates it in Panay, and Colin in Leyte, between Abuyog and Cabalian -- contrary to the opinion of others, who locate it in Ibabao, or south of Samar. But according to other documents of that period, there is no island by that name, but a chief called Tendaya, lord of a village situated in that district; and, as the Spaniards did not understand the Indians well as that time, many contradictions thus arose in the relations of that period. We see that, in Legaspi's expedition, while the Spaniards talked of islands, the Indians talked of a man, etc. After looking for Tendaya for ten days they had to continue without finding it "and we passed on without seeing Tendaya or Abuyo". It appears, nevertheless, that the Spaniards continued to give this name to the southwestern part of Samar, calling the southeastern part Ibabao or Zibabao and the northern part of the same island Samar.---Rizal.

in the others, to each of whose particulars and distinctive details I shall pass in due time.

This island of Luzon extends lengthwise, from the point and head where one enters the Filipinas Islands (by the channel of Capul, which lies in thirteen and one-half degrees north latitude) to the other point in the province of Cagayan, called Cape Bojeador (and located opposite China, in twenty degrees), more than two hundred leguas. In some parts its width is more constricted than in others, especially in the middle of the island, where it is so narrow that it is less than thirty leguas from sea to sea, or from one coast to the other. The whole island is more than four hundred leguas in circumference. ...

Inhabitants of the Philippines

The people inhabiting the province of Camarines and almost as far as the provinces of Manila, in this great island of Luzon, both along the coast and in the interior, are natives of this island. They are of medium 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. All live from their labor and gains in the field, their fishing, and trade, going from island to island by sea, and from province to province by land.

The natives of the other provinces of this island as far as Cagayan are of the same nature and disposition, except that it has been learned by tradition that those of Manila and its vicinity were not natives of this land, but came thither in the past and colonized it; and that they are Malay natives, and come from other islands and remote provinces.4...

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4 - The ancient traditions point to Sumatra as the ancestral home of the Filipinos. These traditions were completely lost, together with the mythology and the genea-

The province of Cagayan is inhabited by natives of the same complexion as the others of the island, although they are better built, and more valiant and warlike than the others. They wear their hair long and hanging down the back. They have been in revolt and rebellion twice since the first time when they were pacified; and there has been plenty to do, on different occasions, in subduing them and repacifying them.

The apparel and clothing of those natives of Luzon before the entrance of the Spaniards into the country were generally, for the men, certain short collarless garments of cangan, sewed together in the front, and with short sleeves, and reaching slightly below the waist; some were blue and others black, while the chiefs had some red ones, called chinanas.5 They also wore a strip of colored cloth wrapped about the waist, and passed between the legs, so that it covered the privy parts, reaching half-way down the thigh; these are called bahaques. They go with legs bare, feet unshed, and the head uncovered, wrapping a narrow cloth, called potong just below it, with which they bind the forehead and temples. About their necks they wear gold necklaces, wrought like spun wax, and with links in our fashion, some larger than others. On their arms they wear armlets of wrought gold, which they called calombigas, and which are very large and made in different patterns. Some wear strings of

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logies referred to by the old chroniclers, thanks to the zeal with which the missionaries destroyed everything that reminded the Filipinos of their former pagan culture... Rizal.

5 - Chinanas. We do not know for certain the origin of this word. To us it does not appear to be derived from China. If we are permitted to offer a guess, we would say that it is derived from tinina (from tina) which in Tagalog means colored dress and that, through an error in phonetical transcription, the word was transformed into chinina. The chiefs were in the habit of wearing red-colored dresses, made, according to Colin, from "fine Indian gauze". This partiality towards the red color, which we find among the ancient Romans, still exists among the pagan tribes of Mindanao.--Rizal.

precious stones -- cornelians and agates; and other blue and white stones, which they esteem highly. They wear around the legs some strings of these stones, and certain cords, covered with black pitch in many foldings, as garters.

In a province called Zambales, they wear the head shaved from the middle forward. On the skull they have a hugh lock of loose hair.[6] The women throughout this island wear small jackets (sayuelos) with sleeves of the same kinds of cloth and of all colors, called varos. They wear no shifts, but certain white cotton garments which are wrapped about the waist and fall to the feet, while other dyed clothes are wrapped about the body, like kirtles, and are very graceful. The principal women have crimson ones, and some of silk, while others are woven with gold, and adorned with fringe and other ornaments. They wear many gold necklaces about the neck, calumbigas on the wrists, large earrings of wrought gold in the ears, and rings of gold and precious stones. The black hair is done up in a very graceful knot on the head. Since the Spaniards came to the country many Indians do not wear bahaques, but wide drawers of the same cloth and materials, and hats on their heads. The chiefs wear braids of wrought gold containing many designs, while many of them wear shoes. The chief women also wear beautiful shoes, many of them having shoes of velvet adorned with gold, and white garments like petticoats.

Men and women, and especially the chief people, are very clean and neat in their persons and clothing, and of pleasing address and grace. They dress their hair carefully, and regard it as being more ornamental when it is very black. They wash it with water in which has been boiled the bark of a tree called gogo. They anoint it with aljonjoli oil, prepared with musk, and other perfumes. All are very careful of their teeth, which from a very early age they file and render even, with

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6 - This manner of headdress and the long robe of the Visayans have an analogy with Japanese coiffure and kimono.--Rizal.

stones and iron. They dye them a black color, which is lasting, and which preserves their teeth until they are very old, although it is ugly to look at. ...

Both men and women, especially the chief, walk slowly and sedately when upon their visits, and when going through the streets and to the temples; and are accompanied by many slaves, both male and female, with parasols of silk which they carry to protect them from the sun and rain. The women walk ahead and their female servants and slaves follow them; behind these walk their husbands, fathers, or brothers, with their man-servants and slaves.

Their ordinary food is rice pounded in wooden mortars, and cooked -- this is called morisqueta, and is the ordinary bread of the whole country -- boiled fish (which is very abundant), the flesh of swine, deer, and wild buffaloes (which they call carabaos). ...

They also eat boiled camotes (which are sweet potatoes), beans, quilites, and other vegetables; all kinds of bananas, guavas, pineapples, custard apples, many varieties of oranges, and other varieties of fruits and herbs, with which the country teems. Their drink is a wine made from the tops of cocoa and nipa palm, of which there is a great abundance. They are grown and tended like vineyards, although without so much toil and labor. Drawing off the tuba, they distil it, using for alembics their own little furnaces and utensils, to a greater or less strength, and it becomes brandy. This is drunk through the islands. It is a wine of the clarity of water, but strong and dry. If it be used with moderation, it acts as a medicine for the stomach, and is a protection against humors and all sorts of rheums. Mixed with Spanish wine, it makes a mild liquor, and one very palatable and healthful. ...

Ships and Boats

Their ships and boats are of many kinds; for on the rivers and creeks inland they use certain

very large canoes, each made from one log, and others fitted with benches, and made from planks, and built up on keels. They have vireys and barangays, which are certain quick and light vessels that lie low in the water, put together with little wooden nails. These are as slender at the stern as at the bow, and they can hold a number of rowers on both sides, who propel their vessels with bucceyes or paddles, and with gaones on the outside of the vessel; and they time their rowing to the accompaniment of some who sing in their language refrains by which they understand whether to hasten or retard their rowing. Above the rowers is a platform or gangway, built of bamboo, upon which the fighting-men stand, in order not to interfere with the rowing of the oarsmen. In accordance with the capacity of the vessels is the number of men on these gangways. From that place they manage the sail, which is square and made of linen, and hoisted on a support or yard made of two thick bamboos, which serves as a mast. When the vessel is large, it also has a foresail of the same form. Both yards, with their tackle, can be lowered upon the gangway when the weather is rough. The helmsmen are stationed in the stern to steer. It carries another bamboo framework on the gangway itself; and upon this, when the sun shines hot, or it rains, they stretch an awning made from some mats, woven from palm-leaves. These are very bulky and close, and are called cayanes. Thus all the ship and its crew are covered and protected. There are also other bamboo frameworks for each side of the vessel, which are so long as the vessel, and securely fastened on. They skim the water, without hindering the rowing, and serve as a counterpoise, so that the ship cannot overturn nor upset, however heavy the sea, or strong the wind against the sail. It may happen that the entire hull of these vessels, which have no decks, may fill with water and remain between wind and water, even until it is destroyed and broken up, without sinking, because of these counterpoises. These vessels have been used commonly throughout the islands since olden times. They have other larger vessels called caracoas, lapis, and tapaques, which are used to carry their merchandise, and which are very suitable, as they are roomy and draw but little water. They

generally drag them ashore every night, at the mouths of rivers and creeks, among which they always navigate without going into the open sea or leaving the shore. All the natives can row and manage these boats. Some are so long that they can carry one hundred rowers on a side and thirty soldiers above to fight. The boats commonly used are barangays and vireys, which carry a less crew and fighting force. Now they put many of them together with iron nails instead of the wooden pegs and the joints in the planks, while the helms and bows have beaks like Castilian boats. ...

Natural Resources

All these islands are, in many districts, rich in placers and mines of gold, a metal which the natives dig and work. However, since the advent of the Spaniards in the land, the natives proceed more slowly in this, and content themselves with what they already possess in jewels and gold ingots, handed down from antiquity and inherited from their ancestors.[7] This is considerable, for he must be poor and wretched who has no gold chains, calombigas (bracelets), and earrings.

Some placers and mines are worked at Paraceli in the province of Camarines, where there is a good gold mixed with copper. This commidity is also traded in the Ilocos, for at the rear of this province, which borders the seacoast, are certain lofty and rugged mountains which extend as far as Cagayan.

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7 - The Indians upon seeing that their wealth aroused the rapacity of the encomenderos and soldiers, abandoned the working of the mines, and the friar historians state that, to free them from their vexations, they urged the Indians to proceed in that manner. However, Colin states that, from reliable sources, the Islands produced in his time 100,000 pesos worth of gold a year, after eight years of neglect and abandonment. According to a private manuscript, the first tribute from the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan alone amounted to 109,500 pesos. An encomendero in 1587 sent to Manila in the galleon Santa Ana, which Cavendish later captured, 3000 tons of gold.--Rizal.

On the slopes of those mountains, in the interior, live many natives, as yet unsubdued, and among whom no incursion has been made, who are called Ygolotes. These natives possess rich mines, many of gold and silver mixed. They are wont to dig from them only the amount necessary for their wants. They descend to certain places to trade this gold (without completing its refining or preparation), with the Ylocos; there they exchange it for rice, swine, carabaos, cloth and other things they need. The Ylocos complete its refining and preparation, and by their medium it is distributed throughout the country. Although an effort has been made with these Ygolotes to discover their mines, and how they work them, and their method of working the metal, nothing definite has been learned, for the Ygolotes fear that the Spaniards will go to seek them for their gold, and say that they keep the gold better in the earth than in their houses.

There are also many gold mines and placers in the other islands, especially among the Pintados, on the Botuan River in Mindanao, and in Sebu, where a mine of gold is worked, called Taribon. If the industry and efforts of the Spaniards were to be converted into the working of the gold, as much would be obtained from any one of these islands as from those provinces which produce the most in the world. But since they attend to other means of gain rather than to this, as will be told in due time, they do not pay the proper attention to this matter.

In some of these islands pearl oysters are found, especially in the Calamianes, where some have been obtained that are large and exceedingly clear and lustrous. Neither is this means of profit utilized. In all parts, seed pearls are found in the ordinary oysters, and there are oysters as large as a buckler. From the (shells of the) latter the natives manufacture beautiful articles. There are also very large sea turtles in all the islands. Their shells are utilized by the natives, and sold as an article of commerce to the Chinese and Portuguese, and other nations who go after them and esteem them highly, because of the beautiful things made from them.

On the coasts of any of these islands are found many small white snail shells, called siguei. The natives gather them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Pantanes, and other peoples of the mainland. It serves there as money, and those nations trade with it, as they do with cacao-beans, in Nueva España.

Carabao horns are used as merchandise in trading with China; and deerskins and dye-wood with Japon. The natives make use of everything in trading with those nations and derive much profit therefrom. ...

In this island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Manila, Panpanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, certain earthenware jars (tibores) are found among the natives. They are very old, of a brownish color, and not handsome. Some are of medium size, and others are smaller, and they have certain marks and stamps. The natives are unable to give any explanation of where or when they got them, for now they are not brought to the islands or made there. The Japanese seek them and esteem them, for they have found that the root of a plant called cha (tea) - which is drunk hot, as a great refreshment and medicine, among the kings and lords of Japon - is preserved and keeps only in these tibors. These are so highly valued throughout Japon, that they are regarded as the most precious jewels of their closets and household furniture. A tibor is worth a great sum, and the Japanese adorn them outside with fine gold beautifully chased, and keep them in brocade cases. Some tibors are valued and sold for two thousand taes of eleven reals to the tae, or for less, according to the quality of the tibor. It makes no difference if they are cracked or chipped, for that does not hinder them from holding the tea. The natives of these islands sell them to the Japanese for the best price possible, and seek them carefully for this profit. However, few are found now, because of the assiduity with which the natives have applied themselves to that search.[8]

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8 - Dr. Jagor in his famous work Reisen in den Philippinen (Berlin, 1873), discusses in chapter XV these jars, describing some of them, giving very curious and interesting

Cotton is raised abundantly throughout the islands. It is spun and sold in the skein to the Chinese and other nations, who come to get it. Cloth of different patterns is also woven from it, and the natives also trade that. Other clothes, called medrinaques, are woven from the banana leaf.

The islands of Babuytanes consist of many small islands lying off the upper coast of the province of Cagayan. They are inhabited by natives, whose chief industry consists in going to Cagayan in their tapaques, with swine, fowls, and other food, and ebony spears, for exchange. The islands are not assigned as encomiendas, nor is any tribute collected from them. There are no Spaniards among them, as those natives are of less understanding and less civilized (than the others). Accordingly no Christians have been made among them, and they have no justices.

Other islands, called the Catenduanes, lie off the other head of the island of Luzon, opposite the province of Camarines, in fourteen degrees of north latitude, near the strait of Espiritu Santo. They are islands densely populated with natives of good disposition, who are all assigned to Spaniards. They posess instruction and churches, and have an alcalde-mayor who administers justice to them. Most of them cultivate the soil, but some are engaged in gold-washing, and in trading between various islands, and with the mainland of Luzon, very near those islands. ...

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details about their history, form, and value, some of which are highly priced, like those of the Sultan of Brunei who turned down an offer of 100,000 dollars for one of them. Dr. Jagor himself, while in the Philippines, was able to get one, found in an excavation made in Ligmanan, Camarines Sur, in 1851, together with other prehistoric artifacts belonging to the bronze ages, as evidenced by the knives made from this metal, and the absence of articles of iron, etc. It is a pity that these objects were not better studied. Studying these precious jars from Cambodia, Siam, Cochinchina, Philippines and other neighboring islands, and determining the time of their manufacture in the remote past, and their form, structure, seals, and inscriptions, we would perhaps find a clue to the problem of the common cultural origin of these nations.--Rizal

The Pintados (Bisayans)

South of this district, lie the islands of Bicayas, or as they are also called, Pintados. They are many in number, thickly populated with natives. Those of most renown are Leite, Ybabao, Camar (Samar), Bohol, island of Negros, Sebu, Panay, Cuyo, and the Calamianes. All the natives of these islands, both men and women, are well-featured, of a good disposition, and of better nature, and more noble in their actions than the inhabitants of the islands of Luzon and its vicinity.

They differ from them in their hair, which the men wear cut in a cue, like the ancient style in España. Their bodies are tattoed with many designs, but the face is not touched. They wear large earrings of gold and ivory in their ears, and bracelets of the same; certain scarfs wrapped round the head, very showy, which resemble turbans, and knotted very gracefully and edged with gold. They wear also a loose collarless jacket with tight sleeves, whose skirts reach half way down the leg. These garments are fastened in front and are made of medrinaque and colored silks. They wear no shirts or drawers, but bahaques (i.e., breech-clouts) of many wrappings, which cover their privy parts, when they remove their skirts and jackets. The women are good-looking and graceful. They are very neat, and walk slowly. Their hair is black, long, and drawn into a knot on the head. Their robes are wrapped about the waist and fall downward. These are made of all colors, and they wear collarless jackets of the same material. Both men and women go naked and without any coverings, and barefoot, and with many gold chains, earrings, and wrought bracelets. ...

The island of Sebu is an island of more than one hundred leguas in circumference. It has abundance of provisions, and gold mines and placers, and is inhabited by natives.

Beyond it lie other islands, very pleasant and well populated, especially the island of Panay. Panay is a large island, more than one hundred leguas in circumference, containing many native settle-

ments. It produces considerable quantities of rice, palm-wine, and all manner of provisions. It has flourishing and wealthy settlements, on what is called the river of Panay. The chief one is Oton, which has a bar and port for galleys and ships, shipyards for building large ships, and a great amount of timber for their construction. There are many natives, who are masters of all kinds of shipbuildings. Near this island lies an islet eight leguas in circumference, which is densely populated by natives who are all carpenters. They are excellent workmen, and practice no other trade or occupation; and, without a single tree of any size on this whole islet, they practice this art with great ability. From there all the islands are furnished with workmen for carpentry. The island is called that of the Cagayanes.

After the island of Sebu follow immediately the island of Mindanao, an island of more than three hundred leguas in circumference, and Jolo, which is small. Lower down is the island of Borneo, a very large island, more than five hundred leguas in circumference. All of these islands are densely populated, although that of Borneo is not subdued. Neither is that of Mindanao in entirety, but only the river of Botuan, Dapitan, and the Province and coast of Caragan.

Below this island (Mindanao), before reaching that of Borneo, lie the islands of the Calamianes. They are very numerous, and consist of islands of various sizes, which are densely inhabited, with natives; they have some supply of provisions and engage in certain kinds of husbandry. However the most usual occupation is that of their navigations from island to island in pursuit of their trading and exchange, and their fisheries; while those who live nearest the island of Borneo are wont to go on piratical raids and pillage the natives in other islands. ...

Systems of Writing

The language of all the Pintados and Bicayas is one and the same, by which they understand one another when talking, or when writing with the letters

and characters of their own which they possess. These resemble those of the Arabs. The common manner of writing among the natives is on leaves of trees, and on bamboo bark. Throughout the islands the bamboo is abundant; it has huge and misshapen joints, and lower part is a very thick and solid tree.

The language of Luzon and those islands in its vicinity differs widely from that of the Bicayas. The language of the island of Luzon is not uniform, for the Cagayans have one language and the Ylocos another. The Zambales have their own particular language, while the Pampangos also have one different from the others. The inhabitants of the province of Manila, the Tagals, have their own language, which is very rich and copious. By means of it one can express elegantly whichever he wishes, and in many modes and manners. It is not difficult, either to learn or to pronounce.

The natives throughout the islands can write excellently with certain characters, almost like the Greek or Arabic. These characters are fifteen in all. Three are vowels, which are used as our five. The consonants number twelve, and each and all of them combine with certain dots or commas, and so signify whatever one wishes to write, as fluently and easily as is done with our Spanish alphabet. The method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left, in the Arabic fashion.[9] Almost all the natives, both men and women, write in this lan-

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9 - The question of the direction followed by the ancient Filipinos in their writings has given rise to varied opinions and theories among scholars. Chirino, San Antonio, Zuñiga and Le Gentil say that it was vertical, from the top to the bottom. Colin, Esguerra and Marche believe that it was vertical but in the opposite direction, from the bottom upwards. Pedro Marcilla and Sinibaldo de Mas, on the other hand, assert that it was horizontal, from left to right. Dr. Rizal in his edition of Morga's Sucesos sets forth his view on the same subject as follows:

guage. There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly.

This language of the province of Manila, (i.e., the Tagal extends throughout the province of Camarines, and other islands not contiguous to Luzon.

"What would seem the logical deduction is that they wrote in both ways, vertically and horizontally; vertically in the primitive epoch when they had to write on pieces of bamboo and palm leaves as this was the easier way, and horizontally when the use of paper became general. At any rate, the form of the characters was such that it could be written in these different directions." (Quoted by Villamor in his La Antigua Escritura Filipina, p. 39, Manila, 1922).

Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera in his Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos (Lozana, 1884), after summarizing the opinions of the various authorities, stated his own view as follows:

In view of the opinions cited, it appears certain that the Filipino system of writing passed through three stages of development:

1st. The ancient Filipinos wrote their language in their own characters, and that the direction in which these characters were written was also their own.

2nd. These languages, without giving up their characters, abandoned the old direction and adopted a new one from the Spaniards.

3rd. The characters, in turn, were abandoned and the Latin alphabet was adopted.

This conclusion which,at first sight, appears logical and certain is nevertheless far from the truth. The first and the third only should be accepted for the second stage never took place except in the imagination.

Dr. Tavera then went on to state that the languages in Malaysia whose alphabets were similar to the ancient Filipino alphabets were written in a horizontal direction,

There is but little difference in that spoken in the various districts, except that it is spoken more elegantly in some provinces than in others. ...

H o u s e s

The houses and dwellings of all these natives are universally set upon stakes and arigues (i.e., columns) high above the ground. Their rooms are small and the roofs low. They are built and tiled with wood and bamboos, and covered and roofed with nipa-palm leaves. Each house is separate, and is not built adjoining another. In the lower part are enclosures made by stakes and bamboos, where their fowls and cattles are reared, and the rice pounded and cleaned. One ascends into the houses by means of ladders that can be drawn up, which are made from two bamboos. Above are their open batalanes (galeries) used for household duties; the parents and (grown) children live together. There is little adornment and finery in the houses, which are called bahandin.

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from left to the right, a direction common to all the systems of writing of Hindu origin, and that it was probable that this was the primitive and only way in which the Filipinos wrote their characters.

Justice Ignacio Villamor in a pamphlet which he wrote under the title La Antigua Escritura Filipina, (Manila, 1922), arrived at the same conclusion that was reached by Dr. Tavera. Justice Villamor used as a basis for his study several ancient Filipino manuscripts, particularly an old Philippine edition of the Belarmino, which presented texts of the Christian doctrine in the old Filipino characters. His basic conclusion after a careful study of these documents was stated by him in these words:

... from what appears in the Belarmino and the documents and signatures herein reproduced, all dating prior to the year 1636, we venture to conclude that the ancient Filipinos wrote in a horizontal direction, from left to right, just as we do now.

Besides these houses, which are those of the common people and those of less importance, there are the chiefs' houses. They are built upon trees and thick arigues, with many rooms and comforts. They are well constructed of timber and planks, and are strong and large. They are furnished and supplied with all that is necessary, and are much finer and more substantial than the others. They are roofed, however, as are the others, with the palm-leaves called nipa. These keep out the water and the sun more than do shingles or tiles, although the danger from fires is greater.

The natives do not inhabit the lower part of their houses, because they raise their fowls and cattle there, and because of the damp and heat of the earth, and the many rats, which are enormous and destructive both in the houses and sowed fields; and because, as their houses are generally built on sea shore, or on the banks of rivers and creeks, the waters baths the lower parts, and the latter are consequently left open.

G o v e r n m e n t

There were no kings or lords throughout these islands who ruled over them as in the manner of our kingdoms and provinces; but in every island and in each province of it, many chiefs were recognized by the natives themselves. Some were more powerful than others, and each one had his followers and subjects, by districts and families; and these obeyed and respected the chief. Some chiefs had friendship and communication with others, and at times wars and quarrels.

These principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son and their descendants. If these were lacking, then their brothers and collateral relatives succeeded. Their duty was to rule and govern their subjects and followers, and to assist them in their interests and necessities. What the chiefs received from their followers was to be held by them in great veneration and respect; and they were served in their wars and voyages, and in their tilling, sow-

ing, fishing, and the building of their houses. To these duties the natives attended very promptly, whenever summoned by their chief. They also paid the chiefs tribute (which they called buiz), in varying quantities, in the crops that they gathered. The descendants of such chiefs, and their relatives, even though they did not inherit the lordship, were held in the same respect and consideration. Such were all regarded as nobles, and as persons exempt from the services rendered by the others, or the plebians, who were called timaguas. The same right of nobility and chieftainship was preserved for the women, just as for the men. When any of these chiefs was more courageous than others in war and upon other occasions, such a one enjoyed more followers and men; and the others were under his leadership, even if they were chiefs. These latter retained to themselves the lordship and particular government of their own following, which is called barangai among them. They had datos and other special leaders (mandadores) who attended to the interests of the barangay. ...

When some natives had suits or disputes with others over matters of property and interest, or over personal injuries and wrongs received, they appointed old men of the same district, to try them, the parties being present. If they had to present proofs, they brought their witnesses there, and the case was immediately judged according to what was found, according to the usages of their ancestors on like occasions; and that sentence was observed and executed without any further objection or delay.

The natives' laws throughout the islands were made in the same manner, and they followed the traditions and customs of their ancestors, without anything being written. Some provinces had different customs than others in some respects. However, they agreed in most, and in all the islands generally the same usages were followed.[10]

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10 - This fundamental agreement of laws, and this general uniformity, prove that the mutual relations of the islands were widespread, and the bonds of friendship more frequent than were wars and quarrels. There may have existed

Social Classes

There are three conditions of persons among the natives of these islands, and into which their government is divided; the chiefs, of whom we have already treated; the timaguas, who are equivalent to plebeians; and slaves, those of both chiefs and timaguas.

The slaves were of several classes. Some were for all kinds of work and slavery, like those which we ourselves hold. Such are called saguiguilires; they served inside the house, as did likewise the children born of them. There are others who live in their own houses with their families, outside the house of their lord; and come, at the season, to aid him in his sowings and harvests, among his rowers when he embarks, in the construction of his house when it is being built, and to serve in his house when there are guests of distinction. These are bound to come to their lord's house whenever he summons them, and to serve in these offices without any pay or stipend. These slaves are called namamahays, and their children and descendants are slaves of the same class. From these slaves- saguiguilirs and namamahays - are issue, some of whom are whole slaves, some of whom are half slaves, and still others one-fourth slaves. It happens thus: if either the father or the mother was free, and they had an only child, he was half free and half slave. If they had more than one child, they were divided as follows: the first follows the condition of the father, free or slave; the second that of the mother. If there were an odd number of children, the last was half free and half slave. Those who descended from these, if children of a free mother or father, were only one-fourth slaves, because of being children of a free father or mother and of a half-slave. These half slaves or one-fourth slaves, whether saguiguilirs or namamahays, served their masters during every other moon; and in this respect so is such condition slavery.

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a confederation, since we know from the first Spaniards that the chief of Manila was commander-in-chief of the sultan of Borneo. In addition, documents of the twelfth century that exist testify the same thing.--Rizal.

In the same way, it may happen in divisions between heirs that a slave will fall to several, and serves each one for the time that is due him. When the slave is not wholly slave, but half or fourth, he has the right, because of that part that is free, to compel his master to emancipate him for a just price. This price is appraised and regulated for persons according to the quality of their slavery, whether it be saguiguilir or namamahay, half slave or quarter slave. But, if he is wholly slave, the master cannot be compelled to ransom or emancipate him for any price.

The usual price of a saguiguilir slave among the natives is, at most, generally ten taes of good gold, or eighty pesos; if he is namamahay, half of that sum. The others are in the same proportion, taking into consideration the person and his age.

No fixed beginning can be assigned as the origin of these kinds of slavery among these natives, because all the slaves are natives of the islands, and not strangers. It is thought that they were made in their wars and quarrels. The most certain knowledge is that the most powerful made the others slave and seized them for slight cause or occasion, and many times for loans and usurious contracts which were current among them. The interest, capital, and debt, increased so much with delay that the borrowers become slaves. Consequently all these slaveries have violent and unjust beginnings; and most of the suits among the natives are over these, and they occupy the judges in the exterior court with them, and their confessors in that of conscience.

These slaves[11] comprise the greatest wealth and capital of the natives of these islands, for they

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11 - The condition of slaves was not always a melancholy one. Argensola says that they ate at the same table with their masters, and married into their families. The histories fail to record the assassination for motives of vengeance of any master or chief by the natives, as they do of encomenderos. After the conquest the evil deepened. The Spaniards made slaves without these pretexts, and with-

are very useful to them and necessary for the cultivation of their property. They are sold, traded, and exchanged among them, just as any other mercantile article, from one village to another, from one province to another, and likewise from one island to another. Therefore, and to avoid so many suits as would occur if these slaveries were examined, and their origin and source ascertained, they are preserved and held as they were formerly.

Marriage Customs

The marriages of these natives, commonly and generally were, and are: Chiefs with women chiefs; timaguas with those of that rank; and slaves with those of their own class. But sometimes these classes intermarry with one another. They considered one woman, whom they married, as the legitimate wife and the mistress of the house; and she was styled ynasaba.[12] Those whom they kept besides her they considered as friends. The children of the first were regarded as legitimate and whole heirs of their parents; the children of the others were not so regarded, and were left something by assignment, but they did not inherit.

The dowry was furnished by the man, being given by his parents. The wife furnished nothing for the marriage, until she had inherited it from her par-

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out those enslaved being Indians of their jurisdiction - going moreover, to take them away from their own villages and islands. Fernando de los Rios Coronel, in his memorial to the king (Madrid, 1621) pp. 24-25, speaks in scathing terms of the cruelties inflicted on the natives in the construction of ships during the governorship of Juan de Silva. A letter from Felipe II to Bishop Domingo de Salazar shows the awful tyranny exercised by the encomenderos upon the natives, whose condition was worse than that of slaves.--Rizal.

12 - Inasawa, or more correctly asawa (consort.) - Rizal.

ents.[13] The solemnity of the marriage consisted in nothing more than the agreement between the parents and relatives of the contracting parties, the payment of the dowry agreed upon to the father of the bride, and the assembling at the wife's parents' house of all the relatives, to eat and drink until they would fall down. At night the man took the woman to his house and into his power, and there she remained. These marriages were annuled and dissolved for slight cause, with the examination and judgment of the relatives of both parties, and of the old men, who acted as mediators in the affairs. At such a time the man took the dowry (which they call vigadicaya), unless it happened that they separated through the husband's fault; for then it was not returned to him, and the wife's parents kept it. The property that they had acquired together was divided into halves, and each one disposed of his own. If one made any profits in which the other did not have a share or participate, he acquired it for himself alone.

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13 - This continued the union between parents and children, which was a wiser arrangement than what is found in many parts of Europe where cases are known of sons neglecting their parents once they have obtained their inheritance and of parents not allowing their sons to marry so as not to lose control of their resources. ... We say that this arrangement continued the union and not the affection which is taken for granted and which in many cases amounted to veneration. While the father or the mother was living, the home continued to exist even if all the children were already married and lived independently. Naturally, the daughter did not have to bring any dowry. The qualities of the Filipino woman, a person who was a help rather than a burden to the husband, would reject such a practice which is necessary to a European who generally is an additional charge, or burden upon the man's budget. In the Philippines, the woman does not go out to fish for, but to choose, a husband. And the husband does not take on the heavy burden or the yoke of matrimony, but a companion who is to help and to introduce economy in the disordered life of the young man.--Rizal.

Status of Children - Inheritance

The Indians were adopted one by another, in presence of the relatives. The adopted person gave and delivered all his actual possessions to the one who adopted him. Thereupon he remained in his house and care, and had a right to inherit with the other children.

Adulteries were not punishable corporally. If the adulterer paid the aggrieved party the amount adjudged by the old men and agreed upon by them, then the injury was pardoned, and the husband was appeased and retained his honor. He would still live with his wife and there would be no further talk about the matter.

In inheritances all the legitimate children inherited equally from their parents whatever property they had acquired. If there were any movable or landed property which they had received from their parents, such went to the nearest relatives and the collateral side of that stock, if there were no legitimate children by an ynasaba. This was the case either with or without a will. In the act of drawing a will, there was no further ceremony than to have written it or to have stated it orally before acquaintances.

If any chief was lord of a barangai, then in that case, the eldest sons of any ynasaba succeeded him. If he died, the second son succeeded. If there were no sons, then the daughters succeeded in the same order. If there were no legitimate successors, the succession went to the nearest relative belonging to the lineage and relationship of the chief who had been the last possessor of it.

It any native who had slave women made concubines of any of them, and such slave woman had children, those children were free, as was the slave. But if she had no children, she remained a slave.

These children, by a slave woman, and those borne by a married woman, were regarded as illegitimate, and did not succeed to the inheritance with the other children, neither were the parents obliged

to leave them anything. Even if they were the sons of chiefs, they did not succeed to the nobility or chieftainship of the parents, nor to their privileges, but they remained and were reckoned as plebeians and in the number and rank of the other timaguas.

Trading Methods and Practices

The contracts and negotiations of these natives were generally illegal, each one paying attention to how he might better his own business and interest.

Loans with interest were very common and much practiced, and the interests incurred was excessive. The debt doubled and increased all the time while payment was delayed, until it stripped the debtor of all his possessions, and he and his children when all their property was gone, became slaves.

Their customary method of trading was by bartering one thing for another, such as food, cloth, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fishing-grounds, and palm-trees (both nipa and wild). Sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, as agreed upon, or in metal bells brought from China. These bells they regard as precious jewels; they resemble large pans and are very sonorous. They play upon these at their feasts, and carry them to the war in their boats instead of drums and other instruments. There are often delays and terms for certain payments, and bondsmen who intervene bind themselves, but always with very usurious and excessive profits and interests.

C r i m e s

Crimes were punished by request of the aggrieved parties. Especially were thefts punished with greater severity, the robbers being enslaved or sometimes put to death. The same was true of insulting words, especially when spoken to chiefs. They had among themselves many expressions and words which they regarded as the highest insult, when said to men and

women. These were pardoned less willingly and with greater difficulty than was personal violence, such as wounding and assaulting.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

In matters of religion, the natives proceeded more barbarously and with greater blindness than in all the rest. For besides being pagans, without any knowledge of the true God, they neither strove to discover Him by way of reason, nor had any fixed belief. The devil usually deceived them with a thousand errors and blindness. He appeared to them in various horrible and frightful forms, and as fierce animals, so that they feared him and trembled before him. They generally worshipped him, and made images of him in the said forms. These were kept in caves and private houses, where they offered them perfumes and odors, and food and fruit, calling them anitos.

Others worshipped the sun and the moon, and made feasts and drunken revels at the conjunction of these bodies. Some worshipped a yellow-colored bird that dwells in their woods, called batala. They generally worship and adore the crocodile when they see them, by kneeling down and clasping their hands, because of the harm that they received from those reptiles; they believe that by so doing the crocodiles will become appeased and leave them. Their oaths, execrations, and promises are all as above mentioned, namely: "May buhayan eat thee, if thou dost not speak truth, or fulfill what thou hast promised," and similar things.

Miguel de Loarca was one of the soldiers who came with Legaspi to the Philippines. As a reward for the services he rendered to the Spanish Crown in the pacification and conquest of the Philippines he was given an encomienda in Panay. He wrote in 1582 an account of the Philippines and its people under the title, Relacion de las Islas Filipinas. It tells, in the words of Loarca himself, of "all the islands and peoples reduced to the obedience of his royal Majesty. ... and of the form of government among both the Spaniards and the natives. And of some customs of the Indians and Moros of these islands."

Of the marriage customs of the ancient Bisayans, Loarca gives the following interesting account:[1]

> MARRIAGE OF THE CHIEFS.- When any man wishes to marry, he, since the man always asks the woman, calls in certain timaguas who are respected in the village. (This is what the chiefs do. For there appear to be three ranks of men in these islands - namely, chiefs, timaguas, who are freemen, and slaves - each class having different marriage customs.) The chiefs, then, I say, send as go-between some of their timaguas, to negotiate the marriage. One of these men takes the young man's lance from his father, and when he reaches the house of the girl's father he thrust the spear into the staircase of the house; and while he holds the lance thus,

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1 - B. & R., Vol. V, p. 155. Both the original in Spanish and the English translation of the Relacion are given in this volume.

they invoke their gods and ancestors, requesting them to be propitious to this marriage. If the marriage takes place, the lance belongs to the go-between, or it is redeemed.

After the marriage is agreed upon - that is to say, after fixing the amount of the dowry which the husband pays to the wife (which among the chiefs of these islands is generally the sum of one hundred taes, in gold, slaves, and jewels, and is equivalent to one hundred pesos) - they go to bring the bride from the house of her parents. One of the Indians takes her on his shoulders; and on arriving at the foot of the stairway to the bridegroom's house, she affects coyness, and says that she will not enter. When many entreaties have proved useless, the father-in-law comes out and promises to give her a slave if she will go up. She mounts the staircase, for the slave; but when she reaches the top of the stairway and looks into her father-in-law's house and sees the people assembled within, she again pretends to be bashful, and the father-in-law must give her another slave. After she has entered, the same thing takes place; and he must give her a jewel to make her sit down, another to make her begin to eat, and another before she will drink. While the betrothed pair are drinking together an old man rises, and in a loud voice calls all to silence, as he wishes to speak. He says: "So-and-so marries so-and-so, but on the condition that if the man should through dissolute conduct fail to support his wife, she will leave him, and shall not be obliged to return anything of the dowry that he has given her; and she shall have freedom and permission to marry another man. And therefore, should the woman betray her husband, he can take away the dowry that he gave her, leave her, and marry another woman. Be all of you witnesses for me to this compact." When the old man has ended his speech, they take a dish filled with clean, uncooked rice, and an old woman comes and joins the hands of the pair, and lays them upon the rice. Then, holding their hands thus joined, she throws the rice over all those who are present at the banquet. Then the old woman gives a loud shout, and all answer her with a similar shout; and the marriage contract or ceremony is completed. Up to this

time, her parents do not allow the young couple to eat or sleep together; but by performing this ceremony they deliver her up as his wife. But if, after the marriage contract has been negotiated by a third party, the man who seeks marriage should repent the bargain and seek to marry another woman, he loses the earnest-money that he has given, even if he has had no intercourse with the former; because when they commence negotiations for the marriage they begin to give the dowry. If a man say in conversation, or at a drunken feast, "I wish to marry so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so," and afterward break his promise and refuse to marry her, he is fined for it; and they take away a great part of his property.

In regard to the dowry, neither the husband nor the wife can enjoy it until they have children; for until then it belongs to the father-in-law. If the bridegroom is not of age to marry, or the bride is too young, both still work in the house of the father-in-law until they are of age to live together.

MARRIAGE AMONG THE TIMAGUAS.- The timaguas do not follow these usages, because they have no property of their own. They do not observe the ceremony of joining hands over the dish of rice, through respect for the chiefs; for that ceremony is for chiefs only. Their marriage is accomplished when the pair unite in drinking pitarrilla from the same cup. Then they give a shout, and all the guests depart; and they are considered as married, for they are not allowed to drink together until late at night. The same ceremony is observed by rich and respectable slaves.

MARRIAGES AMONG SLAVES.- But the poor slaves, who serve in the houses, marry each other without drinking and without any go-between. They observe no ceremony, but simply say to each other "Let us marry." If a chief have a slave, one of his ayoiys, who serves in the house, and wishes to marry him to female slave of the same class belonging to another chief, he sends an Indian woman as agent to the master of the female slave, saying that her master wishes to marry one of his male slaves to the other's female slave. After the marriage has been arranged, he gives his slave an earthen jar, or three or four

dishes, and there is no other ceremony. Half of the children born to this couple will belong to the master of the female slave, and the other half will belong to the master of the male slave. When the time comes when their children are able to work for their masters, the parents are made tumaranpoques, as we have said; because when a male slave of one chief married the female slave of another chief they immediately receive a house for their own use, and go out to work for their masters. If a free man marries a female slave, or vice versa, half of the children are slaves. Thus, if there are two children, one is free and the other a slave, as the parents may choose.

The following is an account by the same author of the religious beliefs of the ancient Bisayans:[1]

BELIEF REGARDING THE DEAD.- If those who die from disease are young, the Pintados say that the mangalos, who are goblins, are eating their bowels, wherefore they die; for these people do not know that the corruption of humors causes diseases. They say of those who die in old age that the wind comes and snatches away their souls. And of those who die in old age that the wind comes and snatches away their souls. And of those who die thus, the Arayas (which is a certain alliance of villages), they say, go to a very high mountain in the Island of Panay, called Mayas. The souls of the Yligueynes, who comprise the people of Cubu, Bohol, and Bantay, go with the god called Sisiburanan, to a very high mountain in the island of Burney.

THE GOD SIDAPA.- They say that there is in the sky another god, called Sidapa. This good possesses a very tall tree on mount Mayas. There he meas-

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1 - Ibid. The best-known work on Filipino methology is Ferdinand Blumentritt's, Diccionario mitologico de Filipinas. This is reproduced in Retana's Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino, vol. 2.

ures the lives of all the new-born, and places a mark on the tree; when the person's stature equals this mark, he dies immediately.

BELIEF CONCERNING THE DESTINATION OF SOULS.- It is believed that at death all souls go directly to the infernal regions; but that, by means of the maganitos, which are the sacrifices and offerings made to the god Pandaque in sight of the mount of Mayas, they are redeemed from Simuran and Siguinarugan, gods of the lower regions.

It is said that, when the Yligueynes die, the god Maguayen carries them to Inferno. When he has carried them thither in his barangay, Sumpoy, another god, sallies forth, takes them away, and leads them to Sisiburanen, the god before mentioned, who keeps them all. Good or bad alike, he takes them all on equal terms, when they go to Inferno. But the poor, who have no one to offer sacrifices for them, remain forever, in the inferno, and the god of those regions eats them, or keeps them forever in prison. From this it will be seen how little their being good or bad avails them, and how much reason they have to hate poverty.

BAYLANAS.- The natives of these islands have neither time nor place set apart for the offering of prayers and sacrifices to their gods. It is only in case of sickness, and in times of seed-sowing or of war, that sacrifices are offered. These sacrifices are called baylanes, and the priestesses, or the men who perform this office, are also called baylanes. The priestesses dress very gaily with garlands on their heads, and are resplendent with gold. They bring to the place of sacrifice some pitarrillas (a kind of earthen jar) full of rice-wine, besides a live hog and a quantity of prepared food. Then the priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glistening in gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground, foaming at the mouth as one possessed. In this state she declares whether the sick person is to recover or not. In regard to other matters, she foretells the future. All this takes place to the sound of bells and kettle-drums. Then she rises and taking a spear, she pierces the heart of the hog.

They dress it and prepare a dish for the demons. Upon an altar erected there, they place the dressed hog, rice, bananas, wine, and all the other articles of food that they have brought. All this is done in behalf of sick persons, or to redeem those who are confined in the infernal regions. When they go to war or on a plundering expedition, they offer prayers to Varangao who is the rainbow, and to their gods, Ynaguinid and Macanduc. For the redemption of souls detained in the inferno above mentioned, they invoke also their ancestors, and the dead, claiming to see them and receive answers to their questions.

BELIEF CONCERNING THE WORLD.- The God Macaptan.- They believe that the world has no end. They say that Macaptan dwells highest in the sky. They consider him a bad god, because he sends disease and death among them, saying that because he has not eaten anything of this world, or drunk any pitarrillas, he does not love them, and so kills them.

THE GOD LALAHON.- It is said that the divinity Lalahon dwells in a volcano in Negros island, when she hurls fire. The volcano is about five leagues from the town of Arevalo. They invoke Lalahon for their harvest; when she does not choose to grant good harvest she sends the locusts to destroy and consume the crops. This Lalahon is a woman.

BURIALS.- These natives bury their dead in certain wooden coffins, in their own houses. They bury with the dead, gold, cloth, and other valuable objects - saying that if they depart rich they will be well received in the other world, but coldly if they go poor.

HOW THEY GUARD THE DEAD.- When anyone dies, the people light many fires near his house; and at night armed men go to act as sentinels about his coffin, for fear that the sorcerers (who are in this country also) may come and touch the coffin, for then the coffin would immediately burst open and a great stench issue from the corpse, which could not any longer remain in the coffin. For this reason, they keep watch for several nights.

LARAO OF THE DEAD.- THAT IS, MOURNING.- One of the observances which is carried out with most rigor is that called larao. This rule requires that when a chief dies all must mourn him, and must observe the following restrictions: No one shall quarrel with any other during the time of mourning, and especially at the time of the burial. Spears must be carried point downward, and daggers be carried in the belt hilt reversed. No gala or colored dress shall be worn during that time. There must be no singing on board a barangay when returning to the village, but strict silence is maintained. They make an enclosure around the house of the dead man; and if anyone, great or small, passes by and transgresses this bound, he shall be punished. In order that all men may know of a chief's death and no one feign ignorance, one of the timaguas who is held in honor goes through the village and makes announcement of the mourning. He who transgresses the law must pay the penalty, without fail. If he who does this wrong be a slave - one of those who serve without the dwelling - and has not the means to pay, his owner pays for him; but the latter takes the slave to his own house, that he may serve him, and makes him an ayoey. They say that these rules were left to them by Lubluban and Panas. To some, especially to the religious, it has seemed as if they were too rigorous for these people; but they were general among chiefs, timaguas, and slaves.

In the same account, Relacion de las Islas Filipinas, Loarca makes the following observations of the religion, government and laws of the Tagalogs:[1]

THE GOD BATALA.- According to the religion formerly observed by these Moros,[2] they worshipped

1 - Ibid., pp. 171-187.

2 - Loarca here is referring to the inhabitants of Manila and neighboring towns and villages where Mohammedan beliefs and practices had been introduced.

a deity called among them Batala, which properly means "God." They said that they adored this Batala because he was the Lord of all, and had created human beings and villages. They said that this Batala had many agents under him, whom he sent to this world to produce, in behalf of men, what is yielded here. These beings were called anitos, and each anito had a special office. Some of them were for the fields, and some for those who journey by sea; some for those who went to war, and some for diseases. Each anito was therefore named for his office; there was, for instance, the anito of the fields, and the anito of the rain. To these anitos the people offered sacrifices, when they desired anything - to each one according to his office. The mode of sacrifice was like that of the Pintados. They summoned a catalonan, which is the same as the vaylan among the Pintados, that is, a priest. He offered the sacrifice, requesting from the anito whatever the people desired him to ask, and heaping up great quantities of rice, meat and fish. His invocations lasted until the demon entered his body, when the catalonan fell into a swoon, foaming at the mouth. The Indians sang, drank, and feasted until the catalonan came to himself, and told them the answer that the anito had given to him. If the sacrifice was in behalf of a sick person, they offered many golden chains and ornaments, saying that they were paying a ransom for the sick person's health. This invocation of the anito continued as long as the sickness lasted.

When the natives were asked why the sacrifices were made to the anito, and not to Batala, they answered that Batala was a great Lord, and no one could speak to him. He lived in the sky; but the anito, who was of such a nature that he came down here to talk with men, was to the Batala as a minister, and interceded for them. In some places, and especially in the mountain districts, when the father, mother, or other relative dies, the people unite in making a small wooden idol, and preserve it. Accordingly there is a house which contains one hundred of these idols. These images also are called anitos, for they say that when people die, they go to serve the Batala. Therefore they make sacrifices

to these anitos, offering them food, wine, and gold ornaments; and request them to be intercessors for them before the Batala, whom they regard as God.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MOROS.- Among the Moros there is precisely the same lack of government as among the Pintados. They had chiefs in their respective districts, whom the people obeyed; they punished criminals, and laid down the laws that must be observed. In the villages, where they had ten or twelve chiefs, one only -- the richest of them -- was he whom all obeyed. They greatly esteem an ancient lineage, which is therefore a great advantage to him who desires to be a lord. When laws were to be enacted for governing the commonwealth, the greatest chief, whom all the rest obeyed, assembled in his own house all the other chiefs of the village; and when they had come, he made a speech, declaring that, to correct the many criminal acts which were being committed, it was necessary that they impose penalties and enact ordinances, so that these evils might be remedied and that all might live in peace. This policy was not in vogue among the Pintados, because no one of them was willing to recognize another as his superior. Then the other chiefs replied that this seemed good to them; and that, since he was the greatest chief of all, he might do whatever appeared to him just, and they would approve it. Accordingly, that chief made such regulations as he deemed necessary; for these Moros posses the art of writing, which no other natives of the islands have. The other chiefs approved what he ordained. Immediately came a public crier, whom they call umalahocan, who is properly a mayor-domo, or steward; he took a bell and went through the village, announcing in each district the regulations which had been made. The people replied that they would obey. Thus the umalahocan went from village to village, through the whole district of this chief; and from that time on he who incurred the penalties of law was taken to the chief, who sentenced him accordingly. If the penalty be death, and the condemned men say that he prefers to be a slave, he is pardoned, and becomes a slave. All the other chiefs are also judges, each in his own district; but when any important case arises the head chief calls all

the others together, in order to decide it, and the affair is settled by the vote of all. The chiefs are accustomed to impose the taxes; but there is no fixed amount for these, save what the proper judge decrees shall be paid.

MARRIAGES.- These Moros followed in their marriages the same customs as those of the Pintados, in giving the dowry. Thus, if the man should, contrary to the woman's desire, break his pledge and annul the marriage, he would lose the dowry, and she would retain it, free from him. Likewise, if the wife left the husband she was obliged to return him the dowry. If she committed adultery and the husband therefore left her, she returned him double the amount of the dowry. If the wife left the husband in order to marry another, the second husband was obliged to repay to the first husband the dowry which the latter had given to the woman, and to pay a fine, more or less - such an amount as the judge should order him to give. If the husband were a chief, and caught his wife in the act of committing adultery, he had the right to punish her with death, and the adulterer also, and could slay them with impunity. If he killed one and the other escaped, there would be open war between the two families until the other adulterer died. If both escaped, they must pay for their lives with a certain weight of gold. If they were chiefs, the penalty was one hundred taes, fifty for the woman and fifty for the adulterer. This done, they were pardoned, and remained friends. If they were timaguas, they incurred a lighter penalty.

THIEVES.- There was among the natives a law concerning thieves. It was a petty theft if the amount were less than four taes (that is, twenty pesos); but if more than that sum, it was a serious offense. He who committed the former must return the gold, and then be sentenced, at the will of the judge, to pay a fine in money. If it were the greater theft, involving an amount of four taes or upward, he incurred the penalty of slavery. But if the goods stolen amounted to a cati (catty) of gold, the penalty was death, or the enslavement of the culprit and his children and all those of his household.

It was also a law that for the first theft the penalty was a fine in money, for the second, slavery;

for further offenses, it was death. Or, if pardoned, as described above, he was made a slave, with his wife and children. This punishment did not apply to the son who proved that he was outside the house -- whether he dwelt in a house of his own or lived with relatives on an independent footing; and therefore he was free. Only those who lived in the house of the delinquent were liable to punishment, because they all were suspected of knowledge of the theft.

There was also a law that anyone who spoke disrespectfully of a chief, or uttered abusive language to him, was liable to death. If he could redeem his life, a fine of fifteen taes of gold was imposed. If he did not have the means to pay and relatives did not contribute to ransom him, and the delinquent begged for mercy, saying that then he would become a slave, his life was spared, and he became the slave of the injured party. For this reason the penalty of a fine was available for him who possessed wealth. If the quarrel were between persons of equal rank, the chiefs settled the matter according to justice and their laws, and the like penalty was imposed. If the delinquent refused to pay according to this sentence, war was declared between the villages or the factions. Hostilities then followed; and from that time those who were captured were enslaved.

ONE MAY BE RELEASED AFTER PAYING THE SUM DECREED; UNTIL THEN HE IS A SLAVE.- It was a law that if, when two timaguas were together, either of them insulted the other, he must pay a sum of money according to the nature of the insult, which was decided by the judge. If the insult were a gross one, the fine was large accordingly; and if the culprit had not the means to pay more than five taes, he became the slave of the injured person. If the delinquent begged from the chief or some other friend the favor of lending him the money, he became the slave of him who loaned the money. This slavery extended only to the culprit, and not to his children or relatives, except to children who were born during his slavery.

It is usual among the natives of this island to aid one another with money-loans. He who borrowed from a chief or a timagua retained the money until a

fixed time had elapsed, during which he might use the money that was lent to him; and besides, he divided with the lender the profit that he made, in acknowledgment, of the favor that he had received.

It was a law that if he who borrowed the money became insolvent, and had not means to pay his debt, he was considered a slave therefor, together with the children born during his slavery; those already born were free.

It was a law among these people, when two men formed a business partnership in which each placed the same amount of money, that if one of them went to traffic with the money belonging to both, and while on a trading journey were captured by enemies, the other man who remained in the village must go to ransom his partner, with half of the ransom-price agreed upon; and the captive was then released from liability -- not only for what was due to the partnership, but for the amount which was afterward given for his ransom, and was not obliged to pay anything. If the man who lost the money lost it in gambling, or by spending it with women, he was obliged to repay to the partnership the amount which he had drawn therefrom, and he and his children were obliged to pay it. If the amount were so great that they could not pay it within the time agreed upon, he and half his children would become the slaves of the partner. If there were two children, one was a slave and the other was free; if four, two were slaves, and two were free; and so on with any larger number. If the children were able to pay their father's debt afterward, they were set free.

Juan de Plasencia, a Franciscan friar, came to the Philippines in 1577. He was one of a small group of Franciscan priests that arrived that year, the first of their Order to come to the Philippines. Father Plasencia had, among his natural endowments, an aptitude for learning new languages. Having been assigned as a missionary to the province of Laguna, he quickly acquired a mastery of the Tagalog language. Within a short time after his arrival, he could speak fluently and eloquently in that language.

During the governorship of Santiago de Vera (1584 to 1590), Father Plasencia was commissioned to prepare an authoritative report on Filipino customary law. In pursuance of his commission, Father Plasencia wrote an account of the customs of the Tagalogs, under the title "Las Costumbres de los Tagalos." To obtain the information that he wanted, he interviewed several of the old men in the province, all known to him for their intelligence and for their knowledge of their customs and usages.

Father Plasencia's"Las Costumbres de los Tagalos" was submitted to Governor de Vera in 1589. Copies thereof were furnished to alcaldes mayores for their information and guidance in the settlement of disputes among the Filipinos.

For many years, controversies arising among the Filipinos concerning such matters as the status of slaves, successions, inheritances, adoptions, wills and other matters of civil nature were decided by the alcaldes mayores in accordance with Filipino notions and ideals of justice such as described and explained in Father Plasencia's "Las Costumbres de los Tagalos." It is for this reason that the account has been called, "the first civil code of the Philippines."

Father Plasencia's account reads as follows:[1]

> DATOS AND BARANGAYES.- This people always had chiefs, called by them datos[2], who governed them and were captains in their wars, and whom they obeyed and reverenced. The subject who committed any offense against them, or spoke but a word[3] to their wives and children, was severely punished.

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1 - B. & R., volume 7, pp. 173-184. The footnotes accompanying this account were written by Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera for the edition which he made of Plasencia's work. The Tavera edition was published in Madrid in 1892, under the title Las Costumbres de los Tagalos en Filipinas segun el P. Plasencia.

2 - Nowadays this expression is not used in Tagalog. Among the Malays datu or datuk originally meant grandfather, head of a family, which was none other than the members of a barangay. In Mindanao and Jolo this title is preserved to designate certain chiefs.

3 - Undoubtedly an "offensive" word.

These chiefs ruled over but few people; sometimes as many as hundred houses, sometimes even less than thirty. This tribal gathering is called in Tagalog a barangay. It was inferred that the reason for giving themselves this name arose from the fact (as they classed, by their language, among the Malay nations) that when they came to this land, the head of the barangay[4] which is a boat, thus called, became a dato. And so, even at the present day, it is ascertained that this barangay in its origin was a family of parents and children, relations and slaves. There were of many of these barangays in each town, or, at least, on account of wars, they did not settle far from one another. They were not, however, subject to one another, except in friendship, and relationship. The chiefs, in their various wars, helped one another with their respective barangays.[5]

SOCIAL CLASSES.- In addition to the chiefs, who correspond to our knights, there were three castes; nobles, commoners, and slaves. The nobles were the free-born whom they call maharlica.[6] They did not pay tax or tribute to the dato, but must accompany him in war, at their own expense. The chief

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4 - The real Tagalog word is Balagay.

5 - They were small confederacies which in some places, were governed by a chief who bore the title of Radja or Ladja, during the Hindu period, and that of Sultan, when Islanism appeared in these Islands. At time the title of Hari was used, which reveals high pride, and undoubtedly a Hindu origin, of the chief who bore this title. Hari, in Sanskrit, signifies Brahma, the Sun, Vichnou. The sovereigns of the Javanese Kingdom of Madjapahit bore, among others, the title of "descendant of the race of Hari."

6 - Maharlica comes from the Sanskrit mahardhika, and signifies, "who enjoys liberty." Calling them "freed men" is improper, because they were never slaves, although there are some freedmen who properly were such: they were free men who depended on nobody except the dato, in so far as their obligations to him were in accordance with the ugali, which defined the rights of each person in the barangay.

offered them beforehand a feast, and afterward they divided the spoils. Moreover, when the dato went upon the water those whom he summoned rowed for him. If he built a house, they helped him, and had to be fed for it. The same was true when the whole barangay went to clear up his lands for tillage. The lands which they inhabited were divided among the whole barangay, especially the irrigated portion and thus each one knew his own. No one belonging to another barangay would cultivate them unless after purchase or inheritance.

LANDS.- The lands on the tingues,[7] or mountain ridges are not divided, but owned in common by the barangay. Consequently, at the time of the rice harvest, any individual or any particular barangay, although he may have come from some other village, if he commences to clear any land may sow it, and no one can compel him to abandon it. There are some villages (as, for example, Pila de la Laguna), in which these nobles or maharlicas, paid annually to the dato a hundred gantas of rice. The reason of this was that, at the time of their settlement there, another chief occupied the lands, which the new chief, upon his arrival, bought with his own gold; and therefore the members of his barangay paid him for the arable land, and he divided it, among those whom he

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7 - Tingi is an old Tagalog word which does not mean anything nowadays, but which was used in the days of the conquest to signify mountain. From this circumstance the mountain people were called tingianes (pronounced tinguianes), a term which later was applied only to a certain class of non-Christians inhabiting the mountains of northern Luzon. "The tingues extend from the mountains of San Pablo via Nacarlan up to Calaylayan, where stood the old capital of Tayabas, and from there begins the range of mountains of Cabinti up to Vilingviling, which is the summit of Mabitac. (Santos.- Vocabulario Tagalog, Manila, 1794, in the preface.) The whole lake of Bai is surrounded by very steep mountains, which those people call tingues in the Tagalog language." (San Antonio, Cronicas, etc., I, II, p. 471.)

saw fit to reward.[8] But now, since the advent of the Spaniard, it is not so divided.

FISHERIES.- The chiefs in some villages had also fisheries, with established limits, and sections of the rivers for markets. At these no one could fish, or trade in the markets, without paying for the privilege, unless he belonged to the chief's barangay or village.

COMMONERS.- The commoners[9] are called aliping namamahay. They are married, and serve their master, whether he be a dato or not, with half of their cultivated lands, as was agreed upon in the beginning. They accompanied him whenever he went beyond the island, and rowed for him. They live in their own houses, and are lords of their property and gold. Their children inherit it, and enjoy their property and lands. The children, then, enjoy the rank of

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8 - It is to be observed, there were three kinds of property: that which belongs to each inhabitant of the barangay; that of the barangay in common, that of the chief acquired by him by purchase from another chief or barangay. In Sumatra, the right of property is acquired by original occupation: proprietorship in land may be transferred thru inheritance, as it can not be sold. All the peoples of the Malay race were governed and some are even today, by an Addat, which literally signifies custom, usage. The laws, which are unwritten, were preserved in traditions handed down from father to son, and generally the older people, being more practical, and whose experience enabled them to understand their own customs, were the ones that decided their suits. When they pronounced their decisions, they did not say, "Thus seith the law," but, "such is the custom," which in Tagalog is ang ugali.

9 - This term is very exact: the aliping namamahay were perfectly comparable to the commoners of Spain. The Tagalog alipin denotes, nevertheless, a slave, but it is used here with the term namamahay, which means "who has a house," or "who is in his house," which gives one to understand that they were considered as "of the house" that is, as members of the family. These persons could become a maharlica by paying a certain amount to their masters, a circumstance which gave rise to the appelation of freed men of which we spoke elsewhere.

their fathers, and they cannot be made slaves (saguiguilir) nor can either parents or children be sold. If they should fall by inheritance into the hands of a son of their master who was going to dwell in another village, they could not be taken from their own village and carried with him, but they would remain in their native village, doing service there and cultivating the sowed lands.

SLAVES.- The slaves are called aliping sa gui guilir.[10] They serve their master in his house and on his cultivated lands, and may be sold. The master grants them, should he see fit, and providing that he has profited through their industry, a portion of their harvests, so that they may work faithfully. For these reasons, servants who are born in the house of their master are rarely, if ever, sold. That is the lost of captives in war, and of those brought up in the harvest fields.

SLAVES BY REASON OF DEBT.- Those to whom a debt was owed transferred the debt to another, thereby themselves making a profit, and reducing the wretched debtors to a slavery which was not their natural lot.[11] If any person among those who were

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10 - It would not be so easy to give the etymology of the term saguiguilir (better sagigilir) did we not understand the meaning of namamahay. Guilir or, with more ortographic propriety gilir, means "house door" in Tagalog, and gigilir is a compound which means, door-head; hence aliping sagigilir signified the slave who had no right to live within doors, and who, as member of the lowest grade of the social scale, had no right in the house of his master may more than a door-head has. He is not worthy to live in it, and ordinarily he lives in the lowest part of the house, with the animals and the implements of labor, of fishing, etc. etc.

11 - This detestable custom was common among all Malays. In Sumatra, when a man dies who is indebted to another, his children render services, that is, they inherit the obligations of their father. Those who are slaves by debt have the privilege of changing masters if someone or a relative paid the debt for them. In this case they went to serve this person as a guarantee and to pay off the interests of the amount paid, which they repaid, when they were able to do so, in order to regain their liberty.

made slaves (sa guiguilir) - through war, by the trade of goldsmith, or otherwise - happened to possess any gold beyond the sum that he had to give his master, he ransomed himself, becoming thus a namamahay, or what we call a commoner. The price of this ransom was never less than five taels,12 and from that upwards; and if he gave ten or more taels, as they might agree, he became wholly free. An amusing ceremony accompanied this custom. After having divided all the trinkets which the slave possessed, if he maintained a house of his own, they divided even the pots and jars, and if an odd one of these remained, they broke it; and if a piece of cloth were left, they parted it in the middle.

The difference between the aliping namamahay and the aliping sa guiguilir, should be noted; for, by a confusion of the two terms, many have been classed as slaves who really are not. The Indians seeing that the alcaldes-mayor do not understand this, have adopted the custom of taking away the children of the aliping namamahay, making use of them as they would of the aliping sa guiguilir, as servants in their households, which is illegal, and if the aliping namamahay should appeal to justice, it is proved that he is an aliping as well as his father and mother before him and no reservation is made as to whether he is aliping namamahay or aliping sa guiguilir. He is at once considered an alipin, without further declaration. In this way he becomes a sa guiguilir, and is even sold. Consequently, the alcaldes-mayor should be instructed to ascertain, when anyone asks for his alipin, to which class he belongs, and to have the answer put in the document that they give him.

CHILDREN OF SLAVES.- In these three classes, those who are maharlicas on both the father's and mother's side continue to be so forever; and if it

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12 - A tael of gold was worth, at the time of the conquest, ten reales fuertes; Mallat gives to it the value of one hundred ten francs. It is possible that this latter value was what the tael had to which F. Plasencia refers.

happens that they should become slaves, it is through marriage, as I shall soon explain. If these maharlicas had children among their slaves, the children and their mothers became free; if one of them had children by the slave-woman of another, she was compelled, when pregnant, to give her master half of a gold tael, because of her risk of death, and for her inability to labor during the pregnancy. In such a case half of the child was free - namely, the half belonging to the father, who supplied the child with food. If he did not do this, he showed that he did not recognize him as his child, in which case the latter was wholly a slave. If a free woman had children by a slave, they were all free, provided he were not her husband.

MARRIAGES OF FREEMEN WITH SLAVES.- If two persons married, of whom one was a maharlica and the other a slave, whether namamahay or sa guiguilir, the children were divided; the first, whether male or female, belonged to the father, as did the third and fifth; the second, the fourth, and the sixth fell to the mother, and so on. In this manner, if the father were free, all those who belonged to him were free; if he were a slave, all those who belonged to him were slaves; and the same applied to the mother. If there should not be more than one child he was half free and half slave. The only question here concerned the division, whether the child were male or female. Those who become slaves fell under the category of servitude which was their parent's, either namamahay or sa guiguilir. If there were an odd number of children, the odd one was half free and half slave. I have not been able to ascertain with any certainty when or at what age the division of children was made, for each one suited himself in this respect. Of these two kinds of slaves the sa guiguilir could be sold, but not the namamahay and their children, nor could they be transferred. However, they could be transferred from the barangay by inheritance, provided they remained in the same village.[13]

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13 - This confirms what we have said in connection with the confederacies which existed at the arrival of the Spaniards. The barangays were simply a family group, large

The maharlicas could not, after marriage, move from one village to another, or from one barangay to another, without paying a certain fine in gold, as arranged among them. This fine was larger or smaller according to the inclination of the different villages, running from one to three taels and a banquet to the entire barangay. Failure to pay the fine might result in a war between the barangay which the person left and the one which he entered. This applied equally to men and women, except that when one married a woman of another village, the children were afterwards divided equally between the two barangays. This arrangement kept them obedient to the dato, or chief, which is no longer the case- because, if the dato is energetic and commands what the religious fathers enjoin him, they soon leave him and go to other villages and other datos, who endure and protect them and do not order them about. This is the kind of dato that they now prefer, not him who has the spirit of command.[14] There is a great need of reform in this, for the chiefs are spiritless and faint-hearted.

INVESTIGATION OF SUITS.- Investigations made and sentences passed by the dato must take place in the presence of those of his barangay. If any of the litigants felt himself aggrieved, an arbiter was unanimously named from another village or barangay, whether he were a dato or not; since they had for this purpose some persons, known as fair and just men, who were said to give true judgment according to their customs. If the controversy lay between two chiefs, when they wished to avoid war, they also convoked judges to act as arbiters; they did the same if the disputants belonged to two different barangays. In this ceremony they always had to drink, the plaintiff inviting the others.

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or small, with its slaves of various ranks. A number of barangays formed a village under the government of the Dato who was most powerful in that community, using different titles; Cat, Ladya (for Radja), Laka, Sultan, etc. etc.

14 - Which goes to show that, at all times and in all places, man of whatever race fled from tyranny.

LAWS GOVERNING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.- They had laws by which they condemned to death a man of low birth who insulted the daughter or wife of a chief; likewise witches, and others of the same class.

They condemned no one to slavery, unless he merited the death-penalty. As for the witches, they killed them, and their children and accomplices became slaves of the chief, after he had made some recompense to the injured person. All other offenses were punished by fines in gold, which, if not paid with promptness, exposed the culprit to serve, until the payment should be made, the person aggrieved, to whom the money was to be paid. This was done in the following way: Half the cultivated lands and all their produce belonged to the master. The master provided the culprit with food and clothing, thus enslaving the culprit and his children until such time as he might amass enough money to pay the fine. If the father should by chance pay his debt, the master then claimed that he had fed and clothed his children, and should be paid therefor. In this way he kept possession of the children if the payment could not be met. This last was usually the case, and they remained slaves. If the culprit had some relative or friend who paid for him, he was obliged to render the latter half his service until he was paid - not, however, service within the house as aliping sa guiguilir, but living independently, as alipin namamahay. If the creditor were not served in this wise, the culprit had to pay the double of what was lent him. In this way slaves were made by debt: either sa guiguilir, if they served the master to whom the judgment applied; or aliping namamahay, if they served the person who lent them wherewith to pay.

LOANS.- In what concerns loans, there was formerly, and is today, an excess of usury, which is a great hindrance to baptism as well as to confession; for it turns out in the same way as I have showed in the case of the one under judgment, who gives half of his cultivated lands and profits until he pays the debt. The debtor is condemned to a life of toil; and thus borrowers become slaves, and after the death of the father the children pay the debt. Not doing so, double the amount must be paid. This system should and can be reformed.

INHERITANCE.- As for inheritances, the legitimate children of a father and mother inherited equally, except in case where the father and mother showed a slight partiality by such gifts as two or three gold taels, or perhaps a jewel.

When the parents gave a dowry to any son, and, when in order to marry him to a chief's daughter, the dowry was greater than the sum given the other sons, the excess was not counted in the whole property to be divided. But any other thing that should have been given to any son, though it might be for some necessity, was taken into consideration at the time of the partition of the property, unless the parents should declare that such a bestowal was made outside of the inheritance. If one had had children by two or more legitimate wives, each child received the inheritance and dowry of his mother, with its increase, and that share of his father's estate which fell to him out of the whole. If a man had a child by one of his slaves, as well as legitimate children, the former had no share in the inheritance; but the legitimate children were bound to free the mother, and to give him something - a tael or a slave, if the father were a chief; or if, finally, anything else were given it was by the unanimous consent of all. If besides his legitimate children, he had also some sons by a free unmarried woman,[15] to whom a dowry was given but was not considered as a real wife, all these were classed as natural children, although the child by the unmarried woman should have been begotten after his marriage. Such children did not inherit equally with the legitimate children, but only the third part. For example, if there were two children, the legitimate one had two parts, and the one of the inaasava[16] one part. When there were no

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15 - It must be remembered that the maharlikas could have concubines who were the free women, to whom this statement refers.

16 - Inaasava, who was taken for a wife, that is concubine.

children by a legitimate wife, but only children by an unmarried woman, or inaasava, the latter inherited all. If he had a child by a slave woman, that child received his share as above stated. If there were no legitimate or natural child, or a child by an inaasava, whether there was a son of a slave woman or not, the inheritance went only to the father or grandparents, brothers, or nearest relatives of the deceased, who gave to the slave-child as above stated.

CHILDREN BORN IN ADULTERY.- In the case of a child by a free married woman, born while she was married, if the husband punished the adulterer this was considered a dowry; and the child entered with the others into partition in the inheritance. His share equaled the part left by the father, nothing more. If there were no other sons than he, the children and the nearest relatives inherited equally with him. But if the adulterer were not punished by the husband of the woman who had the child, the latter was not considered as his child, nor did he inherit anything. It should be noticed that the offender was not considered dishonored by the punishment inflicted, nor did the husband leave the woman. By the punishment of the father the child was fittingly made legitimate.

ADOPTED CHILDREN.- Adopted children, of whom there are many among them, inherit the double of what was paid for their adoption. For example, if one gold tael was given that he might be adopted when the first father died, the child was given (in inheritance) two taels. But if this child should die first, his children do not inherit from the second father, for the arrangement stops at that point.

This is the danger to which his money is exposed, as well as his being protected as a child. On this account this manner of adoption common among them is considered lawful.

DOWRIES.- Dowries are given by the men to the women's parents. If the latter are living, they enjoy the use of it. At their death, provided the dowry has not been consumed, it is divided

like the rest of the estate, equally among the children, except in case the father should care to bestow something additional upon the daughter. If the wife, at the time of her marriage, has neither father, mother, nor grandparents, she enjoys her dowry - which, in such a case, belongs to other relative or child. It should be noticed that unmarried women can own no property, in land or dowry, for the result of all their labors accrues to their parents.17

In the case of a divorce before the birth of children, if the wife left the husband for the purpose of marrying another, all her dowry and an equal additional amount fell to the husband; but if she left him, and did not marry another, the dowry was returned. When the husband left his wife, he lost the half of the dowry, and the other half was returned to him. If he possessed children at the time of his divorce, the whole dowry and the fine went to the children, and was held for them by their grandparents or other responsible relatives.

I have also seen another practice in two villages. In one case, upon the death of the wife who in a year's time had borne no children, the parents returned one-half the dowry to the husband whose wife had died. In the other case, upon the death of the husband, one-half the dowry was returned to the relatives of the husband. I have ascertained that this is not a general practice; for upon in-

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17 - In Tagalog the dowry is called bigay-kaya. Nobody has yet given the etymology of this word in a satisfactory manner, for kaya just like tingi, has no meaning now in Tagalog that might explain the sense which was given to it. Kaya meant wealth, fortune, meaning which kaya in Malay still preserves. So that bigay (to give) united with kaya, explained clearly what was to be given. The dowry was determined by the parents of the girl, according to their position and pretensions. Moreover they took into account, in fixing the amount, the panhimayat "which had to be paid to the mother of the girl for the labors and watchfulness incident to the bringing up of the daughter, and the pasoso, which must be paid to the chichiva, or the nurse who has cared for her." San Antonio Cronicas, etc. 1, page 168.

quiry I learned that when this is done it is done thru piety, and that all do not do it.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT.- In the matter of marriage dowries which fathers bestow upon their sons when they are about to be married, and half of which is given immediately, even when they are only children, there is a great deal more complexity. There is a fine stipulated in the contract, that he who violates it shall pay a certain sum which varies according to the practice of the village and the affluence of the individual. The fine was heaviest if, upon the death of the parents, the son or daughter should be unwilling to marry because it had been arranged by his or her parents. In this case the dowry which the parents had received was returned and nothing more. But if the parents were living, they paid the fine, because it had been assumed that it had been their design to separate the children.

The above is what I have been able to ascertain clearly concerning the customs observed among those natives in all this Laguna and the tingues, and among the entire Tagalo race. The old men say that a dato who did anything contrary to this would not be esteemed; and, in relating tyrannies which they had committed, some condemned them and adjudged them wicked.

Francisco Colin, a member of the Jesuit Order, arrived in the Philippines in June, 1626. He was a man of scholarly interests and attainments and endowed with superior talents. He was at first assigned to teach in the Jesuit College of San Ignacio in Manila. Later, he was made rector of the Colegio Seminario de San Jose. For some time, too, he served as provincial of the Jesuits in the Philippines. He spent the last years of his life as a missionary in San Pedro Macati where he died May 16, 1660.

As a historian, Father Colin is best known for his work, Labor Evangelica, a record of the missionary activities of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines. The work is a valuable source of information on the civilization, in its various phases, of the pre-Spanish Philippines, as well as of the Philippines of his own time. In the preparation of this work, Father Colin made extensive use of the work of a fellow Jesuit, Pedro Chirino, who came to the Philippines in 1590. Father Chirino's work, Relacion de las Islas Filipinas, like the Labor Evangelica, is an account of the work of the Jesuits in the Philippines. It was published in Rome in 1604.

The original edition of Labor Evangelica was pub-

lished in 1663. The work was reprinted in 1900 under the editorship of Pablo Pastells, S.J. The Pastells edition is a notable work of scholarship and is a valuable contribution to the literature of Philippine history. Apart from the copious notes made by the editor, it contains numerous reprints of rare historical documents.

Following are portions of Father Colin's Labor Evangelica.[1]

Physical Features and Characteristics of the Filipinos

> The ordinary stature of these Indians is medium, but they are well built and good-looking, both men and women. Their complexion is yellowish brown, like a boiled quince, and the beard is slight. The Tagalogs wear the hair hanging to the shoulders; the Cagayans longer and hanging over the shoulders; the Ilocans shorter, and the Visayans still shorter, for they cut it round in the manner of the old-time cues of España. The nation called Zambals wear it shaved from the front half of the head, while on the skull they have a great shock of loose hair. The complexion of the women in all the islands differs little from that of the men, except among the Visayans where some of the women are light-complexioned. All of the women wear the hair tied up in a knot on top of the head with a tasteful ribbon. Both men and women, universally, consider it essential that the hair should be very black and well cared for. For that purpose they use lotions made of certain tree-barks and oils, prepared with musk and other perfumes. Their greatest anxiety and

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1 - B. & R., vol. 40, pp. 60-69. They form part of the 14th chapter of Labor Evangelica.

care was the mouth, and from infancy they polished and filed the teeth so that they might be even and pretty. They covered them with a coating of black ink or varnish which aided in preserving them. Among the influential people, especially the women, it was the custom to set some of the teeth most skillfully with gold which could not fall out, and gave a beautiful appearance. The men did not glory in their mustaches or beards, but quite the contrary; and consequently they pulled them out on purpose. And just as it is an amusement or custom of some of us to gnaw our finger-nails, they get amusement in pulling out the hairs of the beard with certain little bits of cleft bamboo (cañuelas hendidas) or with little shells in the form of pincers. All the women, and in some places the men, adorn the ears with large rings or circlets of gold, for that purpose piercing them at an early age. Among the women the more the ears were stretched and opened, so much greater was the beauty. Some had two holes in each ear for two kinds of earrings, some being larger than others.

Clothing and Adornments

The men adorned the head with only cendal or long and narrow thin cloth, with which they bound the forehead and temples, and which they call potong. It was put on in different modes, now in the Moorish manner like a turban without a bonnet, and now twisted and wrapped about the head like the crown of a hat. Those who were esteemed as valiant let the elaborately worked ends of the cloth fall down upon their shoulders, and these were so long that they reached the legs. By the color of the cloth they displayed their rank, and it was the badge of their deeds and exploits; and it was not allowed to any one to use the red potong until he had at least killed one person. In order to wear it embroidered with certain borders, which were like a crown, they must have killed seven. The personal clothing of those men was a small garment or short loose jacket (chamarreta) of fine linen which barely reached the waist. It had no collar and was fitted formerly with short sleeves. Among the chiefs those jackets were of a scarlet color, and were made of fine Indian mus-

lin. For breeches they wore a richly colored clothed, which was generally edged with gold, about the waist and brought up between the legs, so that the legs were decently covered to the middle of the thigh; from there down feet and legs were bare. The chief adornments consisted of ornaments and jewels of gold and precious stones. They had various kinds of necklaces, and chains; bracelets or wristlets, also of gold and ivory, on the arms as high as the elbow; while some had strings of cornelians, agates, and other stones which are highly esteemed among them. On the legs, instead of garters, they wear some strings of the same stones, and certain cords of many strands, dyed black. The fingers of the hand are covered with many rings of gold and precious stones. The final complement of the gala attire was like our sash, a fine bit of colored cloth crossed over the shoulder, the ends joined under the arm, which they affected greatly. Instead of that the Visayans wore a robe (marlota) or jacket (baquero) made without a collar and reaching quite down to the feet, and embroidered in colors. The entire dress, in fine, was in the Moorish style, and was truly rich and gay; and even today they affect it.

The dress of the women, besides the small shirt with sleeves already mentioned, which was shorter for them, for their gala dress had little modesty, was a skirt as wide at top as at bottom, which they gathered into folds at the waist, allowing the folds all to drop to one side. This was long enough to cover them even to their feet, and was generally white. When they went outside the house they wore for a cloak certain colored short cloaks, those of the principal women being of crimson silk or other cloths, embroidered with gold and adorned with rich fringe. But their principal gala attire consisted in jewels and ornaments of gold and stones which they wear in their ears, and on the neck, the fingers of the hand and the wrists of the arms. But now they have begun to wear the Spanish clothes and ornaments, namely, chains, necklaces, skirts, shoes, and mantillas, or black veils. The men wear hats, short jackets (ropillas), breeches, and shoes. Consequently, the present dress of the Indians in

these regions is now almost Spanish.

Tattooing

Besides the exterior clothing and dress some of these nations wore another inside dress, which could not be removed after it was once put on. These are the tattooings of the body so greatly practiced among the Visayans, whom we call Pintados for that reason. For it was a custom among them, and was a mark of nobility and bravery, to tattoo the whole body from top to toe when they were of an age and strength sufficient to endure the tortures of the tattoing, which was done (after being carefully designed by the artists, and in accordance with the proportion of the parts of the body and the sex) with instruments like brushes or small twigs, with very fine points of bamboo. The body was pricked and marked with them until blood was drawn. Upon that a black powder or soot made from pitch, which never faded, was put on. The whole body was not tattooed at one time, but it was done gradually. In olden times no tattooing was begun until some brave deed had been performed; and after that, for each one of the parts of the body which was tattooed even their chins and about the eyes so that they appeared to be masked. Children were not tattooed, and the women only on one hand and part of the other. The Ilocanos in this island of Manila also tattooed themselves but not to the same extent as the Visayans. The dress of both men and women among the Ilocanos is almost alike in that province. Thus far the dress. We shall now say somewhat of the food and their customs in eating.

Foods and Beverages

Their usual sustenance is as stated above, rice, well hulled and cleaned, and boiled only with water, which is called morisqueta by the Spaniards, as if to call it "food of the Moors." The meat is that of a small fish which is lacking in no part. That is also boiled in water, and with the broth from it they give a flavor to the morisqueta. For lack of

rice and fish they use the herbs and many kinds of native potatoes, and fruits, by which they are sustained well enough. At their banquets they add venison, pork, or beef, which they like best when it has begun to spoil, and to smell bad. Their manner of eating is, to be seated on the ground. Their tables are small and low, round or square, and they have no table cloths or napkins; but the plates with the food are placed on the same tables. They eat in companies of four which is as many as can get around a small table. On the occasion of a wedding or a funeral, or similar feasts, the whole house will be filled with tables and guests. The food is placed all together on various plates. The people do not shun all reaching out to the same plate, or drinking from the same cup. They relish salt, and salty and acid foods. They have no better dainty for the sick than vinegar and green or pickled fruits. They eat sparingly but drink often; and when they are invited to a banquet, they are asked not to eat but to drink. They waste much time in both eating and drinking. When they have enough and are drunk, the tables are taken away and the house is cleared. If the banquet is the occasion of a feast, they sing, play, and dance. They spend a day and a night in this, amid great racket and cries, until they fall with weariness and sleep. But rarely do they become furious or even foolish; on the contrary, after they have taken wine they preserve due respect and discreet behavior. They only wax more cheerful, and converse better and say some witty things; and it is well known that no one of them when he leaves a banquet, although it be at any hour of the night, fails to go straight to his own house. And if he has occasion to buy or sell, and to examine and weigh gold or silver he does it with so great steadiness that the hand does not tremble, nor does he make any error in the weight.

The wine commonly used among them is either that made from palms, as it is throughout India, or from sugar-cane, which they call <u>quilang</u>. The latter is made by extracting the sap from the canes, and then bringing it to a boil over the fire, so that it becomes like red wine, although it does not taste so good. The palm wine is made by extracting the sap or liquor from which the fruit was to be formed. For as soon as the palm begins to send out

the short from the end of the twig, and before the flower is unfolded, that flower-stock is cut, and a bit of bamboo is fastened to it and is tied to the stalk or shoot. Since the sap naturally flows to that part, as in the pruned vine, all the sap that was to be converted into fruit, flows into that bamboo, and passes through it to vessels, where, somewhat sour and steeped with bark of certain trees which give it color, heat, and bite, they use it as a common drink and call it tuba. But the real and proper palm-wine is made from the same liquor before it turns sour, by distilling it in an alembic in ovens that they have prepared for it. They give it a greater or less strength, as they please; and they get a brandy as clear as water, although it is not so hot (as our brandy).[2] It is of a dry quality, and, when used with moderation, it is considered even outside Filipinas as healthful and medicinal for the stomach and a preventive of watery humors and colds.

The Visayans also make a wine, called pañgasi, from rice. The method of making it is to place in the bottom of a jar or ordinary size (which is generally of two or three arrobas, with them) a quantity of yeast made from rice flour and a certain plant. Atop of that they put clean rice until the jar is half full. Then water is added to it, and, after it has stood for a few days, it is fermented by the force of the yeast, and is converted into the strongest kind of wine, which is not liquid, but thick like gachas. In order to drink it they pour water into the jar. It is a cause for surprise that even though water be poured in again and again, the liquor is pure and liquid wine, until the strength vanishes and is lost, and then they leave it for the children. The method of drinking

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2 - "Such is the wine from nipa, called Tanduay. The famous chemist (a Chinese mestizo) Anacleto del Rosario, discovered a process by which the disagreeable taste of this brandy disappears; and it becomes equal to that of Spain in color, smell, taste, and strength." (Father Pastells, in his edition of Colin, i, p. 62, note 2.) B. & R.

it is with a tube, which they insert clear to the bottom where the yeast is. They use three or four of those tubes, according to the number of the persons who can find room around the vessel. They stuck as much as they wish, and then give place to others.[3]

Songs, Dances Musical Instruments

The banquets are interspersed with singing, in which one or two sing and the others respond. The songs[4] are usually their old songs and fables, as is usual with other nations. The dances of men and women are generally performed to the sound of bells which are made in their style like basins, large or small, of metal, and the sounds are brought out quickly and uninterruptedly. For the dance is warlike and passionate, but it has steps and measured changes, and interposed are some elevations that really enrapture and surprise. They generally hold in the hands a towel, or a spear and shield, and with one and the other they make their gestures in time, which are full of meaning. At other times with the hands empty they make movements which correspond to the movements of the feet, now slow, now rapid. Now they attack and retire; now they incite; now they pacify; now they come close; now they go away; all the grace and elegance, so much, in fact, that at times they have not been judged unworthy to accompany and solemnize our Christian feasts.[5] However, the children and youths

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3 - Among the Igorots of Northern Luzon, this drink is widely used, being called by them binubudan. The yeast used to ferment it is made of rice flour and that of a plant known, among the Ilocanos, as bucacao.

4 - "Their most popular traditional songs are the Cundiman, the Comintan, the Balitao, the Saloma, and the Talindao. Some are only sung; in others, they sing and dance at the same time." (Pastells, in his Colin, i, p. 63, note I. B. & R.

5 - "The dance here described by the author is that which is called in Filipinas Moro-Moro." (Pastells, ut supra, p. 63, Note 3.) B. & R.

now dance, play, and sing in our manner and so well that we cannot do it better.

They had a kind of guitar which was called coryapi, which had two or more copper strings. Although its music is not very artistic or fine, it does not fail to be agreeable, specially to them. They play it with a quill, with great liveliness and skill. It is a fact that, by playing it alone, they carry on a conversation and make understood whatever they wish to say.

All of these islanders are extremely fond of the water for bathing purposes, and as a consequence they try to settle on the shores of rivers or creeks, for the more they are in the water the better they like it. They bathe at all times, for pleasure and cleanliness. When an infant is born, it is put into the river and bathed in cold water; and the mother, after having given birth, does not keep away from the water. The manner of bathing is, to stand with the body contracted and almost seated, with the water up to the throat. The most usual and general hour is at sunset, when the people leave work or return from the field, and bathe for rest and coolness. Men and woman all swim like fish, and as if born and reared in the water. Each house has a vessel of water at the door. Whenever any one goes up to the house, whether an inmate of it or not, he takes water from that vessel to wash his feet, especially when it is muddy. That is done very easily; one foot is dried with the other, and the water falls down below, for the floor there is like a close grating.

Speaking of the religious beliefs and practices of the Filipinos, Colin in the same account, Labor Evangelica, says:[1]

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1 - Ibid., pp. 69-82 being portions of the 15th chapter of the Labor Evangelica.

It is not found that these nations had anything written about their religion or about their government, or of their old-time history. All that we have been able to learn has been handed down from father to son in tradition, and is preserved in their customs; and in some songs that they retain in their memory and repeat when they go on the sea, sung to the time of their rowing and in their merry-makings, feasts, and funerals, and even in their work, when many of them work together. In those songs are recounted the fabulous genealogies and vain deeds of their gods. Among their gods is one who is the chief and superior to all the others, whom the Tagalogs call Bathala Meycapal,[2] which signifies "God" the "Creator" or "Maker". The Visayans call him Laon, which denotes "antiquity".

They adored (as did the Egyptians) animals and birds; and the sun and moon, as did the Assyrians.

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2 - Pastells discusses the meaning of the word Bathala; he thinks that it is ascertained "bv resolving the word into its primary elements, Bata and Ala = 'Son God, or Son of God'. This is why the first missionaries did not deprive the natives of this name when they instructed them about the existence of God and the mysteries of the Trinity, the incarnation, and redemption, as states an anonymous but very circumstantial relation written at Manila on April 20, 1572. This is more evident in the song which the Mandayan baylans used in their sacrifices, when they chant the Miminsad. The Mandayas believe that Mansilatan is the father of Batla (man being a prefix which indicates paternity, being, or dominion), and the Busao who takes possession of the baylanas when they tremble, and of the Baganis when they become furious; it is a power which is derived from Mansilatan. ... This interpretation of the word Bathala is confirmed by that word of the Visayans, Diuata; we always find here the same idea signified in the words Diwa and uata, differing only in their transposition. ... In closing, we may note that Dewa in Malay, Dewa in Javanese, Sunda, Makasar, and Day (ak?), Deva in Maguindanao, and Djebata in Bornean, signify 'the supreme God', or "Divinity." --- B. & R.

They also attributed to the rainbow its kind of divinity. The Tagalogs worshiped a blue bird as large as a turtle-dove, which they called tigmamanuquin, to which they attributed the name of Bathala, which, as above stated, was among them a name for divinity. They worshiped the crow, as the ancients did the god Pan or the goddess Ceres, and called it Moylupa, signifying "master of the earth." They held the crocodile in the greatest veneration, and when they saw it in the water cried out, in all subjection, "Nono," signifying "Grandfather". They asked it pleasantly and tenderly not to harm them, and for that purpose offered it a portion of what they carried in their boat, by throwing it into the water. There was no old tree to which they did not attribute divine honors, and it was a sacrilege to think of cutting it under any consideration. Even the very rocks, crags, reefs, and points along the seashore and rivers were adored, and an offering made to them on passing, by stopping there and placing the offering upon the rock or reef. The river of Manila had a rock that served as an idol of that wretched people for many years, and its scandal lasted and it gave rise to many evils, until the fathers of St. Augustine, who were near there, broke it, through their holy zeal, into small bits and set up a cross in its place. Today there is an image of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in that place, in a small shrine or chapel. When sailing to the island of Panay, one saw on the point called Nasso, near Potol, a rock upon which were dishes and other pieces of cookery-ware, which were offered to it by those who went on the sea. In the island of Mindanao, between La Caldera and the river, there is a great point of land, on a rough and very high coast. The sea is forever dashing against these headlands, and it is difficult and dangerous to double them. When the people passed by that one, as it was so high, they offered it arrows, which they shot at the cliff itself with so great force that they stuck there, offering them as if in sacrifice so that it would allow them to pass. There were so many of these arrows that, although the Spaniards set fire to them and burned a countless number of them in hatred of so cursed a superstition, many remained there, and the number increased in less than one year to more

than four thousand.

They also adored private idols, which each one inherited from his ancestors. The Visayans called them divata, and the Tagalogs anito. Of these idols some had jurisdiction over the mountains and open country, and permission was asked from them to go thither. Others had jurisdiction over the sowed fields, and the fields were commended to them so that they might prove fruitful; and besides the sacrifices they placed articles of food in the fields for the anitos to eat, in order to place them under greater obligations. There was an anito of the sea, to whom they commended their fisheries and navigations; an anito of the house, whose favor they implored whenever an infant was born, and when it was suckled and the breast offered to it. They placed their ancestors, the invocation of whom was the first thing in all their work and dangers, among these anitos. In memory of their ancestors they kept certain very small and very badly made idols of stone, wood, gold, or ivory, called licha or laravan. Among their gods they reckoned also all those who perished by the sword, or who were devoured by crocodiles, as well as those killed by lightning. They thought that the souls of such immediately ascended to the blest abode by means of the rainbow, called by them balangao. Generally, whoever could succeed in it attributed divinity to his aged father at his death. The aged themselves died in that presumptuous delusion, and during their sickness and at their death guided all their actions with what they imagined a divine gravity and manner. Consequently, they chose as the place for their grave some assigned spot, like one old man who lived on the seacoast between Dulac and Abuyog, which is in the island of Leyte. He ordered himself placed there in his coffin (as was done) in a house standing alone and distant from the settlement, in order that he might be recognized as a god of navigators, who were to commend themselves to him. Another had himself buried in certain lands in the mountains of Antipolo, and through reverence to him no one dared to cultivate those lands (for they feared that he who should so would die), until an evangelical minister removed that fear from them, and now they cultivate them

without harm or fear.

They mentioned the creation of the world, the beginning of the human race, the flood, glory, punishment, and other invisible things, such as evil spirits and devils. They recognized the latter to be man's enemy, and hence feared them. By the beginning which they assigned to the world and the human race, will be seen the vanity of their belief, and that it is all lies and fables. They say that the world began with only the sky and water, between which was a kite. Tired of flying and not having any place where it could alight, the kite stirred up the water against the sky. The sky, in order to restrain the water and prevent it from mounting to it, burdened it with islands; and also ordered the kite to light and build its nest on them, and leave them in peace. They said that men had come from the stem of a large bamboo (such as one sees in this Orient), which had only two nodules. That bamboo, floating on the water, was carried by the waves to the feet of the kite, which was on the seacoast. The kite, in anger at what had struck its feet, opened the bamboo by picking it with its beak. When it was opened, out of one nodule came man and from the other woman. After various difficulties because of the obstacle of consanguinity in the first degree, one of the gods namely, the earthquake, after consulting with the fish and birds, absolved them, and they married and had many children. From those children came the various kinds and classes of people. For it happened that the parents, angered at having so many children idle and useless in the house, took counsel together; afterward the father one day gave way to his anger, and was desirous of punishing them with a stick which he had in his hand (a thing which they never do). The children fled, so that some of them took refuge in the chambers and innermost parts of the house, from whom they say came the chiefs; others escaped outside, and from them came the freemen, whom they call <u>timauas</u>; others fled to the kitchen and lower parts, and they are the slaves; others fled to various distant places, and they are the other nations.

It is not known whether there was any temple[3] in all these islands, or any place assigned in common for worship, or that the people ever assembled for public functions. In private they were wont to have in their own houses (and not outside them in any cave or like place) some kind of altars, on which they placed their idols, and before them a small brasier with burning aromatics. But although they had no temples, they did not lack priests or priestesses for the sacrifice, which each one offered for his own purpose or necessity. The Tagalogs called those cursed ministers catalonan, and the Visayans babaylan. Some were priests by inheritance and relationship; others by the dexterity with which they caused themselves to be instructed and substituted in the office of famous priests by gaining their goodwill. Others were deceived by the devil with his wonted wiles, and made a pact with him to assist them, and to hold converse with him through their idols or anitos; and he appeared to them in various forms. The method of making the sacrifices hinged on the different purposes for which they were intended. If it were for a feast of ostentation and vanity that was being made to some chief, they called it "the feast of the great god." The method of celebrating it was near the house of the chief, in a leafy bower which they erected especially for that purpose, hung round about with hangings in their fashion, namely, the Moorish, which were made from odds and ends of pieces, of various colors. The guests assembled there, and the sacrifices having been prepared (on these occasions of a feast usually some good fat pig), the catalona ordered the girl of the best appearance and who was best adorned, to give the spear-thrust to the animal, amidst the ceremony of certain dances of theirs. When the animal was dead it was cut into bits and divided among all the people, as is the blessed bread. Although other animals were killed and eaten, and other viands and refreshments peculiar

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3 - "The Mahometans (Moros) had their mosque, or langa" (Pastells) Legaspi says (Vol. III, p. 60): "The heathens have no (religious) law at all; they have neither temples nor idols, nor do they offer any sacrifices.--B. & R.

to these people were used, that animal was the one esteemed and was reverently consumed. The chief part of the feast was the drinking, accompanied, as ever, with much music and dancing.

It remains for us to speak of their mortuary customs. As soon as the sick person dies, they begin to bewail him with sobs and cries - not only the relatives and friends, but also those who have that as a trade and hire themselves out for that purpose. They put into their song innumerable bits of nonsense in praise of the deceased. To the sound of that sad music, they washed the body. They perfumed it with storax, or benzoin, and other perfumes, obtained from tree-resins which are found throughout these forests. Having done that they shrouded the corpse, wrapping it in a greater or less number of cloths, according to the rank of the deceased. The most powerful were anointed and embalmed according to the manner of the Hebrews, with aromatic liquors which preserve the body from corruption, especially that made from the aloes wood, or as it is called, eagle-wood. That wood is much esteemed and greatly used throughout this India extra Gamgem. The sap from the plant called buyo (which is the famous betel of all India) was also used for that purpose. A quantity of that sap was placed in the mouth so that it would reach the interior. The grave of poor people was a hole in the ground under their own houses. After the rich and powerful were bewailed for three days, they were placed in a box or coffin of incorruptible wood, the body adorned with rich jewels, and with sheets of gold over the mouth and eyes. The box of coffin was all of one piece, and was generally dug out of the trunk of a large tree, and the lid was so adjusted that no air could enter. By such means some bodies have been found uncorrupted after the lapse of many years. These coffins were placed in one of three places, according to the inclination and command of the deceased. That place was either in the upper part of the house with the jewels, which are generally kept there; or in the lower part of it, raised up from the ground; or in the ground itself, in an open hole which is surrounded with a small railing, without covering the coffin over with earth. Near it they generally placed another box

filled with the best clothing of the deceased, and at suitable times various kinds of food were placed on dishes for them. Beside the men were placed the weapons, and beside the women their looms or other instruments of labor. If they were much beloved by those who bewailed them, they were not permitted to go alone. A good meal was given to some slave, male or female, and one of those most liked by the deceased; and then he was killed, in order that he might accompany the deceased. Shortly before the entrance of the faith into the island of Bool, one of the chiefs of that island had himself buried in a kind of boat, which the natives call barangay, surrounded by seventy slaves with arms, ammunition, and food - just as he was wont to go out upon his raids and robberies when in life; and as if he were to be as great a pirate in the other life as in this. Others buried their dead in the open country, and made fires for many days under the house, and set guards so that the deceased should not return to carry away those who had remained.

After the funeral the lamentations ceased, although the eating and drunkenness did not. On the contrary, the latter continued for a greater or less time, according to the rank of the deceased. The widow or widower and the orphans, and other relatives, who were most affected by grief, fasted as a sign of mourning, and abstained from flesh, fish, and other food, eating during those days naught but vegetables, and those only sparingly. That manner of fasting or penitence for the dead is called <u>sipa</u> by the Tagalogs. Mourning among the Tagalogs is black, and among the Visayans white, and in addition the Visayans shave the head and eyebrows. At the death of a chief silence must regin in the village until the interdict was raised; and that lasted a greater or less number of days, according to his rank. During that time no sound or noise was to be heard anywhere, under penalty of infamy. In regard to this even the villages along the river-bank placed a certain signal aloft, so that no one might sail by that side, or enter or leave the village, under penalty of death. They deprived anyone who broke that silence of his life, with the greatest cruelty and violence. Those who were killed in war were celebrated in their lamentations and in

> their funeral rites, and much time was spent in offering sacrifices to or for them, accompanied with many banquets, and drunken revels. If the death had happened through violence - in war or peace, by treason, or any other manner - the mourning was not laid aside nor the interdict raised until the children, brothers, or relatives, killed an equal number not only of their enemies and the murderers, but also of any strange persons who were not their friends. Like highway-men and robbers they prowled on land and sea, and went on the hunt for men, killing as many as they could until their fury was appeased. That barbarous kind of vengeance is called balata and in token of it the neck was girt with a strap which was worn until the number of persons prescribed had been killed. Then a great feast and banquet was made, the interdict was raised, and at its proper time the mourning was removed. In all the above are clearly seen the traces of heathendom and of those ancient rites and customs so celebrated and noised about by good authors, by which many other nations, more civilized, were considered as famous and worthy of history.

Of the systems of writing, languages and civilities of the Filipinos, the same author makes the following observations:[1]

> From the shape, number, and use of the characters and letters of this nation it is quite evident that they are all taken from the Moro Malays and originated from the Arabs. The vowel letters are only three in number, but they serve for five in their use; for the second and third are indifferently e, i, y, o, and u, according as is required by the meaning or sense of the word which is apoken or written.

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1 - Ibid., pp. 48-60, being portions of the 13th chapter of Colin's Labor Evangelica.

The consonants are thirteen in number, and serve (except at the beginning of the phrase or initial letter) as consonant and vowel; for the letter alone, without a dot above or below, is pronounced with "A".

If a dot be placed above, the consonant is pronounced with "e" or "i".

If the dot be placed below, it is pronounced with "o" or "u". Thus the "B" with the dot above is pronounced "bi" or "be", and with the dot below, "bo" or "bu".

For example, in order to say "cama" (i.e., bed) the two letters "C" and "M" are sufficient without a dot.

If a dot be placed above the "C" it will be "quema" (i.e., "fire".)

If dots be placed below each, it will be "como" (i.e., "as").

The final consonants are supplied in all expressions. Thus in order to say "cantar" (i.e., "to sing"), one writes "cata", only a "C" and a "T". To say "barba" (beard"), two "B's" are sufficient.

With all the supplements, he who reads in that language will, if he be skilful, have no trouble in pronouncing the words or phrases correctly by substituting the letters that must be substituted according to the sense. But since that always occasions difficulty, those who know our characters are studying how to write their own language in these. All of them have now adopted our way of writing, with the lines from left to right; for formerly they only wrote vertically down and up, placing the first line to the left and running the others continuously to the right, just opposite to the Chinese and Japanese, who although they write in vertical up and down lines, continue the page from the right to the left. All that points to a great antiquity; for running the line from the right to the left is in accordance with the present

and general style of the Hebrews; and the style of running the lines vertically from the top to the bottom, is that of the oldest nation of the Chinese- which doubtless greatly resembles the method of the Hebrews, whose characters have much resemblance to theirs. Those of the Moro Arabs resemble those of the Syrians. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the time of the emperor Caesar Augustus, in making mention of an island which lay in our middle region, or torrid zone (whither Iamblicus the Greek went in the course of his adventures), says that they do not write horizontally as we do, but from top to bottom in a straight line; and that they use characters which, although few in number, make up in their use for many, for each one has four different transformations. Consequently, one may see that that method of writing, and the characters of those nations, are very old.

Before they knew anything about paper (and even yet they do in places where they cannot get it), those people wrote on bamboos or on palm-leaves, using as a pen the point of a knife or other bit of iron, with which they engraved the letters on the smooth side of the bamboo. If they write on palm-leaves they fold and then seal the letter when written, in our manner. They all cling fondly to their own method of writing and reading. There is scarcely a man, and still less a woman, who does not know and practice that method, even those who are already Christians in matters of devotion. For from the sermons which they hear, and the histories and lives of the saints, and the prayers and poems on divine matters, composed by themselves (they have also some perfect poets in their manner, who translate elegantly into their language any Spanish comedy), they use small books and prayerbooks in their language, and manuscripts which are in great number; as is affirmed in his manuscript history by Father Pedro Chirino, to whom the provisor and vicar-general of this archbishopric entrusted the visit and examination of those books in the year one thousand six hundred and nine, for the purpose of preventing errors. That was a holy proceeding, and one that was very proper among so new Christians.

The Filipinos easily accustom themselves to the Spanish letters and method of writing. They are greatly benefited thereby, for many of them write now just like us, because of their cleverness and quickness in imitating any letter or design, and in the doing of anything with the hands. There are some of them who commonly serve as clerks in the public accountancies and secretaryships of the kingdom. We have known some so capable that they have deserved to become officials in those posts, and perhaps to supply those offices ad interim. They also are a great help to students in making clean copies of their rough drafts, not only in Romance but also in Latin, for there are already some of them who have learned that language. Finally, they are the printers in the two printing-houses in this city of Manila; and they are entirely competent in that work, in which their skill and ability are very evident.

Coming now to the other point, that of their languages, there are many of these. For in this island of Manila alone there are six of them, which correspond to the number of the provinces or civilized nations; the Tagalog, Pampanga, Camarines (or Visayan), Cagayan, and those of the Ilocans and Pangasinans. These are the civilized nations. We do not yet know the number of the nations of the Negrillos, Zambals, and other mountain nations. Although the civilized languages are, strictly speaking, dissimilar, they resemble one another, so that in a short time those people can understand one another, and those of the one nation can converse with those of another - in the same way as the Tuscan, Lombard, and Sicilian in Italia; and the Castilian, Portuguese, and language of Valencia in Espana. The reason why these languages resemble one another so closely is the same as in Italia and Espana. For as the latter languages originated from the Roman, just so do these originate from the Malay. For proof of that it is necessary to do nothing else than to compare the words and idioms, or the modes of speech, of each one of these languages with the Malay, as will be seen in the following table, in which is made the comparison of the three most important languages, the Tagalog, Visayan, and Pampanga. Since for the sake of brevity the comparison

is made in a few words, whoever is interested can with but slight labor extend the comparison through many words.

Spanish	Malay	Tagalog	Pampanga	Visayan
cielo(i.e.,sky)	langriet	lanngit	banoa	laguit
sol (i.e.,sun)	mata ari	arao	aldao	arlao
luna (i.e.,moon)	bulam	Bouan	bulan	bulan

Of these languages the two most general are the Tagalog, which is used through the greater part of the coast and interior of the island of Manila, and the islands of Lubang and Mindoro; and the Visayan, which is spoken throughout all the islands of Pintados. Of the two without doubt the most courteous, grave, artistic, and elegant is the Tagalog, for it shares in four qualities of the four greatest languages in the world, namely, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Spanish: With the Hebrew, besides the resemblance already noted in the manner of its vowels and consonants, it has the roots of the vocables and their hidden and obscure meaning (sus prenezes, y misterios) and some gutturals; with the Greek, the articles in the declension of nouns, and in the conjugations the abundance of voices and moods; with the Latin, the abundance and elegance; with the Spanish, the fine structure, polish, and courtesy. ... Among the uncivilized nations, although the people are fewer, the languages are more; for almost every river has its own language. In Mindoro (and the same will be true of other districts more remote) we saw the barbarous Manguianes assembling from places but little distant from each other, who did not understand one another. They were so barbarous that they had never seen a Spanish face. The things sent them to attract them were hawk's-bells, nails, needles, and other similar things. They thought that the sounds of the harp and guitar were human voices. When a mirror was held up before them, they exhibited singular effects, in one of fear and in another of joy. The lack of civilization and communication is the reason for the multiplicity of languages. For just as in the primitive multiplication of languages which took place in the tower of Babel, the doctors observe that the languages

equaled the number of families of the descendants of Noah, so among the barbarous nations each one lives to itself alone without any recognition of or subjection to public laws. They are always having petty wars and dissensions among themselves; and, since they lack communication, they forget the common language, and each one has so corrupted its own language that it cannot understand the others. We observed in some districts that one language was spoken at the mouth of a river and another one at its source. That is a great hindrance to the conversion and instruction of those peoples.

The polish and courtesy, especially of the Tagalogs and those near them, in speech and writing are the same as those of very civilized nations. They never say "tu" (i.e., "thou") or speak in the second person, singular or plural, but always in the third person: (thus,) "The chief would like this or that." Especially a woman when addressing a man, even though they be equal and of the middle class, never say less than "Sir" or "Master," and that after every word: "When I was coming, sir, up the river, I saw, sir, etc." In writing they make constant use of very fine and delicate expressions of regard, and beauties and courtesy. Their manner of salutation when they met one another was the removal of the potong, which is a cloth like a crown, worn as we wear the hat. When an inferior addressed one of higher rank, the courtesy used by him was to incline his body low, and then lift one or both hands to the face, touch the cheeks with it, and at the same time raise one of the feet in the air by doubling the knee, and then seating oneself. The method of doing it was to fix the sole of the feet firmly, and double both knees, without touching the ground, keeping the body upright and the face raised. They bent in this manner with the head uncovered and the potong thrown over the left shoulder like a towel; they had to wait until they were questioned, for it would be bad breeding to say anything until a question was asked.

The method of giving names was the following. As soon as a child was born, it was the mother's

business to name it. Generally the occasion or motive of the name was taken from some one of the circumstances which occurred at the time. For example, Maliuag, which means "difficult," because of the difficulty of the birth; Malacas, which signifies "strong", for it is thought that the infant will be strong. This is like the custom of the Hebrews, as appears from Holy Writ. At other times the name was given without any hidden meaning, from the first thing that struck the fancy, as Daan, which signifies "road", and Damo, signifying "grass". They were called by those names, without the use of any surname, until they were married. Then the first son or daughter gave the surname to the parents, as Amani Maliuag, Ynani Malacas, "the father of Maliuag," "the mother of Malacas". The names of women are differentiated from those of men by adding the syllable "in", as Ilog, "river"; Si Ilog, the name of a male; Si Iloguin, the name of a female. They used very tender diminutives for the children, in our manner. Among themselves they had certain domestic and delicate appellations of various sorts for the different degrees of relationship - as that of a child for his father and mother, and vice versa. In the same way (they have appellations) for their ancestors, descendants, and collaterals. This shows the abundance, elegance, and courtesy of this language. It is a general thing in all these nations not to have special family names which are perpetuated to their successors, but each individual has the simple name that is given him at birth. At present this name serves as surname, and the peculiar name is the Christian name of Juan or Pedro which is imposed at baptism. However, there are now mothers so Christian and civilized that they will not assign any secular name to their children until the Christian name has been given in baptism, and then the surname is added, although it has already been chosen after consultation with the parents and relatives. In place of our "Don" (which indeed has been assigned to them as much abuse as among ourselves), in some districts they formerly placed before their names, Lacan or Gat: as the Moluccans use Cachil, the Africans Muley, the Turks Sultan, etc. The "Don" of the women is not Lacan or Gat, but "Dayang, Dayang Mati, Dayang Sanguy, i.e., "Dona Mati", "Dona Sanguy".

> There is general distaste among our Tagalogs to mention one another among themselves by their own names alone, without adding something which smells of courtesy. When they are asked by the Spaniards "Who is So-and-so?" and they cannot avoid naming him by his own name, they do it with a certain shamefacedness and embarrassment. Inasmuch as the method of naming one is "the father of So-and-so," as soon as he has children, for him who had no children (among persons of influence), his relatives and acquaintances assembled at a banquet, and gave him a new name there, which they designated as Pamagat. That was usually a name of excellence by some circumlocution or metaphor, based on their own old name. Thus if one was called by his own name, Bacal, which signifies "iron" the new name given him would be Dimatanaesar, signifying "not to spoil with time." If it were Bayani, which signifies "valiant" and spirited," he was called Dimalapitan "he to whom no one is bold." It is also the custom among these nations to call one another among themselves, by way of friendship, by certain correlative names based on some special circumstance. Thus if one had given a branch of sweet basil to another, the two among themselves called each other Casolasi, the name of the thing given; or Caytlog, he who ate an of an egg with another. This is in the manner of the names of fellow-students or chums, as used by us. These are all arguments in favor of the civilization of these Indians.

Concerning the political and social institutions among the Filipinos, - their government, their laws, the administration of justice, their marriage customs, inheritance laws, slavery, etc. - Colin in the same work makes the following observations:[1]

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1 - Ibid., pp. 82-93 being parts of the 16th chapter of Colin's Labor Evangelica.

There were no kings or rulers worthy of mention, throughout this archipelago; but there were many chiefs who dominated others less powerful. As there were many without much power, there was no security from the continual wars that were waged between them. Manila had two chiefs, uncle and nephew, who had equal power and authority. They were at war with another chief, who was chief alone; and he was so near that they were separated from one another by nothing more than a not very wide river. The same conditions ruled in all the rest of the island, and of even the whole archipelago, until the entrance of the faith, when they were given peace - which they now esteem much more than all that they then obtained from those petty wars and their depredations. They were divided into barangays, as Roma into districts, and our cities into parishes or collations. They are called barangays, which is the name of a boat, preserving the name from the boat in which they came to settle these islands. Since they came subject to one leader in their barangay, who acted as their captain or pilot - who was accompanied by his children, relatives, friends, and comrades - after landing, they kept in company under that leader, who is the dato. Seizing the lands, they began to cultivate them and to make use of them. They seized as much of the sea and near-by rivers as they could preserve and defend from any other barangay, or from many barangays, according as they had settled near or far from others. Although on all occasions some barangays aided and protected others, yet the slave or even the timaua or freemen could not pass from one barangay to another, especially a married man or a married woman, without paying a certain quantity of gold, and giving a public feast to his whole barangay; where this was not done, it was an occasion for war between the two barangays. If a man of one barangay happened to marry a woman of another, the children had to be divided between the barangays, in the same manner as the slaves.

Their laws and policy, which were not very barbarous for barbarians, consisted wholly of traditions and customs, observed with so great exactness that it was not considered possible to break

them in any circimstance. One was the respect of parents and elders, carried to so great a decree that not even the name of one's father could pass the lips, in the same way as the Hebrews (regarded) the name of God. The individuals, even the children, must follow the general (custom). There were other laws also. For the determination of their suits, both civil and criminal, there was no other judge than the said chief, with the assistance of some old men of the same barangay. With them the suit was determined in the following form. They had the opponents summoned, and endeavored to have them come to an agreement. But if they would not agree, then an oath was administered to each one, to the effect that he would abide by what was determined and done. Then they called for witnesses, and examined summarily. If the proof was equal (on both sides), the difference was given in favor of the one who conquered. If the one who was defeated resisted, the judge made himself a party to the cause, and all of them at once attacked with the armed hand the one defeated, and execution to the required amount was levied upon him. The judge received the larger share of this amount, and some was paid to the witnesses of the one who won the suit, while the poor litigant received the least.

In criminal causes there were wide distinctions made because of the rank of the murderer and the slain; and if the latter were a chief all his kinsmen went to hunt for the murderer and his relatives, and both sides engaged in war, until mediators undertook to declare the quantity of gold due for that murder, in accordance with the appraisals to their custom. One half of that amount belonged to the chiefs, and the other half was divided among the wife, children, and relatives of the deceased. The penalty of death was never imposed by process of law, except when the murderer and his victim were common men and had no gold to satisfy the murder. In such a case, if the man's <u>dato</u> or <u>maginoo</u> (for these are one and the same) did not kill him, the other chiefs did, spearing him after lashing him to a stake.

In a matter of theft, if the crime were proved, but not the criminal, and more than one

person was suspected, a canonical clearance from guilt had to be made in the following form. First they obliged each person to put in a heap a bundle of cloth, leaves, or anything else that they wished, in which they might discover the article stolen. If the article stolen was found in the heap, at the end of this effort, then the suit ceased; if not, one of three methods was tried. First, they were placed in the part of the river where it is deepest, each one with his wooden spear in his hand. Then at the same time they were all to be plunged under the water, for all are equal in this, and he who came out first was regarded as the criminal. Consequently, many let themselves drown for fear of punishment. The second was to place a stone in a vessel of boiling water, and to order them to take it out. He who refused to put his hand into the water paid the penalty for the theft. Thirdly, each one was given a wax candle of the same wick, and of equal size and weight. The candles were lighted at the same time, and he whose candle first went out was the culprit.

There are three kinds and classes of people: the chiefs, whom the Visayans call dato and the Tagalogs maginoo; the timauas, who are the ordinary common people, called maharlica among the Tagalogs; and the slaves, called oripuen by the Visayans and alipin by the Tagalogs. The last are divided into several kinds, as we shall relate soon. 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 stock-raising, or by trading; or by any of the trades among them, such as smith, jeweler, or carpenter; or by robbery and tyranny, which was the most usual method - in that way he gains authority and reputation, and increases it the more he practices tyranny and violence. With these beginnings, he takes the name of dato; and others, whether his relatives 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. Consequently, might was proclaimed as right, and he who robbed most and tyrannized most was the most powerful.

If his children continued those tyrannies, they conserved that grandeur. If on the contrary, they were men of little ability, who allowed themselves to be subjugated, or were reduced either by misfortunes and disastrous happenings, or by sicknesses and losses, they lost their grandeur with their possessions, as is customary throughout the world; and the fact that they had honored parents or relatives was of no avail to them, or is of no avail to them now. In this way it has happened that the father might be a chief, and the son or brother a slave - and worse, even a slave to his own brother.

Their manner of life and ordinary conduct from the days of old is trade, in all sorts of things by wholesale, and more by retail in the products of the earth, in accordance with what is produced in each district. The maritime peoples are great fishers with net, line, and coral. The people who live inland and excellent farmers and hunters. They are always cultivating rice, besides other vegetables and garden products, quite different from those of Europa. The women also are shrewd in trading, especially of their weaving, needle work, and embroideries, which they make very neatly; and there is scarcely one who cannot read and write. Sometimes the husband and wife go together on their trading, and, whether for this or for any other thing, she must always go ahead; for it is not their custom to go together. Even if it be a band wholly made up of men or of women, or of men and women mixed, and even if the road be very wide, they go in single file one after the other.

In the celebration of their marriages, espousals, and divorces, and in the giving and receiving of dowries, they also proceeded according to reason. In the first place, they agreed as to the dowry, which is promised and given even now by the man, in the sum named by the parents. When it is determined the betrothal takes place, generally with a conventional penalty which is rigorously executed. However, neither men nor women take it for an insult or grieve greatly if the betrothal be refused, because then they benefit by the fine. The truth is, that if those who are bound by

the fine were the parents, after their deaths the children are free to break the contract without incurring the penalty, by only the restitution of the amount received as dowry.

Matrimony at present includes, besides the above, the delivery of the person and the dowry. The latter is not received by the woman but by her parents or relatives, as it were selling their girls, in the manner of the Mesopotamians and other nations. The parents convert the dowry into their own estate, and it is distributed with other property, at their deaths, among all the children equally. But if the son-in-law has been very obedient to his parents-in-law, then the latter generally return the dowry to their children. The other relatives are only depositaries of what they must again deliver to the children. Besides the dowry, the chiefs formerly gave some presents to the parents and relatives, and even to the slaves, to a greater or less amount according to the rank of the bridegroom.

The pagan ceremony and form of marriage had to be authorized by a sacrifice; for after the marriage had been agreed upon and the dowry paid over, the catalona came, and a hog was brought to her. The ceremonies were performed as in other sacrifices. The lovers having seated themselves in their bridal chamber, each in the lap of an old woman who acted as godmother, the latter gave them to eat from one plate and to drink from one cup. The bridegroom said that he took the woman to wife, and, accepting her, the catalona or babaylana immediately gave them a thousand benedictions, saying to them: "May you be well mated. May you beget many children and grandchildren, all rich and brave," and other things of this sort. Thereupon the hog was slain, and the lovers were married; and when the others became tired of dancing and singing, all became intoxicated and went to sleep. If the recently-married couple did not suit each other, another sacrifice was ordered, in which the bridegroom himself danced and slew the victim -- the while talking to his anito, and offering himself to it for the sake of peace and harmony with his wife.

That having been done, he calmed himself, confident that then and thenceforth the two would live in harmony, and enjoy their married life in peace.

These nations consider it important to take a wife only from their own family, and the nearer the better. Only they expect the first grade (or kinship), for they always considered that as a dissolving impediment. But what marriages were those in which the contract was not indissoluble, and could be dissolved by the woman, if she were to blame, merely returning the dowry! If the husband were to blame, it was not returned; and the marriage could be repudiated by themselves, without any solemnity of law. That was done daily for very slight causes, and new marriages were formed with others. Polygamy was not the fashion among the Tagalogs. However, if the wife bore no children, the husband could with his wife's permission have them by his slave women, in accordance with the example of the ancient patriarchs. Among the principal Visayans, the ministers of the gospel found established the custom of having two or more legitimate wives, and large dowries, which was a great obstacle to Christianity.

Thus far in regard to marriage. As to the children and their succession and inheritance, if they were legitimate they inherited equally in the property of their parents. For lack of legitimate children the nearest relatives inherited. If there were illegitimate children, who had for example been had by a freewoman, they had their share in the inheritance, but not equally with the legitimate children, for the latter received two-thirds, and the illegitimate one-third. But if there were no legitimate children then the illegitimate received all the inheritance. The children of a slave woman who belonged to the man were given some part of the household effects, according to the will of the legitimate children. In addition the mother became free for the very reason that her master had had a child by her.

There were also adopted children, and the practice was that the one adopted bought his adoption. For the natural parent gave a certain sum to the

adopted parent in order to have his son or daughter adopted, and thereupon the latter was adopted without any other subtlety of law or of paternal power. It was done only to the end that the adopted child, if he should out-live the one adopting him, should inherit double the sum had been given for his adoption. Thus, if ten were given, he must inherit twenty. But if the adopted parent outlived the adopted child, the adoption expired as well as the right of inheritance, which was not given to the heirs of the adopted one, either in whole or in part. But if, on the contrary, the parent died while his own child was living, he left him by way of addition to the sum for adoption doubled, some jewel or slave woman, as a reward for his good services. But, on the other hand, if the child was ungrateful and acted badly, the adoptive parent gave him up, by restoring the sum that had been given for his adoption.

Adultery was not punished corporally, but by a pecuniary fine. Therefore the adulterer, by paying to the aggrieved party the sum of gold agreed upon between them, or given by the sentence and judgment of the old men, was pardoned for the injury that he had committed; and the aggrieved party was satisfied, and his honor was not besmirched. Also he continued to live with his wife without anything more being said on the subject. But those children had by a married woman did not succeed to the nobility of the parents or to their privileges; but where always reckoned plebeians, whom those people call timauas. Likewise those children had by a slave women, although they were free, as was the mother, were always regarded as of low birth. Those who succeeded to the nobility were the legitimate children. In the barangay, when the father was lord of it his eldest son inherited that office; but, if he died, then he who came next in order. If there were no male children, then the daughters succeeded in the same order; and for want of either males or females, the succession went to the nearest relative of the last possessor. Thus no will was necessary for all these successions; for wills were never in vogue among these nations in the form and solemnity of such. As for legacies it was sufficient to leave them openly, in writing or entrusted by

word of mouth, in the presence of known persons.

A great part of the wealth of these Indians consisted in slaves. For, after gold, no property was held in greater esteem, because of the many comforts that were enjoyed for their mode of living through a multitude of slaves. Thus our Spaniards when they entered the islands found so many slaves that there were chiefs who had one, two, and three hundred slaves, and those generally of their own color and nation, and not of other foreign nations. The most general origin of those slaveries were interest and usury. That was so much practiced among them, that no father would aid his son, no son his father, no brother his brother, and much less any relative his relative, even though he were suffering extreme necessity, without an agreement to restore double. If payment was not made when promised, the debtor remained a slave until he paid. That happened often, for the interest or increase continued to accumulate just so long as the payment was deferred. Consequently, the interest exceeded the wealth of the debtor, and therefore the debt was loaded upon his shoulders, and the poor creature became a slave; and from that time his children and descendants were slaves. Other slaveries were due to tyranny and cruelty. For slaves were made either in vengeance on enemies, in the engagements and petty wars that they waged against one another, in which the prisoners made remained slaves, even though they were of the same village and race; or as a punishment which the more powerful inflicted on the weaker ones, even for a matter of little importance, of which they made a matter of insult. For instance, if the lesser did not observe the interdict on talking and noise, usual in the time of the burial of the chiefs; if he passed near where the chief's wife was bathing; or if any dust or any other dirt fell from the house of the timaua upon the chief or his wife when passing through the street; then in these and numberless other similar cases the powerful ones deprived the poor wretches of liberty, and tyrannically made them slaves - and not only them but their children, and perhaps the wife and near relatives. The worst thing is that all those who had been slaves by war, or for punishment or debts, were rigorously regarded as such, as

slaves for any kind of service or slavery, and served inside the house. The same was true of their children in the manner of our slaveries, and they could be sold at will. However, the masters were not accustomed to sell those born under their roof, for they regarded them in the light of relatives. Those slaves were allowed to keep for themselves a portion of any profit which they made. The Tagalogs called such true slaves sanguiguilir, and the Visayans halon.

Other slaves were called namamahay, for they did not serve their master in all capacities, nor inside his house; but in their own houses, and outside that of their masters. They were bound, however, to obey their master's summons either to serve in his house when he had honored guests, or for the erection of his house and its repair, and in the seasons of sowing and harvest. They (had also to respond) to act as his rowers when he went out in his boat, and on other like occasions, in which they were obliged to serve their master without any pay.

Among both kinds of slaves, sanguiguilir and namamahay, it happens that there are some who are whole slaves, some who are half slaves, and some one-fourth part slave. For if the father or the mother were free, and had an only son, he was half-free and half slave. If they had more than one child, these were so divided that the first followed the condition of the father, whether free or slave, and the second that of the mother. So did it happen with successive pairs. But if there were an odd number of children, the last was half free and half slave. Those who descended from them, if they were children of a free father or mother, were slaves only in the fourth part, as they were the children of a free father or mother, and of one half slave. Sometimes, because it happened that two people had agreed to marry and the man had no wealth for the dowry - or rather, nothing with which to buy his wife - he became her slave. In such case the children were divided in the said manner, and the first, third, and fifth, and the remaining ones in the same way were slaves, inasmuch as they belonged to the father; who was also a slave of the mother and not

only slaves to her, but also to her brothers and sisters and relatives, in case of her death and the division of her property. On the contrary the second, fourth, and others in the same way, were according to their custom free, inasmuch as they belonged to their mother who was free; and they were masters and rulers over their own father and brothers and sisters. The same thing happened in the case of interest, a thing of so great importance among them that, as already remarked, the father would not pardon the debt and interest even to the son, nor the son the father, even in case of necessity, until the one had made a slave of the other for it. Consequently, if one brother ransomed another brother, or a son his father, the latter remained a slave, as did his descendants, until the value of the ransom was paid with interest. Consequently, the captive was gainer only by the change of master. Such as the above are the monstrous things that are seen where the law of God and Christian charity are lacking. In the division made between heirs, when a slave belonged to many, the time of his service was divided and each of the masters had the share that belonged to him and was his in such slave; and the division was made by months, or as was convenient among the masters. When a slave is not a whole slave but only a half or fourth part, he has the right to compel his master to give him his freedom for the just price at which he is appraised, according to the rank of the slavery, sanguiguilir or namamahay. But if he be a whole slave, the master cannot be compelled to ransom him at any price, even though he should have become a slave for debt, if already the day set for the payment of the debt has passed.

There was another kind of service which was not of a truth servitude, although it appeared to be such. If was generally seen among certain persons called cabalangay. Whenever such persons wanted any small trifle, they begged the head chief of their barangay for it, and he gave it to them. In return, whenever he summoned them they were obliged to go him to work in his fields or to row his boats. Whenever a feast or banquet was given, then they all came together and helped furnish the tuba, wine, or quilan, such being their method of service.

The ancient custom in manumission was for the whole sanguiguilir to pay ten taes of gold, and the namamahay the half; and, in addition to that, he had to give the half of whatever things he owned. For instance, if he owned two large jars he had to give one. In order to make that conveyance, the slave must make a banquet, at which were present masters, relatives, and friends. At the height of the banquet the delivery of the gold and household articles was made, those present being witnesses that the master had received them. The latter was thereupon satisfied, and the slave was set free.

Even today the Tagalogs are wont, at death, to grant freedom to the children of their slaves who are born in their house, no matter how young they be. However, they do not free the parents of those children no matter how old they be, and even if they have been served throughout life by them. That seems absolutely illogical.

To what has been said of dowries and marriages, it must be added that in some districts, besides the bigaycaya and those presents made to the relatives, there was panhimuyat. This was a kind of present that was given to the mother of the bride, merely in return for the bad and watchful nights that she had passed in rearing her. That panhimuyat signifies "watchfulness and care". If the dowry was equal to five taels of gold, the panhimuyat was equal to one tinga, which was equivalent to one tae, or five pesos. That was a custom which well shows the harshness and greed of these nations, since the mothers wished to be paid even for the rearing of their daughters.

Also, whenever a chief married any daughter of his and asked a large dowry of his son-in-law, as, for instance, eighteen or twenty taes of gold, the father was obliged to give his daughter certain gifts called pasonor, such as a gold chain, or a couple of slaves, or something proportional to the dowry. It was very shameful to ask a large dowry without giving a pasonor. This is still done, resembling the gifts which among us the father presents to his daughter praetor dotem, which the civil law calls bona paraphernalia.

PART TWO

THE FIRST CENTURY OF SPANISH RULE

CHAPTER ONE

SPAIN AND THE PHILIPPINES IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The one-hundred-year period, extending from the establishment by Legaspi of the first permanent Spanish settlement in the Philippines (1565) to the accession of Charles II in 1665, was from many points of view a glorious one in Spanish national history. This period embraced the reigns of Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV. During this period Spain ranked among the great nations of the world. Her voice was listened to with attention and respect in the courts and chancilleries of Europe. She possessed a colonial empire of world-wide proportions. So extensive and far flung were her colonial possessions that King Philip II used to boast that the sun never set on the Spanish Empire.

For another reason, this age was a notable one for Spain for in many fields of human endeavor Spaniards accomplished great things. In literature, it was the age of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Quevedo, and Calderon de la Barca.

It was the age,too, of Velasquez, Murillo and El Greco, famous painters. In architecture, Spain had two distinguished representatives in Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, the builders of the Escorial. The Escorial together with the Cathedral of Villadolid, which was constructed under Herrera's supervision, represent two of the architectural glories of the reign of Philip II. In the field of international law Spain had a worthy representative in Francisco de Vitoria whose writings on the subject of international relations in times of war were valuable contributions to the literature of that subject.

Philip II's reign, lasting more than forty years (1556-1598), is a memorable one in the history of Spain. During this period Spain reached the zenith of her imperial power. Grave problems of state arose which concerned the lives and fortunes, not only of the Spanish people, but also of peoples in other lands. At home, the descendants of the Moors rose in revolt (1568-1570) in protest against alleged acts of injustice and intolerance on the part of the Spanish Government. The Government waged against the rebels a campaign of extermination. The Spanish Netherlands also rose in revolt (1566). Spain dispatched a large force against the Dutch. Spain's efforts at pacification, however, failed to crush the spirit of resistance. The Dutch continued their struggle for li-

beration from Spanish domination throughout the reign of Philip II.

In the field of foreign relations, challenging issues arose. Philip intervened in the civil war in France (1562-1595) between the House of Guise and the Bourbons. He sided with the Guises in their struggle against the Bourbon King, Henry IV. Spain also took part in the war against the Turks and the Moslems of North Africa. Her participation was a determining factor in the conflict. In the naval engagement at Lepanto (1571), the decisive event of the war, Spain and her allies defeated the Moslems. In 1580, Philip annexed Portugal to Spain. For sixty years Portugal was a dependency of Spain. Philip also became involved in a conflict with Queen Elizabeth of England. In 1588, he dispatched the Invincible Armada against England. The Armada, however, was repulsed by the British. What remained of it were destroyed by a furious tempest which arose in the English Channel.

In the succeeding reigns, Spain began to decline rapidly in power and influence. The numerous wars which arose in Europe in the seventeenth century put a severe strain on her strength and material resources. In the course of these wars, Dutch and British privateers preyed on Spanish

galleons on the high seas causing thereby enormous losses to Spain's commerce. In 1640, the House of Braganza recovered from Spain the independence of Portugal. In 1648, at the close of the Thirty Years War, the Dutch likewise won from Spain their political independence. In 1655, the British wrested Jamaica in the West Indies from Spain. These reverses marked the beginning of a process of decline and decadence the ultimate result of which was the disintegration and extinction of Spain's colonial empire.

In the period under consideration, Spanish colonialism in the Philippines took on its permanent form and character. In its administrative phase, the Spanish colonial system followed closely the pattern of colonial government that was established in Spanish America. The supreme governing body was the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies) sitting in Spain. This body was created by Ferdinand in the first years of Spanish colonization. It was reorganized by Charles I in 1524 to make it a more adequate agency for the administration of Spain's vast colonial empire. Its members, appointed by the King, were chosen for their learning, their wisdom and their probity.

The Consejo de Indias governed the colonies on behalf and in the name of the King of Spain. Its jurisdiction ex-

tended to all matters affecting the interests and welfare of the inhabitants of the Indies. It had in its hands all the important attributes of sovereignty - executive, judicial and legislative. In its executive capacity it appointed persons to the higher posts in the government of the colonies. As a judicial body, it was a court of final appeal to which decisions rendered by royal audiencias in the colonies were taken for review and final decision. In its legislative capacity, it enacted laws, orders, decrees, etc., for the government of the colonies. The vast collection of colonial legislation now known collectively as the Leyes de Indias (Laws of the Indies) was the work of the Consejo de Indias. It is a rich source of information on the history of the Spanish colonial system.[1]

For purposes of administration, Spain's colonies were divided into viceroyalties and these in turn were subdivided

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1 - The greater part of the Leyes de Indias are kept and preserved in the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, Spain. A digest of the important documents in the collection was made and published under the title, Recopilacion de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias. The first edition of the Recopilacion was printed on orders of Charles II in 1680. The fourth and last edition was published in 1841. The fourth edition of the Recopilacion consisted of 3 volumes, 9 books, and 218 Titles. Title 46, vol. 3, Book IX of the Recopilacion reads: "Concerning the Navigation and Commerce of the Philippine Islands, China, New Spain, and Peru."

into captaincies-general. The Philippines was a captaincy-general under the jurisdiction of the viceroyalty of Mexico, then called Nueva España (New Spain).

In the Philippines, the administrative machinery established in the early years of Spanish rule remained, in its general outline and basic character, practically unchanged throughout the Spanish régime. At the head of the government was the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines. This official was also President of the Royal Audiencia and Vice-Regal Patron. As Vice-Regal Patron his duty was to protect and preserve the rights, interests and prerogatives of the Spanish Crown in religious and ecclesiastical matters.

Assisting the Governor and Captain General in the government of the colony was the Real Audiencia (Royal Audiencia). As originally established in 1584, this body had a two-fold character: (1) it was an advisory or consultative body to the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines sharing with the latter some of his duties and responsibilities; (2) it was a judicial body, the highest court of justice in the colony. As the supreme court in the Philippines, it passed judgment on cases taken to it on appeal from the provinces. Except in some cases which could be elevated to the Consejo de Indias, decisions of the Royal

Audiencia were final.

Other high officials in the Philippine government were the factor, the accountant, and the treasurer. These officials took charge of the revenues of the Crown.

For administrative purposes the Philippines was divided into provinces. In the early years of Spanish rule the provinces were known as alcaldias and corregimientos. The first were governed by officials called alcaldes mayores, the latter, by corregidores. These officials were appointed by the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines in consultation with the Real Audiencia. Apart from their duties as provincial executives, they administered justice in their respective districts.

The provinces were in turn divided into towns and municipalities. As originally organized by the Spaniards, the town or municipality was an adaptation of the pre-Spanish Filipino community. This was a group of barangays organized for convenience or mutual benefit into a confederacy under the leadership of the most powerful and most influential dato or rajah in the community. Using such a community as a basis, the Spaniards organized new towns. In each town, a governing body was set up of which the chief official was the gobernador (governor), subsequently

called gobernadorcillo (petty governor).

Morga in his Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas described the system of local government as it existed in the early years of Spanish rule. "Each village," he wrote, "has a governor who is elected. He and his constables who are called vilangos comprise the usual magistracy among the natives. The governor hears civil suits where a moderate sum is involved; in appeal the case goes to the corregidor or alcalde mayor of the province. These governors are elected annually by the votes of the married natives of such and such a village. The governor of Manila confirms the election, and gives the title of governor to the one elected . . . This governor holds the chiefs, lords of barangays, under his rule and government, and, for any special service, such as collections of tributes and assignments of personal services, as his datos and mandones."

The Spanish colonial administration was a highly centralized one. The separation of powers which was a characteristic feature of the governmental systems of England and the United States was unknown in Spain. In the Spanish colonial administration the functions of government, whether in the central, provincial or town level, were concentrated in one governing body.

The Spanish régime, as a general policy, respected and preserved the laws and customs of the early Filipinos. This was so particularly in regard to slavery, successions, inheritances, adoptions, wills and business transactions. Royal decrees enjoined that disputes arising over these matters should be determined and judged in accordance with Filipino laws and customs. It was in view of this requirement of Spanish colonial policy that during the administration of Governor Santiago de Vera, Father Plasencia was commissioned to make a study and submit a report on Filipino customary law.[2]

The same policy was followed in regard to the former chiefs of barangays. The honors and privileges the latter enjoyed as such were recognized and respected. As Morga, in his work already cited, wrote: "The king our sovereign has ordered by his decrees that the honors of the chiefs be preserved to them as such; and that the other natives recognized them and assist them with certain of the labors that they used to give when pagans. When he harvests his rice, they go one day to help him; and the same if he builds a house, or rebuilds one." Moreover, the former chiefs of barangays were given important duties and responsibilities in the government of the town. They were the

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2 - Vide Supra

agents of the gobernadorcillo in the collection of the tribute and in the assigning of men in their respective barangays for the polos y servicios (personal services to the State).

A notable feature of Spanish colonialism was the encomienda system. Spain regarded the colonies as properties of the Crown and their inhabitants as subjects of the King. As subjects, they were required to pay tribute and to render personal services to the State. In the Philippines, as in other colonies of Spain, the land areas together with their inhabitants were apportioned into encomiendas. Encomiendas were of two kinds: royal and private. The royal encomiendas, which included the principal centers of population, were reserved to the Crown. Private encomiendas were given to private individuals as regards for services rendered to the Crown in the pacification and conquest of the Philippines. The income from the royal encomiendas accrued to the royal treasury; the tribute from private encomiendas was collected by the encomenderos for their own use and benefit. The encomenderos, however, were required to contribute part of the tribute for the support and maintenance of religious instruction in their respective encomiendas. Under the laws of the Indies, the privilege of

holding an encomiendas lasted for two generations, subject to extension, by permission, to a third generation.

Prominent among the distinguishing characteristics of the Spanish colonial adventure in the Philippines was the deep interest taken by the Kings of Spain in the propagation of the Catholic religion. The conversion of the Filipinos to Catholicism was a major aim of Spanish colonial policy. Spain wanted the Philippines to become an advanced outpost and center of Christianity and of Christian culture in the Far East.

In pursuance of their religious aims, the Spanish sovereigns assumed for themselves the role and character of patrons of the Church. As such they took upon themselves the duty and responsibility of providing the Church with all the means she needed to carry out successfully her mission. Ministers going to the Indies were transported at royal expense; churches and convents were erected in the colonies; and due provision was made for the support and maintenance of the Church and her ministers in the colony.

In return for these services, the Spanish Monarchs obtained from Rome special rights and privileges. Pope Julius II, in a Papal Bull issued in 1508, granted to Ferdinand and his successors on the throne of Spain (1) the

right to erect churches in the Spanish colonies, and (2) the right to nominate suitable persons, churches, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical benefices and pious places. This Bull was the source and basis of what is known as Real Patronato (Royal Patronage).

The Patronato gave to the kings of Spain considerable powers of supervision and control in the administration of Church affairs. These powers were exercised in the Philippines by the Governor and Captain General in his capacity as Vice-Regal Patron (Vice-Real Patron). The nature and scope of these powers were defined in detail in a decree promulgated by Philip II in June 1574. The text of the decree was incorporated in the royal instructions given to Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines during the years 1590-1593.

The outstanding achievement of the Spanish colonial adventure in the Philippines in the first century of Spanish rule was unquestionably the rapid conversion of the Filipinos to Christianity. This was the work of the Spanish missionaries who went to the Philippines in the first years of Spanish rule. Pioneers in this undertaking were the Agustinian Fathers who came with Legazpi. They were joined a few years later by missionaries of other religious orders

in Spain - Franciscans in 1577, Jesuits in 1581, Dominicans in 1587 and Recollects in 1606. Within a generation following the arrival of Legazpi Christianity had been preached in practically all parts of the Philippines. By 1600, the great majority of the Filipino people had been brought, through the sacrament of baptism, within the Catholic fold.

To take care of the spiritual needs of the new converts, parishes were organized in the towns and cities in the Philippines. The general rule regarding the administration of parishes as laid down by the Council of Trent was that secular priests, that is, priests not attached to any religious order or congregation and bound by the rules of that order, should take charge of parochial work. At that early stage of the colonial period, however, there were very few secular priests in Spain available for service in the parishes in the Philippines. For this reason the missionaries themselves, apart from their duties as doctrineros (teachers of Christian doctrine) took over the responsibility of attending to the spiritual needs and welfare of the new converts. They were referred to, in that capacity, as friar-curates.

This arrangement was made possible by a dispensation or concession granted by the Pope at the request of Philip II.

The concession, in the words of the Dominican historian, Vicente de Salazar, "exempted the religious of the Indies, who were employed in the parishes, notwithstanding the requirements to the contrary of the Council of Trent, from the jurisdiction and visitation of the Ordinaries and the latter's examination and approbation necessary for the taking of this charge, (and permitted) the religious to remain, even in their capacity as ministers of souls, under the absolute and sole jurisdiction of their respective supervisors."[3]

The grant of this concession proved to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding and controversy between the diocesan authorities, the bishops and archbishops, and the friar-curates. The diocesan authorities as such had their duties and responsibilities to discharge and these included periodic diocesan visitations and general supervision over the work of the parish priests in their respective dioceses. The friar-curates, on the other hand, claimed by virtue of the privileges conceded to them by Rome, exemption from the jurisdiction and visitation of the diocesan officials. Such a situation was bound to produce as in fact did pro-

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3 - Historia de la Provincia Santisimo Rosario. Manila, 1742. Quotation is from Sobre Una Reseña Historica de Filipinas, Manila, 1906.

duce, conflict and controversy. A number of such controversies arose in the early part of the Spanish period. Prominent among these were Bishop Salazar's conflict with the Agustinians and Franciscans (1581), the 1652-1654 incident, and the Camacho controversy which started in 1697.

In its economic aspects, the Spanish colonial policy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, in character and spirit, strongly mercantilistic. Spain, in common with many European nations in early modern times, based her colonial policy on the doctrines and concepts of mercantilism. She followed a policy of exclusivism and monopoly in commercial matters, of strict regulation and control of the means of production and distribution of the nation's resources. In line with such a policy, foreigners (i.e., Europeans), were excluded from the colonies. Spanish merchants alone could trade with the Indies. The Philippines was permitted to trade with China and other countries of the Orient, subject, however, to stringent regulations. Philippine foreign trade outside of Asia was confined to Nueva España, but this trade was also very much restricted. The number of vessels a year allowed to be dispatched to Acapulco in Nueva España was limited. The tonnage of the vessels also was limited, as well as the value of the merchandise to be

carried in the galleons, both on the outgoing voyage and on the return. Merchants whether in Nueva España or in the Philippines were forbidden to establish commercial agencies in Asia. None of the merchandise brought from the Philippines to Nueva España could be introduced to any of the other Spanish colonies in the New World. These restrictions were imposed in the interest of Spanish merchants in Cadiz and Sevilla who had a monopoly of the trade of the New World.

The death of Philip IV in 1665 and the accession of Charles II immediately thereafter marked the completion of one hundred years of Spanish colonization in the Philippines. During this period, twenty-one persons occupied the post of governor and captain general of the Philippines.[4] Of these, seven served as governors ad interim.[5] On four different occasions, the Royal Audiencia took over the powers and functions of the chief executive in the absence of the proprietary governor, viz., 1606-1608, 1616-1618, 1624-1625,

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4 - Legazpi served from 1565 until his death in 1572. Contemporaneous with the accession of Charles II was the administration of Diego de Salcedo, 1663-1668.

5 - Guido de Lavezares, 1572-1575; Diego Ronquillo, 1583-84; Pedro de Rojas, 1593; Luis Perez Dasmariñas, 1593-1596; Rodrigo de Vivero, 1608-1609; Fernando de Silva, 1625-26; Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, 1633-1635.

and 1632-1633.

At the end of this period, the sovereignty of Spain in the Philippines had been consolidated and firmly established. It had survived the dangers that at one time or another threatened its existence - the Portuguese aggressions against Legazpi at Cebu (1566), the Limahong attack on Manila (1574), the Chinese uprisings (1603) and (1639), and, of even greater danger, the various Filipino revolts that occurred during this time. Of the latter, the ones that proved to be particularly perturbing were: the Lakandola-Soliman revolt of 1574, during Lavezares' governorship; the widespread conspiracy of 1587-88, led by Agustin de Legazpi and Magat Salamat, chiefs of Tondo, during the governorship of Santiago de Vera; the Sumoroy rebellion of 1649, during the administration of Diego Fajardo (1644-1654); and the 1660-1661 revolts, during the administration of Sabiniano Manrique de Lara (1653-1663), which flared up simultaneously in Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos under the leadership, respectively, of Francisco Maniago, Andres Malong, and Pedro Almasan.

The Filipino revolts reflected the reaction produced among the Filipinos towards the changes and innovations which accompanied the establishment in the Philippines of Spanish sovereignty. In many cases the revolts were the

outgrowth of the keen resentment and outraged feelings of the people and their leaders over the loss of their former liberties. In most cases, however, the underlying as well as the immediate causes of discontent which gave rise to the revolts were the tribute and the polos y servicios. These impositions of Spanish sovereignty proved to be particularly hateful and irritating because of the harsh and violent manner in which they were generally exacted by Spanish encomenderos and Spanish officials.

In 1665, Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, ascended the throne in Spain. He did not have the strong qualities that characterized the first rulers of the dynasty. He was weak both in body and in mind. He died in 1700 without leaving any heir. His death gave rise to a problem which attracted great interest, not only in Spain but in many countries of Europe as well.

CHAPTER TWO

MORGA ON THE EARLY YEARS OF SPANISH RULE

In the same eighth chapter of the Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas in which he described the life and culture of the Filipinos, Dr. Morga wrote about the Spanish colonial enterprise in the Far East during the first years of Spanish rule. Important aspects of the Spanish colonial administration were dealt with such as the work of the missionaries, the administrative system in the colony, the encomienda system, the financial status of the Colony and the trade of the Philippines with Nueva España and with their Oriental neighbors.[1]

> The arrival of the Spaniards in these Filipinas Islans, since the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the pacification and conversion that has been made therein, their mode of governing, and the provisions of his Majesty during these years for their welfare, have caused innovations in many things, such as are usual to kingdoms and provinces that change their religion and sovereign. The foremost has been that, besides the name of Filipinas which all the islands took and received from the beginning of their conquest, they belong to a new kingdom and seigniory to which his Majesty, Filipo Second, our sovereign, gave the name of Nuevo Reyno de Castilla ("New Kingdom of Castilla"). By his royal concession, he made the city of Manila capital of it, and gave to it as a special favor, among other things,

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1 - B. & R., vol. 16, pp. 135-193, being portions of the eighth chapter of Morga's Sucesos.

a crowned coat-of-arms which was chosen and assigned by his royal person. This is an escutcheon divided across. In the upper part is a castle on a red field, and in the lower a lion of gold, crowned and rampant, holding a naked sword in its right paw. One-half of the body is in the form of a dolphin upon the waters of the sea, to signify that the Spaniards crossed the sea with their arms to conquer this kingdom for the crown of Castilla.2

The city of Manila was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, first governor of the Filipinas, in the island of Luzon. It occupies the same site where Rajamora had his settlement and fort -- as has been related more at length -- at the mouth of the river which empties into the bay, on a point between the river and the sea. The whole site was occupied by this new settlement, and Legazpi apportioned it to the Spaniards in equal building-lots. It was laid out with well-arranged streets and squares, straight and level. A sufficiently large main square (Plaza mayor) was left, fronting which were erected the cathedral church and municipal buildings. He left another square, that of arms (Plaza de armas), fronting which was built the fort, as well as the royal buildings. He gave sites for the monasteries, hospital, and chapels which were to be built, as being a city which was to grow and increase continually -- as already it has done; for, in the course of the time that has passed, that city has flourished as much as the best of all the cities in those regions.

The city is completely surrounded with a stone wall, which is more than two and one-half varas wide, and in places more than three. It has small towers and traverses at intervals. It has a fortress of hewn stone at the point that guards the bar and the river, with a ravelin close to the water, upon which

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2 - The coat-of-arms of the Government of the Philippine Islands as adopted by the Philippine Commission on July 3, 1905, included, as one of its outstanding features, the old coat-of-arms described in this account by Dr. Morga.

are mounted some large pieces of artillery. This artillery commands the sea and river, while other pieces are mounted farther up to defend the bar, besides some other moderate-sized field-pieces and swivel-guns. These fortifications have their vaults for storing supplies and munitions, and a magazine for the powder, which is well guarded and situated in the inner part; and a copious well of fresh water. There are also quarters for the soldiers and artillerymen, and the house of the commandant (alcayde). The city has been lately fortified on the land side at the Plaza de armas, where it is entered by a strong wall and two salient towers, defended with artillery, which command the wall and gate. This fortress is called Santiago, and has a company of thirty soldiers with their officers, and eight artillerymen who guard the gate and entrance by watches -- all in charge of a commandant who lives inside, and has the guard and custody of the fort.

There is another fortress, also of stone, in the small wall, within culverin range, located at the end of the curtain, which extends along the shore of the bay. It is called Nuestra Señora de Guia, and is a very large tower. It has its own court, well, and quarters inside, as well as the magazine, and other rooms for work. It has a traverse extending to the beach, on which are mounted a dozen large and moderate-sized pieces, which command the bay and sweep the wall, which extends along the shore to the gate and to the fort of Santiago. On the other side the fortress has a large salient tower; mounted with four large pieces, which command the shore ahead in the direction of the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Guia. The gate and entrance is within the city and is guarded by a company of twenty soldiers and their officers, six artillerymen, and one commandant and his lieutenant, who live inside.

On the land side, where the wall extends, there is a rampart called Sant Andres, which mounts six pieces of artillery that command in all directions, and some swivel-guns. Farther on is another traverse called San Gabriel, opposite the parian of

the Sangleys with a like amount of artillery. Both have some soldiers and on ordinary guard.

The wall has a sufficient height, and is furnished with battlements and turrets, built in the modern style, for its defense. It has a circuit of about one legua, which can be made entirely on top. It has many broad steps of the same hewn stone, at intervals inside. There are three principal city gaves on the land side, and many other posterns opening at convenient places on the river and beach, for the service of the city. Each and all of them are locked before nightfall by the ordinary patrols. These carry the keys to the guard-room of the royal buildings. In the morning when day comes, the patrols return with the keys and open the city. ...

Within the city is the monastery of St. Augustine: It is very large and has many dormitories, a refractory and kitchens. They are now completing a church, which is one of the most sumptuous in those districts. This convent has generally fifty religious.

The monastery of St. Dominic is inside the walls. It contains about forty religious. It was built of stone, and was very well constructed. It has a church, house, and all offices. It has lately been rebuilt, and much better; for it was completely destroyed in the burning of the city in the year sixteen hundred and three.

The monastery of St. Francis is farther on. It is well constructed of stone, and its church is being rebuilt. It contains about forty descalced religious.

The residence (<u>colegio</u>) of the Society of Jesus is established near the fortress of Nuestra Señora de Guia. It contains twenty religious of their order, and is an excellent stone house and church. There they study Latin, the arts, and cases of conscience. Connected with them is a seminary and convictorio for Spanish scholars, with their rector. These students wear gowns of tawny-colored frieze with red facings.

In another part of the city stands a handsome house, walled in, with its stone church, called San Andres and Santa Potenciana. It is a royal foundation, and a rectoress lives there. It has a revolving entrance and a parlor, and the rectoress has other confidential assistants; and there shelter is given to needy women and girls of the city, in the form of religious retirement. Some of the girls leave the house to be married, while others remain there permanently. It has its own house for work, and its choir. His Majesty assists them with a portion of their maintenance; the rest is provided by their own industry and property. They have their own steward and their priest, who administers the sacraments to them. ...

This city is the capital of the kingdom and the head of the government of all the islands. It is the metropolis of the other cities and settlements of the islands. In it reside the Audiencia and Chanchilleria of his Majesty, and the governor and captain-general of the islands.

Manila has a city cabildo with two alcaldes - in-ordinary, twelve perpetual regidors, an alguacil-mayor (i.e., chief constable), a royal standard-bearer, scrivener of the cabildo, and other officials.

The archbishop of the Filipinas Islands resides in this city. He has his metropolitan church, and all the cathedral dignitaries -- canons, racioneros, medias racioneros, chaplains, and sacristans -- and a music-choir who chant to the accompaniment of the organ and of flutes (ministriles). The cathedral is quite ornate and well decorated, and the Divine offices are celebrated there with the utmost gravity and ceremony. As suffragans the cathedral has three bishops -- namely, in the island of Sebu, and in Cagayan and Camarines.

There is a royal treasury with three royal officials -- factor, accountant, and treasurer -- by whom the royal revenue of all the islands is managed. ...

In the province (of Cagayan) of this same island of Luzon was founded the city of Segovia, during the term of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, the third governor.[3] It has two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in wooden houses on the shore of the Tajo River, two leguas from the sea and port of Camalayuga. There is a stone fort near the city for the defense of it and of the river. This fort mounts some artillery, and has its own commandant. Besides the inhabitants, there are generally one hundred regular soldiers, arquebusiers, and their officers. They are all in charge and under command of the alcalde-mayor of the province, who is its military commander.

In that city is established a bishop and his church, although at present the latter has no dignitaries or prebendaries. There is a city cabildo consisting of two alcaldes, six regidors, and an alguacil-mayor. The city abounds in all kinds of food and refreshment at very cheap prices.

The city of Caceres was founded in the province of Camarines of the same island of Luzon, during the term of Doctor Sande, governor of the Filipinas. It has about one hundred Spanish inhabitants, and has its cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidors, and officials. A bishop of that province is established there and has his church, although without dignitaries or prebendaries. A monastery of discalced Franciscans is located there. The government and military affairs of that province are under one alcalde-mayor and war-captain, who resides in Caceres. The latter is a place abounding in and furnished with all kinds of provisions, at very low rates. It is founded on the bank of a river, four leguas inland from the sea, and its houses are of wood.

The fourth city is that called Santisimo Nombre de Jesus; it is located in the island of Sebu,

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3 - Nueva Segovia was originally established near the site where the town of Lal-loc now stands. It was founded by Juan P. Carreon, commander of the expedition which drove the Japanese corsair Tayfusa from the coast of Northern Luzon.

in the province of Bicayas or Pintados. It was the first Spanish settlement and was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the first governor. It is a fine seaport, whose water is very clear and deep, and capable of holding many vessels. The city has an excellent stone fort, which mounts a considerable quantity of artillery, and which has its commandant and officers for the guard and defense of the port and of the city. It is sufficiently garrisoned with regulars, and is under command of the alcalde-mayor, the military commander of the province, who lives in the city. The settlement contains about two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in houses of wood. It has a cabildo, consisting of two alcaldes -- in-ordinary, eight regidors, and an alguacil-mayor and his officers. It has a bishop and his church, like those of other cities of these islands; without prebendaries.

The city is provided with food by, and is a station for, the ships going from Maluco to Manila. Through his Majesty's concession they keep there a deep-draft merchant vessel, which generally leaves its port for Nueva España, laden with the merchandise of the products gathered in those provinces. It has a monastery of Augustinian religious and a seminary of the Society of Jesus.

The town of Arevalo was founded on the island of Oton (Panay), during the term of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. It contains about eighty Spanish inhabitants, and is located close to the sea. It has a wooden fort, which mounts some artillery, and a monastery of the Order of St. Augustine; also a parish church, with its own vicar and secular priest. This church belongs to the diocese of the Cebu bishopric. It has a cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidors, and other officials. There is one alcalde-mayor and military leader in those provinces. The town is well supplied with all kinds of provisions, sold at very low rates.

The settlement of Villa Fernandina,[4] which was founded in the province of the Ilocos on the is-

4 - Now Vigan, Ilocos Sur.

land of Luzon, is settled by Spaniards, but very few of them remain there. It has a church, with its own vicar and secular priest. Now no mention will be made of it, on account of what has been said. The alcalde-mayor of the province resides there, and the town is situated in the diocese of the Cagayan bishopric.

From the earliest beginning of the conquest and pacification of the Filipinas Islands, the preaching of the holy gospel therein and the conversion of the natives to the holy Catholic faith were undertaken. The first to set hand to this task were the religious of the Order of St. Augustine, who went there with the adelantado Legazpi in the fleet of discovery, and those of the same order who went afterward to labor in this work, and toiled therein with great fervor and zeal. Thus, finding the harvest in good season, they gathered the first fruits of it, and converted and baptized many infidels throughout the said islands.

Next to them in the fame of this conversion, the discalced religious of the Order of St. Francis went to the islands by way of Nueva España; then those of the Order of St. Dominic, and of the Society of Jesus. Lastly, the discalced Augustinian Recollects went. One and all, after being established in the islands, worked in the conversion and instruction of the natives. Consequently they have made -- and there are now in all the Islands -- a great number of baptized natives, besides many others in many parts, who, for want of laborers, have been put off, and are awaiting this blessing and priests to minister to them. Hitherto there have been but few missions in charge of secular priests, as not many of those have gone to the islands, and as very few have been ordained there, for lack of students.

The Order of St. Augustine has many missions in the islands of Pintados and has established and occupied monasteries and various visitas. In the island of Luzon, they have those of the province of Ylocos, some in Pangasinan, and all those of La Pampanga - a large number of monasteries; while in the province of Manila and its vicinity they have others,

which are flourishing.

The Order of St. Dominic has the missions of the province of Cagayan, and others in the province of Pangasinan, where are many monasteries and visitas. They also administer others about the city.

The Order of St. Francis has some missions and monasteries about Manila, all the province of Camarines and the coast opposite, and La Laguna de Bay. These include many missions.

The Society of Jesus has three large missions in the neighborhood of Manila which have many visitas. In the Pintados it has many others on the islands of Sebu, Leite, Ybabao, Camar (Samar), Bohol, and others near by. They have good men, who are solicitous for the conversion of the natives.

These four orders have produced many good results in the conversion of these islands, as above stated; and in good sooth the people have taken firm hold of the faith, as they are a people of so good understanding. They have recognized the errors of their paganism and the truths of the Christian religion; and they possess good and well-built churches and monasteries of wood with their reredoses and beautiful ornaments, and all the utensils, crosses, candle sticks, and chalices of silver and gold. Many devotions are offered, and there are many confraternities. There is assiduity in taking the sacraments and in attendance on the Divine services; and the people are careful to entertain and support their religious (to whom they show great obedience and respect) by the many alms that they give them, as well as by those that they give for the suffrages and the burial of their dead, which they provide with all punctuality and liberality.

At the same time that the religious undertook to teach the natives the precepts of religion, they labored to instruct them in matters of their own improvement, and established schools for the reading and writing of Spanish among the boys. They taught them to serve in the church, to sing the plain-song, and to the accompaniment of the organ;

to play the flute, to dance and to sing; and to play the harp, guitar, and other instruments. In this they show very great adaptability, especially about Manila; where there are many fine choirs of chanters and musicians composed of natives, who are skilful and have good voices. There are many dancers, and musicians on the other instruments which solemnize and adorn the feasts of the most holy sacrament, and many other feasts during the year. The native boys present dramas and comedies, both in Spanish in their own language, very charmingly. This is due to the care and interest of the religious, who work tirelessly for the natives' advancement.

In these islands there is no native province or settlement which resists conversion or does not desire it. But, as above stated, baptism has been postponed in some districts, for lack of workers to remain with the people, in order that they may not retrograde and return to their idolatries. In this work, the best that is possible is done, for the mission-fields are very large and extensive. In many districts the religious make use, in their visitas, of certain of the natives who are clever and well instructed, so that these may teach the others to pray daily, instruct them in other matters touching religion, and see that they come to mass at the central missions; and in this way they succeed in preserving and maintaining their converts.

Hitherto, the orders who control these missions in virtue of the <u>omnimodo</u> and other apostolic concessions have attended to the conversion of the natives, administered the sacraments, looked after the spiritual and temporal and ecclesiastical affairs of the natives, and absolved them in cases of difficulty. But now that there are an archbishop and bishops, this is being curtailed, and the management of these affairs is being given to the bishops, as the archbishop's vicars - although not to such an extent, nor has the administration of these natives been placed in their charge, in matters of justice, and under the inspection and superintendence of the bishops, as they have endeavored to obtain.

The governor and royal Audiencia of Manila attend to what it is advisable to provide and direct for the greatest accomplishment and advancement of this conversion, and the administration of the natives and their missions -- both by causing the encomenderos to assist the religious and churches, in the encomiendas that they enjoy, with the stipends and necessary expenses of the missions; and by furnishing from the royal revenues what pertains to it, which is no less a sum. They also ordain whatever else is required to be provided and remedied for the said missions and for the advancement of the natives. This also is attended to by the archbishop and the bishops in what pertains to them in their duty and charge as pastors.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition, residing in Mexico of Nueva España, has its commisaries, servants, and helpers in Manila and in the bishoprics of the islands, who attend to matters touching the Holy Office. They never fail to have plenty to do there because of the entrance of so many strangers into those districts. However, this holy tribunal does not have jurisdiction of the causes pertaining to the natives, as the latter are so recently converted.

All these islands are subdued, and are governed from Manila by means of alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, and lieutenants, each of whom rules and administers justice in his own district and province. Appeals from their acts and sentences go to the royal Audiencia. The governor and captain-general provides what pertains to government and war.

The chiefs, who formerly held the other natives in subjection, now have no power over them in the tyrannical manner of former days. This was not the least benefit received by these natives in having been freed from such servitude. However, it is true that matters touching the slavery of former days have remained on the same footing as before. The king, our sovereign has ordered by his decrees that the honors of the chiefs be preserved to them as such; and that the other natives recognize them and assist them with certain of the labors that they used to give when pagans. This is done with the lords and possessors of barangays,

and those belonging to such and such a barangay are under that chief's control. When he harvests his rice, they go one day to help him; and the same if he builds a house, or rebuilds one. This chief lord of a barangay collects tribute from his adherents, and takes charge of these collections, to pay them to the encomendero.

Besides the above, each village has a governor who is elected. He and his constables who are called vilangos comprise the usual magistracy among the natives. The governor hears civil suits where a moderate sum is involved; in appeal, the case goes to the corregidor or alcalde-mayor of the province. These governors are elected annually by the votes of all the married natives of such and such a village. The governor of Manila confirms the election, and gives the title of governor to the one elected, and orders him to take the residencia of the outgoing governor. This governor, in addition to the vilangos and scrivener (before whom he makes his acts in writing, in the language of the natives of that province), holds also the chiefs -- lords of barangays, and those who are not so -- under his rule and government, and, for any special service, such as collections of tributes, and assignments of personal services, as his datos and mandones. They do not allow the chiefs to oppress the timaguas or slaves under their control.

The same customs observed by these natives in their paganism, are observed by them since they have become Christians, in so far as they are not contrary to natural law, especially as to their slavery, successions, inheritance, adoptions, wills and lawful trading. In their suits, they always allege and prove the custom, and are judged by it, according to royal decrees to that effect. In other causes which do not involve their customs, and in criminal cases, the matter is determined by law as among Spaniards.

All of these islands and their natives, so far as they were pacified, were apportioned into encomiendas from the beginning. To the royal crown were allotted those which were chief towns and ports, and the dwellers of the cities and towns; and also other special encomiendas and villages in all the provinces,

for the necessities and expenses of the royal estate. All the rest was assigned to the conquerors and settlers who have served and labored for the conquest and pacification, and in the war. This matter is in charge of the governor, who takes into consideration the merits and services of the claimants. In like manner, the villages that become vacant are assigned. There are many very excellent encomiendas throughout the islands, and they offer many profits, both by the amount of their tributes and by the nature and value of what is paid as tribute. The encomienda lasts, according to the royal laws and decrees, and by the regular order and manner of succession to them, for two lives; but it may be extended to a third life, by permission. After it becomes vacant, it is again assigned and granted anew.

The tributes paid to their encomenderos by the natives were assigned by the first governor, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in the province of Vicayas and Pintados, and in the islands of Luzon and its vicinity; they were equal to the sum of eight reales annually for an entire tribute from each tributario. The natives were to pay it in their products -- in gold, cloth, cotton, rice, bells, fowls, and whatever else they possessed or harvested. The fixed price and the value of each article was assigned so that, when the tribute was paid in any one of them, or in all of them, it should not exceed the value of the eight reals. So it has continued until now, and the governors have increased the appraisements and values of the products at different times, as they have deemed advisable.

The encomenderos have made great profits in collecting in kind, for, after they acquired possession of the products, they sold them at higher prices. By this they increased their incomes and the proceeds of their encomiendas considerably; until a few years ago his Majesty, by petition of the religious and pressure that they brought to bear on him in this matter, ordered for this region that the natives should pay their tribute in whatever they wished - in kind or in money -- without being compelled to do otherwise. Consequently, when they should have paid their eight reals, they would have fulfilled their obligation. Accordingly this rule was initiated; but experience

demonstrates that, although it seemed a merciful measure, and one favorable to the natives, it is doing them great injury. For, since they naturally dislike to work, they do not sow, spin, dig gold, rear fowls, or raise other food supplies, as they did before, when they had to pay the tribute in those articles. They easily obtain, without so much work, the peso of money which is the amount of their tribute. Consequently it follows that the natives have less capital and wealth, because they do not work; and the country, which was formerly very well provided and well-supplied with all products, is now suffering want and deprivation of them. The owners of the encomiendas, both those of his Majesty and those of private persons who possess them, have sustained considerable loss and reduction in the value of encomiendas.

When Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was appointed governor of the Filipinas, he brought royal decree ordering the formation of the camp in Manila, with an enrollment of four hundred paid soldiers, with their officers, galleys, and other military supplies, for the defense and security of the country. Before that time all the Spanish inhabitants had attended to that without any pay. Then an increase of two reals to each tributario over the eight reals was ordered. This was to be collected by the encomenderos at the same time when they collected the eight reals of the tribute, and was to be delivered and placed in the royal treasury. There this amount was to be entered on an account separate from that of the other revenue of his Majesty, and was to be applied in the following manner; one and one-half reals for the expenses of the said camp and war stores; and the remaining half real for the pay of the prebendaries of the Manila Church, which his Majesty pays from his treasury, until such time as their tithes and incomes suffice for their sustenance.

Those tributes are collected from all the natives, Christians and infidels, in their entirety -- except that, in those encomiendas without instruction the encomendero does not take the fourth part of the eight reals (which equals two reals) for himself, since that encomienda has no instruction or expenses for it; but he takes them and deposits them in Manila,

in a fund called "the fourths." The money obtained from this source is applied to and spent in hospitals for the natives, and in other works beneficial to them, at the option of the governor. As fast as the encomiendas are supplied with instruction and religious, the collection of these fourths and their expenditure in these special works cease.

Some provinces have taken the census of their natives; and according to these the tributes and the assignment of the two reals are collected.

In most of the provinces no census has been taken, and the tributes are collected when due by the encomenderos and their collectors, through the chiefs of their encomiendas, by means of the list and memoranda of former years. From them the names of the deceased and of those who have changed their residence are erased, and the names of those who have grown up, and of those who have recently moved into the encomienda, are added. When any shortage is perceived in the accounts, a new count is requested and made.

The natives are free to move from one island to another, and from one province to another, and pay their tribute for that year in which they move and change their residence in the place to which they move; and to move from a Christian village that has instruction to another village possessing it. But, on the other hand, they may not move from a place having instruction to one without it, nor in the same village from one barangay to another, nor from one faction to another. In this respect, the necessary precautions are made by the government, and the necessary provisions by the Audiencia, so that this system may be kept, and so that all annoyances resulting from the moving of the settled natives of one place to another place may be avoided.

Neither are the natives allowed to go out of their villages for trade, except by permission of the governor, or of his alcaldes-mayor and justices, or even of the religious, who most often have been embarrassed by this, because of the instruction. This is done so that the natives may not wander about aimlessly when there is no need of it, away from their homes and settlements.

Those natives who possess slaves pay their tributes for them if the slaves are saguiguilirs. If the slaves are namamahays living outside their owner's houses, they pay their own tributes, inasmuch as they possess their own houses and means of gain.

The Spaniards used to have slaves from these natives, whom they had bought from them, and others whom they obtained in certain expeditions during the conquest and pacification of the islands. This was stopped by a brief of his Holiness and by royal decrees. Consequently, all of these slaves who were then in the possession of the Spanish, and who were natives of these islands, in whatever manner they had been acquired, were freed; and the Spaniards were forever prohibited from holding them as slaves, or from capturing them for any reason, or under pretext of war, or in any other manner. The service rendered by these natives is in return for pay and daily wages. The other slaves and captives that the Spaniards possess are Cafres and blacks brought by the Portuguese by way of India, and are held in slavery justifiably, in accordance with the provincial councils and the permissions of the prelates and justices of those districts.

The natives of these islands have also their personal services, which they are obliged to render -- in some parts more than in others -- to the Spaniards. These are done in different ways, and are commonly called the polo. For, where there are alcaldes-mayor and justices, they assign and distribute certain natives by the week for the service of their houses. They pay these servants a moderate wage, which generally amounts to one-fourth real per day, and rice for their food. The same is done by the religious for the mission, and for their monasteries and churches, and for their works, and for public works.

The Indians also furnish rice, and food of all kinds, at the prices at which they are valued, and sold among the natives. These prices are always very moderate. The datos, vilangos, fiscals make the division, collect, and take these supplies from the natives; and in the same manner they supply their encomenderos when these go to make the collections.

The greatest service rendered by these natives is on occasions of war, when they act as rowers and crews for the vireys and vessels that go on the expeditions, and as pioneers for any service that arises in the course of the war, although their pay and wages are given them.

In the same way natives are assigned and apportioned for the king's works, such as the building of ships, the cutting of wood, the trade of making the rigging, the work in the artillery, foundry, and the service in the royal magazines; and they are paid their stipend and daily wage.

In other things pertaining to the service of the Spaniards and their expeditions, works, and any other service, performed by the natives, the service is voluntary, and paid by mutual agreement, for, as hitherto, the Spaniards have worked no mines, nor have they given themselves to the gains to be derived from field labors, there is no occasion for employing the natives in anything of that sort.

Most of the Spaniards of the Filipinas Islands reside in the city of Manila, the capital of the kingdom, and where the chief trade and commerce is carried on. Some encomenderos live in provinces or districts adjacent to Manila, while other Spaniards live in the cities of Segovia, Caceres, Santisimo Nombre de Jesus (in Sebu), and in the town of Arevalo, where they are settled, and where most of them have their encomiendas.

Spaniards may not go to the Indian villages, except for the collection of the tributes when they are due; and then only the alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, and justices. It is not permitted these to remain continually in one settlement of their district, but they must visit as much of it as possible. They must change their residence and place of abode every four months to another chief village and settlement, where all the natives may obtain the benefit of their presence; and so that the natives may receive as slight annoyance as possible in supporting them and in the ordinary service that they render them.

The governor makes appointments to all offices. When the term of office expires, the royal Audiencia

orders the residencia of each official to be taken, and his case is decided in accordance therewith; and until the residencia is completed, the incumbent cannot be appointed to any other duty or office. The governor also appoints commandants of forts, companies, and other military officials, in all the cities, towns, and hamlets of the islands.

Certain offices of regidors and notaries have been sold by royal decree for one life. But the sale of these offices has been superseded, as it is now considered that the price paid for them is of little consideration, while the disadvantage of perpetuating the purchasers in office by this method is greater.

Elections of alcaldes-in-ordinary for all the Spanish towns are held on New Year's day by the cabildo and magistracy. The residencias of these alcaldes-in-ordinary and their cabildos are ordered by his Majesty to be taken at the same time as that of the governor and captain-general of the islands is taken; and they give account of the administration of the revenues and the estates under their care. However, the governor may take it before this, every year, or whenever he thinks it expedient and cause the balances of their accounts to be collected. With the governor's advice and permission the expenses desired by the towns are made.

The city of Manila has sufficient public funds for certain years, through the fines imposed by its judges; in its own particular possessions, inside and outside the city; in the reweighing of the merchandise and the rents of all the shops and sites of the Sangleys in the parian; and in the monopoly on the playing cards. All this was conceded to the city by his Majesty, especially for the expenses of its fortification. These revenues are spent for that purpose; for the salaries of its officials, and those of the agents sent to España; and for the feasts of the city, chief of which are St. Potenciana's day, May nineteen, when the Spaniards entered and seized the city, and the day of St. Andrew, November 30, this date on which the pirate Limahon was conquered and driven from the city. On that day the city officials take out the municipal standard, and to the sound of music go to

vespers and mass at the church of San Andres, where the entire city, with the magistracy and cabildo and the royal Audiencia, assemble with all solemnity. The above revenues are also used in receiving the governors at their first arrival in the country, in the king's marriage feasts, and the births of princes, and in the honors and funeral celebrations for the kings and princes who die. In all the above the greatest possible display is made.

The other cities and settlements do not possess as yet so many sources of wealth or revenue, or the occasions on which to spend them -- although, as far as possible, they take part in them, in all celebrations of the same kind. ...

A considerable number of somas and junks (which are large vessels) generally come from Great China to Manila, laden with merchandise. Every year thirty or even forty ships are wont to come, and although they do not come together, in the form of a trading and war fleet, still they do come in groups with the monsoon and settled weather, which is generally at the new moon in March. They belong to the provinces of Canton, Chincheo, and Ucheo (Fo-Kien), and sail from these provinces. They make their voyage to the city of Manila in fifteen or twenty days, sell their merchandise, and return in good season, before the vendavals set in -- the end of May and a few days of June - in order not to endanger their voyage.

These vessels come laden with merchandise, and bring wealthy merchants who own the ships, and servants and factors of other merchants who remain in China. They leave China with the permission and license of the Chinese viceroys and mandarins. The merchandise that they generally bring and sell to the Spaniards consists of raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands (dos cabecas), and other silk of poorer quality; fine untwisted silk, white and of colors, wound in small skeins; quantities of velvets, some plain, and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colors, and fashions - others with body of gold, and embroidered with gold; woven stuffs and brocades, of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns; quantities of gold and silver thread in skeins

over thread and silk -- but the glitter of all the gold and silver is false, and only on paper; damasks, stains, taffetans, gorvaranes, picotes, and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others; a quantity of linen made from grass, called lencesuelo (handkerchief);and white cotton cloth of different kinds and qualities, for all uses. They also bring musk, benzoin, and ivory; many bed ornaments, hangings, coverlets, and tapestries of embroidered velvet; damask and gorvaran of different shades; tablecloths, cushions, and carpets; horse-trappings of the same stuff, and embroidered with glass beads and seed-pearls; also some pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal-stones; metal basins,copper kettles, and other copper and cast-iron pots; quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet-iron, tin and lead; saltpetre and gunpowder. They supply the Spaniards with wheat flour; preserves made of orange, peach, scorzonera, pear, nutmeg, and ginger, and other fruits of China; salt pork and other salt meats; live fowls of good breed, and very kind capons; quantities of green fruit, oranges of all kinds; excellent chestnuts, walnuts, pears, and chicueyes (both green and dried, a delicious fruit); quantities of fine thread of all kinds, needles, and knick-knacks; little boxes and writing-cases; beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns. They bring domestic buffaloes; goose that resemble swans, horses, some mules and asses; even caged birds, some of which talk, while others sing, and they make them play innumerable tricks. The Chinese furnish numberless other gegaws and ornaments of little value and worth, which are esteemed among the Spaniards; besides a quantity of fine crockery of all kinds; canganes, sines, and black and blue robes; tacley, which are beads of all kinds; strings of cornelians, and other beads and precious stones of all colors; pepper and other spices; and rarities -- which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it.

As soon as the ship reaches the mouth of the bay of Manila, the watchman stationed at the island of Miraveles goes out to it in a light vessel. Having examined the ship, he puts a guard of two or three soldiers on it, so that it may anchor upon the bar, near the city and to see that no one shall disembark from

the vessel, or anyone enter it from outside, until the vessel has been inspected. By the signal made with fire by the watchman from the said island, and the advice that he sends in all haste to the city -- of what ship it is, whence it has come, what merchandise and people it brings -- before the vessel has finished anchoring, the governor and the city generally know all about it.

When the vessel has arrived and anchored, the royal officials go to inspect it and the register of the merchandise aboard it. At the same time the valuation of the cargo is made according to law, of what it is worth in Manila; for the vessel immediately pays three per cent on everything to his Majesty. After the register has been inspected and the valuation made, then the merchandise is immediately unloaded by another official into champans, and taken to the Parian, or to other houses and magazines, outside of the city. There the goods are freely sold.

No Spaniards, Sangley, or other person is allowed to go to the ship to buy or trade merchandise, food, or anything else. Neither is it allowed, when the merchandise is ashore, to take it from them or buy it with force and violence; but the trade must be free, and the Sangleys can do what they like with their property. ...

Some Japanese and Portuguese merchantmen also come every year from the port of Nangasaque in Japon, at the end of October with the north winds, and at the end of March. They enter and anchor at Manila in the same way. The bulk of their cargo is excellent wheat-flour for the provisioning of Manila, and highly prized salt meats. They also bring some fine woven silk goods of mixed colors; beautiful and finely-decorated screens done in oil and gilt; all kinds of cutlery, many suits of armor, spears, catans, and other weapons, all finely wrought; writing-cases, boxes and small cases of wood, japanned and curiously marked; other pretty gewgaws, excellent fresh pears; barrels and casks of good salt tunny; cages of sweet-voiced larks, called fimbaros; and other trifles. In this trading, some purchases are also made, without royal duties being collected from those vessels. The bulk of the

merchandise is used in the country, but some goods are exported to Nueva España. The price is generally paid in reals, although they are not so greedy for them as the Chinese, for there is silver in Japon. They generally bring a quantity of it as merchandise in plates, and it is sold at moderate rates.

These vessels return to Japon at the season of the vendavals, during the months of June and July. They carry from Manila their purchases, which are composed of raw Chinese silk, gold, deerskin, and brazil-wood for their dyes. They take honey, manufactured wax, palm and Castillian wine, civet-cats, large tibors in which to store their tea, glass, cloth, and other curiosities from España.

Some Portuguese vessels sail to Manila annually during the monsoon of the vendavals, from Maluco, Malaca, and India. They take merchandise consisting of spices - cloves, cinnamon, and papper; slaves, both blacks and Cafres; cotton cloth of all sorts, fine muslins (caniquies), linens, gauzes, rambuties, and other delicate and precious cloths, amber, and ivory; cloths edged with pita, for use as bed-severs; hangings, and rich counterpanes from Vengala (Bengal), Cochin, and other countries; many gilt articles and curiosities; jewels of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, balas-rubies, and other precious stones, both set and loose; many trinkets and ornaments from India; wine, raisins, and almonds; delicious preserves, and other fruits brought from Portugal and prepared in Goa; carpets and tapestries from Persia and Turquia, made of fine silks and wools; beds, writing-cases, parlor-chairs, and other finely-gilded furniture, made in Macao; needle-work in colors and in white, of chain-lace and royal point lace, and other fancy-work of great beauty and perfection. Purchases of all the above are made in Manila, and paid in reals and gold. The vessels return in January with the brisas, which is their favorable monsoon. They carry to Maluco provisions of rice and wine, crockery-ware, and other wares needed there; while to Malaca they take only the gold or money, besides a few special trinkets and curiosities from España, and emeralds. The royal duties are not collected from these vessels.

A few smaller vessels also sail from Borneo, during the vendavals. They belong to the natives of that island, and return during the first part of the brisas. They enter the river of Manila and sell their cargoes in their vessels. These consist of fine and well-made palm-mats, a few slaves for the natives, sago -- a certain food of theirs prepared from the pith of palms -- and timber; large and small jars, glazed black and very fine, which are of great service and use; and excellent camphor, which is produced on that island. Although beautiful diamonds are found on the opposite coast, they are not taken to Manila by those vessels, for the Portuguese of Malaca trade for them on that coast. These articles from Borneo are bought more largely by the natives than by the Spaniards. The articles taken back by the Borneans are provisions of wine and rice, cotton cloth, and other wares of the islands, which are wanting in Borneo.

Very seldom a few vessels sail to Manila from Siam and Camboja. They carry some benzoin, pepper, ivory, and cotton cloth; rubies and sapphires, badly cut and set; a few slaves; rhinoceros horns, and the hides, hoofs, and teeth of this animal; and other goods. In return they take the wares found in Manila. Their coming and return is between the brisas and the vendavals, during the months of April, May, and June.

In these classes of merchandise, and in the products of the islands -- namely, gold, cotton cloth, mendriñaque, and cakes of white and yellow wax -- do the Spaniards effect their purchases, investments, and exports for Nueva España. They make these as is most suitable for each person, and lade them on the vessels that are to make the voyage. They value and register these goods, for they pay into the royal treasury of Manila, before the voyage, the two per cent royal duties on exports, besides the freight charges of the vessel, which amount to forty Castillian ducados per tonelada. This latter is paid at the port of Acapulco in Nueva España, into the royal treasury of the said port, in addition to the ten per cent duties for entrance and first sale in Nueva España.

Inasmuch as the ships which are despatched with the said merchandise are at his Majesty's account, and other ships cannot be sent, there is generally too small a place in the cargo for all the purchases. For

that reason the governor divides the cargo-room among all the shippers, according to their wealth and merits, after they have been examined by intelligent men, appointed for that purpose. Consequently every man knows from his share how much he can export, and only that amount is received in the vessel; and careful and exact account is taken of it. Trustworthy persons are appointed who are present at the lading; and space is left for the provisions and passengers that are to go in the vessels. When the ships are laden and ready to sail, they are delivered to the general and the officials who have them in charge. Then they start on their voyage at the end of the month of June, with first vendavals.

This trade and commerce is so great and profitable, and easy to control -- for it only lasts three months in the year, from the time of the arrival of the ships with their merchandise, until those vessels that go to Nueva España take that merchandise -- that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry. Consequently, there is no husbandry or field-labor worthy of consideration. Neither do the Spaniards work the gold mines or placers, which are numerous. They do not engage in many other industries that they could turn to with great profit, if the Chinese trade should fail them. That trade has been very hurtful and prejudicial in this respect, as well as for the occupation and farm industries in which the natives used to engage. Now the latter are abandoning and forgetting those labors. Besides, there is the great harm and loss resulting from the immense amount of silver that passes annually by this way (of the trade), into the possession of infidels, which can never, by anyway, return into the possession of the Spaniards.

His Majesty's agents for the government and justice, and the royal officials for the management of his Majesty's revenue, are as follows: First, the governor and the captain-general of all the islands, who is at the same time president of the royal Audiencia of Manila. He has a salary of eight thousand pesos de minas per year for all his offices. He possesses his own body-guard of twelve halberdiers, whose captain receives three hundred pesos per year.

The governor alone provides and regulates all that pertains to war and government, with the advice of the auditors of the Audiencia in difficult matters. He tries in the first instance the criminal cases of the regular soldiers, and any appeals from his decisions go to the Audiencia. The governor appoints many alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, deputies, and other magistrates, throughout the islands and their provinces, for carrying on the government and justice, and for military matters. These appointments are made before a government chief scrivener appointed by his Majesty, who helps the governor.

The governor likewise takes part with the royal Audiencia, as its president, in whatever pertains to its duties. The Audiencia consists of four auditors and one fiscal -- each of whom receives an annual salary of two thousand pesos de minas - one reporter, one court scrivener, and alguacil-mayor, with his assistants, one governor of the prison of the court, one chancellor, one registrar, two bailiffs, one chaplain and sacristan, one executioner, attorneys, and receivers. The Audiencia tries all cases, civil and criminal, taken to it from all the provinces of its district. These include the Filipinas Islands and the mainland of China, already discovered or to be discovered. The Audiencia has the same authority as the chanchillerias of Valladolid and Granada in España. At the same time, the Audiencia provides whatever is advisable for the proper and systematic management of the royal exchequer.

His Majesty's revenues in the Filipinas Islands are in charge of three royal officials. They are appointed by his Majesty, and consist of a factor, and accountant, and a treasurer. They each receive an annual salary of five hundred and ten thousand maravedis. They have their clerk of mines, and registrars of the royal revenues, and their executive and other officials, all of whom reside in Manila. From that city they manage and attend to everything pertaining to the royal revenues throughout the islands.

His Majesty has a number of encomiendas apportioned to his royal crown throughout the provinces of the Filipinas Islands. The tributes of these en-

comiendas are collected for his royal treasury by his royal officials and the collectors engaged for that purpose by the royal officials. From year to year these amount to thirty thousand pesos, after deducting costs and expenses. They collect, from one year to another, eight thousand pesos in tributes from the Sangleys -- both Christians and infidels.

They also collect the fifth of all gold dug in the islands. By special concession for a limited period, the tenth is collected instead of the fifth. There is a declaration concerning it, to the effect that the natives shall pay no fifths or other duties on the jewels and gold inherited by them from their ancestors before his Majesty owned the country. Sufficient measures have been taken for the clear understanding of this concession and its investigation, for that on which the tenth has once been paid, and the steps to be taken in the matter. From one year to another they collect ten thousand pesos from these fifths, for much is concealed.

The assignment of two reals from each tributario inures to the royal treasury and is paid into it, for the pay of the soldiers and the stipend of the prebendaries. These are collected from the encomenderos, in proportion to, and on the account of, their tributes, and amount annually to thirty-four thousand pesos.

The fines and expenses of justice are committed to the care of the treasurer of the royal revenues, and are kept in the treasury. They amount annually to three thousand pesos.

The three per cent duties on the Chinese merchanduse of the Sangley vessels average forty thousand pesos annually.

The two per cent duties paid by the Spaniards for exporting merchandise to Nueva España amount annually to twenty thousand pesos. On the merchandise and money sent from Nueva España to the Filipinas, result eight thousand pesos more. Consequently, in these things and in other dues of less importance that belong to the royal treasury, his Majesty receives about one hundred and fifty thousand pesos, or there-

about, annually in the Filipinas.

Inasmuch as this amount does not suffice for the expenses that are incurred, the royal treasury of Nueva España sends annually to that of the Filipinas, in addition to the above revenues, some assistance in money -- a greater or less sum, as necessity requires. For his Majesty has thus provided for it from the proceeds of the ten per cent duties of the Chinese merchandise that are collected at the port of Acapulco in Nueva España. This assistance is given into the keeping of the royal officials in Manila, and they take charge of it, with the rest of the revenues that they manage and collect.

From all this gross sum of his Majesty's revenue, the salaries of the governor and royal Audiencia are paid, as well as the stipends of prelates and ecclesiastical prebendaries, the salaries of the magistrates, and of the royal officials and their assistants; the pay of all the military officers and regular soldiers; his Majesty's share of the stipends for instruction, and the building of churches and their ornaments, the concessions and gratifications that he has allowed to certain monasteries, and private persons; the building of large vessels for the navigation to Nueva España, and of galleys and other vessels for the defense of the islands; expenses for gunpowder and ammunition; the casting of artillery, and its care; the expense arising for expeditions and individual undertakings in the islands, and in their defense; that of navigations to, and negotiations with, the kingdoms in their vicinity, which are quite common and necessary. Consequently, since his Majesty's revenues in these islands are so limited, and his expenses so great, the royal treasury falls short, and suffers poverty and need.

The proceeds from the ten per cent duties and the freight charges of the ships, which are collected at Acapulco in Nueva España, on the merchandise sent there from the Filipinas, although considerable, are also not always sufficient for the expenses incurred in Nueva España with the ships, soldiers, ammunition, and other supplies sent annually to the Filipinas. These expenses are generally greatly in excess of those

duties, and the amount is made up from the royal treasury of Mexico. Consequently, the king our sovereign derives as yet no profit from any revenues of the Filipinas, but rather an expenditure, by no means small, from his revenues in Nueva España. He sustains the Filipinas only for the christianization and conversion of the natives, and for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia, which are expected through this gateway, at God's good pleasure.

Every year the Audiencia audits the accounts of the royal officials of his Majesty's revenues, strikes the balances, and sends the accounts to the tribunal of accounts in Mexico.

CHAPTER THREE

ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE IN THE INDIES

As patrons of the Church, the Spanish kings claimed for themselves certain rights and prerogatives in ecclesiastical matters. The nature and scope of these rights and prerogatives, historically known as rights of ecclesiastical patronage, were set forth in a royal decree promulgated by Philip II on June 1, 1574. The decree was incorporated in the set of instructions that Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines (1590-1593), received before he set out for the Philippines. As may be seen from the provisions of the order, the King of Spain or his representatives in the Indies - the Viceroys and Governors and Captains General, had a large measure of intervention and control in matters of ecclesiastical administration.

The document which follows is a text of the royal order of June 1, 1574.[1]

"The King. To our viceroy of Nueva España, or the person or persons who shall, for the time being, be exercising the Government of that country:

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1 - B. & R., vol. XXI, pp. 19-31.

As you know, the right of the ecclesiastical patronage belongs to us throughout the realm of the Yndias -- both because of having discovered and acquired that new world, and erected there and endowed the churches and monasteries at our own cost, or at the cost of our ancestors, the Catholic Sovereigns; and because it was conceded to us by bulls of the most holy pontiffs, conceded of their own accord.[2] For its conservation, and that of the right that we have to it, we order and command that the said right of patronage be always preserved for us and our royal crown, singly and in solidum, throughout all the realm of the Yndias, without any derogation therefrom, either in whole or in part; and that we shall not concede the right of patronage by any favor or reward that we or the kings our successors may confer.

"Further, no person or persons, or ecclesiastical or secular communities, or church or monastery, shall be able to exercise the right of patronage by custom privilege, or any other title, unless it be the person who shall exercise it in our name, and with our authority and power; and no person, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and no order, convent, or religious community, of whatever state, condition, rank, and preeminence he or they may be, shall for any occasion and cause whatever, judicially or extrajudicially, dare to meddle in any matter touching my royal patronage, to injure us in it - to appoint to any church, benefice, or ecclesiastical office, or to be accepted if he shall have been appointed — in all the realm of the Indias, without our presentation, or that of the person to whom we commit it by law or by letters-patent. He who shall do the contrary, if

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2 - The bulls referred to here were that of Pope Alexander VI 1501, and that of Pope Julius, 1508. Pope Alexander VI's bull granted the title and the first fruits of the Indias in return for the duty assumed by the Spanish Sovereigns of propagating the faith and maintaining the churches. Pope Julius granted the universal patronage, i.e., that of nominating proper persons for churches, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical benefices and pious places.

he be a secular person, shall incur the loss of the concessions that shall have been made to him by us in all the realm of the Indias, shall be unable to hold and obtain others, and shall be exiled perpetually from all our kingdoms and seigniories; and if he shall be an ecclesiastical person, he shall be considered as a foreigner, and exiled from all our kingdoms, and shall not be able to hold or obtain any benefice or ecclesiastical office, and shall incur the other penalties established against such by laws of these my kingdoms. And our viceroys, audiencias, and royal justices shall proceed with all severity against those who thus shall infringe or violate our right of patronage; and they shall proceed officially, either at the petition of our fiscals, or at that of any party who demands it; and in the execution of it great diligence shall be exercised.

"We desire and order that no cathedral church, parish church, monastery, hospital, votive church, or any other pious or religious establishment be erected, founded, or constructed, without our express consent for it, or that of the person who shall exercise our authority; and further, that no archbishopric, bishopric, dignidad, canonry, racion, media-racion, rectorial or simple benefice, or any other ecclesiastical or religious benefice or office, be instituted, or appointment to it be made, without our consent or presentation, or that of the person who shall exercise our authority; and such presentation or consent shall be in writing, in the ordinary manner.

"The archbishoprics and bishoprics shall be appointed by our presentation, made to our very holy father (i.e., the Roman pontiff) who shall be at that time, as has been done hitherto.

"The dignidades, canonries, racions and media-racions of all the cathedral churches of the Indias shall be filled by presentation made by our royal warrant, given by our royal Council of the Indias, and signed by our name, by virtue of which the archbishop or bishop of the church where the said dignidad, canonry, or racion shall be shall grant to him collation and canonical installation, which shall also be in writing, sealed with his seal and signed with his hand.

Without the said presentation, title, collation, and canonical installation, in writing, he shall not be given possession of such dignidad, canonry, racion, or media-racion; neither shall he accept the benefits and emoluments of it, under the penalties contained in the laws against those who violate our royal patronage.

"If in any of the cathedral churches of the Yndias there should not be four beneficiaries - at least resident, and appointed by our presentation and warrant and the canonical installation of the prelate -- because of the other prebends being vacant, or if appointments to them have been made because the beneficiaries are absent (even though it be for a legitimate reason) for more than eight months, until we present them the prelate shall elect four seculars to fill out the term of those who shall have been appointed as residents, choosing them from the most capable and competent that shall offer, or who can be found, so that they may serve in the choir, the altar, the church, and as curas, if that should be necessary in the said church, in place of the vacant or absent prebendaries, as above stated. He shall assign them an adequate salary, as we have ordered at the account of the vacant or absent prebendaries; and the said provision, shall not be permanent, but removal at will (ad nutum), and those appointed shall not occupy the seat of the beneficiary in the choir nor enter or have a vote in the cabildo. If the cathedral church has four or more beneficiaries, the prelates shall not take it upon themselves to appoint any prebendaries, or to provide a substitute in such post, whether for those that become vacant, or for those whose incumbents may be absent, unless they shall give us notice, so that we may make the presentations or take such measures as may be advisable.

"No prelate, even though he have an authentic relation and information that we have presented any person to a dignidad, canonry, racion, or any other benefice, shall grant him collation or canonical installation, or shall order that he be given possession of it, unless our original warrant of the said presentation be first presented; and our viceroys or audiencias shall not meddle by making them receive such

persons without the said presentation.

"After the original warrant of our presentation has been presented, appointment and canonical installation shall be made without any delay; and order will be given to assign to him the emoluments, unless there is some legitimate objection against the person presented, and one which can be proved. If there is no legitimate objection, or if any such be alleged that shall not be proved, and the prelate should delay the appointment, installation, and possession, he shall be obliged to pay to such person the emoluments and incomes, costs, and interests, that shall have been incurred by him.

"It is our desire that, in the presentations that shall be made for dignidades, canonries and prebends in the cathedral churches of the Yndias, lettered men be preferred to those who are not, and those who shall have served in cathedral churches of these same kingdoms and who shall have had most experience in the choir and divine worship, to those who shall not have served in cathedral churches.

"At least in the districts where it can be conveniently done, a graduate jurist in general study shall be presented for a doctoral canonicate, and another lettered theological graduate in general study for another magistral canonicate, who shall have the pulpit with the obligations that doctoral and magistral canons have in these kingdoms.

"Another lettered theologue approved by general study shall be presented to read the lesson of the holy scriptures, and another lettered jurist theologue for the canonicate of penitence, in accordance with the established decrees of the holy council of Trent. The said four canonries shall be of the number of those of the erection of the Church.

"We will and order that all the benefices, whether sinecures or curacies, secular and regular, and the ecclesiastical offices that become vacant, or that, as they are new, must be filled, throughout the realm of the Yndias, in whatever diocese it may be, besides those that are provided in the cathedral church-

es, as stated above, shall, in order that they may be filled with less delay, and that our royal patronage may be preserved in them, be filled in the following manner:

"When a benefice (whether a sinecure or a curacy), or the administration of any hospital or a sacristy or churchwardenship, or the stewardship of a hospital, or any other benefice or ecclesiastical office, shall become vacant, or when it has to be filled for the first time: the prelate shall order a written proclamation to be posted in the cathedral church, or in the church, hospital, or monastery where such benefice or office is to be filled, with the suitable limit, so that those who desire to compete for it may enter the lists. From all those who thus compete, and from all the others whom the prelate shall believe to be suitable persons for such office or benefice, after having examined them and after having informed himself concerning their morals and ability, he shall choose two persons from them - those whom, in the sight of God and his conscience, he shall judge most suitable for such office or benefice. The nomination of the two thus named shall be presented to our viceroy or to the president of our royal Audiencia; or to the person who, in our name, shall exercise the superior government of the province where such benefice or office shall become vacant or must be filled, so that he may select one from the two appointees. He shall send that selection to the prelate, so that the latter in accordance with it, and by virtue of that presentation, may grant the appointment, collation, and canonical installation -- by way of commission and not by perpetual title, but removable at will by the person who shall have presented them in our name, together with the prelate. And should there be no more than one person who desires to compete for such benefice or office, or the prelate shall not find more than one person whom he desires to receive the nomination to it, he shall send the name to our viceroy, president, or governor, as above stated, so that the latter may present him. Then by virtue of such presentation, the prelate shall make the appointment in the form above directed. But it is our desire and will that when the presentation shall be made by us, and we shall expressly state in our presentation that the collation and canonical installation shall be by

title and not by commission, those presented by us be always preferred to those presented by our viceroys, presidents, or governors, in the form above mentioned.

"And in the repartimientos and villages of Indians, and in other places where there shall be no benefice or any regulations for electing one, or any form of appointing a secular or religious to administer sacraments and teach the doctrine, providing it in the form above directed, the prelate - after posting a proclamation, so that if there shall be any ecclesiastical or religious persons, or any other of good morals and education who may go to teach the doctrine at such village - from those who shall compete, or from other persons whom he shall deem most suitable and fitting, shall elect two, after informing himself of their competency and good character. He shall send the nomination to our viceroy, president, or governor who shall reside in the province, so that the latter may present one of the two thus nominated by the prelate. If there shall be no more than one, by virtue of that presentation the prelate shall appoint him to the mission, giving him installation, as he has to teach the doctrine. He shall order to be given to such person the emoluments that are to be given to ministers or missions, and shall order the encomenderos and other persons, under the penalties and censures that he shall deem suitable, not to annoy or disturb such person in the exercise of his duty and the teaching of the Christian doctrine; on the contrary, they shall give him all protection and aid for it. That appointment shall be made removable at the will of the person who shall have appointed him in our name, and that of the prelate.

"We also will and order that the religious orders observe and maintain the right of patronage in the following form.

"First: No general, commissary-general, visitor, provincial, or any other superior of the religious orders, shall go to the realm of the Yndias, without first showing in our royal Council of the Indias the powers that he bears and giving us relation to them; and without the Council giving him our decree and per-

mission so that he may go, and a warrant so that our viceroys, audiencias, justices, and our other vassals may admit and receive him to the exercise of his office, and give him all protection and aid in it.

"Any provincial, visitor, prior, guardian, or other high official, who may be elected and nominated in the realm of the Yndias shall, before being admitted to exercise his office, inform our viceroy, president, Audiencia, or governor who shall have in charge the supreme government of such province, and shall show him his patent of nomination and election, so that the latter may give him the protection and aid necessary for the exercise and use of his office.

"The provincials of all the orders who are established in the Yndias, each one of them, shall always keep a list ready of all the monasteries and chief residences (maintained there by his orders) and of the members (resident in each) that fall in his province, and of all the religious in the province - noting each one of them by name, together with a report of his age and qualifications, and the office or ministry in which each one is occupied. He shall give that annually to our viceroy, Audiencia, or governor, or the person who shall have charge of the supreme government in the province, adding to or removing from the list the religious who shall be superfluous and those who shall be needed. Our viceroy, Audiencia, or governor, shall keep those general lists which shall thus be given, for himself, and in order that he may inform us by report of the religious that there are, and those of whom there is need of provision, by each fleet sent out.

"The provincials of the orders, each one of them, shall make a list of all the religious who are occupied in teaching the Christian doctrine to the Indians, and the administration of sacraments, and the offices of curas in the villages of the chief monasteries. They shall give such list once a year to our viceroy, Audiencia, or governor, who shall give it to the diocesan prelate, so that he may know and understand what persons are occupied in the administration of sacraments and the office of curas and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and who are in charge of the souls for

whom he is responsible; and in order that what is or must be provided may be apparent to him, and from whom he has to require account of the said souls, and to whom he must commit what is to be done for the welfare of those souls.

"Whenever the provincials have to provide any religious for instruction or for the administration of sacraments, or remove any who shall have been appointed, they shall give notice thereof to our viceroy, president, Audiencia, or governor who shall exercise the supreme government of the province, and to the prelate; and they shall not remove any one who shall have been appointed, until another shall have been appointed in his place, observing the above order.

"We desire, in the presentations and appointments of all the prelacies, dignidades, and ecclesiastical offices and benefices, that those most deserving, and who shall have been engaged longer and to better profit in the conversion of the Indians, and in instructing them in the Christian doctrine, and in the administration of sacraments, shall be presented and appointed. Therefore we strictly charge the diocesan prelates, and those superiors of the religious orders, and we order our viceroys, presidents, audiencias, and governors, that in the nominations, presentations, and appointments that they shall have to make there, as is said, in conformity (with this decree), they shall always prefer, in the first place, those who shall have been occupied, by life and example, in the conversion of the Indians, and in instruction and in administering the sacraments, and those who shall know the language of the Indians whom they have to instruct; and, in the second place, those who shall be the sons of Spaniards and who shall have served us in those regions.

"In order that we may better make the presentation that shall become necessary of prelacies, dignidades, prebends, and the other ecclesiastical offices and benefices, we ask and charge the said diocesan prelates and the provincials of the religious orders, and we order our viceroys, presidents, audiencias, and governors, each one of them, separately and distinctly by himself, without communicating one with another,

to make a list of all the dignidades, benefices, missions, and ecclesiastical offices in his province, noting those of them that are vacant, and those that are filled. Likewise they shall make a list of all the ecclesiastical and religious persons, and of the sons of citizens and Spaniards who are studying for the purpose of becoming ecclesiastics, and of the good character, learning, competency and qualities of each one, stating clearly his good parts and also his defects, and declaring, so that prelacies, dignidades, benefices, and ecclesiastical offices shall be suitably filled, both those that shall be at present found vacant, and those that shall become vacant hereafter. Those relations shall be sent us closed and sealed, in each fleet, and in different ships; and what shall be deemed advisable to add to or to suppress from the preceding ones that shall have been sent before, shall be added or suppressed; so that no fleet shall sail without its relation. We charge the consciences of one and all straitly with this matter.

"In order that we may not be deceived by those who come or send to petition us to present them to some dignidad, benefice, or ecclesiastical office, we desire, and it is our will, that he who shall thus come or send appear before our viceroy, or before the president and Audiencia, or before the one who shall have charge of the supreme government of the province; and, declaring his petition, the viceroy, Audiencia, or governor shall make the relation officially, with information concerning his standing, learning, morals, competency, and other details. After it is made, he shall send it separately from those persons. Likewise the approval of their prelate shall be obtained, and warning is given that those who come to petition for a dignidad, benefice, or ecclesiastical office without such investigation shall not be received.

"We desire and it is our will that no person can hold, obtain, or occupy two dignidades, or ecclesiastical benefices in the provinces of the Yndias, either in the same or in different churches. Therefore we order that if any one shall be presented by us for any dignidad, benefice, or office, he shall renounce what shall have held previously before his collation and appointment.

"If the one presented by us does not present himself, within the time contained in the presentation, to the prelate who must make the appointment and canonical installation, after the expiration of the said time the presentation shall be void, and no appointment and canonical installation can be made by virtue of it.

"Inasmuch as it is our will that the above-contained be observed and obeyed, for we believe that such procedure is expedient for the service of God and for our own, I order you to examine the above, and to observe and obey it, and cause it to be observed and obeyed in all those provinces and villages, and their churches, in toto, and exactly as is contained and declared, for what time shall be our will. You shall accomplish and fulfil it, in the ways that shall appear most advisable to you. You shall take for this purpose such measures and precautions as shall be advisable, in virtue of this my decree; and I give you for that complete authority in legal form. Accordingly we request and charge the very reverend father in Christ, the archbishop of that city, and member of our Council, and the reverend fathers in Christ, the archbishop of Nueva España, the venerable deans and cabildo of the cathedral churches of that country, and all the curas, beneficiaries, sacristans, and other ecclesiastical persons, the venerable and devout fathers provincial, guardians, priors, and other religious of the orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Francis, and of all the other orders, that in what pertains to, and is incumbent on them, they observe and obey this decree, acting in harmony with you, for all that shall be advisable. Given in San Lorenzo el Real, June first, one thousand five hundred and seventy-four.

I THE KING

By order of his Majesty:

ANTONIO DE ERASO".

CHAPTER FOUR

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

1. Creation of the Diocese of Manila

In the history of the Catholic Church in the Philippines important events took place in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The first of these was the creation on February 6, 1578, of the diocese of Manila. This event marked the beginning of the Philippine Hierarchy as an independent entity. Previously, the Philippines was, for purposes of ecclesiastical administration, subject to the jurisdiction of Mexico. In 1579, Philip II proposed to the Pope Fray Domingo de Salazar, as bishop of the newly created diocese. A Dominican, Salazar was at that time a missionary priest in Nueva España. He was formally installed as first bishop of Manila on December 21, 1581.

The diocese of Manila was elevated to the status of a metropolitan see in August, 1595. In that same year three new bishoprics were created - Nueva Segovia, Nueva Caceres, and Cebu - as suffragan dioceses to the archbishopric of Manila. To fill the positions in these dioceses, the following were appointed by the Pope on recommendation of Philip II:

Fray Ignacio de Santibañez, of the Franciscan Order, as Archbishop of Manila; Fr. Miguel de Benavidez, a Dominican, as Bishop of Nueva Segovia; Fr. Luis de Maldonado, Franciscan, as Bishop of Nueva Caceres; and Fr. Pedro de Agurto, Augustinian, as Bishop of Cebu.

Following is part of the text of the bull of Pope Gregory XIII creating the diocese and Cathedral Church of Manila.[1]

> Gregory, Bishop, servant of the servants of God: In perpetual remembrance of the affair:
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> ... It is proper and necessary, for the welfare of the souls of these natives and other like persons, as well as for the peace of conscience of the said King Philip, that in those islands there should be some one in charge of spiritual affairs. Neither should there be wanting the proper and necessary spiritual and ecclesiastical government in those regions, to the end that Almighty God may be served more faithfully, and the gospel law and the said faith be spread and exalted the more. After mature deliberation with our brethren on these points, with their advice, and at the humble solicitation of the aforesaid King Philip, by our apostolic authority, by perpetual tenor of these presents, to the praise and glory of the same Almighty God, as well as to the honor of His most glorious Mother and ever Virgin Mary and of all the heavenly court, and to the exaltation of the aforesaid faith, we separate, exempt, and wholly release the church of the city known as Manila, in the said island of Luzon, as well as the city itself, and, in the islands belonging to it and their districts, territories, and villages, all the inhabitants of either sex, all the clergy, people, secular and regular persons, monasteries, hospitals and pious

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1 - B. & R., vol. 4, pp. 119-124.

places, as well as ecclesiastical and secular benefices, of whatsoever orders of regulars, from our venerable brother the archbishop of Mexico, and from any other ecclesiastical and diocesan prelates, under whose jurisdiction they previously may have been -- as well as from all jurisdiction, superiorship, cognizance, visit, dominion, and power of anyone whomsoever. Moreover, by the aforesaid authority and tenor, we erect and establish forever the town of Manila into a city, and its church into a cathedral, under the title of "the Conception of the same Blessed Mary Virgin," to be held by one bishop as its head, who shall see the enlargement of its buildings and their restoration in the style of a cathedral church. Besides this, in it and the city and diocese he shall have the word of God preached, the heathen natives of those islands brought and converted to the worship of the orthodox faith, and converts instructed and confirmed in the same faith; moreover, he shall cause to be imparted to them the grace of baptism, with the administration of the other sacraments of the church. In the church, city, and diocese of Manila, he shall exercise episcopal jurisdiction, authority, and power freely. Moreover, in both the aforesaid city and diocese he shall now, as well as on occasion, erect and establish dignities, canonries, prebends, and other ecclesiastical benefices, both with and without parochial charge, with whatever else besides may be expedient for the increase of divine worship and the health of soul of those natives. He shall be subject to the said archbishop of Mexico, and to his successors for the time being, as metropolitan. Moreover, he shall enjoy all rights as on occasion shall be declared, excepting as regards gold and silver metals, gems, and precious stones, which are the right of the said Philip and of the Catholic Sovereigns of the Spains for the time being. For this reason we ordain that tithes and offerings of first-fruits (primitias), as required by law, need not be paid. Moreover he shall enjoy all other episcopal rights, the same as are enjoyed, by law or custom, by other bishops of the kingdoms of the Spains together with the exaction of the same as see, table (mensa), and other episcopal insignia and jurisdiction. Besides, for the future he may freely and lawfully use, hold, and enjoy the privileges, immunities, and graces which other cathedral churches and their prelates in the

said kingdom use, hold, and enjoy, in any manner, through law or custom. Again, to the same church of Manila we assign the aforesaid people for city, the said island of Luzon and all the other islands for diocese, and the natives and inhabitants thereof for clergy and people. Moreover we grant to the same King Philip power to assign, increase, extend, lessen, and otherwise change the bounds therein. For his episcopal table, (mensa), we apply and appropriate as dowry the yearly revenue of two hundred ducats, to be paid by King Philip from the yearly revenues coming to him from the said island of Luzon, until the fruit of the table itself shall reach the value of two hundred ducats. Moreover we reserve, grant, and assign forever to the king the right of patronage over the church of Manila; and should any vacancy occur therein to present, within one year, to the Roman Pontiff for the time being, persons fit for that office as bishop and pastor of the same church of Manila. We also grant the same right of presentation for dignities, canonries, prebends, and other benefices, from their first erection, and thereafter as vacancies shall occur, these being similarly given to the bishop of Manila for the time being, who shall present the same to Philip, or the king for the time being - who, by reason of the dowry and the new foundation, is to be consulted in the establishment of these dignitaries, canonries and prebends, the apostolic constitutions, and ordinances, and other things, to the contrary notwithstanding. ...

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the sixth day of February in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight year of our pontificate.

2. Origin of the Privileges Enjoyed by the Friars in the Indies

The origin of the papal privileges enjoyed by friar curates is explained by the Dominican writer, Vicente de Salazar, in his Historia de la Provincia Santisimo Rosario,

Manila, 1742. The following passages give the historical background of these privileges:[1]

> The religious who left Spain for the Indias devoted all their energies to the reduction of the gentiles of those regions, bringing the idolatrous to the faith of Christ, and introducing them by means of the Sacrament of baptism to His holy Church. In this task they worked with zeal, many of them devoting their lives to it. In view of the large number of infidels that were reduced and of the lack at the time of seculars to administer the new curacies, it was necessary for the religious to accept the administration of those for charity's sake. This work was indeed onerous to the religious, who had come to the Indias, not for that purpose, but rather to preach and to convert the infidels to our holy religion, and they claimed that they were being embarrassed by a work which was so foreign to their profession. But as it was not possible to dispense with the services of the religious, our Catholic Monarch, D. Felipe II, in order to make more tolerable and light the task which the religious were called upon to undertake, requested Pope Pius V to exempt the religious of the Indias, who were employed in the parishes, notwithstanding the requirements to the contrary of the Council of Trent, from the jurisdiction and visitation of the Ordinaries and the latter's examination and approbation necessary for the taking of this charge, and to permit the religious to remain, even in their capacity as ministers our souls, under the absolute and sole jurisdiction of their respective superiors.[2] The number of seculars later increased, and the Bishops of the Indias, seeing that the reason for this concession no longer existed, want-

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1 - Quoted in Sobre Una Reseña Historica de Filipinas, Manila, 1906.

2 - The Council of Trent was held at Trent in southwestern Tyrol. The Council was the 19th Ecumenical (General) Council of the Church. It began its sessions on December 13, 1545, in the pontificate of Pope Paul III, and closed December 4, 1563, during Pope Pius IV's pontificate. Its purpose was to state and define clearly and explicitly the posi-

ed the religious who were found exercising the cure of souls to submit to the latter's authority or to abandon their ministries so that these might be filled with secular priests. In this way, many parishes were secularized, while in places where the religious did not wish to abandon the cure of souls, the latter submitted to the visitation and correction of the diocesans.

3. Incidents of the Diocesan Controversy

In the following passages, the Recollect historian, Diego de Sta. Theresa, gives an account of some controversies which arose in the Philippines during the 16th and 17th centuries as a result of the peculiar situation which prevailed in many parishes where friar curates claimed immunity from the jurisdiction of the diocesan officials. These passages are taken from his Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del Orden de las Ermitaños del gran Padre y Doctor de la Yglesia San Agustin, de la congregación de España, y de las

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tion of the Catholic Church on various points of doctrine particularly those contained in the heresies of the Protestant Reformation. The Council also sought to bring about an improvement in the system of administration and the discipline of the Church. It was one of the most important and most successful of all the Councils held by the Church. It was the spearhead of the Catholic Counter-Reformation movement.

The Council of Trent adopted, as a general policy, the rule that secular priests should take charge of parochial work. For this purpose, each diocese should provide for a seminary where young men with vocations for the priesthood could be properly trained and prepared for service as parish priests in the diocese.

Indias, Barcelona, 1743.[1]

The holy orders, each one doing its share, declared pitiless war against paganism, and achieved signal victories in that war, destroying the idols of Belial and planting solidly the health-giving sign of the cross; so that whatever is conquered in the islands is due to their fervent zeal. For they planted the faith, and watered that land with blood so that it might produce fruit abundantly; and God was the cause of so wonderful an increase. The system that they have always followed in the spiritual administration of the missions and villages which they have formed at the cost of their sweat is the same as that observed in America in the beginning by various apostolic privileges. In the provincial chapters held by each order, they appoint as superiors of the houses established in the villages of Indians who are already converted, those religious who are fit to exercise the office of cura by their learning, their morals, and other quantities. The same is also done in regard to the residences of the active missions, where those thus appointed continue the preaching to and conversion of the heathen, with very perceptible progress. Both the former and the latter exercise the ministries to which they are destined, without need of other approbation than that of the definitors - who entrust to these heads of houses the administration of the sacraments and the spiritual cultivation of those souls, in the respective territory where the convent is located, a superior being elected for each convent. This is done independently of the bishops. Likewise the definitors of each order in their meetings appoint various of the most learned and experienced men, to whom is entrusted and delegated the faculty of giving dispensation in regard to the obstacles of marriage, and the exercise of other favors and privileges contained in the pontifical briefs. Those powers are never exercised if the diocesans are intra duas dietas,[2] without their permission and ap-

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1 - B. & R. vol. 36, p. 150, ft.

2 - Within two days' journey.--B. & R.

probation; and always this is done (only) in cases of evident necessity.

The provincials visit their provinces annually; and the said religious not only in what concerns their profession and regular observance, but also in what relates to their activities as curas. The diocesan prelates appoint their outside vicars for those territories which are in charge of the orders. They almost always avail themselves of those same religious for that, because of the great lack of secular priests. The religious submit to the visitation of the diocesan in matters touching the erection of chaplaincies, charitable works, the inspection of wills, and confraternities that are not exempt. They resist only what includes the violation of their privileges granted by the supreme pontiffs to the said holy orders for the purpose of propagation of the faith in regions so distant. Such privileges, although not used in other parts of the Indias, ought to be maintained in Philippines, for reasons that will be stated below. This is what has been observed from the discovery of the said islands until the present time; and the contrary has not been ordered by the king as patron, by the royal Council of the Indias, or by the apostolic see, although they have had full knowledge of the cause. This method has been practiced, both before and since the Council of Trent; and there has been no change in it -- not even since the year 1652, when special provision regarding it was made for Nueva España and Peru; and it was ordered that the missionary religious of these provinces should receive collation and canonical institution from the ordinaries of those countries, in order to continue their exercises as curas; and that consequently they must submit to the visitation and correction of the bishops in officio officiando et quoad curam animarum.[2] But however, thoroughly that was placed in execution in these kingdoms, it could not be carried out in the Philipinas Islands; for there even the reasons which influenced the exemption of the regulars are in force.

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2 - "When officiating in his duties, and as far as it relates to the cure of souls."--B. & R.

It is true that the bishops have always made the strongest efforts to subject the parish priests who are religious to their jurisdiction; but they have never been able to succeed in it, for the religious are unwilling to accept the charge with that burden. The first bishop of Manila and of all the islands, Don Fray Domingo de Salazar, tried to establish that subjection. The Observatine Augustinian fathers and the Franciscans made use of the means which prudence dictated, in order to quiet their scrupulous consciences. Seeing that nothing (else) was sufficient, they resigned their missions before the governor, as vice-patron, protesting that they would care for the conversion of the heathen, but that they could not keep the parochial administration of those who were converted, without the enjoyment of all their privileges. Therefore, his Excellency was forced to desist from his attempt, as he had no seculars to whom to entrust that administration. In 1654, the attempt was made to establish in Philipinas the practice recently adopted in the kingdoms of Peru and Nueva España by petition of the fiscal of the royal Audiencia. That body ordered that plan to be carried out, by a decree of October 22; and since the chapters of the two provinces of the order, the calced and discalced, were to be held in April of 55, that decree was communicated to them, with the warning that if they were not obedient they would be deprived of their missions, and the missionaries of the emoluments which had been assigned them for their suitable support. All the orders opposed that change, following logical methods in their defense, and averse to seeing the necessity of abandoning their missions. But at last, as there was no other way, the venerable fathers-provincial were reduced to handing over to the governor and bishops all the ministries in their charge, so that, as the former was the vice-patron and the latter were the ordinaries, they might appoint whomever they wished to the curacies.

That resignation was handed to the fiscal, and in view of it, in order that the most suitable provision might be made, with full knowledge, he asked that writs be made out -- first, to show how many secular clergy were in the four bishoprics; second, so that the officials of the royal treasury might attest

the amount of the stipends paid to the religious employed in the missions, and third, so that the provincials might send the names of their subordinates employed in the missions. That was ordered by a decree of May 10 in the said year 1655. It resulted that, in all, 254 religious were occupied in 252 missions; that the royal treasury only paid stipends corresponding to 141 missionaries; and that there were only 59 suitable secular priests in all the islands. The fiscal, seeing that according to the report the procedure that had been taken could not be maintained, in order to obviate the inconveniences that would ensue to the natives and inhabitants of these dominions if the religious were withdrawn from the villages, petitioned on January 4, 1656, that without innovation the orders be maintained in the missions, until it should be proved that there was a sufficient supply of secular priests to take care of them; and that they be assisted with the usual emoluments. He asked and charged the reverend fathers-provincial to look after the spiritual administration their accustomed zeal. The royal Audiencia having so ordered in toto by an act of February 17, the holy orders returned very willingly to apply their shoulders to the work. Those acts were sent to the royal Council of the Indias. The cause having been discussed there, in view of the reports of the governor (which were throughout favorable to the orders), and of the manifestos presented by the orders in justification of their rights, the documents were approved on October 23, 1666, and the result was to make no innovation in what had been decided, and it does not appear that any other decree was enacted against the observance and practice that the religious have always maintained in those Islands. Therefore the archbishop, having claimed that the appointments for the missions devolved on him by the form of canonical collation in cases where his Majesty did not make use of the privilege which belonged to him as patron; and endeavoring by that means to deprive the orders of the right which they possess of making these appointments without the intervention of his Excellency; the royal Council by a decree of September 26, 1687, ordered that the matter be continued in the form in which it had been administered until then, and that no change be permitted.

Shortly after the archbishop of Manila, Don Diego Camacho, making use of the most powerful means,

attempted to subject the religious to his approbation, visitation, and correction in officio officiando. For that purpose he had recourse to his Holiness, to whom in the year 1697, he represented that there were many religious in the islands employed in more than seven hundred parishes, who had refused and were refusing to receive the visitation and correction of the diocesans; and he asked that they be compelled to receive such visitation. Upon seeing that, his Holiness Clement XI decided (January 30, 1705) that the right of visiting the parochial regulars belonged to the said archbishop and other bishops; but he made no mention of the other points which had been referred to him, and which were also under dispute. This appears from the brief despatched in this regard. This brief having been presented in the Council of the Indias, it appears that it was confirmed on April 22 of the same year. The said archbishop ordered it to be executed (October 26, 1707) with the most strenuous efforts; but he encountered in this such dissensions and disturbances that it is considered advisable to omit the relation thereof. It was necessary to resign the ministries once more, the superiors (of the orders) protesting that they would never agree to such a subjection, and that the archbishop could make appointments to the curacies as he wished. By that means his Excellency was so balked that, the cause having been fully proved, the evidence received, and the proofs adduced to both parties, the petition introduced by the order was allowed on March 30, 1708; and it was ordered that the necessary official statements be given them. The authority of the governor was interposed extra-judicially, and he ordered that the religious should occupy the abandoned curacies, and that there should be no change. The archbishop himself, who had put forward that claim, was obliged to confess that he could not put it into practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EARLY PROVINCES

An unsigned document, written about 1618, tells of the provinces then existing in the Philippines, together with the number of residents in those provinces and the manner in which they were administered.[1]

An earlier source of information on the political and administrative divisions of the Philippines is Bishop Domingo de Salazar's Cartas de Indias (1585). According to that account, the territorial divisions of the country at that time were as follows: "city of Manila, la Panpanga, Pangasinan, Ylocos, Cagayan, Camarines, la Laguna, Bonbon y Balayan," and the following islands, "Cebu, Oton, Marinduque, Luban, Mindoro, Ymaras, Bantayan, Negros, Panay, Leyte, Bohol, Mindanao, Ybabao, Catanduanes, Masbate, Capul, Burias, Banton, Comblon (sic), Simara, Sibuyan, Isla de Tablas, Cuyo, Luban."[2]

In 1663, according to Colin,[3] the political divisions of the Philippines were: "Manila and its neighborhood (su

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1 - B. & R., vol. 18, pp. 93-106.
2 - Quoted by Retana in his edition of Zuñiga, Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, vol. 2, appendix C.
3 - Op. cit.

comarca), Balayan or Bombon, Tayabas, Camarines, Albay, Cagayan, Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Bahy (Laguna), Bulacan, and the island of Catanduanes, Masbate, Burias, Capul, Ticao, Marinduque, Mindoro, Luban, Babuyanes, Paragua, Calamianes, Cuyo, Panay, Imaras, Samar or Ibabao, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, Isla de Negros, Bantayan, Camotes, Isla de Luegos (Siquijor), Mindanao, Basilan, Jolo."

The text of the 1618 document is, in part as follows:

> The governmental district of the islands commonly called the Philippines comprises seven principal provinces, not to mention many other islands and smaller provinces within its jurisdiction. Five of these principal provinces are in the island of Luzon, which is four hundred and sixty leguas in periphery and extends about from the thirteenth to the twenty-first parallel. ...
>
> CAMARINES
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> The first of the five provinces in the island of Luzon, beginning on the eastern coast, is Camarines, which includes all the territory near the mouth of the channel of Capul. The capital of Camarines is the city of Cazeres, sixty leguas from Manila. It was settled by Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor of these islands, in fifteen hundred and seventy-four. He settled on the Vicor, a large and peaceful river, whose waters are very fresh and healthful, because it runs through many veins of gold, as do most or all of the rivers of these islands. There are in Camarines as many as twenty encomiendas, counting the four into which the island of Catanduanes (which is included in this district) is divided. The largest of these encomiendas does not contain more than fifteen hundred tributes; there are a few of one thousand; while most of them must have from seven to eight

hundred; while some have four hundred or even less. Among these people a great deal of gold was formerly obtained from the mines or placers of Paracale and from the island of Catanduanes. ... It is believed that as much gold is mined now as usually, yet it seems a small quantity; for although the Indians in general have more money than formerly obtained through /various/ sources of income, they keep back the gold to work up into chains and jewelry, with which they adorn and parade themselves freely. ...

The number of the inhabitants of this province may be but roughly estimated, as it is difficult to count them accurately. It is probable, however, that there are more than one hundred and fifty-(thousand), counting the intractable black people who live in the interior of the country. Of this number some estimate that one-fourth are Christians.

Judicial offices of the province of Camarines.- With respect to royal jurisdiction, this province has these three offices:

The alcaldia-mayor of Caseres, which is ordinarily called the alcaldia-mayor of Camarines, because Caseres is the capital of the province, and has jurisdiction over the larger and better part of it; the corregimiento of Ybalon, which is at the mouth of the channel; and the corrigimiento of the island of Catanduanes, which is also near the same channel mouth.4

THE PROVINCE OF MANILA

The second province (in the island of Luzon) and the principal one in importance and wealth, be-

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4 - Morga in the account previously cited wrote that "the islands ... are governed from Manila by means of alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, and lieutenants, each of whom rules and administers justice in his own district and province." It may be inferred from this statement that the "offices" referred to in this document were distinct and separate political and administrative units - alcaldias (provinces ruled by alcaldes-mayor) and corregimientos (administered by corregidors.)

cause of its extensive commerce and of the fact that it is in the center of the kingdom, is Manila. Within its jurisdiction are included other smaller provinces. These are the two lake provinces Bonbon and Bay; and (the most important of all Panpanga, which, at the outside, is not more than twelve leguas from Manila. ... In Panpanga your Majesty has as many as six thousand tributes in the four governmental districts and principal villages, among which are Betis, Lubao, Guagua, Mexico, and other smaller places. All the neighboring country, and particularly the royal magazines, secure their rice from the province (of Panpanga). There must be in the province of Manila forty thousand tributes belonging to private individuals, and almost twenty thousand belonging to your Majesty. There must be in all more than five hundred thousand people, of whom one-fourth are Christians. In this, however, estimates vary. The adelantado, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, settled the important city of Manila in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-one, after having lived for six years in the islands of Zubu and Panay, of which I shall speak more in detail in another place.

The judicial offices in the province of Manila.- The offices to which appointments are made in the province of Manila, not to mention the judicial officers of greater or less importance who are maintained by the city within its walls, are as follows:

The alcaldia-mayor of the Parian or alcalzeria of the Chinese; the alcaldia-mayor of the coast near this city, its capital being the town of Tondo; the alcaldia-mayor of the Lake of Manila, ordinarily called Laguna de Bay; the alcaldia-mayor of Bulacan and Calumpit, one of the two alcaldias of Panpanga; the alcaldia-mayor of Panpanga, which includes the rest of the province; the alcaldia-mayor of Balayan and Bonbon, twenty leguas from Manila; the corregimiento of Mindoro and Baco, twenty-five leguas from Manila -- which, although it is itself an island, is a division of this province for judicial and religious administration; the alcaldia-mayor of Calilaya,[5]

5 - Tayabas, now Quezon Province.

forty leguas from Manila; the corregimiento of Masbate, an island fifty leguas, or a little more, from Manila, between this island (of Luzon) and the Pintados.[6]

PANGASINAN

Next after Panpanga comes the district comprising all Sambales and Pangasinan. This, although there considered as a separate province, is under the jurisdiction of Manila in judicial and religious matters. ...

Ten thousand tributes.- There must be in Pangasinan between ten thousand and twelve thousand half-pacified tributes, two thousand belonging to his Majesty, and the rest to private individuals. The capital of this province is a place called Binabatonga.[7] It formerly contained about three thousand houses, or, according to other estimates, a greater number; but it now has only about two thousand. The province has some good ports. One is that of Agoo, commonly called "the port of Japon," because it was the first port which the Japonese occupied in these islands (when our people first saw them here). Another port is Bolinao, which is better than any other.

Judicial offices in Pangasinan.- There is only one judicial office in this province, namely, the alcaldia-mayor of Pangasinan.

THE PROVINCE OF ILOCOS

Next after Pangasinan, toward the north, on the same coast, comes the province of Ilocos, a people on

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6 - In referring to the "Province of Manila," the author must have had in mind the diocese of Manila, for there was no such province at that time having the area and jurisdiction indicated in the document. The diocese of Manila, however, embraced the alcaldias and corregimientos enumerated in the document as being comprised in the "Province of Manila."

7 - Binalatongan.

the whole more settled and tractable; and although there have been some disturbances among them, they are now very peaceable. They are well supplied with provisions, especially with rice -- a great quantity of which comes to Manila every year during February and a part of March, for at this time the winds are favorable for going from Ilocos to Manila and back again. The capital of this province is the town called Fernandina (now Vigan), which was settled by the master-of-camp Guido de Lavezares, who governed these islands in fifteen hundred and seventh-three, upon the death of the adelantado, Legazpi. This province must have between fourteen thousand and fifteen thousand tributes, which are collected without resistance. Five thousand of them belong to his Majesty, and the rest to private individuals. There used to be in it, also, a great quantity of gold but the Ygolotes Indians diminished the amount for the reason given above. This is quite noticeable.

Judicial offices of the province of Ilocos.- There is in this province only one judicial office, the alcaldia-mayor of Ilocos.

The province of Cagayan or Nueva Segobia.- After Ilocos comes the province of Cagayan, the northernmost portion of the island of Luzon, where there is a great deal of incompletely pacified country. It contains villages inhabited by a very strong and warlike people, who have given us much trouble.

Twelve thousand (tributes).- Between twelve thousand and thirteen tributes are collected in the pacified portions of the province. Fifteen hundred, or a little more, belong to his Majesty, and the rest to private individuals.

The capital of this province, is, as has been said, the city and port of Nueva Segobia, opposite and facing China and Japon, one hundred and twenty leguas from Manila. It is so near China that from Cape Bojeador, one of the points or promontories of Cagayan, it is not more than a seventy leguas' journey to the nearest towns on the coast of Cinchoo, a

maritime province of that great kingdom. The greater part of the Sangleys who come to these islands are natives of that place. ... Nueva Segobia contains the cathedral church and is the capital of the archbishopric of the province of Cagayan, just as the city of Caseres is of Camarines. There are then, in the island of Luzon, not counting the archbishopric of Manila, which is the capital of the kingdom, the two archbishorpics above mentioned. It must be noted that there are in this island many races and kinds of people, such as the Camarines, Camintanes, Tagalos, Panpangas, Sanbales, Ilocos, Cagayanes, and many others.

Judicial offices of the province of Nueva Segobia.- There is only one judicial office in Cagayan, the alcaldia-mayor of the entire province.

THE PROVINCE OF PANAY IN THE PINTADOS

The sixth province, one of those outside of Luzon, island of Panay, situated in the Pintados, one hundred leguas south of the city of Manila. It is more fertile and yields more rice and other provisions, than any other province of the kingdom except Manila. Neither is there any province relatively more densely populated, for, although it is not eighty leguas in periphery, it contains thirty thousand of the most profitable and peaceable tributes in the whole kingdom. The capital of this island is the town of Arebalo, which was settled by the adelantado Legazpi in fifteen hundred and sixty-seven, and enlarged by Don Gonzalo Ronquillo in fifteen hundred and eighty-two. It is near the village of Oton and the port of Yloylo, the most southerly port of the governmental district. For this reason, and because of the fertility of this province, it is better fitted than any other for provisioning and sending aid to the Malucas Islands and to the presidios of Terrenate. This province is on the coast of facing toward Mindanao, Maluco, and all the "islands of enemies," as the islands to the south are designated. In religious instruction and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this province is included in the bishopric of Zubu.

Judicial offices in the island of Panay.- There are in Panay three judicial offices. These are the corrigimiento of Panay and Aclan principal settlements of the island; the corregimiento of the island of Negros, which is included in the district of Panay; the alcaldia-mayor of the town of Arebalo (commonly called the alcaldia-mayor of Otong) and including the purveyor-ship -- the best and most important office of that province.

THE PROVINCE OF ZUBU AND ITS JURISDICTION

Forty leguas eastward from Oton, and one hundred and twenty leguas from the bay of Manila, is the island of Zubu. The capital of this province, as well as of all the provinces of the Pintados, is the city of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus -- celebrated throughout the kingdom, not so much on account of its good harbor as because it was the first town to submit to his Majesty; and because it is the first city which the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi settled and pacified in these islands. It is also noted because it is but half a legua from the island of Mactan, where the famous Magallanes died fighting; and more than all else on account of the holy relic, (an image) of the child Jesus, which our fathers found there, which is now at the capital city in the convent of San Agustin, and has been signalized by some miracles that have occurred there. Zubu is a small island, and it yields but few provisions, because it is rugged and mountainous. But it has an abundance of game, and secures sufficient (of other) provisions and supplies from the island and provinces under its jurisdiction. These are: Leyte, Camar, Ybabao, Bohol, and many other islands of lesser importance, besides that part of the island of Mindanao opposite Zubu which was formerly at peace -- that is, all the country along the Butuan River, forty leguas from Zubu, and the coasts of Surigao, Dapitan, and Caragas, a little further from Zubu. ...

Judicial offices of the province of Zubu; three.- Returning to the province of Zubu, from which I have been diverted by a discussion of the affairs of Minda-

nao, I may say that there are three judicial offices here. They are the alcaldia-mayor of Zubu, which is the principal office in the province; the corregimiento of the islands of Leyte, Camar, and Babao; and the corregimiento of Botuan, which is the portion of the island of Mindanao that used to be peaceful.

Summary of the tributes -- 160,000. Each tribute consists of a man and wife.

I wrote this in Manila, in 1618, to give to Governor D. Pedro de Bivero.

CHAPTER SIX

SPANISH COMMERCIAL POLICY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

1. Laws Regarding Navigation and Commerce

The following are summaries of some of the laws enacted by the Council of the Indies "concerning the navigation and commerce of the Philippines, China, Nueva España, and Peru." They are taken from the Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, lib. IX, tit. XXXV. From them one may get a good idea of the character and tendencies of Spanish commercial policy toward the Philippines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

LAW XXXV

> It having been committed to, and charged upon, the Governor and captain-general of the Filipinas that he should endeavor to introduce, in the exchange and barter for the merchandise of China, trade in other products of those islands, in order to avoid, when possible, the withdrawal of the great sums of reals which are taken to foreign kingdoms, the governor executed it in the form and manner that he considered most fitting; and a method called pancada was introduced, which has been observed and executed

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1 - B. & R., vol. XVII, pp. 27-50. The laws here enumerated were included in Title 45, not Title 35, as erroneously stated in Blair & Robertson.

until now. It is our will that that method be observed and kept, without any change, until we order otherwise. (Felipe II - Añover, August 9, 1589; Toledo, January 25, 1596).

LAW LXVI

We order that a duty be collected on the first and subsequent sales of all the merchandise shipped from Filipinas to Acapulco, and the pesos per tonelada on freight according to custom; for this sum and much more is needed to pay the troops, and equip the vessels that engage in commerce. In this there shall be no innovation. (Felipe II -- Añover, August 9, 1589).

LAW V

We ordain and order that there shall be no permission to trade or traffic between Peru, Tierra-Firme, Guatemala, or any other parts of the Indias, and China or the Filipinas Islands, even though it be by license of the viceroys, audiencias, governors, or magistrates, under penalty of confiscation of the merchandise that shall be shipped. The masters and pilots shall also incur the confiscation of all their property and ten years in the galleys. (Felipe II -- San Lorenzo, December 18, and February 6, 1591.)

LAW VI

It is our will that the trade and commerce of the Filipinas Islands with Nueva España be carried on for the present as ordained. Under no consideration shall the amount of merchandise shipped annually from those islands to Nueva España exceed two hundred and fifty thousand eight-real pieces, nor the return of principal and profits in money, the five hundred thousand pesos which are permitted -- under no pretext, cause, or argument that can be advanced, which is not expressed by a law of this titulo; and the traders shall necessarily be citizens of the Fi-

lipinas, as is also ordained. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593, Felipe III - December 31, 1604; Madrid, May 4, 1619; Lisboa, September 14, 1619).

LAW LXIV

It is advisable for our service to have constant records on what passes in the trade and commerce between the Filipinas and Nueva España, in order to ascertain and discover whether it continues to increase, and what kinds of merchandise are traded, their prices, and in what money or material. Accordingly we order the viceroys of Nueva España to send to our royal Council of the Indias in each trading fleet, a copy of the registers that the ships brought from those islands, and also of those of the ships sent thither; and all shall be made with great distinctness and clearness. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 17, 1593; and Toledo, June 9, 1596.)

LAW LXVIII

We declare and order that the Chinese merchandise and articles which have been and shall be shipped from Filipinas to Nueva España, can and shall be consumed there only, or shipped to these kingdoms after paying the duties. They cannot be taken to Peru, Tierra-Firme, or any other part of the Indias, under penalty of confiscation of all those found and apprehended in the possession of any person whatever, and shall be applied to our exchequer, the judge, and the denouncer. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593; Felipe IV -- Madrid, February 10, 1635).

LAW I

Inasmuch as it is advisable to avoid trade between the West Indias and China, and regulate that of Filipinas, as it has increased considerably, thus causing the decrease of that of these kingdoms; therefore, we prohibit, forbid, and order, that no person of the natives or residents of Nueva España, or any

other part of the Indias trade or be allowed to trade in the Filipinas Islands. Should anyone do so, he shall lose the merchandise with which he shall trade, and it shall be applied, one-third each, to our royal exchequer, the denouncer, and the judge who shall sentence him. In order to show favor to the citizens and inhabitants (of Filipinas) and that that trade may be preserved to sufficient extent, we consider it best that they alone may trade with Nueva España, in the manner ordained by the other laws, with this provision, that they convey their goods, or send them with persons who shall come from the said islands. They cannot send them by way of commission or in any other form to those who actually reside in Nueva España, in order to avoid the frauds of consigning them to other persons -- unless it be because of the death of those who should come with the goods from the said islands; for in such case it can be done. And we also order that the inhabitants of Filipinas cannot consign their merchandise to generals, commanders, captains, officials, soldiers, or sailors of the vessels of that commerce, or of any other vessels, even though these be inhabitants of the said islands as well as the persons above mentioned. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593. Felipe IV -- Madrid, February 10, 1635).

LAW XXXIV

We order and command that no person trade or traffic in the kingdoms or in any part of China, and that no goods be shipped from that kingdom to the Filipinas Islands on the account of the merchants of those islands. The Chinese themselves shall convey their goods at their own account and risk, and sell them there by wholesale. The governor and captain-general with the council of the city of Manila shall annually appoint two or three persons, whom they shall deem best fitted, to appraise the value and worth of the merchandise, and shall take the goods at wholesale from the Chinese, to whom they shall pay the price. Then they shall distribute it among all the citizens and natives of those islands, in accordance with their capital, so that they may all share in the interest and profit that arises from this traffic and

trade. The persons thus appointed shall keep a book, in which they shall enter the amount of money invested each time, the price at which each class of merchandise is valued, among what persons the merchandise is divided, and the amount that falls to the share of each. The governor shall take particular pains to ascertain and discover how the said deputies make use of their commission. He shall not allow them to be rechosen the following year. He shall send annually a report, signed by them, of all the aforesaid to our council, and another to the viceroy of Nueva España. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593).

LAW XV

From Nueva España to Filipinas only two vessels can sail annually, up to three hundred toneladas' burden. In them shall be carried the reenforcements of men and supplies, and they shall bear a permit. For this purpose there shall be three ships, one of which shall remain in readiness at the port of Acapulco, while the other two make the voyage. For the security of the voyage, those who go on account of our royal treasury shall endeavor to see that the cost be drawn from the freights. From Nueva España not more than two hundred and fifty thousand pesos de tipusque shall be taken in the vessels during any one year. Whatever above that amount is taken shall be confiscated and applied in three equal parts to the exchequer, the judge, and the denouncer. We order the governor of Filipinas to inspect the ships when they reach port, and execute the penalty. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593. Felipe III - Valladolid, December 31, 1604).

LAW XLIV

The apportionment of the permitted amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, conceded to the inhabitants of the Filipinas Islands, must be made among them, and the whole amount must be registered. Endeavor shall be made to have less than one third part

return in gold; and the governor shall prevent and take precautions against any fraud or deceit, and shall take what measures he deems expedient. This also we charge upon the viceroy of Nueva España in whatever pertains to him. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593.)

LAW LXXI

We order and command, that under no consideration in any manner can any ship go from the province of Peru, Tierra-Firme, Guatemala, Nueva España, or any other part of our Western Indias, to China to trade or traffic, or for any other purpose; nor can any ship go to the Filipinas Islands, except from Nueva España, in accordance with the laws of this titulo: under penalty of the confiscation of the ship; and its value, money, merchandise, and other things of its cargo shall be sent to these kingdoms in accordance with law 67 of this titulo, and thus it shall be executed. We prohibit and forbid any merchandise being taken from Nueva España to the provinces of Peru and Tierra-Firme, that shall have been taken there from Filipinas, even if the duties should be paid according to the rules and ordinances; for it is our purpose and will that no goods shipped from China and the Filipinas Islands be consumed in the said provinces of Peru and Tierra-Firme. Whatever shall be found in the possession of any person, we order to be confiscated, applied, and regulated, as contained in this law. (Felipe II -- Madrid, January 11, 1593, and July 5, 1595. Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604.)

LAW XXVIII

The viceroys, presidents, and auditors, and all other officers of justice shall make efforts to find all those who shall have been sent to Filipinas to reside during the time of their obligation, who have remained in Nueva España and other parts of their jurisdiction, and shall force them with all rigor to go to reside in those islands, proceeding against their persons and properties and executing the penalties that they shall have incurred. The

fiscals of our Audiencia in Manila shall plead what is advisable in regard to the aforesaid. (Felipe II -- Madrid, February 20, 1596.)

LAW LIV

We order that the governors of Filipinas shall not allow slaves to be sent to Nueva España as a business transaction or for any other reason - except that, when the governor goes there, his successor may give him permission to take as many as six slaves with him; to each of the auditors who shall make the voyage, four; and to other respected persons, merchants with capital, and officials of our royal treasury who go and do not return, two. We order the viceroy, alcalde-mayor and officials of Acapulco, to see to the fulfillment and execution of this law, and to confiscate the slaves in excess of this number. (Felipe II -- Madrid, April 10, 1597).

LAW XL

We order that there be but one commander and one lieutenant (who shall be admiral) for the two ships from Filipinas to Nueva España; that each ship shall take no more than one military captain, besides the ship master and as many as fifty effective and useful soldiers in each ship with pay, and the sailors necessary to make the voyage properly each way - who shall be efficient and examined - and one pilot and assistant to each ship; for both ships one purser (veedor) and accountant. All appointments to the said posts shall be made by the governor and captain-general alone, without the intervention of the archbishop, or of any other person, notwithstanding what shall have been provided to the contrary. We order that choice be made from among the most respected and influential inhabitants of those islands, and of those most suitable for the said offices and the duties that the appointees must exercise. If they shall not be such the matter shall be made an article in the governor's residencia. (Felipe III -- Barcelona, June 15, 1599; Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608; Madrid, May 23, 1620.)

LAW XXXIX

Since there are skilled and examined pilots for the Filipinas line, those who are not such shall not be admitted in our ships and other craft. (Felipe III -- Valencia, December 31, 1603.)

LAW LXXVI

We charge and order the viceroys of Peru to see that all the ordinances in regard to the prohibition of Chinese stuffs be fulfilled and executed exactly. For their execution and fulfillment, they shall appoint an auditor of our royal Audiencia of Los Reyes, in whom they can place entire confidence. They shall see that he proceeds thoroughly and executes the penalties with the required rigor, without any dispensation. The auditor shall privately try these cases in the said city and its districts in so far as he shall have cause to invoke the law; and all other justices in their territories shall do the same. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604).

LAW XXIX

Inasmuch as the majority of those going annually from Nueva España to Filipinas do not stop there, but return immediately, after investing their money; therefore, we order the viceroy of Nueva España to permit no one to go to Filipinas, unless he give bonds that he will become a citizen and live there for more than eight years, or unless he be sent as a soldier to the governor. On those who violate this, and their bondsmen, shall be executed the penalties that they incur, without pardon. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604).

LAW LXIX

In the vessels that we shall permit to sail from Peru to Nueva España and the port of Acapulco or from Nueva España to Peru and its ports, no quantity of Chinese stuffs can be laden, sold, bought,

or exchanged, even though it may be reported to be gratuitously as a gift or charity, or for the service of divine worship, or in any other quality or form, in order that the prohibition may not be evaded by such pretexts and frauds. In case that any shall be convicted of the above as chief factors, associates, or particulars, or of aiding or giving advice, they shall, besides the confiscation of their goods and boat, incur on their persons the civil and criminal penalties imposed on those who handle contraband goods, and of perpetual banishment, and deprivation of the post that they shall have obtained from us in the Indias. In regard to the above we charge the conscience and care of our servants. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604 (?); San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608 (?); clauses 16 and 17.)

LAW LXX

If any quantity whatever of Chinese stuffs be found in any boat sailing from Nueva España to Peru or in the opposite direction, the inspector, royal officials, and the other persons who take part in the register and inspection shall be considered as perpetrators and offenders in the crime; so that, taking example from them, others may abstain from similar transgressions. The captains, masters, boatswains, and other officers whose duties extend to the management of vessels, shall also be considered as offenders and accomplices. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604 (?); San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608 (?); clause 18.)

LAW LXXVIII

Permission was given for two ships to go to Nueva España annually from Peru for commerce and trade to the value of two hundred thousand ducados; which was afterward reduced to one ship, with certain conditions. And inasmuch as the trade in Chinese stuffs has increased to excessive proportions in Peru, notwithstanding so many prohibitions expedient to our royal service, the welfare and utility of the public cause, and the commerce of these and those kingdoms;

and a final decision of the viceroy, Conde de Chinchon, having preceded, and a vote of the treasury to suppress absolutely any opportunity for this trade; therefore we order and command the viceroys of Peru and Nueva España to prohibit and suppress, without fail, this commerce and trade between both kingdoms, by all the ways and means possible, and that it be not carried on by any other regions, for we by this present prohibit it. This prohibition shall be kept strictly and shall continue to be so kept. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, June 20, 1609; Madrid, March 28, 1620, clause 1. Felipe IV -- Madrid, November 25, 1634; Madrid, March 29, 1636, a clause of a letter to the Conde de Chinchon.)

LAW XLII

We order and command that the generals, captains, agents, and officials of the Filipinas ships give bonds, to what sum the governor and captain-general shall deem best, for the greater security of what shall be in their charge. They shall give their residencia of each voyage before the auditors of our royal Audiencia of Manila and shall render satisfaction in the aforesaid. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604; Madrid, May 23, 1620. Carlos II (in this Recopilación) - 1681, the date of first edition of Recopilación de leyes.)

LAW LXXIV

We order the viceroys of Nueva España to maintain very special care of the observance and execution of the ordinances for the commerce of the Filipinas line, established by the laws of this titulo; and to keep at the port of Acapulco, in addition to the royal officials who shall be there, a person of great honesty and trustworthiness, with the title of alcalde-mayor, so that everything be done with very great caution, and justice be observed. He shall not permit more silver to be taken to Filipinas than what conceded by these laws, with or without license. (Felipe III - Valladolid, December 31, 1604.)

LAW LX

The registers of all shipments from Filipinas shall be opened in the port of Acapulco, by the person to whom the viceroy of Nueva España entrusts it, and the officials of our royal treasury of the said port. They together shall examine and investigate the bales and boxes, and shall make as close and careful an examination as shall be necessary to discover what may have come outside of the register and permission. They shall send the registers to Mejico, as has been the custom, with all investigations made at the port of Acapulco, by a sufficiently trustworthy person, or by one of our said officials. In Mejico everything shall be again investigated, and the duties appertaining to us shall be appraised and collected; and all other investigations requisite to ascertain and discover what has come unregistered shall be made. All that shall have been sent without register and in violation of the prohibition shall be confiscated. No permission shall be given by this means, pretext, and occasion, to cause any unreasonable injury to the owners of the goods. (Felipe III -- Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608; clause 11.)

LAW IX

We declare that in the five hundred thousand pesos granted by permission (to be sent) from Nueva España to Filipinas, must and shall be entered the amounts of legacies, bequests, and charities (obras pias), with the wrought silver and all other things carried thither; and nothing shall be reserved, except the pay of the sailors, as is ordered by the following law. (Felipe III - San Lorenzo, August 18, 1606.)

LAW X

We grant permission to the sailors serving on the trading ships between Nueva España and Filipinas to carry in money the actual and exact sum of their pay, in addition to the general permission. Thus

shall the viceroys of Nueva España provide, unless they perceive some considerable objection. They shall see to it that the said sailors or other persons shall not be allowed to exceed the amount permitted by this law. (Felipe III -- San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606.)

LAW XVIII

The cargo of the ships of the line, on both outward and return trips between Nueva España and Filipinas, shall be stowed in the forehold; and only the sea stores, the sailors' and mess chests, the rigging, sails, and all the necessities, between decks. Likewise rigging shall be taken to the port of Acapulco, in consideration of the fact that the city of Manila has it at cheaper rates than the port of Acapulco - whither it is carried from San Juan de Ulua at very great cost and expense. We order this to be so executed, providing there is no inconvenience; and if there should be any, we shall be advised in order to provide the advisable measures. (Felipe III -- San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.)

2. Memorial of Juan Grao y Monfalcon on Philippine Trade

In 1635, Juan Grao Monfalcon memorialized the King on the conditions and needs of the Philippines. His "Memorial" is a valuable source of information on the trade and commerce of the Philippines in the early part of the seventeenth century. Pertinent portions of the document are the following:[1]

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1 - B. & R., vol. XXV, pp. 48-51; 52-59.

Don Juan Grao y Monfalcon, procurator-general for the distinguished and loyal city of Manila, the metropolis and capital of the Filipinas Islands, declares that the preservation and protection of these islands are of the utmost consideration and importance, and deserve the most careful attention, on account of the great advantages and profits which they afford - to say nothing of the principal consideration, namely, the service of God, and the propagation of religion and the Catholic faith. In the aforesaid city and in the other islands that faith is established, and will steadily become stronger, increasing and spreading not only among those but other and neighboring islands. This is especially true in Great China and Japon, which from continual intercourse and friendly relations with the said Filipinas Islands may - if the Christian faith is preserved and permanently maintained in the latter, and as deeply rooted and as pure and constant as at present - look, in the said matter of religion, for felicitous and great results. The same /may be said/ for what concerns the service of your Majesty, and the profitable and advantageous increase of the royal estate, since even the profits which your Majesty at present enjoys and possesses in the said city and the other islands are many, and of great importance. For in one village alone, which they call Parian, an arquebus-shot from the said city /of Manila/, more than twenty thousand Chinese Indians called Sangleys, and in the other islands over ten thousand more, have all come from Great China and Japon for their own private affairs and interests. It is they who build up and maintain the greater part of the traffic and commerce of the islands. From that result the trade with Nueva España, and the ships which sail thither annually, laden with many different kinds of merchandise (carried /to Manila/ and bartered by said Sangleys) - such as much gold (wrought, and in sheets); diamonds, rubies, and other gems, besides a great quantity of pearls; many silk textiles of all colors - taffetas, damasks, satins, silk grograms, and velvets - and raw silk; a quantity of white and black cotton cloth; amber, civet, musk, and storax. Thence arises annually great gain to the royal treasury, on account of the many considerable duties which are paid and collected - both when the ships leave the said city of Manila,

and their islands and ports, and in that of Acapulco; and later, when they enter Nueva España and the City of Mexico. There, when the ships leave for the said Filipinas, the duties are doubled, as well as in the said port of Acapulco, by those duties anew incurred and paid, the /trade of the/ said Sangleys being a great part in this receipt /adquisicion/. Of no less consideration is the tribute which the Sangleys pay to the royal treasury for their license, and right of entrance and residence in the said village of the Parían, and in the other islands where they reside. Since the said Sangleys number thirty /thousand/, they pay in most years an annual sum of two hundred and seventy thousand reals of eight (which means nine reals of eight for each license), which are placed in the royal treasury. In the islands of Pintados and other islands which belong to the said Filipinas, there are one hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and seventeen Indians, all paying tribute to the royal treasury. Their conservation is very necessary, as they are no longer wild and are excellent workmen, and for that reason are people of utility and profit for any occasion that may arise - especially as there are also many gold mines in the said islands, whence is obtained a quantity of gold. There are also other fruits of the land in great abundance, especially wax, cotton, large cattle, swine, fowls, rice, and civet, besides other innumerable products and means of gain. All of this tells and publishes the great importance of the said city and its islands, and of their preservation; and the many incomparable wrongs which would follow if the said city, the capital of the others, were to become depopulated, ruined, or destroyed. It is very near to that, because of the great and continual misfortunes and disasters which the inhabitants of it have suffered and are suffering, caused by fires that have destroyed almost the entire city and the property of the said inhabitants, and the shipwreck and loss of many different vessels, which have been miserably wrecked during the usual voyage from the said city to Nueva España; with the destruction of the goods and wealth of the said inhabitants which are carried in the ships. The effects from so many and so large losses last and will last always; for those losses have ruined and impoverished the inhabitants to a degree very dif-

ferent from what one can imagine and explain. Consequently, if the generosity, magnificence, and powerful hand of your Majesty do not protect it, one can and must fear the very certain ruin and destruction of the said city and of the other islands, which are under its government and protection. ...

Although the said city and its inhabitants have been and are always very careful and vigilant (as is very well known), defending, at the cost of their lives and goods, the land from the incessant bombardments, surprises, and attacks of the said Dutch, with the forced obligation of very generally keeping their arms in readiness all the time; enduring a servile life full of annoyance and danger, although they could leave it, and it would be better and more worth living if it were less grievous, and free from so many dangers and difficulties: nevertheless they endure them, in consideration of the service of your Majesty, and in continuation of the many services which they have rendered in the defense and preservation of that country; and hoping that the greatness and liberality of your Majesty will protect and relieve them, so that they may accomplish their purpose better. Particularly do they ask that you order to be repealed the collection of the two per cent, the imposition of which was ordered by a decree of the former year six hundred and four on the merchandise exported from the said islands to the said Nueva España, in addition to the three per cent paid on them by the merchants of the said city - which heard and received notice of the said royal decree in the year of six hundred and seven, while Don Rodrigo de Vibero was governor. At that time the decree was not made effective or fulfilled, as the difficulty and great disadvantages that accompany it were recognized. Consequently, it remained in that condition until the year six hundred and eleven, when the collection of the said duty was again charged to Governor Don Juan de Sirva [i.e., Silva]. He, trying to carry out its provisions, recognized the same difficulties, for the many reasons advanced by the city, which were so just and relevant that they obliged him to call a treasury council. Having there discussed and conferred upon those reasons, and it having been seen that they were so urgent and necessary that they strictly prevented and ought to prevent

the execution of the said royal decree of 604, he suspended it for the time being, giving your Majesty notice /thereof/. The decree remained in this condition until the year six hundred and twenty-five, in which the royal officials again discussed the matter of the collection of the said two per cent, during the government of Don Fernando de Silva. He, recognizing the same obstacles, and that those obstacles were much greater then because of the worse condition and the notable change and damage to which the affairs of the said city had come - the property, traffic, and means of gain of its inhabitants - which a great reduction and difference from that which they had in the said year of six hundred and seven, concurred with what had been provided by his predecessor, the said Don Juan de Silva, and ordered that no innovation be made in it. The same was done by the governor who succeeded him, Don Juan Niño de Tabora. Thus, the said governors, as each confronted the matter, always came to see very plainly the said difficulties, which at present are not only of the abovementioned character, but are impossible to overcome because of the condition of affairs, the poverty of the inhabitants, and the great decrease and diminution of the trade and commerce of former times. That is given more prominence by the efforts of the visitor, Licentiate Don Francisco de Rojas, who made strenuous efforts to have the collection of the two per cent carried out. Nevertheless, he saw with his own eyes the said disadvantages that resulted from the said collection. One of them was the resolution of the inhabitants not to export their goods and merchandise; nor could they do so, because of the great losses, both past and present, which they have encountered. This is the greatest damage that can happen to the royal treasury; for if the export and commerce ceases, not only will the said two per cent be lacking, but also the old three per cent which has always been paid, as well as the other three per cent which was lately imposed upon the merchandise which the Chinese Indians bring to the said city and the Filipinas Islands. Accordingly, if the commerce of the islands with Nueva España fails, it is certain and infallible that that of the said Chinese, which forms the whole export to Nueva España, will also fail.

Therefore, the said visitor, notwithstanding the great desire which he showed of putting the said collection into execution, did not dare to do it; but considered it better to suspend it, and report to your Majesty. Although he tried to have it collected as a voluntary service for the future, the citizens, seeing their great lack of wealth, could not conform to that measure, although for that time only they gave a subsidy of four thousand pesos, on condition that it should not serve as a precedent for the future, and that there should be no further talk of the said collection /of the said two per cent/ until, after your Majesty had examined it, a suitable decision should be adopted. ...

PART THREE

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. SPAIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In Spain a new dynastic era began at the opening of the eighteenth century. The Hapsburg dynasty came to an end with the death of Charles II in October, 1700. A new dynasty, the Bourbon, took over the reins of power. The first ruler of the new dynasty was Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV of France. He ascended the throne of Spain as Philip V.[1]

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1 - Philip was related by blood to the Spanish Hapsburgs. His grandmother, Maria Teresa, wife of Louis XIV, was the daughter of Philip IV of Spain, and an elder sister of Charles II.

Shortly after the death of Charles II, Louis XIV, in a gathering of notables in his palace at Versailles, formally presented his grandson as King of Spain. Jose O. Rubio, in his Historia de España, Ch. 1, vol. 5, relates that on that occasion, Louis XIV addressed the gathering in these words:

"Gentlemen: Here you have the king of Spain. The accidents of birth have called him to this throne; Spain wishes him to be her king and has asked me for it with earnestness. I accede to it with pleasure, complying thereby with the will of Divine Providence."

The eighteenth century was covered in its entirety by the reigns of the first four Bourbon kings: Philip V, who ruled from 1700 to 1746; Ferdinand VI, 1746-1759; Charles III, 1759-1788, and Charles IV, 1788-1808. It was a turbulent period for Spain. Throughout the greater part of that period wars raged in Europe in which Spain became involved with disastrous and ruinous results to herself.

Shortly after the accession of Philip V, the first of these European conflicts began, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713). As the name denotes, the immediate cause of the war was the question of succession to the Spanish throne. This question rose to the proportions of a major international problem for involved in it was the issue of the balance of power in Europe. Two of the claimants

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Then turning to Philip, Louis, according to the same author, continued:

"Be a good Spaniard: this is from this moment your primary duty. You should bear in mind, however, that you are born a Frenchman. It is your mission to preserve the union of Spain and France, as a means of making them happy and of assuring the peace of Europe."

Rubio goes on to say that the Spanish ambassador approached Philip, kissed his hand, and, overwhelmed with emotion, exclaimed:

"What a happy moment! Now there are no more Pyrenees! They have been levelled to the ground and we now form but one nation."

to the Spanish throne were Louis XIV of France and Emperor Leopold I of Austria.[2] Whoever would win the right of succession would greatly enhance his power, position and prestige in Europe and thereby would upset the European balance of power.

Bringing to bear all the force and weight of his influence, Louis XIV succeeded in securing the selection of his grandson, Louis Philip, as heir to the Spanish throne. The bringing of Spain with her vast interests and possessions in Europe and the Indias under the control of France was viewed by England as a serious threat to the peace of Europe and to her own security. The French action, therefore, combined with other acts of Louis XIV, which England considered hostile and unfriendly towards herself, brought on the War of the Spanish Succession.

The war was ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Under the terms of the Treaty, Spain ceded Gibraltar and the island of Minorca to England. Besides, she was forced

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2 - Louis XIV's claim was based on strong grounds of close blood relationship. His mother, Anna, was an elder daughter of Philip III of Spain. Besides, his wife, Maria Teresa, was a Spanish Hapsburg, an elder daughter of Philip IV. Leopold I had equally valid reasons in support of his claim. Like Louis XIV, he was a grandson of Philip III of Spain. His mother, Maria Anna, was a younger daughter of Philip III. Also, like Louis XIV, he was a son-in-law of Philip IV. His first wife, Margaret Theresa, was a younger daughter of Philip IV.

to grant certain commercial concessions to the British in Spanish America. Known as the asiento, the privileges acquired by the British under the Treaty of Utrecht were: (1) the exclusive right to supply African slaves to Spain's colonies in the New World, and (2) the right to send one trading ship a year of 500 tons to Spanish America.

These results of the War affected adversely Spain's vital interests. The loss of Gibraltar was a serious blow to her power and prestige in Europe for it deprived her of a portion of her own territory, whose location at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea had great strategic importance. And, the granting of the asiento meant that her long established monopoly of the trade of her American colonies was broken and that her commercial supremacy in Spanish America was threatened and endangered.

The situation arising in Spain as a result of the War of Spanish Succession may explain the sudden change in the trend of Spain's policy towards the Manila Acapulco trade in the years immediately following the conclusion of the war. This development was brought about by royal decrees promulgated in 1718 and 1720. Under these decrees, limitations were placed upon the trade between the Philippines and Nueva España which would, in fact, virtually put that trade out

of existence. Considering the fact that, only a few years before (1702), the Spanish Government in a spirit of liberality, allowed an increase in the volume and value of the trade of the Philippines with Nueva España, the reason for the enactment of the legislation of 1718 and 1720 was quite difficult to understand. It would seem, however, that the restrictions were intended to offset the losses which the merchants in Spain expected they would incur as a result of the concessions Spain was forced to make under the Treaty of Utrecht. In its anxiety to protect and safeguard the interests of these merchants, the Spanish Government was constrained to act in the way it did, though in doing so, it would sacrifice the interests of those in the Philippines who engaged in the Manila-Acapulco trade.

For nearly thirty years after the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, there was peace for Spain. The period, however, was marked by a series of controversies and misunderstandings with England growing out of alleged abuses by British traders of privileges granted to them by the Treaty of Utrecht. Spanish war vessels patrolled the high seas in an effort to enforce strictly the provisions of the treaty, stopping and searching British vessels suspected of engaging in contraband trade. Continued disputes over freedom of

navigation on the high seas as well as over British rights in Spanish America under the Treaty of Utrecht finally brought on war between Spain and England in 1739. The conflict soon involved other European nations and finally developed into a full scale European war.

The War of the Austrian Succession (1744-48), as this war came to be known, was terminated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The war was indecisive in its results. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle proved to be merely a temporary respite for the leading European contenders. Matters were arranged on the basis of the principle, status quo ante bellum. As for Spain, the war brought neither honor nor glory. On the contrary, the net results proved quite disadvantageous to her for she was forced to agree to an extension of the asiento privileges for the years that were interrupted by the war.

Ferdinand VI ascended the throne of Spain in the midst of the War of the Austrian Succession. He followed the course laid out for Spain by his predecessor, but, as soon as the war was over, he decided to adopt a new course in matters of foreign policy. Peaceful by temperament and inclinations, Ferdinand wanted Spain to keep away from the quarrels and rivalries of European nations. He believed

that the needs and interests of Spain at that time demanded strict adherence to such a policy. When, therefore, the Seven Years War broke out in Europe in 1756, the Spanish government in line with this policy, declared itself neutral. This war was the decisive conflict in the long standing rivalry between England and France for colonial and maritime supremacy. Ferdinand, up to the time of his death in 1759, adhered faithfully to his policy of neutrality.

Ferdinand's successor, however, Charles III, his half-brother, did not choose to remain neutral in the conflict. In 1761, he concluded a "family compact" with the Bourbon King of France which virtually made Spain a belligerent in the war then in progress.

At the time Charles III decided to enter the war, it was no longer uncertain how that war would finally end. In Europe, France was decidedly on the losing side. In America, the fate of the French colonial empire had been sealed by Wolfe's victory over Montcalm on the plains of Quebec (1759). While in India, British successes over their French rivals at Plassey (1757), at Masulipatan and Wandiwash (1758), and at Pondicherry (1761) had established definitely England's supremacy there. Charles III, therefore, entered the war at a most inopportune moment, thereby

placing at serious risk Spain's vital interests. His decision was, to say the least, quite reckless and ill-advised. He placed his bets on a losing horse.

As a result of Spain's joining the war, military operations were extended to the Philippines. A British expeditionary force from India took Manila in October 1762 and occupied the city and its environs for the duration of the war. At the Paris peace conference, England chose to restore Manila to Spain. British statesmen, for reasons of their own, decided to return Manila, together with Havana, Cuba, to Spain and to get, in lieu of these, Spanish Florida.

In the period of the American Revolution (1775-1783), new diplomatic problems arose for Spain. At this time, however, the ministers of Charles III acted with greater caution and prudence in dealing with problems of foreign policy. The revolt of England's American colonies was viewed as offering a splendid opportunity for Spain to recover the possessions she previously lost to England, particularly Gibraltar, Florida, and Jamaica. On the other hand, due consideration was given to the possible adverse effects upon Spain's interests in America of a successful outcome of the American Revolution. In dealing, therefore, with the diplomatic questions growing out of the

American Revolution, the advisers of Charles III, taking into account these considerations, were not inclined to act hastily. This was so particularly in connection with the question of Spanish recognition of American independence. In 1777 Grimaldi, Spanish foreign minister, turned down a proposal for an alliance with the United States on the basis of Spanish recognition of American independence. Grimaldi's successor, Floridablanca (1777-1792), endeavored to get back from England Gibraltar as well as Florida and Jamaica through diplomatic pressure. He threatened to intervene in the conflict which had arisen between France and England as a result of France's concluding of a treaty of alliance with the United States (1778). In so doing, Floridablanca expected that England would try to buy off Spanish intervention by ceding Gibraltar or by giving some other valuable concession. By such a move, Spain might attain her objectives without going to war. England, however, ignored Spain's threats, whereupon the latter, backed by a new French alliance, declared war on England (1779). In joining France in the war against England, however, Spain made no commitments regarding recognition of American independence. She was interested mainly in the recovery of Jamaica and Gibraltar. She failed, however, to get these

back from England, although she recovered under the peace treaty (1783), Florida.

The reign of Charles III was marked by the ascendancy in Spain of new ideas and tendencies in Spanish commercial policy. Shortly after the termination of the Seven Years War, Spain inaugurated a plan whereby direct trade could be established between Spain and the Philippines by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Annual trips were to be made by vessels of the royal navy as a means of fostering trade between Spain and the Philippines. In 1785, the arrangement was discontinued only to give way to a more ambitious plan. That year, the Royal Company of the Philippines (Real Compañia de Filipinas) was organized. The Company was patterned after the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company, which had contributed much to the success of Holland and England respectively in their commercial and colonial ventures in the East. The Royal Company was expected to accomplish for Spain what the East India Companies had done for their respective countries.

Charles III was succeeded by his son, Charles IV (1788-1808). Charles IV came to the Spanish throne on the eve of the French Revolution. The Revolution overthrew the ancient regime in France and set up a new political and

social order based on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The French Revolution gave rise to a succession of events of far reaching significance in European history. The complications which these events created eventually involved Spain and, incidentally, Spain's dominions in America and the Far East.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MANILA-ACAPULCO TRADE

Montero y Vidal in his Historia General de Filipinas (Madrid, 1887), gives a brief survey of the commercial history of the Philippines. In the following passages, the author tells some of the important incidents in the history of the Manila-Acapulco trade.[1]

> In the early years of Spanish rule the Philippines traded with Japan, Cambodia, Siam, the Moluccas and the Malay Archipelago. A few years after, with the opening of commerce with America and Europe, the volume of trade considerably increased and the commercial relations of this country extended to India and the regions around the Persian Gulf.
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> Manila became the entrepot of Oriental goods which the galleons carried to Nueva España destined for the port Natividad, and, after 1602, for the port of Acapulco.
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> The merchants of Nueva España and Peru, seeing the advantages of the trade with the Philippines and the favorable reception in Spain of Asiatic manufactures, gave such marked preference for Asiatic commodities that the European trade began to decline, thus giving rise to loud protests on the part of the merchants of Cadiz and Sevilla, who had been accus-

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tomed to monopolize the commerce of America, going so far as to propose the abandonment of the colony, in order that the "silver from the realms of H. M. may not fall into the hands of idolaters."

In order to stop these complaints, a royal order was promulgated forbidding the merchants of Nueva España and Peru to obtain, directly or through agents in Manila, Chinese commodities, and allowing only natives of the Philippinas to send articles of China to America, in two galleons of 300 tons each. The decree moreover limited the value of the cargo, which the galleons could carry to Nueva España, to 250,000 pesos annually for the outgoing voyage and 500,000 pesos, for the return trip, rigorous penalty being prescribed for the violation of these provisions. It is interesting to note the reason for these restrictions as alleged by the cedula of January 11, 1593: (Law I, tit. 45, book 9 of the Recopilación. Also Law VI of the same title and book.)

"Because it is necessary to hinder the trade of the West Indies with China and to moderate that of the Philippines whose trade with those realms has increased so much," which shows so well the spirit of that age.

This cedula, which was obnoxious first of all to the authorities who were charged with its enforcement, was not rigorously observed until 1605, and this led the Manila merchants to assign on the invoices values which were much lower than the real price.

Having been informed that the galleons were carrying more than what was allowed, and exasperated by the apparent competition which the commerce with the Philippines presented against their interests, the merchants of Cadiz and Sevilla secured in 1635, the appointment of D. Pedro Quiroga as special commissioner, to proceed to Nueva España and to investigate the alleged infractions.

This official fulfilled his mission with such severity and excessive zeal that the traffic diminished considerably, with the result that for some

time there was no cargo for the galleons.[2] In 1637 only a single tender left, despatched on the account of the conde-duque de Olivares, who enjoyed the privilege of taking part in this trade up to the value of 150,000 duros, and, according to information, the commissioner acted less rigorously with respect to the vessel.

The discontent of the people of Manila was great as it was just, inasmuch as they depended for their living on that commerce. In a respectful and well-reasoned exposition to the court, they presented their complaints, and obtained, September 30, 1639, an order for the abandonment of the registering, weighing and measuring of the goods embarked on the Acapulco galleon, except on a positive information that the merchandise exceeded in value the limit fixed by law; but the traffic had by that time somewhat debilitated by reason of business paralization and of damages which were occasioned by the fiscal rigor of the commissioner.

In the year 1702, as a result of repeated petitions on the part of merchants in Manila and in Mexico, the value of merchandise destined for Nueva España was raised to 300,000 pesos and 600,000 pesos

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2 - An idea of the rigorous manner in which Commissioner Quiroga fulfilled his mission may be obtained from a royal decree dated February 14, 1640, which reads in part as follows: (From the Extracto historial, Vol. 30 B. & R., p. 87.)

... not content with detaining whatever the ships carried, he weighed and opened registered bales and chest - contraty to the usage at all the ports, against the regulation provided by royal decrees; and the appraisement that he made of the merchandise was so increased and exorbitant that what was at its just price in Mexico worth 800,000 pesos he rated at four millions. For the commodities which in Manila cost at the rate of nine pesos, the said Don Pedro appraised at twenty-two; and much of the cloth was sold in Acapulco, in his very sight at six pesos, while he had collected the full amount of the royal dues, on the basis of twenty-two, at which he had valued the good.

respectively, for the outward and return voyages, in two galleons of 500 tons each, but the laws prohibiting Spanish merchants from visiting Chinese ports and those of Mexico from engaging in the trade with Manila were continued, as well as other restrictions which rendered illusory the increase of 50,000 pesos.

New complaints formulated at the beginning of the 18th century by the shipowners of Sevilla and Cadiz, denouncing that the galleons were bringing to Acapulco double and triple the cargo permitted, and explaining that the abundance of cloths in America had caused a notable decadence in the textile industry of the Peninsula, resulting in the disappearance of many active factories in Toledo, Valencia, Sevilla and Granada, caused the promulgation of the cedula of January 8, 1718. Under the decree the importation of all kinds of silk from China, whether manufactured or raw, was forbidden, the Acapulco trade being limited to linens, spices and other articles which were not carried from Spain.

In spite of the fact that this cedula found a strong opponent in the marquis of Valero, who was at the time viceroy of Mexico, and who, having suspended its execution, made it clear to the king that, without the trade with Acapulco, the island colony would perish, as its products were insignificant and the cargo of the galleons consisted almost wholly of Chinese cloths which the Mexicans preferred to whose of the Peninsula, because of their cheaper prices and better quality, the government, in accordance with the recommendation of the Council, renewed, on the 29th of October, 1720, the former order, prohibiting absolutely the introduction of Chinese silks into any of the Spanish ports in both hemispheres, with the tyrannical proviso that within six months, all articles of silk found in Nueva España must be consumed, and that those remaining after that period to be consigned to the flames. Upon hearing, in 1722, of this terrible decree, the authorities, the religious corporations, and representatives of business and of the community, in unison, transmitted to the king through the delegates, Dn. Francisco Diaz Romero and Dn. Antonio de Echeandia, well reasoned and energetic

expositions, praying not only for the repeal of the measure, but also for the increase of the value of the exports in proportion to the growth in population of the capital.[3]

After a long controversy, in which the merchants of Cadiz and Sevilla presented all the objections they could think of, and supported by the "overseers of the manufacture of silks in the cities of Toledo, Ecija, y Murcia," the government, after hearing the opinion of the Council of the Indias and in accordance with the latter's recommendation, repealed, on the 17th of June, 1724, the cedula of 1720 with, however, certain restrictions. Modifications were made in this measure by an order of October 21, 1726, which permitted for a period of one or two years, and later five, the importation of Chinese silks as in former years, and empowering the Andaluzian commercial interests to name a representative who would supervise the loading and unloading of the galleons at Acapulco, with a view to avoiding transgressions. This regulation went into effect on the 29th of August, 1727.

In 1732, the Marquis of Casafuerte, who became Viceroy of Mexico, made known that he had received from Dn. Jose Pasiño, by order of His Majesty, a memorial under date of 1727 on the Spanish commerce, calling attention to the damages which were being caused by the existing regulation. In August 1731, the Viceroy received a new royal order regulating in proper form the extension of the trade with America.

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3 - In these expositions the point was brought out, among other things, that the Manila-Acapulco trade did not cause any injury to the national industries of Spain, as the merchants of Cadiz and Sevilla repeatedly alleged, for the manufacture of silken fabrics was not one of the truly national industries of the Peninsula. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of the silken fabrics brought from Spain were not from the mills of Spain but were imported into the Peninsula from England, France and Holland. The principal products of Spain such as wines, brandies, oil, were not at all affected by the Manila-Acapulco trade. (Extracto historial, Ibid.)

The order provided that no innovations were to be made until the five year period of the existing regulation should expire but that thereafter the exports of merchandise were to be fixed in accordance with the provisions of the cedula of 1720.

It is unnecessary to overrate the discontent and alarm that this news produced in Manila. The expositions and controversies were repeated; it was shown in an unquestionable manner that the harm that would come to the commerce of the Philippines would not be of advantage at all to Spain, but would be to foreigners, who at the time were shipping in China goods valued at 4,000,000 pesos, for introduction to America. The new delegates from the Philippines, Dn. Lorenzo de Rugama y Palacio and Dr. Miguel Fernandez Munilla, at the same time set forth before the Court their arguments. Finally, after hearing a long report from the Council of the Indias, the Government in a cedula of April 8, 1734, promulgated at Buen Retiro, definitely allowed the importation of Chinese silks, at the same time, elevating the maximum amount of the value of goods for Acapulco to 500,000 pesos and that of the return to 1,000,000 pesos in silver.

With the promulgation of this decree, the intranquility of the residents of Manila, ceased, and the famous Acapulco galleon returned to its normal state.4

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4 - Upon the suppression of the Acapulco galleon (the last one left Manila in 1811 and returned from Acapulco in 1815), the trade was thrown open to private individuals. In 1820, merchants were allowed to export from the Philippines, up to 750,000 pesos worth of goods annually, with the privilege of using, besides Acapulco, the ports of San Blas, Guayaquil and Callao.

Let us show in brief how the trade was conducted.

The governor-general was authorized to distribute as many boletas as there were compartments or divisions in the vessel, the number of which, on the average, was 1,500. A good portion of these belonged to the governor-general who was entitled to 45 toneladas, to the religious corporations, the regidores, and other privileged individuals. Many of these, for one reason or another, sold their boletas to the merchants.

A galleon ranged from 1200 to 1600 tons. Its armament consisted of small pieces of artillery which usually were kept in the hold of the vessel to leave more space for the cargo.

The bulk of the cargo consisted of Chinese and Indian silks, cotton cloths, and ornaments of gold. These were sold in Acapulco at a profit of 100%. The actual value of the cargo usually exceeded the limit fixed by law.

Almost all the merchants borrowed money from the Obras Pias to invest in the Manila-Acapulco trade.

In the return voyage, the galleon carried no less than two or three million pesos in silver. The arrival of a galleon in Manila was an occasion for much rejoicing and solemn festivities.

Besides the situado from Mexico, those vessels carried official correspondence, arms and ammunition, bulls and stamped paper, military personal, missionaries and public officials.

The salaries of the officers were fabulous. The commander, who held the title of general, received a royalty. The income of the captain was 40,000 pesos for each voyage; that of the pilot, some 20,000 pesos. The master on board received a remuneration equivalent to 9% of the sales of the merchandise. This, together with what he gained from the merchandise which was brought in on his own account, gave him an income of no less than 350,000 pesos.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF MANILA (1762-1764)

Montero y Vidal, in the work already cited, gives in the following passages the story of this episode of Philippine history.[1]

1. The British Attack.

As a result of the Pacto de Familia signed at Versailles, August 25th, 1761, by Charles III of Spain and the Bourbon Kings of France, Naples, and Parma, Spain went to war on against Great Britain, January 1762.

Certain Armenian merchants from Madras informed the Archbishop (Manuel Antonio Rojo) that preparations were being made there for the capture of Manila. A certain cleric received a letter giving the same information, while the Augustinian, P. Cuadrado, received another which told of the declaration of war between England and Spain.

On September 14th, 1762, an English pailebot appeared at the bay of Manila. It reconnoitered the

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1 - Chapter 11.
The events of this period are dealt with in greater detail by various Spanish authorities: Pedro Jordan de Urrios in Sitio y Conquista de Manila, Agustin Santamaria in Reseña sobre la Guerra de los Ingleses, among others. A collection of source documents in English on the events of this period is found in B. & R. It contains accounts of eyewitnesses such as Cornish, Draper, the Archbishop-Governor Rojo and Simon de Anda y Salazar.

bay, obtained information of the number of war vessels present, and then left without paying the usual courtesies to the authorities.

Notwithstanding these warnings, the Archbishop-Governor took no precautionary steps for the defence of Manila.

On the 22nd of the same month, an English squadron of 13 war vessels, which the authorities mistook for a fleet of Chinese champans, arrived at the bay of Manila.[2] There were on board 1,500 European marines armed with muskets, 800 Sepoys also armed with muskets, and 1,400 laborers, a total of 6,830 men. The force was under the joint command of Samuel Cornish, Admiral of the fleet, and General William Draper, Commander of the land forces.

Manila counted with only 550 available men of the garrison of the Regimiento del Rey[3] and 80 native artillerymen. Nevertheless the Government gave a negative reply to the rude demand for surrender. Without loss of time, it organized four companies of militia, of 60 men each.

The English landed September 23rd, at the little town of Malate, 2-1/2 km. distant from Manila. They occupied without opposition the convent and church of the said town and the churches of Ermita, San Juan de Bagumbayan and Santiago. On the 24th, the main body of the British forces landed. The bastions of San Diego and San Andres opened fire on the invaders, but their discharges had no effect against the strong walls of the churches and convents which the enemy

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2 - The British expeditionary force was despatched from Madras, India, where the British had, shortly before, won decisive victories over their French rivals.

3 - The Regimiento del Rey was organized by Governor Arandia in the year 1754. It was composed of twenty companie of one hundred men each, under the command of captains, lieutenants and ensigns. The regiment, however, had never been brought up to maximum strength. At the time the British arrived, the Regimiento del Rey was greatly reduced by death, by desertions and by the detail of some of the soldiers to duty on the galleons and other posts.

occupied. These solid edifices outside the walls greatly interfered with the defence of the city. ...

On the same day (24th), a galley entered the bay by way of Mariveles, having been despatched from Palapag[4] by the commander of the galleon Filipino, bearer of the funds from Acapulco. A frigate and four ships of the enemy went out after her. In trying to escape, she stranded on the beach of Navotas. Her captain and a few passengers were taken prisoners by the British. Having learned from the captives of the situation of the Filipino, the English despatched vessels to look for it. The British failed to find the Filipino, but they captured instead, the Trinidad, taking from it a rich booty.

Draper wrote the Archbishop demanding his rendition. To discuss this demand, a council of war was held, under the presidency of the Archbishop-Governor, at which were present members of the Real Audiencia, officers of the armed forces, and officials of the city government. The council unanimously resolved to defend the city to the last.

On the 26th, 3,000 Indian lancers from the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacan and Laguna arrived to aid in the defence of Manila. On the 30th, six hundred more men from Bulacan arrived, led by the capitanes and principales of their respective towns.

The authorities of Manila, foreseeing the imminent capture of the city by the English, agreed, on the 1st of October, to appoint the magistrate, Dr. Simon de Anda y Salazar, as Lieutenant Governor and Captain General of the Islands, ... so that he might preserve the country's loyalty to the King of Spain. ...

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4 - Palapag is a port in northern Samar. The commander of the Filipino had been advised by the viceroy of Nueva España of the outbreak of war between Spain and England and that he should take all due precautions.

Early in the morning of the 3rd, two thousand Pampangos sallied forth in three columns. The first under the command of Dn. Francisco Rodriguez and their brave corporal, Manalastas, occupied the church of Santiago, but upon being assaulted by the British, they made precipitate retreat. The second, under the orders of D. Santiago Orendain, marched towards Ermita and from there launched a surprise attack. The British repulsed the attack killing two hundred Indians. Orendain saved himself by fleeing from the scene of the combat, a conduct which aroused against him suspicions of treachery. The third column led by the volunteers, Eslava and Justo, and supported by two pickets of musketeers, was to have attacked by way of the seashore, but it was unable to fight. Many Indians from the provinces, discouraged by the ill-success of this attempt, and, above all, because the Englishmen, in reprisal of the loss of some of their officials, hanged more than seventy Pampangos, returned to their respective towns.

At dawn of the fourth, Admiral Cornish ordered three vessels to approach and shell the city. Their guns together with those of the Camp at Santiago and Bagumbayan opened a breach on the walls. Draper then sent a third message to the Archbishop-Governor demanding anew the surrender of the city.

The council of war insisted on its resolve to defend the city to the last. At the same time it commanded the treasurer, Dn. Nicolas de Echauz, to depart for the town of Paete, Laguna, with the sum of 222,000 escudos which he was to keep in safety.

The open breach on the wall was defended by officer Fallet, a French officer in the service of Spain. He turned traitor and facilitated the assault of the enemy through that point. A column under the command of Mayor Felt led the assault through the breach without difficulty or opposition early in the morning of October 5th. This column opened the gates of the city to two other columns which penetrated the walled precinct, sowing on its path destruction and death.

A company of Spanish militiamen on guard at the Royal gate was surprised and inhumanly put to the sword. The perturbed residents of Manila in tumult rushed to all streets and avenues towards the Pasig hoping to save themselves by swimming or to cross in light canoes to the opposite shore. An enemy column opened fire on those unfortunates. While the frightful slaughter was going on, Draper advanced at the head of a third column by way of Calle Real towards the palace. Having taken possession of the palace, he despatched Col. Munson to demand from the Archbishop his surrender. Rojo, presented to Col. Munson a note proposing terms of surrender. The proposals were as follows:

1) Security of person and property for all inhabitants of the country.
2) Free exercise of the Catholic religion throughout the Archipelago.
3) Freedom of industry and commerce for all the inhabitants of the country.
4) Preservation of the Real Audiencia to administer justice in the name of his Catholic Majesty.
5) Recognition of the ranks and preservation of the Spanish garrison of the city.

The conditions under which Manila finally capitulated, October 5, 1762, were as follows:[5]

Art. 1 - The Spanish officers of every rank shall be esteemed as prisoners of war, upon their parole of honour, but shall have the liberty of wearing their swords. The rest of the troops, of every degree and quality, must be disarmed, disposed of as we think proper. They shall be treated with humanity.

Art. 2 - All the military stores, and magazines of every kind, must be surrendered, faithfully,

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5 - B. & R., Vol. 49.

to our Commisaries, and nothing secreted or damaged.

Art. 3 - His Excellency the Governor must send immediate orders to the fort of Cavite, and the other forts under his command, and dependent upon Manila, to surrender to His Britannic Majesty.

Art. 4 - The propositions contained in the paper delivered on the part of his Excellency the Governor, and his council, will be listened to, and confirmed to them, upon their payment of four millions of dollars, the half to be paid immediately, the other half to be paid in a time to be agreed upon, and hostages and security given for that purpose.

The English commander gave the city to three-hour pillage which was prolonged for more than twenty four hours. While it lasted the drunken soldiery committed great outrages, violating women, robbing houses and destroying objects of art in churches and public edifices, assisted in this nefarious act by the Chinese and prisoners, whom the English imprudently set free.

2. Anda and the British.[1]

D. Simon de Anda y Salazar, who had accepted with enthusiasm the honorable mission to maintain the Islands for Spain, had left Manila at 10 o'clock in the evening of October 4. He arrived at Bulacan at dawn of the 5th. Immediately he assembled in session the Alcalde Mayor, D. Jose Pasarin, the provincial of the Agustinians, Fr. Remigio Hernandez, the ex-provincial, Fr. Aguirre, other religious, as well as the Spanish residents of the province and the native authorities. Exhibiting his titles of Lieutenant Governor and Captain General, and Judge Visitor general he called upon all to help resist the invaders and to defend at all cost the native territory.

In the afternoon, news arrived that the English had taken Manila. Whereupon, in consideration of the realities of the situation, the Auditors being held prisoners, and in fulfillment of the laws of the

1 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit., Vol. 2, chapter 2.

Indias which prescribe that the Real Audiencia be conserved in only one Auditor, and also of the provisions of the law which prescribes that in the absence of the Governor and Captain-General of the Indias, those positions are to devolve on the Audiencia, Anda proclaimed himself Governor and Captain General of Filipinas.[2]

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2 - The laws referred to here are as follows:

(a) Law 57 of the Recopilación, chapter 15, book 2, enacted May 25, 1596, reenacted April 8, 1629: (vol. 49 B. & R., p. 135 footnote).

"We order that in the absence of the president or viceroy, so that he cannot govern, our royal Audiencias succeed to the government, and that the government reside in them, as it could in the viceroy or president when they performed those duties. The senior auditor shall be president, and he alone shall make and enact all the measures belonging to and annexed to the president. And if the president should be captain-general, the senior auditor shall also exercise that office until his successor is appointed by us, or until one is sent who shall have powers to act as such by our our orders, unless the opposite or contrary is ordered in some Audiencia by the laws of this book."

(b) Law 58 of the Recopilación, book 2, chapter 15, enacted April 2, 1664: (vol. 17, B. & R., p. 313.)

"Inasmuch as representation has been made to us of the inconvenience resulting from the viceroys of Nueva España anticipating appointments among persons who reside in the Philippine Islands so that, in case of the absence of the president or governor and captain general of the Islands, those persons may enter upon and exercise those charges until the arrival of the person who is to govern - ad interim or by royal appointment accordingly as we may decide; therefore we order and command that in case of the absence of the governor and captain general of these Islands, by death or any other accident, our royal Audiencia shall govern them in political affairs and the senior Auditor in military. We order the viceroy of Nueva España to use no longer the authority that he has had hitherto by virtue of our Decree of Sept. 13, 1608, and the other decreed given to him, to new persons appointed by means of the ways hitherto practised."

He at once set out for Bacolor, capital of Pampanga, and performed the same act. With marvelous diligence he made preparations for the heroic struggle which was to immortalize his name. He organized companies of volunteers placing them under experienced soldiers who trained them in the use of arms, and he improvised gunpowder factories and foundries.

Immediately he took the offensive against the British. He forbade the neighboring towns to send provisions to Manila; he made himself master of advantageous positions in Bulacan and Pasig; he built trenches; and he held in check the boastful invaders, forcing them to remain within the walled city.

In order to counteract the power and authority of Anda, the British entered into an agreement with the Archbishop whereby the latter was to retain control of the political government, with themselves managing military affairs. The Archbishop unwittingly fell into the trap, even going so far as to attempt to have the Spaniards and Filipinos submit to the sovereignty of Great Britain. He even ordered Anda to comply with the treaties which he had concluded with the English. In answer to this cowardly conduct, Anda forbade compliance with any order of the Archbishop tending to subject the Islands to the domination of England.

With such elegant proofs of character and civic valor, day by day increased the popularity of this heroic magistrate, as did the size and strength of his forces. A brave Asturian, D. Pedro Jose de Busto, who at the time of the capture of Manila and of the issuance of the call of Anda, was engaged in the exploitation of the Angat (Bulacan) iron mines, offered himself, at the head of his workmen, at the service of that illustrious patrician.

(c) Law 180 tit. 15, book 2, of the Recopilación, enacted August 14, 1620: (vol. 49 B. & R. p. 133 footnote.)

"In some of our Audiencias of the Indias, it has happened, and it might happen, that the auditors of it may be absent, and only one auditor remain. We declare in such case that the Audiencia is to be conserved and contained with only one auditor."

Having occupied the environs of Pasig, Busto hindered the shipment of provisions to Manila from La Laguna. Draper, aware of the grave consequences of this resistance, planned to assault the rebels. His purpose was to render free the navigation of the Pasig river.

With this end in view, Thomas Backhouse left Manila on the 8th of November. At Maibonga he had a skirmish with Busto. The latter was forced to retire to Mariquina with his men. The English crossed the river and despatched an envoy to the natives of Pasig to demand their submission. The gobernadorcillo of this town replied, with more arrogance than prudence, that Pasig was not like Manila, and that if the Spaniards treacherously delivered the latter, he would defend his town. The British attacked, and the Indians fled in great disorder. Some saved themselves by swimming across the Bamban river; but those who remained were iniquitously put to the sword. Sultan Ali-Mudin happened to be in Pasig at the time, was taken prisoner. The British fortified themselves in Pasig, which they occupied for the duration of the war.

Draper believed that it was an easy task to bring the Philippine Islands under the rule of his country with the submission of the Archbishop and high officials of the Government. But he realized that he was in error as Anda remained powerful in Bulacan and Pampanga, Draper decided to invade the provinces and attack the Spanish leader in his own camp. On January 18, 1763, an expeditionary force under Slay, Captain of grenadiers, set out for Bulacan. "Ten vessels carried to the town of Malolos four hundred Englishmen, three hundred Malabar Negros, and two thousand Chinese rebels with arms and munitions. They occupied the convent and church of the Agustinian fathers, and there they remained three days gathering data regarding our forces; data which were furnished, with manifest treachery and villainy by the Chinese and mestizos. From them, the British learned how small our force was, which consisted only of nineteen Spaniards, three hundred armed Indians, six falconets and one canon of regular calibre, which was mounted on the belfry of the

church of Bulacan, and three and one-half-arrobas of powder."[3]

Slay was to have gone directly to Bulacan, but, because of contrary winds, he proceeded by way of Pumarana and the inlets which connect with Malolos. To reach Bulacan, fearing an ambuscade, "they went across the rice fields, firing rifle shots at the bamboo groves lest there be people hiding therein." P. Zuñiga.

Busto learned of the size of the English force, and, knowing that he did not have sufficient force to engage them, he decided to abandon Bulacan. But the alcalde Mayor, the curate, a Recollect friar who happened to be there, and the artillery officer, Ibarra, did not accept his plan. They wanted to defend the convent and the church.

As the vanguard of the enemy, made up of traitorous Chinese, reached the bridge of Maysantor, Ibarra fired from the belfry with such perfect aim that he disabled more than one thousand Chinese. But a cannon ball from the enemy carried off the head of the valiant Ibarra, and the Indians grew faint-hearted in their defense. The Alcalde Mayor also was hit on the breast and died within a few hours.

The enemy captured the convent, putting to the sword all who were found therein. The curate of Bulacan, Fray Jose Andres was speared to death as well as a multitude of defenseless Indians. The Recollect father tried to escape, but found only death in the attempt. The British after setting fire to the church and convent returned to Manila with more shame than glory. ...

In the meantime, the commander at Pasig, Backhouse or Becus, as the Spaniards called him, went to Laguna and Batangas in search of the money believed to have been landed by the galleon Filipino. At the

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3 - Notes from the manuscript of P. Sta. Maria existing in the archives of the San Agustin Convent, Manila.

mouth of Taguig the Indians sunk a few champans to obstruct the entrance of the British to the Laguna Lake, which obstruction Becus easily removed. Becus traversed various towns of the two above-mentioned provinces, seizing three thousand pesos in Lipa. Having learned that the money, which was the object of his expedition, had been transported by sea to Santor, a town on the contra-costa of Pampanga, he returned to Pasig.

The receipt of the 3,000,000 pesos which constituted the main cargo of the Filipino, enabled Anda to form a respectable military force, consisting of five hundred Spaniards, three hundred French deserters from the English camp, and four thousand armed Indians. With such a force, Anda ordered Busto to establish his headquarters at Malinta, 7 kilometers distant from Manila. Busto strengthened this place with redoubts and palisades and mounted on it five small pieces of cannon. The French sargeant Bretaña, who was one of the deserters from the enemy camp, directed the construction works.

From Malinta, Busto made incessant incursions into the environs of Manila to the annoyance of the enemy. An English force under Drake sallied forth against him in June, 1763. On reaching the environs of Malinta, they opened fire against the Spaniards. The latter formed themselves in line of battle and fired off the small pieces of artillery which defended their camp. The creek of Maysilo separated the combatants, and this neither the one nor the other dared to cross. "Both were prudent enough to remain on their respective sides of the river, thus saving the lives of their soldiers." (P. Martinez de Zuñiga). Two or four of Bustos men died and seven wounded, of whom five later died. The English suffered the loss of thirteen wounded, of whom five or six, later died. ...

On July 3, 1763, an English frigate anchored at the Bay bringing copies of the armistice reached by France, Spain and England. On the 23rd came news of the signing of the protocol.

The English would not recognize any authority except that of the Archbishop, their war prisoner.

Hence, they delivered the papers to him. Rojo informed the British that "in matters of such grave concern, they should deal directly with Anda."

On the arrival on August 26, of new copies of the protocol, the English leader transmitted them sealed to Anda as "Commander-in-Chief of the forces of His Catholic Majesty." Anda refused to receive them as the title of Captain General was omitted. Whereupon, the British, in a proclamation issued on the 19th of September, 1763, made it known that they were ready to suspend hostilities and that it was up to Anda to prevent the further shedding of blood.

To this proclamation Anda replied (September 28, 1763) from Bacolor that he was not advised in a formal manner of the protocol; that it was those who, following a course which did not accord with the orders of the sovereign, prevented indirectly their execution, should be held responsible for the consequences.

Anda, who then had under his command a large force equipped with considerable supply of ammunition, transferred his headquarters to Polo, 9 kilometers distant from Manila. From there he kept the English practically isolated within the walls of Manila, causing them to suffer from extreme want.

On the 30th of January, 1764, Archbishop Rojo, died. The English gave him a solemn funeral, their troops paying him military honors. ...

A few days later, Anda received, via China, despatches from the King of Spain, informing him of the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the King of England.[4] Immediately, Anda transmitted this des-

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4 - The preliminary peace treaty was signed in November, 1762. The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, February 10, 1763. This was the famous Treaty of Paris of February 10, 1763, which made important territorial adjustments in different parts of the world. At the peace conference, it was arranged, among other things, that Spain was to cede Florida to England and, in return, to retain her sovereignty over the Philippine Islands.

patch to the English governor, proposing to him the appointment of a mixed commission to arrange for the formal surrender of the city. The commission arranged the formalities in the town of Tambobong.

Later, another English vessel arrived with orders for the evacuation of the city. About the same time the frigate Sta. Rosa arrived at Marinduque bringing with her a new governor-general, D. Francisco de la Torre. To him Anda spontaneously surrendered surrendered his authority, March 16, 1764. ...

La Torre, desirous of allowing Anda to enjoy the honor he very well deserved of receiving the keys of the city, pretended he was ill, and the brave leader had the satisfaction of making his triumphal entry to Manila at the head of his troops and with military pomp, and to hoist the Spanish flag at Fort Santiago, amidst booms of cannon.

CHAPTER FOUR

FILIPINO REVOLTS DURING THE 18TH CENTURY

1. The 1745-1746 Uprisings.

In the eighteenth century, as in the preceding ones, uprisings of a more or less serious nature occurred in different parts of the Philippines. As in the past, the old sources of popular discontent, the exaction of the tribute and the imposition of personal services, had much to do in bringing about these revolts. In the eighteenth century, however, other factors arose which, together with the grievances over the tribute and the polos y servicios, provoked the people to acts of violence and defiance against constituted authorities.

The uprisings of 1745-1746, which occurred during the governorship of Gaspar de la Torre, were an outgrowth of controversies over land boundaries in many provinces of Central Luzon - Batangas, Cavite, Manila and Bulacan. The story of the Batangas uprising is told by Concepcion in his Historia General de Filipinas. The following passage deals with that incident:[1]

"With the pretext that the fathers of the Society (of Jesus) had usurped from them cultivated lands, and the untilled lands on the hills, on which they kept enormous herds of horned cattle -- for which reason, and because the Jesuits said that these were their own property, they would not allow the natives to supply themselves with wood, rattans, and bamboos, unless they paid fixed prices -- the Indians committed shocking acts of hostility on the ranches of Lian and Nasugbu, killing and plundering the tenants of those lands, with many other ravages. Nor did they respect the houses of the (Jesuit) fathers, but attacked and plundered them, and partly burned them, as well as many other buildings independent of these." All was plundering, rapine, destruction, and debauchery; the natives also rebelled against the exactions from them of tribute and personal services. "The contagion spread to the village of Taal, and more than sparks were discovered in other places, although efforts were made to conceal the fire." The alcalde-mayor and the Jesuits tried at first to pacify the Indians, urging them to wait for the official visit of Auditor Calderon; but they could do nothing, the natives being rendered only more daring by this attempt. Troops were then sent from Manila against them; in the battle mentioned in our text several were wounded, among them the commanding officer, Sargento-mayor Juan Gonzalez de el Pulgar; but he succeeded in routing the enemy. The chief of the insurgents, one Matienza, took refuge in a church, but was captured and disarmed therein. Reenforcements were sent from Manila, and the rebellion was soon quelled. The leaders of the rebellion were punished in various ways, according to their prominence or influence; some were shot, others sent into exile or to the galleys; and amnesty was granted to the insurgents who would lay down their arms and renew their acknowledgment of vassalage."

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ral de Filipinas, (Manila-Sampaloc, 1788-1792), 14 vols. Concepcion's History from which the foregoing account is taken, is a detailed history of the Philippines. Although it abounds in trifling matters, it is a veritable mine of information and, as such, is a work of great historical importance.

On the disturbances which occurred about the same time in other provinces, an important source of information is the Royal Decree of November 7, 1751. The full text of this decree follows:[1]

> To the president and auditors of my royal Audiencia of the Filipinas Islands, resident in the city of Manila: Don Pedro Enriquez, an auditor of that same Audiencia, made a report, with sworn statements of his proceedings, of what he had done under the commission which was conferred on him by the government there for the pacification of the villages of Taguig, Hagonoy, Parañaque, Bacoor, Cavite el Viejo, and other places attached to them which lie near that capital, all which had revolted. (He reports that) they were pacified by merely the proclamation of a general pardon (except to the chief instigators of the revolt) which he published, and by the promise that their complaints should be heard and justice done to them; but the village of San Mateo also revolted, and he proceeded to its punishment and left it in ruins, because the people had not surrendered their arms; it was, however, already (re) peopled with inhabitants who were more numerous and of more peaceable disposition. A similar insurrection or revolt occurred in most of the villages of the province of Bulacan, and these like the former, by an agreement which they had formed by a public writing with the village of Silang protested, as they afterward made evident in their petitions, against the injuries which the Indians received from the managers of the estates which are owned by the religious of St. Dominic and those of St. Augustine, both calced and discalced -- usurping the lands of the Indians, without leaving them the freedom of the rivers for their fishing, or allowing them to cut wood for their necessary use, or even to collect the wild fruits; nor did they allow the natives to pasture on the hills near their villages the carabaos which they used for

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1 - B. & R., vol. 48, pp. 27-34.

agriculture. Accordingly, (the said auditor) determined to free them from these oppressions, and decided that they should not pay various unjust taxes which the managers exacted from them. Having proved to be capable in the other task assigned him, he received a commission as subdelegate judge of the adjustment of land-titles, in consequence of which he demanded from the aforesaid religious orders the titles of ownership for the lands which they possessed; and, notwithstanding the resistance that they made to him, repeatedly refusing (to obey), he distributed to the villages the lands which the orders had usurped, and all which they held without legitimate cause he declared to be crown lands (realengas) - as occurred with the convent of San Pablo, belonging to the calced religious of St. Augustine, assigning to it (i.e., the crown) a farm for horned cattle and two caballerias of land which were supposed to belong to it, according to the testimony of the village of San Mateo. He also took other measures which seemed to him proper for the investigation of the fraudulent proceedings in the measurement of the lands in the estate of Biñan, which is owned by the religious of St. Dominic -- fraud which was committed in the year 1743 by the court clerk of that Audiencia (of Manila) with notable fraud and trickery, in which participated the two surveyors (appointed through ignorance or evil intent), to the grave injury of the village of Silang. This had caused the disturbances, revolts, and losses which had been experienced in the above-mentioned villages. The aforesaid proceedings (by the auditor) were considered and examined with the closest attention in my Council of the Indias, with the decrees that were also sent by the Audiencia there in the course of the proceedings in a second appeal interposed by the village of Silang -- decrees obtained in that suit by the natives of that village against the college of Santo Tomas de Aquino, in regard to lands usurped (from them) and annexed to the estate of Biñan, which the religious own. On the subject of the disturbance among the aforesaid Indians, Governor Don Gaspar de la Torre, his successor the bishop of Nueva Segovia, and the provincials of the aforesaid religious orders set forth the allegations made in the name of the orders by Father Fray Miguel Vivas as their procurator-general at this court, and

by Father Pedro Altamirano, who acts in that capacity for the Society of Jesus for its provinces of the Indias (on the point that the province of San Ignacio in these islands had no share in the commotions in those villages, as was shown by various testimonies), and the explanations made by my fiscal, who was cognizant of the whole matter. It has therefore appeared expedient to me to advise you of the receipt of your letters of July 30, 1745, and July 17, 1746, and of the acts which accompany them; and to notify you that by a despatch of this date I approve, and regard as just and proper, all that was performed by the aforesaid Don Pedro Calderon Enriquez in virtue of the commission and appointment which was conferred upon him by Governor Don Gaspar de la Torre by the advice of the Audiencia there, in order that he might proceed to the pacification of the insurgent villages in the jurisdictions of Silang, Imus and San Nicolas, Cavite el Viejo, and the other districts which united on account of the controversy over the ownership of the lands which the religious-Dominicans, and both calced and discalced Augustinians -- are endeavoring to keep. I also give him thanks for the judicious conduct and measures which he employed for the aforesaid pacification; and I likewise approve what he accomplished as subdelegate judge of the settlement of land-titles, in regard to the survey and boundaries of the estates which, in accordance with their legitimate titles, belong to each of those orders, in view of the more accurate and reliable information (obtained) from the interpretations of the four surveyors whom he appointed -- the latter bearing in mind, to this end, the measures put into execution by the auditor Ozaeta in the year 1699, in accordance with the chart printed by the pilot Bueno, in his book entitled Navegacion especulativa y practica (i.e., "Navigation, theoretical and practical") (which chart serves in those islands as the standard for the surveys) -- assigning to the aforesaid religious that which belongs to them by their (legal) titles, which is the same that was ordained in the executory decree despatched by the Audiencia there. I also approve what he did in adjudging to my royal crown the lands which the aforesaid religious orders had usurped, and in alloting lands to the Indians for the sum of two

thousand pesos, at times and terms stipulated with them.

From the aforesaid investigations charges resulted against Don Juan Monroy, court clerk of that Audiencia, who was engaged in the survey and adjustment of boundaries made in those same lands of Bifian in the year 1743 -- in which, by the declaration of the two surveyors who took part in it, is evident their ignorance of such work, and of the rules and measures (to be used). Although (sc., after?) the lands had been measured and a chart of the estates had been drawn, the computations were made by the said Monroy, and the surveyors signed it, supposing that it was correct; but it was acknowledged that in that same year, later, another survey and adjustment of boundaries was made by the aforesaid court clerk and one of the said surveyors on some lands over which were lawsuits -- some, in particular, with the religious of St. Augustine -- in which survey there was assigned to each cattle-farm 3,024,574 square brazas of land, this being different from the previous survey, which was computed at 8,695,652 brazas. In this was proved the fraud with which the said Monroy acted, in giving to the said religious more than half of the land which belongs to Silang. Accordingly, it has appeared to me proper to comdemn him to two years' suspension from his office, and to lay upon him a fine of two thousand pesos, applied to the fund of fines paid into the royal treasury; and for this exaction there is issued, on this same date, the proper despatch to the Marques de Regalia, a minister of the said my council and tribunal of the Indias, and exclusive judge of rents, settlement of land-titles, and collection of fines and condemnations. By another despatch of the same date, the government of those islands is commanded to exercise hereafter the utmost vigilance in order that the Indians of the said villages may not be molested by the religious, and that the latter shall be kept in check in the unjust acts which they may in future attempt against not only those Indians but other natives of those islands. In this, the government must always bear in mind the reiterated commands given in the laws (of the empire), and the frequent royal decrees that have been issued, to the end that the Indians shall be well

treated and shall not suffer oppression or extortion; and shall direct that my fiscal there shall appear as their representative and in their defense on every occasion which shall present itself in this regard. Considering how important it is that the Indians shall know of the recourse which they can have when they are oppressed or ill-treated, and in their controversies, it would be very expedient that the government give them information of this, so that they may not be ignorant thereof, and that they may use these (peaceable) means without going to the extreme, as they did on this occasion, by employing armed force. For this time, my royal charity and clemency overlooks their proceedings, considering their heedless disposition; but when they shall have been advised of what they ought to do in such cases, and in others of a different nature, if they fail to use those means they shall be chastised with the utmost severity. I have resolved to notify you of this, in order that you may be acquainted with this my royal decision, and in order that, so far as you are concerned, you may make known my decree; and I command the most prompt and effective measures, to the end that it may be fully and duly carried into effect; for such is my will. Dated at San Lorenzo, on November 7, 1751.

I THE KING.

2. Filipino Revolts During the British Occupation.

The fall of Manila into the hands of the British created for Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines a grave situation. The prestige of Spain as a sovereign nation was lowered in the estimation of many people. Consequently, those who were discontented, for one reason or another, with the Spanish colonial rule were encouraged to attempt to

overthrow that rule. In many provinces of the Philippines such attempts were made. Of these, the ones that gave the greatest concern to Anda's government were the Pangasinan and the Ilocos revolts.

The story of the Pangasinan revolt is told by Montero y Vidal in the following passages from his Historica General de Filipinas.[1]

> While Anda was fighting against the English, various provinces rose in revolt. The people wanted, for one thing, to emancipate themselves from Spain. They took advantage of the situation to avenge personal wrongs and to free themselves from the tyranny of oppressive officials, of hated priests, and of their local chieftains (municipes) and cabezas de barangay, as well as from the tribute and personal services.
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> In Pangasinan the town of Binalatoñgan took up arms, November 3, 1762, the rebels demanding the removal of the tribute and the Alcalde mayor, and the substitution of the justices or municipes of the towns. Moreover, they wanted the Spaniards to abandon the province disregarding the counsel, requests and tearful supplications of the father Dominicans, who took charge of the cure of souls in the province.
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> Anda commissioned D. Juan Antonio Panelo to go to Pangasinan to investigate (residenciar) the chief of the prowince, D. Joaquin Gamboa, who was accused of arousing the passions of the Indians by his illegal exactions.

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1 - Chapter 3, vol. 2.

A contemporary account of the Pangasinan revolt which Montero y Vidal used is Historia del alzamiento de Pangasinan (manuscript) by Juan Bautista de Arenocese (Agustinian). The author was curate in various pueblos of Ilocos, and, at one time, served as acting bishop of Nueva Segovia.

Gamboa, as well as Commissioner Panelo, and the Vicar, Fr. Andres Melendez, had to meet some of the demands of the Indians. One of the concessions granted was the appointment as master of camp, or supreme chief of the municipalities, of the Indian, Andres Lopez.

D. Sebastian Navarro and the Alcalde pedaneo, D. Jose Quirante placed themselves at the head of a loyal group to put down the uprising; Anda despatched for the same purpose an expedition, consisting of forty Spaniards, a squadron of horsemen from Pampanga, a regiment of improvised militia, and a flying party from the province of Bataan, under the command of D. Fernando de Arayat.

The rebels, 10,000 strong, were assembled at Bayambang to prevent the passage of troops across the Agno, Arayat took their positions, put them to flight, punished the nearest towns, and then returned to headquarters at Bacolor. In the fight four Spaniards and several Indians from Cagayan were killed.

Following the departure of Arayat, the insurrection was renewed under the leadership of Juan de la Cruz Palaris, native of Binalatoñgan. He put in commotion the whole province specially the towns of Calasiao, Mangaldan, Dagupan, San Jacinto, Manaoag, Santa Barbara, Malasiqui, Bayambang, Paniqui, and the town of his birth. Asingan refused to join the uprising. Alcalde Gamboa and the majority of the religious fled from the province, including P. Melendez, who was supposed to enjoy great prestige and influence among the Pangasinanes who, on this occasion, spurned the advice and supplications of their priests.

P. Melendez and other religious of the province availed themselves of their friends and protegees to persuade the rebels to pacify themselves and to seek pardon from Anda, assuring them that certain concessions would be granted, such as the removal of Gamboa as Alcalde Mayor. In effect, a number of principales went to Bacolor September, 1763, and, through the mediation of P. Melendez and his fellow members of the order, obtained from Anda the pardon that they requested. ...

Anda relieved Gamboa of the alcaldeship of Pangasinan appointing in his place Dn. Jose Rafael de Acebedo, who arrived at Pangasinan, November 5, 1763.

The new chief of the province issued an order to the gobernadorcillo of Binalatoñgan to demand the delivery of the pieces of artillery that had been taken in the first uprising. Palaris, together with the leaders of that town and those of Bayambang, Calasiao and Mañgaldan, refused to comply with the order, It was necessary to use force to compel them to obey the order. They, on their part, put themselves under arms. They seized in Binalatoñgan the chief justice of the province, D. Francisco de Vargas Machuca, and, in the presence of F. Melendez, "whose pleadings they neither respected nor heeded, they treacherously put him to death."

Upon hearing of the seizure of Vargas, the Alcalde Mayor rushed with four hundred men for the rebel town, in company with D. Ignacio Barzaola. In Calasiao he fought a formidable battle with more than 4,000 rebels. Finding it impossible to overcome them, he took refuge in the convent of the town. There he was besieged for several days. The rebellious crowd set fire to the church and convent, and the alcalde and his companion had to take refuge in the steeple of the church, where they remained five days with hardly anything to eat. They were saved only with the arrival of a force commanded by Pedro Bernardel, which forced its way through hostile towns.

With the rather delayed arrival of reenforcements under the Alcalde Mayor of Cagayan, D. Manuel Arza, the critical situation of the loyal troops changed for the better. The Pangasinan rebellion was finally put down (March 1764). The principal leaders of the revolt were executed. Palaris was sent to the scaffold in January, 1765.

(b) The Ilocos Revolt

The story of this revolt as told by the same Spanish author is given in the following passages:[1]

> On the 1st of February, 1762, D. Antonio Zabala y Uria, native of Mexico, took charge of the Alcaldia of Ilocos.
>
> The province of Ilocos at the time included what are now La Union and Abra and the two Ilocos provinces. Like many other provinces, it suffered from abuses on the part of Alcaldes mayores, who, with the privilege given them to trade, monopolized the trade in their respective provinces.[2] Besides this grievance, the people of Ilocos hated the tribute, especially the comun, consisting of one real fuerte which every tribute payer was required to pay every year. News of the English invasion and of the outbreak of a revolt in Pangasinan made the province ripe for the great commotion which occurred in this vast region.

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1 - Ibid. A contemporary account of the revolt is Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, written by Fr. Pedro del Vivar, an Augustinian friar. Padre Vivar was, at the time of the Ilocos uprising, curate of the town of Batac. Montero y Vidal's account is based chiefly on the Relación of P. Vivar.

The episode is also treated by Isabelo de los Reyes in his Historia de Ilocos, (Manila, 1890).

2 - The privilege to engage in commerce was known as "indulto de comercio." Alcaldes-mayores enjoyed this privilege except those of Tondo, Zamboanga, Cavite, Nueva Ecija, Islas Batanes and Antique, who, however, received larger emoluments of office. The amount paid for this privilege varied according to the importance of the province as a commercial field, from about 1/6 of the annual salary, as in Zambales to 1/2 of the salary, as in the province of Caraga. The post of Alcalde Mayor was eagerly sought after because of the many opportunities for profit that it offered.

The petty lawyers (abogadillos) and petty chiefs (apoderadillos), who abound in every town, advised their clients at fixed places to take advantage of the inexperience of the new Alcalde to secure the substitution of the capitanes or local chiefs. They obtained what they wanted. Their success encouraged several other towns to make similar demands. The people of Laoag went to the extent of taking the law in their own hands. Zabala was forced to proceed against the promoter, Tomas Corcuera, thereby causing disaffection among the latter's followers in that important town.

At this moment, there arrived at the capital of Ilocos, returning from Manila, a mischievous Indian, named Diego Silan, a native and resident of Vigan. He propagated among the natives those ideas which he had learned from the traitor Orendain, (in whose house in Manila he stayed for some time), and from his relatives, particularly Lopez, master of camp, who was one of the promoters of the uprising in Pangasinan.3

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3 - "Diego Silan, promoter of the uprising, was born December 16, 1730. He was the son of Miguel Silan, native of Pangasinan and of Nicolasa de los Santos, of Vigan, both of whom being of the principalia class. He was baptised in the town of Vigan January 7, 1731. His baptismal name was Diego Baltazar, and his god-father was a principal named Tomas de Endaya. As a lad he served the cura of Vigan, Dr. Cortes y Orriosolo, who sent him down to Manila in a Chinese champan. The champan was wrecked on the coast of Bolinao, and the infidels of those mountains killed all who were saved from the shipwreck except Silan whom they kept as a slave. An Augustinian Recollect in Bolinao heard of the shipwreck and being anxious to deliver the lad from perdition, he made great efforts to ransom him. Silan, now free, proceeded to Pangasinan, where he made himself known to his parents, with whom he remained but, later, he left for Vigan where he learned to read and write.

For a time he stayed unemployed at home with his parents. Later, he married a widow, Maria Josefa Gabriela, servant of D. Tomas Millan. He maintained himself and his family with the little that his cleric gave him, whom he served as his master, and with what he gained carrying

Silang, among other things, preached that the Spaniards no longer ruled in the Philippines, because the English had taken possession of Manila; that the tribute should not be paid; that, inasmuch as the Spaniards could not protect the Ilocanos from the English, it was necessary to organize a council in the province to defend themselves from the enemy; that it was necessary to remove the contributions and services which weighed on the natives, and to free themselves from the exactions and oppressive acts of the Alcaldes; and that, once the principales and the common people were united, they must resist the British, safeguard their own interests and the welfare of the Catholic religion; that in all these undertakings they could count with the assistance of the Pangasinanes.

In Vigan the bad seed sown by Silan rapidly germinated. The Alcalde had Silan arrested, but the Provisor, D. Tomas Millan intervened on Silan's behalf and the latter was released. With impunity, Silan engaged openly in arousing the people. The principales, animated by their hatred towards the Alcalde, followed him. Various meetings in the rancherias were held. In one of these meetings, the following resolution was approved:

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letters and messages to all kinds of person. In this service, he came to acquire a large circle of acquaintances, and being found absolutely trustworthy, he was appointed to carry the letters and messages for this province which came annually on the boat from Spain, being sent every year for this purpose to Manila at the time the boat was expected. It was in this capacity that he came to Manila in 1762, and as the Filipino (the galleon from Nueva España) was delayed, it was necessary for him to tarry there, staying, some time in the house of Orendain whom he used to call master, sometime in the convent of the Agustinian fathers, until the arrival of the British. After the occupation of Manila, he came to Pangasinan and planned with his parents to start an uprising. Having entered into an understanding with the master of camp, Lopez, a relative of his, regarding the proposed insurrection, he came to Ilocos. (P. Pedro del Vivar, op. cit.)

"That the Alcalde Mayor, D. Antonio Zabala, be removed and Provisor D. Tomas Millan should take his place;that as chief justice one of the four principales of Vigan be appointed; that personal services be removed; that the Bishop be asked to expel the Spaniards and mestizos from the province; that Silan should select the best men in the province and set forth to regain from the British the flags that Spain had lost; and that whoever opposed these plans so necessary for the tranquility and peace of the province, the interests of the Crown of Spain and the welfare of our sacred Catholic faith, should be considered as a traitor to God and to the King; and that, finally, the necessary expenses should be taken from the comun, which is in the keeping of the Alcalde."4

The principal followers of Silan were: in Abra, Pedro Becbec; in Laoag and Bacarra, Corcuera; in Paoay, the capitan of the same, Jose Cristobal; in Batac, San Nicolas, Sarrat, and Dingras, a man by the name of Botargas.

On the 14th of December, a crowd of timaguas and principales under the leadership of Silan, all armed, appeared before the Alcalde and demanded his resignation. The Provisor intervened and tried to pacify them, but to no avail. The Bishop, believing that the resignation of the Alcalde would pacify them, urged the latter to give up his post in favor of the Provisor. Zabala complied delivering to the Provisor the cane (baston) and the funds of the Royal Treasury. The Bishop informed Anda of what had taken place, giving him to understand that it was necessary that a new Alcalde be sent as soon as possible.

The rebels, far from being satisfied as the Bishop thought and expected, demanded from him the removal of the tribute and personal services.

Bishop Ustariz acceded to it provided they put off their hostile attitude and return to peace-

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4 - Ibid.

ful life. In answer, they asked to certify that they were free from any responsibility in the affair regarding the Alcalde; that he deliver to them the firearms, which they claimed they needed to fight the British, and,lastly, that he send away D. Miguel Pinzon and all the Spanish mestizos, except D. Francisco Morales, D. Manuel Prieto, D. Esteban de los Reyes, and D. Nicolas Pio.

The Bishop answered them, reiterating the concessions made and promising to intercede for them with Anda so that they would not be held liable for the removal of the Alcalde. But as regards the banishment of the Spaniards and the delivery of firearms, the Bishop advised them that the persons in question had not committed any fault whatsoever, and that it was not possible to deprive the new Alcalde of firearms, inasmuch as he was called upon to defend the province.

Silang insisted in his demands, whereupon the Bishop, issued an interdict. But this move had no effect upon Silang and his followers.

The Provisor fortified himself in his house; gathered there the firearms, and surrounded himself with his partisans, prepared to defend himself.

The rebels set fire to the city. The Bishop and some of the religious left for the towns of the North intending to go to Cagayan. ... The rebels assaulted the house of the Provisor, and killed three Spaniards, two Indians, and the mestizo Miguel Pinson. From the house they removed the powder, cannon, lantacas, and other weapons to the house of Silan. ...

The Bishop issued a circular urging the natives of Ilocos Norte to take up arms against Silan. Those of Batac gladly answered the call of the prelate, as did those of San Nicolas, while in Laoag itself, principal center of Silanismo in the North, the Bishop's appeal was favorably received. Corcuera, whose fidelity was under suspicion, was at the head of the loyal group. He

brought about the arrest in Paoay of Botargas and his son, who were hanged in Laoag.

The Ilocanos of the North marched towards Vigan. Those of Bacarra, under the command of D. Francisco Domingo, went ahead as far as Cabuyao not aware that 2,000 followers of Silan were ready to meet them. A skirmish followed and thirty of the loyal force were killed. Upon hearing of the result of the engagement, the loyalists from the other towns fled panic-stricken.

With the capture of the house of the Provisor and the firearms, Silan found himself in a position to bring under his control all the towns in the southern part of the province. He promulgated orders relieving the people from the tribute and the personal services, as well as from all forms of service to the principales and cabezas de barangay.

Silan next imposed a fine of 100 pesos on each of the religious of Ilocos Norte, notwithstanding his avowed respect for religion and its ministers.

To defend himself against an expedition from Anda and against possible machinations on the part of the religious, he had all lines of communication by land and by sea closely guarded.

Silan, now in possession of money, jewelry, cattle and commodities of all kinds, and being warned by Anda that he would be considered a traitor should he not yield to the latter's authority within nine days, decided to offer his services to the British.

The British sent to Pongol (port next to Vigan) a tender carrying letters and presents to Silan. They administered to him an oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain and arranged for the delivery of the province of Ilocos. They conferred upon him the title of Sargento mayor and Alcalde mayor. They also left with him 138 printed blank titles for governors and subordinate officials...

In his capacity as "Sárgento Mayor, Alcalde Mayor, and Captain in the War for His British Majesty," he issued a circular making it known that he was going to deliver the province to the British, in view of the fact that Simon de Anda was about to send an expedition to overrun them with sword and fire, and that he found it necessary to seek the aid of the English who would protect them in the enjoyment of their freedom from the tribute and personal services.5 He included in his circular the text of the proclamation in English of Cornish and Draper in which the latter offered English protection to the Indians, provided these did not join the enemy, the Spaniards, or give them any help whatsoever. The British also promised to exempt the Ilocanos from the tribute and to respect the Catholic religion...

On the 14th of May (1763) Silan wrote to P. Juan Olalla, provincial Vicar and curate of Magsingal, informing him that he had an order from the governor of Manila to deliver the curates of Bacarra, Paoay, Badoc, San Nicolas, Batac and Candon, and that he (Silan) required the curates of the aforementioned towns to present themselves at the Casa Real (that is the name given in the Philippines to the house of provincial chiefs.)

The Bishop in a circular of May 18, addressed to all the religious, protested against the interference of Silan in ecclesiastical mat-

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5 - Isabelo de los Reyes, in op. cit., says in this connection: "I can not understand how Silan, who was very shrewd, ever made this error (showing himself to the Ilocanos as a representative of the British, in whose name he charged them tribute), or how he managed to have the Ilocanos accept the domination of the British whose rule, as he himself told them on a former occasion, was very oppressive and whose religion was false. Had he acted in this manner, he would have lost the confidence of the Ilocanos. That is why I am inclined to believe that he was deceiving the English in order to be sure of their aid against the Spaniards, but that he concealed his relations with them from the Ilocanos. Perhaps his real purpose was to drive away the English and the Spaniards from the Philippines when circumstances favored him."

ters and against unwarranted proceedings against their persons, and urged them to assemble in the convent of Bantay. In compliance with this order, the curates of the towns of the north assembled at Magsingal. From there the followers of Silan transferred them to Bantay where they remained in company with Bishop Ustariz.

This peaceful prelate, together with the other religious, wrote on May 25 to Silan indicating his lack of jurisdiction over them, and making him see the spiritual damage which, with their departure, their parishioners would sustain. He asked him to leave them free to discharge their religious duties, and that they in turn, "would not interfere with his government and would establish with him cordial relations for the good and security of the province."

Silan ordered the infidels to go to Vigan at once and rumor had it that it was his purpose to kill the religious who were shut up in Bantay. A Spanish mestizo named Miguel Vicos, an enemy of Silan due to grievances received from the tyrant, planned to kill Silan. Knowing that Pedro Becbec, an old friend of Silan and one of his lieutenants, also had just complaints against him, Vicos made him an accomplice in this project.

Becbec and Vicos agreed to carry out their plan on the 28th of May. "The religious together with the Bishop spent almost all their time praying fervently for the success of the enterprise," says F. Vivar, who was one of those confined in Bantay, and "Vicos confessed and took holy communion determined to kill or die."

The Indians, under the command of Becbec, slowly approached the house of Silan. They were told that they had been summoned to receive from the Provisor the commun of the province. In the meantime, Vicos passed through Bantay where he received the blessings of the Bishop. He then proceeded to Vigan, provided himself with a blunderbuss (trabuco), which he concealed under his coat, and then marched towards the house of Silan.

Becbec arrived at the house of Silan with his account book, saying that he had come to settle once and for all the question of the comun. Silan asked him, "why have so many people come?" Becbec replied that he had summoned only a few, but, on finding out that he was coming for the comun, the people came in great numbers, anxious to receive it and to see their Alcalde Mayor. Said Silan, 'In that case beat the drum and fire the cannon, and let the people gather here, and we will put an end to this Bishop, Provisor and friars, if they do not give us the comun.'

Silang entered his room and Becbec prevented the guards from giving the expected signal. Just then, "Vicos reached the house, mounted a lancape or bamboo bench from which he could overlook the sala, just at the moment that Silan was coming out from his room. Vicos greeted him and Silan returned the greetings. The latter then turned around to re-enter the room. Vicos at once took out the blunderbuss, discharged all its contents and Silan feel dead.

Vicos was received with joy in Bantay. The religious sang a Te Deum after which they returned to their respective curacies. The Bishop in a proclamation granted pardon to all and renewed his pledge to grant to the people exemption from the tribute and personal services.

But the rebels attempted to renew the uprising, choosing as Silan's successor, an uncle of his, Nicolas Cariño, while the wife of Silan did not cease to arouse the people to avenge the death of her husband, holding meetings with the assistants and partisans of Silan. The result was that the uprising broke out anew. Pimentel, Becbec and Reyes were attacked in Santa and forced to flee. Cariño sent agents and letters to all partisans of Silan, and several towns placed themselves under his orders.

The religious of Ilocos Norte were able to arouse their parishioners to proceed against the rebels of Vigan and their followers in Pangasinan,

and 6,000 of them assembled for this purpose. In Cabugao they defeated the rebels and on the 11th of July entered Vigan in triumph. Cariño and the chief leaders of the uprising fled. A portion of the Ilocanos from the North proceeded to the South and made themselves masters of the situation there.

But the Provisor foolishly allowed the more prominent figures of the uprising to escape to Abra instead of ordering the occupation of this part of the province.

On the 20th of September D. Manuel Ignacio de Arza y Urrutia arrived at Vigan with 100 men. He at once proceeded to Abra, the meeting place of the principal leaders of the rebellion. These were surprised by Arza's unexpected assault, and were driven to the territory of the infidels where they were pursued and captured.

Arza brought them to Vigan and had Silan's wife, Silan's cousin, Sebastian Endaya, and Miguel Flores, of Tayum (Abra), hanged. Over 90 more rebels were executed and several others were punished.

(c) Uprising in Other Provinces.

In Cagayan a revolt broke out as soon as it was learned that the British had captured Manila. The timauas of Ilagan declared themselves independent and free from the tribute, February 2, 1763. They committed acts of violence similar to those committed by the rebels of Pangasinan and Ilocos.

The revolt extended to Cabagan. The leaders were Dabo and Juan Marayac.

It was at this moment that the valiant D. Manuel Arza, who had been appointed by Anda lieutenant general and visitor of that province and of the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan, arrived, With his own force, strengthened by the addition of loyal troops, he succeeded in subduing the rebels, making the ring leaders pay with their lives

for their disloyalty. Later, he left for Vigan, where he imposed, as we have seen, similar punishment on the rebels of that region.

In La Laguna and Batangas, there were also registered criminal acts, thefts and serious attempts on the persons of Spaniards, friars and the Indians themselves. A few bands of bandits infested the roads. The tactless alcalde of La Laguna tried to enforce the orders of the Archbishop which commanded that the British should be left unmolested in their journey through that province. He punished the gobernadorcillo of Pagsanjan for disobeying such absurd mandate, and the latter in veangeance killed him.

In the provinces of Tondo and Cavite, although more submissive to authority, robberies, assassinations and other acts of violence were committed.

There were also slight disturbances in Camarines, Samar, Zamboanga and Panay. In the latter province the religious had to assemble and to depose the alcalde mayor, Quintanilla, who was a partisan of the British. The curate of Aclan, P. Barte, took his place. Anda approved this course.

Cebu also suffered from disturbance of public order caused by the mountaineers. Alcalde Labayan with the help of the Agustinian fathers, succeeded in suppressing the movement and hanged the leaders of the revolt.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS, 1767-1776

1. The Question of the Curacies During the Times of Archbishop Sta. Justa and Governor Anda.

In the following passages, Montero y Vidal tells of the incidents which arose during this period out of the question of the Philippine curacies.[1]

> On July 22, 1767, the new archbishop, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, took possession of the see of Manila, and immediately undertook to subject the regular curas to his diocesan visitation, thus reviving the Camacho controversy of 1697-1700 with the religious orders; but Santa Justa had the support of the civil authority, which had orders to enforce the royal rights of patronage:[2]

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1 - B. & R., vol. 50, pp. 29-43, being a summary of the account by Montero y Vidal. Anda became governor and captain general of the Philippines for the second time during the years 1770-1776.

2 - Right of patronage (ius patronatus) -- a determinate sum of rights and obligations entailed upon a definite person, especially in connection with the assignment and administration of a benefice; not in virtue of his hierarchical position, but by the legally regulated grant of the Church, out of gratitude towards the benefactor.

Rights involved:

(1) right of presentation -- the most important privilege -- In case of a vacancy in the benefice, the patron may propose to the ecclesiastical superiors empowered with the right of a collation, the name of a suitable person (persona idonea).

"The governor of the islands, on his side, communicated to the provincials of the religious orders rigorous commands that they must submit to the royal rights of patronage: that within a short time-limit they should present their lists of three names each (sus ternas) for appointments to all the curacies; and that in future they might not remove any religious from his post without informing the viceregal patron of the causes, whether public or private, for such action."3 The Dominican province, in a provincial council of August 5, 1767, yielded to the archbishop's claims, and during the following year he visited all the parishes administered by them; but some individuals refused to obey the council. The other orders obstinately resisted the

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(2) honorary rights: precedence in procession, sitting in church, prayers and intercessions, etc.

Obligations:

(1) cura beneficie - preserve unimpaired status of benefice.

(Catholic Encyclopedia).

3 - As Viceregal Patron the Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines possessed these rights:

(1) Decide questions relating to patronage.
(2) To be informed of all resignations or vacancies in prebends, curacies and benefices.
(3) Present suitable individuals for appointment to benefices.
(4) Administer oaths from Bishops-elect to recognize the rights and regalias of royal patronage. (Book I, Title VI).
(5) Intervene in all affairs of the spiritual government, in representation of the king, in accordance with the laws.
(6) To ask, jointly with the Audiencia, the prelates to visit their dioceses and to be in the councils. (Law 147, title XV, Book II).
(7) Intervene in any discussion between religious, using, in the first instance, his good offices, and if this is not sufficient, to employ all the means permitted by law, until order is reestablished. (Law 50, title III, Book III).

Escosura, Memoria Sobre Filipinas, pp. 55-56.

episcopal visitation, declaring that they would abandon their curacies if it were enforced. Thereupon, the archbishop appointed secular priests to the vacant curacies, including those of the Parians, Binondo, and Bataan, which were in charge of the Dominicans. As the number of Spanish priests was so small, the archbishop made up the deficiency by ordaining natives from the seminaries; but this measure caused great resentment among the regulars and their supporters, and Sta. Justa himself was disappointed in its effects, as the native clergy were generally so unfit for the office of priest in both education and morals. Complaints to the king were made by both the religious orders and the archbishop, filled with mutual accusations and recriminations; and Raon withdrew his support from the latter, ceasing to press the claims of the royal patronage -- influenced thereto, according to Montero y Vidal, by the intrigues of the Jesuits, who were enemies to Sta. Justa. ...

"The religious corporations, notwithstanding the support which they generally lent to Anda during the war with the English, regarded with displeasure his appointment as governor of Filipinas. That strict magistrate, obeying the dictates of his conscience (which some persons attribute, but without sufficient grounds, to feelings of personal revenge), had addressed to the king on April 12, 1768, an exposition which treated of 'the disorders which exist in Filipinas, and which ought to be corrected.' In this document he points out most serious abuses among the friars; in the University, which was in their charge; among the Jesuits; among the Chinese, protected by the friars, who preferred them before the Spaniards, driving away and expelling the latter from their villages; and he censures certain frauds and practices in the public administration in specified branches of the civil service. The severity with which Anda laid bare those abuses drew upon him the hatred of the friars. In this document he demanded a remedy for the disorders which he denounced, pointing out the method by which this might be effected, and declared that 'for the radical correction of these evils it is indispensable to draw up and introduce here a form of procedure which is clear, and capable of securing the just system which corresponds thereto, conferring upon the governor all the powers ne-

cessary for carrying it into execution, by those measures which prudence and the actual condition of affairs shall dictate to him.' He added: 'The choice of a zealous governor will materially contribute to laying the foundations of that great work; but it is necessary to reward him and give him authority, so that he can work to advantage, and without the hindrances which have often, by means of secret communications, cunning and disloyal maneuvers, and other malicious proceedings, frustrated the best and most carefully formed plans.' This exposition by Anda was certainly taken into account, for in the 'royal private instructions which were given to him when he was appointed governor of Filipinas we see that he was ordered to put an end to specified abuses and disorders, the king using the same terms which Anda had employed in describing those evils."

"The Archbishop Santa Justa, a man of unparalleled firmness and energetic character, from the first moment assailed the new governor of Filipinas on the question of the diocesan visitation, to which the friars continued their opposition, and demanded his support in order to make it effectual. Anda, who regarded obedience to the laws as a rule of conduct, and who brought orders from the court to subject the regulars to the royal patronage, addressed an explicit communication to the superiors of all the religious institutes, requiring their obedience to the mandate of the sovereign, and assigning a definite term, which could not be prolonged, for the presentation of their lists of appointees, in order that the curacies might be filled in this manner. All the orders of regulars openly refused to yield obedience of this sort, excepting the Dominicans -- who, more circumspect, and endeavoring to avoid the dangers which they foresaw in resistance, agreed to submit to this command -- although many of the parish priests of the order soon were disobedient to this decision of their superiors."

The archbishop convened a provincial council at Manila, which held six sessions during the period May 19-November 24, 1771; various matters of ecclesiastical administration came before it, the chief of which was the diocesan visit. In the fifth session, the subjection of the parish priests to the

diocesan visitation and the royal patronage was ordained; and at the final one it was ordered that the decree of the council should immediately be promulgated, declaring that those of the council of Mexico (which Urban VIII had ordered to be observed in Filipinas) were not now binding. In the first session the bishop of Nueva Caceres, Fray Antonio de Luna (a Franciscan), became involved in disputes over the appointment of secretaries, and was expelled from the assembly; he then retired to his diocese, and during the entire period of the council opposed its proceedings, with protests, legal formalities, and official edicts. Bishop Ezpeleta of Cebu died soon after the opening of the council, and the government of the diocese devolved upon Luna, but, it seems, not its representation in the council. A secretary of that body, Father Joaquin Traggia, was sent to Madrid as its agent and bearer of its despatches; but the king refused to accept his credentials, and ordered him to go to his convent at Zaragoza, forbidding him to return to Filipinas. (Toward the end of this council, the archbishop, in concert with his suffragans, drew up a tariff for the parochial fees to be collected by the curas.) The religious orders finally secured, through influence at the court, the revocation of the order given to Anda in regard to the regular curas, which had resulted in many of them being removed from the Indian villages and replaced by native priests; but no change was made in regard to the diocesan visitation. The bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fray Miguel Garcia, claimed this right, and convened a diocesan council in 1773; the only result was, to arouse a hot controversy between Garcia and the Dominicans, to which order he belonged. That order also had a dispute with the archbishop over his attempt to visit the beaterio of Santa Catalina; but in 1779 the king decided that this institution should continue to enjoy its exemption from visitation.

"By royal decree of November 9, 1774, it was ordered that the curacies held by the regulars should be secularized as fast as they became vacant. Anda suspended the execution of this command, and wrote to the court, specifying the evils which would ensue from the secularization of the curacies which the archbishop desired; and in consequence of this

and of the urgent appeals of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Recollects, the king ordered by a decree of December 11, 1776, that what had been decided on this point in the decree of November 9, 1774, should not be put into execution and that affairs should be restored to their former status and conditon, and their curacies to the religious; that the regulations for his royal patronage and the ecclesiastical visitation should be observed, but that the latter might be made by the bishops in person, or by religious of the same order as those who should serve in the curacies, and without collecting visitation fees. The king also directed in the said decree that efforts should be made, by all possible means and methods, to form a large body of competent clerics, in order that, conformably to the royal decree of June 23, 1757, these might be installed in the vacant curacies, thus gradually establishing the secularization that had been decreed."

The Dominican historians, Ferrando and Fonseca in the following passages give, from their Historia de los PP. Dominicos, the Dominican viewpoint on the events of 1767-1776:[1]

When Raon insisted on enforcing the royal rights of patronage, the orders all resisted him, repeating the arguments which they had alleged to Arandia in the like case. The Dominicans declared that they could not obey the governor's commands until they could receive orders from their superiors in Europe; Raon refused to wait, and the provincial declared that his curas would rather surrender their ministries, but would continue to serve therein until the governor, as vice-patron, should command that these be surrendered to other curas. "This was sufficient to make the archbishop hasten to deliver to the secular clergy, first the ministries of the Parian and Binondo, and afterwards those of the province of Ba-

1 - B. & R., vol. 50, p. 30 ff.

taan, notwithstanding that he could have no cause for complaint against our religious, who without resistance or opposition had accepted his diocesan visit, as he himself confessed in letters to the king and the supreme pontiff. He found a pretext for proceeding to the secularization of the curacies in Bataan, in the banishment of the Jesuits, whose expulsion from the islands occurred at the same time as the events which we are relating." "As the ministries in the island of Negros were left vacant in consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the governor addressed himself to our provincial, asking for ministers to occupy those vacant posts. The latter excused himself from this, on account of the lack of religious; and the archbishop made this a pretext for informing and counseling the governor that, since the Dominicans had offered their resignation of the doctrinas in the province of Bataan, on account of the controversy over the right of patronage, the religious who were ministering in that district could be sent to the island of Negros. He offered to provide secular priests in their place, and availed himself of this opportunity to despoil our religious of the curacies or ministries of Bataan. In effect, this was done; and our religious were compelled to abandon to the seculars this province of the archbishopric, in order to go to learn a new dialect and minister to strange peoples in the island of Negros." "The bishop of Cebu had no secular priests capable of replacing the Jesuits (as deserving as persecuted), who were administering the island of Negros and the province of Iloilo, ... consequently, our religious began to minister in the villages of Iloilo, Himaras, Mandurriao, and Molog, in the island of Panay; and those of Ilog, Cabancalan, Jimamaylan, and Guilgonan, in that of Negros. With great repugnance the province took charge of an administration of which the Jesuit fathers had been despoiled in so unworthy a manner; and not only on this account but on that of the great difficulties which arose from this separation of provinces and villages, in the regular visiting of them and in intercourse and the supply of provisions, our fathers abandoned those ministries at the end of some years; and in the meantime the bishop of Cebu undertook to transfer their administration to the secular priests. Thus it was that by the year 1776 our religious had departed from all those villages."

2. The Expulsion of the Jesuits

The reign of Charles III was marked by the ascendancy in the government of Spain of men strongly imbued with the spirit and tendencies of the Age of Reason. In common with the French philosophers, they were unfriendly and hostile to the Catholic Church. It was their purpose and desire to destroy the power and influence of the Church in the political and cultural life of Spain. At their advice, Charles III adopted and put into effect a strong repressive policy against the Order of the Society of Jesus. For the Jesuits had distinguished themselves for their militant and uncompromising attitude in matters affecting the fundamental rights and prerogatives of the Catholic Church. Charles III and his advisers felt that it was necessary and imperative to banish the Jesuits from Spain and Spain's colonies to enable them to put into effect their plans of reform. Accordingly, on February 27, 1767, Charles III, in the Real Decreto de Ejecución, ordered the expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus from Spain and from all of Spain's dominions in the Indies. Charles III's royal decree read in part as follows:

> Having accepted the opinion of the members of my Royal Council in Extraordinary, which met on the 29th of last January for consultation concerning past occurrences and concerning matters which persons

of the highest character have reported to me; moved by very grave causes relative to the obligation under which I find myself placed of maintaining my people in subordination, tranquility, and justice, and other urgent, just, and necessary reasons, which I reserve in my royal mind; making use of the supreme economical authority, which the Almighty has placed in my hands for the protection of my vassals, and the respect of my crown; I have ordered that the Jesuits be expelled from all my dominions of Spain, the Indies, the Philippine Islands, and other adjacent regions, priests as well as coadjutors or lay-brothers, who may have made the first profession, and the novices, who may wish to follow them; and that all the properties of the Society in my dominions be taken; and for the uniform execution of this decree throughout these dominions I give you full and exclusive authority; and that you may form the necessary instructions and orders, according to your best judgment, and what you may think the most effective, expeditious, and peaceful method for carrying out these instruments and orders. And I wish that not only the magistrates and superior tribunals of these kingdoms may execute your mandates punctually, but that the same understanding may be entertained concerning those which you may direct to the viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors, corregidores, alcaldes mayores, and any other magistrates of those kingdoms and provinces; and that in response to their respective requests, all troops, militia or civilian, shall render the necessary assistance, without any delay or evasion, under pain of the delinquent's falling under my royal indignation; and I charge the provincials, presidents, rectors, and other superiors of the Society of Jesus to accept these provisions punctually and in carrying them out the Jesuits shall be treated with the greatest regard, attention, honesty, and assistance, so that in every respect the action taken may be in conformity with my sovereign intentions. You will keep this in mind for its exact fulfillment, as I very confidently expect from your zeal, activity, and love of my royal service; and to this end you will give the necessary orders and instructions, accompanying them with copies of my royal decree, which being signed by you shall be given the same faith and credit as the original.

On March 31, 1767, Charles III informed the Pope, at that time Pope Clement XIII, of the action he had taken against the Jesuits. The king's letter to the Pope read as follows:[1]

Most Holy Father,

Your holiness is well aware that the first duty of a sovereign is to watch over the peace and preservation of his state, and to provide for the good government and internal tranquility of his subjects. In compliance with this principle, I have been under the imperious necessity of resolving upon the immediate expulsion of all the Jesuits who were established in my kingdoms and dominions, and to send them to the state of the church, under the immediate, wise, and holy direction of your most holy beautitude, most worthy father and master of all the faithful.

I should fall under the obliquy of throwing a heavy charge upon the apostolic privy council, by obliging it to exhaust its treasures in the supporting of those poor Jesuits who happen to have been born my vassals, had I not made previous provision, as I have, for the payment to each individual of a sum sufficient to maintain him for life.

On such understanding, I pray your holiness to view this my determination simply as an indispensable step of political economy, taken only after mature examination, and the most profound reflection.

Doing me the justice to believe (as I pray you will), your holiness will assuredly grant your holy apostolic benediction on this measure, as well as on all my actions, which have for their object, in the same way, the promotion of the honor and glory of God.

(Signed) YO EL REY

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1 - J. P. and W. P. Robertson, Letters from Paraguay (1838), II, 81-82. Quoted by Cleven, Readings in Hispanic American History.

Pope Clement XIII was deeply grieved by the action taken against the Jesuits by Charles III. In a brief but meaningful letter which he wrote to Charles III, the Pope made known how he felt towards the Society of Jesus. The text of the Pope's letter is as follows:[2]

> "Is it the Catholic Charles III, whom we so much love, that is to fill to the brim the cup of our bitter afflictions; to overwhelm our unhappy old age with grief and tears; and finally to precipitate us into the tomb? We say it in the presence of God and man, that the body, the institution, the spirit of the Society of Jesus, is absolutely innocent; and not only innocent, but that it is pious, it is useful, it is holy; and all this whether considered with reference to its laws, to its maxims, or to its objects. Those who have attempted to detract from its merits, have only called down upon their lies and contradictions the contempt and detestation of all good and impartial men."

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Bourbon rulers of Europe took steps to have the Society suppressed altogether. Charles III sent a special delegate to the Vatican to work for the Society's suppression. Acting under strong pressure from the Bourbon Kings of Spain, France, Portugal, Sicily and Parma, Pope Clement XIV issued a decree of suppression in 1773.

At the time of the suppression, Rev. Father Lorenzo

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2 - Ibid.

Ricci was the General of the Society of Jesus. On November 19, 1775, in Saint Angelo, Rome, where he was at that time staying, a virtual prisoner, Father Ricci made a brief statement touching on the suppression of the Society. The statement read as follows:[3]

> In the presence of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament Who will soon pass judgment on me, I declare that I have not done anything to justify the suppression of the Society. I know this to be a fact being fully informed of the affairs of the Society as Superior of the same. But, as God alone knows, I can not be responsible for everything. For this reason, with my last moment fast approaching, I declare that I am not in the least disturbed about what has happened. I leave everything in the hands of God. I pardon all, from the bottom of my heart, and I ask God for all manner of blessings for every one. Lastly, I declare that all that I have stated has been made out of regard for the Society and for the Faith.

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3 - Archivo General de Simancas. Quoted in J. O. Rubio, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 89.

CHAPTER SIX

GOVERNOR BASCO'S ADMINISTRATION, 1778-1787

1. Basco's Plans and Policies

Following the death of Anda in 1776, Pedro Sarrio became governor of the Philippines (1776-1778). Sarrio was succeeded in 1778 by Jose de Basco y Vargas. In the following passages, Montero y Vidal tells of Basco's plans and policies.[1]

> In July, 1778, the new proprietary governor arrived at Manila; this was Jose de Basco y Vargas, an officer in the Spanish royal navy. The officials of the Audiencia forthwith sent a remonstrance to the court, against their being subordinated to a man whose rank "gave him only the right to be addressed as 'you' while each one of the magistrates (of the Audiencia) enjoyed the title of "Lordship,'" and they asked for the revocation of Basco's appointment; but of course this was refused, and they were rebuked for their officiousness. As a result, the auditors opposed all that Basco attempted, and even conspired to seize his person and put Sarrio in his place. That officer, however, refused to join them, and informed the governor of the scheme; in consequence, Basco arrested the recalcitrant auditors and other persons connected with their plans (including Cencelly), and sent them all to Spain. Now free from hindrances, he devoted himself to the administration of the government, the welfare of the country, and the development of its resources.

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1 - Op. cit., in B. & R., vol. 50, p. 47.

"In a document entitled 'A general economic plan,' he extolled the advantages which are inherent in the promotion and development of agriculture, commerce, and industries. He offered therein to bestow rewards and distinctions on the persons who should excel in agriculture, in making plantations of cotton, of mulberry trees, and of the choicest spices, as cloves, cinnamon, pepper, and nutmeg; to those who should establish manufactures of silk, porcelain, and fabrics of hemp, flax, and cotton like those that were received from the Coromandel Coast, Malabar, and China; to those who would undertake to work the mines of gold, iron, copper, and tin; to those who should make discoveries useful to the State; and to those who should excel in sciences, the liberal arts, and mechanics. He also circulated instructions in regard to the method of cultivating and preparing for use cotton, silk, sugar, etc. He also, in Camarines, compelled the planting of more than four millions of mulberry trees, which for several years yielded an excellent product; but these important plantations were abandoned after his term of office (expired). He improved the schools, and aided the diffusion of knowledge by promoting the knowledge of the Castilian language. In order to repress the boldness of the murderous highwaymen who infested the roads in the provinces nearest to Manila, he appointed judges with power of condemnation (jueces de acordada); these accompanied by a counsellor and an executioner, by summary process tried the malefactors whom they arrested in their respective districts, and applied the penalty - a measure so efficacious that in a short time there was complete security everywhere. The Audiencia appealed against this measure, and the king issued a decree notifying the governor to abstain from meddling in the jurisdiction of that court. In acknowledging the receipt of this sovereign command, Basco remarked that 'unfortunately it had arrived too late.' As war had been again declared between España and Inglaterra, Basco caused the fortifications of Manila and Cavite, and the forts in the provinces, to be repaired, changing a great part of the artillery therein, for new pieces. He also reorganized the army. In

1778 the order for the expulsion of the Chinese was revoked, and a considerable number of them returned to Manila.

A royal decree of November 15, 1777, recommended the establishment of an institution in which vagrants and dissolute persons might be shut up. Accordingly, Manuel del Castillo y Negrete, minister of justice for the Philippines, drew up and printed (Sampaloc, 1779) a manual of ordinances for the management of a general refuge for poor persons, beggars, women of lewd life, abandoned children, and orphans. For this project he had obtained the opinions of learned persons, all of whom extolled it; and he sent this document to the king. Besides promoting all interests of morality, and the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce, Basco founded the noted "Economic Society of Friends of the Country." A royal decree dated August 27, 1780, had ordered him to convene all the learned or competent persons in the colony, "in order to form an association of selected persons, capable of producing useful ideas;" but when this decree arrived, Basco had already founded the above society. On February 7, 1781, the active members of the general tribunal (junta) of commerce had assembled, and agreed upon the constitution of the society, a number of them signing their names as its members - among them the Marques de Villamediana, the prior of the consulate of commerce. "The body of merchants endowed the society with a permanent fund of 960 pesos a year, the value of two toneladas which were assigned to it in the lading of the Acapulco galleon." The society was formally inaugurated on May 6, 1781, under the presidency of Basco, who made an eloquent address. Its first president was the quartermaster-general of the islands, Ciriaco Gonzales Carvajal; according to its first regulations, it contained the following sections; natural history, agriculture, and rural economy, factories and manufactures, internal and foreign commerce, industries, and popular education. "Stimulated by Basco, the society undertook with great ardor to promote the cultivation of indigo, cotton, cinnamon, and pepper, and the silk industry, according to the orders published by the superior authority. The parish priest

of Tambobong, Fray Matias Octavio, taught his parishioners to prepare the indigo, presenting to the society the first specimens, which were adjudged to be of superior quality. In 1784, the first shipment of this article to Europa was made in the royal fragata "Asuncion". The society also recommended that effort be made to attain perfection in weaving and dyeing. (The society declined greatly after the departure of its founder; and Aguilar roughly opposed it. In 1809, it was extinguished; two years later, orders were received for its reestablishment, but this was not accomplished until 1819. In the following year, its constitution was remodeled; and in 1821 it founded at its own cost a professorship of agriculture and an academy of design, and established special instruction in dyeing. In 1824, it resolved to bestow rewards on the most successful farmers; and it introduced from China martins, to fight the locusts that were desolating the fields. In 1826, its constitution experienced another revision, but during more than half a century it gave hardly any sign of its existence. It had a flash of vitality in 1882, but soon fell again into a decline. Today (about 1893) there is hardly any indication that Manila remembers a society of this sort; and, as it is not in the Guia de forasteros ("Guide for strangers"), it may be said that it has ceased to exist.

"Filipinas had been, until the arrival of the illustrious Basco y Vargas in the country, a heavy burden on the capital, since every year the situado was sent in cash from Mexico to meet the obligations of the islands. In order to free España from this sort of load, and to raise the country from its depressed condition, he conceived the vast project of stimulating the cultivation of tobacco, by establishing a government monopoly of it. He communicated his plan to the Spanish government; and by a royal order of February 9, 1780, the monopoly of tobacco, similar to that which was in force in the other dominions of the nation, was decreed. He immediately published two proclamations, on December 13 and 25 respectively, in 1781, prohibiting the sale, traffic, and manufacture of tobacco; and on February 16, 1782, he issued (signed and sealed by

himself), 'Instructions which are given to all the commanders or heads of the patrols, the provincial administrators, the market inspectors, and other persons who are under obligation to prevent loss to the revenue from tobacco.' These were directed to the prevention of smuggling, showing the way in which investigations should be conducted - including the houses of parish priests, the convents, colleges, and beaterios, the quarters of the soldiers, etc. He created a board of direction for this revenue, a general office of administration or agency, and subordinate offices to this in the provinces. Basco's idea was strongly opposed by various interests; but the governor's energy was able to conquer this unjust opposition, and the monopoly was organized on March 1, 1782; it constituted the basis of the prosperity of the exchequer in that country, and its most important source of revenue.

"The zealous governor visited the provinces in person, in order to inform himself of their needs and to remedy these, compelling their governors and other functionaries to fulfill their trusts as they should. He also organized various military expeditions to occupy the Igorrot country."

2. The Tobacco Monopoly.[1]

By far the richest of the state monopolies in revenue-producing capacity was the tobacco monopoly, which, moreover, proved not less important as a factor in the general economic development of the islands than it was for the treasury. The establishment of this monopoly met with stubborn resistance on the part of the natives. They looked upon tobacco as a prime necessity, being accustomed to its use almost from infancy, and naturally objected to the limitation of its cultivation and sale.

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1 - C. C. Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 16, pp. 680-711; vol. 17, pp. 125-148.

The maintenance of this monopoly involved: (1) the prohibition of the cultivation of tobacco outside of certain districts; (2) the strict regulation of the amount to be raised within those districts, which in turn, on account of the inertness of the natives, involved compulsory labor on the part of those once engaged in its production; (3) the prevention of contraband sales, whether of tobacco taken from the crop permitted to be raised or of other tobacco; (4) the purchase of the entire crop by the government at a price determined by the authorities; (5) the inspection of the growing crops; (6) the inspection and classification of the product as to quality; (7) the preparation of the tobacco under government supervision; (8) the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes, etc., in government factories; (9) the prohibition of the exportation or importation of tobacco except by the government; (10) the collection and purchase of as much as possible of the tobacco raised in districts not fully under government control.

At first the cultivation of tobacco was confined to the district of Gapan, in the province of Nueva Ecija, to certain districts in the Cagayan valley and to the little island of Marinduque. It was not until after 1828 that it was found that the tobacco from the Cagayan valley was both better in quality and cheaper to raise than that of Gapan. Before the close of the monopoly the authorized tobacco-planting districts were in the provinces of Cagayan, La Isabela, La Union, Abra, Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte and Nueva Ecija, all in northern or north-central Luzon. Collections of tobacco raised without government supervision were made in the Visayas after 1840 and among the Igorotes of the north after 1842.

The income and the expenditures of the tobacco monopoly were the largest items in the budget. In 1880-81 the gross receipts amounted to 8,571,200 pesos, against which were charged; for tobacco purchased, 1,548,110 pesos; other materials, 28,614 pesos; expenses of collection, 80,475 pesos; cost of manufacture, 1,304,061 pesos; cost of supervision, 152,882 pesos; other expenses, in-

cluding estimated proportion of expense of the general administration of all monopolies, 50,000 pesos; leaving a net revenue of nearly 3,500,000 pesos.

3. The Real Compañia de Filipinas.[1]

That rage for speculation in Oriental Seas which seized all the nations of Europe also aroused Spain from her indifference towards commercial enterprises.[2] The merchants of Cadiz, encouraged by the profits which they obtained from their exclusive trade with America, proposed to establish another monopoly over the trade of the islands of the East, and obtained from the monarch due authority to establish a company of the Philippines (Compañia de Filipinas), under the cedula of March 29, 1733. Under this cedula, the Compañia de Filipinas enjoyed many privileges. But the merchants of Manila were opposed to the granting of these privileges. As a result the proposed company did not come into being.

However, the need of extending the trade of the Islands was strongly felt in Manila. The exigencies of a growing and a fast developing people and the spectacle of other nations actively engaged in trade in Oriental seas gave rise to the idea that Manila should obtain commodities right at the places where they were produced. Accordingly, the Gover-

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1 - Excerpts from chapters 9, 10 and 11 of La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas, by Manuel Azcarraga y Palmero, (Madrid, 1871). The author, a Filipino-Spaniard, had been Alcalde Mayor of Cagayan and of Bulacan, and, at one time, Civil Governor of Manila.

2 - In the early years of the 17th century England, Holland and France chartered commercial companies to engage in trade in the East. England had her East India Company, Holland the Dutch East India Company and France, the French East India Company. Through their respective India Companies, England, Holland and France carried on their commercial and colonial activities in the Far East.

nor, in 1717, dispatched the frigate "Deseada" to the coast of Malabar to establish commercial relations with the Nabob of Carnot. The attempt, however, proved unprofitable and hence was abandoned.

After the signing of the treaty of peace with England, the number of European vessels flying Asiatic flags increased. But the true nationality of those vessels was so well known that the fiscal of His Majesty was obliged to appeal to the Real Audiencia asking for prompt and severe punishment for those foreigners who were violating, in such open manner, the existing laws. The superior tribunal, with much prudence, and taking into consideration the great harm that would come to the community by imposing penalty for violations which for some time were being tolerated, limited itself to notifying the aforementioned Frenchmen that, if they ever returned to the port of Manila to sell merchandise, they would be penalized to the full extent of the law. This decision was based on the fact that, if the said vessels and the buyers of their cargo were to be proceeded against, action must be taken against all the residents of the city.

The good king Carlos III for sure did not look with indifference upon the abandonment and isolation of the Philippines, and the eminent men who surrounded him could not but see the cause of this state of affairs and the means of combatting it. It was therefore agreed to establish a direct communication between Manila and Cadiz via the Cape of Good Hope and to adopt measures that would develop the resources and the commerce of these Islands, with a view to freeing them from their dependence upon Mexico. For this purpose, a war vessel was to be dispatched annually from Cadiz to Manila with the privilege of loading there, on the account of the merchants of Manila, native products and all kinds of Oriental goods, including those of China and India. In line with this purpose, the restrictions on trade with the Far East were revoked.

The frigate Buenconsejo was the first to make the expedition under this arrangement, arriving in Manila in 1765. Partly because of unusual attach-

ment to routine and to those petty customs which create exclusivism and monopoly, and partly because of the restrictions connected with the new venture, the idea was not well received in Manila. The merchants refused to take part in the loading of the vessel and it was necessary to load it on the account of the king, while, according to rumor, the goods were concealed so that the vessel could not take on any cargo.

Nevertheless, the vessels of the government continued to make these expeditions until March 1785, when the frigate Asuncion made the 14th and last voyage. But this method of carrying on trade had not been adopted except as an experiment and as a means of opening the way to private interests, which were expected to take advantage of this traffic and of the newly opened route.

The term of the Compañia Guipuscoana de Caracas having expired, and its members not desiring to continue the business without the former privileges, the stockholders decided to transfer operations to Oriental regions as well as the capital still remaining. The proposed bases of a new association having been presented, the king promulgated a royal order authorizing the creation of the Real Compañia de Filipinas, March 10, 1785.

Article 2 of this decree fixed the capital of the Company at 8,000,000 pesos divided into 32,000 shares of ₱250 a share. The monarch showed such interest in the success of this Company that, not only did he invite the Banco Nacional de San Carlos and the companies in Sevilla and Havana, as well as the municipalities to take part in it, but also he himself bought shares to the value of 1,000,000 pesos, in addition to the shares which belonged to him as a member of the Compañia de Caracas.

The principal purposes of the Company were to put into communication all our colonies among themselves and with the mother country, to encourage commerce with the countries of Asia; to give greater scope to the commerce of the Philippines, and to take advantage of the direct route between Cadiz and

Manila which the government vessels had used. Its operations were to consist in supplying Manila and the Islands with all kinds of goods from Europe and America, domestic and foreign, and to carry in return spices and other native products, as well as manufactures of the Philippines and of other Asiatic countries, in the trade with which it enjoyed, under Article 23 of the aforementioned cedula, exclusive privileges.

Consequently, the Company could send, negotiate, and dispatch, like any other subject, vessels registered for the American dominions, but it could do this only from the ports of the Peninsula and not from Manila. Moreover, it could send expeditions to China and India to obtain the effects and products necessary to its commerce, and to establish factories in the ports of those nations.

The Company also had another purpose and that was to stimulate the development of the wealth which lay hidden in these Islands and to encourage an active exporting business, hence, under article 50 of the cedula, the Company was obliged to apply 4% of the net profit of its operations to the development of agriculture and manufactures in these Islands, the board of directors residing in Manila being required to propose to the court whatever it thought proper for the fulfillment of this important duty.

Under the next article, the Company was also obliged to carry, free of charge in its vessels, the professors of natural and exact sciences and those artisans who, of their own free will or by order of the government, would go to the Islands, whether Spaniards or foreigners. Under article 52, one third of the crew of its vessels should be natives of the Philippines.

In return for these obligations, the Company was granted, in addition to the special privilege of being the only one which could carry on direct trade between the ports of the Peninsula and those of China and India, others of much importance. Of these, the one which was undoubtedly of most value was the privilege of using the flag of the royal

navy in all its vessels. Besides, the Company could, during the first two years, acquire foreign vessels and register them free of cost; introduce, also free of duty, all the effects destined for its vessels; and obtain from the royal arsenals all the naval stores which it needed, paying for them the same price which the government had paid.

In the selection of personnel for its vessels, the Company was also granted advantageous privileges, for not only could it employ under contract foreign seamen, only with proviso that the first and second mates and at least one half of the crew must be nationals, but also it was authorized to summon to the service officials of the royal navy.

Moreover, for the benefit of the Company all the laws, practices, orders and royal decrees which prohibited the importation into the Peninsula of muslins and cotton and silk textiles were revoked, its vessels being authorized to buy all kinds of cloths manufactures from India, China and Japan, being only required to pay 5% of the current values of these goods. As a special concession, the products of the Philippines were in those of the Peninsula.

Under laws 1, 5, 7, and 71, title 45, book 9 of the Recopilacion de las leyes de Indias, all subjects of His Majesty, whether of the Peninsula or from America, were forbidden to trade with Asiatic countries including the Philippines. The latter, as a special privilege, was allowed to send only one vessel to Acapulco. These prohibitions were revoked in the interest of the Company.

Likewise, law 9, title 18, book 6 and laws 34 and 35, title 45, book 9 of the above-mentioned Recopilacion, which forbade the merchants of Manila to enter into negotiations with the ports of China and India, and which regulated in a most vexing manner the traffic which the Chinese carried on with that city, were revoked. Consequently, the merchants of the city were now at liberty to dispatch vessels to the ports of China and India, and to acquire from them the manufactures which were in much demand, without waiting for the Chinese champans or Armenian ves-

sels which used to monopolize this trade. At the same time, the Chinese were given greater opportunity to sell in Manila their goods and to buy those of the country, without being bothered by the intervention of deputies and other obstacles which were established under the name of pancada...3

At the same time that they began to despatch cargo, the directors of the Company devoted themselves to the production of the country, making heavy advances to farmers and laying down conditions of purchase which were very advantageous.

They specially were interested in the production of silk, indigo, sugar, and cotton, as these were the articles, which had better prospects and which had been under cultivation for some time in the country. ...

The Company, likewise, desired to dedicate part of its capital to manufactures in the Islands. It wanted to make of the colony as rich in natural resources a manufacturing country, where the raw materials of industry are so abundant and where wages are so cheap. It expected to make the existing looms

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3 - The term "pancada" is used to designate the system under which foreign commodities were sold upon their arrival at the port of Manila. As regulated by the decree of August 9, 1589, the system was as follows: "... no Chinese or foreign ships could sell at retail the goods which they carried to the islands...; nor could the inhabitants buy the goods, openly or in secret, under severe penalties. The purchase of the said goods was to be discussed by the Council, and as many and so qualified persons as the business demanded were to be appointed. These persons alone should buy in a lot all the merchandise brought by the ships, and then distribute it fairly among the citizens, Spanish, the Chinese, and the Indians, at the same price at which it should be appraised. (B. & R., vol. 7, p. 138.)

The order of August 9, 1589 was repeated by the decrees of January 11, 1594, June 11, 1595, January 25, 1596, and August 9, 1689.

manufacturing cotton shirtings, rayadillos, guinaras, tapestry, terlingas, linens, cambrics, and other textiles into a great manufacturing industry, and proposed to put their products in competition with those from Bengal and Coromandel. In this venture the Company sustained enormous losses.

By 1790, according to a statement, the Company had invested 11,838,000 reales vellon of its capital and 3,241,000 in edifices. The statement also shows that after five years of operation, it had not established commercial relations with India, China, and Japan. It limited itself to acquiring, from the beginning, the commodities from those countries from the merchants of Manila. Such a transaction was very disadvantageous to the Company, for it usually paid 90% more than the prices paid at the places of production. Moreover, the Society was not fulfilling one of its principal purposes, which was to establish direct trade with India and China.

In view of the small quantity of Oriental goods that it could obtain at Manila, the Company asked the Court for an extension of articles 29 and 30 of its charter. The Government granted the request August 2, 1789, as a result of which the port of Manila was declared free and open to the vessels of European nations for a period of three years. Under this permit, Europeans could introduce and sell in Manila all kinds of Asiatic goods, except European commodities.

For the first time, flags of European nations appeared at the bay of Manila as symbols of peace and commerce. All of this had no purpose other than to favor the interests of the Company.

The Company also obtained in 1803 a royal permit to send annually one vessel from the port of Manila to America, with goods to the value of 300,000 pesos. The expeditions, however, were to be confined to Peru, in order that the Acapulco galleon might not be interfered with in the least. In this way commercial relations were established anew with the vice-royalty of Peru.

In 1805, King Carlos IV issued a royal order prolonging for fifteen years the charter of the Company, with the same privileges as before. The capital was fixed at 12,500,000 pesos, divided into shares of 250 pesos each, the King acquiring 3,943,-000 pesos worth of stock.

Notable changes were made in the new charter. In the first place, foreigners were authorized to own shares and to dispose freely of the same. In the second place, vessels going to China and India for merchandise could sail direct to the Peninsula without calling at the port of Manila. And lastly, the privilege granted for a period of three years to foreign vessels to import foreign merchandise to Manila and to export native products was made perpetual.

In 1830, the privileges of the Company were revoked and the port of Manila was definitely opened to foreign nations.

The Real Compañia de Filipinas for various reasons failed to come up to the expectations of its founders and promoters. In the first place, the Company, in the words of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, was "badly managed, making absurd commercial operations, and followed no true mercantile principle." Another contributory factor to its failure was the hostile attitude towards the Company on the part of the merchants of Manila. The Company, however, contributed to a certain extent to the economic progress of the Philippines. In the words of Dr. Tavera

"The encouragement given by the head Compañia to develop industrial and agricultural produc-

tion, backed by the money it had distributed in the provinces with that purpose, had at length to produce their results and if the Company did fail, on the other hand, thanks to it, Philippine production made considerable progres."4

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4 - "Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines", a paper read before the Philippine Columbian Association, 1912.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PHILIPPINES AT THE CLOSE OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

(1) The Government of the Philippines

Of conditions in the Philippines at the close of the eighteenth century, an excellent survey is that contained in Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga's Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas. Martinez de Zuñiga, an Agustinian friar, made a tour of the Philippines in 1800, in the company of Ignacio Maria de Alava, commander of a Spanish fleet which had come to the Philippines at that time. In the Estadismo, written shortly after he returned from his travels, Father Zuñiga set down detailed observations of conditions in the provinces that he visited as well as of various phases of the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines.

The following passages, dealing with the colonial administration are taken from the edition of the Estadismo, published in 1893 by Wenceslao Retana:

> The first tribunal of Manila is that of the Governor. In order to understand his power and authority, it is necessary to reproduce here what the Franciscan history has to say on this point: (Part I, Book I, Chapter 61)[1]

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1 - This is the famous work of the Franciscan friar, Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, in three volumes entitled,

"The authority, grandeur, and supericrity of the Governors of these Islands have no equal, even in the greatest of the many viceroyalties of Europe that are subject to the Crown of Spain, for none of these has such extended dominions. Neither is there any Governor or Viceroy, who enjoys the preeminence that belongs to the Governor of the Philippines in relation to the receiving and sending of ambassadors to all the kingdoms of this realm, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, the taking of measures of vengeance on behalf of the Catholic Majesty, prerogatives which the Governor could exercise without waiting for orders from Spain. As a result many crowned kings rendered by vassalage to the Governor of the Philippines, and, recognizing him as their superior, held him in respect, feared him in arms, sought in earnest his friendship, and received punishment from him whenever they failed to comply with their promises. ...

The Governor bears the title of Governor, Captain General, and President of the Real Audiencia and as such has sole authority to decide all matters relating to the royal treasury, government and war, acting with the advice of the Auditors only in matters of great importance. He also had power to hear in the first instance criminal cases involving the paid soldiers; to provide for Alcaldes, Correjimientos, Teniantazgos, and other justices in all the Islands; to exercise with the assistance of the Chief Clerk (appointed by the king) of the department of administration and war, the powers of government, justice, war; to have his Guard of twelve halberdiers who always accompany his person; and several other powers. He receives as salary eight thousand pesos de minas, and 450 maravedis, making all in all, 13,235 pesos and 3 gramos de oro comun."

To the original salary of the governor has been added what he gets from the contrabands which raise it to about 20,000 pesos. The Governor has

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Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio de Religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas. It was printed in the Philippines in the year 1738.

an Auditor of war, who serves as assessor in all disputes. The judicial proceedings are referred to one of the two fiscals of the King for legal opinion; then they go to the assessor with whose decision the governor ordinarily agrees. This office of the assessor is very lucrative for, aside from the two thousand pesos salary which the King grants to him, he enjoys certain fees, and, besides, receives five hundred pesos for each of the royal revenues. Above all, he possesses much power, he being the man on whom rely for the satisfactory settlement of their cases those who in Manila, come under military jurisdiction, or who are exempted from ordinary jurisdiction by reason of their being employed in connection with the royal revenues. Few indeed are those who would want to antagonize him, for, when they least expect it, they get involved in a dispute, and of course they would want that he renders an opinion favorable to their cause. For this reason, his position is one of great distinction, for he is looked upon as a sort of a minister of the Governor, who can exercise if he wants to greater authority than that of the king himself in the Court of Madrid.

With regard to the Real Audiencia, I shall refer to Chapter 63 of the Franciscan history already mentioned:

"The Real Audiencia and Chancillery of the city of Manila, capital of the Philippines, has wider jurisdiction and authority than any other under the Spanish monarchy, because residing only in Manila, it comprehends the whole island of Luzon and the whole Archipelago, in accordance with the provisions of the new royal orders of May 5, 1583, and May 26, 1596. It was founded, for the first time in the city of Manila, in the year 1584, on the suggestion of the first Bishop of Manila, Fray Domingo de Salazar, in the same manner and with the same formalities followed elsewhere in the Indias. In the year 1591, the Audiencia was suppressed, its existence being deemed unnecessary and the creation of an army of four hundred soldiers being then considered more urgent. But in the year 1598 the King determined to re-establish it, as in effect it was done, the Royal seal which contained the order being received with the traditional solemnity on the 8th of May, 1598.

As constituted, it was composed of a President, who was Governor Francisco Tello, and the Auditors D. Antonio de Morga, Cristobal Tellez Almosa, Alvaro Rodriguez Zambrano, and Geronimo Salazar. Ever since that time the Audiencia has been constituted by a President, who is always the Governor of the Philippines, four Auditors, and one Fiscal with his counsellor at law, clerk of court, and attorneys, chaplain, agent of the treasury, porter, sacristan, majordomo, and four Indian porters, a lawyer for poor prisoners, an attorney for the poor, a warden of the court prison with his lieutenant and servant, and constables. The salary of the President is included in the eight thousand pesos already noted. The auditors and the fiscal receive 3,308 pesos, 6 tomines,(x) and 6 gramos de oro a year. The other officials have their respective salaries."

To the Real Audiencia has been added a Regent and a Fiscal of the Royal Exchequer, so that the fiscals of the king are two, one for the Royal Exchequer, and one for the Civil Department. In the absence of one, the other takes charge of the two offices, which give him much to do; and, inasmuch as in this country mental labor is very prejudicial, many fiscals have succumbed under the weight of so many judicial proceedings, which take place in the Philippines and which they are called upon to handle. The Regent is the one that directly governs the Audiencia, because the Governor, although he is President, takes little part in its business, and generally signs decisions without examining them, and even without seeing the trial. The Real Audiencia was established to check the despotism of the governors, a thing which was never fulfilled, for the gowned gentlemen are always the weaker, and the Governor can place them under arrest and have them sent to Spain, banished to the provinces under the pretext that they must take a census of the Indians, or locked up at Fort Santiago, as has frequently been done. Granting that these two tribunals enjoy equal respectability, in cases of notorious injustice there should be an appeal from the

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(x) Third part of a drachm. (Drachm, a copper nickel coin).

one to the other. In addition the Auditors should enjoy the right of inviolability of their persons for the violation of which on the part of the governors rigorous punishment should be meted out. In this way the Real Audiencia would prove very useful to these Islands. Otherwise, the Audiencia would not be of much use; the cases that arise might as well be decided by the Governor himself, and in this way there would be fewer of them and the expenses entailed would not be so burdensome.

The Cabildo, or the City, which is the body that represents the whole city of Manila, is composed of two alcaldes-in-ordinary (alcaldes ordinario), eight regidores, a clerk, and a chief constable (alguacil mayor). The governor of the fort and the royal officials have seats in the Cabildo but they can not take part in the deliberations. The jurisdiction of the city extends throughout the district of Manila and five leagues all around, and includes the supervision into the supply of provisions, and the imposition of fines on those who commit frauds in the sale of bread, meat, candles, fruits, etc. The two alcaldes-in-ordinary decide disputes that are taken to them in the first instance and exercise royal jurisdiction. As a symbol of their authority, they always carry a cane. The regidores, clerks and constables are permanent officials, for their positions have been purchased. These they can sell, if they so desire, or may bequeath them to their children. The alcaldes-in-ordinary are elected annually from among the residents of Manila. Their salaries come from certain income of the Acapulco trade which on the average amounts to 1,000 pesos a year.

The Tribunal del Consulado (Consulate)[2] was established about forty years ago. In former years cases now coming under its jurisdiction were decided by the Governor or the Real Audiencia; at present the city of Manila counts with a tribunal of two consuls and one Prior, who decide all cases relating to the trade and commerce of these islands. Appeal from this tribunal may be taken to the Tribunal

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2 - Established by the real cedula of Dec. 19, 1769.

de Alzada, which is constituted by an Auditor and two merchants nominated by him. Decisions of this body are final unless revoked by the Consejo de Indias. The election of Prior of the Consulado is done every year; that of consuls, every two years. In order to have always a senior member in the Tribunal and not two new ones, every year one of the consuls is renewed. The duly qualified electors of the Consulate choose twelve electors, and, on New Year's day, these assemble and choose the Prior and one consul. The same procedure is followed by the city in the election of alcaldes-in-ordinary, which is held at the same time. These elections usually cause much excitement in the city during the election days. Even in the absence of an Auditor, very frequently the elections are featured by dissentions, which are terminated only by the governor, to whom the results of the election are delivered, and who, by his approval, enables the successful candidates to enter upon their duties and to receive their salaries, which are paid from the fund of the averia.[3]

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3 - One of the most interesting of the older miscellaneous charges on commerce was the average (averia), established for all Spanish trade in 1528 and finally abolished in the Philippines in 1871. In its final form this was an ad valorem tax, the proceeds of which supported a commercial court, while the surplus was paid into the lighthouse fund. Its name is significant of its history. It originated in those days when the enemies of Spain made the ocean so uncomfortable for her merchant ships that they were accustomed to sail in fleets, accompanied for protection by one or more war vessels. The cost of this protection was divided as an average between the ship and her cargo, in much the same manner as partial loss is distributed in marine insurance today. Later the passengers were also included in this distribution of costs. This average early became a tax at fixed rates. It was introduced into the archipelago by virtue of the royal Cedula of December 19, 1769, which established a court of first instance for hearing commercial cases. Its administration was at first in charge of this court but in 1832 was transferred to the customhouse. The averia at this time amounted to one per cent on Spanish goods imported under the Spanish flag and two percent on foreign goods imported under a foreign flag. The yield was

The Real Contaduria (Royal accountancy) is composed of three royal officials: factor, accountant, and treasurer, each receiving three thousand pesos. Besides these, there are other officials and dependents with their corresponding salaries. The royal officials were appointed to audit the accounts of the Alcaldes mayores, receive what these have collected from the tribute of the Indians, collect all that pertains to the royal treasury, and pay in silver all the expenses of the King in the Philippines. There is, moreover, in Manila a chief accountant who is generally known as Contador de resultas, because he reviews alone all accounts and approves or rejects them as he deems proper. He constitutes himself a tribunal whose decisions are without appeal. The Consejo de Indias alone can change them, so that this office in the hands of a man of unscrupulous character would indeed be a dangerous one capable of causing much harm.

Of the ecclesiastical tribunals, the principal one is that of the Archbishop. Its jurisdiction extends to the whole area included in the archbishopric. It has in Manila a vicar general (provisor), with his chief notary who, with the Archbishop, constitute the tribunal for cases relating to ecclesiastical affairs, such as marriages and other matters of purely ecclesiastical character affecting laymen, as well as for civil and ecclesiastical matters affecting the clergy and all who are subject to its jurisdiction. The clerics of the Archbishop are numerous. Those occupying the first rank are the prebendaries who

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about ten per cent of the regular duties. After 1858 it appeared for twelve years in the general budget, having turned over to the treasury, and the receipts each year ranged from 100,000 pesos to nearly half a million. It disappeared after the tariff of 1870 went into effect; but all through its history it maintained its original character as a special fee for special protection or services rendered to commerce by the government, either by the navy, by the court or by the lighthouse service.

Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines," cited elsewhere in these Readings.

compose the Cabildo in the Cathedral. In this Cabildo there is a dean, an archdeacon, choir-masters (chantres), director of school, a magistral, and a doctoral. These receive from the King from four hundred to six hundred pesos, which, with the masses, obventions and chaplaincies, can be increased to about one thousand pesos a year. Aside from these, there are two whole racioneros and two half racioneros, some chaplains and other clerics of the seminary who serve in the Cathedral. All of these are of a sufficient number to form a continuous choir and sing in the divine offices with the majesty which one usually finds in the cathedrals of Spain. But the heat and other discomforts of this country serve to make the celebration and the singing here less solemn than in other countries. The number of curates of the Archbishopric is about one hundred of whom some are seculars and others, regulars. The seculars are entirely subject to the Archbishop. The regulars are subject only in so far as it relates to the administration of souls and that only in their capacity as curates, for in respect to their lives and habits they come under the authority of their provincials. Besides these clerics, there are several others, chaplains and clerics at large or who serve as coadjutors in the towns. All of these are subject to the Archbishop as well as the royal chaplains, for the Archbishop holds the rank of lieutenant of the vicar general of the royal army.

The Commissary of the Holy Inquisition was established in Manila since the days of the conquest.

The Tribunal of the Holy Crusade (Tribunal de la Sta. Cruzada) is composed of a commissary, who is an ecclesiastic, the dean of the Royal Audiencia, and the Fiscal of the Exchequer. There is a treasurer who keeps the bulls of the Holy Crusado, and who forwards them to the alcaldes mayores. The latter in turn distribute them to the curates, who finally dispose of them. The proceeds are remitted to the alcaldes mayores who in turn forward the same to the Treasurer. The bull of the Crusado is a summary of indulgences and other privileges granted by the Pope to him who offers an alm, which in the Philippines amounts to two reales per bull, the latter be-

ing good for two years. The proceeds from the bulls are small, because the Indians, who do not understand their effects, take no interest in them. The amount raised from this source is sent to Spain and added to the general treasury to be spent in the war against infidels.

In order to get an idea of how far the income of Manila has increased, it is necessary to note what the Franciscan history says on this matter:

"The fixed sources of revenues of the Royal Treasury of Manila are as follows: medias-anatas,[4] messadas, purchasable and rented positions, (officios rendidos y arrendados), balances of accounts, rents, incidental sources, vacant bishoprics and prebendaries (if there are any) licenses and tributes of Sangleys, tributes of vagabonds, stamped paper, almojarifazgos,[5] anchorage dues, indultos. The income from these sources, according to the last report, is 176,293 pesos annually. To this sum should be added the real situado amounting to 62,385 pesos a year, and the ecclesiastical stipends which annually amount to 19,457. All of these items amount to 258,134 pesos. The wine monopoly has been created lately (1731) as a source of revenue. The income from this source raises the revenue of the Royal Treasury to 278,137 pesos available for ordinary expenses."

In this statement does not appear what is collected in the provinces where, at present, the income of the tribunals alone is over 300,000 pesos and where the wine industry under royal admi-

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4 - The fees paid upon entering upon any secular employment or ecclesiastical benefice amounting to the half of what it produces in the first year. Diccionario Español-Ingles, Lopez-Bersley, Paris, 1891.

5 - An ad valorem duty on both imports and exports, established for all Spanish colonies by the laws of the Indies. This duty was applied to the Philippines soon after the establishment here of Spanish rule. (See Plehn, op. cit.)

nistration produces 300,000 pesos as compared to 20,000 pesos which represented the income from this source in the form of lease rent. The income from tobacco will at least be 250,000 pesos; that of betel nut, 30,000 pesos; and that of cockpits, 20,000 pesos. These figures do not represent the amount collected during the war which was much bigger, but rather the estimate of the income from these sources in the future. If the revenues are properly administered, the treasury can count on one million pesos a year. The tobacco monopoly is under a director, an accountant, a factor-administrator, and a treasurer, who are the principal officials. There are other subordinates who attend to the gathering and manufacture of the tobacco, which is done in the old parrochial house of Binondo. There is an infinity of women who daily go to the estanco to manufacture cigars. They receive a certain amount for every one hundred cigars that they make, and she who turns out the most gets more money. This is the cause of the poor quality of the work. The Indians buy contraband tobacco, notwithstanding the fact that it is of poor quality and of higher price, just to enjoy the satisfaction and curiosity of rolling the cigars themselves. This is not the only extortion they suffer from. The tobacco that finally reaches them is generally putrid, and, at that, they can not obtain it except at an exorbitant price. To understand the frauds committed in connection with this industry, let us note how the monopoly is undertaken.

The raising of tobacco is permitted only in the town of Gapang, in certain towns of Bulacan and in Cagayan. The Indians are under contract to deliver the crop at such a low price that no Indian would plant tobacco if it were not for the fact that he expects to retain surreptitiously part of the crop. Notwithstanding the fraud, the planters gain so little that it is advisable to forbid them to raise any plant other than tobacco, as otherwise, the crop would be small. This is due either to the fact that the Indians who make the contract to deliver the crop are not the planters themselves, or that the Spaniards who are commissioned to make the contract intimidate the Indians and compel them to sign what they want. After the harvest the commis-

sioner assigned to receive the crop classified as second class those of the first class, and these are sold to the king as first class tobacco. As there are six different grades, this official makes a good profit from this fraud, cheating the Indians of enormous amount. However, he tries to silence them by receiving as perfectly acceptable those which by reason of poor quality should be consigned to the flames. But the unfortunate Indian is, in the end, the one who will pay for it, for it is he who will finally receive the poor quality tobacco, as everybody, except the poor Indian, may choose the cigar that he buys. In the factory the best kinds are selected as a gift to the Governor, the auditors, the assessor, and other individuals who usually receive some quantity as Christmas gifts. The overseers (capataces) also make their choice and they make some very fine cigars which are bought by those who can afford to pay the price, which ordinarily is five pesos more than the government price. In the factory itself select cigars are also sold, although these are not as good as those that come from the overseers. The cigars thus selected are reserved for Spaniards, and the rest are sent to the provinces. But here the fraud does not end. There is in each province an administrator, and this selects the best cigars, (either for his friends, or in the hope of selling them at a higher price) and forwards the rest of the fielatos, where the same fraudulent procedure is followed, only on a larger scale, for it is generally understood that he who wants to have the privilege of making his own choice may do so and gets sixteen cigars for one real. In this way only the poorest kinds are left, and these are sold at the cigar stores (estanquillos) at the rate of seventeen cigars for one real. Very often the supply is limited and in this case the estanquilleros, (store keepers), as if the store were theirs, raise the price and make immense profits. The same practices are followed in connection with the monopoly of wine and of betel nut. The privilege of running a cockpit is leased and nets 20,000 pesos a year.

His Majesty ordered that these imposts be removed and the tribute of the Indians doubled; but those whose interest were affected gave the in-

formation that the Indians preferred to have those gabels to paying double the tribute. But I know what they would willingly pay even triple the tribute just to be free from the extortions they are made to suffer. By this I do not mean to say that the tax be repealed, but that it be placed where it could not give rise to so many frauds. In the first place it is necessary to pay to the planter more than what is offered him, and to sell the articles at cheaper prices so that smugglers would find unprofitable the smuggling traffic. If, in addition to this, the frauds perpetuated on the public be stopped, the income would increase rather than decrease, as it would be possible to reduce the personnel and save the money that is paid as salaries to men who are good for nothing except to cause so much damage. Under this system there would be no lack, as at present, of wine, tobacco and betel nut, and the contraband business would diminish. Moreover the public would be better served while the income of the King would be raised.

Of the Obras Pias in Manila the chief one is that of La Misericordia, the members of which are some of the most distinguished citizens. It has a purveyor (proveedor) and twelve deputies, who are appointed every year to administer the Obra Pia and the College of Santa Isabel, which was founded by it. This confraternity was founded on the 16th of April, 1594, with the funds collected by a virtuous cleric from the citizens of Manila; thereafter the income has been continually augmented with pious legacies left by some friars for different works of charity.

The capital was invested speculatively in the Acapulco galleon, in the vessels that sailed to China or Java and to the Coast, and these ventures were so profitable that, besides increasing the capital, the sum of 70,000 was set aside every year for charitable purposes. Patterned after this Pious Work were several others established in the convents, in the confraternities and in the Tertiary orders (Ordenes Terceras), the administration of which was in the hands of the tertiary brethren, or of the religious. All of them are pious legacies which are

destined for hospitals, for marriages of orphans, for the redemption of children in China, and for the suffrage of the souls of the founders. The seculars believe that the religious have obtained immense wealth with those Montes de Piedad, but it can be shown to the whole world by the books that the purposes as desired by the founders have been fulfilled, and that the regulars are disinterested enough to refuse to accept 5% for the work of administration. Of the Obras Pias de San Agustin I can speak with authority, for, having been provincial Secretary, I saw and audited the books of the Obras Pias and I know that the convent only receives what is destined for the suffrages. This is perfectly reasonable, for if the religious take pains to sing in the choir in order that their prayers may serve to relieve the sufferings of souls in purgatory, it is only just that they eat of the alms in the refectory.

The pious works are of much utility to Spaniards who come to the Philippines, for, as long as they have somebody to stand as bond for them, even if they have no capital, they are sure of getting funds from the Montes de Piedad, paying so much percentage, according to the profits that the times provide. In the commercial ventures the rates usually are exorbitant; in the Acapulco galleon oftentimes an interest of 50% is paid; in the Chinese trade it goes up to 20%, and in the commerce with the Coast 25%. But the merchants gain much and the pious works increase rapidly their income. At times, however, the interest goes down to 22% in the Acapulco trade, and proportionately in the others. Then, in view of the risks, and vessels get lost, no galleon sails for Nueva España and the Obra Pia will not invest all its capital, hardly 5% of it being invested from year to year. I examined the accounts of the Obras Pias of the province of San Agustin from 1744 to 1794, and I found that in fifty years only 5% of the principal was each year invested.

(2) The Provinces and their Population at the Close of the 18th Century.[1]

The Archbishopric of Manila, the most densely populated region in the Philippines, includes nine provinces. Four of these are south of Manila, and they are Cavite, Batangas, Mindoro and Laguna de Bay. The provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Bataan and Zambales are north of Manila. The ninth province is Tondo, where Manila itself is located. The number of tributes in these provinces is 88,243, whereas in the year 1735 there were only 37,403. The number of tributes corresponding to the year 1735 includes the mestizo tributaries; in the number I furnish only the Indians are included. It to the latter 10,512 Mestizo tribute payers found in this Archbishopric be added, the number would be 98,754, which is double the number of tributes which the king received seventy years ago. To each whole tribute should be assigned five persons, so that, with the foregoing number of tributes we get about half a million as the size of the population. It is to be noted that the Spaniards do not figure in this reckoning, as do the Indians of Manila and Cavite, who are subject to the tribute, but who, nevertheless, do not pay. In the outlaying districts of these two cities there are so many people who can not be registered. If all these were included, the population of the Archbishopric of Manila would exceed half a million.

The following table shows the number of Indians and Mestizo tribute payers in the provinces of the Archbishopric of Manila, together with the value of the tribute that they pay to the King.

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1 - Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit.

Provinces	Tribute Payers - Indians	Tribute Payers - Mestizos	Value of the Tributes
Tondo	14,537 1/2	3,528 "	27,897-7-3
Cavite	5,724 1/2	859 "	9,132-4 "
Laguna	14,392 1/2	336 "	19,448-6 "
Batangas	15,014 1/2	451 "	21,579-7-3
Mindoro	3,105 1/2	3 1/2	4,000-8 "
Bulacan	16,566 1/2	2,007 "	25,760-5 "
Pampanga	16,604 1/2	2,841 "	27,358-1 "
Bataan	3,082 "	619 "	5,433 " "
Zambales	1,136 "	73 "	4,389 " "
T O T A L ...	90,243 "	10,517 1/2	144,990-6-6

The provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan and Cagayan comprise the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia. There are in these provinces 75,297 tributes, Indians and Mestizos, representing a population of 379,500 souls. From this can be seen what I have pointed out elsewhere that the whole tribute, which is represented as consisting of two persons, should be considered as representing a little less than five individuals. So in determining the population of a certain province, I always multiply the number of tributes by five and from the result I deduct a certain number to make allowance for the fact that the whole tribute is not exactly equivalent to five individuals.

The spiritual administration of the people in this Bishopric is in the hands of Agustinians, Domi-

nicans, and Indian clerics as follows: The Agustinian fathers administer 191,264 souls; the Dominicans, 139,263 souls; and the Indian clerics, 48,973 souls. Of the number of heathens (infieles) no accurate information is obtained; some exaggerate the number, while others greatly reduce it.

The following table shows the tributes, (Indians and Mestizos), of the Bishopric of Ilocos, together with the amount they pay to the King.

Provinces	Tribute Payers - Indians	Tribute Payers - Mestizos	Value of the Tribute
Ilocos	44,852 1/2	631	68,857 7
Pangasinan	19,836 1/2	719 1/2	25,366
Cagayan	9,888	.....	11,244 6, 6
T O T A L...	74,577	1,350 1/2	105,467 6, 6.

The provinces that constitute the Bishopric of Camarines are Camarines, Albay and Tayabas. In the year 1735, the whole region had 15,177 tributes, but now, it has 39,734.

The following table shows the population and the value of tribute in the provinces of this Bishopric:

Provinces	Tribute Payers - Indians	Tribute Payers - mestizos	Value of the Tribute
Camarines	19,686 1/2	154 1/2	29,994, 3
Tayabas	7,396	12	9,288, 7
Albay	12,339	146	16,093, 3, 9
TOTAL	39,421 1/2	312 1/2	55,375, 13, 9

The Bishopric of Cebu is the most extensive of all in the Philippines for it includes all the provinces of the Pintados or Visayas. It is one of the three suffragan bishoprics which Pope Clement VIII by his brief of August 14, 1596 created.[2] The provinces and districts included within the jurisdiction of this birhopric are the provinces of Cebu, Leyte, Samar, Iloilo, Capiz, Antique, Calamianes and Caraga, the Corrigimiento of Misamis or Iligan, the Gobierno de Zamboanga, the Corrigimiento of the Island of Negros, and the Gobierno of the Marianas Islands. There are in this region 95,828 tributes, including Indians and Mestizos, representing a population of about half a million souls. These people scattered in many islands and provinces are administered, spiritually by Indian clerics and Agustinians, Franciscans and Recollects.

The following table shows the population of the different provinces of this Bishopric together with the amount of tribute that the people pay to the King:

2 - The two other bishopprics created at the same time are Nueva Segovia and Nueva Caceres.

Provinces	Tribute Payers - Indians	Tribute Payers - Mestizos	Value of the Tribute
Cebu	20,812 1/2	625	28,863
Samar	3,042	103	4,060
Leyte	7,678	39 1/2	10,011
Caraga	3,497	...	4,977
Misamis	1,278	...	1,674
Isla de Negros	5,741	...	7,176
Iloilo	29,723	166	37,760
Capiz	11,459	89	14,867
Antique	9,288	...	11,610
Calamianes	2,289	...	3,161
TOTAL	94,807 1/2	1,020 1/2	124,159

(3) Social Life - Manners and Customs.[1]

The inhabitants of this province (Batangas) are Indians. There are also found here some Chinese mestizos, Japanese and Spaniards, all of whom are quite lighter in complexion than the Indians and of better features except with respect to the eyes which

1 - This is from the seventh chapter, volume one of Zuñiga's Estadismo. It deals with the province of Batangas and its people.

among the Chinese mestizos, are ugly and very small, as if sowed on the sides like button-holes. The Indians have big eyes, which are black and beautiful, but in other respects they are ugly, their color being that of an olive or of a baked quince-tree fruit, the nose being flat and their hair black. The stature is regular, but there are many of them that are well-formed. The women in particular have such beautiful forms that some might serve as models to the best carvers. These Indians belong to the Tagalog race, which, it is believed, came from Malacca, and which undoubtedly passed from here on to Borney, and from Borney to the Philippine Islands, to the river of Manila, (for which reason they call themselves Tagalogs, word which in their language means a river dweller). From the latter place they spread around the Laguna de Bay as far as this province of Batangas.

The houses are made of bamboo, although some are of wood, and they are sufficiently commodious. To build them, they generally drive into the ground six posts, and place over them a roof of bamboo. They then cover the roof with cogon which grows in abundance in the fields. The structure is of sufficient durability and provides a good protection from the rains, even in the season of the most furious typhoons. Midway between the roof and the ground they build a floor of bamboo or board according to the means of the owner. The sides are covered with boards or a trollis of bamboo, over which cogon is placed. Spaces on the sides are always left for windows of the house. In this way a square is formed which they divide into a small sala and a small bedroom. The latter is used to keep their belongings and all that might offend the sight of those that enter the house. In another building, attached to the house, is the kitchen. Attached also to the kitchen is another floor of bamboo which they call batalan. Here they dry their plates, wash their clothes and take their baths.

The dress of the men consists of a camisa, which reaches a little below the waist, and which they wear loose over wide trousers after the fashion of the water vendors of Valencia. The trousers are

always blue or red; the camisa may be of any color except green, which is never used. Around the waist they have a cord which serves as a belt and from which they suspend a machete, called by them guloc. Around the neck they wear a rosary of gold, a chain, or a scapulary of Our Lady del Carmen. On the head they wrap a piece of cloth in the form of a turban, or wear a hat of palm or of nito. The principales usually wear, in addition, a jacket, and many of them, on feast days, dress themselves in Spanish fashion. The women use a camisa which reaches to the waist, and which is provided with white sleeves. For a skirt they have a saya, which is similar to the Spanish saya. Over the saya they wear a tapis, a long cloth which they wrap around the lower part of the body. For headdress they wear a piece of cloth in turban fashion, but for church attendance, they wear a headcover of black in the manner of the Spanish mantilla. Both men and women go unshed and only outside of the house do they use chinelas. These chinelas usually are embroidered with silver and gold. Moreover, they wear rosaries, chains, scapularies, bracelets, rings and pendants of gold, with much extravagance.

In eating, they sit neither on chairs, as the Spaniards do, nor on the floor, as do the Turks. They have small tables a few inches high, and, seated in a squatting posture around these, they eat, men and women together. Sometimes all eat from a common plate, but on other occasions each has a separate platter, the morisqueta alone, which is bread to them, being in a common bowl. Each person gets what he needs from this bowl, lays it on his own platter containing his viands which they call ulam, mixes all with his fingers and begins eating, using no other utensils than his bare hand. The ordinary food of this people is the morisqueta seasoned with a little quantity of salt. The principales usually have in addition a dish of vegetables boiled in water with salt, but without lard. Sometimes they have beef, buffalo, dried venison or bagoong. The latter is made from fish heavily seasoned with salt and prepared in a manner very disagreeable to one not accustomed to eating it. On big occasions they kill cows, pigs, and fowls,

and eat extra-ordinarily. Their food is on the whole a little nourishment because to the morisqueta no ingredient of any kind is added. It is so tasteless that the Indians themselves find it unpalatable unless it is mixed, as it is ordinarily done, with salt, some fruit, or boiled corn. But with this frugal food they enjoy good health and they live for several years.

Marriages are celebrated according to the Catholic rites, but in the preparatory arrangements there are many particulars that are worthy of note. To get married, they do not generally think of providing a home for their family. As long as they have sufficient means for the expenses of the wedding, which do not amount much if no guests are invited, they get married with no thought of what the next day may bring forth. The parents themselves don't seriously take this matter into consideration but merely say "bahala na" (God will take care). But the girl's parents never dispense with the services of their son-in-law before the end of three, four or more years. During this period of time they make him serve them and to help them in various ways. Among the well-to-do families it is customary for the bridegroom to furnish a dowry, which is of two kinds: one is called bigaysusu, which is given to the mother for nursing the daughter. This is now rarely done. The other kind which is the real dowry is called bigaycaya, which is destined for the maintenance of the young people after marriage, although at times almost all of it is spent in the wedding. Moreover, the dowry is asked out of vanity just to enable the parents to boast that their child has been bought with a good price. The age at which girls commonly marry in this province is from twelve to fifteen and the boys from fourteen to seventeen.

Burials are made in the church or in the cemetery, in accordance with the rites of the church, at expenses corresponding to their standing. Those who pay the fees fixed by a schedule which has been approved by the Archbishop and the Royal Audiencia are entitled to the funerals that they desire, but those that do not pay the fees have less pompous

funerals, without the singing of the prayers that usually are sung at burials. This is so because if all were treated alike nobody would pay, and the ministers would find themselves without sustenance. All the relatives of the deceased assemble, at the latter's house, and, between sobs, recite the various incidents in life of the dead. After the burial, on the fourth day, they assemble again in the same house and say the rosary. They pass there the whole night of that day. They leave a vacant seat on the table in the belief that on that day the soul of the dead would occupy it. To convince themselves of this, they would scatter ashes around the house, expecting the next morning to find footprints of the dead. This superstition has been abandoned by the Indians, just as several others, they had in the past. But several have still remained, some of which are very prejudicial, judging from what the Practica del Ministerio, Chapter I, paragraph 5, says in this connection. But I wish to state that in this province and in the neighborhood of Manila many of those have been abandoned.

"Many are the abuses, or, as they say, ugales, which the natives have contrary to our Holy faith and good customs, and among them are the following. There is first of all the idolatry of the nonos. In regard to this, it should be noted that the word nono does not only signify grandfather, but that it also used as a term of respect to the old and the genii. The Indians refer to these nonos, just as the Chinese do by the word spirits, and the Romans by the name gods. With these nonos or genii the Indians frequently practice many idolatries, as for example, asking them for favors, assistance, help and that they do them no harm, nor be enemies to them, etc. On many occasions they make such requests, and among others are the following. When they wish to pluck any flower or fruit, they ask permission of the genius or nono to pluck it. When they traverse any field, river, creek, big trees, groves and other places, they ask for the good favors of the nono. When they are obliged to cut any tree, they ask pardon of the nonos, and excuse themselves to those things by saying, among other things, that Padre ordered them to do it, and that it was

not their own purpose to fail in their respect to the genii, etc. When they fell ill with what they call panave, which they attribute to the genii or nonos, they ask them for health and offer them food. All of these they do on this as on other occasions, in the fields, groves, rivers, at the foot of some big tree, such as the calumpan, and in various other places. This kind of idolatry is fixed and rooted among the Indians. For this reason it is necessary for the father ministers to be very careful and make great efforts to extirpate it.

"In the second place, the Indians generally believe that the souls of the dead visit their houses on the third day after their death, in order to visit the people, or attend the banquet, and to take part in the ceremony of the tibao. The latter they always hide and conceal by saying that they assemble in the house of the deceased for purposes of saying the rosary on his behalf. If they are told to do their praying in the church, they refuse to comply for that is not really what they wish to do. For this reason the minister should prevent them from gathering in the house of the deceased after the burial under whatever pretext, least of all on the third day. On the fourth day, in connection with the ceremony of the tibao, they light candles and await the soul of the dead. They spread a mat and scatter ashes over it, so that the tracks or footsteps of the soul may be impressed thereon, and by that means ascertain whether the soul came or not. They also set a dish of water at the door, so that when the soul comes it may wash its feet there. It is not saying too much to state that these things of the genii and nonos and souls of the dead, the Indians obtained from the Chinese and that they require effective remedy.

"The Tigbalang, which some call a ghost and others a goblin, appears to be the genius or devil that appears them in the form of a black man, or of an old man, or, as they themselves say, in the form of a very small old man, or in the form of a horse or of a monster. They fear this being so much that they are obliged to befriend him, delivering to them their rosaries, and receiving from him superstitious

things such as hairs, herbs, stones, and other things, in order that they may obtain marvelous things, and that they may be aided by him in certain of their affairs.

"The Patianac, which some also call ghost, must be the genius or devil which usually plays with them, as also with several others who, losing their faith, become subject to him. To this being is attributed the ill success of births, and they say that in order to harm them and cause their destruction, he hides in a tree or in any object near the house of the woman who is about to give birth, and there sings after the manner of the rowers. To prevent the harm that might be caused by the Patianac, the men go naked, arm themselves with cuiress, caytana, lance and other weapons, post themselves on the roof or under the house and they slash and cut right and left with the cantana, in the manner of one engaged in deadly combat. Another way of avoiding the harm is to remove the woman in labor to another house.

"They also attribute to the Patianac, among other things, the death of children, which they also attribute to the Asuang. They refer to this in this manner. The Asuang is led by a bird called Tictic to the houses of women who are about to deliver. From the roof of a neighboring house, it stretches out its threadlike tongue, inserts it through the anus of the child, sucks out its entrails and kills it. Sometimes they say that the Patianac appears in the form of a dog, or of a cat, or sometimes, of a cockroach, which introduces itself under the mat, and causes the above mentioned harm. They also attribute to the Patianac the going astray of travelers. To find the way, they go naked in the belief that the Patianac fears them in that form and hence can not lead them astray.

"The Bonsol, which they sometimes say is various durojonos caused by the witch Gauay, and which appears on all parts of the body of the bewitched. The person afflicted with this evil usually remains some moments as if dead or fainted, and at other times as though mad or raving from the sight of the

Gauay which appears to him in various shapes. To cure this evil or bewitchment, they call another witch, who, after making various enchantments, usually leaves the person as he formerly was. Sometimes they attribute the bonsol to a natural disease or pain in the stomach caused by obstructions or protuberances which grow in stomach or in a nearby region, or by colds which move from one part to another, with which the women of this country generally are afflicted. But when they can not cure the sickness within the expected time, they say that the affliction is bonsol, that is bewitchment, and that nobody could cure it except one who is a witch himself. They therefore call a witch and if this does not succeed in bringing relief to the patient, he makes the excuse that the witch who caused the disease is far away and has not been able to hear him, and so the patient is abandoned to his pains.

"The ceremony or superstition of the bilao is made to discover a thief. It consists in putting in a bilao, sieve or crib, some scissors fixed in the shape of St. Andrew's cross, and on it they suspend a rosary. Then they repeat the name of each of those who are present and who are assembled for this. If, for example, when the name of Pedro is called and the bilao wriggles, they conclude that Pedro is the thief. They also sometimes light candles to San Antonio de Padua, with a view to discovering the thief. For this purpose they pray. If the light of the candle inclines towards any one of those present, for example, towards Juan, then they conclude that Juan is the thief. It is common among the Indians to carry on one's person various things to obtain marvelous results, such as cedulas, writings, prayers, herbs, roots, husks, hairs, skins, eggs, pebbles, etc., to protect them from defeat, from death, or from the toils of the Law, or to enable them to obtain riches, women and other things. They are also much inclined to believe in omens and in days of ill luck.

"The word biñag, which they use to mean Christening, seems to have been introduced into the Philippines by the Moros from Borneo, Mindanao, or Jolo, as was also the word simba, which seems to signify

among them adoration. From this meaning they have adopted it to signify their temples and mosques, and the Tagalogs took it to mean not adoration but church, and later used it to mean mass, which was never its original meaning."

"Lastly, the superstitions, predictions, and errors among the Indians are so many, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to mention them all. The above have been mentioned so that the father ministers may examine others by them. It is to be noted that there are among the Indians sectaries and preachers of various false faiths, especially in the distant provinces, either because they had false sects formerly and have continued them, or because they took them (and this is more likely) from the Joloans, Mindanao, Sangleyes, and other heathen peoples with whom they usually had intercourse."

These Indians, just as I have described, are happy. Their dress is very comfortable and adapted to the climate of this land. Their houses are easy to build and are of sufficient strength to protect them from the weather. Their food is not luxurious, but, accustomed to it, they do not crave for other kinds. This manner of living they maintain with little effort. It is not necessary to dress heavily or to put on little clothing the whole day, or to gather fuel for the kitchen, or to labor daily for the support of a family. The Indian that works for a fourth part of the year can afford to remain idle for the rest of the year, with the assurances that the soil will yield him enough to maintain him with decency. Separated from others, they live in barrios which they call nayon, where the vices and gambling find no place, because the occasions for them are lacking. Here they neither gamble nor drink, because the taverns and the gambling places are so far away. In each nayon there are six, eight or more houses. One of the residents, who inspires general respect because of his age or his descent, or because of his well known beneficence, is obeyed by all, and he maintains the harmony of the whole vicinity. During the greater part of the year, when they have nothing to do, they pass the time in conversation under the shade

of the trees; in other words, they live in a patriarchal life. It is true they have an alcalde mayor, but this official after receiving the tribute, which is only five reales and a half, has no more dealings with them. The injustices that are related of alcaldes mayores are done to the more well-to-do and prominent persons with whom the alcalde enters into contracts. There is also in each town a gobernadorcillo. He sees to it that the men perform the personal services that are assigned to them. In doing his work for the week, each person is not interfered with by the rest. Disputes, among them are decided by the gobernadorcillo, in accordance with their customs, and with the assistance of two old men who act as assessors. They generally obeyed the sentence and rare are the cases that are appealed in this province to the court of the alcalde mayor.

PART FOUR

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROGRESS, 1800-1872

CHAPTER ONE

PHILIPPINE REPRESENTATION IN THE SPANISH CORTES

1. European Background of Philippine Representation

The first decade and a half of the nineteenth century saw a succession of events in Europe which affected profoundly the lives and fortunes of the Spanish people. It was the era of Napoleon (1800-1815), during which war storms lashed Europe leaving in their wake death, destruction and desolation.

The European conflicts were a sequel of the French Revolution (1789-1799), that mighty upheaval which swept away the Old Regime in France and established a new social and political order on the basis of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Out of the confusion and disorders of the Revolution, Napoleon rose to supreme power and leadership in France. Having consolidated his position, Napoleon sought to bring the whole of Europe under his control. Posing as the champion of the principles and ideals of the French Revolution, he proceeded to lead the French people in a mighty crusade allegedly for the purpose of liberating mankind from tyranny and oppression in other lands. An undertaking of that nature involved interference in the internal affairs of other nations and was bound to lead to international conflict. In effect, a series of wars broke out in Europe during the Napoleonic era. Known historically as the Napoleonic Wars, the European conflicts involved all the leading nations of Europe and were the outstanding events of European history between 1803 and Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in June 1815.

After the English naval victory at Trafalgar (1805) over the combined French and Spanish naval forces, the European conflicts settled down to a bitter struggle be-

tween the British and Napoleon. Napoleon's strategy aimed at the destruction of British trade with continental Europe. For this purpose he proposed to close Europe to British commerce. In two decrees, the Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806) and the Milan Decree (December 17, 1807), Napoleon ordered the closing of the ports of continental Europe to British vessels and forebade neutrals to trade with England. These two decrees formed the framework of Napoleon's Continental System, a device with which Napoleon hoped to overthrow England, for trade with continental Europe was the basis and foundation of England's economy and material power.

The success of the Continental System depended greatly upon the cooperation and loyalty of the countries of Europe. Portugal, which was bound by ties of alliance and friendship with England, continued, in disregard of the Continental System, to maintain commercial relations with England. Under the circumstances, Napoleon was constrained to venture into the Iberian Peninsula. Such a step inevitably involved the occupation of Spanish territory. Napoleon found no difficulty in securing that objective. In a treaty concluded in 1807 with the government of Charles IV, through Manuel Godoy, Spain's Prime Minister, Napoleon secured the necessary arrangements for French troops to pass through Spain and to occupy portions of Spanish territory. The presence of the French troops in Spain, however, aroused among the Spaniards feelings of resentment. Spanish resentment was turned into open hostility when it became known that Napoleon in the meantime had lured Charles IV and his heir Ferdinand, to Bayonne, France, and, through force or diplomatic pressure, had induced both to renounce to him the Crown of Spain.

As it became known that the Royal family were being kept virtual prisoners at Bayonne, the citizens of Madrid, on May 2, 1808, seizing such weapons as they could find, fiercely attacked the French garrison stationed in the city. The French commander Murat, in self defense and then in retaliation, launched a bloody campaign against the civil population of Madrid. This incident sparked a general uprising in Spain - it was the opening event of War of Spanish Independence (1808-1813).

In the hope of conciliating the Spanish people, Napoleon on June 15, 1808, summoned to Bayonne a number of Spanish notables, outwardly to seek counsel and advice from them as to reforms he proposed to institute in Spain.

The few that went to Bayonne submissively received a new sovereign, Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, and a new organic law for Spain patterned after the French constitution. Joseph, on his own part, endeavored to win the friendship and good will of the Spanish people. He appointed Spaniards to high posts in the government. In his official and unofficial actuations he wanted to appear that at heart he had the welfare and the best interests of the Spanish people.

A vast majority of the Spanish people, however, chose not to accept the new sovereign or the new constitution. Even before the promulgation of the new constitution, revolutionary councils called "Juntas" had been set up in Asturias, Galicia, Valencia, Murcia, Badajos, and Granada which assumed the functions of government in the name and on behalf of Ferdinand VII. On September 25, 1808, a central revolutionary body called "Junta Central" met at Aranjuez. It became the national governing body of Spain. On January 22, 1809, the Junta Central in a moment of exuberance promulgated a decree of momentous significance to Spain's colonial dependencies. The decree read in part as follows:

> Considering that the vast and precious domains that Spain possesses in the Indias are not really colonies or factories, like those of other nations, but essential and integral parts of the Spanish Monarchy; and desiring to strengthen the sacred bonds which unite us to them, and at the same time to reward the loyalty, heroism, and patriotism of which they have just given ample proof, it has seemed proper to his Majesty to declare that the Kingdom's Provinces and Islands which constitute the Spanish Monarchy referred to should have national and direct representation to his royal person, and to form part of the administrative Junta Central of the Kingdom through their respective representatives.[1]

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1 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit., vol. 2. B. & R., vol. 51, pp. 279-287, deal with the events of the period of Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes based largely on notes made by James A. LeRoy and on the account by Montero y Vidal.

The enactment of the above mentioned decree was a notable event in Spanish colonial history. It raised the colonies of Spain, the Philippines included, to the status and dignity of Spanish provinces entitled to enjoy the right of representation by their duly chosen delegates in Spain's highest governing body, as well as all other rights, privileges and immunities of Spaniards in the Peninsula. A few months later, May 1809, the Junta Central decreed the establishment of the Spanish Cortes.

Because of the unfavorable military situation throughout that year, arrangements for the organization of the Cortes were postponed until a more auspicious occasion, It was not until February 1810 that a decree was promulgated prescribing the manner in which elections were to be held for delegates to the Cortes. In Manila, the Ayuntamiento, in accordance with the provisions of that decree, conducted an election for a delegate to the Cortes. Ventura de los Reyes, a wealthy merchant of Manila was chosen. Due to unavoidable delay, however, Ventura de los Reyes was not present at the opening session of the Cortes; September 24, 1810. Pending his arrival, substitute representatives represented the Philippines. They were Pedro Perez de Tagle, officer of the Royal Guard, and José Manuel Couto. On December 1810, Ventura de los Reyes formally took the oath of office as proprietary delegate of the Philippines.[2]

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2 - "Cortes" is the term used to designate the law-making body of Spain. As constituted at the close of the 19th century, it was composed of an upper house (Senado) and a lower house (el Congreso).

The Cortes which came into being in 1810 was supposed to be a revival of the traditional institution which once existed in Spain, but which finally fell into disuse with the growth of absolutism. In the old kingdoms of Castilla and Aragon, the Cortes was an important institution, sharing with the sovereigns the legislative powers of government. But, after the unification of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, and with the establishment of a strong central government, the Cortes in those states lost their former prerogatives. In Aragon, the local institution was suppressed altogether during the reign of Philip V. The Cortes of Castilla continued to exist, but it had become a mere shadow of its former self. It was summoned only on special occasions, such as at the beginning of a new reign,

2. The Philippines and the Cortes of 1810-1813

As representative of the Philippines, Ventura de los Reyes had a distinguished record. He took active part in the deliberations of the Cortes and worked for the approval of measures which he believed would redound to the progress and welfare of the Philippines.

An important piece of legislation adopted by the Cortes of 1810-1813 was the new constitution of Spain approved by the Cortes in March 1812. Ventura de los Reyes figured among the signers of this historic document. Historically known as the Constitution of 1812, this document set forth ideas and principles of government which reflected the liberal spirit and tendencies of the age in Spain. Among other things, it affirmed the principle, adopted by the Junta Central in January, 1809, that the colonies were integral parts of the Spanish Monarchy and that their inhabitants enjoyed the rights, privileges and immunities of Spaniards in the Peninsula. It also proclaimed the principle of popular sovereignty. In the words of the Constitution, "sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation and for this reason to the Nation belongs exclusively the right to establish its fundamental laws."3 The Constitution also laid down safeguards and guarantees to the civil liberties and property rights of individuals and recognized the freedom of expression.

In a later session of the Cortes, Ventura de los Reyes submitted a proposal of particular interest to the Philippines. The proposal as drafted by him read as follows:

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to swear allegiance to the king and his heir, or to confirm regulations made as to succession.

The Cortes which came into being in 1810, was, in many ways, very different from the traditional Spanish Cortes such as existed in the old kingdoms of Castilla and Aragon. For one thing, it included representatives from Spain's colonies in both hemispheres. Moreover, unlike the ancient Spanish Corteses, it possessed all the essential attributes of sovereignty.

3 - Constitution of 1812, Title I, Chapter 1, Infra.

> Each town consisting of its justicia, principales, and cabezas de barangay choose an elector, who, with the others assembled at the capital of the province, shall name two electors. These shall go to the capital of the diocese and, with those of the other provinces of the diocese, they shall choose three electors. These shall go to the capital (Manila), and with the electors from the rest of the Archipelago, they shall name the delegates to the Cortes. The number shall not be apportioned according to population, as the country is too poor to meet the expenses of a large delegation and because there are not many individuals qualified for the post. The electors, therefore, are to choose any number, but the number shall not be less than two.4

The proposed measure was intended to make the representation of the Philippines more truly representative and at the same time less burdensome financially to the government of the Philippines. The proposal, however, failed to get the approval of the Cortes because of strong opposition raised against it particularly by representatives from the provinces in America. The latter were not willing to grant the concession requested by Ventura de los Reyes for fear that colonial officials in America might use it as an excuse for unduly reducing the size of their delegations to the Cortes.

As an alternative to the proposed measure, the Cortes on May 23, 1812, enacted a general election law applicable to all the provinces of Spain in the Ultramar including the Philippines. Under that law the election of delegates to the Cortes was placed in the hands of an electoral board of eight members to be set up in the capital city of each province. One delegate was to be chosen for 60,000 inhabitants in accordance with the ratio fixed by the Constitution of 1812.

In 1813, the Cortes passed a measure of great interest to the Philippines. On September 14 of that year the Cortes abolished the exclusive privileges which existed in the Manila-Acapulco trade. From time immemorial, the trade between the Philippines and Nueva España was carried on in government owned galleons. The trade was subject to

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4 - Montero y Vidal, loc. cit.

many restrictions. The number of voyages was limited. The tonnage of the vessels also was limited. The value of the cargo was limited both on the outgoing and ingoing voyage. Only holders of the "boletas" were privileged to take part in the trade. The law of September 14, 1813, did away with the boleta system as well as with the government owned galleons. Thenceforth, any inhabitant of the Philippines was free to engage in the trade with Nueva España in privately owned vessels, subject only to the conditions previously granted governing the values of the merchandise to be carried in the trade, namely 500,000 pesos in the outward voyage, and 1,000,000 pesos on the return.

In 1814, as a result of the overthrow of Napoleon, Ferdinand returned to Spain from six years of virtual captivity in France. The conditions that he found in Spain were not much to his liking. He did not look with favor upon the political and constitutional changes which had been effected during his absence. He disliked particularly the Cortes and the Constitution which it had framed. Having acquired full control of the nation's affairs, Ferdinand, on May 4, 1814, abolished the Cortes and declared all its acts null and void. By that action he restored absolutism in Spain and put back Spain's colonies to their former colonial status.

Ferdinand, however, showed himself favorably disposed toward the colonies. On June 15, 1814, he made known his readiness to consider measures affecting the colonies which the colonial representatives might see fit to bring to his attention. Ventura de los Reyes took advantage of this gesture of royal generosity. He presented a memorial setting forth the favors which he wanted the King to bestow upon the Philippines. He requested, in the first place, restoration of the reforms which the Cortes in September 1813 had enacted and which the King had revoked. These reforms suppressed the boleta system and granted freedom for any individual to engage in the Manila-Acapulco trade. In addition, Ventura de los Reyes' memorial called for: 1) increase in the value of the trade from 500,000 pesos to 1,000,000 for the outgoing voyage and from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 for the return; 2) the reduced tariff granted in a previous royal order for a limited period to be made permanent; 3) the Philippines to be allowed to trade with Peru and California; and 4) the inhabitants of the Philippines to be permitted to export Philippine products in their own vessels to any port of the Monarchy

free of export and import duties.

All the things requested by Ventura de los Reyes were readily granted by the King except that relating to the value of the merchandise to be carried in the trade. He granted only an increase of 250,000 pesos instead of 500,000 for the outgoing voyage, and 500,000 pesos instead of 1,000,000 for the return. Even with this modification, however, the concessions were quite substantial and represented a considerable gain for Philippine commerce. For one thing, new opportunities for profitable commercial ventures were created for Philippine merchants as a result of the increase in the value and volume of Philippine trade and of the opening of Peru and California to Philippine commerce. For another, the exemption granted to Philippine products in all ports of the Monarchy was a boon to Philippine agriculture and industry.

3. The Constitution of Cadiz

Another notable work of the Cortes of much interest to the Philippines was the approval of the Constitution of Cadiz, otherwise known as the Constitution of 1812. The Constitution of 1812 occupies a prominent place in the political history of Spain. It was the rallying center and inspiration of many a revolutionary movement which occurred in Spain in the nineteenth century. It reflected the liberal and democratic spirit and tendencies at the time of the Spanish people. In the words of Rubio, "the Constitution of 1812, basis of Spanish liberties, is, notwithstanding its imperfections, a memorable work, reflecting the sincere and even candid liberal spirit of the patriotism and culture of our fathers."

The following is a text of the Constitution as summarized by Rubio:[1]

> The Constitution is divided into ten titles divided into chapters and articles.
>
> Title I, Chapter I. Of the Spanish Nation.
>
> "The Spanish Nation is the union of all Spaniards of both hemispheres.

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1 - Op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 272-274.

"The Spanish Nation is free and independent and can not be the patrimony of any family or person.

"Sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation, and for this reason to the Nation belongs exclusively the right to establish its fundamental laws.

"The Nation is under obligation to preserve and protect by wise and just laws the civil liberties, the property and other lawful rights of all the individuals who compose it."

Chapter II, Of the Spaniards.

"Love of country is one of the prime duties of all Spaniards. To be just and beneficent is likewise the duty of a Spanish citizen."

Title II, Chapter II.

"The religion of the Spanish Nation is and forever shall be the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman, the only true faith. The Nation shall protect it by wise and just laws, prohibiting the exercise of any other."

Chapter III. "The government of the Spanish Nation shall be a moderate, hereditary Monarchy."

Title III, The Cortes.

This part of the Constitution contains 11 chapters. The Cortes was a single Chamber of Deputies. The annual meeting was to last for three months. It could be extended for one month upon agreement of two thirds of the Deputies or on petition of the King. The Deputies could not accept for themselves nor solicit for another any employment under the Crown, nor any pension or decoration while holding their office. There was a Permanent Delegation of the Cortes, consisting of seven members, whose duty was to supervise the operation of the Constitution and of the laws

while the Cortes was not in session, as well as to convoke the Cortes to an extraordinary session in specified cases.

Title IV, The Authority of the King.

This part deals with everything pertaining to the executive power. The King was declared sacred and inviolable in his person and not subject to any responsibility. The order of succession was that of primogeniture, the males to be preferred to the females, and always the elder to the younger. A Regency of five persons was to be created in case of minority or of incapacity of the King. The number of executive secretaries was fixed at seven, namely: State, Interior, Colonies (Ultramar), Justice, Finance, War, and Navy.

Title V contained three chapters: Of the Courts, Of the Administration of justice in Civil Cases, and Of the administration of justice in criminal cases.

It was provided that judicial procedure should be terminated in the Audiencia of the territory in which the case arose, and that the tenure of judges was permanent. Torture was proscribed and the penalty of confiscation of property was abolished.

Title VI, The Interior Government of the Towns and Provinces.

The towns were to be governed by Ayuntamientos. The provinces were administered by the Chief Executive, the Intendant and the Provincial Delegation.

Title VII, The Contributions, Title VIII, The Army and the Navy, Title IX, Public Instruction. Article 371 of Title IX laid down the principle of freedom of the press in the following form:

"All Spaniards have the freedom to write, print and publish their political ideas without necessity of any license, revision or approbation before hand, subject to the restrictions and responsibility provided for by the laws."

Title X, Of the observance of the Constitution and Method of Amending it.

"Not until eight years have passed after the promulgation of the Constitution shall any alteration, addition, or change in its provisions be proposed.

"Any change proposed in any article of the Constitution shall be made in writing and supported by at least twenty delegates."

4. The Ilocos Recolt, 1814-1815

The political developments in Spain which followed the restoration of Ferdinand VII to his throne produced significant results in the Philippines. They were the cause of a serious uprising in Ilocos in 1815.

The people of Ilocos had been following with interest the course of events in Spain. They received with rejoicing the news of the adoption by the Spanish Cortes of the Constitution of 1812, with its liberal provisions extending to the inhabitants of the Philippines the rights, privileges and immunities of Spanish citizens. They expected that under the Constitution of 1812, they would soon be freed from the burdens which had long been imposed upon them, the tribute and the polos y servicios. They reasoned out that, since Spaniards and the principales were exempted from these obligations, it would be inconsistent with, if not contrary to, the principle of equality which was proclaimed by the Constitution of 1812 for them to continue shouldering those burdens. Acting on this belief, the mass of the people of Ilocos demanded the abolition of the tribute and the personal services. Disturbances accompanied the popular agitation for the reform demanded. The situation became grave and serious so much so that Governor Gardoqui felt obliged to take adequate measures. On February 8, 1814, the Governor issued a proclamation explaining to the people the real nature and scope of the benefits granted by the Constitution of 1812. Among other things, the Governor said:

The Indian of the Philippines is a Spaniard for the beneficial purposes provided for

by the Constitution; but he does not cease to be an Indian in enjoying the privileges and immunities granted to him by the laws, as was pointed out in the debates in the Cortes. He should, for this reason, continue to enjoy them without diminution. In like manner, he should continue shouldering the obligations which, as an Indian, are required of him for the maintenance and conservation of these realms.[5]

Governor Gardoqui's explanation proved unconvincing and failed to calm the masses. Just then news arrived of the abolition of the Cortes and of the revocation of the Constitution of 1812. The people would not believe that the events as reported really happened. They had the suspicion that government officials in Manila fabricated the report to make them desist from pressing their demands and thereby perpetuate the unjust and oppressive burdens which, they sincerely believed, the Constitution of 1812 had removed. Announcement of the news was followed by uprisings of a more violent nature. Several wealthy individuals were killed, considerable property was lost, and the books and official records in the archives of many municipalities were destroyed.[6]

The revolt of 1815 was the third of a series of uprisings that occurred, in rapid succession, in the province of Ilocos in the early years of the nineteenth century. The first of these took place in 1807. Starting in the town of Piddig, it quickly spread to other towns of Ilocos. The people were resentful over the government monopolies, especially that of wine which involved the prohibition of basi, the popular drink. The revolt was an armed protest against these restrictions. In 1811, the natives of Ilocos again took

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5 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit.

6 - A more detailed account of the uprising of 1815 is to be found in Sinibaldo de Mas' Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas. A contemporary account of this episode is "La Memoria sobre la Insurrección Acaecida en el año 1815," by Fr. José Nieto, curate of Sarrat. An extract of this memorial is to be found in Retana's Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino, vol. four.

up arms. This time, it was for the defense of a newly-founded religion. The principales and cabezas de barangay had established a new religion, having, as its chief god, Lungao. The revolt spread to the mountain districts of Cagayan, where the leaders of the new sect had gone to arouse the inhabitants there to take up arms in defense of their cause. This uprising, as was that of 1807, was speedily suppressed.

The Ilocos revolt of 1815 did not differ much from those that occurred in previous centuries as far as the basic causes of the uprisings are concerned. Like many of its predecessors, it arose from the same old sources of popular discontent - the tribute and the personal services. Apart from these, there was another impelling motive in the Ilocos affair, concern for political and constitutional rights. The Ilocos rebels were aware of the change that had taken place in the political status of the Philippines as a result of the promulgation of the Constitution of 1812. They knew what that change meant to civil and political rights and interests of the inhabitants of the Philippines. It is clear that the Ilocos affair was, in its nature and in the scope of its outlook and interests, truly national. As such it is worthy of a place in the history of nationalism in the Philippines.

5. The Cortes of 1820-1823

The next period of constitutional government in Spain began in 1820. In March of that year the Spanish people, under the leadership of Riego and Quiroga, rose in revolt. They demanded the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. Ferdinand VII was forced to yield to the popular demand. He swore allegiance to the Constitution and promised to lead the nation along the constitutional way.

The Spanish Revolution of 1820 was the Spanish phase of the liberal and nationalistic movement which arose in Europe in the post Napoleonic era. That movement reflected the feeling of disappointment and discontent among peoples in various European countries over the political arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna.

With the restoration of the Constitution of 1812, the Cortes once more came into being and the Philippines again

rose to the status of a Spanish province with the privilege of sending its own representative to the Spanish Cortes.

As in the previous period, substitute representatives represented the Philippines in the first sessions of the Cortes of 1820-1823. The substitute representatives were José Maria Arnedo and Manuel Felix Camus y Herrera. The elected delegates from the Philippines were Francisco Bringas, ex-alcalde mayor of Ilocos, Vicente Posada, former member of the Real Audiencia, and Manuel Saenz de Vizmanos, senior accountant of the Tribunal of Accounts.

The Cortes which met in this period of constitutional government enacted a number of legislative measures of considerable interest and significance to the Philippines. One of these, approved on October 19, 1820, abolished the privileges granted to the Real Compañia de Filipinas. The action was taken allegedly on the ground that the existence of the privileges was contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution and that it was prejudicial to the nation's interests. The Royal Company had been created to promote Spain's commerce with the Far East but it appeared that not only had it failed to accomplish its mission, but also it had made improper and unwise use of the privileges granted to it. The action of the Cortes reflected, for one thing, the disappointment which many people in Spain felt over the activities of the Real Compania de Filipinas. For another, it was an indication of the rise in Spain of a more liberal spirit and tendency in commercial matters.

On November 8, 1820, Cortes approved another law as a corollary to that which abolished the privileges of the Real Compania de Filipinas. The law gave permission to Spanish citizens to engage in trade with the Far East subject to the rules and regulations prescribed by the Cortes. The measure contained provisions of particular interest to the Philippines. One of these required that "products and goods produced or manufactured in the Philippines shall be considered national." Another stipulated that the value of Asiatic merchandise to be brought to Spanish ports in America or Europe was not to exceed 50,000 duros in each vessel, and that the rest of the cargo should be made up of goods or effects of the Philippines. A third provided that adequate steps be taken "to encourage the agriculture, industry, navigation, and commerce of the

Philippine Islands."

In one of the sessions of the Cortes in June 29, 1821, another law affecting the Philippines was approved. On the recommendation of one of the substitute representatives for the Philippines, the Cortes passed a law establishing direct and periodic mail service with the Philippines. The significance of this law lay in the fact that it brought the Philippines into closer communication and contact with Spain.

The Constitutional period which began in 1820 ended in 1823. It came as a result of foreign intervention in Spain. A French army invaded Spain (1823) and restored Ferdinand to his former status as absolute ruler of Spain. As on the former occasion, Ferdinand, upon his restoration, abolished the Cortes, revoked the Constitution of 1812, and declared null and void all the measures enacted by the Cortes. Many of the reforms, however, which were promulgated during this period and which, directly or indirectly concerned the Philippines, were preserved.

The period extending from Ferdinand's first restoration in 1814 to his second restoration in 1823 has a special significance in Spanish colonial history. It was in this period that the vast colonial empire of Spain in the New World was disrupted. The American colonies took advantage of the internal troubles and difficulties of Spain during the Napoleonic Wars to win for themselves freedom and independence from the Mother country. When, upon the restoration of Ferdinand in 1814, Spain attempted to bring them back to their allegiance to her, they took up arms and crushed the attempt. By 1823, nothing had remained of the once extensive Spanish empire in America but a few islands in the West Indies. Mexico, through which Spanish-Philippine relations were carried on from the first years of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, was one of those which detached themselves from Spain. As a result, the close connection which the Philippines had had with that country was terminated. Spanish-Philippine relations thenceforth were placed on a more direct basis.

6. The Cortes of 1834-1837

The ten-year period extending from Ferdinand's restoration in 1823 to the year of his death in 1833 is often referred to as the Age of Calomarde. It was a period of reaction marked by a determined and sustained campaign of suppression against Spanish liberals. Francisco Tadeo Calomarde was Ferdinand VII's minister of justice. He assumed the duty and responsibility of stamping out liberal activities and tendencies in Spain. Calomarde performed his mission efficiently and well. He regarded all who were known to have liberal ideas and tendencies as subversive and disloyal to the Crown. All such persons were unrelentingly pursued and persecuted. To escape persecution, many Spanish liberals fled from Spain and sought refuge in other lands.

Ferdinand died on September 29, 1833. Three years before his death, he promulgated, in the form of a pragmatic sanction, a testament naming his infant daughter, Isabel, his heir and successor to the throne. Ferdinand's act set aside the rights of Carlos, his younger brother, who, under the Salic law, was next in line of succession.[1] Carlos naturally resented the action of Ferdinand although he refrained from taking any steps to enforce his claim while his brother was still alive.

Upon Isabel's accession to the throne as queen in accordance with Ferdinand's testament, Carlos proclaimed himself the rightful ruler of Spain. The conflicting

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1 - The Salic law excluded females from succession to the throne. It had been introduced in Spain by Philip V, the first of the Bourbon Kings of Spain. The ancient Castillan rule embodied in the code of Alfonso X, El Sabio, King of Castilla (1252-1284), gave the right of succession to the first born, male or female, according to the principle of primogeniture. This rule was restored by the Constitution of 1812. As the Constitution had been abolished by Ferdinand, the Salic law was deeemed to be the rule applicable in a question of succession at the time of Ferdinand's reign. That law, however, Ferdinand revoked when he promulgated his testament in the form of a pragmatic sanction.

claims brought on a war of succession. The war which ensued lasting from 1833 to 1839, was the first of a series of wars known in Spanish history as Carlist wars. These wars flared up time and again during the 19th century. Together with other internal troubles, they made conditions in Spain very much disturbed and unsettled, at times verging on chaos and anarchy, during a considerable part of the 19th century.

To strengthen the side of the Government in the conflict with Carlos, Queen Regent Cristina took steps to win the support, loyalty and good will of the Spanish liberals. On April 10, 1834, she promulgated a decree introducing important changes in the governmental system of Spain. Historically known as Royal Statute (Estatuto Real), the decree reestablished the Spanish Cortes.

The Cortes under the Royal Statute differed in many ways from the Cortes established by the Constitution of 1812. In the first place, it was a bicameral body, consisting of an Upper House (Estamento de Proceres) and a Lower House (Estamento de Procuradores). In the second place, the Cortes had very limited powers. It could not deliberate on matters not expressly submitted to it by the Crown. It could meet only on special occasions, such as at the beginning of a new reign, to swear allegiance to the new sovereign, or in times of some grave emergency when the interests of the Nation, in the judgment of the Crown, required the convening of the Cortes. Moreover, under the Royal Statute, the Crown retained all the essential attributes of sovereignty. It had the power to summon the Cortes, to designate the place of its meeting, and to suspend it, and even to dissolve it. The Cortes was, thus, little more than a consultative body, much like the emasculated Cortes which existed in the times of the first Spanish Hapsburgs. Moreover, the Royal Statute, unlike the Constitution of 1812,had no provision permitting representation of the colonies in the Cortes by substitute representatives.

The Royal Statute had been granted by the Queen Regent as a political concession to win the good will and support of the Spanish liberals. The latter, however, were not satisfied with it. In fact they felt that, as a basis of government, it was highly reactionary. Their attitude towards the regime of Queen Cristina was, for this reason, one of distrust and dissatisfaction. And

this sentiment was shared by a considerable portion of the Spanish people.

Popular sentiment was for the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. In August 1836, the royal guard, voicing the popular desire, mutinied. The leaders of the uprising called upon Cristina to restore the Constitution of 1812. The Queen Regent was constrained to yield. On August 13, 1836, she ordered that the Constitution of 1812 be restored as the fundamental law of the land pending the adoption of a new constitution for Spain. In another decree, Cristina summoned a constituent Cortes to draft a new constitution.

The constituent Cortes assembled in October 1836. In a secret session held early in 1837, the Cortes approved a resolution providing that the colonies of Spain no longer should have any representation in the Spanish Cortes. The provision was incorporated in the new constitution which was approved June 18, 1837. By virtue of that provision, Spain's colonies, the Philippines included, were put back to their former colonial status.

The history of Philippine representation in the Cortes of 1834-1837 is given by Montero y Vidal in the following passages:[1]

> On the 2nd of February, 1835, the Santa Ana of the Compañia de Filipinas arrived at Manila, bringing despatches relative to the restoration of constitutional government in Spain, the promulgation of the Royal Statute (Estatuto Real) and the calling of a new Cortes.
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> Enrile asked the Ayuntamiento to name the residents who were to form the electoral board, in accordance with article 48 of the royal decree of May 20th, 1834.[2]

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1 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit.

2 - According to this decree the electoral board was to be composed of the members of the Ayuntamiento and of an equal number of well-to-do residents appointed by the Ayuntamiento itself, with the Captain-General or his delegate as presiding officer.

The Philippines was allowed to name two delegates.

The Cortes assembled on the 24th of July 1834 and closed on the 29th of May, 1835. Thruout the session of the Cortes the Philippines was unrepresented.[3]

By law promulgated by the Cortes and sanctioned by the Queen Regent on the 20th of May, 1835, a gradual stamp impost was established on documents used for transfer of property, bills of exchange, promissory notes and letters of credit of a fixed amount.

In the first meeting of the second session of the Cortes held November 12, 1835, D. Juan Francisco Lecaros and D. Andres Garcia Camba, representatives elect from the Philippines presented themselves with their respective credentials. On the 16th they were sworn into office as representatives from the Philippines. Camba formed part of a committee on etiquette; he presented a proposition which was not accepted, regarding the ceremonial which members must observe, and he took part in the discussion of the bill regarding the national guard. Lecaros spoke in the debate on the answer to be made to the message from the Throne.

In January, 1836, the Cortes were dissolved. On the same day, an order was promulgated for the meeting of a new Cortes on the 22nd of March. This legislature lasted from 22nd of March to May 23, 1836, being dissolved on the latter date. The Philippines was not represented in this Congress.

A new legislature was summoned to assemble on the 20th of August. An election held in the Philippines for delegates to the new Cortes resulted in the reelection of Camba and Lecaros.

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3 - The elections for delegates to the Cortes were held on the 1st of March, 1835, D. Andres Garcia Camba, brigadier in the army, and Juan Francisco Lecaros, Filipino lawyer who, at the time, was in Madrid as commissioner of the Manila Ayuntamiento, being elected. Camba embarked for Spain on March 21, 1835, but did not arrive until August when the session of the Cortes had already closed.

Before the new legislature could meet, the famous mutiny of La Granja had taken place, which forced the Queen Regent to issue the following decree: "As Queen Regent of Spain, I hereby order and command that the Constitution of 1812 be promulgated and observed pending the promulgation by the nation in Cortes assembled of a new constitution." A constituent-Cortes was convened to meet on the 24th of October, 1836.

In the secret session held January 16, 1837, D. Vicente Sancho, representative from Valencia, presented a proposition to the effect that the provinces of the Ultramar be governed by special laws. The committee to which this measure was referred reported on the 10th of February and proposed that the Spanish provinces in America and Asia should in the future be governed by special laws, and that their representatives should no longer sit in the Cortes. The concluding part of the report reads as follows: "In view of the fact that the Constitution to be adopted in the Peninsula cannot be applied to the provinces of the Ultramar, these shall henceforth be governed by special laws, framed to suit their respective circumstances and to promote their happiness. Consequently, their representatives shall no longer sit in the Cortes."

In March, 1837, an election was held in Manila for delegates to this Cortes, resulting in the choice of Camba and D. Luis Prudencio Alvarez y Tejero, formerly of the Manila Audiencia. The latter had no opportunity to show what he could do as Philippine delegate for he arrived in Spain after the passing of the resolution excluding the representatives of the Ultramar from the Cortes.

With the promulgation of the Constitution of 1837, the period of Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes came to a close. Although such representation was not, in the strict sense of the word, really and truly representative of the Philippines and of the Filipino people, it was a memorable experience for the Philippines. It brought the

Philippines, for one thing, into closer contact with Spain and Spain's colonies in the New World. For another, it contributed in some way to the development of the spirit of nationalism among the Filipinos. Years later, the leaders and spokesmen of the Filipino people voiced a demand for the restoration to the Philippines of the privilege she formerly enjoyed of being represented in the Spanish Cortes. The restoration of Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes was one of the major reforms the Filipino nationalists sought to obtain from Spain in the decade preceding the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution.

CHAPTER TWO

COMMERCIAL PROGRESS, 1800-1865

The political and constitutional developments which took place in Spain in the first years of the nineteenth century were accompanied by important changes in Spain's commercial policy in the Philippines. In 1813, the Spanish Cortes liberalized the Manila-Acapulco trade by abolishing the Acapulco galleon and discontinuing the use of boletas in the trade with Nueva España. In 1814, Ferdinand VII, besides confirming many of the changes effected by the Cortes, gave further commercial concessions to the Philippines. In 1820, the Spanish Cortes swept away the monopolistic features of Spanish trade with the Philippines and Asia by suppressing the exclusive privileges granted by law to the Real Compañia de Filipinas. This reform was followed a few years later, (1830) by the opening of the port of Manila, on a permanent basis, to foreigners for trade and residence.[1] Subsequently (1858), three other ports were opened. Sual in Pangasinan, Iloilo in the Western Visayas, and Zamboanga, in Mindanao. In 1865, Cebu, in the Central Visayas, was likewise made an open port.

These developments reflected the rise in Spain and elsewhere in Europe of liberal ideas and tendencies in commercial matters. They were contemporaneous with the opening of Siam, China, and Japan to foreign nations, the abandonment by the Dutch of their trade monopoly in the East Indies, and the abolition by the British Parliament of the trade monopoly long enjoyed by the British East India Company.

The document which follow deal with these developments and their effects upon various aspects of life in the Philippines.

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1 - Manila had been opened to European traders as early as 1789. The opening of Manila at that time, however, was a concession made solely in the interest and for the benefit of the Real Compañia de Filipinas.

1. Regidor - Mason's Account on Philippine Commercial Progress[1]

After the formation of the second Company of the Philippines, the Spaniards realized that it was futile to isolate Manila commercially, any longer from the surrounding trade centers, and in 1780, European vessels were given formal permission to convey the goods of all the Indies to the Philippines.[2] Succeeding this, foreign merchants were allowed to visit Manila for a few months at a time during the busy part of the trading season, and finally, they were granted the right of permanent residence. When the first European commercial house was established at Manila is not known. La Perouse mentions a French merchant, named Sebir, who resided in Manila, in 1787, but according to other records, it was not until 1809 that a foreign house, an English company, was allowed admittance, while others began to follow in 1814. At first they were permitted only to deal in local Oriental trade, but in 1820 they were allowed to export goods to Spain, and later to all Europe.[3]

Pioneers of Foreign Trade.- When the merchants of the world were invited into the Philippines, American trade in the Far East was on the crest of a prosperity wave, and it was but natural that it should roll across the China sea from Canton to Ma-

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1 - Excerpts from "Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands," by Antonio M. Regidor y Jurado and J. Warrent T. Mason. (London, 1905).

2 - It was in 1789 that the port of Manila was opened for the first time to the vessels of foreign nations. See Azcarraga's account, given elsewhere in these Readings.

3 - The coming of foreigners to the Philippines, under the new commercial policy, was viewed with jealousy and misgiving by members of the Spanish community, especially those whose interests were likely to be adversely affected by the commercial activities of the new comers. These were the ones believed to be responsible for the disorders of 1820 in Binondo in which several foreigners were killed. That incident was a manifestation of the anti-foreign sentiment existing at the time.

nila with great force.[4] No sooner were the foreign traders settled in Manila, than they entered into the thick of a commercial conflict. America, represented by the two houses of Russell, Sturgis and Co., and Peele, Hubbell and Co., at once took a chief part in the contest. England was the nearest rival, and the other nations brought up far in the rear, for the markets of Great Britain and the United States offered the best prices for the chief goods that the Philippines now began to export; hemp, sugar, tobacco and indigo. The firm of Russell, Sturgiss towered above all the other mercantile establishments. Under the name of J. and T. H. Perkins they had been among the foremost merchants of Canton, and their reputation was further increased by the fact that though Americans, they were the representatives in the Orient of the great English banking house of Baring Brothers, of which Mr. Sturgis later became senior partner. Mr. Russell advertised his firm by lavish entertainments. He gave big dinners and receptions, almost nightly, and kept practically open house at Manila, while the same of his social activity spread over the Archipelago, giving a reputation for wealth and prominence to his concern that dwarfed all competitors.

Early Banking Institutions.- The chief foreign traders, beside dealing in merchandise, went into the banking business as well. Formerly, the confraternities, that loaned money to the Spaniards engaged in the export trade, possessed a monopoly of this lucrative field, and loaned the charity endowments in their possession at exhorbitant rates of interest. They charged as high as 50 per cent on shipments to Mexico, 35 per cent to India, and 25 per cent to China, though it was not legal for them to accept interest in excess of 5 per cent.

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4 - The first American vessel to call at the port of Manila was the "Astrea", with Captain Henry Prince in command. She entered the port October 3, 1796. She left with a cargo of sugar, pepper, hemp and indigo on which $24,000 were paid at the Salem Custom House in duties. See Russel, "Beginnings and Early Growth of American Trade with Manila," in the American Chamber of Commerce Journal for June, 1922.

Financial Houses of Damaso Gorricho and Francisco Rodriguez.- Shortly after the arrival of the foreign traders, two Filipino financial houses were opened, one by Damaso Gorricho, who was educated in Paris, which did a small business as a simple money lending concern, and the other by Francisco Rodriguez, educated at Calcutta and Goa, which was managed by him under the protection of the British Consul at Manila. The Rodriguez Bank was the first financial institution to be organized by a Filipino, and its establishment was brought about in a peculiar manner. In 1825, Francisco Rodriguez, who was a very wealthy house-owner in Manila, was arrested one night while on his way home, wrongly charged with being concerned in a native uprising.5 The next morning he was sent to Cadiz as a political prisoner. After his arrival in Spain, he escaped, and made his way to London. He was unsuccessful in his attempts to induce his friends and relatives in Manila to help him, and though one of the wealthiest Filipinos of that time, he was in danger of dying through neglect, when he was taken in by an American Quaker community in London, and cared for. He lived with the Quakers for five years, adopt-

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5 - This incident happened in 1823, during the governorship of Juan Antonio Martinez.

When Martinez came to the Philippines, he brought with him several army officers from the Peninsula, evidently to supersede the officers of the army here, most of whom were Mexican Spaniards. Mexico had just won her independence from the mother country. Government officials felt that, in the appointment of officers in the armed forces, preference should be given to Peninsular Spaniards. The arrival of the new officers caused much uneasiness among the elder officers who feared that they might be discriminated against in matters of preferment, if not eventually separated altogether from the service. They talked so much against the newcomers that they soon aroused the suspicions of the authorities. Governor Martinez finally discovered that the Mexican-Spanish officers were plotting and conspiring against the government. He ordered the arrest of the persons suspected of this conspiracy and sent them to Spain February 18, 1823. Among those sent away were Luis Rodriguez Varela, styled El Conde Filipino, D. F. Rodriguez, and José Ortega, factor of the Compañia de Filipinas.

An aftermath of this episode was the Novales mutiny of June, 1828, in which ex-governor Folgueras was killed. See Montero y Vidal, op. cit., vol. 2.

ed their faith, and became a naturalized British subject. At the end of that time, the Filipinos charged with participating in the 1825 revolution were pardoned by the Spanish government, and Rodriguez returned to Manila. Garbed in his Quaker costume, which had never before been seen in the Philippines, he was looked upon as a mad man, and as he walked through the streets, the children ran after him, shouting and jearing. His treatment at the hands of his former friends was as that of outcast, and the Friars attempted to compel him to leave the Islands, but his British citizenship protected him from expulsion, and he remained. Embittered by his experience, Rodriguez, popularly known as Quico Rodriguez, declined further intercourse with his former countrymen. He even refused to speak the Spanish language, and would converse with no one who could not understand English. He became associated with the foreign merchants, and with the principal object of assisting the European traders, at the expense of the Spaniards, he established a bank. The institution was conducted as a companion of the British and American banks, and materially assisted the traders of those countries in their dealings, with the Filipinos. On his death, Rodriguez left his entire fortune to the Queen of England, in trust for the widows and children of the British soldiers, who were killed in the Crimean War. Rodriguez's relatives attempted to break the will, and secured a judgment in their favor in the Manila courts. The British government appealed to the Supreme Court at Madrid, and obtained a reversal of the Manila decision, the money ultimately being paid to the British authorities. About the time of the closing of this bank, Mariano Tuason, a Filipino, opened another of his own on the same lines.

Reorganization of the Obras Pias.- While the Rodriguez bank was assisting the foreigners, the confraternities were helping the Spaniards, but owing to the lower rates of interest charged by the foreigners, it became impossible for confraternities to rival them, and the Manila authorities sought to combine the confraternities for the purpose of making their financial business more successful. The confraternities, too, were gradually assuming a political activity, that caused the government some alarm, and gave a more imperative reason why they

should be amalgamated, and placed under the observance of the authorities. In 1841, all the smaller confraternities were dissolved, leaving the field to four large ones, that between them controlled most of the charitable endowment funds. Three were lay brotherhoods connected with religious orders, the Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco, the Venerable Orden Tercera de Santo Domingo, and the Hermandad de Jesus Nazareno de Recoletos, while the fourth La Misericordia, the secular priests controlled. An agitation for the amalgamation of these four remaining confraternities was not successful, until 1851, when the Captain-General of the Philippines, Urviztondo, acting on his own responsibility, without consulting his superior officers at Madrid, combined the confraternities, calling the new institution the Obras Pias. The Spanish government approved the amalgamation in 1854, and the articles of association were granted August 13, 1857. The Obras Pias did not wait for sanction from Madrid, but obeying the orders of Urviztondo, immediately after the amalgamation, began to conduct business under the changed conditions. The new institution was placed under the joint control of a directive committee consisting of the Archbishop of Manila, the Chief Justice of the Manila courts, the Controller of the Treasury, the Attorney General and a Secretary; and of an administrative committee, comprising a member of each of the three orders that had previously been connected with the confraternity funds, a judge of the supreme court, an accountant and a secretary. The financial liberty of the Obras Pias was confined by numerous restrictions.

The Banco-Español-Filipino.- In 1852, the Banco-Español-Filipino was founded by Urviztondo in Manila and those interested in the Spanish bank had such powerful influences behind them that the Obras Pias was discriminated against in order to give business to the other.6 The Obras Pias and the Banco-Español-Filipino were operated, in effect, as two branches of the same institution. The former was compelled by the Spanish authorities to undertake the less remunerative part of a banking business and was forced into a position of little more than an imperfectly designed mortgage bank, run for the convenience of the native Filipinos and Spaniards. It was made to

6 - This bank is now known as "The Bank of the Philippine Islands." The new name was adopted in 1912.

accept mortgages on houses or town buildings properties, in full security for loans, when houses were not easily reconvertible into money. Its business consisted of little more than this, while the Banco-Español-Filipino was given every right the authorities could extend, to elevate it to a commanding position. It was permitted to require what security it desired for loans, and was allowed the sole right of issuing bank notes. It became, in fact, and legally the official government bank of the Philippines, and in return for the privileges granted it, the directors undertook to further Spanish trade interests in the Islands.

On the one side there was then formed the Obras Pias and the Banco-Español-Filipino, and on the other the Rodriguez and Tuason banks and the banks of the foreign merchants, each side, at first, commercially combatting the other. The foreigners had the better position, for their banks were nothing more than adjuncts of their trading houses, formed primarily to draw local products into their hands. When the traders of America and Europe went to the Philippines, they found the activity of the native owners and agriculturalists so limited by the trade regulations and persecutions of the Spaniards, that it was impossible for the Filipinos to raise produce for export without assistance. The Spaniards and their descendants were entitled by law to obtain loans from what was called Fondos de Comunidad (Community Funds), which were accumulated from certain taxes. These funds were to be administered by the authorities as a kind of Agricultural Bank, but were very seldom applied to such purpose as only a few grants were made to some special protege of the Manila authorities. The natives longed to find an outlet for their restricted energies, through foreign channels, but they could do nothing without money which the Government and the Friars would not loan them for harvesting crops destined for consumption abroad. Under the old regime, the Filipino farmers had lived a hand to mouth existence held in practical bondage by the Friars who, claiming ownership of the soil had forced the natives to run into debt every year to secure the money necessary to bear the expense of gathering their small crops.

Mortgage Loans.- In the early period of the Spanish sovereignty over the Islands, the authorities

at Madrid had decreed that no Filipino could be held liable for the repayment of any loan above twenty-five dollars, which restriction was evaded later on by securing the loans by a mortgage. The original intention of the law was to protect the natives from falling into the hands of rapacious money lenders, but in practice, the system became tyrannous. Under it, the Filipino agriculturists were unable to find money for their harvestings except by associating with the religious orders or capitalists on usurious conditions, and their pleas to have the law repealed were without result, for under the law, the natives were placed at the mercy of the Friars, who successfully combatted all attempts at amendment, until about thirty-five years ago, after the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of the republic in Spain.

Crop Loans.- The foreign merchants were compelled to adapt themselves to these conditions, in advancing money to the natives for the purpose of attracting business. The foreigners did not care to follow the example of the Friars and accept land mortgages, for no land of any value to them was securable, so they adopted another method of evading the twenty-five dollar loan law. They estimated at the beginning of each season what the value of the forthcoming harvest would be, and paid the Filipino farmers for it in advance. If, when the harvest was over, the advance price was found to be too little, the Filipinos were given the balance; while, if it turned out that the crop had been over-estimated, the difference in value was compensated by extending the sale to the next harvest. This system of money lending was adopted without thought of making a profit on the loans themselves, while the two Spanish and Filipino banks, on the other hand, were engaged primarily, in making a profit for themselves out of their loans, the facilitation of the business of the Spanish traders being of secondary importance. The Banco-Español-Filipino after a time, found that its business was being seriously handicapped by its policy of showing favoritism to the Spanish merchants, and finally it dropped its anti-foreign methods, and worked in harmony with the European and American traders, contributing to the extension of their business.

Demands for Greater Commercial Facilities: Concessions Granted.- While the foreign merchants were contending among themselves for the export trade of the Archipelago, they were united in demanding that greater facilities be extended to them for the development of their business. The Spanish authorities were not pleased by the manner in which the foreigners were seizing for themselves all the benefits that followed the development of the Islands' resources, and they were inclined to return to their former selfish policy of reserving untouched that part of the wealth of the Islands that could not be secured by the Spaniards themselves. The foreign traders constantly brought pressure to bear on the Manila authorities to secure more freedom, but they obtained no satisfaction.

The principal objects in the list of grievances of the traders were the refusal of the authorities to open other ports beside Manila to foreign ships, thus necessitating the conveyance of produce from the most distant parts of the Archipelago to the Capital at entirely unnecessary cost; the retention by the Government of a monopoly of the tobacco industry, greatly increasing the cost of the weed to exporters; the monopoly also of the manufacture of spirit in the Islands, restricting the importations, and the discouragement of the immigration of the industrious Chinese. In 1834, the Government sought to mollify the traders by establishing at Manila a Tribunal of Commerce consisting of three official appointees, and four others, selected by the merchants themselves, to make recommendations for the extension of trade. The recommendations were seldom carried out, and like many other Spanish institutions in the islands the Tribunal was as useless in practice as it was beneficial in theory. In 1835, a Chamber of Commerce was founded, possessing authority to adjust petty disputes among the Manila merchants, but as judicial decisions usually favored the litigant with the more social or financial influence, the most important work of the Chamber was to induce merchants to be wary or running counter to one another.7

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7 - The Tribunal of Commerce (Tribunal de Comercio) was created by the decree of January 1, 1834, to try cases arising under the new Spanish Code of Commerce, which was

Such answers as these to the appeals of the traders served only to increase their impatience, and finally they began to withdraw their capital from the Archipelago to use it on the Chinese mainland, where the activity of England was forcing the spread of free trade. In 1824, England purchased Singapore, and in 1841, Hongkong passed under the British flag, both parts being made trade bases, and thrown open to world's commerce. The British Government then declared war on China to extend trade still more, and when the smoke of battle had cleared away, the barriers against merchants entering Shanghai, Ningpu, Fuchow, Foo and Amoy, had been battered down.8 With so open a field before them Oriental merchants had little time to waste butting against stone walls in the Philippines, and foreign commerce rapidly drifted from the Archipelago.

Recommendations of Sinibaldo de Mas.- The Spaniards now grew alarmed at the resulting stagnation of trade in the Islands, and sought to reattract the merchants who were devoting their attention to China.

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extended to the Philippines by decree of July 26, 1832. It was composed of one prior, two consuls, two subdelegates, one assessor, and one secretary. It took the place of the Tribunal del Consulado which was established by a royal decree of 1769. The Chamber of Commerce (Junta de Comercio) was created by a decree of the Superior Government of the Philippines February 1, 1835. Its personnel consisted of the officials of the Tribunal of Commerce and four merchants, appointed by the government. This body was to discuss matters relating to navigation and commerce.

The authors apparently have mistaken the Tribunal of Commerce for the Chamber of Commerce. See Buceta y Bravo, op. cit.

8 - The opening of these ports and the cession of Hongkong were results of the first Anglo-Chinese War (1840-1842), which was concluded by the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. Canton was one of the Chinese ports opened to foreign nations. The Treaty of Nanking removed many of the restrictions which hampered the trade of foreigners in China. For one thing the intervention of the Hongkong merchants was eliminated. For another, a tariff schedule on imports was established on a permanent basis.

The Government appointed Don Sinibaldo de Mas, later Spanish minister to China, to investigate and report on mercantile conditions in the Philippines. De Mas did his work well. He was not a believer in the exclusive nature of the Spanish trade policy, and he saw with a clear vision that the Philippines must be placed on a rational commercial plane if they were to keep pace with growing trade requirements. He obtained some startling data by comparing the Philippines with Cuba, where commerce had been allowed a more natural development. Cuba, he found, with less than a million inhabitants did an annual business amounting to 27,000,000 dollars, while the Philippines, which in 1850 had a population of more than 4,000,000 had less than 5,000,000 dollars of trade annually. He reckoned that if the commerce of the Philippines were proportionate to that of Cuba, it would amount to 350,000,000 annually. De Mas recommended that Spain open other ports besides Manila, abandon the tobacco monopoly and encouraged immigration. Some time following De Mas' investigation, when the reforms indicated by him were beginning to be put into effect, the Superintendent of Customs at Manila issued a report showing that the value of commercial business had increased one third. He observed in his report that "of the foreign merchants in Manila, the United States occupies the first place with more than a third of the total value of exports. During the past year, the tonnage of American vessels entering and leaving Manila has been 125,922, of English, 75,439, and of Spanish, 33,157."

Use of Modern Agricultural Implements: Nicholas Loney.- The commercial triumphs of Great Britain on the Chinese mainland gave to the British firms in the Philippines great prominence, and they gradually began to overcome the lead that the Americans then possessed. The Englishmen pressed their advantage vigorously, and soon made themselves masters of the trade of the lesser Islands of the Archipelago, through the introduction of modern sugar making machinery, sugar being one of the Archipelago's chief exports. About 1860, Mr. Nicholas Loney, a clerk in the Scotch house at Manila of Ker and Company, resigned his position, and became the agent at Iloilo of a Scotch sugar machinery company. Mr. Loney re-

cognized the vast trade that could be done in sugar if the antiquated refining methods of the natives were replaced by the modern system and he sought to teach the natives of the Visayan Islands how to use the new machinery. He encountered many difficulties at first, for the Filipinos were conservative, and were reluctant to part with their old time processes of manufacture. Finally, Mr. Loney offered them the machinery on the understanding that they were to pay for it only if they gained a greater profit by the new method. His suggestion that the price of the machines be refunded to him only out of the additional earnings of the natives, at last attracted some of the more enterprising natives, and to the delight and surprise of the Filipinos they discovered that they could make sugar easier and cheaper under the new conditions than was possible formerly. Mr. Loney immediately assumed a position of great prominence. He established a company at Iloilo that became the strongest mercantile house outside Manila, and he was appointed the British consular representative there.

Mr. Reynolds' Rice Exchange Project.- Mr. Thomas Reynolds, an American citizen, although it was afterwards pretended that he was born in Lancashire, England, who was married, like Mr. Sturgis, to a Filipino lady of European descent, tried also to take advantage of the opening of new ports, for the establishment of a Rice Exchange in the port of Dagupan, northern Luzon, the nearest place to Hongkong. He invested at the port a very large capital, made a quay, built warehouses, and everything was planned to convert Dagupan into one of the most important commercial centers in the Archipelago; but when he began to carry out his scheme, the religious orders opposed him strenuously, on the plea that he was dealing in rice, which was the principal food of the natives, and that he might endanger the supply of the Islands by increasing prices or by exporting it. The real fact that the Friars dreaded his undertaking, because through it, he would have been able to compete with the local rice markets, which were supplied chiefly from the Friars' Haciendas (Rice Estates). There was consequently a great commercial and industrial struggle between Mr. Reynolds and the Friars, accom-

panied on the part of the Friars by the most ridiculous political accusations, and in the end, Mr. Reynolds was forced to give up his project.

Colonizing Schemes of Foreign Nations near the Philippines.- Great Britain, constantly devising means to assist her traders, attempted to establish a commercial base in the Sulu Archipelago, and endeavored to seize an island of the group for this purpose.[9] The authorities at Manila regarded their sovereign rights as being in danger, and forced the Sultan of Sulu to expel the Englishmen. Britain thereupon departed, to console herself by securing a foothold in Sarawak as a preliminary to the occupation of northern Borneo.

The British commercial activity served as a stimulus for the other traders. France made an effort to raise her flag over Basilan, one of the southern islands bordering Mindanao, but was compelled to abandon her designs.[10] The imperialism of Spaniards in Manila was inflamed by the British

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9 - The British, through Sir James (Rajah) Brooke, obtained the territory of Sarawak, September 21, 1841. In 1845, they acquired also the island of Labuan. In May 1849, Brooke negotiated with the Sultan of Jolo for the conversion of Jolo into a British protectorate. The negotiations, however, failed. See Montero y Vidal, op. cit., volume 3, chapter 6.

10 - The French attempted to acquire the island of Basilan in 1845. In February of that year, M. de la Grene entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Jolo whereby the latter ceded Basilan to the French for 100,000 pesos. The negotiations, however, were not brought to a conclusion due to the failure of the French Government to give the necessary financial backing to M. de la Grene. At this time, France was much engrossed in more pressing problems, domestic and foreign, to attend to de la Grene's plan of territorial aggrandizement.

For an account of this incident, see Montero y Vidal op. cit., volume 3, chapter 4. Montero y Vidal gives in that chapter, the texts of important documents which tell the inside story of the motives for the French attempt and of the reasons for its abandonment.

triumphs, and one among them, Captain Carlos Cuarteron, employed as a local carrier between Borneo and the Philippines, sought to secure Borneo as a trade base for Spain. Cuarteron gave up his sea life, entered the Catholic Church as a Priest, went to Rome, and obtained the appointment of Apostolic Delegate to Borneo. He worked strenuously to induce the Manila government to support his ambitious plan, but met with no success, and, at last, he died without carrying out his project.

America, if she were to maintain her commercial position in the Far East, must secure and Oriental trade base of her own, and an attempt was made in 1866 to follow the idea of Cuarteron on behalf of the United States, by Mr. Moses, the American consul at Brunei, Borneo. Mr. Moses obtained from the Sultan of Brunei a cession of territory, including practically the whole northern part of Borneo. He transferred the holding to an American trading company, and a Mr. Torrey was sent to the Island to form a colony and make provision for commercial extension. The undertaking met the same fate that befell the design of Captain Cuarteron, and for a similar reason. The United States government was too concerned with the reconstruction period following the War of Secession, to give any attention to so remote a subject as Borneo, and the American Trading Company, denied that governmental assistance which had supplied such material help to the neighboring British commercial settlements, abandoned its ambitious scheme. Shortly after the departure of the Americans, a British syndicate was formed to take over the American rights, and when the Americans demanded payment for the cession, they were curtly told they had no claim, as their title had lapsed. There was then no commercial influence at Washington strong enough to induce the United States government to assert the contrary, and thus without the payment of a penny, North Borneo was changed from American to British territory, which it has remained ever since.

The Secret of England's Commercial Success in the Philippines.- Besides obtaining first place in the export business of the Archipelago, Great Britain through her possessions near the Philippines was able to make herself mistress of the

Archipelago's import trade as well. The tariff schedule at Manila was framed, not only to encourage Spanish imports, but also Spanish carrying trade. There were high duties on goods brought into Manila aboard foreign vessels and low ones arriving under the Spanish flag, while there was a specially low impost on merchandise reaching the Islands from the local trading stations in the Orient. British merchants took advantage of this, by consigning their goods sent from Europe not to Manila but to Singapore, or Hongkong and from there having them ferried across to the Philippines in Spanish ships. The advantage gained by this maneuver was so important, that it was useless for any trader except the Spaniards, to compete with the Englishmen in the import trade, and even the Spaniards were forced into a bad second place.

Establishment of British Banks.- These matters were all serious attacks on America's trade supremacy in the Philippines and Great Britain soon delivered a death blow to the commercial rivals of the Englishmen through the medium of the two official British Banks in the Far East, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, one of whose principal objects was the furtherance of British political influences in the Orient.

Their Operations.- In 1873 both institutions endeavored to extend their operations to Manila. The Chartered Bank was allowed admittance but the Spaniards refused similar permission to the other, which, nevertheless managed to secure business in the Islands through an agent at Manila. The Spanish banks did not regard either bank with favor, and both, thinking they might have to relinquish their operations at a moment's notice, arranged with an English house in Manila, Smith, Bell and Co., to act for them in the event of a sudden retreat being necessary. The agent of the Chartered Bank, who was the first in the field, started by adopting different methods from those used by the Manila merchant banks. Instead of refusing to accept land as sufficient security for loans, as did the other banks, he offered, even against his charter, to take real estate, and he charged less interest than did the merchant banks. The policy of accepting land

mortgages attracted much business to the bank. The natives were quite willing to give land that no one else would have to the British banks, for it was useless to the natives, and when their loans became due, they permitted the banks to foreclose, and seize the land, while they moved away to obtain from the Spanish government other land, free of cost.

Failure of American Firms.- This method of doing business, though far seeing, as future events proved, entailed considerable loss at first, and for that reason was not followed by the merchant banks. The British merchants who secured the business that the British banks diverted from the Americans and the other foreign traders, felt no inconvenience, but the rest of the merchants were hard pressed. The natives deserted them for the better terms securable at the hands of the British, and finally, in 1875, Russell and Sturgis were forced into bankruptcy. The announcement of the failure brought trade in Manila temporarily to a standstill. For a generation the great American firm had kept in the shadow all other mercantile houses in Manila, and the establishment had come to be regarded as the fountain head of all the various commercial streams that had forced their way through the Archipelago. It had never been believed that the Americans could be forced out of business by their British rivals and there is nothing to indicate that they would have been but for the overpowering assistance given to British merchants in the Orient by the British government. It was the policy pursued by the commercial agents of the British Foreign Office that forced Russell, Sturgis into bankruptcy, and as the power exerted by England was entirely legitimate, Americans can deplore only that those in authority at Washington did not give equal attention to the trade battle that was being waged in Manila.

After the fall of Russell, Sturgis, the United States continued to be represented in Manila by the other American house, Peele, Hubbell & Co. It held no longer, because its interests were not so complex, but its existence caused the Englishmen to continue their right against the Americans, until, in 1887, Peele, Hubbell gave up the contest and went out of business.

The fight had been a costly one, and the British firms are said to have lost a very large sum before they finally rid themselves of their great opponents. As soon as they had the field to themselves, the Englishmen returned to the old plan of issuing loans, and the cost of the fight was ultimately borne by the natives. The victory was decisive, for since then, British commercial houses have reigned supreme in the Philippine Islands.

2. Economic and Social Results of the Opening of the Philippines to Foreign Nations.

(a) Economic and Social Development.[1]

The astonishing development of the population in the last century was coincident with the economic advance of the islands, the two lines of growth clearly having progressed together.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century brought events to the Philippines that were destined to revolutionize society and industry. Mexico obtained her independence from Spain in 1820, and after that all communication between the Philippines and what had been an over-colony ceased. Trade between Spain and the Philippines was not carried on by vessels sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. The last Philippine galleon had returned from Mexico in the year 1814.[2] The Royal Philippine Company, which held a monopoly of trade, ended its life in 1835 without having achieved either financial success or lasting economic benefits to the islands. This was followed two years later, in 1837, by the opening of the port of Manila to foreign trade.[3] This is the decisive

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1 - Barrows, "History of the Population," Census of 1903, Vol. I, pp. 445-446.

2 - 1816 according to Mas, and 1815 according to Montero y Vidal.

3 - On Dec. 14, 1837, a schedule of tariff duties on goods brought to Manila was promulgated. (See Buceta y Bravo, op. cit., Vol. I).

date and event in the history of Philippine industry and commerce. How little the islands had shared in the trade of the world is to be seen from the statistics of the year 1810. Imports in that year amounted to 5,329,000 pesos, and more than half of this was silver sent from Mexico. Imports from the United States and from Europe, including Spain, had amounted to 175,000 pesos. The exports for the same year were even less, the balance of trade being against the Archipelago. This amounted to 4,795,000 pesos, but of this amount over a million and a half was Mexican silver exported to China. The whole amount of exports to Europe and to the United States was only a quarter of a million pesos. There was practically no exportation of those great staples - hemp, tobacco, sugar, coffee, and copra, which subsequently enriched the islands and fostered this phenomenal growth of population. In 1831 the exportation of hemp amounted to only 346 tons, but the immediate effect upon production of the opening of the port of Manila to foreign trade is seen in the exportation six years later of 2,585 tons. By 1858 the exportation of this article alone had risen to 27,500 tons. Of this amount nearly two-thirds went to the United States for the rigging of those ships which made the American Navy famous for speed and daring throughout the first half of the last century. Of sugar the export in 1858 amounted to 557 (sic.) piculs, of which more than half went to Great Britain. In 1814 general permission had been given to foreigners to establish trading houses in Manila, and by 1858 there were 15 such established, of which 7 were English and 3 American. (See Bowring, "A Visit to the Philippine Islands.") In 1855 three other ports were opened to foreign commerce - Sual in Pangasinan, to promote the exportation of the surplus production of rice; Iloilo and Zamboanga; and in 1865 Cebu likewise was made an open port. From these dates the prosperity of the Philippines advanced steadily and rapidly without interruption until the outbreak of the Philippine revolution six years ago. To this period is due the propagation of the hemp fields of Ambos Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon; the planting of the innumerable coconut groves; the sugar haciendas of Pampanga and Negros; the tobacco fields of Cagayan and the Iloco provinces; the coffee of Batangas, and the utilization everywhere of the specially adapted soils for the production of these admirable articles of trade.

One thing is to be noticed, and is important in estimating the future development of the islands. The money that was invested here was not brought in by capitalists but was made here. Haciendas arose from small beginnings, and this continued prosperity apparently suffered no diminution or check until it was interrupted by the ravages and desolation of warfare. One point must be noticed, however, in regard to the addition of this wealth to the islands, and that is that it was not evenly distributed among the population but went to enrich certain families, largely Spanish and mestizos, as well as the old native aristocracy - the "principales." The great mass of the population secured few gains or material benefits from this increased wealth of the archipelago.

It was during this period of prosperity that measures were adopted for the laying out of pueblos and the erection of public edifices, and during this time the fine homes of the wealthier class of the native population were constructed.

(c) Commercial and Agricultural Progress.[1]

Taking the increase of exports as an indication of greater agricultural and commercial activity, we find that, with the opening of the ports, exports increased; and these now consisted of the products of the country, instead of manufactured goods brought from elsewhere in the Orient. By 1839, the Philippines exported 2,674,220 pesos of her own products, as against 500,000 pesos in 1810. Sugar in 1782, was the only product which was attracting any attention, because at the time, thirty-thousand piculs of it had been exported; in 1840, 146,661 piculs were exported; in 1854, the amount had increased to 566,371, almost four times greater than 1840; and, in 1857, the amount reached 714,059 piculs. Similarly, the amount of hemp exported in-

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1 - Benitez, "The Old Philippines Industrial Development" in Craig-Benitez, Philippine Progress Prior to 1898.

creased, in spite of the fact that it found its way in the world's market for the first time only in the early part of the nineteenth century.2

The same effect that was observed in connection with the opening of Manila followed that of the other ports. The production of the regions around the new ports increased as shown by export statistics, and commercial activity was stimulated, as shown in the greater movement of ships. For example, Sual in 1857 sent abroad twelve ships with rice, and two hundred and twenty-five ships to Manila, also loaded with rice; in 1860, sixty ships went abroad, and one hundred and seventy-two to Manila, loaded mostly with the same cargo. Again, altho in the first three or four years there were no marked increase in her exports, Iloilo by 1859 began to show signs of increasing productivity.3 Its total value of exports, which in 1858 amounted to 82,000 pesos, had increased to 1,000,000 pesos in 1863.

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2 - Azcarraga (op. cit.) gives the following figures for hemp.

	Piculs Exported
1840	83,790
1845	102,490
1850	123,410
1853	221,518
1857	327,574
1858	412,502

3 - The following figures show the trend of exports from Iloilo. Ibid.

	Foreign Countries Piculs of Sugar	Manila Piculs of Sugar
1859	9,344	77,488
1860	40,176	72,592
1861	44,256	29,312
1862	102,464	98,912
1863	170,832	80,000

Furthermore, the opening of Iloilo encouraged production in the island of Negros. Previous to the new era the conditions there were described thus: "... before the happy event that we are considering, that island was uncultivated, thinly populated, and above all, without any kind of production to keep commerce alive; besides the Governor, the Alcalde Mayor, and the curates sent by the religious orders, there were no other Spaniards; only one European, a French doctor by the name of Gaston, had settled there, cultivating sugar cane, and now and then send some cargoes to Manila. "... After the opening of the port of Iloilo, the 4,000 piculs of sugar produced in Negros in 1856 had increased to 100,000 by 1864 for exportation; there were 25 Europeans in the same year, 7 machines run by steam in the towns of Bacolod, Minuluan, and Bago, and 45 run by animal power. Similar advancement characterized the other parts of the islands.

(c) Social and Political Results.[1]

Returning to the Real Compania, in spite of the protection and prerogatives granted by the monarch, it declined from year to year. Badly managed, making absurd commercial operations, as it followed no true mercantile principle, but operated along unwieldy, complicated and selfish administrative lines, the Company was a complete failure putting an end to its business in 1830, in which its rights and privileges were declared expired, leaving the port of Manila de jure et de facto open to foreign commerce and navigation.

If such transformation was convenient to the interests of the Filipino people, you can imagine that it was not by any means to the interests of the privileged class, for the reason that their primitive methods of acquiring wealth had come to an end. True economic life demanded freedom of work and freedom of exchange.

Freedom of work hurt the social class which lived off its exploitation under the protection of

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1 - Dr. Pardo de Tavera, op. cit.

the powers and of the law; production excepted from their hands and the parasitical methods of the exploiters came to an end; the freedom of exchange also took commerce out of the same privileged class and placed it at the disposition of others better qualified for it. No change of more transcendantal and beneficent results for the Filipino people could have been made. Commerce was to cease being a force for exploitation.

But you already know what happens with every changes, it is always received with prejudice and provokes hostility, as in front of it rises the tremendous fortress of tradition and custom, an obstacle which, certainly, once overcome, will serve as a refuge to the new acquisition of our society, which will in turn be kept as a tradition and custom.

The encouragement given by the Real Compañia to develop industrial and agricultral production backed by the money it had distributed in the provinces with that purpose had at length to produce their results and if the Company did fail, on the other hand, thanks to it, Philippine production made considerable progress.

When the mother country imposed freedom of trade, the majority of the dominators received that provision very favorably; they wished for a less rigid sequestration, but not its abolition, for they rightly feared that competition would destroy their old system of exploitation which was so convenient, so sure and so productive.

The "brutes loaded with gold" gave a proof of their intelligence and of their aspirations by sending their children to Manila to be educated, buying furniture, mirrors, articles of luxury for their homes and persons; buying pianos, carrieges, objects imported from the United States and Europe which come their way, owing to the foreign trade. These articles caused a revelation which produced a revolution in the public conscience, thanks to that meritable revolution of an economic character which permitted the only possible development - material development.

The necessities of commerce, demanded not by the poor but by the powerful, were attended to; for

that reason roads were made, bridges were built, new highways of communication were opened, public safety was organized in a more efficient manner, the abuses of the dominators had greater publicity and therefore were fewer and more combating, the mail service was improved, Spaniards and other Filipinos were able to place themselves in contact with the civilized world, emerging from their prolonged and harmful sequestration as a result of the effort of economic impulses.

We emerge from that period owing to purely natural causes. There is no doubt that for religious purposes, tutelar sequestration did not offer any cause of compression; on the contrary, it was the most adequate cause for religious work. However, in spite of being contrary to the artificial policy followed by the King of Spain and his representatives, that period could not sustain itself, falling naturally, because it was contrary to the nature of the laws which rule human progress; because it was contrary to economic progress. If we had not emerged there from we would not have progressed; the freedom of trade in opening for us the doors of material progress, placed us in the way of our intellectual progress and in all its fullness. Admittedly we do not here witness a novel spectacle in the life of humanity, but we see repeated in our country the same process by means of which, during the entire history of mankind, man has ever marched from the conquest of material welfare to the conquest of intellectual and moral progress; from the acquisition of material necessities, beginning with the most essential, which is nutrition, to those of a higher order, based one upon another, in a natural order determined by a concatenation of causes and effects which artificial means, voluntary or unconscious, placed to change its course, have only served to paralyze or retard.

Freedom of trade had to change our economic state, but the upper class, educated under the influence of the ideas of the first epoch, had neither preparation to avail itself of the novelty nor even the disposition to understand its benefits. It was made from the same mould; its economic combinations, placed at the lowest level manual production, industry, agriculture, because they had been accustomed to look upon them as the activities proper to the lowest and least considered classes in society.

Commerce was on a higher level, practised by the governors themselves, the alcaldes mayores civil, military, and religious authorities, protected moreover by monopolies, privileges and exemptions which gave it the full character of an aristocratic institution. On the top level were the ecclesiastic, military and legal profession which constituted the aristocratic professions. Thus was constituted a spirit appropriate to that of the period of sequestration, and it may be said that the colonial policy of that time had gained its triumph.

Commerce, even on a small scale, is rather an intellectual occupation; it does not require much work and at times almost none; it required calculation, foresight, honesty or trickery according to the times and cases; it is, in short, an activity having two moral aspects diametrically opposed, according to whether it operates under oppressive laws or under free institutions. In the first case it exploits, deceives barefootedly, oppresses, uses and abuses its privileged situation; in the second case, it wins by procedure of an elevated character, such as square dealing, exactness in carrying out agreements to buy and sell, good quality of products and merchandise dealt in, competition-in short, it is founded on the interest of the producers and the purchases too, and in this manner is calculated to win the confidence and the custom of each other.

Freedom of trade was bound to bring capital and active people from the outside of the archipelago. Capital would be of use to develop production and, naturally, consumption, and exportation. Persons who came freely brought new ideas, new methods, new moral and intellectual needs, without the support of privileges which served for exploitation, so that such men had to influence favorably the general progress of the Philippines.

The first result was the collision of the new arrivals with the exploiters of the old order, whose peaceful possession of a lively-hood which suited them, because nobody questioned it or disturbed it, was suddenly threatened by the competition of more active, more industrious, better prepared and richer individuals, supported by firms located in the most important centers of the commercial world. In the

same manner as by the arrival of the Spaniards, the old Filipino caciques who dominated during the period of tutelar sequestration found themselves immediately supplanted and converted into something lower than the new caciques of an economic order. They understood that such supremacy would give them supremacy in everything. To defend their position they had recourse to the anti-foreign sentiments of the entire society; foreigners had always been regarded as the enemies of Spain and of God; they must also be the enemies of the Filipinos. The crusade was not new, it has been used before with excellent results at the time of English domination. This campaign was hardly started when the cholera for the first time made its appearance in Manila. Taking advantage of that event, which was also providential, the rumor was started that the foreigners had poisoned the waters of the Pasig, with the results that in 1820 the people of Manila exterminated the foreigners who were then residing at the capital.

Recommendations, favor, and relationship served in the old social order to secure occupation of an official character; every governor arrived in Manila, as is mentioned by all chroniclers of the time, accompanied by a numerous following of parasites, friends, relations, godsons, pages, and favorites incapable of doing anything useful, who were later placed by their patron in alcaldias, encomiendas, offices of every kind in which each of them developed his faculties for exploitation, as best understood by him, to acquire a fortune by the means that I have already mentioned. Now, men who represented the new type of social authorities were naturally insensible to the recommendations for favor as regards the agents and employees necessary to carry on their business, whom they sought amongst persons who were really qualified by their intelligence, activity and morality.

One of the causes of the failure of the celebrated Real Compañia de Filipinas was precisely the incompetent force that managed the business in the Islands, selected in Spain not on account of personal qualifications but by the intrigues of favor and political recommendation. In the new commercial and economic life there were sought those men of useful thoughts recommended by General Basco,

and the men so furnished found positions, or, freely and on their own account, established themselves in the new activity which transformed our society.

During the previous epoch the so-called natural resources constituting the extractive industries, consisting of the collection of the spontaneous products of nature, were exploited, to the extent that the freedom of trade brought about the development of agriculture which has already been initiated by the Real Compañia. In Ilocos indigo was made, in Batangas, Pampanga, Bulacan, Laguna, and the Bisayas sugar cane was cultivated and sugar was made; in Albay, abaca was produced. Vigan, Taal, Balayan, Batangas, Albay, Nueva Caceres, Cebu, Molo, Jaro, Iloilo, began to be covered with solidly constructed buildings; their wealthy citizens would come to Manila, make purchases, become acquainted with the great merchants who entertained them in their quality as customers, whose trade they needed; they visited the Governor-General, who would receive them according to the position that their money gave; they came to know the justices of the Supreme Court, the provincials of religious orders; they brushed up as a result of their contact with the people of the capital and on returning to their pueblo they took in their hearts and minds with them the germ of what was consequently called subversive ideas and later still filibusterismo.

3. Other Aspects of Philippine Material Progress

(a) Road Construction and Improvement of Communication Facilities.[1]

D. Pascual Enrile y Alcedo, was appointed to succeed Ricafort, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, December,1830.

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1 - Excerpts from Montero y Vidal, op. cit., vol. 21, and vol. 3, Chapters 5, 6, 9 and 10.

A man of keen observation and education, Enrile began to study the country as soon as he arrived in the Philippines. In 1829 he visited the principal provinces of Northern Luzon, not as a government official, but as a private citizen. He was accompanied, in the capacity of assistant, by a young military engineer, D. José María Peñaranda, to whom in the expedition he entrusted various difficult tasks, such as the survey of the trail from Ilocos Norte to Cagayan by way of Mount Patatat and Caraballo del Norte. Peñaranda drew itineraries and plans for this trail.

The knowledge gained regarding the nature, needs and situation of the above-mentioned provinces was of value to Enrile, when he became Governor, in his efforts to carry out his plans for the material welfare of the Archipelago. In the attainment of these he dedicated, during five years, his talent, initiative, and perseverance, with a zeal worthy of the highest praise.

To carry out his plan of material development, Enrile corrected the existing plans and prepared a general map of the Archipelago; he later had those great highways of Northern and Southern Luzon constructed together with various branches to them, built a multitude of bridges and improved the conditions of certain towns.

Peñaranda helped Enrile in the carrying out of the vast program of public works. After making the survey we have noted, he made another detailed one of all the navigable rivers and streams of Pangasinan, making maps of the same; he visited anew the grand Cordillera of Luzon and traversed the region from San Nicolas, in the province of Ilocos, to the missions of Ituy[2] in Cagayan, in search of the

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2 - Ituy and Paniqui were early missions established in the province of Cagayan during the first years of the 17th century. Some of the towns in the present provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela originally were included in those missions. About the time Peñaranda visited these regions, those missions were constituted as follows:

Mission of Ituy:	Mission of Paniqui:
Aritao, Dupax	Lumabang, Bagabag,
Bambang, Bayombong	Carig, Angadanan,
	Cauayan, Calamaniugan.

easiest and shortest route between the two provinces. He then proceeded to study the best means of preventing the floods from lakes Canarom and Manjabol in Pampanga, and traced a new route that was beyond the reach of those floods. He later visited the distant Batanes and Babuyanes Islands to study their condition, need and means of developing them and on his return he traversed the grand Cordillera from Tuguegarao, through the territory of the wild Calaus and Apayaos, to Dingras (Ilocos Norte) in search of a possible direct route between the maritime coast of the West and the vast and rich regions which now constitute the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela and Cagayan.

Enrile conceived the idea of solving the difficult problem of establishing means of communication in the interior, and he commissioned Peñaranda to survey the Cordillera from Siniloan in the province of Laguna, to Binañgonan de Lampon, on the Pacific coast, to visit Polillo on the Pacific, and to study the long coast of Eastern Luzon up to the present district of Baler.

Of more importance was the itinerary, now existing, of the mail service in the South by way of Tayabas and Camarines, the use of which up to that time was considered impracticable. A similar survey was made and itinerary drawn up between Balanga and the strategic port of Subic, Zambales.

Having completed satisfactorily these task, Peñaranda occupied himself with the construction of a fort at Burias; with campaigning against a band of bandits which nestled at Mount San Cristobal, capturing the band and killing the leader; with the establishment of an outpost at Uambahan on the side of that mountain; in the construction of a road uniting that post to Majayjay; and with the inspection of the forts and the telegraph system of the coasts and of the provincial maritime forces. While engaged in these tasks, he prepared a sketch which included the southwestern part of Luzon, from Cavite to Albay.

In 1834, he commenced similar work for the establishment of weekly service with all the provinces of the North; and for the establishment of a main

road in the difficult passes of Agayayos, in Ilocos Sur, and Rabon, in Pangasinan.

On the 14th of May of that year, Peñaranda was appointed Corregidor politico-militar and subdelegate of Finance of Albay, or Governor of that province, and, during his administration, important roads were constructed in the province, bridges, and public edifices built and agriculture developed. For these meritorious services the inhabitants of Albay have perpetuated his memory by erecting, a few years after his death, a monument in the plaza of the capital of the province.

Enrile was one of the most intelligent and industrious governors that the Philippines ever had. The country owes to him transcendental material improvements of the utmost value, such as the highways of Luzon, which have facilitated traffic between provinces, at the same time putting them into postal communication with one another by means of the postal routes established by him. Also it is indebted to him for the administration of scientific and orderly rules and procedures in all the branches that have contributed to the development of the general welfare, and have increased considerably the public wealth. Agriculture, commerce, navigation also experienced the beneficial results of this illustrious governor's judicious management, registering during his administration rapid progress, thanks to the measures enacted by him which conduced to their material development.

(b) Campaigns Against Piracy, 1847-1851

About the middle of the nineteenth century, during the administrations of Claveria and Urbiztondo[1] the Government waged vigorous campaigns against piracy. The campaigns may be said to be an outgrowth of the attempts of certain European powers to gain territorial footholds in the Philippines. As pointed out by Regidor and Mason in their Commercial Progress,[2] England, in 1849, through James (Raja)

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1 - Narciso Claveria, 1844-1849; Antonio de Urbiztondo, 1850-1853.

2 - Vide, supra.

Brooke, sought to bring the Sultan of Jolo under British protection. At about the same time, the French, through Monsieur de la Grene, tried to obtain from the Sultan of Jolo the cession of Basilan. These attempts were serious threats against the territorial unity and integrity of the Philippines. The campaigns launched by the Philippine Government between 1848 and 1851 in the Mohammedan occupied areas of the Philippines were inspired by the desire to safeguard the Philippines against the imperialistic designs of England and France.

The campaigns may be viewed also as a phase of the commercial progress of the Philippines. The expansion of commercial activities following the opening of the Philippines to foreign trade created a demand, not only for the improvement of commercial facilities, but also for greater security and freedom from bandits and pirates on the highways and sea lanes of the Philippines. The campaigns were undertaken to make the lines of communication of the country by sea and by land safe for those who wanted to use them for commerce or for travel. They were important steps taken by the Government to meet the needs and conditions arising as a result of the opening of the Philippines to foreign nations.

(i) Oyanguren and the Conquest of Davao.[1]

In 1847, a Spaniard D. José Oyanguren realized an accomplishment which has brought honor to his name, - the conquest of Davao. We prefer to let another speak of this accomplishment.[2]

"Oyanguren was a native of Guipuzcoa. He came to the Philippines in 1825, a refugee from the persecutions which he encountered in Spain on account of close adherence on his part to the constitutional regime. In 1830 he was in Caraga (now Surigao) engaged in commerce and navigation along the coasts of Mindanao.

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1 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit.

2 - La Isla de Mindanao, su historia y su estado presente, con algunas reflecciones acerca de su porvenir, by D. Agustin Santayana, former director of the local administration in the Philippines, Madrid, 1862.

"In 1840 he was appointed judge of first instance in the populous province of Tondo. Upon hearing of the cession by the Sultan of Mindanao of the region of Davao, Oyanguren planned to make effective the control of that region. He proposed to Captain-General D. Narciso Claveria that he be provided with arms and munitions; that he be given the command of the territory for a long period with exclusive privilege to trade; that in return he would subjugate, with men of his own choosing and provided for by himself, the whole region, from Cape San Agustin to Sarangani point; that he would expel or pacify the Moros inhabiting the region, found Christian communities, provide them with agricultural implements, and establish means of communication with the gentiles of the interior of the Island, attracting them to civilized life and to submission to Spanish authorities.

"Governor Claveria received with much satisfaction the proposal, for it agreed so well with his plans regarding the reduction of the wild tribes and the extermination of piracy.

"But before giving formal acceptance, Claveria referred the matter to the Audiencia, in accordance with the laws of the Indias. Here the project encountered some opposition on account of the long period of control which Oyanguren demanded, as well as the exclusive privileges to trade, which were considered extraordinary and without precedent. The Audiencia, therefore, sanctioned the project, with the stipulation that the terms submitted by Oyanguren should not be considered as a contract with the Government, but merely as a concession granted to him for a limited period, with the usual limitations. Accordingly, Governor Claveria by decree of February 27, 1847, granted to Oyanguren for a period of 10 years control of the territory he might conquer in the region of Davao, with exclusive trade privileges during the first six years; furnished him with artillery, rifles and munitions; and authorized him to organize a company of soldiers of his own choosing. It was agreed that the capital of the new province was to be named Nueva Vergara, and that some of the towns of the province of Caraga which were far from the capital of this province were to be incorporated with the province to be formed.

"At the beginning of 1849, Oyanguren was already in possession of the whole coast of the region; he had established the town of Nueva Vergara (now Davao) and had begun to start a campaign in the interior. In view of these successes the region was, by decree of January 29, 1849, created into a province under the name of Nueva Guipuzcoa, in honor of Oyanguren's native province. In April of the same year, the Elcano, under the command of D. Manuel Quesada, arrived at Davao with a force of infantry. With the cooperation of this force, Oyanguren attacked and captured the strongly defended fort and Mohammedan town of Hilo, which obstructed communication with Linao, a town of the province of Caraga. With this achievement, access to the latter place was made possible, and open and free communication through the valley of the Agusan was established for a distance of 50 leagues."

(ii) Governor Claveria's Campaign Against Piracy.[1]

Early in the year 1848 Governor Claveria completed his preparations for the campaign against piracy, which he had long planned but which important affairs of state had prevented him from carrying out in earlier years.

A fleet was prepared for this purpose under the command of D. José Ruiz de Apodaca, consisting of the men of war Elcano, Magallanes, and Reina de Castilla, the brigs, Constante, Guadiana and Senejayen as transports and a division of swift galleys. Three companies of soldiers left for Dapitan on the transports January 27, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Andres Arrieta.

In February of the same year, the Elcano and the Magallanes set sail, carrying on board a small detachment of halberdiers, a section of artillery with two hotitzers, a force of engineers and two companies of soldiers. On the Reina de Castilla, which flew the flag of the commander Apodaca, embarked the commander-in-chief Claveria with his staff.

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1 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit.

On the 10th the expedition reached Dapitan and on the 11th, Governor Cayetano Figueroa of Zamboanga joined it with 150 intrepid volunteers from Zamboanga. The whole force proceeded to the Island of Balanguingui arriving there on the 14th. At dawn of the 16th, taking advantage of the low-tide, the landing was effected in perfect order. At eight in the morning the attacking column was formed with three companies of infantry and the 100 volunteers from Zamboanga, with another company as reserves. Claveria, having aroused the enthusiasm of the troops with an energetic address, gave the order to attack. After a supreme effort, our forces succeeded in penetrating and capturing the fort. The fleet then proceeded to the southern part of the Islands to attack the cotta or fort of Sipac. After heroic resistance on the part of the Moros, this fort fell into the hands of our troops. The next objective of the expedition was the cotta of Sungap which also fell. On the 25th the strong fort of Bucotingol was attacked and captured. The vintas and boats reconnoitered all the creeks and destroyed the villages of Buasan, Lintan, Pahat and Pandan-pandanan. All the forts captured were destroyed.

News of the victory was received in Manila with joy, and Claveria, the leader of the expeditionary force, was royally welcomed on his return. For his victory, he received the titles of Count of Manila and Viscount, and the grand Cross of San Fernando. The Ayuntamiento of Manila gave him a costly sword, while the Economic Society of Friends of the Country, presented him with a gold medal.

(iii) Urbiztondo's Campaign Against Piracy.[1]

A piratical raid from Tonquil fell, in 1850, upon the island of Samar and later on the island of Camiguin. The raiders committed the usual atrocities, besides carrying away 75 unfortunate individuals of both sexes, whom they threw overboard on their return voyage.

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1 - Ibid.

The Captain-General of the Philippines demanded of the Sultan of Jolo the punishment of the pirates. But the Sultan confessed his impotence to suppress piracy. Governor Urbiztondo himself undertook the task of punishing the wrongdoers.

On December 11, 1850, the war vessels Reina de Castilla, Sebastian Elcano, the corvette Villa de Bilbao, and the brig Ligoro left Manila carrying on board Governor Urbiztondo and his Staff, the Commanding General of the navy, D. Manuel de Quesada, 500 infantrymen and 100 artillerymen. At Zamboanga the expeditionary force was enlarged with the addition of two companies of infantry and 102 volunteers.

The fleet proceeded to Jolo, arriving there on the 29th of December. The city was defended by five cottas or forts. The town contained 7,000 people of whom 500 were Chinese. The captain of Engineers D. Emilio Bernaldez and the Ensign D. Manuel Sierra, accompanied by the interpreter D. Alejo Alvarez, landed on the 30th and announced to the Sultan that the Chief Executive of the Islands had arrived and desired to hold a conference with him. But the Sultan refused to meet the Marquis of Solana. Urbiztondo, then, resolved to leave Jolo and wait for reinforcements at Zamboanga preparatory to an intensive campaign against Jolo.

Early in the morning of January 1st, 1851, while the vessels were peacefully lying at anchor, the cottas fired upon them, killing seven men and wounding four. Soon after, the Sultan raised a red flag indicating thereby the outbreak of war.

The next day, the fleet left Jolo for Zamboanga. On the way 600 men landed at Tonquil and burned 96 houses and 106 Moro war vessels. At Zamboanga, reinforcements were awaited and preparations made for a big campaign.

On the 19th of February, 1851, the fleet returned to Jolo, arriving there on the 27th. The next day a landing was effected under shelter of the guns of the fleet. The attacking force closed in on the Moro strongholds and captured them one after the other. By March 1, 1851, the town of Jolo was in the hands of the expeditionary force and the Sultan

himself was a fugitive.

News of the fall of Jolo struck terror in the whole Moro country. The more powerful sultans and datos of the Sulu Archipelago and of the island of Mindanao hastened to solicit from the conqueror treaties of peace and amity. Taking advantage of these overtures, Urbiztondo commissioned Major Caballes to explore the southern coast of Mindanao and to inform the chiefs of Cottabato and of the neighboring islands of the result of his campaign.

On the 14th of April, 1851, the governor of Zamboanga, who had been authorized to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Sultan and datos of Julo, left on the Elcano for Jolo, accompanied by Sheriff Mahomad Minsarin of the town of Pagsahanjan, Basilan, who acted as interpreter. On the 19th, after several conferences, the Sultan and datos of Jolo agreed to sign a treaty of peace.

The Treaty provided: Jolo with all its dependencies was incorporated with the Spanish Crown; Queen Isabel II and her successors were acknowledged as its own sovereigns and protectors; the Sultan and the datos were to preserve intact this territory as an integral part of the Archipelago belonging to the Spanish Government, and to refrain from negotiating treaties, commercial conventions, or alliance of any kind with European powers, companies or persons, corporations, sultans and chiefs of Malay States; they reiterated the pledge not to engage, or to permit anybody to engage, in piracy and to punish those that would follow such nefarious traffic; they promised to consider as their enemies, the enemies of Spain, and as allies the friends of Spain; Jolo should fly the Spanish flag in all its towns and vessels and that the Sultan and other authorities should use the war flag of Spain on land and on the sea, to the exclusion of all others; all traffic carried on by vessels flying the Spanish flag should be free in all the ports of the Sultanate; the Joloans were forbidden to build fortifications of any kind without express permission of the Governor-General of the Philippines, as well as to buy or use firearms without license from the same authority; the Sultan and datos should be conferred with royal titles corresponding to their position and authority; the Govern-

ment guaranteed to the Sultan and the inhabitants of Jolo free exercise of religion and due respect of their customs; likewise it guarenteed to the Sultan and his successors and to all privileged classes the right of succession in accordance with the established order; the vessels and merchandise of Jolo were to enjoy in Spanish ports the same privileges enjoyed by the natives of the Philippines, while the Sultan and the datos were to enjoy their former rights over foreign vessels; the Government reserved the right to establish in Jolo a factory with Spanish garrison, for the establishment and maintenance of which the Sultan and datos, as well as the natives, should render all necessary aids, offering their services and materials at current prices; for this factory the site of the cotta Daniel was to be assigned; the Sultan of Jolo could issue passports to his subjects, after the payment of the necessary fees, and to affix his seal to the passports of Spaniards who might visit his residence; lastly, as compensation to the damages which the war had occasioned, an annual salary of 1,500 pesos was granted to the Sultan, 600 pesos to each of the datos Mahamad Buloc, Molok and Daniel Amil-Bahal, and 360 pesos to Sheriff Binsarin "for the good services he has rendered to the Spanish Government.

The treaty was ratified in Manila, April 30, 1851.[2]

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2 - Not long after the occupation of Jolo in 1851, the Spanish garrison was driven away. Jolo was reoccupied in February, 1876, during the administration of Malcampo.

CHAPTER THREE

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL REFORMS

1. Defects of the Administrative System

Another phase of national life which felt the impact of the new conditions which arose following the opening of the Philippines to foreign trade was the administrative system in the provinces and municipalities of the Philippines. The new class of well-to-do Filipinos felt the need of removing those conditions and practices in the government of the provinces and municipalities which obstructed the healthy growth of commerce, agriculture, and industry in the Philippines. It was in answer to this need that important reforms were promulgated in 1844 and 1847.

The defects of the governmental system which these reform measures sought to remedy were pointed out in two accounts: one by an Englishman who visited the Philippines during the years 1819-1822; the other by Sinibaldo de Mas, who wrote a report on the Philippines under the title, Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842.

The Englishman's observations are taken from his work, Remarks on the Philippine Islands.[1]

> The government of the Philippine Islands is composed of a governor, who has the title of Captain General, with very extensive powers; a Teniente Rey, or Lieutenant Governor; the Audiencia or Supreme Court, who are also the Council. This tribunal is composed of three judges, the chief of whom has the title of Regent, and two Fiscals or Attorney Gene-

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1 - In B. & R., vol. 51. Professor Otley H. Beyer, of the Department of Anthropology University of the Philippines, is authority for the information that the author of the Remarks was Henry Piddington, a Britisher and an owner of a plantation in Calcutta, India, and that the work was published by the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta in 1828. Professor Beyer found those data written on a page of a copy of the Remarks which he saw in the library of Harvard University.

rals, the one on the part of the king, the other on that of the natives, and this last has the specious title of "Defensor de los Indios." The financial affairs are under the direction of an Intendant, who may be called a financial governor. He has the entire control and administration of all matters relative to the revenue, the civil and military auditors and accounts being under him. Commercial affairs are decided by the Consulado, or chamber of commerce, composed of all the principal, and, in Manila, some of the inferior merchants. From this is an appeal to a tribunal "de Alzada" (i.e., of appeal) composed of one judge and two merchants, and from this to the Audiencia, without whose approbation no sentence is valid.

The civic administration is confided to the Ayuntamiento (Courts of Alderman or Municipality). This body, composed of the two Alcaldes, twelve Regidors (or Aldermen) and a Syndic, enjoy very extensive privileges, approaching those of Houses of Assembly; their powers, however, appear more confined to remonstrances and protests, representations against what they conceive arbitrary or erroneous in government, or recommendations of measures suggested either by themselves or others. They have, in general, well answered the object of their institution as a barrier against the encroachments of government, and as a permanent body for reference in cases where local knowledge was necessary, which last deficiency they well supply.

The civic power and police are lodged in the hands of a Corregidor and two Alcaldes: the decision of these is final in cases of civil suits, where the value in question is small, 100 dollars being about the maximum. Their criminal jurisdiction extends only to slight fines and corporal punishments, and imprisonment preparatory to trial. The police is confined to the care of the Corregidor, who has extensive powers, and also the inspection and control of the prisons.

To him are also subject the Indian Captains and Officers of towns, who are annually elected by the natives. These settle small differences, answer for disturbances in their villages, execute police orders,

impose small contributions of money or labour for local objects, such as repairs of roads, &c. &c. They also have the power of inflicting slight punishments on the refractory. To them is also confined the collection of the capitation or poll-tax, which is done by dividing the population of the town or village into tens, each of which has a Cabeza (or head), who is exempt from tribute himself, but answerable for the amount of the ten under him. This tax is then paid to the Alcalde or Corregidor, and from him to the treasury. The Mestizos and Chinese have also their captains and heads, who are equally answerable for the poll-tax.

The different districts and islands, which are called provinces, and are 29 in number, are governed by Alcaldes. The more troublesome ones, or those requiring a military form of government by military officers, who are also Corregidors. Samboangan on the southwest coast of Mindanao, and Marianas, have governors named from Manila, and these are continued from three to five years in office.

The Alcaldeships are a fertile source of abuses and oppression; their pay is mean to the last degree, not exceeding 350 dollars per annum, and a trifling percentage on the poll-tax. They are in general held by Spaniards of the lower classes, who, finding no possible resource in Manila, solicit an Alcaldeship. This is easily obtained, on giving the securities required by government for admission to those offices, which consist in two sureties[2] to an amount proportionable to the value of the taxes of the province, which all pass through the Alcalde's hands.

Of the nature and amount of these abuses an idea will be better formed from the following abridged quotations, which are translated from the work of

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2 - It will be understood that these sureties have their share in the advantages, that is plunder, which the Alcalde derives from the government. This often amounts t 20, 30, or even 50,000 dollars in three or four years--tho at the time of their leaving Manila, they are in debt to a large amount. It is but just to observe, that there are some few honorable exceptions. B. & R.

Comyn:[3]

"It is indeed common enough to see the barber or lacquey of a governor, or a common sailor, transformed at once into the Alcalde in chief of a populous province, without any other guide or council than his own boisterous passions.

"Without examining the inconvenience which may arise from their ignorance, it is yet more lamentable to observe the consequences of their rapacious avarice, which government tacitly allows them to indulge, under the specious title of permissions to trade (indultos).

"... and these are such that it may be asserted, that the evil which the Indian feels most severely is derived from the very source which was originally intended for his assistance and protection, that is, from the Alcaldes of the provinces, who, generally speaking, are the determined enemies and the real oppressors of their industry.

"It is a well known fact, that far from promoting the felicity of the provinces to which he is appointed, the Alcalde is exclusively occupied with advancing his private fortune, without being very scrupulous as to the means he employs to do so; hardly is he in office than he declares himself the principal consumer, buyer, and exporter of every production of the province. In all his enterprises he requires the forced assistance of his subjects, and if he condescends to pay them, it is at least only at the price paid for the royal works. These miserable beings carry their produce and manufactures to him, who directly or indirectly has fixed an arbitrary price for them. To offer that price is to prohibit any other from being offered -- to insinuate is to command -- the Indians dare not hesitate -- he must please the Alcalde, or submit to his persecution: and thus, free from all rivalry in his trade, being the only Spaniard in the province, the Alcalde gives the law without fear or even risk, that denunciation of his tyranny should reach the seat of government.

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3 - Comyn, Tomas de, Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810, (Madrid).

"To enable us to form a more correct idea of these iniquitous proceedings, let us lift a little of the veil with which they are covered, and examine a little their method of collecting the 'tribute' (poll-tax).

"The government, desirous of conciliating the interests of the natives with that of the revenue, has in many instances commuted the payment of the poll-tax into a contribution in produce or manufactures; a year of scarcity arrives, and this contribution, being then of much higher value than the amount of the tax, and consequently the payment in produce a loss, and even occasioning a serious want in their families, they implore the Alcalde to make a representation to government that they may be allowed to pay the tribute for that year in money. This is exactly one of those opportunities, when, founding his profits on the misery of his people, the Alcalde can in the most unjust manner abuse the power confided to him. He pays no attention to their representations. He is the zealous collector of the royal revenues; he issues proclamations and edicts, and these are followed by his armed satellites, who seize on the harvest, exacting inexorably the tribute, until nothing more is to be obtained. Having thus made himself master of the misderable subsistence of his subjects, he changes his tone on a sudden - he is the humble suppliant to government in behalf of the unfortunate Indians, whose wants he describes in the most pathetic terms, urging the impossibility of their paying the tribute in produce -- no difficulty is experienced in procuring permission for it to be paid in money -- to save appearance, a small portion of it is collected in cash, and the whole amount paid by him into the treasury, while he resells at an enormous profit, the whole of the produce (generally rice) which has been before collected.'"

Sinibaldo de Mas in the following passages of his Informe makes some interesting observations on the conditions existing in the provinces and municipalities of the Philippines prior to the promulgation of the reform decrees of 1844 and 1847.[1]

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1 - B. & R., vol. 36, pp. 279-289.

Justice is administered by means of an Audiencia, which has the title of royal, and resides in Manila, being composed of one regent, and five judges; by means of alcaldes-mayor who govern the provinces; and by the governadorcillo whom each village has and who is equivalent to our alcalde de monterilla. The latter proceeds in criminal cases to the value of two tailes of gold or 44 pesos fuertes.

The Royal Audiencia is a court without appeal in Filipinas. The alcaldes-mayor cannot terminate by their own action, civil questions that have to do with a sum of greater value than 100 pesos fuertes, or impose any corporal punishment without the approval of the Audiencia, and then only imprisonment for one week. But they are judges of the first instance for every kind of litigious or criminal cases.

In order that one may obtain the post of alcalde-mayor, it is not necessary that he should have studied law. Hence, the greater part of the heads of the provinces are laymen in that respect. Generally those posts are given to military men. Consequently, this is the origin that for every process which is prosecuted in a lawsuit or cause, the alcalde has to have recourse to an assessor, in order to obtain the opinion of that one on which to base his action. But since the advocates reside in Manila, the records have to make at times many trips from the province to the capital. From this results the inconvenience of delay, the liability of theft or the destruction of the mail. For, in the many rivers that must be crossed, the papers become so wet that they are useless (as happened with several letters of a post which was received in the chief city of a province when I was there, the envelope of which it was impossible for us to read), and the malicious extraction in order to obscure the course of justice. The defect of this system can only be understood if one reflects that the various provinces of the colony are not situated on a continent, but in various islands, and that by reason of the periodic winds and the hurricanes which prevail in this region, the capital very often finds itself without news of some provinces for two or three months, and of that of Marianas for whole years.

It appears that what we have said ought to be sufficient to show the necessity of radical reforms in this department, but unfortunately, there are other more grave reasons, for such reform. The alcaldes-mayor are permitted to engage in business.[2] The author of Los Esprits de Lois[3] said many years ago that the worst of governments is the commercial government; and surely for those who have studied the science of government, all comment on this point is superflous. The alcalde who is permitted to engage in business naturally tries, if possible, to monopolize it by all means in his power. This vice of the system leads some greedy men to the greatest excesses, which, later, are attributed to all alcaldes in general. Upon my arrival at Manila, I asked a very respectable Spaniard who had been in the country for many years about what happens in the provinces. He replied to me: "You know that the alcaldeships are reported to be worth 40,000 or 50,000 duros, and he who seeks one of these posts very earnestly has no other object or hope than to acquire a capital in the six years for the government confers them. Before going to his province, he borrows 8,000 or 10,000 duros from one of the charitable funds at such and such a per cent. Besides, he has to pay an interest to those who act as bondsmen for him, both to the government for the royal treasury, and to the charitable funds which supply him with money. When he arrives at his province he acts according to conditions ruling in that province, for not all provinces are alike in their productions, and circumstances. He generally establishes a supply store, and, consequently from that moment, any other storekeeper is his rival and enemy. If such storekeeper has a creditor whom he tries to hurry up and goes to the alcalde, he gets no protection. If any theft happens to him the same thing more or less occurs; for, altho the alcalde orders efforts made to ascertain the thief, far

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2 - As appears from a note by Mas, the alcaldes paid a certain sum for the privilege of trading. Their salaries in 1840 were variously for the sums of 300, 600, and 1,000 (one instance) pesos. B. & R.

3 - This is the famous philosophical treatise on political science, which was published by Charles de Second, baron de la Brode de Montesquieu, in 1748, and was the product of twenty year's work. B. & R.

from taking these measures earnestly, he is secretly glad of the losses of his rivals, and it has even been asserted that there are cases in which the alcalde himself has been the instigator of the crime. Who is your enemy? That of your trade. But does the alcalde himself sell the goods? Sometimes he sells and measures them, at other times he keeps an agent in the store; the most usual thing is, if he is married, for his wife to take charge of the expense, especially of those goods of any value. But his greatest gain consists in making advances of money at the time of the sowing, the period when the Indians need it and try to get it at any cost, for their negligence and their vices do not allow them to foresee such a case and be prepared for it. For example: a farmer signs a paper for the alcalde which obliges him to deliver at harvest time ten measures of sugar, which are worth at least two and one-half duros, and he himself receives only one and one-half, consequently, by that operation alone of advancing money, the alcalde-mayor sometimes gains 40 per cent. But what generally happens is that the Indian is so short sighted and is so indifferent to the future that he signs any burdensome obligation provided he gets some money, and he only takes account of what they give him without thinking of what they are going to get from him. For example, the alcalde gives him 60 duros as an advance for forty measures of sugar at the harvest time. The harvest is bad and he can only give 20. In such case the reckoning is after the following fashion: 'The sugar has been sold for 4 duros, and hence 20 measures will amount to 80 duros. You cannot pay them to me, consequently they can just as well remain as an advance for the coming year at one and one-half.' In consequence of that the farmer signs a paper by which he enters under obligation to deliver 53 measures at the next harvest. Harvesttime comes, and if it is bad, he only presents, say, 13. Therefore, 40 measures at 4 duros amount to 160 duros of debt, and at one and one-half make 108 measures for the following year. In this way, the man keeps on adding more and more until all his goods are at the disposal of the alcalde. Besides, there are innumerable other vexations to which he must subject himself. For instance: he has to deliver to the alcalde 100 cabans of rice; when he presents them the alcalde measures them out with a larger measure than that used in the market.

Hence, in reality, the alcalde exacts from him more than he is bound to pay. The same thing happens with indigo. For, a discussion arises, as to whether the indigo is, or is not, very damp, and some libras must be taken off for waste; or, whether it is poorer quality than the Indian promised, and so on." "But surely it must needs be that it is fitting to take money advanced, since there is one who seeks it, and it is worth more for a farmer to cultivate his land in this way than that he leaves it without cultivation for lack of the necessary capital. In regard to the tyrannies which the alcalde tries to commit, it seems to me that they might be avoided by the countryman borrowing the money from a private person who is not in the position to annoy him." That is all very well thought out, but I will tell you what happens. The Indian borrows money very easily, but it is very difficult to get him to pay it, and he generally avoids doing so, if possible. If a private person lends him money and does not collect it when due, he has to go to the alcalde in order that the latter may force payment. The latter either does so coldly, or pays no attention to the whole matter, since his intention is that such private persons take warning and never again speculate in this kind of business, the alcalde will soon be shut out, or at least will have to submit himself to the general rules. Consequently, the result is that capitalists draw back from him, saying, and very rightly, that it is only fitting for the alcaldes who possess the means to cause themselves to be paid when a debt is due. The alcalde, then, remains master of the field, and monopolizes this department at his pleasure, for he who needs funds has to go to him, for they are very few who enjoy enough credit to get them elsewhere. Many other advantages also favor the alcalde. The parish priests aid him, and many times take charge of the division of the money of the alcalde in their villages, for they knew that is the sure means of keeping on goods terms with him, and obtaining the measures which depend on his will in the matters of their villages. The governadorcillos and officials of justice are other instruments of which the alcalde makes use to apportion and collect his funds." Why is it that these do not occupy themselves rather in their affairs than in those of the alcalde?" "The alcalde can always, whenever he wishes, make trouble for the gover-

nadorcillo by making him go to the chief village with innumerable pretexts, and by various other methods which it would take a long time to enumerate, and which it is very easy to conceive. Besides, it is important for the alcalde to keep the governadorcillo satisfied. Suppose now, that a road has to be built, or a bamboo bride, or any other work for which the people of the village who have to do it, according to their obligation called polos and services, are summoned. As some of them are busy in their fields or other business, they wish to be free from such a burden, and they give the governadorcillo two or three reals and he excuses them on the ground of sickness. A party of troops or a Spaniard passes by and asks for some beast of burden, or an aid in food. That is also an occasion for the gobernadorcillo to get even with those whom he dislikes and obtain part of his demands; for some give him presents in order that he may not give the beasts of burden, while others do not receive the pay for that food. During the days of tiangui or village fairs, such and such a sum is exacted for each post in the market place. In general there are some men of service called bantayanes who are a kind of sentinel placed at the entrances of villages. Many of them also pay to be excused from that burden when their turn comes or when they are told that it comes. In general he has ten or twelve men called honos, manbaras, etc., given to him, who are exempt from polos and services, and they serve the ayuntamiento to send papers, conduct prisoners, etc., and the governadorcillo gives them permission so that they may cultivate their lands, by collecting from them a contribution." "But it seems to me that the Gobernadorcillo will have to give account, if not for all, at least for many of the taxes that you have mentioned." It ought to be so, and in fact, some enter into the communal treasury, but they are the fewest and those connected with the legal matters, for of the others there is nothing to be said. For example: I have seen an order enclosing a fine as a punishment on the gobernadorcillo for some fault or misdeed that he had committed. He assembles the cabezas de barangay; the whole sum is apportioned among the people of the village. The amount of the fine is collected and the gobernadorcillo has still something left for his maintenance and revelling." "Why do they not complain to the alcalde?" "Because, sir, of just what I told you. The alcalde

needs the governadorcillo so that he may use him in his business, and for all such things he is a very farsighted man. Besides, the alcalde who tries to investigate those snares of the tribunals (ayuntamientos) will lose his senses without deriving any benefit from it. He does not know the language. As interpreter he has the clerk, who is an Indian, and the entangler-in-chief, and almost always in accord with the Indian magnates." "If the clerk is a bad man, will he not be hated?" I do not say that he is beloved, but some fear him, and others are his accomplices. Since the alcalde is, in reality, a business man, he naturally takes more interest in his business than in that of other people, and leaves all court matters in charge of the clerk, who comes to be the arbiter in that matter, and here is where the latter reaps his harvest. One of the members of the tribunal (ayuntamiento) steals, or causes to be stolen from some man his buffalo. The man finds out where it is; he complains; to the gobernadorcillo, they begin to take measures; at last the animal is returned to him, but if it is worth five duros, they make him pay ten duros in expenses so that the man either considers his beast as lost and the thieves keep it, or the latter get from twice as much as it is worth. Hence, if I were to tell all that passes in this wise, my story would be very long. One of the things which they are accustomed to do is to let the prisoners go out of the prison for several days without the government knowing it. I have seen that done this very year of 1841 in the province of _____, in regard to some prisoners whom the alcalde-mayor believed to be in prison; but they were working on the estate of the clerk, and one of these prisoners had committed very serious crimes." "But why do not the curas remedy all that? I have heard it said that they are really the ones who govern the villages." In reality, when the curas take that matter upon themselves, these abuses are remedied, at least in great measure, for they know the language well, and every one in their village knows the truth, if the cura wishes to ascertain it. That is what happened in former times. And also at that time the communal funds were deposited in the convent, and (thus) many tricks and tyrannies were avoided. But for some years the governors who have come from España have desired that the parish priests should keep to their houses and say mass and preach and not meddle with the temporal government; without taking heed that in a whole province there is no other Spaniard who

governs than the alcalde-mayor himself, who generally comes from Europe and goes without reflection to take his charge without any knowledge whatever of the country or knowing even a single word of its language. Consequently, many religious, in order to avoid trouble, see and keep still, and allow everything to take what course God wills. This is one of the chief causes of the disorders of the villages, and of the increase of crime. "Now tell me, do the alcaldes make all the wealth that they are accustomed to acquire with the kind of trade which you have explained to me?" "They have many means of hunting (buscar) for that is the technical expression used in this country, but these means vary according to circumstances. In some provinces great efforts are made to obtain posts as gobernadorcillos and officials of justice, and that department generally is worth a good sum annually." These are things which the clerk or secretary manages. In the province of _____ while Don _____ was alcalde-mayor, that gentleman was in collusion with the manager of the wine monopoly and they practiced the following. The harvesters came with their wine, but they were told that it was impossible to receive it. There was a conflict within themselves, for they had to return to their village. Then they were told that if they wished to deposit the wine they would put it in certain jars which had been provided in the storehouse, by paying such and such a rent until the administration could introduce it. The harvesters, who needed the money, thereupon sold the wine to the agents of the alcalde, at any price at all in order to return to their homes. Finally, as he who had come to be an alcalde, has had no other object than to acquire wealth, every matter which does not contribute to that object, such as the making of a bridge, or road, the prosecution of evil doers, or any occupation purely of government or justice, distracts and troubles him. On the contrary every means of attaining his end appears to him fitting and good. This method of thought is a little more or less in the minds of all; and thus you observe that no one says here, not even excluding the religious, who are those who know the country best, 'I have so many thousand pesos to gain the suit.' But to tell the truth, it is not to be wondered at that the alcaldes-mayor work without much scrupple. In the space of six years they have to pay

their passage from and to España; to satisfy the high interest on the amount which their alcaldeship has often cost them; and besides they make their fortunes. Not more or less is done in Turquia."

2. The Reform Decree of 1844

Montero y Vidal, in his Historia, op. cit., makes the following observations on the background and provisions of the decree of 1844:[1]

> Ever since the establishment of Spanish rule in the Philippines the provincial executives, (alcaldes-mayores), had always been laymen. As such they depended on the services of assessors in the transaction of judicial matters. These lay alcaldes would send to Manila the records of civil and criminal cases with the result that these oftentimes were lost on the way, or, after long delays and repeated journey from the province to the capital and vice-versa, arrived with the final decision, but after the individuals concerned had long passed way.
>
> This state of affairs was remedied by the royal decree of September 23, 1844. The important provisions of this decree are the following:
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> "The alcaldias mayores in the Philippines shall be filled by persons who have studied law and who have practiced law for at least two years. (Art. 8).
>
> "The same qualification shall be required of lieutenant governors (tenientes de gobierno.) (Art. 9).
>
> "The alcaldes mayore se entrada shall serve three years, and at the end of this period they may be appointed to alcaldias mayores de ascenso. Those of the ascenso, may, after three years, be assigned to the alcaldias mayores de termino. Those of the Alcaldias de termino may, after three years, be appointed to the ministry of the Ultramar or of the Peninsula. (Art. 11, 12, 13.)

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1 - Vol. 3, pp. 69-71.

"The order laid down by laws, 26, tit. VI; 54, tit. XVI, Book II, and 5, tit. II, Book V of the Recopilación de Indias, which forbids alcaldes mayores and lieutenant governors to engage in trade and commerce, to own houses, lands, cattlefarms, cultivated farms, pearl boats or any kind of advantages, is hereby reestablished. Neither are they permitted to touch or to appropriate for themselves the silver which pertains to the communal funds of the Indians." (Art. 45).

To reenforce the order laid down by the foregoing decree, the real cedula of October 3, 1844, was promulgated, specifically abolishing the privilege which the provincial chiefs used to enjoy engaging in trade, "in view of the abuses which arose from this privilege, to the detriment of the Indians and of the Peninsulars who desired to establish themselves in the provinces." This decree was extended to politico-military governors by royal order issued June 25, 1847.

3. The Provinces about the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

At the time the German scholar and scientist, F. Jagor was here, the Philippines was divided into provinces (P) and districts (D), each of which was administered by an alcalde of the 1st (A), 2nd (A2), or 3rd class (A3) (de termino, de ascenso, de entrada); by a political and military governor (G), or by a commandant (C). This classification, in so far as it concerned the provinces of the class of alcaldias, appears to have been made on the basis of the provisions of the reform of 1844.[1]

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1 - See Craig, The Former Philippines Through Foreign Eyes, pp. 53-54.

ISLANDS OF LUZON

Rank Official	of District	Name	Population	Pueblos
G.	P.	Abra	34,337	5
A1.	P.	Albay	330,121	34
A2.	P.	Bataan	44,794	10
A1.	P.	Batangas	280,100	
	D.	Benguet	8,465	
	D.	Bontoc	7,052	
A1.	P.	Bulacan	240,341	23
A1.	P.	Cagayan	64,437	16
A2.	P.	Camarines Norte	26,372	7
A2(?)	P.	Cavite	109,501	31
A3	P.	Ilocos Norte	134,767	12
A1.	P.	Ilocos Sur	105,251	18
C.	D.	Infanta	7,813	2
G.	P.	Isabela	29,200	9
A1.	P.	Laguna	121,251	26
	D.	Lepanto	8,851	48
2A1.	P.	Manila	323,683	28
C.	D.	Morong	44,239	12
A2.	P.	Nueva Ecija	84,520	12
A3.	P.	Nueva Vizcaya	32,961	8
A1.	P.	Pampanga	193,423	24
A1.	P.	Pangasinan	253,472	25
	D.	Porac	6,950	1
C.	D.	Principe	3,609	3
	D.	Saltan	6,640	
A2.	P.	Tayabas	93,918	17
	D.	Tiagan	5,723	
G.	P.	Union	88,024	11
A2.	P.	Zambales	72,936	18

ISLANDS BETWEEN LUZON AND MINDANAO

Rank Official	of District	Name	Population	Pueblos
G. a3.	P.	Antigue (Panay)	88,874	13
G. a3.	P.	Bohol	187,327	26
C.		Burias	1,786	1
G. a3.	P.	Capiz (Panay)	208,288	26
G. a2.	P.	Cebu	318,715	44
G. a3.	P.	Iloilo (Panay)	565,500	35
G. a3.	P.	Leyte	170,591	28
	D.	Masbate, Ticao	12,457	9
A2.	P.	Mindoro	23,050	10
G. a3.	P.	Negros	144,923	31
	D.	Romblon	21,579	4
G. a3.	P.	Samar	146,539	28
		MINDANAO		
	D.	Cotabato	1,103	1
G. a3.	D.	Misamis (J)	63,639	14
G. a3.	D.	Surigao (J)	24,104	12
	D.	Zamboanga (J)	9,618	2
G. a3.	D.	Davao	1,537	
		DISTANT ISLANDS		
G. a3.	P.	Batanes	8,381	6
G. a3.	P.	Calamianes	17,703	5
G.	P.	Marianas	5,940	6

4. The Municipal Reform Decree of 1847:

(a) The Electoral System Prior to 1847

The method of electing town officials before the promulgation of the reform decree of 1847 was governed by the Ordinances of Good Government. Raon's Ordinances, issued in 1768, prescribed the method as follows:1

> "Elections shall be held at the beginning of each year, in the royal buildings, and nowhere else. If held elsewhere, they shall be considered null and void, according to Arandia's ordinance No.11; and the alcalde or justice violating this order shall be fined, and the notary making the records shall lose his office. The voters in the elections shall be the twelve senior cabeza de barangay. If any of these are absent, by reason of sickness or other cause, the number shall be completed from the other cabezas de barangay, observing strict seniority always. If there are not enough cabezas de barangay, the number of twelve voters shall be completed from the senior notables of the village. With these the retiring gobernadorcillo shall vote, and they shall nominate three trustworthy persons for the post of gobernadorcillo, reporting the number of votes received by each. These nominees must be able to read, write, and speak Spanish. The ballot shall be secret, and be attested by the notary. The alcalde-mayor or the justice shall preside at the election, and the father minister may be present if he pleases, in order to represent what he considers advisable, and for no other end. The results of the election shall be sent, stamped and sealed, to the secretary of the superior government; and the appointment of gobernadorcillo shall be made from Manila, and the proper title despatched, while the other officials necessary shall be appointed as heretofore. This applies to the provinces of Tondo, Laguna, Cavite, Balayan, Mariveles, Bataan, Pampanga, and Bulacan. In other provinces distant from Manila, elections shall be held in the same manner, and appointments made by the alcaldes-

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1 - B. & R., vol. 50, pp. 254-255.

mayor or justices, who shall be furnished with blank titles, which they shall fill out. No man shall assume office without the proper credentials. Names of all appointees shall be sent to the superior government and entered in the proper books, as well as the fees of the credentials and stamped paper. The fees of media-anata shall be collected from all gobernadorcillos and other officials, the amount of such fees being entered in the royal treasury annually. The royal officials, on their part, shall see that all fees are paid, and shall ascertain from the alcaldes and justices the number of gobernadorcillos in the various jurisdictions, so that they may check up the records properly."

(b) The Decree of 1847.[1]

The main features of this decree were the following:

"The election or gobernadorcillo and other ministers of justice of these Islands shall be held every year in the government buildings (casas-tribunales) of the town, under the supervision of the Chief of the province, and with the assistance of the respective curates, if they care to attend, so that they may present whatever they think proper for the good of the community. In these towns which have no government buildings, the election shall be held in the school-building, but never in a private house or in the parochial building. Art. 1.

"The election shall be made by a board (Junta) which shall be composed of the retiring governadorcillo and twelve residents, to be chosen by lot, one half from the ex-gobernadorcillos and ex-cabezas de barangay, and the other half from among the actual cabezas de barangay. Art. 3.

"To be an elector, one must have a profession or a visible means of livelihood, must be free from judicial restraint or impediment; does not keep gambling houses; has not been sentenced to corporal punishment; not a debtor to the state; and has not taken part in

1 - Berriz, Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, 1887, vol. 3.

clandestine meetings for the purpose of gaining votes, or has solicited them for himself or his friends. Nor can he be an elector if he is a servant of the Alcalde-mayor, or of the lieutenant governor, or of the curate priest. Art. 4.

"The twelve electors having been chosen, they shall proceed to the election of the gobernadorcillo as follows: the Chief of the province, or his representatives, after stating the purpose of the meeting, shall give to each elector a ballot on which he writes the names of the men he proposes for governadorcillo; having collected all the ballots, the presiding officer shall count them and, immediately after, announce the result of the election; the person receiving the highest number of votes shall receive first place on the list, and the man receiving the next highest, the second place. Art. 6.

"To be a gobernadorcillo one must be a native or Chinese mestizo, resident of the town where he is elected; at least 26 years of age; can read and write; must have held the position of Teniente mayor or cabeza de barangay with good record; not a contractor for any of the sources of income of the town; and does not come within the prohibition established by the fourth article." Art. 7.

"To be a Teniente Mayor one must have held, with a good record, a municipal office and must possess in addition to the qualifications mentioned in Art. 7. The three justices for the planted fields, police and cattle (de sementeras, de policia, de ganados) must also possess the same qualifications and must have held the office of gobernadorcillo or teniente mayor. For these posts names shall be proposed by the electoral board by plurality vote. The board must see to it that the persons proposed shall be men of good conduct and do not come within any of the prohibition mentioned in Article 7.

"For the selection of candidates for the minor positions, the outgoing governadorcillo and the principales shall meet, before the election herein described takes place; and shall form a list of those proposed for the different posts. The gobernadorcillo shall submit this list to the presiding officer of the election, who, with the advice of the parish priest and of

the persons proposed for gobernadorcillo, shall take down the names of those who deserve to be included in the minutes which shall be forwarded to the Superior Government. In case the gobernadorcillo and the principales cannot agree as to the list to be proposed, then the presiding officer, acting with the persons proposed for the post of gobernadorcillo, shall have authority to prepare it. No person shall be proposed for any of these positions who is not of good conduct, or who does not have a visible means of livelihood. Preference must be given to the sons of those principales and well-to-do individuals who have the qualifications to aspire to the position of gobernadorcillo. Likewise care must be taken to the end that, for the posts of Tenientes primeros and Jueces primeros of the visitas, only those persons be chosen who, besides possessing good conduct, are owners of real property, or of any industry which enables them to live decently, or who have served in any of the inferior positions." Art. 8.

"All the acts of elections of the towns in the provinces of Luzon, including Mindoro and Masbate, shall be forwarded without loss of time by the respective provincial chiefs to the Governor of the Islands who shall issue the certificates in favor of those whose elections are approved. Art. 13.

"In the Visayan provinces the same method of election and the same rules governing elections that are established in the provinces of Luzon shall be observed. The Alcalde of the province of Cebu, where the Intendant Governor of the Visayas resides, shall forward to the latter the electoral acts of the towns of his province, with a list of the names proposed for the post of gobernadorcillos and for other posts. The Intendant Governor shall choose from the lists the men whom he thinks are best qualified for the different posts. Art. 14.

"In the other provinces of the Visayas, the electoral acts need not be forwarded to the Intendant Governor, but shall be submitted to the respective chiefs who shall make the appointments in favor of those who have been proposed in the first instance. For this purpose blank certificates duly signed shall be forwarded in advance to the chiefs of the different provinces. Art. 14.

"In order that the electors may act with absolute freedom and choose only the best men for the different positions, all clandestine meetings shall be prohibited; that promises, gifts, and machinations shall be used; nor shall the towns enter into agreements or conventions with their barrios or visitas. These things have frequently taken place, making it impossible for the electors to act with freedom and often times resulting in the election of men who were not well qualified to administer the affairs of the towns. The town officials are hereby enjoined to observe strictly this provision of the law and to act with vigor against all violators of this article, punishing severely all abuses that they observed." Art. 20.

(c) A Municipal Election under the Decree of 1847

Jagor, who visited the Islands about the middle of the nineteenth century, had occasion to observe the actual operation of the law of 1847. His observations on the Philippines were set down in his Travels. The following, taken from the Travels, is a description of an election held in the town of Lauang, Samar.[1]

"The governor, who was expected to conduct the election of the district officials in person, but was prevented by illness, sent a deputy. As the annual elections are conducted in the same manner over the whole country, that at which I was present may be taken as typical of the rest. It took place in the common hall; the governor (or his deputy) sitting at the table, with the pastor on his right hand, and the clerk on his left -- the latter also acting as interpreter; while Cabezas de Barangay, the gobernadorcillo, and those who had previously filled the office, took their place all together on benches. First of all, six cabezas and as many governadorcillos are chosen by lot as electors; the actual governadorcillo is the thirteenth, and the rest quit the city. After the reading of the statutes by the president, who exhorts the electors to the conscientious performance of their duty, the latter advance singly to the table, and write three names on a piece of paper. Unless a valid protest be made either by the parish or by the electors, the one

1 - Craig, op. cit., pp. 222, 223.

who has the most votes is forthwith named governadorcillo for the coming year, subject to the approval of the superior jurisdiction at Manila; which, however, always consents, for the influence of the priest would provide against a disagreeable election. The election of the other functionaries takes place in the same manner, after the new governadorcillo has been first summoned into the hall, in order that, if he has any important objections to the officers then about to be elected, he may be able to make them. The whole affair was conducted quietly and with dignity."

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

(1) Educational and Cultural Conditions in the Philippines about the Middle of the Nineteenth Century.

J. Mallat, a French scholar, diplomat and traveller and for many years a resident of the Philippines, described, in a book he wrote on the Philippines the condition of education and culture existing in the Philippines about the middle of the nineteenth century.[1] The following passages of his book deal with this matter:

> At the head of the public instruction in the Philippines, one finds the university of Manila, called La Real y Pontificia Universidad de Santo Tomas (i.e., the royal and pontifical university of Santo Tomas). Its foundation as a college goes back to the first year of the seventeenth century. Its first benefactors were Archbishop Benavides of Manila, and Bishop Soria of Nueve Segovia. Both of them made it a gift of their library, and, in addition, the first one gave it 1,000 pesos and the second 1,800. In 1619, the house was entrusted to the religious of the Order of St. Dominic. The following year the courses of public instruction were opened there. Finally, on November 27, 1623, King Felipe IV took it under his special protection. In the year 1645, the same monarch obtained a bull from Pope Innocent X, which erected the college of Santo Tomas of Manila into a university. The statutes governing that institution today were not drawn up until a long time after, that is to say, in the year 1781. Instruction there is entrusted to the doctors, licentiates,

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1 - Les Philippines. Histoire, geographie, meurs, agriculture, industrie et commerce des colonies espagnoles dans l'Oceanie. 2 vols. Paris, 1546. In B. & R., vol. 45, p. 263 ff.

and masters (maestros). At the present time there are 21, both doctors and licentiates, and no masters. Latin, logic, physics, metaphysics, ethics, canon law, and theology are taught there. In addition to that, some time afterward there was founded a chair of Roman law and one of Spanish law. The number of students who attend that university is now 581, namely, sixty-one collegiates, fifteen capistas, who are maintained at the expense of the college, and 505 day students. The costume of the collegiates is a long robe of green silk with black sleeves, a beca, a kind of red scarf folded in two parts, and crossing over the breast and drawn up behind the shoulders, a black collar with a white border and a cap like that worn by the law advocates of Spain.

If the university of Manila is the chief institution of public instruction, it is not the most ancient. From June 8, 1585, the king had ordered the foundation of a college, in which the sons of the Spanish inhabitants of the archipelago might be reared in the love of virtue and letters under the direction of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. But it was only in 1601 that that order could be carried out by the institution of the college of San Jose. The first collegiates numbered 13, but that number was soon raised to 20, all of whom were the sons or the near relatives of the first authorities of the country. Pope Gregory XV granted that college the right of conferring degrees of philosophy and theology. The funds of that institution are drawn from several estates, which have been conceded to it at different times. They are sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the vice-rector and of the masters in the annual pay which is granted to them, as well as to the rector, and for the maintenance of 22 free pupils. Some pay students are also admitted there at the rate of 50 piastres (i.e., pesos) per year. Philosophy, rhetoric, and Latin are taught there. Upon the suppression of the Society of Jesus, that college was closed until 1777. The costume of the students is a red gown with black sleeves and a black cap.

The college of San Juan de Letran commenced by being a primary school, founded in 1630 at the expense of a charitable man, whose name, Juan Gero-

nimo Guerrero, deserves to pass to posterity. He consecrated himself to gathering together in that institution young orphan boys, and to teaching them reading, writing, and the Christian doctrine. He was also able, thanks to the abundant alms which the inhabitants of Manila put into his hands, to provide for the maintenance and clothing of all those children. Before dying that kindhearted man took the habit of St. Dominic, and entrusted the pious foundation which he had undertaken into the hands of that order. The latter erected it into a college, for which it obtained the protection of the king and some funds for its support. By means of a sum of 600 piastres which the alcalde of Pangasinan is charged to give annually to a Dominican who collects it, that college supports gratuitously 25 orphans boys. It also admits an unlimited number of boarders, both Indians and mestizos, who pay 50 piastres per year. It finally receives under the name of sacristans, porters, librarians, etc., several young students who do not pay anything. The total number of those who receive education in that college under different titles is today 239 persons. Their costume is blue with black sleeves. A maltese cross is placed at the right on their beca.

The charity school (escuela pia)[2] of Manila was established in 1817 under the direction of a special assembly composed of distinguished inhabitants, in the number of which there was a member of the chapter of the cathedral, and one of the tribunal of commerce. The inhabitants who had assembled supplied the funds which were to serve for the maintenance of that useful establishment. But these funds having been used in trade according to custom they had the same fortune that so many other considerable sums and charitable foundations of that capital have had, namely, they were lost because of the revolution of Mexico. The assembly, being dissolved on account of lack of funds, the city took the charity school under its charge. Reading, writing, Christian doctrine, Spanish grammar, and slate arithmetic, are taught there. The pupils

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2 - The present Ateneo de Manila originated from this school.

must be Spaniards; the sons of well-to-do parents pay 2 piastres per month; those who are less well-to-do, 1 piastres; and the poor pay nothing. In order to be admitted there a ticket from the president of the dissolved assembly was sufficient. At present the regidor is charged in his turn with the management of the establishment which delivers the ticket. The number of pupils at the present time is 50, of whom 20 receive instruction free.

In pursuance of reiterated instances from the tribunal of commerce a marine school was opened in Manila in 1820, by royal authorization. Arithmetic, the elements of geometry, rectilinear and spherical trigonometry, cosmography, and piloting, besides practical geometry applied to the making of hydrographical maps and plans, with the manner of designing them, were taught there. The whole, conformed to the course of study for the navy, was composed, according to the order of the king, by the chief of the royal fleet Don Gabriel Giscar. The expenses of the institution are supplied by the funds called averia. The tribunal of commerce decides as to the admission of pupils and those who distinguish themselves on graduating become captains of trading ships, making the voyage to China and India, and even as far as America and Europe. This proves, that, whatever the Spaniards say of it, the young men of Manila are as susceptible to instruction as those of the mother country. In fact, there is no doubt that if the studies of this school were more solid and less theoretical, most remarkable persons would be seen to graduate from it.3

Finally, in 1840, a commercial school has been established, which is held in the rooms of the tribunal (of commarca). Bookkeeping, commercial correspondence, and the living languages are taught there free of charge. By choice quite extraordinary, a marked preference is given to the French language, although that language is one that is spoken the least in that part of the world; since unfortunately our relations there are very few, as we have no longer any need to go there after sugar.

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3 - The present nautical school has its origin in the nautical school referred to here by Mallat.

Very well equipped libraries exist in all the convents, and those of the university and of the colleges offer resources to the students who receive their education in those establishments.

This is all we have to say in regard to the institutions consecrated to the education of the young men. That of the young women has not been forgotten.

The seminary of Santa Potenciana was founded in the year 1589 by Governor Dasmariñas, by virtue of a royal order. Article 27 of that ordinance contains the following: "Upon arriving at the Filipinas Islands you shall ascertain how and where, and with what endowment, a convent for the shelter of girls may be founded, so that both those who should come from here and those born there may live in it and so that they may live modestly, and after being well instructed, may go out therefrom to be married and bear children." The worthy governor was so zealous in carrying out the wishes of the king that, in the year 1593, the convent was established in the church of San Andres. A new royal ordinance of June 11, 1594, approved the regulations of it, which bore on the conduct to be observed in the parlor, on the duties of the chaplain, who was to be more than forty years old, and who was to be, at the same time, the manager of the house, on the costume of both pupils and the superior and mistress. It was to be suitable, but modest. The king took charge of the furnishing thereof. The governor was authorized to fix the sum which was to be paid by the woman who desired to enter the convent in order to be cloistered there. That sum was to be very moderate.

There exists no longer any copy of the first rule of that house, whose archives perished in the terrible earthquake of 1645, when ten or twelve pupils lost their lives. New rules were drawn up and approved in 1696, and remained in force until 1823, at which time theywere revised.

The school is established at present in a house which was bought for its use by the public treasury, namely, the ancient locality of the arsenal. The treasurer also furnishes the expenses of a small chapel, those of their medical service,

of pharmacy, of the infirmary, of the clothing of the pupils, and of six serving girls, the total sum amounting to 700 piastres per year, besides the support of a sacristan, four fagot gatherers, and one woman to go for provisions. The Treasury pays for the support of one superior, of one portress, and twenty-four collegiates, one and a half reals (one frac) per day for each one. And they are given besides, from the royal magazines, 46 baskets of pinagua rice, of 15 gantas per basket, 25 quintals of wood, and 17 gantas of coconut oil for lights.4

After the foundation of the confraternity of the Santa Misericordia, the latter also supported many poor Spanish orphans girls. It caused these girls to be reared either at Santa Potenciana or in private houses. But in 1632, a house having been bought in order to gather them all there together, the confraternity founded the school of Santa Isabel. The rules drawn up in 1650 were entirely changed in 1813. The number of pupils in this institution is at present 105, who are admitted under diverse titles and conditions. The boarders pay 60 piastres annually. The others get their education free. Day pupils are also admitted there, but they are not allowed to communicate with those who live in the house. The teaching is quite elementary. The service is furnished by twelve servant girls for the interior, and eight men for the outside work.5

In the preceding chapters, the description of the beaterios6 has been seen, of which the majority are dedicated to the education of poor young girls.

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4 - In 1861, the College of Sta. Potenciana was fused with Santa Isabel College.

5 - In 1863, the College of Santa Isabel passed under the charge of the Sisters of Charity.

6 - The institution referred to here are the following: Sta. Rosa, founded in 1750; the beaterio of Santa Catalina de Sena founded in 1696; the beaterio of the Compañia de Jesus, founded in 1684; the beaterio of San Sebastian de Calumpang, founded in 1719; and the beaterio of Sta. Rita de Pasig in 1740. In all these institutions the schedule of activities followed was substantially the same.

One can see, after what we have just said, that education in the Philippines, both of the children of the country and of the mestizos and Indians of both sexes, is not so greatly neglected as certain persons pretend, and that the colony has made on the contrary, from the earliest times the greatest efforts for the instruction of the people. Even in the smallest villages the Indians find facilities for learning to read and write. For everywhere one finds primary schools which are supported by the people. On the other hand, the aptness of the Indians is quite remarkable. From the most tender age they can be seen to draw their letters with a sharpened bamboo either on the sand or on the green banana leaves. Also many excellent copyists can be found among them, who are skillful in imitating any kind of writing, designs, or printed characters. Among others, there is mentioned a missal book which was copied by an Indian and sent to one of the Spanish kings. It is asserted that it was impossible to distinguish it from the original. They also copy geographical maps with rare exactness.

It follows, then, that the instruction of the Indians is far from being backward, if one compares it with that of the popular classes in Europe. Nearly all the Tagalogs knew how to read and write. However, in regard to the sciences, properly so called,

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The program followed in Santa Rosa as noted by Bowring in his Visit to the Philippines, chapter XI, was typical of the rest. Bowring describes it as follows:

"The inamates rise at five A.M. to chant the trisagio (holy, holy, holy); to hear mass and engage in devotion for the first part of the rosary till six; then to wash and dress; breakfast at half-past six; instruction from seven to ten; dinner at half past eleven in the rectory; siesta and rest till half-past two P.M.; devotion in the chapel, going thru the second part of the rosary; instruction from half-past three till half-past five; at the "oracion" they return to the chapel, recite the third part of the rosary, and engage in reading and meditation for half an hour; supper at eight P.M.; enjoy themselves in the cloister or garden till nine; another prayer, and then retire to their cells."

very little progress has been made in them among the Indians of the Philippines. Some mestizos alone have a slight smattering of them, and those among the Indians who received orders know Latin. The most erudite are without doubt those who, having studied at the university of Santo Tomas, have embraced the career of the bar. Among them are counted advocates worthy of being placed by the side of the most celebrated in Spain.

In regard to what concerns literature, there is a Tagalog grammar and dictionary, as well as a work called arte, which is a kind of polyglot grammar of the Tagalog, Bicol, Visayan and Isinayan. All these works, and in general everything that appears in one of the languages of the country, are published by the care of the religious, who have at their disposition the printing house of Santo Tomas, and who have the means of meeting the expenses of the printing, which the Indians could not do. Both at Manila and in its environs there are several printing houses for the use of the public. They are the presses of Nuestra Señora de Loreto at Sampaloc, which issues grammars, dictionaries, works of history, etc. There was formerly published at Manila a newapaper called El Noticioso Filipino. Today it appears there only as (a paper of) the prices current in Spanish and in English. At our departure the establishment of a new newspaper was beginning.[7]

The literary works consist of pieces in verse, sometimes on very weighty subjects. Thus, for example, the "Passion of our Lord" has been translated into Tagalog verse. Then there are tragedies, which as we have mentioned above are excessively long. They often contain the entire life of a king. There

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7 - Retana mentions a paper, El Noticioso Filipino, which conjectures to have been founded in 1838, following Francisco Diaz Puertas, who mentions it. Retana refers to this passage of Mallat. See his Periodismo Filipino (Madrid, 1895), for data regarding the various newspapers and periodicals of the Philippines. This also appeared in instalments in Retana's magazine La Politica de España en Filipinas. B. & R.

are, furthermore, little poems, corridas, epithaliums, and songs. These last especially are very numerous and have special names, such, as comintang de la conquista, the sinanpablo, the batanguiño, the cavitegan. Not only are the words of these songs, but also the melodies, national, and the Indians note the music of them with prodigious cleverness. All the Indians, in fact, are naturally given to music and there are some of them who play five or six instruments. Also there is not a village, however small it be, where mass is not accompanied by music for lack of an organ. The choice of the airs which they play is not always the most edifying. We have heard in the churches the waltzes of Musard, and the gayest airs of the French comic opera.

Thus, as we have just said, the Indians are born musicians. Those who before knew only the Chinese tamtam, the Javanese drum, and a kind of flute of Pan, made of a bit of bamboo, today cultivate the European instruments with a love which comes to be a passion. They are not, for the most part, very strong in vocal music, for they have very little or no voice. Nevertheless, their singing offers in our opinion a certain character of originality which is not unworthy of attention.

Scarcely had the Spaniards conquered that archipelago than its inhabitants tried to imitate the musical instruments of Europe, and the viguela, a kind of guitar having a very great number of strings, but which is not always the same, soon became their favorite instrument. They manufactured it with a remarkable perfection. And besides, they themselves made the strings.

The bandolon is another guitar, but smaller, having twenty-four metallic strings joined by fours. They are very skilful in playing that instrument, and they make use either of one of their finger nails, which they allow to grow to a very great length, or of a little bit of wood. We do not know from what nation they have borrowed that instrument, which we have never seen in Spain.

The music of the villages of which we have spoken is generally composed of violins, of ebony flutes, or even of bamboo in the remote provinces,

and of a bajo de viguela, a large guitar of the size of the violencello, which is played with a horn or ebony finger expressly made (for that purpose). They draw from it very agreeable sounds. That music, somewhat discordant, is not often wholly without something agreeable in it. We cannot help admiring men who can reach that point without having taken lessons, and of whom the majority have perhaps never had occasion to meet an artist.

The military music of the regiments of the garrison at Manila, and in some large villages of the provinces, has reached a point of perfection which is astonishing. We have never heard better in Spain, not even in Madrid. It is at the square of the palace that, on Thursdays, Sundays, and fete days at eight o'clock in the evening, at the time when the retreat is beaten, the society of Manila and the foreigners and travellers, assemble to hear the concert. The Indians play there from memory for two or three hours alternately, from great overtunres of Rossini and Meyerbeer, or contradances, and vaudevilles. They owe the great progress which they have made for some time in their military music to the French masters who direct them. These same musicians are also summoned to the great balls, where they execute pieces among the contradances played by other instruments.

We have stated that the vocal music of the Indians is not equal to that of their instrumental music, which is especially true of the quality of their voice which is sharp and shrill. All their airs are applied to words of love; they are regrets, and reproaches, addressed toa faithless swain, and sometimes allusions drawn from the history of the ancient kings, or from holy Scripture.

Sometimes a number of Indians gather in the house of one of them and form a concert of amateurs. At that time they sing the Passion to the accompaniment of a full orchestra. At other times, five, seven, or nine bagontaos (young bachelors) assemble at night in the beautiful clear moonlight and run about the villages in the vicinity of Manila, where they give serenades to their sweethearts, their dalagas, or donzellas (i.e. doncella "maidens"), whom the Tagalogs who are of more distinguished rank and who speak Spanish call their novias (i.e.

sweethearts.) One could imagine nothing more singular and more picturesque than to see during those brilliant nights of the torrid zone, when the moon sheds floods of silver light, and the balmy breeze tempers the burning heat of the atmosphere, to see, we say, the Indians crouched on cuclillas for entire hours without getting tired of that position, which we would find so uncomfortable, singing their love under the windows of their mistress.

Numerous orchestras of musicians are summoned at any hour of the day to the houses of Manila in order to have all sorts of ancient and modern dances there: the old rigodons,[8] quadrilles, the English contradances, waltzes, gallops, and without doubt the polka will not be long in penetrating there also. It is rare among the Indians, and especially among the mestizos, that a baptism, marriage, or any ceremony is celebrated without music and dancing. The burial of children (creituras) is always accompanied by music.

One further word on the extraordinary talent of the Indians for musical execution. One day we accompanied the alcalde of the province of Laguna on a tour which he was making for the election of gobernadorcillos. We reached Calauan, where we stopped to sup and sleep at the house of a respectable cura whose house, like that of all ecclesiastics, was open to all travelers without exception. Travelers are there fed and lodged so long as they please to stop without any cost to them. Now, at the house of this cura we heard an Indian who played with equal perfection on seven different instruments, on which he executed the most difficult pieces. When he had finished, the good cura, in order to amuse us, performed some sleight of hand tricks and juggling, and showed us a theater of marionnettes, which he himself mounted.

The comintang which we have before mentioned as a national song, is also a dance. While the musicians are playing and singing it an Indian and Indian woman execute a pantomime which agrees with

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8 - A dance allied to the quadrille, but with different and more graceful figures. B. & R.

the words. It is a lover who is trying to inflame the heart of a young girl, about whom he runs while making innumerable amourous movements, accompanied by movements of the arms and of the body, which are not the most decent, but which cause the spectators to break out into loud and yojoys laughter. Finally, the lover, not being able to succeed, feigns to be sick and falls into a chair prepared for him. The young girl, frightened, flies to his aid but he rises again very soon cured, and begins to dance and turn about with her in all directions, to the great applause of those present.[9]

The Pampango is another dance which is especially remarkable by movements of the loins, and the special grace which the women show in it. It is accompanied by very significative clapping of the hands.

In the Visayas they dance the bagay, the music and song of which are langorous and melancholy, like that of the comintang. It is also a lover and a mistress who dance, the while they mingle their motions with cries.

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9 - The words of this song are as follows:

I.

To know is to remember thee;
And yet in grief I rove,
Because though wilt not fathom me,
Nor feel how much I love.

II.

All traitors are the stars on high-
For broken hopes I grieve
I cannot live - I fain would die;
'Tis misery to live.

III.

Sweet bird! yet flutter o'er my way
And chant thy victim's doom;
Be thine, be thine the funeral lay
That consecrates my tomb.

The Montescos of the provinces of the north of the island of Luzon also dance to the sound of their bamboo flutes, but their gestures and their postures are so indecent that for shame a woman never dances except with her husband.

The Negritos in their dances held in their hands their bows and arrows and utter horrible cries. They make frightful contortions and leaps to which in the country one has given the name of camarones, comparing them to those that the sea-crabs make in the water. They end their dance by shooting their arrows into the air, and their eyesight is so quick that they sometimes kill a bird on the wing. Their ouroucay, or song of the mountains, is a very pleasant melody consisting of six measures which are repeated time and time again, which if it were arranged for chorus, would make a fine effect.

The fandango, the capateado, the cachucha, and other Spanish dances have been adopted by the Indians, and they do not lack grace when they dance them to the accompaniment of castinets, which they play with a remarkable precision. They also execute some dances of Nueva España, such as for example the jarabes, where they show all the Spanish vivacity with movements of their figure, of their breasts, of their hips, to right and left forward and backward, and pirouttes, whose rapidity is such that the eye can scarce follow them.

Drawing and painting are much further advanced than one would believe among the Indians of the Philippines. Without taking into account the fine geographical maps of Nicholas de Ocampo, we can cite the miniatures of Denian, and Sauriano, the pictures of churches, and the oil portraits of Oreco. These works are indeed far from being perfect, for the artists to whom they are due have never had any masters, but they present marks of great talent, and the portraits have a striking resemblance (to the original). We seize this occasion to testify all our gratitude to the two mestizo designers, Juan Serapio Transfiguracion Nepomuceno, and his son, for the services which as artists they have been pleased to render us with so much kindness.

(2) The Educational Decree of 1863

As Mallat observed in his work on the Philippines, "primary schools supported by the people" were found everywhere in the Philippines. There were facilities, according to him, for learning to read and write "even in the smallest villages." How adequate the facilities for primary education were, Mallat, however, did not state. The fact is the primary schools of his time suffered from many handicaps. For one thing, there was a sad lack of trained elementary school teachers. For another, the educational facilities were poor and inadequate. In many towns and villages of the Philippines the school buildings were unsuitable. Teaching materials, too, such as textbooks and readers were meagre if not entirely unavailable.

The basic defect of the system of primary education was, from the beginning, the insufficiency of funds for school purposes. The financial resources of towns and villages were too inadequate to meet the basic needs of primary education.

In 1839, the Spanish Government made an attempt to improve the situation. That year it ordered the creation of an educational commission to draft a set of regulations for the schools of the Philippines. The royal order, however, was not, for some reason or another, put into effect. It was not until several years later that an educational commission such as contemplated by the royal decree of 1839 was formed. Governor Crespo, in 1855, created a commission to study the conditions and needs of elementary education in the Philippines. The commission was instructed to study in particular the following aspects of elementary education and to make recommendations on them: (1) the number of men and women teachers needed in each town of the Philippines on the basis of the number of tribute payers in each town; (2) the regulations to be adopted governing teaching in the schools; (3) the subjects to be included in the course of study; (4) the advisability of establishing in Manila a school for the training of teachers.

The commission showed very little progress in the beginning, but in the latter part of 1860 and the early months of 1861 it began to show greater activity, spurred on by the progress of others who, in the meantime, had been commissioned to draft measures along similar lines. Gov-

ernor Solano on August 10, 1860, had appointed an official to draw up a plan of public schools, while Governor Lemery had commissioned the Jesuit, José Fernández Cuevas, early in 1861, to undertake a similar work. On the 7th of March 1861, the former commission aided by the Jesuit fathers, finally made its report. The report of the commission was forwarded to Spain. On the basis of the report's findings and recommendations, the Educational Decree of December 20, 1863, was formulated.[1]

The educational decree of 1863 consists of three parts: the first deals with the educational system in its broad features; the second contains the regulations for the normal school; and the third sets forth the regulations for the primary schools.

(a) Important Provisions of the Decree of 1863[2]

(i) The Public School System

"A normal school for teachers of primary instruction is established in the city of Manila, in charge of and under the direction of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, and the expenses shall be defrayed by the central treasury of ways and means. Art. 1.

"Spanish scholars, natives of the Archipelago or of Europe, shall be admitted into the said school. The pupils shall receive a free education, but shall be obliged to exercise the duties of teacher in the native schools of the Archipelago for the space of ten years following their graduation from the Institution. Art. 2.

"In each one of the villages, there shall be at least one school of primary instruction for males, and another for females. Instruction herein shall be free to the poor, and attendance shall be compulsory. Arts. 3 and 4.

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1 - See Barrantes, Instrucción Primaria; Alzona, History of Education in the Philippines; Bazaco, History of Education in the Philippines.

2 - B. & R., vol. 46, p. 79 ff.

"The schools for males shall be of three classes: entrada, ascenso and termino of the second class, and termino of the first class. The schools of termino of the first class, namely those of Manila and its district, shall be supplied with teachers by competitive examination among the teachers, with the certificate from the normal school, with experience as teachers. Art. 5.

"The salary of teachers, as well as the foundation of the school, acquisition, and conservation of school supplies and equipment, and the rent of the building shall constitute an obligatory expense on the respective local budget. Art. 7.

"The teachers appointed from the normal school can't be discharged except for legitimate cause and by resolution of the superior civil governor, and after hearing the interested party. Art. 9.

"Teachers and assistants shall be exempt from the giving of personal services so long as they exercise their duties, and after ceasing to exercise them, if they have exercised them for fifteen years. After five years of duty, the teachers shall enjoy distinction as principales. Art. 12.

"The teachers of both sexes and the assistants shall have the right, in case of disability for the discharge of their duties, of pension. Art. 13.

"The superior inspection of primary education shall be exercised by the superior civil governor of the islands, with the aid of a commission which shall be established in the capital under the name of "Superior Commission of Primary Instruction." Said commission shall be composed of the superior governor as president, of the right reverend archbishop of Manila, and of seven members of recognized ability appointed by the first named. The chiefs of the provinces shall be appointed provincial inspectors, and shall be aided by a commission composed of the chief, of the diocesan prelate, and in the latter's absence, of the parish priest of the chief city, and of the alcalde-mayor, or administrator of revenues.

"The parish priests shall be the local inspectors ex-officio and shall direct the teaching of the Christian doctrine and morals under the direction of the right reverend prelates. Art. 15.

"After a school has been established in any village for fifteen years, no natives who cannot talk, read and write the Castilian language shall form a part of the principalia unless they enjoy that distinction by right of inheritance. After the school has been established for thirty years, only those who possess the above-mentioned condition shall enjoy exemption from the personal service tax, except in case of sickness. Five years after the publication of this decree, no one who does not possess the above-mentioned qualification, can be appointed to salaried posts in the Philippines Archipelago." Arts. 16 & 17.

(ii) Regulations Governing the Normal School

"The object of the Normal School is to serve as a seminary for religious, obedient, and instructed teachers, for the management of primary schools throughout the whole Archipelago. In the same locality of the Normal School, there shall be a school of primary instruction for non-resident boys, whose classes shall be managed, under the supervision of a teacher of the normal school, by the pupils of the same." (Arts. 1 and 3.)

"Education in Normal School shall comprise the following branches:

1. Religion, morals, and sacred history.
2. Theory and practice of reading.
3. Theory and practice of writing.
4. An extensive knowledge of the Castillian language with exercises in analysis, composition, and orthography.
5. Arithmetic, to ratio and proportion, elevetion to powers, and extraction of roots, inclusive, together with the decimal metric system with its equivalent of local weights and measures.
6. Principles of Spanish Geography and history.
7. Idem of Geometry.
8. Common acquaintance with physical and natural sciences.

9. Ideas of practical Agriculture with reference to the cultivation of the products of the country.
10. Rules of Courtesy.
11. Lessons in vocal and organ music.
12. Elements of pedagogy. (Art. 4).

"These studies shall run for three years, and during the six months of the last term, the scholars shall have practical exercise in teaching, by teaching in the classes of the primary school annexed to the Normal School. (Art. 6.)

"The scholars of the normal school who shall have completed the courses of their studies and shall have obtained by their good deportment, application and knowledge, the mark of "Excellent" (sobresaliente) in the final examinations for the three consecutive years shall receive a teacher's certificate, in which shall be expressed their creditable mark, and they shall be empowered to teach schools of ascenso. Those who shall not have obtained the mark of Excellent, but that of Good (bueno), or fair (regular) in the above-mentioned examinations, shall also receive teacher's certificate with their corresponding mark expressed therein, and they shall be able to reach schools of entrada. Finally, those who shall have failed in said examinations, if after they shall have repeated the exercise, shall have merited approval, shall only receive certificates as assistant teachers. (Art. 7.)

"The resident scholars of the Normal School shall be divided into regular (de numero) and supernumerary resident pupils. The regular resident scholars shall receive their education free and shall pay nothing for their support, treatment, school equipment, and aid from the teaching force. They shall be obliged to fulfil their duties for 10 years as teachers of primary schools. Supernumerary resident scholars shall pay the institution 8 pesos per month for their board, and their rank in the school and other things will be equal to that of the regular scholars. (Arts. 9, 10, 11, 12.)

"The normal school shall be directed and governed by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. (Art. 15.)

"The Director of the Normal School shall propose at the approval of the superior civil government, a list of books which can be used as textbooks by the scholars, to which the masters shall subject their explanation. The teachers shall give their lessons in the courses of which it is advisable for this system to make use, under the authority of a director. (Art. 24.)

"The superior Civil Governor shall have the right to issue certificates as teacher and assistant at the proposal of the director of the normal school. Certificates as teachers shall contain the mark which shall have been obtained and the class of schools for which such persons are qualified. (Arts. 27 &28.)

(iii) Regulations Prescribed by the Decree of 1863 for Primary Schools.

"The teaching in the schools for natives shall comprise:

(1) The Christian doctrine and principles of morality and sacred history.
(2) Reading.
(3) Writing.
(4) Practical teaching of the Castilian language.
(5) Principles of arithmetic including the four rules for integers, common fractions, decimals, and denominate numbers, with principles of the decimal metric system, and its equivalents in the usual weights and measures.
(6) Principles of general geography and Spanish history.
(7) Principles of practical agriculture, with application to the products of the country.
(8) Rules of courtesy.
(9) Vocal music.

"The primary teaching of girls will include all the above except Nos. 6 and 7, and the needlework suitable to their sex. (Art. 1).

"Primary instruction is obligatory for all the natives between the ages of 7 and 12. The teacher shall have especial care that the scholars have practical exercise in speaking the Castilian language. Primary instruction shall be free for children whose parents are not known to be wealthy. Paper, copybooks, ink, and pens, will be free to all the children. (Arts. 2, 3, & 4.)

"The parish priest shall direct the teaching of Christian doctrine and morality. (Art. 6.)

"The Christian doctrine shall be taught by the catechism which is in use, and approved by ecclesiastical authorities. For reading, the syllabary prescribed by the superior civil governor, the Cathecism of Astete, and the Cathecism of Fleuri, shall be used. For writing, the Muestras de carácter Español by Iturzaeta shall be used. (Art. 7.)

"Teachers of entrada shall receive from 8 to 12 persos per month; those of ascenso, from 12 to 15; those of termino of the second grade from 15 to 20. In addition teachers shall enjoy the following advantages:

(1) A dwelling apartment for themselves and family in the schoolhouse, or reimbursement if they rent one.
(2) The fees paid by well-to-do children.
(3) The privileges and exemptions and pension mentioned in Arts. 12, 13, and 14 of the Royal decree. (Arts. 23 and 24.)

"Women teachers for girls must be at least 25 years old, and shall possess the other qualifications that are demanded from the male teachers. They shall receive monthly pay of 8 pesos if they have a certificate, and 6 if the contrary be true, and all the fees of wealthy girls. They shall also have the right to live in the school, and in case they do not live there, to a reimbursement to pay their rent. (Arts. 26, 28).

"The Superior Board of Primary Instruction shall consult the superior government of the Islands:

(1) In regard to the approval of textbooks.
(2) On measures in regard to the dismissal of teachers, declarations of the grades of schools, and assignment of pay to the instructors.
(3) In everything also concerning the execution of this plan, and especially concerning the doubts arising from the same." Art. 34.

The Educational Decree of 1863 is a notable landmark in the educational history of the Philippines. It was the basis of the primary school system which existed in the Philippines in the last decades of the Spanish period. Under the decree, the elementary school system of the country was reorganized. Changes and improvements were introduced to remedy some of the system's basic defects. A normal school was established under the management and supervision of the Society of Jesus, to meet the need for trained elementary school teachers. Adequate provision was made to facilitate the rapid propagation of the Spanish language. Teachers were exempted from the polos y servicios. Teachers, too, were given the opportunity to become members of the principalia, the social elite in the community. After serving for a certain number of years, a teacher could rise to the status and dignity of a principal. The teaching profession was raised to a high level of dignity and respectability.

The decree, however, left unresolved the big problem affecting primary education in the Philippines, the problem of adequate financial support. Under the Educational Decree of 1863, the towns and villages of the Philippines continued as before to take care of providing for the support and maintenance of primary education in their respective jurisdictions. With the limited funds at their disposal, many towns and villages in the Philippines were in no position to maintain adequately equipped and adequately staffed elementary schools. Elementary education in many towns and villages in the Philippines remained, for this reason, in the same state of backwardness in which it was prior to the reform decree of 1863.

(b) The Municipal Girls' School of Manila

Another notable event in Philippine educational history was the establishment in February, 1864, of the Municipal Girl's School of Manila. This school was created

by the government of the city of Manila. In 1868, the school was converted into a normal school for the training of women teachers of elementary education. It was administered by the Sisters of Charity. Some of the regulations prescribed by the Superior Civil Government for this school are as follows:3

"The object of this school is to give the girls of this capital the inestimable benefit of a fine education and the elementary instruction, with all the solidity and amplitude advisable. Instruction shall embrace two kinds of subjects: the required subjects and the optional subjects.

"The required subjects are: Christian doctrine, politeness, reading, writing, Castilian grammar, arithmetic, the decimal metric system, and the needle-work suitable for their sex, such as sewing, darning and cutting.

"The optional subjects are: geography, general history; special history of España; elements of natural history; embroidery in white, with silks, corded silk, beads, and gold, and other like needle-work. (Chapter I).

"All the children who solicit within the number permitted by the size of the building, shall be admitted without distinction, from the age of five years.

"Teaching will be free for all pupils in all necessary and optional subjects named in these regulations. (Chapter II.)

"A commission composed of three women appointed by his Excellency, the superior civil governor, on recommendation of the Ayuntamiento, one of whom shall be relieved annually, shall be created for the supervision of the school. The functions of this commission shall be those only of supervision and oversight. In consequence of that they must inform the superior authority of any fault which is noted with the fitting remarks for its correction."

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3 - Ibid, p. 119, ff.

C. The Ateneo Municipal de Manila

Another important educational development at this time was that which concerned the Alma Mater of Dr. José Rizal. In 1859, the Manila ayuntamiento turned over to the Jesuits the management of the Escuela Municipal de Manila. This school was the successor of the Escuela Pia, a school of primary instruction founded in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1865, with the name changed to Ateneo Municipal de Manila, the school was raised to the status of a college. The Jesuit Fathers reorganized the institution along the lines laid down in the Ratio Studiorum. Changes were made in the course of study and institutional regulations of the college to bring it in conformity with Jesuit ideas and ideals of education. This was the school where 1871 young Rizal came to study. He stayed there six years graduating in 1877 with highest honors.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION AND ITS RESULTS

a. Background of the Revolution

In 1868, an event of great historical significance took place in Spain. That year the Spanish liberals drove Queen Isabel II from her throne. The Spanish Revolution of 1868 as that event is known was the climax of the efforts of the Spanish liberals to establish a popular system of government for Spain.

Queen Isabel's reign which began in 1833 on the death of her father, Ferdinand VII, was a turbulent one. There were rare intervals in which Spain enjoyed complete domestic peace and tranquility. Apart from the recurring Carlist wars, there were frequent revolts and military uprisings in which soldier politicians by means of pronunciamientos (revolutionary manifestos) or golpes de estado (military coups) rose to power and held momentarily in their hands the reins of government.

Being a mere child at her father's death in 1833, Isabel ruled, in accordance with Ferdinand VII's pragmatic sanction, under the regency of her mother, Queen Cristina. During Cristina's regency (1833-1840), the internal situation in Spain was tumultous and disturbed. The Carlist war ranged throughout the greater part of the period. The Carlists threatened to wrest the reins of power from Cristina and Isabel and to place Carlos on the Spanish throne. In 1834 in an effort to win the support and loyalty of the Spanish liberals, Regent Cristina promulgated the Estatuto Real of 1834. This political succession however, did not prove wholly satisfactory to the liberals. In 1836, a Liberal uprising took place as a result of which Cristina restored the Constitution of 1812. At the same time, she summoned a constituent Cortes to frame a new organic law for Spain. In 1837, the constituent Cortes adopted a new constitution. The Constitution of 1837, as this constitution came to be called, established parliamentary government in Spain. It represented a compromise between the liberalism of the Constitution of 1812 and the conservatism of the Royal Statute of 1834.

The new constitution was proclaimed at about the same time that the government won signal victories over the Carlists. These developments helped much to bring internal peace in Spain. This condition, however, did not last long. In 1840, revolts broke out in Barcelona and Madrid. Because of the gravity of the situation, Cristina was forced to abdicate as regent. General Espartero, who had gained fame and popularity for his successes over the Carlists, took over the regency of Spain.

Espartero adopted strong measures to preserve and maintain law and order. In 1841, he crushed a military uprising which sought to restore Cristina to the regency. In 1842, he also put down with a strong hand a bloody revolt which had flared up in Barcelona. In 1843, however, a number of factional groups - Progresistas, Moderados, and Republicanos, combined to oust Espartero from power. Espartero was forced to flee from Spain. As a sequel of this event, the regency was abolished. A resolution was then adopted by the Cortes October 20, 1843, declaring Isabel to be of age, duly qualified to rule in her own right as queen of Spain. It was further declared that she was to exercise her royal powers through a responsible ministry in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Joaquin Maria Lopez, leader of the clique which overthrew Espartero, assumed control of the government as prime minister of Spain.

With the abolition of the regency and the assumption by Isabel of her royal powers and prerogatives, many people in Spain expected that an era of peace and tranquility would at last dawn for Spain. Subsequent events, however, belied their hopes and expectations. Partisan groups engaged in bitter conflicts and rivalries for the privilege to run the affairs of the Nation and to dispose of the spoils of office. Conflicting interests and tendencies made it difficult for the government to adopt and follow a sustained and consistent policy for the solution of national problems. Isabel II, on her part, proved unequal to the task before her. She could not remain entirely aloof from the conflicts of partisan politics. On many occasions, she showed favoritism and reactionary tendencies thereby alienating the loyalty and good will of many of her subjects.

The history of the twenty-five year period following Isabel II's assumption of her rights and prerogatives as queen of Spain is a record of recurring internal troubles, of the rise and fall of soldier politicians. The

administrative machinery was inefficient and corrupt because of uncertainty and insecurity of tenure of public officials. In the brief period of two years immediately following Isabel's accession as queen, three different persons successively occupied the premiership of Spain - Joaquin M. Lopez, Gonzales Bravo and Ramon Maria Narvaez.

Narvaez' accession to power in 1844 brought to the political arena one of the outstanding soldier politicians of the age of Isabel II. During his administration, Spain had a brief interval of peace and domestic tranquility. Conservative in his leanings, he sought to strengthen the foundations of the Monarchy. He secured, in 1845, the adoption by a consetituent Cortes of a new constitution for Spain. The Constitution of 1845 incorporated several important features of the Royal Statute of 1834. It gave to the Crown a large measure of supervision and control over affairs of state. Narvaez also arranged for the marriage, in 1846, of Queen Isabel to her cousin Francis, Duke of Cadiz. The marriage arrangements were made for reasons of state. It was designed to strengthen the unity and the stability of the Monarchy.

In 1854, the internal situation in Spain was again disrupted. On July 7 of that year, O'Donell launched forth a pronunciamiento demanding changes and reforms in the government. O'Donell's pronunciamiento read in part as follows:

> We desire the preservation of the Throne, but without the corrupting influence of any camarilla. We want the strict observance of the processes prescribed by the fundamental laws, improving them, particularly those relating to the electoral system and freedom of the press. We want a revision of the taxes on the basis of strict economy. We want due respect for the merit system and the principle of seniority in the appointment and promotion of government employees and members of the armed forces. We want to protect the local units of the nation from the evils of excessive centralization, giving them such freedom and autonomy as would enable them to promote their own interests and welfare. And, as a guarantee for all of these reforms, we want and demand the establishment on solid foundations of the national militia.

Confronted by a serious situation, Queen Isabel called back to power Espartero, who had returned to Spain from exile in 1848. Espartero formed a new ministry with O'Donell as minister of war.

The plans and policies of Espartero, however, did not meet with popular approval. In July, 1856, he was once more forced to resign. O'Donell succeeded him. But O'Donell himself did not remain long in power. In October, 1856, he was forced out of office. The veteran statesman, General Narvaez, once more took over the reins of government. At the end of two years, however, (1858) O'Donell was back in power.

From 1858 to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1868, the government of Spain was alternately in the hands of O'Donell and Narvaez. That period continued to be a tumultous one. In 1860, the Carlists made another attempt, which, however, was unsuccessful, to overthrow the regime of Queen Isabel. A year later, the Republicans raised the standard of revolt. Their battle cry was "Long Live the Republic. Death to the Queen." The uprising was put down by the government forces. In 1865, a more formidable uprising flared up. It was led by General Prim. O'Donell who was at that time at the head of the government, put it down. In 1866 another serious revolt took place. O'Donell also suppressed it with a heavy hand. The principal leaders of the revolt were seized and executed.

O'Donell died in November, 1867. A few months later, April, 1868, Narvaez, too, passed away. The deaths of these men removed from the political scene two strong personalities under whose administration the forces of subversion which were seeking the overthrow of the Bourbon Monarchy were effectively held in check.

To Gonzales Bravo, a veteran soldier politician, Queen Isabel entrusted the responsibility of running the affairs of the nation in the critical situation then existing. All his efforts, however, proved unavailing to stem the swelling tide of popular unrest and discontent. The stern measures that he adopted to preserve law and order only aggravated the situation. The different political groups united their forces in a concerted effort to overthrow the Queen and her ministers.

The Spanish Revolution of 1868 began on September 18, 1868, when Admiral Topete issued a revolutionary

pronunciamiento from Cadiz. This was followed by uprisings in many parts of Spain. Valencia, Tarragona, Barcelona joined the Revolution. On October 3, Marshal Serrano, one of the leaders of the movement entered Madrid, being received warmly and enthusiastically by a cheering and highly excited multitude. There he was joined by General Prim and other prominent leaders of the Revolution. Queen Isabel by this time had fled from Spain. The triumph of the revolutionary movement was now complete. A provisional government was set up, composed of Serrano as President; Prim, Minister of War; Topete, Minister of the Navy; Sagasta, Minister of Home Affairs; and Lorenzana, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On October 8th, the Provisional Government formally announced the principles on which the future Spanish government would be organized. These were: universal suffrage; freedom of worship; freedom of instruction; freedom of association and of peaceful public meeting; freedom of the press; administrative decentralization and autonomy for local and provincial government; trial by jury in criminal cases; unity of jurisdiction in all branches of judicial administration; judicial immovability; individual security and inviolability of domicile and correspondence; abolition of capital punishment. On the 25th of October, the Provisional Government issued a manifesto explaining what had taken place and what reforms it proposed to adopt. The manifesto stated that the monarchial form of government would be preserved and continued.

In pursuance of the program of the Provisional Government, a constituent Cortes was called into session in February, 1869, to draw up a new constitution for Spain. The new constitution as finally approved embodied the principles and political ideas of the leaders of the Revolution. It established a limited monarchy, recognized freedom of worship, legalized civil marriage, introduced the jury system, and solemnly guaranteed individual liberty. It excluded the Bourbon family from the Spanish throne.[1]

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1 - It is interesting to note that in the constituent Cortes efforts were made to secure incorporation in the constitutional plan then under consideration of reforms in the system of government in the Philippines. Adelardo Lopez de Ayala, who at the time was minister of the colonies, presented a "Memoria" to the Cortes proposing reforms in

The new Spanish constitution created a major problem for Spain - the selection of a new ruler. As on the occasion of the extinction of the Hapsburg dynasty in 1700, this question aroused deep interest in the courts and chancilleries of Europe. At one time Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, King-Dowager of Portugal, and cousin of Queen Victoria of England, was seriously considered as a possible occupant of the Spanish throne. France, for sentimental and other reasons, took a vital interest in the question. Bismarck of Prussia proposed Prince Leopold of the Hohenzollern family as a possible occupant of the Spanish throne. Bismarck's move aroused bitter resentment in France and became an immediate cause of the Franco-Prussian War.

In the end, Amadeo, a younger son of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, accepted the offer tendered him by the Spanish Cortes to become King of Spain. On January 2, 1871, Amadeo formally took his oath before the members of the Spanish Cortes as King of Spain under the Constitution of 1869.

In the meantime, Queen Isabel decided to abdicate. On June 25, 1870, from Paris, France, to which she had fled she issued two historic documents: one a formal act of abdication, and the other a letter to the Spanish people appealing for their support and loyalty to the Bourbon dynasty.

The Queen's statement of abdication read in part as follows:[1]

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the administrative system in the Philippines. In April, 1869, a group of Congressmen composed of Julian Pellon y Rodriguez, Tomás Rodriguez Pinilla, Miguel Uzuriaga, Victor Balaguer, Joaquin Baeza, Francisco Javier Moya, and Ruberto Fernandez de las Cuevas, submitted a proposal to grant greater political liberties to the inhabitants of the Philippines. In the session of the Cortes held on May 25, 1869, Julian Pellon spoke in support of the proposal. None of the proposals, however, was approved.

Lopez de Ayala's "Memoria" and the "Proposal" submitted by Pellon and his associates are cited by Retana in his Aparato Bibliografico, vol. 2, nos. 1215 and 1222, respectively.

1 - Rubio, op. cit., vol. 6, appendix.

To all Spaniards of my kingdom and to all who may see and understand these presents:

KNOW ALL: That for the sole purpose of procuring, by peaceful and legitimate means the happiness and welfare of my beloved Spain, I execute this solemn declaration in the form allowed by these difficult and extraordinary circumstances. I abdicate voluntarily and spontaneously, moved solely by my love for Spain and for her welfare and independence, the royal authority which I have exercised by the Grace of God and of the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, promulgated in the year 1845, and to renounce all my political rights, transferring them all to my most beloved son, Don Alfonso, Prince of Asturias.

That I do not intend to renounce any of the rights and prerogatives with respect to my house, properties, and family, which are bestowed upon me by the laws of the land, particularly the Law of May 12, 1865.

That in this sense, as long as I live, and as my last will with respect to my family and children, I reserve all the powers that I am capable of, and will continue to exercise them as though I did not abdicate my political rights and the supreme power of Queen of the Spanish dominions.

That I mean to preserve, even after my abdication, the care and custody of my son, Don Alfonso, to whom I transfer my political rights, and the care and custody of his sisters, not yet emancipated from the paternal jurisdiction, including all the powers that correspond to me in accordance with article 63 of the Constitution of 1845 of the Spanish Monarchy, and of Laws, 2, 3, 4, and 13, Title 16 of item 6.

That with respect to my son, Don Alfonso, until he is proclaimed by a Government and Cortes which represent the genuine legitimate will of the Nation, I will not surrender him to the care of those who by the will of the Nation are to protect and advise him.

Isabel's letter to the Spanish people read in part as follows:[2]

> Misfortune and sadness marked the long period of my reign. It is painful for me to realize that acts independent of my will thwarted my noblest aspirations, my most vehement desires for the happiness of my beloved Spain.
>
> As a girl, thousands of heroes proclaimed my name; but the ravages of war surrounded my cradle. As an adolescent, I always favored such propositions as I sincerely believed would advance your happiness. But heated party struggles did not allow time for the rootage in the national character of respect for laws and love for prudent reforms. The tumultous passions of men, which I have not wanted to combat at the cost of your blood, have brought me to this foreign land, far from the throne of my fathers, to this land which, friendly, hospitable, and illustrious, though it be, is not my beloved country nor the country of my children.
>
> Such is, in brief, the political history of the thirty-five years in which I have exercised the supreme power over the peoples whom God, the laws, and the will of the Nation entrusted to my care. Reviewing it, I can conscientiously say that I have not contributed, with deliberate intention, to the evils for which I am blamed, or to the misfortunes which I was unable to avert. As a constitutional Queen, I have sincerely respected the fundamental laws. Spaniard before anything else, and loving mother of the sons of Spain, I have a warm affection for all. The misfortunes which often threatened to crush my spirit were borne by me as best I could. Nothing has been more pleasant to my heart than to pardon and to reward, and I have never failed to take any measure to prevent what by me might bring sorrow upon my subjects.
>
> Twenty months have passed since I stepped on foreign soil. In these twenty months, my afflicted spirit has never been in attentive to the sobbings

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2 - Ibid.

of my unforgettable Spain. Full of confidence in her future, anxious for her greatness, her integrity, and her independence, grateful for the votes of those who are devoted to me, forgetful of the injuries inflicted by those who do not know me, I aspire for nothing except that which my heart fondly desires and which loyal Spaniards would gladly accept, namely, the integrity of the dynasty and the welfare of the heir to the Spanish Throne. This is the act of which I speak to you. This is the best proof that I can give you of the affection I have always had for you.

Know, therefore, that in virtue of a solemn act drawn up in my residence in Paris and in the presence of the members of my Royal family, of grandees, dignitaries, generals and public men of Spain, I have abdicated my royal authority and my political rights, transmitting them and all that belongs to the throne of Spain, to my very dear son, Don Alfonso, Prince of Asturias. In accordance with the country's laws, particularly the law of May 12, 1865, I reserve for myself all the civil rights, the personal status and the dignity which these concede to me. Hence, I shall have under my guardianship and custody Don Alfonso while he resides outside of his country until, proclaimed by a Government and a Cortes representing the legitimate will of the Nation, I am to surrender him to you. In the meantime, I shall endeavor to implant in his mind generous and elevated ideas which, together with his natural inclinations, would, I trust, make him worthy to wear the crown of San Fernando and to succeed the Alfonsos, his predecessors, from whom the country has received a legacy of imperishable glories.

Alfonso XII will have to be, therefore, from now on your real King, the King of the Spanish people, not the King of a party. Love him with the same sincerity with which he loves you. Respect and protect his youth with the unbreakable fortitude of your noble hearts, while I, with fervent prayer, ask the Almighty to grant long days of peace and prosperity for Spain, and to concede to my son, whom I bless, wisdom, prudence, rectitude in the government, and better chances of success in the Throne than what was enjoyed by his unfortunate mother, who was your Queen. ISABEL.

b. Effects of the Spanish Revolution upon the Philippines

Administration of de la Torre, 1869-1871

Following the overthrow of Isabel II in the Revolution of 1868, the Provisional Government of Spain under Serrano and Prim sent Carlos Maria de la Torre as governor and captain general of the Philippines. The story of his administration is given by Montero y Vidal in the work repeatedly cited in these Readings:[1]

> On the 23rd of June, 1869, D. Carlos Maria de la Torre assumed his post as Chief Executive of the Philippines.
>
> This man lacked the qualifications demanded by the circumstances, and his unwise conduct and unsound policy endeared him to those whose ambition was to detach from Spain the remnants of her former colonial empire. "It is necessary," was the remark of one of these, "that the Government should select able and trustworthy men to advance the cause of the Revolution in the colonies. Fortunately, the Ministry has chosen a man for the Philippines who inspires full faith and confidence; for D. Carlos Maria de la Torre is a proven liberal, nay a sincere radical, - a man whose services, intentions, energetic character, and excellent education make him highly respectable, and which cause us to expect that under his regime, individual rights will be respected in the Philippines. There is peace and tranquility in the Archipelago and de la Torre will find no difficulty in carrying out the liberal policy of the new government against whatever opposition from the regular clergy and the small circle of monopolizers, who have always stood against the liberty of the Philippines." Rafael Maria de Labra.
>
> La Torre brought with him to Manila the colonel of artillery D. Francisco Sanchiz, and Mrs. Sanchiz (Maria del Rosario Gil de Montes).

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1 - Chapters 24, 25, 26 of volume 3 deal with the administration of de la Torre and of his successor, Governor Izquierdo.

Ignorant of the country he had come to govern; believing in good faith that the Revolutionary Government at home obliged him to implant in the Philippines a democratic regime; surrounded and influenced by an imbecile camarilla; flattered by the servile praises of those sagacious Filipinos, who, proclaiming their liberalism and love for Spain, hailed him as their liberator from supposed tyrannies, la Torre began to show, both in his private and official acts, a most imprudent conduct, to the satisfaction of his perfidious counsellors.

One of the lamentable errors of De la Torre was to pose as a democrat, thinking fo please thereby, the Filipinos. He suppressed the guard of halberdiers which, for the honor of the representative of Spain, was retained in the palace since 1591; he appeared in public without any escort, and used an ordinary straw hat instead of the top-hat which the authorities usually used here.

Patronized by the inexperienced civil governor of Manila, Don José Cabezas de Herrera, a serenade was held in the evening of the 12th of July in honor of Gov. La Torre, which bore all the characteristics of a political manifestation. At the head of the parade was a commission formed by various Filipino Spaniards and Chinese mestizos, of native priests, students, and some officials of the districts of Sta. Cruz, Quiapo and Sampaloc.[2]

The general and Mrs. Sanchiz entertained well the participants; during the buffet toasts were offerred, while Mrs. Sanchiz recited a poem.

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2 - The men composing this commission were: Don Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Consejero de Administracion and Professor of Spanish Law; D. José Icaza, substitute magistrate of the Audiencia; D. Jocobo Zobel, Regidor of the Ayuntamiento; D. Ignacio Rocha, artist; D. Angel Garchitorena, carriage manufacturer; Andres Nieto, proprietor; José Cañas, landed proprietor; José Burgos, curate of the Manila Cathedral; Vicente Infante, Military chaplain; D. Juan Reyes, employee; D. Manuel Genato, and M. Maximo Paterno, Chinese mestizos.

Among the participants there was noted the total absence of Peninsulars and even of Filipino-Spaniards of note in the country such as the Azcarragas, Vizmanos, Arrietas, Tenazon, Calderones, Calvos, etc. It is to be noted also that the act was illegal for the Constitution had not yet gone into effect, and the law in force then in the Philippines prohibited manifestations of that nature, especially as this one was held in the evening, a thing which the Constitution did not allow even in the Peninsula. From that moment, the Filipino redentorists commenced the work of propaganda against Spain.

Governor de la Torre, by decree of July 7, 1869, suppressed flogging as the punishment for desertion among native soldiers, and substituted for it one month's imprisonment.

In an address made by La Torre upon taking possession of his office, he had announced that he would exterminate banditry, but as it was a pleasure to pardon errors and to call back to right conduct those who had deviated from the right way, he reserved to himself the right to take whatever measures he thought proper. In effect, he went to Imus and arranged to make Camerino, the famous bandit, captain of a company of "Guias de la Torre," with power to assist the Guardia Civil.

On the 21st of September, 1869, the new Constitution was sworn to in Manila. To commemorate the occasion, the Governor held a reception in his palace to which he invited several mestizos from the districts of Santa Cruz, San Miguel, Binondo and Quiapo, who marched to the palace at the head of a parade with banners, music and lanters, under the lead of F. Burgos, Pardo de Tavera and Paterno. The majority of these wore red ties -- color which Mrs. Sanchiz made fashionable. Mrs. Sanchiz who as usual, acted as hostees, appeared with a ribbon on her head on which were written the words "Long live the Sovereign People" (Viva el pueblo soberano), with another ribbon around her neck, on one extremity of which were the words, "Long live liberty" (Viva la libertad), and on the other "Long live General La Torre" (Viva el general la Torre).

The guests were well entertained by the Governor and by Mrs. Sanchiz, in whose honor the car-

riage manufacturer Garchitorena, recited a few laudatory verses.

La Torre appeared on the balcony and in a loud voice proclaimed, "Long Live the Constitutional Cortes."

The scandal which the affairs produced was monumental, and the Peninsulars who were familiar with the country were grieved to see the representative of Spain and his camarilla encouraging and consenting to such ridiculous spectacles, the future consequence of which could not be hidden.

Under date of November 6, 1870, a decree was promulgated on the recommendation of the Minister of the Colonies, Segismundo Moret, creating the Philippine Institute, a school of secondary instruction. According to article 13 of this decree, the existing colleges -- San José, Ateneo Municipal, San Juan de Letran, Nautical Academy, and Academy of Design, Painting and Accounting & Languages, were to cease as such and to be fused in the Institute. The present Normal School was to remain as it was.

The Institute was to be administered by a director to be appointed by the Government. All teaching positions were to be filled by competitive examination.

Another decree of the same date provided for the conversion of the Royal and Pontifical University of Sto. Tomás into the University of the Philippines, in which instruction was to be given in theology, law, medicine and pharmacy. Some of the important provisions of this decree are:

"The University shall be directed by a Rector to be appointed by the Government from among the professors of the same. The present Rector of the College of Sto. Tomás shall remain dean of the Department of theology, with all the rights and privileges which he at present enjoys. (Art. 11).

"Teaching positions in the departments of law, medicine and pharmacy shall be filled by competitive examinations. Those in the department of theology shall remain as they are. (Art. 12).

On the arrival here of these decrees, considerable alarm was aroused among the religious orders, especially among the Dominicans, who were most affected by them. The provincial of the order, Dr. Pedro Payo, presented a memorial on the 15th of February, 1871, setting forth the difficulties that would arise with the execution of the orders of the home government the services rendered by the Dominicans, and the validity of their titles to the University and the College of San Juan de Letran. Moreover, the memorial claimed that by this reform the University would lose its ecclesiastical character, and its students, as a consequence, would not be able to obtain the degrees necessary for appointment to the prebendaries.

Governor de la Torre, however, in February 1871, placed his cumplase on these decrees.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CAVITE AFFAIR OF 1872

1) Background of the Affair on the Question of the Philippine Curacies

At the time the Spanish Liberals took over the reins of power in Spain following the overthrow of Queen Isabel II, a heated controversy was raging in the Philippines over the question of the status and ownership of certain curacies in the archbishopric of Manila. The fundamental issue in the controversy was whether Filipino priests should be allowed greater participation in the management of the religious and ecclesiastical affairs of their country or not. This was a question which concerned the interests and welfare, not only of the native clergy, but of the Catholic Church herself.

The beginnings of this question may be traced to the times of Archbishop Sta. Justa and Governor Anda in the last quarter of the 18th century (1767-1776).[1] To fill the vacancies which were created at that time in many parishes of his diocese, Archbishop Sta. Justa availed himself of the services of newly ordained Filipino secular priests. The latter were placed in curacies which had been vacated as a result of differences and misunderstandings between the Spanish friar curates who previously administered them and the Archbishop over matters of ecclesiastical government.

The significance of the Archbishop's actuation was quite clear to many people at the time. Archbishop Sta. Justa's course was a radical departure from the long-established policy followed in the administration of parishes. It meant that, ultimately, Filipino secular priests would take over the duties and responsibilities connected with the administration of parochial affairs. It can well be presumed that Archbishop Sta. Justa envisioning such an eventuality, felt keenly the need of building up a body of competent Filipino priests to carry on the work of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

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1 - Supra.

Unfortunately for the cause of the Filipino clergy, the immediate results of Archbishop Sta. Justa's initial policy of secularization of the curacies were quite discouraging and disappointing. Many of the newly installed Filipino parish priests lacked, not only the necessary training and preparation for parochial work, but also the moral qualities required of those who would go into the religious life. Their conduct as parish priests was far from edifying. It was clear that Archbishop Sta. Justa, in his eagerness and enthusiasm to Filipinize the curacies, did not exercise due care in the granting of holy orders and that he appointed newly ordained seminarians to parishes without careful examination of their fitness and character.

In view of the unfavorable results of his policy, it was felt advisable, in the interest of religion, to have it suspended and discontinued. Governor Anda, who was a strong believer in the wisdom and desirability of that policy, and who had given wholehearted support to Archbishop Sta. Justa's efforts to Filipinize the curacies was constrained to reverse his stand on the matter. He wrote to the King reporting the unfavorable effects which Archbishop Sta. Justa's actuations had produced and he recommended that the Filipinization of the curacies be suspended and that the curacies which had been secularized be returned to the Spanish regular clergy. In compliance with Anda's recommendations, the King of Spain in a decree promulgated on December 11, 1776, ordered the suspension of the secularization of the curacies and the restoration of those parishes which had been given to Filipino priests to their former pastors.

The suspension of the Filipinization policy, however, was presumed to be only temporary. One of the provisions of the decree of December 11, 1776, ordered that steps should be taken to prepare and train a competent body of clerics so that the filling of the curacies with Filipino secular priests would eventually be effected in conformity with the plans and desires of Archbishop Sta. Justa. This was understood at the time to mean that the secularization of the curacies would be resumed, when and if, duly qualified Filipino secular priests were available for appointment to the curacies.

Unfortunately, the Spanish Government did not comply with the directive contained in that provision of the decree of December 11, 1776. Far from living up the promise im-

plied in that law, it adopted and put into effect a course of action which tended to discourage the growth and development of the Filipino clergy. A number of laws promulgated by the Spanish Government in the nineteenth century reflected this tendency of Spanish colonial policy. On July 8, 1826, a royal cedula was issued reiterating the previous decree which commanded the return to the regular Spanish clergy of the curacies which had been given to Filipino secular priests during the governorship of Anda (1770-1776). The royal decree of March 9, 1849, ordered the return of a number of parishes in Cavite to the Spanish regular clergy. Finally on September 10, 1861, a royal order gave to the Recollects parishes held by Filipino priests in the Archbishopric of Manila.

The reaction which was aroused in the Philippines by the foregoing acts was discussed at length by Archbishop Meliton Martinez in a letter which he wrote to Spain. This letter reflects the attitude and policy of the authorities of the Catholic Church in the Philippines on the question relating to the Philippine curacies. It was written at the time the Spanish Liberals came into power in Spain following the overthrow of Queen Isabel II in the Revolution of 1868:2

> S i r : The undersigned, Archbishop of Manila, respectfully addresses your Excellency, impelled by his true love of country, and by a sense of duty to maintain the tranquility of his Diocese, which has been frequently disturbed as a result of the practice, which for some time now has been followed, of turning over curacies administered by the secular clergy to the religious corporations. This policy is the cause of an ever growing enmity which is becoming more and more manifest between seculars and regulars, and which, sooner or later, may bring lamentable results to our beloved Spain.
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> To fix the origin of this enmity, I shall mention the Real Cedula of July 8, 1826, which returned to the religious corporations curacies administered by the secular clergy since the period of

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2 - This letter is quoted by Artigas in his work, Los Sucesos de 1872, pp. 14-31. It is published also in Craig-Benitez, op. cit., under the title "Archbishop Martinez' Secret Defense of His Filipino Clergy."

the second governorship of Simeon de Anda y Salazar. However just this measure might appear, the native priests, considering the fact that they had held those curacies for more than half a century and considered them their own, felt grieved every time a curacy by reason of the death or transfer of the incumbent was assigned to a regular priest. With the death of the curate of San Simon which occurred this year, the purpose of the foregoing Real Cedula has been fulfilled in every respect.

As a circumstance tending to aggravate this enmity the Royal Order of March 9, 1849, may be mentioned, by virtue of which seven curacies of Cavite belonging to the secular clergy were given to the regulars, as follows: Bacoor, Cavite el Viejo and Silang to the Agustinian Recollects; and Santa Cruz, San Francisco de Malabon, Naic and Indang to the Dominicans. Of these, five have already been occupied, being taken possession of as fast as they become vacant. But what brought the antagonism to a climax and filled the native clergy with indignation was the Royal Order of September 10, 1861. To this decree and its consequences, the undersigned especially desires to call the attention of your Excellency.

With the approval in article 13 of the Royal Decree of July 30, 1859, regarding the establishment of the Government of Mindanao, of the arrangement that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus should take charge of the administration of the parishes, doctrinas, and active missions in that Island, which at the time were under the administration of the Recollects of the Province of San Nicolas de Tolentino, it became necessary to promulgate the rules which should govern, in a proper manner, the carrying out of the provisions of that article.[3] For this purpose, the Royal Order of September 10, 1861, was pro-

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3 - The Royal Decree referred to here created a politico-military form of government for the island of Mindanao. Under this decree, Mindanao, including the adjacent islands, was divided into six districts, each to be governed by a military officer having the rank of brigadier. Governor Lemery placed his "cumplase" to this decree February

mulgated which, among other things, granted to the Recollects, in the form of an indemnity, the administration of the curacies in the province of Cavite or elsewhere (in the Archbishopric of Manila, as subsequently was ordered) which were being served by the native clergy.4

It is interesting to note the circumstances under which this Royal Order was issued. In the first place, the Archbishopric was vacant, and, under the circumstances, the sacred cannons prescribe, and prudence counsels, that no innovation be introduced.5 In the second place, the opinion of the ordinary ecclesiastical authority (autoridad ordinaria ecclesiastica) was not heard in this particular case, although here the practice is to have voluminous reports even in cases of much less importance. And, in the third place, it was known

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21, 1861, and promulgated regulations for putting the decree into execution. According to these regulations, the inauguration of the new government in Mindanao was to take place April 1st, 1861.

4 - The Recollect Order filed vigorous protests, both in Manila and in Madrid, against the Royal Decree of July 30, 1859, especially against that provision of it which transferred to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus the Recollect missions and doctrinas in Mindanao. The Provincial of the Order in Manila sent a long memorial to Governor Lemery, who was then Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, in which he set forth, among other things, the accomplishments of the Recollects in Mindanao since the year 1622, and the advisability, in the interest of the country and of the Catholic religion, of their continuing in their posts in Mindanao, in view of their fitness for the task of evangelizing that region, by reason of their knowledge of its conditions and of the language, customs and usages of its inhabitants. The Government, considering the protest of the Recollects well-founded, made a recommendation, to the effect that the Recollects be "compensated" for their loss of the Mindanao missions and doctrinas with curacies in the Archbishopric of Manila administered by the native clergy. The recommendation was accepted by Her Majesty's Government and embodied in the famous Decree of September 10, 1861. (See Montero y Vidal, op. cit., vol. 3).

5 - The predecessor of Archbishop Martinez was Rev. Fr. Aranguren, who died April 18, 1862. Pending the arrival

that the ecclesiastic appointed to the Diocese of Manila was not familiar with the anomalous condition of the ecclesiastical administration of the Philippines, or with the customs and usages of the people (circumstances which would impel him to renounce the post and which he had to disregard only because of strong representations made to him), and that, therefore, it must take him some time before he could remonstrate with full knowledge of the facts. These circumstances are brought to the impartial judgment of Your Excellency.

When the undersigned took possession of the Archbishopric towards the end of May, 1862, he found the native clergy deeply aroused, and he was strongly urged to ask for the repeal of the Order of September 10, 1861. He did not allow himself to be influenced, either by insistence or by requests, but, on the contrary, fully convinced then that the Central Government had strong and solid reasons for taking a step of such importance, he decided to enforce it as he has done, happily and completely. If he courteously opposed the adjudication to the Recollect Fathers of the curacy of Antipolo, it was because he considered that their exaggerated claim was not warranted by the Royal Order; and he could not have been in error in his decision for the Council of State was in accord with him, as may be seen from the Royal Order of May 19 which used the formula, "Heard in the Council of State," which simply indicates a decision contrary to their advice. Moreover, after a long residence in the country, with some knowledge of the ecclesiastical condition and administration, and of persons and things, the undersigned now sees with greater clearness that the complaints of the native priests are not without foundation; that it is necessary to have the Royal Order of September 10, 1861, conform to the rules of justice and equity; and that a consideration of its results leads one to conclude that it does not wholly conform to the requirements of a wise policy. These considerations will be discussed briefly.

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of Archbishop Martinez, who was appointed successor of Archbishop Aranguren, the archbishopric was governed by Dr. Pedro Pelaez. The Ecclesiastical Cabildo appointed him Vicario capitular, sede vacante to govern the vacant see.

The Supreme Government was within its rights in entrusting to the well-known zeal of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus the administration of the curacies and missions of Mindanao. In this respect it is authorized by the laws governing the Royal Patronage as found in the Laws of the Indias. It is also worthy of praise the effort to reward the services of the Recollect Fathers and to grant them some compensation for the loss of their religious establishments in Mindanao, for, although many of these were created by the early Jesuits, the former have long been administering them and have become sole possessors by right of prescription. But, if the fact had also been considered that the native priests who, in all vicissitudes, have always remained faithful subjects of Spain, deserve as much recognition, and that as coadjutors in the parochial ministry they shoulder the hardest part of the work, -- no action would have been taken tending to aggrieve a class so meritorious, just to compensate another class, and that a more gentle and equitable means could have been used to satisfy the needs of the Government. The Diocese of Cebu itself, within whose jurisdiction the whole Island of Mindanao was included, would hardly have offered any difficulty, as, in conformity to equity, parishes belonging to other regulars would not be offered in compensation to the Recollects, to whom formerly all the curacies of the Island of Negros, belonging to the secular clergy, were ceded because of lack of secular priests.

The number of parishes in the above-mentioned Diocese was two hundred and thirty-seven, of which forty-seven belonged to the secular clergy. The poor condition of its seminary, the lack of professors and the ignorance of the Spanish language, the knowledge of which was indispensable in the study of Latin and moral theology, not only hindered the formation of a competent body of priests for the management of the curacies in question, but also prevented the advancement of those who, as coadjutors, help the curates in the administration of the sacraments and the care of the sick. That Seminary justly deserves being considered a college, because the natives go to it for the purpose of studying the Spanish language, and most of them leave school as soon as they acquire a smattering of that language. It is enough to say that there were, as there still are at present, within the old jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Cebu, towns where the

barrios are so distant from one another and where the spiritual administration of a population of sixteen thousand or more souls rest with a lone religious, who usually is far advanced in years. In such a case, there is no doubt but that its zealous prelate would have welcomed the assistance of twenty-seven religious who would take charge of that number of curacies, as that would have obviously improved the parochial administration, and still there would remain twenty-one parishes with which to reward those coadjutors who, by their virtue, knowledge and industry, distinguish themselves among their scanty number.

While it lacks the personal necessary to attend to all the spiritual necessities of the faithful, the present staff being hardly sufficient to attend under ordinary circumstances to more urgent cases, the archbishopric of Manila is just the opposite of the Bishopric of Cebu. In the Archbishopric, there were at the time one million four hundred thousand inhabitants with one hundred ninety-one parishes served by both clergies. With the deductions from the number of curacies belonging to the native clergy by virtue of the Real Cedula of 1826, of those which were to be delivered to the Recollects and the Dominicans under the Royal Order of 1849, as well as of the twenty-seven with which, according to the Order of September 10, 1861, the Recollects are to be compensated for the delivery to the Jesuits of their curacies in Mindanao, there would remain only twelve parishes with which to reward deserving coadjutors. The priests of this class are, compared to those of Cebu, very numerous. There is not a single curacy, out of every four, having a population of at least four thousand, that does not have a coadjutor, while larger ones have a correspondingly larger number; for example, those having at least eight thousand have two; those having at least twelve thousand, three; and so on up to Taal which has seven coadjutors.6 But let us continue the

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6 - It is interesting to note in this connection the following figures, from the Diccionario Geografico-Estadistico-Historico de Filipinas by Buceta y Bravo, regarding the curacies of the Philippines about the middle of the nineteenth century. These figures are given in the appen-

comparison:

> If, in Cebu, there are few that understand the Spanish language, there are many that speak it in Manila and in the neighboring provinces; and in contrast to the poverty of the seminary in the former, there are in the latter the University of Sto. Tomás, the College of San Juan de Letran and the College of San José, where numerous students are studying Latin, philosophy, theology, sacred canons. Nor should I fail to mention here the Seminary of San Carlos, although, on account of the difficulties mentioned in a separate memorial, it is not up to the standard demanded by the importance of the capital of the Archipelago, which is reduced and maintained for Spain principally by the ties of religion. Do not the foregoing considerations require that the Recollects be compensated with curacies in the Diocese of Cebu and not with those of Manila?

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dix to the Diccionario. They are reproduced in B. & R., vol. 28.

> In the Archbishopric of Manila, there were 185 curacies, of which 111 were held by regulars and 62 by seculars.
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> In the Bishopric of Cebu, of the 170 curacies in the diocese, 112 were served by regulars and 56 by seculars.
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> In the Bishopric of Nueva Caceres, there were 103 curacies, 34 of which were administered by regulars and 54 by seculars.
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> In the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia there were 124 curacies, 80 of which were under regulars and 20 under seculars.
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> There were, therefore, 562 curacies in the Philippines about the middle of the nineteen century, of which 337 were served by regular priests and 192 by secular priests.

In 1870, according to Le Roy, the number of Philippine curacies was 792, of which 611 were administered by regular priests and 181 by secular priests, almost all of whom being Filipinos. (Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. I, p. 60.)

Nor does the spirit which inspired the Royal Order of September 10, 1861, appear to be in conformity with justice and equity, judging from the comparison made by the native priests of the missions and curacies surrendered by the Recollects with whose which they receive in return in this Archbishopric. If Your Excellency will have the goodness to note the accompanying statements, I am sure you will agree with them, and, with them also will observe, that if to the word indemnity, which signifies reparation for damages incurred, is given the broader meaning which the results imply, there would be many who would want to sustain some damage just to receive tenfold the value of their loss. It is to be noted that while the curacy of Antipolo has a small population, such is the devotion of the people to the Virgin that is venerated there, so great is the attendance during the month of May to this famous sanctuary, and so numerous and valuable are the gifts offered in the masses, that it has become known as the pearl of the Philippine curacies, as one of the most fertile curacies in the whole Archipelago.[7] It is not surprising, therefore, that

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7 - Montero y Vidal, op. cit., writing about the Antipolo episode, says:

> The curacy of Antipolo, in the district of Morong, is known to be one of the richest curacies in the Philippines, because of the crowded pilgrimage which every year takes place in that sanctuary, and because of the offerings, alms, masses, consumption of tallow candle, sale of scapularies, etc., etc., which pilgrims make during the novena.
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> The curate of this town died, and the capitular vicar, sede vacante, appointed temporarily D. Francisco Campmas, a native priest, January 13, 1862.
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> The Provincial of the Recollect Order, considering that, under the Royal Decree of September 10, 1861, Antipolo properly belonged to the Recollect Order, submitted three names of members of his Order for appointment to the curacies of Mainit and Antipolo.. Of these, Fr. Francisco Villas was appointed to the latter place July 24, 1862. But the Government, having been advised by the ecclesiastical Cabildo that the question of whether Antipolo

the native priests should deeply feel its loss, nor are they wanting in reason in claiming that the Royal Order of May 19, 1864, is not in conformity with that of September 10, 1861.

In addition to the facts herein set forth, which have served to create and to foment the animosity and antagonism of the secular clergy against the regular clergy, mention may be made of another so that your Excellency may have full understanding of the discontent of the native priests.

To fill the vacancy in the parish of San Rafael, province of Bulacan, caused by the death of the curate thereof, announcements were made for the holding of a competitive examination. The announcements remained posted up to February 17, a period of seventy days. The examination was held on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, the seventeen competitors being examined in accordance with the method prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV. The literary exercises were already terminated and the list of eligibles prepared which was presented to the

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properly belonged to the Recollects or not was still under consideration, annulled, by decree of August 9, 1862, the appointment made in favor of Fr. Villas. However, upon the receipt of the Royal Orders of June 20, and July 21, 1862, commanding full compliance with the Order of September 10, 1861, the Superior Government of the Islands, in a resolution of December 22, 1862, ordered the Provincial of the Recollects to present anew a list (terna) of candidates for appointment to the curacy of Antipolo.

The former list was resubmitted and Dr. Villas was again appointed. This man presented himself before the Archbishop to receive the colation and canonical institution, but the latter, after pronouncing the customary formula, conferred the title under protest, declaring that the question as to who should administer the curacy was going to be elevated for decision by the Government of Her Majesty.

The indignation of the Archbishop, the ecclesiastical Cabildo and the native priests knew no bounds, P. Campmas presented various expositions to prove his right to the curacy, while the members of the Cabildo, especially the ex-Vicar P. Pelaez, managed to win to their side the new Archbishop and the Bishops, Fr. Romualdo Ximeno, Bishop of Cebu, and Fr. Francisco Gainza, Bishop of Nueva Caceres, both of the regular clergy.

Vice Regal Patron on the second of March, but the day before that the Diocesan Prelate received a communication from the former, with a statement from the Provincial Vicar of the calced Agustinians that the curacy in question should be given to the Recollect Order. The undersigned immediately replied begging the Vice Royal Patron not to set aside the list of eligibles (la terna), on the ground that the secular clergy was in possession of the curacy, that the competitors have acquired a right to it by the holding of examination, and that the claim on the curacy had not been presented in due time. The Vice Regal Patron was given to understand that the action recommended by the undersigned be taken without prejudice to the consideration later of the question raised by the Reverend Vicar Provincial which relates to the ownership of the curacy. The request was, however, denied on the ground that that would be prejudging the question and would confuse the right of possession with that of ownership. He was made to see clearly his error, but he replied that the Vice-Regal Patron was not in the habit of changing a decision once made.

The question of ownership did not have better success. In the examination of the case there was cited the original canonical decree which created the curacy in 1744, upon the suggestion of the Vice Regal Patron, and in accordance with canonical regulations and the laws of the Indies. Likewise, there were presented the certificates of appointment of the chaplains who served in the curacy from the year of its erection to 1808, year after which, as the Provincial Vicar himself admits, the curacy has been filled by the Vice Regal Patron with secular priests, after due certification as a result of competitive examination. Against the canonical order just referred to which establishes an indisputable title, and against the allegation of continuous, peaceful, unequivocal and manifest possession for a period of one hundred and twenty-two years, the Provincial Vicar alleged that his Order claimed the curacy a few days after its creation, presenting in this connection two documents, which were answered by the Provincial of San Juan de Dios which owned the hacienda where San Rafael was located. During the long period of one hundred twenty-four years, the Order did not take the trouble to secure a definite settlement of its claim, perhaps

because in the beginning the curacy only had about eighty poor Indians, cow-herders and laborers, whereas now it has more than thirteen thousand souls.

He further alleged that inasmuch as the religious by the Real Cedula of July 8, 1826, had been restored to the curacies and doctrinas under the same conditions in which they were prior to the promulgation of the Real Cedula of December 11, 1776, which secularized these curacies, they had the right to the curacy of San Rafael, in view of the fact that this is located in a territory which had been granted to them. It should be noted, however, that this curacy could not have been secularized, inasmuch as it had always been secular since its foundation, and that the Royal Orders in question are not applicable to it (unless they be considered as having retroactive effect), for the reason that it was created thirty years before the promulgation of the Order of 1776.

With the presentation of a long and hazy brief by the Council of Administration in which these arguments and others of the weakest character were set forth, but which the Vice Regal Patron endorsed, the case was practically terminated. For, although the undersigned asked the Vice Regal Patron to lay the matter for decision before the Superior Government, together with the opinion of two attorneys which was officially placed on record, he failed to secure this point, and, out of respect to the highest authority of the Islands, whose prestige he has always tried to uphold, he refrained from taking any further action. This settlement of the matter produced a real scandal among the Filipino priests, and served to make still much bitter their disappointment over such great and repeated losses.

The origin of the opposition which everywhere the native priesthood encounters is the opinion which for some years has existed, that it would be an imprudent policy to allow native priests to take charge of the spiritual administration of certain parishes. However, those who entertain such an idea are absolutely ignorant of the real facts, and allow their imagination to wander freely in the realm of theories. It is certain that if the question of the ecclesiastical administration of the Philippine Archipelago were now to be ventilated anew, and that it were possi-

ble to bring here a sufficient number of ministers to attend to the spiritual needs of the populous parishes, there would hardly be one Spaniard of intelligence who would not think acceptable such an arrangement. But the question is not theoretical but eminently practical, and, before offering any solution it is necessary to take into consideration various serious difficulties involved. For example, considering the decline of religious fervor, can we count with a sufficient number of young men willing to abandon their country in order to minister to the spiritual needs of a people of a far away land, under hygienic conditions known to be poor? Would the Government agree to pay the expenses necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the colleges, professors, and students, as well as the transportation and other expenses of so many individuals from the Peninsula to the Philippines? And granting that this scheme were feasible, and leaving aside the actual situation, is there nothing to fear from the policy of keeping the native priests in a spirit of ever growing hostility?

Let any one place himself in their situation, and consider the series of measures which have been mentioned, and he can not fail to note that the enormous losses they have suffered and those which still menace them are sufficient causes to turn, in spite of their timidity, their former fidelity and respect for Spain into open hostility. Formerly they administered the curacies in the provinces of Zambales, Bataan, and Pampanga, of which they have been dispossessed, and, after resting in the belief that, with the return of these curacies, all causes for worry had disappeared, they received new and ruder blows which served to reopen and irritate old sores. It can not now be said that their resentment against the regulars is born of class hatred, to which their resentment has always been classed, as long as they attributed their ill fortune to the ambition and power of the religious corporations. Now that, in the face of clear evidences, they realize that the authorities are trying to support the unreasonable claims of the regulars, and that, in the opinion of the native priests themselves, the policy has been adopted of reducing them into nullity, they are going over the ancient barriers, are turning their eyes to a higher aim, and, what was before but a mere resentment

against the regulars, now assumes the character of an anti-Spanish sentiment. No longer do they hesitate to say that if the Anglo-Americans or the Englishmen ever take possession of the Philippine Archipelago, it is certain that they would receive better treatment than what they get from the Spaniards. Thus, Your Excellency, by trying to evade an imaginary danger, we are creating a real one.

It is easy to understand that, if the enforcement of the Royal Order of September 10th be insisted upon, there must elapse a period of time as long as that which elapsed from the year 1826 to the present for the delivery of the curacies to the regulars in accordance with the Real Cedula above referred to. It is also evident that, with the renewal of the resentment of the native priests every time they were dispossessed of a curacy, (as can be seen today from the effects produced by the loss of the curacy of Rosario of the province of Batangas, and of the curacy of Cavite, which are being turned over to the Recollects in return for the parish of Dapitan and the mission of Lubuagan, which the latter delivered to the Jesuits last July), their hearts are filled with bitterness and, far from being soothed, they become exasperated, seeing that they are abandoned to their fate while the influence of their opponents extends to all directions. It is, therefore, necessary to provide at once a remedy for their discontent and exasperation, for, if the unrest which the undersigned noticed upon his return from the Vatican Council should continue, the resentment of the Filipino priest would extend also to their parents, relatives, and the whole Filipino people, with whom they are in closer contact than are the regulars, with the result that the danger would assume a grave character. Your Excellency will readily see the expediency and the necessity of putting out this spark of fire which, by eventuality, may grow into a vast conflagration. Such a result may perhaps, serve the purposes of those interested in spreading vain fears. I say vain, for up to the present in spite of the minute investigations made to find justification for the charges brought lately against the secular clergy, no positive proof has been found.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the undersigned believes: that the Royal Order of September 10, together with its provisions affecting the

Archbishopric of Manila, be repealed, and that things be restored at once to their former status; that the missions and curacies in Mindanao that the Recollect Fathers surrendered to the Fathers of that Society of Jesus be compensated with curacies in the Diocese of Cebu and of Jaro, which was segregated in 1867, and that the number to be assigned to each Diocese be prorated according to the number of curacies served by native priests, so that the need of priests, which is felt in both, be supplied; and, lastly, that the former question, raised by the Provincial Vicar (now Procurator in that Court) of the calced Agustinians, regarding the ownership of the parish of San Rafael in the province of Bulacan, be referred to the ministry of Ultramar, and decided, after due examination, in accordance with justice, and not, as is the opinion of the Secular Clergy, with miscarriage of justice.

The undersigned humbly requests your Excellency to decide this question in the manner thus indicated, in the belief that, in this way, not only would the unrest be calmed, but that, also reenforced by the gratitude and the well-known fidelity of the Filipino secular priests, the bonds which unite this fertile Archipelago to our beloved Spain would be tightened more and more.

May the Lord prolong the life of Your Excellency and bestow upon you grace and wisdom for the good of the Catholic Religion and of our beloved country.

GREGORIO, ARCHBISHOP OF MANILA[8]

Manila, December 31, 1870.

TO THE REGENT OF THE KINGDOM.[9]

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8 - His full name was Gregorio Meliton Martinez y Santa Cruz. He took charge of the archbishopric of Manila on May 27, 1862.

9 - The Regent of Spain then was Marshal Serrano.

2. The Cavite Affair of 1872

Upon the inauguration of Amadeo as constitutional monarch in January, 1871, a new ministry was organized which included well known leaders of the Revolution of 1868. Constituting the new ministry were: Serrano, President; Martos, State; Ulloa, Justice; Sagasta, Interior; Berenguer, Navy; Monet, Finance; Zorrilla, Development; Lopez de Ayala, Colonies. It was this ministry that appointed Rafael de Izquierdo to succeed Governor de la Torre.

The Spanish view on the Cavite Affair is set forth by Montero y Vidal as follows:[1]

> With the establishment in Spain of a government less radical than the one that appointed La Torre, the latter was relieved from his post. His successor, D. Rafael de Izquierdo, assumed control of the government of these islands April 4, 1871. The most eventful episode in his rule was the Cavite revolt of 1872.

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1 - Op. cit., On the account by Montero y Vidal of the Cavite revolt of 1872, Dr. Pardo de Tavera comments as follows: (Biblioteca Filipina)

> In narrating the events of Cavite, Montero y Vidal does not speak as a historian; he speaks as a Spaniard who is bent on denaturalizing the facts at pleasure; he is extremely partial.
>
> On the same account, Le Roy makes the following observations: "Bibliographical Notes", B. & R., vol. 52, pp. 170-171.
>
> The usually sober and colorless Montero y Vidal becomes very rabid in his recital of the Cavite episode in the Philippine history and is very positive, not only in denouncing the priests who were executed and the deportees as guilty, but in proclaiming their movement as actually separatist in character. He ridicules at length the account of the Frenchman Plauchut in the Revue des deux mondes for 1877 but Plauchut, as well as Montero y Vidal himself, was resident in or near Manila at the time of the occurrences.

The abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the laborers of the Cavite arsenal of exemption from the tribute was, according to some, the cause of the insurrection. There were, however, other causes.

The Spanish revolution which overthrew a secular throne; the propaganda carried on by an unbridled press against monarchical principles, attentatory of the most sacred respects towards the dethroned majesty; the democratic and republican books and pamphlets; the speeches and preachings of the apostles of these new ideas in Spain; the outbursts of the American publicists and the criminal policy of the senseless Governor whom the Revolutionary government sent to govern the Philippines, and who put into practice these ideas were the determining circumstances which gave rise, among certain Filipinos, to the idea of attaining their independence. It was towards this goal that they started to work, with the powerful assistance of a certain section of the native clergy, who out of spite toward the friars, made common cause with the enemies of the mother country.

At various times but specially in the beginning of the year 1872, the authorities received anonymous communications with the information that a great uprising would break out against the Spaniards, the minute the fleet at Cavite left for the South, and that all would be assassinated, including the friars. But nobody gave importance to these notices. The conspiracy had been going on since the days of La Torre with utmost secrecy. At times, the principal leaders met either in the house of the Filipino Spaniard D. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, or in that of the native priest, Jacinto Zamora, and these meetings were usually attended by the curate of Bacoor (Cavite), the soul of the movement, whose energetic character and immense wealth enabled him to exercise a strong influence.

The garrison of Manila, composed mostly of native soldiers, were involved in this conspiracy, as well as a multitude of civilians. The plan was for the soldiers to assassinate their officers, the servants their masters, and the escort of the Captain General at Malacañang, to dispose of the governor himself. The friars and other Spaniards were later

to have their turn. The preconcerted signal among the conspirators of Cavite and Manila was the firing of rockets from the walls of the city. The details having been arranged, it was agreed that the uprising was to break out in the evening of the 20th of January, 1872. Various circumstances, however, which might well be considered as providential, upset the plans, and made the conspiracy a signal failure.

In the district of Sampaloc the fiesta of the patron saint, the Virgin of Loreto, was being celebrated with pomp and splendor. On the night of the 20th, fireworks were displayed and rockets fired into the air. Those in Cavite mistook these for the signal to revolt, and at nine-thirty in the evening of that day two hundred native soldiers under the leadership of Sergeant La Madrid rose up in arms, assassinated the commander of the fort and wounded his wife.

The military governor of Cavite, D. Fernando Rojas, despatched two Spaniards to inform the Manila authorities of the uprising but they were met on the way by a group of natives, belonging to the Guias established by La Torre, who put them instantly to death. At about the same time, an employee of the arsenal, D. Domingo Mijares, left Cavite in a war vessel for Manila, arriving there at midnight. He informed the commandant of Marine of what had occurred, and this official immediately relayed the news to Governor Izquierdo.

Early the next morning two regiments, under the command of D. Felipe Ginoves, segundo cabo, left for Cavite on board the merchant vessels Filipino, Manila, Isabela I and Isabella II. Ginoves demanded rendition and waited the whole day of the 21st for the rebels to surrender, without ordering the assault of their position in order to avoid unnecessary shedding of blood. After waiting a whole day in vain for the rendition of the rebels, Ginoves launched an assault against the latter's position, early in the morning of the 22nd, putting to the sword the majority of the rebels and making prisoners of the rest. On the same day an official proclamation announced the suppression of the revolt.

As a result of the declarations made by some of the prisoners in which several individuals were pointed out as instigators, Don Jose Burgos and D. Jacinto Zamora, curates of the Cathedral, D. Feliciano Gomez, curate of Bacoor (Cavite), several other Filipino priests, D. Antonio Maria Regidor, lawyer and Regidor of the Ayuntamiento, D. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Consejero de Administración, Pedro Carillo, Gervasio Sanchez and Jose Mauricio de Leon, lawyer Enrique Paraiso and Jose and Pio Basa, employees, and Crisanto Reyes, Maximo Paterno and several other Filipinos, were arrested.

The council of war, which from the beginning took charge of the causes in connection with the Cavite uprising, passed the sentence of death on forty one of the rebels. On the 27th of January the Captain-General affixed his "cumplase" on the sentence. On the 6th of the following month, eleven more were sentenced to death, but the Governor General, by decree of the day following, commuted this sentence to life imprisonment. On the 8th, the sentence of death was pronounced on Camerino and ten years imprisonment on eleven individuals of the famous "Guias de la Torre," for the assassination of the Spaniards who, on the night of January 20th, were sent to Manila to carry news of the uprising.

The same council of the 15th of February, sentenced to die by strangulation the Filipino priests,[2]

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2 - Antonio Regidor makes the following declaration on the trial of P. Burgos: (Quoted by Artigas, Los Sucesos de 1872, pp. 134-135:

> The counsellors for the defense read their concise briefs, but the lawyer for P. Burgos (Jose Arrieta) limited himself to requesting pardon for his client, intimating that it was impossible to save him by some other way, inasmuch as Burgos was by confession guilty.
>
> Burgos was surprised on hearing his lawyer declare in such manner, and unable to restrain himself, he stood up facing the council of war, and said: "I have not confessed any guilt and I am not guilty; that is not my defense; that gentleman has changed it. I deny all the charges against me. They have no foundation in fact or in law."

D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora and D. Mariano Gomez, and Francisco Saldua; and Maximo Inocencio, Enrique Paraiso and Crisanto de los Reyes to ten years imprisonment. Early in the morning of the seventeenth of February, an immense multitude appeared on the field of Bagumbayan to witness the execution of the sentence. The attending force was composed of Filipino troops, and the batteries of the fort were aimed at the place of execution, ready to fire upon the least sign of uprising. Gomez was executed first, then Zamora, then Burgos, and lastly, Saldua.

On the 3rd of April, 1872, the Audiencia suspended from the practice of law the following men: D. Jose Basa y Enriquez, D. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, D. Antonio Regidor, D. Pedro Carillo, D. Gervasio Sanchez and D. Jose Mauricio de Leon.[3]

Izquierdo had requested the sending to Manila of Spanish troops for the defense of the fort as most of those found here were natives. In pursuance of Izquierdo's request, the government, by decree of April 4, 1872, dissolved the native regiment of artillery and ordered the creation of an artillery force to be composed exclusively of Peninsulars. The latter arrived in Manila in July, 1872. On the occasion of the arrival of the troops, the Sto. Domingo Church celebrated a special mass at which high officials of the Government, the religious corporations, and the general public, attended, upon invitation by the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

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3 - These and several others were sentenced by a Council of War to imprisonment at the Marianas Islands. Some of them, like Regidor and Pardo de Tavera, succeeded in escaping from these islands on board an American boat, which brought them to Hongkong.

b. The Filipino View of the Cavite Affair[4]

A petition submitted by a group of Filipinos in 1888 dealt with the Cavite affair. It represents the Filipino viewpoint on the character and background of that incident.

> The famous question of the secularization of the curacies over which there had been a great deal of controversy between the Filipino and the regular clergy was raging. The Filipino priests led by Dr. Jose Burgos sustained the respectability of the Council of Trent which had ruled that the friars were absolutely forbidden to hold curacies, and, at the same time, declared extinguished the privileges conceded by Pius V and other Popes in favor of the regulars to hold curacies while there was lack of secular priests.
>
> The great number of seculars in the country, with the circumstance that the opening of the Suez Canal made it easy for secular priests in the Peninsula to come to the Philippines, constituted a convincing argument against the privilege of the regulars.
>
> The friars waged a vigorous campaign of opposition against this pretension; they accused the native priests of incapacity for the duties of the ministry, and referred to them as intellectual pigmies, whose origin could be traced to the monkey.
>
> As if these were not sufficient to preserve their privilege, they popularized the idea that the friar was a necessity in the Philippines, not so much for the needs of the Catholic faith, nor for the preaching of the Gospel, as for the maintenance of the national integrity.
>
> Just then the Cavite incident occurred. A few soldiers mutinied in that fort; and on the arrival of the general second in command, who came on a merchant ship, the rebellion was suffocated. The church bells of Sto. Domingo, S. Agustin, and others

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4 - Appendix IX in M. H. del Pilar, La Soberania Monacal.

rang in delirium over the success of the Spanish arms, and later three secular priests ascended the scaffold, while other priests, merchants, and lawyers went to exile.

These were tried by a military court; the judicial authority did not intervene, not even to raise the question of jurisdiction. These circumstances show that the incident was simply one of military insubordination and did not come up to the category of a political crime.

c. The Cavite Affair According to Dr. Tavera.[5]

The arrival of General Izquierdo (1871-1873) was the signal for a complete change in the aspect of affairs. The new governor soon made clear that his views were different from those of La Torre -- that there would be no change in the established form of government---and he at once announced that he intended to govern the people with "a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other." His first official act was to prohibit the founding of a school of arts and trades, which was being organized by the efforts and funds raised by natives of standing in the community, but the founding of which did not tally with the views of the religious orders. Governor Izquierdo believed that the establishment of the new school was merely a pretext for the organization of a political club, and he not only did not allow it to be opened but made a public statement accusing the Filipinos who had charge of the movement. All of those who had offered their support to ex-Governor La Torre were classed as personas sospechosas (suspects), a term that since that time has been used in the Philippin Islands to designate any person who refused to servilely obey the wishes and whims of the authorities. The conservative element in the islands now directed the government policy, and the educated Filipinos fell more and more under the displeasure and suspicion of the governor.

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5 - "Historical Account of the Philippines," Census of 1903, Vol. 1, pp. 376-380.

The peace of the colony was broken by a certain incident, which, though unimportant in itself, was probably the origin of the political agitation which, constantly growing for thirty years culminated in the overthrow of the Spanish sovereignty in the Philippine Islands. From time immemorial the workmen in the arsenal at Cavite and in the barracks of the artillery and engineer corps had been exempt from the payment of the tribute tax and from obligation to work certain days each year on public improvements. General Izquierdo believed the time opportune for abolishing these privileges and ordered that in future all such workmen should pay tribute and labor on public improvements. This produced great dissatisfaction among the workers affected and the men employed in the arsenal at Cavite went on a strike, but, yielding to pressure and threats made by the authorities, they subsequently returned to their labors.

The workmen in the Cavite arsenal were all natives of that town and of the neighboring town of San Roque. In a short while the dissatisfaction and discontent with the government spread all over that section and even the native troops became dissatisfied. On the night of January 20, 1872, there was an uprising among the soldiers in the San Felipe fort, in Cavite, and the commanding officer and other Spanish officers in charge of the fort were assassinated. Forty marines attached to the arsenal and 22 artillerymen under Sergeant La Madrid took part in this uprising, and it was believed that the entire garrison in Cavite was disaffected and probably implicated. But if the few soldiers who precipitated the attack believed they would be supported by the bulk of the army and that a general rebellion against Spain would be declared in the islands they were deceived. When the news of the uprising was received in Manila, General Izquierdo sent the commanding general to Cavite, who reenforced the native troops, took possession of the fort, and put the rebels to the sword. Sergeant La Madrid had been blinded and badly bumped by the explosion of a sack of powder and, being unable to escape, was also cut down. A few of the rebels were captured and taken to Manila and there was no further disturbance of the peace or insubordination of any kind.

This uprising among the soldiers in Cavite was used as a powerful lever by the Spanish residents and by the friars. During the time that General La Torre was chief executive in the Philippine Islands the influential Filipinos did not hesitate to announce their hostility to the religious orders, and the Central Government in Madrid had announced its intention to deprive the friars in these islands of all powers of intervention in matters of civil government and of the direction and management of the university. Moret, the colonial minister, had drawn up a scheme of reform by which he proposed to make a radical change in the colonial system of government, which was to harmonize with the principles to which the revolution in Spain had been fought. It was due to these facts and promises that the Filipinos had great hopes of an improvement in the affairs of their country, while the friars, on the other hand, feared that their power in the colony would soon be completely a thing of the past.

The mutiny in Cavite gave the conservative element -- that is, those who favored a continuation of the colonial modus vivendi -- an opportunity to represent to the Spanish Government that a vast conspiracy was afoot and organized throughout the archipelago with the object of destroying the Spanish sovereignty. They stated that the Spanish Government in Madrid was to blame for the propagation of pernicious doctrines and for the hopes that had been held out from Madrid to the Filipino people, and also because of the leanings of Ex-Governor La Torre and of other public functionaries who had been sent to the Philippine Islands by the Government that succeeded Queen Isabela. The fall of the new rulers in Spain within a few days, as well as other occurrences, seemed to accentuate the claims made by the conservative element in the Philippine Islands regarding the peril which threatened Spanish sovereignty in the islands; it appeared as though the prophecies were about to be fulfilled. The Madrid authorities were not able to combat public opinion in the country; no opportunity was given nor time taken to make a thorough investigation of the real facts or extent of the alleged revolution; the conservative element in the Philippine Islands painted the local condition of affairs in somber tints; and the Madrid Government came to believe, or at least to suspect, that

a scheme was being conducted throughout the islands to shake off Spanish sovereignty. Consistent with the precedents of their colonial rule, the repressive measures adopted to quell the supposed insurrection were strict and sudden. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain whether or not the innocent suffered with the guilty, and the only end sought appeared to be to inspire terror in the minds of all by making examples of a certain number, so that none in the future should attempt, nor even dream of any attempt at secession.

Many of the best known Filipinos were denounced to the military authorities, and they, the sons of Spaniards born in the islands and men of mixed blood (Spanish and Chinese), as well as Indians of pure blood, as the Philippine Malays were called, were persecuted and punished without distinction by the military authorities. Those who dared to oppose themselves to the friars were punished with special severity; among others may be mentioned the priests Burgos, a half-blood Spaniard, Zamora, a half-blood Chinaman, and Gomez, a pure-blood Tagalog, who had vigorously opposed the friars in the litigation over the curacies in the various provinces. The three priests mentioned were condemned to death by a military court-martial; and Antonio M. Regidor, a lawyer and councilman of Manila, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, lawyer and member of the administrative council, P. Mendoza, curate of Santa Cruz, Guevara, curate of Quiapo, the priests Mariano Sevilla, Feliciano Gomez, Ballesteros, Jose Basa, the lawyers Carillo, Basa Enriquez, Crisanto Reyes, Maximo Paterno, and many others were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Marianas Islands.[6] The Government thus secured its object of terrorizing the Filipino people, but the

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6- In Madrid, appeals were made to the Spanish Government on behalf of some of these persons. On July 23, 1872, a petition drawn up by Manuel Silvela was presented to the King on behalf of Antonio M. Regidor. On March 6, 1873, Manuel Regidor, submitted a petition, prepared by Rafael M. de Labra, asking for a review of the proceedings against Father Agustin Mendoza. A similar action was taken on the same date by Francisco Salmeron on behalf of Joaquin Pardo de Tavera. On March 8, 1873, Manuel Regidor appeared before

punishments meted out where not only unjust but were from every point of view unnecessary, as there had not been the remotest intention on the part of anyone to overthrow the Spanish sovereignty. On the contrary, the attitude of Moret, Labra, Becerra, and other high officials in the Madrid Government had awakened in the breasts of the Filipinos a lively friendship for the home government, and never had the ties which bound the colony to Spain been so close as they were during the short interval between the arrival of General La Torre and the time when General Izquierdo, in the name of the home government, was guilty of atrocities mentioned above, of which innocent men were made victims.

A careful study of the history and documents of that time brings to light the part which the religious orders played in that said drama. One of the results of the so-called revolution of Cavite was to strengthen the power of the friars in the Philippine Islands in such manner that the Madrid Government, which up to that time had contemplated reducing the power of the religious orders in these islands, was obliged not only to abandon its intention, but to place a yet greater measure of official influence at the service of the friars, and from that time they were considered as an important factor in the preservation of the Spanish sovereignty in the colony. This influence was felt throughout the islands, and not only were the friars taken into the confidence of the Government, but the Filipino people looked upon the religious orders as their real masters and as the representatives, powerful and unsparing, of the Spanish Kingdom.

But there were other results following upon the unfortunate policy adopted by Governor Izquierdo. Up to that time there had been no intention of secession from Spain, and the only aspiration of the people was to secure the material and educational advancement of the country. The Filipino people had never blamed the Spanish nation for the backward condition in which the

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the Supreme Council of War on behalf of Maximo Paterno.

The documents relating to these cases are cited by W. Retana in his Aparato Bibliografico..., vol. 2, numbers 1374, 1384, 1392, and 1400.

islands existed, nor for the injustices committed in the islands by the Spanish officials; but on the contrary, it was the custom to lay all the blame for these things on the individual officers guilty of maladministration, and no attempt had been made to investigate whether or not the evils under which the islands suffered were due to fundamental causes. The persecutions which began under Governor Izquierdo were based on the false assumption that the Filipino people were desirous of independence, and although this was unfounded accusation, there were many martyrs to the cause, among whom were found many of the most intelligent and well-to-do people, without distinction of color or race or nationality, who were sentenced to death, to imprisonment, or were expatriated because they were believed to aspire to the independence of these islands. The fear which the people felt of the friars and of the punishment meted out by the Government was exceeded only by the admiration which the Filipino people had for those who did not hesitate to stand up for the rights of the country. In this manner the persecutions to which the people were subjected served as a stimulus and an educative force, and from that time the rebellion was nursed in secret and the passive resistance to the abuses of the official power became greater day by day.

No attempt was made to allay the ill feeling which existed between the Filipinos and the Spaniards, especially the friars, caused by the mutiny in Cavite and the cruel manner in which the punishment was meted out. Many years would have been necessary to heal the wounds felt by the large number of families whose members were made the victims of the unjust sentences of the military courts-martial. Nothing was done by the Government to blot out the recollection of these actions; on the contrary, it appeared to be its policy to continually bring up the memory of these occurrences, as a reminder to the malcontents of what they had to expect; but the only thing accomplished was to increase the popular discontent. It was from that time that every disagreement between the Spaniards and Filipinos, however, trivial, was given a racial or political character; every time a friar was insulted or injured in any way, it was claimed to be an act of hostility to the Spanish nation.

PART FIVE

THE LAST YEARS OF SPANISH RULE

CHAPTER ONE

SPAIN, 1871--1898

Amadeo's installation in 1871 brought to Spain a new dynasty, the House of Savoy. The Savoy dynasty, however, was of short duration (1871-1873).

The leaders of the Revolution of 1868, in offering to Amadeo the Spanish Crown, cherished the hope that his regime would bring internal peace and tranquility to Spain. They were due for a painful disillusionment. The country continued to suffer from its chronic ills - local uprisings, factional rivalries, bitter party strife. It would seem that the Spanish people had lost the moral qualities that, in an earlier age, had made them a great nation. The internal situation throughout the reign of Amadeo reflected a sad lack of self restraint, national discipline and the spirit of compromise. A noted Spanish writer, Jose Ma. de Pereda, expressed the view and feeling of many a thoughtful Spaniard of his time as to what was wrong with the Spanish people when he said: "We are an ungovernable people."1

Amadeo accepted the Spanish throne moved by a sincere desire to help bring to Spain the blessings of peace. Forces and circumstances, however, beyond his control frustrated his efforts. His elevation to the throne did not meet with favor among many Spaniards. He was looked upon with distrust, as an alien who did not deserve the loyalty, affection, and devotion of the Spanish people. The Spanish Republicans were hostile towards him. The followers of Alfonso were actively engaged in revolutionary propaganda against him. The Carlists were active as ever in their efforts to elevate Carlos to the Spanish throne.

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1 - Quoted by Sedgwick, Spain, A Short History of Its Politics, Literature, and Art. Little, Brown, & Company, 1826.

The governmental system established by the Constitution of 1869 was admirable in many ways. But in the conditions then existing, it could not function efficiently and satisfactorily. The leaders of the Revolution of 1868 could not agree among themselves as to how to deal with national problems. During Amadeo's first year on the throne, four different ministers held the reins of power - Serrano, Ruiz Zorilla, Malcampo and Sagasta.

Amadeo's second year on the throne saw many unpleasant incidents for him. In April, 1872, the Carlists again rose in revolt. Their campaign cry was, "Down with the stranger! Long live Spain!" Sagasta, who was at the head of the government, was constrained to resign and Serrano again assumed the post of prime minister. Towards the end of the year, the Carlist war assumed serious proportions. The safety of the royal family was in jeopardy. In fact an attempt was made on the life of the Queen

Disgusted with the situation, Amadeo decided to abdicate. In February, 1873, he formally tendered to the Cortes his resignation as King of Spain. Amadeo's formal declaration of abdication read in part as follows:[1]

> TO CONGRESS: Great was the honor which I owe the Spanish Nation for electing me to occupy her Throne, an honor so much more appreciated by me, as it was offered to me at a time when the country was faced with difficulties and dangers and torn by internal strife.
>
> Encouraged, however, by the spirit of determination which characterizes my own race, which seeks rather than evades danger, and decided to place myself at the service of the country, above the conflicts of political parties, I resolved to carry out faithfully the oath I took before the Constitutional Cortes, and to make any sacrifice to give this brave Nation the peace that she sorely needs, the freedom that she deserves, and the greatness to which, by reason of her glorious history and the virtues and steadfastness of her sons, she is duly entitled. I expected that the short experience I had in giving orders supplemented by my loyalty to duty, would find a strong support and sympathy from all those Spaniards who loved their

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1 - Rubio, op. cit. (Appendix).

country and were desirous of putting an end to the bloody and useless struggles that for a long time have undermined the nation's welfare.

I must say that my expectations have not been fulfilled. For two long years since I obtained the Spanish Crown, Spain has been in constant conflict, the era of peace and happiness that I do ardently desire receding farther every day. If the enemies of her happiness were foreigners, then at the head of these brave and long-suffering people, I would be the first one to fight them. But all those who, with the sword, the pen, and the spoken word, aggravate and perpetuate the evils of the Nation, are Spaniards themselves. All invoke the sweet name of country, all fight and act supposedly for her well-being. And in the heat of combat, in the confused, thunderous and conflicting clamors of the factions, among so many opposing manifestations of public opinion, it is impossible to guess the true will and desires of the Nation and even more difficult to find a remedy for the Nation's ills.

I looked for it avidly within the law, and I failed to find it. Outside of the law, I dared not seek that which promised relief.

Nobody will attribute my resolution to weakness of spirit. No danger could lead me to renounce the Crown if I believed that I carried it for the good of the Spanish people. Nor has has my thought been disturbed by the attempt on the life of my beloved wife, who, at this solemn moment, declares with me her earnest desire that the authors of that frustrated attempt be pardoned.

But I have now the most firm conviction that my efforts would be fruitless and my wishes will not be realized.

These are, Gentlemen of the Cortes, the reasons that impel me to return to the Nation, and, in her name to you, the Crown that the Nation has offered to me, renouncing it for myself, my children, and my successors.

> I wish to assure you that in relinquishing the Crown I do not intend to cast away my love for Spain. I only regret that it has not been possible for me to obtain for this lovable but unhappy Nation all the blessings that my loyal heart desired for her.
>
> AMADEO, Palace of Madrid, February 11, 1873.

Following the abdication of Amadeo, a republican form of government was established. The Republic was headed successively by Figueras, Pi y Margall, Salmeron, and Castelar. Early in January, 1874, General Manuel Pavia, in a golpe de estado, virtually put an end to the Republic. A succession of ministries acting under the control, supervision and protection of Pavia assumed the responsibility of governing the country. But the internal situation continued to deteriorate. Spain was fast heading towards chaos and anarchy.

In the closing days of 1874, General Martinez Campos, with the support of several army officers, issued a pronunciamiento proclaiming Alfonso King of Spain. The proclamation was received with popular approval and enthusiasm. Alfonso returned to Spain from France. In Madrid early in January, 1875, as Alfonso XII he was formally installed King of Spain.

That event signalized the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. The return of the Bourbon family had salutary effects on the internal situation of the country. For one thing, the Carlist war was brought to a close. Many of the Carlist leaders transferred their allegiance to Alfonso, thanks to the policy of attraction and conciliation which General Martinez Campos and other supporters of Alfonso adopted towards the Carlists. The political situation also changed for the better. The leaders of rival political groups showed greater willingness to work in a spirit of cooperation and harmony. Two of the leading statesmen of the Restoration, Canovas del Castillo, head of the liberal-conservative group, and Sagasta, chief of the liberal party, agreed to use their influence to protect and preserve the integrity of the Bourbon dynasty.

Alfonso's reign lasted from January, 1875, to November, 1885. It was marked by two notable events: (1) the adoption of a new constitution in 1876, and (2) the termi-

nation of the Cuban revolt in 1878.

The Constitution of 1876 was the work of the first Cortes of the Restoration. It embodied many of the ideas and principles of the Revolution of 1868. It established freedom of worship. It recognized the principle of individual liberty - freedom of expression, of peaceful assembly, of domicile. It proclaimed ministerial responsibility as a basic principle of government. No act, order or decree of the King was valid without the counter signature of a Minister responsible to the Cortes. The Bourbon dynasty was recognized as the ruling family in Spain. Succession to the throne was to be in accordance with the principle of primogeniture. Of particular interest to the colonies was the provision that "the provinces of the Ultramar shall be governed by special laws; but the Government may extend to the Ultramar, with such modification as it may deem convenient, giving due notice thereof to the Cortes, the laws promulgated or shall be promulgated for the Peninsula. Cuba and Porto Rico shall be represented in the Cortes of the Kingdom in the manner prescribed by a special law for each of the two provinces." Title XIII, Art. 89.

The Cuban uprising began at about the same time that the Revolution of 1868 broke out in Spain. The Cuban revolutionists, led by Cespedes, set up an independent government and waged war on the Spanish forces in Cuba. The colonial authorities, handicapped by internal troubles at home, were unable to deal effectively with the situation in Cuba. For ten years, the Cuban conflict continued with indecisive results. With the improvement of the internal situation following the Bourbon restoration, the Spanish Government was better prepared to reassert her authority in Cuba. In 1876, it sent to Cuba General Martinez Campos, the able general who took such a prominent part in the Restoration. Campos, using the same methods that he employed with great success towards the Carlists, won many of the Cuban revolutionists back to their allegiance to Spain. In June, 1878, Campos officially announced the termination of the ten year Cuban war.

Alfonso died in 1885. As no heir had been born at the time of his death, Maria Cristina, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, became Queen Regent.2

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2 - A male child was posthumously born on May 17, 1886. He subsequently ascended the throne as Alfonso XIII.

Canovas del Castillo and Sagasta, the outstanding political leaders at the time, realizing that Alfonso's death created a critical situation for Spain, agreed to cooperate, in the national interest, to preserve and protect the Bourbon dynasty. For this purpose, they entered into an agreement whereby they would take turns in managing the affairs of the country. Rotativism, as this arrangement came to be called, was designed to save Spain from the harmful effects of bitter political rivalries and conflicts.

Between 1885 and 1896, in accordance with their understanding, Canovas del Castillo and Sagasta alternated in holding the office of prime minister of Spain. Shortly after the proclamation of Cristina as Queen Regent, Canovas graciously tendered his resignation, supposedly to give the new sovereign freedom to choose new ministers. Cristina accepted the resignation and asked Sagasta to form a new ministry. The Sagasta ministry remained in power until July, 1890. Its successor was one headed by Canovas del Castillo. In December, 1892, Canovas Ministry fell from power. The Queen once more called upon Sagasta's liberal party to assume the responsibility of governing Spain. Sagasta's ministry held over until 1895. In March of that year, grave problems arose in the field of international relations as a result of which Sagasta tendered his resignation. Canovas del Castillo's liberal-conservative party once more was asked to take over the reins of government.[3]

The administration of the Canovas ministry was particularly significant to the Philippines. It was during this administration that the Katipunan movement assumed large proportions. Not long after this ministry came into power events occurred which precipitated the Philippine Revolution.[4]

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3 - Between 1885 and 1898, the governorship of the Philippines was held by the following: 1885-1888, Emilio Terrero; 1888-1891, Valeriano Weyler; 1891-1893, Eulogio Despujol; 1893-1896, Ramon Blanco; 1896-1897, Camilo Polavieja; 1897-1898, Fernando Primo de Rivera; 1898, Basilio Agustin; 1898-1899, Diego de los Rios.

4 - For a more detailed survey of Spanish history in the 19th century, see Butler Clark, Modern Spain; Salvador de Madariaga, Spain; Jose O. Rubio, op. cit.; George Sencourt, The Spanish Crown.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SPANISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1872-1898

The last decades of Spanish rule in the Philippines, the period of the short-lived Savoy dynasty, the equally short-lived Spanish Republic, the Bourbon Restoration, and the Regency of Queen Maria Cristina, saw the rise in the Philippines of a dynamic and militant nationalism. The frightful events of 1872 - the execution of Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, and the deportation of many prominent Filipinos, priests and laymen, for their alleged participation in the Cavite mutiny of that year, contributed strongly toward this result.

The nationalistic movement passed through two distinct stages. In its earlier stage, it took the form of a campaign through peaceful means for reforms and improvements in the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines. In its later stage, it assumed the character of a subversive movement having for its ultimate end the emancipation of the Philippines from Spain.

The Propaganda, as the earlier phase of the nationalistic movement is generally known, was a literary campaign conducted abroad, for the most part in Spain, through books, newspapers and other publications. Dr. José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and Mariano Ponce were the most prominent and active among those who carried on the campaign.

In their writings, the Filipino nationalists sought to bring to public attention the evils which afflicted the Philippines. They wanted to make known the defects of the Spanish colonial administration which contributed to make conditions in the Philippines what they were. Their aim, however, was not separatist. They were still strongly attached to Spain. They had not lost faith in the sense of justice and magnanimity of the Spanish people. They sincerely believed that, if duly and properly informed of the realities of the situation in their country, Spain would deal fairly and justly with the Filipinos.

Of the defects of the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines to which attention was called, the

one which was considered of vital and fundamental importance was the theocratic character of the administration. That was the focal point of interest. It related more specifically to the pervasive influence of the Spanish friar in the affairs of government. In the view of the Filipino nationalists, the friar played such a vital role as an instrument of Spanish domination that the government of the Philippines was truly and in actual practice a government of and by the friars, a sort of "frailocracy" or "friar sovereignty".

An idea of the character and scope of the participation of the friar curate in the affairs of government in the Philippines may be obtained from the statement made by Fr. Juan Villegas, superior of the Franciscan order, in the course of his testimony before the Philippine Commission in 1900. Fr. Villegas said in part as follows:1

> The following may be mentioned as among the principal duties or powers exercised by the parish priest: he was inspector of primary schools; president of the health board and board of charities; president of the board of urban taxation (this was established lately); inspector of taxation; previously he was the actual president, but lately honorary president, of the board of public works.
>
> He certified to the correctness of the cedulas-seeing that they conformed to the entries in the parish books. They did not have civil registration here and so they had to depend upon the books of the parish priest. These books were sent in for the purpose of the cedula taxation, but were not received by the authorities unless viseed by the priest.
>
> He was president of the board of statistics, because he was the only person who had any education. He was ask to do this work so that better results could be obtained. It was against the will of the parish priest to do this, but he could only do as he was told. If they refused, they were told that they were unpatriotic and not Span-

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1 -Senate Doc. No. 190, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 64.

iards. If they declined, they would have been removed from their charge. He was president of the census taking of the town.

Under the Spanish law every man had to be furnished with a certificate of character. If a man was imprisoned and he was from another town, they sent to that other town for his antecedents, and the court would examine whether they were good or bad. They would not be received, however, unless the parish priest had his visa on them. The priest also certified as to the civil status of persons.

Every year they drew lots for those who were to serve in the army, every fifth man drawn being taken. The parish priest would certify as to that man's condition.

The Filipino nationalists considered undue friar intervention in the affairs of administration as the root cause of all that was oppressive and despotic in the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines. Typical of the Filipino view of this phase of the Spanish colonial administration was that given by Justice Florentino Torres. Justice Torres belonged to the generation of Rizal, del Pilar and other prominent Propagandists. In the course of his testimony before the Philippine Commission in 1900, he said:[2]

The friars more or less intervened directly in the elections of the former and modern municipal officers. Their intervention and "O.K." were indispensable on all the reports which the governor and other authorities required of the former gobernadorcillos of the pueblos. Their personal report, verbal or written, made in a sense contrary to the report of the council of headmen and gobernadorcillos, was the general rule, and in the majority of cases it prevailed over the latter and was followed by the authorities because of the fact that the informant was a friar. That in view of this great paramountcy which jointly and almost unanimously the government and civil and

2 - Ibid.

military employees accorded to the friars, the gobernadorcillos, and other municipal officers of lower grade, to the end that they might always count upon the support of so important a personage, who could open and close the doors of Heaven, and who enjoyed near the authorities and functionaries of all grade and categories of decided and never-disputed influence, because behind the friar curate was the convent corporation, which as has been seen always whenever it was to the interest of the monastic order, accomplished the transfer or change of residence, the suspension or removal of any officer, civil or military, from the simple copyist or soldier to the captain-general of the islands as can be shown by many civil and military employees--among them the governor-general of these islands, Señores Despujols and Blanco--the said local authorities took no step, obeyed no superior orders, and did not perform the duties of theiroffice without previous advice, permission, or knowledge of the friar curate, since the protection of the latter sufficed at times to defy the anger of the governor of the province and paralize or evade the action of Justice. And, in order to shorten and close, I shall only make mention of the most important matters, that is, questions of treason or filibusterism, which has been the cause of so much bloodshed and of the committing of innumerable and incredible outrages and iniquities, thanks to the Spanish jingoistic patriotism, the friars occupying a preeminent place in the system of accusations, who arrogated to themselves the right to issue certificates of "Spanishism" or filibusterism in such a way that the most worthy and upright man who should merit the characterization of filibuster was lost and became the object of all manner of governmental actions, of military proceedings, and of the cruelest outrages and vexations, because against him who was accused of being a filibuster all manner of ill treatment, imprisonment, deportation, and even assassination was permitted. And the protection or good report of a friar sufficed for the most perverse and immoral resident to be considered the most ardent supporter of the Spanish cause and secure the best positions or the place of a local authority, even though he were the enemy of Spain to the very marrow of his bones.

> The foregoing facts are most certain and absolutely true, and I do not doubt that they will be confirmed by all Filipinos and individuals of other races who want to tell the truth and be rightly impartial.

In their campaign for reforms, the Filipino nationalists demanded, as a remedial measure, the removal of the Spanish friar curates from the parishes and their replacement with Filipino secular priests. Such arrangement, it was pointed out, not only would put into effect the rules laid down by the Council of Trent for the administration of parishes, but also would meet the legitimate needs and aspirations of the Filipinos.

The Spanish Government, however, was not disposed to accept such a solution to the problem. To that government, the question of secularization of the curacies was a matter of grave national concern, involving as it did the preservation of Spanish political integrity and sovereignty in the Philippines. The authorities in Spain were made to understand by reports coming from official and unofficial sources in the Philippines and in Spain herself that members of the Filipino clergy were active propagandists of nationalistic ideas. Many a Spaniard was led to believe, in the light of such reports, that the replacement of the Spanish friars with Filipino priests was unwise and undesirable from the standpoint of Spain's national interests. As a matter of national policy, therefore, the Spanish Government was constrained to retain the existing arrangement as regards the administration of the curacies. The Spanish friar was, accordingly, given such powers of intervention in local affairs as would enhance his usefulness and his capacity for service as a bulwark of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines.

Typical of the views of Spanish officials in the Philippines on the question of secularizing the Philippine curacies were those of Jimeno Agius, Intendant of Finance in the Philippines in the closing years of Spanish rule. Agius' ideas and recommendations appeared in his report, "Población y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas", (Madrid, 1884). In his report, Agius, commenting on an item relating to the number of Filipino priests existing in the Philippines in the year 1876, remarked as follows:[3]

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3 - Quoted by Retana in his "Notas" to the text of Zuñiga, Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, vol. 2. Retana ed.

The question that is raised by these figures[4] should not be treated lightly. Since it is of great importance, no opportunity should be wasted to bring to the attention of our government officials this matter, and this is what we are going to do, without having to reproduce all the documents that can be arrayed against the collation of sacerdotal orders in favor of the natives, because it would be difficult to do so. With the Cavite Revolt of 1872 still fresh in our minds, it is to be noted that the illustrious Governor, General Gandara,[5] had a promonition of such an event when, after proving that the native clerics do not possess the enlightenment and virtues indispensable for the discharge of their sacred ministry, said in a most interesting Memorial attributed to him: "When these conditions exist, will they have the patriotism of the religious orders? God grant that this class may not be a peril for Spain!"

In the same manner, Don Patricio de la Escosura remarked:[6]

The native ecclesiastics save very rare exceptions, are here, either as a disgrace for the clergy, or as a peril for the colony. On this point, as in everything, it is a painful obligation for me in my official capacity to tell the Government of His Majesty the naked truth as I see it, without considerations of any kind. I regret that my report should redound to the discredit of any class. I, therefore, weigh carefully what I have to say. But, since before everything else is the fulfillment of my duty, I shall try to comply with it at all costs in the firm belief that the Government will know how to make wise use of my frank observations.

I have said that the native ecclesiastics are, generally speaking, a disgrace to the clergy, and,

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4 - 748 native priests in the year 1876.

5 - October 21, 1866 - June 7, 1869.

6 - Memoria sobre Filipinas y Jolo. Madrid, 1882, Chapter 8. Escosura was formerly Royal Commissary in the Philippines. He also served as Minister of the Crown, and, at one time, was Spanish Ambassador in Berlin.

unfortunately, such is the truth. Among the majority of them, education does not penetrate deep enough to bring lasting effects. Their morality is characterized by those tendencies natural to Orientals; chastity among them is rare, extremely rare, and their unconquerable laziness, which is the dominant vice in this country, makes them unfit to discharge those pastoral functions, which require so much virtue, devotion, and diligence.

Add to this the fact that the people regard them or look upon them as mere individuals of their own race, who are accustomed to consider theirs as inferior to the European and subject to the latter, and one will readily understand why the coadjutors (to which category the natives generally belong) occupy the lowest position in the hierarchical order.

There are some, however, tho' very few, who excel among the multitude of native clerics whose minor defect is absolute incompetence; but those that excel seldom fail to become a danger to the colony.

For some reason or other, whenever a native cleric acquires distinction by his knowledge or by his activity, whenever he attains success in his career, whenever he shines in one way or another, the same moral phenomenon is invariably produced: public opinion regards such a person as an insurgent, and the discontented look for him and surround him, while the loyalists hold themselves aloof more or less openly, from his company.

The clerics, natives or "mestizos", together with the lawyers from this class, who surpass the level of their race by virtue of their professional attainments, can never equal the European, nor can they aspire, with probabilities of success, to the top positions in their respective professions. Situated thus in constant contact with the forbidden fruit, their ambition is naturally aroused and kindled, and since, as a general rule, the more they draw near the goal, the more insuperable they find the barrier that hinders them from reaching it, they fall into envious passion, acquire a spirit of systematic opposition to Spanish sovereign-

ty, and engage in a form of insurgency short of criminal disloyalty.

The consequence of such a state of things can easily be deduced; and the extent of its gravity is obvious, taking into consideration that, as the lawyers are, by privilege, the promoters of all the social interests of more importance, and the clerics direct religion, both classes have great influence over the Indians.

Many other observations of the same tenor on this matter could be referred to, but we shall content ourselves with reproducing the remarks of Don Sinibaldo de Mas in the chapter "Domestic Policy" of his book, Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842. My reason for doing this is that, because only few copies of said chapter have been printed on account of the confidential nature of the subjects treated therein, it is not so well known, in spite of the fact that the book of which it is a part is widely read. "It is necessary," says that illustrious writer, "that there should be a Spanish curate in each town. It is preferable to let a town stay without a minister than to place it under the charge of a Filipino cleric. Nothing can contribute more directly to the emancipation of the Philippines than the extension of sacerdotal orders to the natives. Some observe that they are incompetent and vicious, and, consequently, they do not command respect, nor hold influence, nor inspire fear. Moreover, if a Filipino cleric leads a dissolute life and even commits, as has happened already, atrocious crimes that lead him to the gallows, he does not thereby cease to be a priest. He degrades his class, and undermines the prestige and sanctity that surrounds the religious profession. And the idea that a Filipino need not cause alarm is belied by the recent events in Tayabas, where a simple lay-brother, young and without any personal prestige or background to make him venerable, aroused an entire town, raised an army of from three to four thousand men, leading to the point of shooting their own pastors, killing the governor of the province, and attacking the nation's troops in utter disregard of the admonitions of the Archbishop of Manila, and of the Spanish friars in the neighboring territories."7

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7 - This lay-brother was Apolinario de la Cruz.

As a continuation of his pointed remarks, Don Sinibaldo de Mas cites portions of a report of the Captain General (Rafael Maria de Aguilar) to the King, dated November 25, 1804, another from the Ayuntamiento of Manila, on July 12 of the same year, a letter of Father Gaspar de San Agustin, on June 8, 1725, on the consequences of putting the islands in the hands of the native clergy, and another exposition addressed to the King by the Captain General Don Pedro Sarrio. The latter said:[8]

> The experience of two centuries has shown that in all wars, insurrections and uprisings, the regular priests have had the major part in the pacification of the restless. It can be assured that in each European minister His Majesty has a sentinel that has under observation all the actions and movements of the natives and can inform this Government of all that happens. And on the contrary, as almost all the Spaniards live in Manila and its environs, if all the parishes were in the hands of the Indian clerics or Chinese mestizos, the Government would lack those channels through which important news could be transmitted with despatch and security. The fact that they are priests does not erase from them the memory of their subjugation, nor the natural affection for their countrymen. Although the benignity of the legislation should lighten the yoke of subjection, the little consideration that is given to this matter on the part of some people makes them feel that the load is really a heavy one. Granted that the clerics are not entirely against just subordination, still there is always the danger arising from their negligence in extinguishing the fire in its early stages, and in communicating to the officials the necessary reports that would enable the latter to apply the remedy on time. Of this we have a recent example in the event which occurred in the province of Bataan, in February of the current year, when the tobacco inspector and seventeen guards were killed. Two of the curates in the province had knowledge of the disorders and uprisings against the tobacco management and yet they did not give due notice thereof to the Archbishop or to the Government.

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8 - Sarrio served as Governor and Captain General on two occasions: 1776-1778, as successor of Simon de Anda y Salazar, and 1787-1788 as acting governor, pending the arrival of Felix Berenguer de Marquina.

For years, therefore, the danger has been shown, and sad happenings have fully justified those who have considered the native clergy as constituting an undesirable and dangerous element for the integrity of the motherland. What more is needed for the adoption of a radical plan in the case at hand? What considerations could oppose the definite closing of the professorships established in Manila for theology, and for their replacement by courses in agriculture, and navigation, commerce and industry, and the so-called schools of arts and trades, and of analogous studies, by means of which the youth of the land could provide themselves with a dignified subsistence, to the advantage of the Archipelago and at no danger to Spanish sovereignty?

Apolinario Mabini in his work, La Revolución Filipina, which he wrote while an exile in Guam, gives a brief survey of the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines as it existed in the closing years of the Spanish period. Following are portions of the fourth chapter of that work:

> The Philippines at that time was in a deplorable situation, from the political standpoint. As a mere possession of Spain, the islands did not enjoy the constitutional franchises, and so the King, through the Minister of Colonies as his responsible secretary, had united in his hands both the legislative and the executive powers.[9] Since he appointed, and removed,

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9 - In accordance with article 89 of the Spanish Constitution of 1876, the Philippines was governed by special laws. Supreme control of affairs relating to the government and administration of the Philippines was vested in the hands of the King in council. The official directly responsible was the Secretary of the Ultramar who decided by royal decrees all matters relating to justice, finance, government, development, etc., which did not require the sanction of the monarch. This official took advice from the Consejo de Filipinas (Council of the Philippines), the Junta Superior Consultiva de Camino, Canales y Puertos del Reyno, the Consejo Superior de Instrucción Pública (Superior Council of Public Instruction), and the Consejo de Estado (Council of State), which was the highest advisory body of the nation. Guia Oficial de Filipinas, 1894.

according to his will, the justices and judges, he was also the absolute chief of the judicial branch. The King was represented in the archipelago by the Governor-General of the Philippines, who was usually a military man with the army rank of lieutenant general or captain general.

The governor-general used his discretion, or dictatorial powers, to suspend the execution of orders issued by the Minister of the Colonies, whenever these, in his opinion, were hurtful to the tranquility of the Islands[10]; to deport any citizen or change his residence, no previous hearing of his defence being necessary; to prohibit the publication in, and entrance into, the archipelago of books, pamphlets and articles not approved by the censor; to search the homes and the mail, without judicial formalities; to prohibit private associations and meetings for political purposes, as well as the exercise of any religion other than the Roman Catholic, in short, to prohibit the exercise of such rights as, by nature and prior to all human law, belong to every citizen. The country then was treated constantly as if in a state of war, though a peace of three centuries reigned everywhere.

The governor-general was also captain general or commander-in-chief of the army in the Philippines. As Vice-Royal-Patron, he appointed the parish priests. He managed, though with greater independence and more ample faculties than those of a simple Secretary, by the superintendent-general of finance in the affairs of this department; by the director-general of the civil administration in whatever concerned police, public works, communications, agriculture, industry, commerce, mines, forests, public instruction, and the like; and by the General, who was second in command of the army, in military affairs. The

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10 - This discretionary power was exercised through the governor's specific order given in the form of the "cumplase" (let it be obeyed). Without such "cumplase", an order, law or decree was of no force or effect in the colony.

governor himself, with the aid of the secretary of the general government, dispatched all other business not falling to any of the enumerated departments.

To advise His Excellency on matters of great weight and importance, the Consejo de Administración (Administration Council) had been created and he was authorized to convene the Junta de Autoridades (Board of Authorities) formed by the aforesaid superior chiefs, with the general commander of the navy, the Archbishop of Manila and the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Manila.[11]

All the departments and provincial governments were staffed by peninsular Spaniards, by a personnel not acquainted with the country since it was relieved at every change of the Ministry. Those Filipinos were very rare who obtained places of commissioned officers in the army or became officials in the civil administration, or judges and attorneys. In the administration council, a few Filipinos, prominent rather by riches than for learning, appeared lately as voting members, but such employments were gratuitous and the body was purely consultative.

Each employee attempted to make the most of the short time he would last in his office, that his removal might not take him unawares. In each department the employees naturally protected one another, for, should someone be put on trial, his class and race would be disgraced. The Filipino who dared denounce the misdemeanors of the office-holding Spaniards or of the friars was persecuted as a filibusterer. The archipelago was not represented in the Spanish Congress (Cortes).

Municipal government existed only in the city of Manila. The town petty governor (gobernadorcillo) was a mere agent for the collection of taxes and the execution of the orders from the

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11 - The Consejo de Administración was created in 1861; the Junta de Autoridades, in 1850. Guia Oficial de Filipinas, 1894.

provincial authorities. He was empowered to have the streets and roads repaired, by using the personal services of his townsmen; but he had neither pecuniary means nor authority to perform other works of common utility or necessity. The town gobernadorcillo was not the chief, but the servant of the parish priest and of the civil guard officer in his town.

CHAPTER THREE

REFORMS GRANTED TO THE PHILIPPINES

In the last decades of Spanish rule important changes were made affecting various phases of the Spanish colonial system in the Philippines. The tax system, the government control of the tobacco industry, the administrative set up in the provinces, cities and municipalities, and codes of laws were among the vital matters dealt with by the reform measures promulgated during those years.

1. The Tax Reform of 1884

This reform modified markedly the system of taxation in the Philippines. It did away, in the first place, with the old tribute tax, replacing it with the cedula personal tax. In the second place, it reduced the number of days for the polos y servicios (personal services) from 40 to 15.

In his work, "Taxation in the Philippines", C. C. Plehn takes up in detail the history of the tax system in the Philippines. The following passages deal with the origin and nature of the tax:[1]

> The collection of the tribute was commenced in the Philippines immediately after their conquest by Legaspi and was continued until 1884, a period of over three hundred years, with but little change in form or in the methods of administration and with no change of principle.
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> The tribute was a personal tax of the nature of a uniform poll tax and was the only direct tax universally enforced. It was levied on natives including mestizos. Spanish residents in the islands were exempt. The rate, known as "one tribute," was originally 8 silver reales for each family, but this was nearly raised to 10

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1 - In Political Science Quarterly, vols. 17 and 18.

reales fuertes, or their equivalent, 25 reales de vellon, equal to 1-1/4 pesos, and subsequently (1851) to 12 reales fuertes, or 1-1/2 pesos.

Until comparatively recent times the tribute might be paid in money or in kind, or partly in one and partly in the other. When paid in kind, those products which were most easily disposed of were to be preferred. The products were accepted at values determined in advance, according to a table of official values. Those which might be tendered varied much from time to time and from province to province, or from district to district. In most cases the tribute had to be rendered in the staple product of the province. The most common staple was rice or paddy, but later tobacco was required from certain provinces.

The unit of assessment was the family. For this purpose the family ordinarily included a married man over twenty years of age (after 1851, over sixteen) and his wife and minor children.[2] Every unmarried male over twenty and every unmarried female over twenty-five (after 1851, eighteen and twenty) living with the parents paid one-half a "tribute". The duty to contribute ceased when the taxpayer reached sixty years of age. Briefly stated, this was a uniform poll tax, at the rate of half a "tribute," levied upon every person, male or female, over sixteen years of age and under sixty.

Exempt from the tribute, besides the Spaniards were: (1) The alcaldes, gobernadores and the cabezas de barangay, who collected these taxes; as were also their wives and first-born sons or, if they had no sons, the persons adopted as such. This exemption lasted three years, or for the term of office, (2) soldiers and militia men, both active and retired or invalidated, together with their wives and those sons who resided under the parental roof; also their widows; and further the

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2 - Originally males under twenty, females under twenty-five, subsequently (1851) males under eighteen, females under twenty.--Plehn.

members of the provincial reserves; (3) members of the various branches of the civil guard (exclusive of the municipal guard), including members of the resguardo volante (revenue inspectors) and guardas volantes, the custom-house guards (carabineros de hacienda), and the marine guards (resguardos maritimos) with their wives and sons; (4) Inspectors of tobacco and storekeepers, both male and female, under the administration of the tobacco monopoly, with their wives or husbands and sons; (5) Government employees receiving a fixed salary; (6) Paupers and cripples receiving public benevolence; (7) Miscellaneous persons, some exempt in recognition of distinguished services to the government, or to agriculture or industry, and others for "just cause."3 In case the payment of the tribute

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3 - Among these were: "Two or more cantores and one sacristan for every pueblo having one hundred native inhabitants or more." (See Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias, bk. vi, title iii, law 3); after 1785 the porteros of churches and from the same date the gobernadorcillos, tenientes and officials of justice in the municipalities; after 1840, the number of servitors of each of the cathedrals who might be exempt was limited; from 1785, the students of the University of Manila; from 1840, the students of the colleges of Santo Tomás, San José and San Juan de Letran; from 1853, the students of the University of Santo Tomás and from the same date the students of the College of San Carlos de Cebu; from 1835, the widows of advocates and the wives of bachelors of arts; from 1740, day laborers employed four months each year at the arsenal at Cavite; and from 1826, day laborers at the royal artillery shops; from 1835, servants of the military hospital; from 1854, servants of the hospital of Cebu; from 1822, the legitimate descendants of those Cebuanos who were first subjugated and who contributed to the pacification of that island; from 1854, native women who were widows of Spaniards; from 1836, Spanish mestizos; from 1828, the natives, mestizos and Chinese who, in groups of not more than twenty families, cultivate plantations of sugar each capable of producing 2000 pesos (278,688 pounds) per annum, or plantations of indigo, each capable of yielding 100 quintals (10,145 pounds) per annum; also the descendants of certain prominent individuals, notably those of Dr. Pedro Mojica and D. Carlos Lacandola re-

should become excessively burdensome, on account of suffering among the people from plague, failure of crops or severe tempest, such payment might be wholly or partially suspended or remitted.

The laws of the Indies required that the "Indians" should pay the tribute in their pueblos and that they must not be required to deliver it elsewhere. On the basis of this provision, the native chiefs or heads of the hundreds -- that is, the cabezas de barangay were made the actual collectors of the tribute for the forty or fifty families under their charge; and the local officials - the alcaldes, for the province; the mayors (corregidores) or the petty governors (gobernadorcillos), commonly known as 'capitanes' for the municipality -- were held responsible for its collection, it being remitted through their hands to the treasury in Manila. It was at one time prescribed that no cabeceria should contain less than forty-five, nor more than fifty, contributors, but this provision was often difficult to comply with and fell into abeyance.

Every second year a padron de tasas, or tax list, was made up for each cabeceria and serves as a basis of assessment for two years. This list was practically a census of the tribute-paying natives, as it gave the name, ages and occupations of the heads of families subject to the tribute. It had to be vised by the parish priest, who was supposed to compare it with the parish records and vouch for its correctness.

The cabezas de barangay were charged with all the tribute due from these contributors whose names were entered in the padron de tasas; and if the

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cognized by Spain as petty kings; after 1838; wives, widows, and sons of the employees of the marine service; after 1857, meritorious employees of the telegraph system. Partial exemption was granted to many persons among them to the offi- n. cial vaccinators. After 1878, the exemption was extended to natives who paid 4 pesos or more per annum for the "rubana" tax or the "industrial" tax; and if these taxes exceeded 12 pesos, this exemption was to include the sons living under the patria potestas.--Plehn.

whole amount were not turned in at the end of three months, they were liable to imprisonment and their goods were subject to confiscation. This drastic measure was often enforced with the utmost severity.

Besides the tribute the natives "Indians" paid, in the same manner, three other taxes, amounting in all to five silver reales: one real for the tithe (diezmos prodiales) one real for the community fund (caja de comunidad) and three reales for the church, under the name of the sanctorum.4

The tithe was - theoretically, at least -- paid by all residents of the islands, even by those who, for reasons of state or religion, or by favor, were exempt from the tribute. Except as commuted, the tithe never became of any importance as a source of revenue to the government. It was originally one-tenth of the fruits of the soil or of any profits or income and pertained to the crown. But those who paid the tribute were declared exempt, so far as their estates were concerned; and for them the tithe was commuted and added to the tribute, at the uniform rate of one real.

From 1635 to the middle of the nineteenth century there was a further addition to the tribute, at the rate of one-half real for each contributor, ostensibly for the conquest of Jolo. This was known as the donativo de Zamboanga.

The tribute demanded from the mestizos (that is, ordinarily the sons by native women of the Sangleys, or Chinese traders, in the islands was double in amount that levied on the natives, and they paid two reales for the tithe, one real for the community fund and three reales for the sanctorum.

Spanish mestizos were exempt from the tribute. This exemption included the sons of Spaniards by native women and natives by Spanish women.

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4 - Collected by the government, but paid over to the church.--Plehn.

With regards to the cedula personal tax, i.e., Plehn, in the same work, wrote as follows:

> In 1884 the time honored tribute, the original mainstay of the entire system of government and of the revenue in the Philippines, and the original basis of Spain's commerce with her dependencies, was repealed; and with it passed away the tithe, the caja de comunidad and the sanctorum.5 The place of the ancient tribute, which had been rendered for so many years with so little murmuring, was taken by a graduated poll tax, modelled upon that of the Peninsula, and needless to say the innovation was not popular.
>
> The tax was collected by means of a certificate of identification, known as a cedula personal, which every resident of the islands -- Spaniards and foreigners, as well as natives, "without distinction of race, nationality or sex, over eighteen years of age" -- was required to obtain. The only exceptions were the Chinese who paid another poll tax, the remontados e infieles, not subject to the local administration, and the natives and colonists of the archipelago of Jolo and of the islands of Balabac and Palawan.
>
> There were eventually sixteen different classes of cedulas:
>
> 1. Costing 37.50 pesos; for all persons who paid, in one or more quotas of the direct taxes,6 more than 400 pesos, exclusive of surtaxes; or those who enjoyed, from one or more sources, salaries or receipts in excess of 8000 pesos per annum; 2. costing 30 pesos; for those with direct taxes of 300 to 400 pesos, or incomes of 6000 pesos to 8000 pesos; 3. costing 22.50 pesos; for

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5 - An amount equal to the proceeds of the sanctorum was allowed the church from the proceeds of the cedulas.-Plehn.

6 - The cedula was not considered a direct tax. The taxes included were the industrial tax and the urbana tax.--Plehn.

those with direct taxes of 200 pesos to 300 pesos, or income of 4000 to 6000 pesos; 4. costing 12.00 pesos; for those with direct taxes of 100 to 200 pesos, or incomes of 2000 to 4000 pesos; 5. costing 7.50 pesos; for direct taxes of 50 to 100 pesos, or incomes of 1000 to 2000 pesos; 6. costing 5.25 pesos; for direct taxes of 12 to 50 pesos, or incomes of 600 to 1000 pesos; 7. costing 3.50 pesos; for direct taxes of 8 to 12 pesos inclusive, or incomes of 200 to 600 pesos; 8. costing 3.00 pesos; for the wives and children, of both sexes, more than eighteen years of age, of all persons who paid annually on account of direct taxes of 8 to 12 pesos inclusive; 9. costing 2.25 pesos; for direct taxes of less than 8 pesos, or income of less than 200 pesos; 10. costing 2.00 pesos; for all persons not included in the preceding classes or in subsequent classes; 11. costing 2.00 pesos; for military officers in active service; 12. costing 0,50 pesos; for wives and sons of military officers; 13. costing 1.50 pesos; for agricultural colonists; 14. issued gratis; for monks, nuns, sisters of charity, "pastors of the asylums of benevolence," paupers who received public aid, privates in the army and navy and in the civil guard (tercio civil) and for convicts during the period of their imprisonment; 15. issued gratis and known as "privileged" (clase privilegiada); for petty governors (gobernadorcillos) or municipal "captains," and their wives; for cabezas de barangay and their wives, and their assistants, "known at that time by the name of primogenitos" (first-born sons), "in recognition of their services in the administration and collection of the tax"; 16. a special cedula, gratis; for European agriculturists in Paragua (Island of Palawan).

Any person was permitted to purchase a cedula of a higher class than that which he was legally required to have. To enforce the collection of these taxes the proper cedula had to be exhibited on the following occasions:

(1) Upon taking up any commission or entering upon any public employment under the royal or insular authority; (2) upon entering upon any provincial or municipal office; (3) upon making any contract, public or private; (4) upon presenting any

claim, soliciting business or appearing for any purpose before the petty governors or ministers of justice in the pueblos; (5) upon bringing any action before any court of any authority or before any officer; (6) upon matriculation in any institution of learning; (7) upon entering any employment in industry or commerce; any profession, art or trade; (8) upon payment of direct taxes; (9) upon presenting any claim or exercising any civil right nor previously mentioned, and upon acquiring any rights or contracting any obligations; (10) upon establishing identity; (11) upon realizing any kind of credits, making or withdrawing deposits, collecting on letters of credit, making bills of exchange, depositing money in savings banks, confirming pledges with the montes de piedad, or pawn shops, and upon bidding at public auction; (12) upon becoming a director, administrator, member, voter, shareholder or employee of any class of association or industrial undertaking; (13) upon travelling beyond the boundaries of the pueblo of residence; and (14) upon entering into domestic service. The officers of the government were authorized to call for and examine the cedulas upon any and all occasions, and any person found without a cedula (indocumentada) was subject to very severe penalties.

The cedulas were issued on the basis of a padron prepared by the cabezas de barangay and drawn up in practically the same manner as the padron for the tribute, the required information being collected on schedules (hojas, literally, "leaflets") filled out by the heads of households, giving the name and income of every person over eighteen years of age in the household. The padron was made in triplicate: one copy for the cabeza, one for the gobernadorcillo and one for the treasury department (administración de hacienda pública). The heads of all institutions - monasteries, convents, prisons, etc. -- who had persons entitled to cedulas gratis under their charge prepared a special padron; but any person not entered in the padron might purchase a cedula, if he so desired. The captains, or the patronos, of all boats were required to submit a similar padron for the persons living on the boats. The cabeza de barangay was held responsible for the collection of the taxes on all persons entered in the padron

for his cabeceria, and the captains, or the patronos, of all boats were held similarly responsible.

The cedulas were prepared with stubs and bore serial numbers, so that every one issued to the tax collectors could be traced and accounted for. The cedula stated the year for which it was valid, the number of class, the rate at which it was issued, the province and public in which it was issued, the name of the person to whom it was sold, giving the name of the province of which he was a native, his age, conjugal condition, profession and address, with proper references to the padron in which he was enrolled.

To cover the costs of collection there was an allowance of six per cent (formerly five per cent), of which three went to the cabeza de barangay, one to the governor of the province, one to the administrator of the hacienda pública and one to the gobernadorcillo.

To complete the transformation of all the ancient taxes which had grown out of the tribute exacted from the conquered peoples, the royal decree of July 15, 1894, authorized the governor-general to provide the cedula of the tenth class (2.00 pesos) for such pueblos and plantation of "infidels" as he thought proper, and in every case to exact as the rate for the recognition of vassalage an annual payment of at least 0.50 peso.

In connection with the other feature of the law of 1884 reduction of the number of days for the personal services, Le Roy makes the following observations:[7]

The reduction in the number of days of forced labor was a great relief to the masses, but the system itself had been subject to abuse from the days of conquest and remained so to the end. It was one of the ways in which the slavery of the

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7 - Op. cit., vol. I, p. 45.

masses to their "caciques", existent as a system upon the arrival of the Spaniards, has continued to this day. Instead of taxing the propertied classes for public improvements, and paying the workmen their daily wage, the Spanish system was to put the burden on the poor. And even then, except for the churches and convents, the improvements that were needed, especially roads, remained in most provinces unmade; the Spanish officials or native "caciques" hired out the public labor to private parties and pocketed the proceeds.

2. The Provincial Reform of 1886

This reform modified the administrative system of the alcaldia provinces as established by the reform decree of 1844. Prior to 1886, alcaldes mayores, apart from their executive powers and responsibilities as provincial governors, had judicial functions, being judges of first instance in their respective provinces. The royal decree of March 5, 1886, took away the governor's judicial functions. The latter were assigned to a separate official. Provincial governors were thenceforth to be called "gobernadores civiles" and the provinces to which they were assigned as "gobiernos civiles". Judicial duties in the provinces were to be performed by judges of first instance, to be known thenceforth as alcaldes mayores.

Important provisions of the 1886 decree were:[8]

> The provinces of Albay, Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Cagayan, La Laguna, Mindoro, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Viscaya, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, Tayabas, and Zambales of the Philippine Islands shall henceforth be administered by civil governors (gobernadores civiles). The power to appoint and to suspend civil governors is vested in the Minister of the Ultramar, Art. 1.
>
> The civil governor shall be the representative of the governor-general in his district. He shall communicate with him in all matter per-

8 - Berriz, Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, vol. 5.

taining to the civil and financial aspects of the administration. He may, however, receive instructions from the Intendant General of Finance for the better administration of this branch of the service, and from the Director General of Civil Administration in relation to the administration of local affairs. Art. 2 _ Art. 3.

The governor must not leave his province without permission. In case of absence or inability to exercise the functions of his office, the Supreme authority of the Islands shall name a substitute. Art. 4.

Spaniards, 30 years of age or over, may be appointed civil governors provided they possess one of these qualifications:

1) Has been a member of the Spanish Parliament.
2) Has filled a position at least equal in rank to that of civil governor.
3) Has been a magistrate or lieutenant fiscal (teniente fiscal) of an Audiencia, or judge of first instance of termino or ascenso class in the Philippines.
4) Has been a politico-military governor (Gobernador P.M.) in the Philippines, with at least the rank of major in the army or its equivalent in the navy.
5) Has been a provincial delegate by election for at least two terms. Art. 5.

As a representative of the Governor General, the civil governor possesses the following powers:

1) to publish, execute, and cause to be obeyed in the province under his government the laws, orders, decrees that may be communicated to him by the Governor General; 2) to preserve public order, and to protect persons and property; 3) to repress and to punish in accordance with law all acts contrary to the religion of the State and to public morality, as well as acts of disrespect to constituted authority; 4) to grant licenses for

the use of firearms; 5) to have under his orders the Guardia Civil as well as the Carabineers, and to have at his disposal the cuadrilleros, or any other force of a civil character in the province; 6) to call in case of necessity, the aid of the army; 7) to order, as a corrective measure, the suspension of employees under him, and to recommend to the Governor-General, after due hearing, the suspension of those who lack aptitude, zeal, or morality in the discharge of their duties; 8) to publish ordinances of good government and of public health; 9) in cases of grave danger to public order, to suspend, on his own responsibility, and with the concurrence of the other authorities in the province, the enforcement of the orders promulgated by the supreme authority of the Philippines; 10) to preside over the meetings of principalias and the elections of gobernadorcillos, approve the minutes of the same, form the lists (ternas) to be forwarded to the Governor General, and make appointments to posts in the municipality which he is authorized by law to fill; 11) to suspend, in accordance with the laws, gobernadorcillos or any member of the tribunal of a municipality; 12) to bring before the tribunals of justice employees who commit offences punishable by law; 13) to see to it that the rules governing corporations or associations, the supervision of which is entrusted to him by law, be observed; 14) to aid in the preliminary investigation of offences which come to his notice and to inform the proper judicial authority of the facts he has obtained; 15) to order the temporary detention of an alleged offender and to bring him, in the shortest time possible, before the proper judicial authority; 16) to promulgate such rules and regulations as, in his judgment, are necessary and proper for the observance

of superior orders; 17) to apply the penalties fixed by law and in the ordinances of good government, and impose fines up to 50 pesos for infractions of the laws; 18) to preside over the drawing of lots for the drafting of soldiers; 19) to discharge the functions of Captain of Port and Subdelegate of Marine where there is no official appointed for these functions; 20) to act in matters involving the royal patronage which are not specifically reserved to the authority of the Governor-General. Art. 6.

As a representative of the Director-General of Civil Administration the civil governor possesses these powers:

1) to watch closely the progress of public instruction, especially that of elementary instruction and the propagation of the Spanish language; 2) to propose to the Central Government measures which he deems are conducive to the development of public resources; 3) to propose to the Governor General concessions of uncultivated royal lands; 4) to grant permits for timber cutting; 5) to supervise the collection of imposts and to see to it that these are collected promptly and honestly in the province under his command; 6) to issue orders for the payment of delinquent taxes; 7) to appoint Cabezas de Barangay in accordance with existing laws; 8) to prepare the appropriations for the province and the municipalities, and to forward these to the Governor General for approval; 9) to order the payment of all expenses charged against the general, provincial and municipal appropriations; 10) to render an account of provincial and municipal expenses in accordance with the rules governing this matter. Art. 7.

With respect to financial matters, the civil governors shall act as delegates of the Governor-General and of the Intendant-General of the Philippines,

and shall exercise in this connection the powers which formerly belonged to alcaldes mayores. Art. 8.

The civil governor shall also possess the attributes, not mentioned in this decree, which the laws grant to them in matters relating to the mail, telegraphs, prisons, charities, health, public works, forests, mines, agriculture and industry, as well as those which may be delegated by the Governor General of the Archipelago. Art. 9.

It shall be the duty of the civil governors to visit annually all the towns of their respective provinces, to report to the Governor General on the condition of the towns, and to recommend measures conducive to the moral and material welfare of their respective provinces. Art. 11.

The civil governor can not under any circumstance, dispose of the funds or resources of the province or of the municipalities under his command. Art. 12.

The power to impose corrective measure on civil governors is vested only in the Governor General. Art. 14.

In the provinces mentioned in Article 1, there shall be established government secretaryships (secretarias de los gobiernos). The financial departments in these provinces shall henceforth be termed "administraciones depositarias." The comptrollers (interventores) shall keep the public funds, provincial as well as municipal. Art. 15.

All conflicts of authority that may arise between civil governors and judges of first instance shall be decided by the Governor General with the aid of the Council of Administration. Art. 23.

After the 1st of June 1886; the alcaldes mayores shall exercise only judicial functions, and shall thenceforth be designated as judges of first instance.

3. The Reform of 1885

An order promulgated on May 29, 1885, established justice-of-the-peace courts in the City of Manila and in all provincial capitals. The pertinent provisions of this royal decree are the following:[9]

> For each of the courts of first instance in the city of Manila, and in all provincial capitals, justices of the peace shall be appointed, who shall exercise the jurisdiction and attributes which are delegated to them by the laws of civil and criminal procedure. The appointments of such justices shall be made by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the President of the Audiencia of Manila. Persons who have studied law, or who possess an academic or professional degree should be preferred, but, in the absence of such persons, those who, by their position and circumstances, could assume the post, may be appointed. Their term of office shall be two years. In the other towns where it is not possible to find persons who possess the necessary qualifications, the gobernadorcillos shall continue to discharge the duties of justices of the peace. The justices of the peace who are lawyers shall act as judges of first instance in the absence of the latter. Art. 1.
>
> The justices of the peace, and the gobernadorcillos, in case these serve as justices, shall exercise their functions with the assistance of a secretary, who shall serve as clerk of the court, subject to the rules established by the Law of Civil Procedure. The judges or gobernadorcillos themselves may appoint these clerks of the court.

4. Extension of Spanish Codes

The Spanish Penal Code was extended to the Philippines in 1887. Two years later, July 31, 1889, the Civil Code and the Code of Commerce were extended. Certain provisions of

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9 - Ibid., Vol. 7. This decree was published in the Gaceta de Manila on July 18, 1885.

the Civil Code were, however, ordered withdrawn by Governor-General Weyler, a few days after the Code took effect as a law, namely: (1) those relating to civil marriage and (2) those relating to civil registration. Moreover, the old provisions establishing the censorship of the press were retained.

Sanchez Roman, commenting on the suspension of the provisions of the Civil Code relating to civil marriage and civil registration, had the following to say: (Derecho Civil, vol. 2, p. 64).

> "By reason of the lack of that preparation which was proper in a matter of such great importance, it seems, according to reports which merit a certain amount of credit (for no order has ever been published which reveals it), that the government of the Philippines, after taking the opinion of the Audiencia of Manila, consulted the colonial office concerning the suspension of title 4, on account of certain class influences which were strongly opposed to the application of the formula of marriage which gave some slight intervention to the authorities of the State through the municipal judge or his substitute in the celebration of the canonical marriage. As to title 12, the opinion was asked by reason of the fact that there was no such officer as municipal judge who could take charge of the civil registry."

5. The Royal Order of November 12, 1889.

This was the Becerra law, named after its sponsor, the Minister of the Ultramar, It gave to the towns of Cebu, Iloilo, Jaro, Batangas, Albay, Nueva Caceres, and Vigan the right to organize ayuntamientos similar to those of the municipalities of Spain. The establishment of these ayuntamientos was to be the first step in the gradual process of replacing the existing municipal governments with more autonomous municipal corporations. The Filipinos, however, were not given the right to elect the members of these ayuntamientos.

6. The Royal Decree of May 19, 1893

This was the famous Maura law which reformed the existing municipal governments in the provinces of Luzon and the Visayas. The outstanding features of the law were as follows:[10]

> The popular corporations in the Philippines known as "Tribunales de los pueblos" shall henceforth be called "Tribunales municipales" (municipal tribunals). Each of these shall represent the legal association of all persons residing within the jurisdiction of the municipality and shall administer the communal interests. Art. 1.
>
> Every town in Luzon and in the Visayas which contributes to the State more than one thousand cedulas shall have a municipal tribunal. Exception is made in the case of those towns which are privileged to establish ayuntamientos under the decree of November 12, 1889, and in the case of the city of Manila, the government of which remains unaltered. Art. 2.
>
> The municipal tribunal shall be constituted by the following officials: a Captain and four Tenientes, (Teniente Mayor, Teniente de Policia, Teniente de Sementeras and Teniente de Ganados.) Art. 3.
>
> These positions are to be filled by election. On the day assigned for this purpose, the Principalia of each town together with the curate and outgoing Capitán shall name twelve electors. Of these, six must be from the ex-Cabezas de Barangay, three from the ex-Capitanes, and three from the biggest taxpayers of the town. Art. 4.
>
> The twelve electors shall chose, by plurality of votes and by secret ballot, first the Capitan, and then, one after another without interruption,

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10 - Berriz, op. cit., Anuario de 1893.

the Teniente Mayor, and the Teniente de Policia, de Sementeras, and de Ganados. In like manner, the electors shall chose two substitutes.

The Provincial Governor shall issue to the Capitan-elect the title of Capitan. He shall also approve the election of the other members of the Tribunal, as well as of the twelve delegates to the Principalia. Arts. 5 and 6.

The twelve delegates shall act in representation of the Principalia and shall joint the Tribunal Municipal in the consideration of important questions. The term "Principalia" is understood to mean that group in each town which is made up of those who have been Gobernadorcillos, Cabezas de Barangay, or Tenientes, the actual Cabezas de Barangay, and those who pay at least fifty pesos in land taxes. Art. 7.

The post of Capitan, Tenientes, Substitutes and Delegates of the Principalia shall be honorary and without compensation. The performance of the duties of these positions shall be obligatory, and the term of office four years. Art. 8.

The Captain shall be presiding officer of the Tribunal and shall be its representative. He also possesses these powers: to execute the orders passed by the Tribunal, and to suspend the execution of same in case they are outside its jurisdiction, or prejudicial to the interests of the municipality; to issue ordinances for the maintenance of public order; to inspect offices, schools, and other branches of the municipal government; to appoint and suspend employees of the Tribunal; to direct the administration of the town; to order disbursements; to demand prompt payment of taxes; to preside over the auctions that the Tribunal may order.

The Captain is also empowered to impose disciplinary measures and small fines. Art. 12.

For the better government of the towns, these shall be divided into barangayes. Each barangay shall consist of from 100 to 150 families, and shall be under a Cabeza who shall perform, in addition to

the duties of Cabezas de Barangay, those of Teniente del Barrio. Art. 14.

Cabezas de Barangay are appointed by the Provincial Governor on the recommendation of the Tribunal Municipal and the twelve delegates of the Principalia. Art. 15.

The term of office of the Cabeza de Barangay is three years, but it may be extended indefinitely by consecutive reelections. Art. 16.

To supervise the administration of the finance of the towns and to advise the Provincial Governor on matters concerning the municipalities, a provincial board shall be constituted in the capital of each province, to be composed of the Provincial Fiscal, the Administrator of Public Revenue, the Vicars Forane, if there were two if there were only one, this one and the Curate of the capital of the province, the Provincial Physician, and four residents of the Capital, elected by the capitanes of the Tribunales Municipales of the province.

The provincial governor shall be ex-officio chairman of the Board. Art. 20.

The Provincial Board shall have under its custody the revenues of the towns. Art. 22.

The towns shall have power to raise, from the following sources, revenue to be used exclusively for local purposes: fisheries; certificates of ownership in cattle; certificates of transfers of property; income from real estate, urban and rural, belonging to the municipality; billiards; markets, slaughter-houses; pontoons and ferries; corrals for animals; imposts, for lighting and street cleaning; 10% fines for delayed payment of real estate tax; municipal fines; tax on real estate property; the fifteen days of personal services; other sources of income that may be created after due authorization from the Provincial Governor. Art. 24.

The amount collected from these sources shall be deposited by the Capitan in the safe which is under the custody of the Provincial Board. Art. 28.

The income from the tax on real estate property shall be used exclusively for local works. Art. 31.

The fifteen days' personal services shall be employed in the interest of the municipality. Art. 35.

Before January 1, 1894, each Provincial Board shall submit, for the approval of the Governor General, the rules and regulations adopted by it for the faithful and orderly execution of those provisions of this decree which concern the organization and administration of the Tribunales Municipales.

The reform of 1893, coming as it did on the eve of the Philippine Revolution, had no opportunity to show whatever merits it possessed. The new municipal system was duly inaugurated on the first of January, 1894, but the men who came into office under the new regime were not chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law, but were nominated by Governor-General Blanco in accordance with regulations promulgated by Blanco himself. Before the time arrived for new elections, the Philippine Revolution had begun. In view of the unsettled conditions which had arisen, as a result of the Katipunan uprising, the Philippine Government suspended the reform decree. The Maura law did not have the opportunity to show its true worth and merits as a reform measure.

7. Suppression of the Government Monopoly of Tobacco

The abolition of this monopoly was decreed in the year 1881. The decree, however, did not go into effect until 1884. On the history of the suppression of this monopoly, Foreman makes the following observations:11

For a long time the question of abolishing the Monopoly had been debated, and by Royal Order of May 20, 1879, a commission was appointed to

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11 - The Philippine Islands, p. 296.

inquire into the convenience of farming out the tobacco traffic. The natives were firmly opposed to it; they dreaded the prospect of the provinces being overrun by a band of licensed persecutors, and of the two evils they preferred State to private monopoly. Warm discussions arose for and against it through the medium of the Manila newspapers. The "Consejo de Filipinas", in Madrid, had given a favorable report dated May 12, 1879, and published in the Gaceta de Madrid of July 13, 1879. The clergy defeated the proposal by the Corporations of Friars jointly presenting a Memorial against it---and it was thenceforth abandoned. The Tobacco Monopoly was the largest source of public revenue, hence the doubt as to the policy of free trade and the delay in granting it. There existed a possibility of the Treasury sustaining an immense and irretrievable loss, for a return to Monopoly, after free trade had been allowed, could not for a moment be thought of. It was then a safe income to the Government, and it was feared by many that the industry, by free labour, would considerably fall off.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

I. Rizal as a Propagandist

Among the Filipinos who carried on the nationalistic campaign in the last decades of the Spanish period, Dr. José Rizal was unquestionably the most influential in arousing the spirit of nationalism in the Philippines. Through his writings, he gave a powerful impetus to the nationalistic movement. With his versatility, his intense love of country, his unfailing courtesy, and his lofty ideals of liberty and nationalism, he made a deep impression among his countrymen.

Rizal's writings constitute a valuable part of the literature of the Propaganda. A few specimens of these are given below.

But, first of all, let us have a brief chronological sketch of Rizal's fruitful life.[1]

1848, June 28 - Marriage of Rizal's parents in Calamba, Laguna: (Francisco Rizal-Mercado, born in Binyang, Laguna, April 18, 1818, died January 5, 1898; Teodora Alonso y Quintos Realonda, born in Sta. Cruz, Manila, November 14, 1827, died, 1911.)

1861, June 19 - Birth of Rizal, seventh child.

____, June 22 - Baptism of Rizal. Named "José."

1870. At age of 9 was sent to Binyang to study. His teacher, Justiniano Aquino Cruz.

1871. In the Kalamba public school. Teacher, Lucas Padua.

1872, June 10 - Took entrance examination at Letran College. June 26. Transferred to Ateneo as an extern student.

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1 - Based on "Cronologia Rizalina", of J. C. de Veyra's Rizal Redivivo (manuscript.)

1875, July 14. Became an intern student at the Ateneo. Showed inclination for poetry. Sculptured with pocket knife an image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which he offered to Father Llecnart. The latter intended to bring it with him to Spain but, through oversight, the statue was left behind at the Ateneo.

1876. April-May. Rizal's professor, Father Sanchez, urged him to put into verse the story of the martyr-saint, Eustaquio. Rizal's science professor, however, discouraged him from taking too much interest in poetry. He wrote a poem, "Por la educación recibe lustre la patria." (Through Education the Country Receives Light.)

1877. March 14. A little more than three months before his 16th birthday, he graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts, with highest honors.

____. June. Continued in the Ateneo, studying surveying. At the same time enrolled in the University of Sto. Tomás to study philosophy.

1877. Began to study medicine in the University of Sto. Tomás.

1879. Won first prize in a literary contest conducted by the Liceo Artistico Literario with his poem "A La Juventud Filipina". (To the Filipino Youth.)

1880. Won another prize from the same Liceo Artistico Literario with his allegorical composition "El Consejo de los Dioses". ("The Council of the Gods.)

____. December 8. Presentation of his melodrama "Junto al Pasig". (Beside the Pasig). Rizal was at that time President of the "Academia de Literatura Castellana del Ateneo Municipal de Manila" (Academy of Spanish Literature.)

____. December. One dark night was wounded at the back by a lieutenant of the civil guard for failing to salute the officer. Went to the palace of the then governor and captain general, Primo de Rivera, to seek redress, but he did not see the governor, nor did he obtain justice.

1881, February 10. Elected secretary of the "Academia de Ciencias filosofico-naturales" (Academy of Philosophico-Natural Sciences), founded by Father Pablo Ramon, S.J.

1882, May 3. Left Manila for Europe via Singapore, Suez, Naples, Marseilles. His trip was made possible through financial arrangements made by his brother, Paciano, and his uncle, Antonio Rivera.

____. June 15. Arrived in Barcelona. Wrote his first article in Spain, "El Amor Patrio" (Love of Country), intended for publication in the Diariong Tagalog, edited by Basilio Teodoro.

____, September. In Madrid. Met the members of the Filipino colony in that city - the Paternos, Govantes, Esquivels, Ventura, Aguirre, Llorente, Lopez Jaena, de Leon, del Rosario, Arnedo, Sancianco, etc.

____, September 16. The "diary" of Consuelo Ortiga y Rey records Rizal's first visit to the home of Dn. Pablo Ortiga, "Consejero de Ultramar" (Counsellor of the Ultramar), and former government official in the Philippines.

____, November 3. Enrolled in the University Central de Madrid, taking up courses in medicine, philosophy and letters.

1883. Wrote "Me Piden Versos" (You Ask Me for Verses) which he recited at a reunion of the Circulo-Hispano Filipino in Madrid, October 4. Beginning of his "Diario de Clinica."

1884, June 4 - Was examined in Greek and in Latin; June 20, graduating exercises in medicine; June 25, made a notable speech at a banquet held in honor of Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección-Hidalgo.

1885. Licentiate in philosophy and letters; doctorate in medicine. Start of the writing of Noli me Tangere. Went to Paris for special courses in ophthalmology and to acquire proficiency in French.

1886. July 31, sent to Dr. Blumentritt, with a brief note, a copy of Rufino Baltazar Hernandez' arithmetic in Tagalog. Beginning of his correspondence with Blumentritt. Completed the writing of his novel. Trip to Heidelberg. Visited Leipzig and Berlin.

1887. March, 1887, the Noli Me Tangere, with the financial aid of Dr. Viola, was published in Berlin. Rizal was a guest of Blumentritt in Leitzmeritz, Austria. Was introduced to scholars and scientific societies. In April, he gave a lecture before the Ethnographic Society of Berlin on the subject "El Arte Metrica del Tagalog" (Tagalische Verkunst.) Travelled through Austria, Switzerland, Italy.

____, July 3 - Left Marseilles for Manila.

____, August 6. Arrived in Manila. Governor and Captain General Terrero assigned to him as escort a lieutenant of the civil guard, José Taviel de Andrade, brother of Luis Taviel de Andrade who served as his defence lawyer in December, 1896.

1888, February. Left Manila for Japan via Hongkong. At Yokohama, (February 28-April 13), he was a guest of the Spanish legation. While in Japan he studied the language and civilization of the country.

____, April-May. Crossed the Pacific arriving in San Francisco, April 28. Crossed the U.S. On May 16, he embarked for Europe aboard the "City of Rome", arriving at Liverpool, May 24. Took up his residence in London, near the British Museum, and began work on a new edition of Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas.

1889, February 15. The first issue of La Solidaridad was published in Barcelona. Rizal's "Filipinas dentro de cien años" appeared in La Solidaridad (September 30, 1889-February 1, 1890.)

____, November 9. Blumentritt wrote the prologue to Rizal's edition of Morga's Sucesos.

____, June 15. From Barcelona, Rizal wrote to D. Vicente Barrantes in connection with the latter's article, "El Teatro Tagalo" (The Tagalog Theater.)

____, August. Organization of "Associacion Internacional de Filipinistas" (International Association of Philipinistas), of which Blumentritt was president, and Rizal, secretary.

1890, February 15. La Solidaridad featured Rizal's letter to Barrantes replying to the latter's criticisms of the Noli. Wrote "Legend of Mariang Makiling." Publication in Paris (Feb.-July) of the Rizal edition of Morga's Sucesos. Rizal's "La Indolencia de los Filipinos" appeared in La Solidaridad (July, August, September).

1891, September 18. Publication in Ghent, Belgium, of El Filibusterismo.

____, October 18. Left Europe for Hongkong arriving at the latter's port November 20.

____, At Hongkong, Rizal learned of the deportation of members of his family from Calamba.

____, December. Rizal's father, Paciano, his brother, and Silvestre Ubaldo arrived in Hongkong. Shortly thereafter Rizal's mother also arrived. A pleasant Christmas family reunion took place in Hongkong.

____, December 23, 1891. Wrote to Governor Despujol, new governor and captain-general of the Philippines, offering his services to the new administration.

1892, April. Rizal planned to establish a Filipino colony in British North Borneo. Was granted permission by the British governor of Borneo to settle in Borneo.

____, March 21. Wrote another letter to Governor Despujol making known his plan to found a colony in North Borneo. He asked Despujol to grant him the necessary permission to change his nationality. Despujol, through the Spanish Consul in Hongkong, denied Rizal's request.

____. June 20. Wrote two letters, which he left sealed in the custody of Dr. L. P. Marquêz, with instructions that they "be made public after my death". One of these was addressed to his parents, brothers, sisters and friends; the other, to his countrymen.

____. June 21, 1892. In a third letter to Despujol, Rizal informed the latter of his return to the Philippines.

____. June 26. Arrived in Manila. Took up his residence in the Oriente Hotel. Meeting at the home of Doroteo Ongjunco, Tondo, where Rizal spoke of union and solidarity.

____. July 3. Liga Filipina was founded. July 9, Despujol decreed Rizal's deportation to Dapitán. July 17, arrival in Dapitan.

____, September 1. Beginning of his correspondence with Father Pablo Pastells, S.J. on philosophico-religious questions, which lasted until April, 1893.

1893, October - Rizal's mother and sister Trinidad joined Rizal in Dapitan.

____. Composed "Mi Retiro" (My Retreat).

1894. Life in Dapitan; engaged in agriculture; continued ethnographic and linguistic studies; corresponded with European scholars and scientists; operated on his mother's eyes; practised his medical profession; produced sculptured works (bust of Father Guernico, bust of General Blanco, etc.); continued teaching to the boys of Dapitan.

1895, February. Became acquainted with Josephine Bracken.

____, May. Wrote to Governor Blanco soliciting his transfer to Spain; at end of the year in another letter to Governor Blanco, Rizal asked for his liberty or permission to serve as a medical officer in the Spanish army in Cuba.

____, October 13. Wrote "Himno a Talisay" ("Hymn to Talisay").

1896, June. Dr. Pio Valenzuela visited Rizal to inform the latter of the revolutionary plans of the Katipunan. Rizal advised against armed revolt against Spain.

____, July 1. Governor Blanco granted Rizal's request to serve as a medical officer in the Spanish army in Cuba.

____, August 6. Arrival of Rizal in Manila Bay. Remained aboard the war vessel "Castilla".

____, August 19. Discovery of the Katipunan. Outbreak of the Philippine Revolution.

____, August 30. Blanco wrote letters of recommendation in Rizal's favor to Ministers of War and Ultramar. Blanco's proclamation placing eight provinces of Luzon under Martial Law.

____, September 3. Departure from Manila for Europe aboard the "Isla de Panay". At Port Said, orders were received from Governor Blanco for Rizal's arrest and for his return to Manila.

____, October 6. After staying for a few days as a prisoner in Barcelona, Rizal was placed aboard the "Colon" to be returned to the Philippines.

____, November 3. Arrival in Manila. Rizal confined at Forst Santiago.

____, November 20. Rizal appeared before Col. Francisco Olive, "Juez Instructor", to hear charges against him.

____, November 26. Col. Olive forwarded the papers to Governor Blanco. The latter named Captain Rafael Dominguez to act as judge in the case against Rizal.

____, December 5. Governor Blanco referred the case to Peña, Auditor General of War.

____, December 8. Rizal chose as his defence lawyer Lieutenant Luis Taviel de Andrade, brother of D. José Taviel de Andrade, his "bodyguard" in 1887.

____, December 13. Governor Blanco was replaced by Polavieja. Auditor of War Peña was opposed to the publication of Rizal's proclamation to the Katipunan rebels.

____, December 26. The Council of War held court in the Cuartel de España. Rizal adduced additional reasons in his defence. The Council of War unanimously voted for a death sentence.

____, December 28. Governor Polavieja gave his "cumplase" to the sentence of death. In his decree, he ordered that Rizal be shot at 7 a.m., December 30. Captain Rafael Dominguez was designated to take charge of the execution of the sentence.

____, December 29. Rizal was taken to his death cell at 7 a.m. Was visited by several persons: the Jesuit Fathers, among whom was P. Faura; Governor Luengo of Manila; Mataix, newspaperman; the Dean of the Cathedral; the Fiscal of his Majesty, Castaño; Rizal's mother and his sister, Trinidad; and, early the next morning, Josephine Bracken. Rizal gave to his sister the alcohol lamp in which the manuscript of the Ultimo Adios was hidden. During the whole day and part of the night, a lively religious debate took place between Rizal and Father Balaguer, S.J., culminating in the retraction of Rizal in religious matters and his abjuration of Masonry.

____, December 30. Early in the morning Rizal and Josephine were married canonically. Rizal gave her a copy of Kempis, The Imitation of Christ, with the dedicatory: "To my dear and unhappy wife." To his sister Josefa he gave another edition of Kempis. To Trinidad, he gave his Ancora de Salvación. From Fort Santiago, at 6:30 a.m., Rizal, accompanied by the Jesuit Fathers, Viza and March, his defence lawyer, Lieutenant Taviel de Andrade, and Captain Dominguez, walked to the Luneta, through the Postigo gate. Showed admirable calmness and serenity on the way. The army doctor felt his pulse and found it normal. Asked to face his executioners but his request was denied. However, his wish that his head be spared was granted. The firing squad fired and Rizal, by sheer force of will, turned around face upward as he fell dead to the ground.

In the Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes held in Madrid in 1884, Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo won signal honors - Luna with his "Spoliarium", and Hidalgo with his "Virgenes Cristianas". To honor these artists, the Filipino community in Madrid organized a banquet. About sixty persons attended the banquet which was held June 28, 1884. Artists, men of letters, journalists, were present, as well as men prominent in the public life of Spain such as Labra, Moret, Arias, Morayta, Regidor, Azcarraga, Moya,

Govantes and several others.

Rizal was the main speaker at the banquet. His speech on that occasion was significant. It was Rizal's initial effort to call public attention in Spain to the conditions and needs of the Philippines. It was the opening shot in the Propaganda campaign.

Rizal's speech read in part as follows:[2]

> Gentlemen: In speaking before you, I do not fear that you will listen to me with displeasure. You came to mingle your enthusiasm with ours, to encourage the youth, and you cannot do less than be indulgent. Exhilarating sympathies fill the air; a feeling of fraternal friendship is everywhere; noble souls listen. Therefore, I do not fear for my humble self, nor do I doubt your generosity. Courageous men that you are, you seek only courage; and from such heights where noble sentiments have their place, you do not bother about little things. You look at the totality, you judge the cause, and you extend your hand to those like me, who wish to be with you in a common thought, in one single aspiration: the glorification of genius, the light of the nation. (Good, very good: applause)
>
> This is the reason why we are gathered here. In the history of nations, there are names which in themselves are significant; which suggest kindness and greatness; names which, like magic formulas, invoke pleasant ideas; names which serve as a pact, a symbol of peace, a bond of love among nations. The names of Luna and Hidalgo are of this group: their flame brightens two parts of the globe: the East and the West - Spain and the Philippines. In mentioning them, gentlemen, I believe I see two shining arcs which, coming from two regions, unite up above, impelled by the sense of a common origin and, from that height, they unite two peoples which distance and seas separate in vain; two nations in which the seeds of disunity, <u>which man in his despotism blindly sows</u>, will not germinate. Luna and

2 - Translated by Prof. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon, Department of History.

Hidalgo are glories for Spain and the Philippines, because, being born in the Philippines, they might have been born in Spain, too: because genius has no country, it thrives everywhere, like light and air, it is the patrimony of all, it is universal, like space, like life, and like God. (Applause).

The patriarchal era of the Philippines is passing away. The glorious achievements of her sons no longer are confined at home. The oriental crysallis is leaving its cocoon, the dawn of a long day appears in those regions in brilliant colors and blushing hues. That race, lethargic during the historic night while the sun brightens other continents, is now awakened by the electric impact that is produced by contact with Western nations, and demands light, life, civilization, which was once its heritage, confirming in this way, the never-ending laws of constant evolution, of changes, of cycles, of progress.

This you know very well and you should glory in it. To you we owe the beauty of the gems which crown the Philippines. The Philippines supplied the stones, Europe the finish, and all of us look at them with pride: you, your handiwork, we, the flame, the spirit, the needed ingredients. (Bravos...)

They (Luna and Hidalgo) drank there of the poetry of nature, a magnificent nature- terrifying in her cataclysms, in her evolutions, in her dynamism; nature sweet, calm, and mournful in her constant manifestation, static; nature which imprints her stamp on what she creates and produces. Her sons take her wherever they go. Analyze their character, their work, and though you little know the country, you will see how thoroughly these are manifested in their knowledge, in the spirit that dominates their whole being, like the spring of a mechanism, like the essence of a pattern, like the basic element of matter. It is not possible to hide what one feels. One cannot be a thing and do differently; contradictions are only apparent,

paradoxical. In the El Spolarium, from that canvass which is not mute, one hears the tumult of the crowd, the outcries of the slaves, the metallic clang of armours of the fallen, the sobbings of orphans, and the murmurings of prayer, with the same sense of vigor and realism with which he hears the roar of thunder amidst the cascading falls, or the awe-inspiring tremors of an earthquake. The same nature which generates such phenomena also inspires those strokes.

On Hidalgo's canvas, on the other hand, there is a flutter of immaculate sentiment, an ideal expression of sadness, of beauty, of frailty, victims of brute-force. And this is because Hidalgo was born under the blue radiance of its sky, lulled by the breezes of its seas, amidst the serenity of its lakes, the poetry of its valleys, and the majestic harmony of its mountains and ridges.

This is why in Luna, there are shadows, contrasts, flickering lights, the mysterious and dreadful, like the resonance of tropical tempests, the thunder of the noisy eruptions of its volcanoes. This is why Hidalgo is all light, color, harmony, sentiment, transparency, like the Philippines during moonlit nights and during her quiet days, with her horizons inviting to meditation, to communion with the Infinite. The two, while different at least in appearance, are, at the base, alike - alike as are our hearts in spite of apparent differences. Both men, in reflecting on their canvasses the magnificent rays of the tropical sun, transform them into rays of unfading glory with which they crown their country; both express the spirit of our social, moral, and political life: Humanity subjected to severe tests, Humanity unredeemed; reason and hope in open conflict with prejudices, Fanaticism and Injustices."

If a mother teaches her child her language so that he may understand his joys, his needs or his woes, Spain, like a mother, teaches also her language in the Philippines, in spite of the opposition of the nearsighted and the narrow-minded

who, assured of the present, do not look to the future, do not weigh consequences; weak nurses, corrupt and corruptors, who seek to suppress all legitimate aspirations, who, perverting the heart of the nation, sow the seeds of discord so that they might later gather for themselves, the fruit, the ruin, the death of future generations.

But, I shall ignore all these wretches! Peace be to the dead because they are dead. They lack life, and soul - let the worms eat them slowly. Let us not invoke their dismal memory, let us not bring their stench into our happy gathering. Happily brotherhood prevails. Kindness and nobility are innate under Spain. All of you are incontroversial proofs. ... Seated here to take part in our love-feast, and honoring the illustrious sons of the Philippines, you also honor Spain, because you know quite well that the limits of Spain are neither the Atlantic, nor the Cantabrian coast, nor the Mediterranean. It would be a serious disgrace if the ocean should be a barrier against her grandeur, against her ideas. Spain is there, there where she leaves her benevolent influence, and although her flag should disappear, her memory would linger- everlasting, imperishable. What should a piece of red and yellow cloth be doing there? What are the guns and canons doing there, where love and affection do not grow, where there is no mingling of ideas, no unity of purpose, no agreement of opinions?... (Long applause).

Luna and Hidalgo belong to us as much as to you. You love them and we see in them noble hopes, precious examples. The Filipino youth in Europe, always enthusiastic, and a few others whose hearts are always young because of their unselfishness and enthusiasm in their actuations, offer Luna a crown, a modest offering though it be in proportion to our enthusiasm, but the most spontaneous and loving that has as yet been made to him.

But the gratitude of the Philippines towards her illustrious sons has not yet been fully ex-

pressed. Wishing to give free rein to thoughts that crowd our minds, to feelings which overflow our hearts, and to words which escape from our lips, we all came to this banquet to join our voices, to give substance to this fraternal embrace of two races which love each other; which were united morally, socially, and politically for four centuries so that they can form in the future one single nation in spirit, in obligations, in views, in privileges. (Applause).

A toast therefore to our artists, Luna and Hidalgo - genuine and legitimate glories of two nations! A toast to the people who lent them aid in the laborious pursuit of art! A toast to the Filipino youth, sacred hope of my country, so they may imitate their worthy examples, and so that Mother Spain solicitous and mindful of the well-being of the provinces, may soon effect reforms that have been long contemplated. The plot has been furrowed, and the ground is not barren. And a toast, finally, for the happiness of those parents who, deprived of the affection of their sons, from those distant regions, follow them with tearful eyes and trembling hearts, sacrificing on the altar of the common good the sweet consolations that are so scarce in the twilight of life, precious and solitary flowers of winter which sprout on the snow-covered borders of the tomb. (Warm applause, congratulations to the speaker).

Of Rizal's writings, the Noli Me Tangere is, by general consent, Rizal's greatest work as a propagandist. W. E. Retana, Rizal's Spanish biographer, called it the New Gospel, the New Bible, of the Filipino people.

Rizal dedicated his novel to his country. The dedicatory in the Spanish original reads as follows:

A MI PATRIA.- Registrase en la historia de los padecimientos humanos un cáncer de un carácter tan maligno que el menor contacto le irrita y despierta en él agudísimos dolores. Pues bien, cuantas veces en medio de las civilizaciones modernas he querido evocarte, ya para acompañarme de

tus recuerdos, ya para compararte con otros países, tantas se me presentó tu querida imagen con un cáncer social parecido.

Deseando tu salud que es la nuestra, y buscando el mejor tratamiento haré contigo lo que con sus enfermos los antiguos: exponíanlos en las gradas del templo para que cada persona que viniese a invocar a la Divinidad les propusiese un remedio.

Y a este fin, trataré de reproducir fielmente tu estado sin contemplaciones; levantaré parte del velo que encubre el mal, sacrificando a la verdad todo, hasta el mismo amor propio, pues, como hijo tuyo, adolezco también de tus defectos y flaquezas.-- El Autor.

Europa, 1886.

Translated into English, the "dedicatory" reads as follows:[3]

To My Country:

In the history of human afflictions, there is recorded a cancer of such malignant nature that the slightest touch irritates it and produces in it excruciating pains. Well, how often in the midst of modern civilizations have I evoked your image, either to keep me company in my wanderings, or to compare you with other nations, and always your lovely image appeared to me with a similar social cancer!

Desiring your well-being which is ours, and looking for a good treatment, I shall do with you what the ancients did with their sick: exposing them on the steps of the temple so that everyone who came to invoke the Divinity might offer them a remedy.

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3 - Translation by Prof. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon.

With this end in view, I shall reproduce faithfully your condition without mental reservation. I shall lift part of the veil which hides the sore, sacrificing everything to truth, including self-pride itself, since, as a child of yours, I share your defects and weaknesses.- The Author.

Europe, 1886.

As translated into English by Charles E. Derbyshire, the dedicatory reads as follows:[4]

Recorded in the history of human sufferings is a cancer of so malignant a character that the least touch irritates it and awakens in it the sharpest pains. Thus, how many times, when in the midst of modern civilizations I have wished to call thee before me, now to accompany me in memories, now to compare thee with other countries, hath thy dear image presented itself showing a social cancer like to that other!

Desiring thy welfare, which is our own, and seeking the best treatment, I will do with thee what the ancients did with their sick, exposing them on the steps of the temple so that everyone who came to invoke the Divinity might offer them a remedy.

And to this end, I will strive to reproduce thy condition faithfully, without discriminations; I will raise a part of the veil that covers the evil, sacrificing to truth everything, even vanity itself, since, as thy son, I am conscious that I also suffer from thy defects and weaknesses.

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4 - Philippine Education Co., Inc. 1950 edition.

Dr. Jorge Bocobo, in his new English edition of the Noli Me Tangere, gives the following translation:[5]

> The story of human sufferings records a cancer of such malignant character that the slightest contact irritates it and stirs up therein the most acute pains. Now then: whenever in the midst of modern civilizations I wished to evoke thee, either to cherish thy remembrances or to compare thee with other countries, thy beloved image appeared before me with a similar social cancer.
>
> Wishing thy health which is ours, and in search of the best treatment, I shall do for thee what the ancients did for their sick: they exposed them on the steps of the temple, in order that every person who had just invoked the Divinity might propose a remedy for them.
>
> And for this purpose, I shall try faithfully to reproduce thy condition without fear or favor; I shall raise a part of the veil that covers the malady, sacrificing all for the sake of truth, even personal pride, for, being thy son, I also suffer from thy defects and weaknesses.

Apart from the dedicatory, there are certain letters of Rizal which reveal other interesting facts regarding the nature and background of the Noli Me Tangere.

In the following letter, written in French, Rizal explains why he chose the latin text, Noli Me Tangere, as the title of his novel:[6]

> Noli me tángere, words drawn from the Gospel of St. Luke, means do not touch me. The book deals with things which no one in our country, up to the present, has dared to speak of. They are of such delicate nature that no one would consent to have them touched by any-

5 - R. Martinez and Sons, Manila, 1956.
6 - Translated by Mr. Aurelio S. Estanislao,Jr., Department of History.

one at all, I attempted to do what nobody would want to do, I had to answer the calumnies which, for centuries, have been heaped upon us and our country. I described the social conditions, the livelihood, the beliefs, the hopes, the vices, the complaints,the grievances of our people. I unmasked the hypocrisy which, under the cloak of Religion, came to our country to impoverish us, to brutalize us. I distinguished the true Religion from the false and superstitious one, that which traffics with holy words in order to obtain money - that makes us believe in follies of which Catholicism would blush if it ever should take cognizance of them. I unveiled that which had been hidden behind the deceitful and brilliant words of our government. I told my countrymen our mistakes, our vices, our culpable and loose complaisance with these miseries. Whenever I found virtue I loudly paid homage to it. If I did not weep in speaking of our misfortune, I laughed for nobody would weep with me over the misfortunes of our country, and laughter helps one to hide the pains. The events that I recount are all true and have actually happened. Of them I can give proofs. My book may have some mistakes. That it has some from the artistic and esthetic points of view, I do not deny. But what cannot be disputed is the impartiality of my narrative.

In a letter to M. H. del Pilar, written from London in January, 1889, Rizal explains briefly his main purpose in writing his novel. His letter reads in part as follows:[7]

It is my most ardent wish that, without causing enmity or discord among us, six or seven Filipinos should arise who will eclipse me altogether thereby consigning me to oblivion. For, as I shall continue working for our country,my main interest for the present is to see that Filipinos should completely surpass me by working

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7 - Epistolario Rizalino, vol. 2, p. 97.

harder and by rendering greater service than what I have done. I wrote the Noli me tangere to stir up the sentiments of my fellow countrymen. I shall be happy if among those I awakened I find more capable champions. As for you, I am not at all concerned, for you are among those who have long been awakened...

In his letter to Barrantes, in reply to criticisms which Barrantes made against the Noli me tangere, Rizal reveals other interesting particulars regarding the nature and purpose of his novel. His letter reads in part as follows:[8]

My dear Sir: The honor which you bestow on me in bothering with my person and with "Noli me Tangere" in the "Section Hispano Ultramarina" (La España Moderna, January, 1890, Vol. XIII), and some innuendos and attacks therein which were directed against me and again against the ideas divulged in my book, give me the right to answer you, if only to defend myself and place things in their true light. Far from taking offense at the tone of your writing, sometimes acrimonious, but always condescending... I feel I am honored up to a certain point, for, frankly, I expected a cruder and more vitriolic attack (though perhaps less malignant), considering the literary gap that lies between us, and accustomed as I am to the petulance of journalists in my country.

The entire thesis and synthesis on pages 177, 78, 79, 80, and 81, is reduced to this: that I was guilty of contradictions, that I am "a bundle of contradictions", because in one part of my "Noli me Tangere", the captain-general was telling my hero that he was "the first man with whom he talked in that country," and yet, I, Rizal, in "La Solidaridad" petition reforms for my people. And for this, sir, you

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8 - Loc. cit., no. 347. Translation by Prof. G. Fores-Ganzon, Department of History.

call me "a novelist of his own sins, storehouse," etc.

What is strange that a captain-general, who is used to spending his three years in an atmosphere of vanity and veneration, surrounded by friars and interested persons, knows not the inhabitants of the country when you, yourself, in spite of your many accomplishments, do not know them? You, who do not court the friars, but is courted by them? And tell me, who is the sane man who will want to place himself near a captain-general of the Philippines and talk freely and frankly with him when he knows that the peace of his household can be upset by dysentery or a nervous indigestion of His Excellency? I admit that in the Philippines dysenteries and nervous indigestions are the order of the day among certain classes.

I know of a brother-in-law of mine who up to now is a deportee... without having known what crime he had committed to bring it about, save the fact that he is my brother-in-law. I, myself, "the man", your Ibarra...on the two occasions I presented myself at the palace of Malacañang, did so to my regret. The first time in 1880 because I was mauled and wounded one dark night by the Civil Guard, for having passed by a statue and failing to salute it. The statue turned out to be the lieutenant commander of the detachment. I was treacherously wounded on the shoulder without a word of explanation. I went to Mr. Primo de Rivera. I neither saw His Excellency nor did I ever receive redress... The second time was in 1887. I was called by Mr. Terrerro(s) to answer the accusations and charges made against me for my work. Well then, how many thousands of people worthier and more honorable than Ibarra and myself hardly see the tip of the hair or the bald pate of His Excellency? And you, sir, who is regarded as one who knows the archipelago - to how many have you spoken? How many have unburdened themselves to you? Do you know the spirit of the nation? If you do, you would not say that I am "a soul perverted by a German education", because what in me is alive I had since childhood - before I learned even a

word of German. My soul is "perverted" because I was educated seeing injustices and abuses everywhere; because since childhood, I have seen many suffer meekly; and because I, too, suffered. My "perverted soul" is the outcome of that constant vision of an ideal morality that yields to a stark reality of abuses, arbitrariness, hypocrisy, farce, violence, perfidy, and other vile passions. Thus "perverted" is my soul, but so are the souls of thousands of Filipinos who have not as yet left their miserable homes; who speak no language other than their own. If they should write or express their sentiments, my "Noli me Tangere" would, in comparison to their works, appear very small indeed. Their volumes would suffice to build pyramids on the tombs of all tyrants...

Yes, sir, you are right. "Noli me Tangere" is a satire and not an apology. Yes, I described the social cancers of "my country". There are depicted in it"despair and blackness" because I see much infamy in my country where the poor match the weak in number. I confess that I found it painful to expose so much that was shameful and degrading, but in making the picture with my heart's blood, I wanted to correct the evils and save the rest. Quioquiap, with whom you compare me, no doubt in order to belittle me and make me hateful in the eyes of my countrymen, described native customs to insult and humiliate an entire race; to ridicule and make fun of them, framing, like you do, generalizations out of secondary and remote premises. But I portrayed the good alongside the bad. I described an Elias and a Tasio because the Eliases and the Tasios exist, exist, and exist, even if the thought pains you. Only you and your co-believers, fearing that the little good I described might entice the bad to reform themselves, cry out that it is false, poetic, exaggerated, idealistic, impossible, improbable, and I know not what else. They would see only the bad so that the nation might be humbled and humiliated, because themselves unable to rise, they wish to have those around them sink, so that in this manner they might appear great and exalted. There is, yes, much corruption there, perhaps more than in any other part of the

world. But this is so because to the natural filth of the earth were added the wastes of transient birds and the jetsam that the sea leaves on the shore. Because this corruption exists, I wrote my "Noli me Tangere"; I ask for reforms so that the little good there is can be saved and the bad, redeemed. If my country were a republic like Plato's, I would not have written the "Noli me Tangere;" nor would it have achieved the success it had; neither would reforms be necessary for who likes medicines when one feels well?

But you wanted to trap me by default by your invention on page 179, claiming that in my "Noli me Tangere" there are no men who need the liberal reforms I ask in "The Philippines a Century hence". I can see that you have not read the whole book, but this I do not deplore. It was not written for you. However, since you wished to be its critic - an infallible critic - you should have read it all in order not to waste time by asking foolish questions. You ask seriously: "Why have you kept silent so long? What better way is there than the novel to proclaim to the world its mysteries?"

The greatest mystery is the freshness with which you imagine one thing and take it as the truth from which all conclusions should be drawn. Well then, my dear sir, the people I talk about in "The Philippines a Century hence" are found on pages 290 and 291. I do not cite the material here for I do not wish to waste time and paper. The whole world can read them. This movement which has reached every corner of the country...has produced the people of today...

Here is how your thesis amounts to: I am a bundle of contradictions because it is thus you want me to appear and because you see contradictions in everything. Do you wear glasses which give you "contradictory" view? Or do you possess the natural faculty to see only distortions? ...

I am glad that you place Quioquiap far above me. Place him on the moon and in the heavens, too. I shall never aspire to have his style. I shall keep my own, which is extremely bad, as you yourself would say: "academicus Vincentius Barrantes dixit, ergo ita est." But no matter how bad it is, it will never equal the wickedness of the abuses that it attacks. I can say with Lista:

> Of my untrammelled Muse
> The echo never lulled tyrants,
> Nor mean flattery poisoned its breath.

It has never corrupted an administration, nor has it tolerated injustice. Neither has it oppressed and exploited a trusting nation. Bad and all, my work served the purpose I wanted it to serve. If it is not a conic bullet -- nickel-plated and polished, the sort an academician can hurl, - but a coarse pebble picked up from the gutter, it has, nevertheless, hit its mark. I threw it at a double-headed Goliath, which, in the Philippines, is called friarchy and corrupt administration...

What would have saddened me more is to hear, in place of the rumblings and curses from the enemy lines, plaudits and congratulations because then it would be proof that the shot backfired. Since I wrote not for myself nor to knock at the gates of the Academy, but to expose the abuses and unmask the hypocrites, I have achieved my aim. Why should I bother about anything else? My work, moreover, has not been judged and cannot be judged, because its effects still persist. When the people it strikes and the abuses it combats have disappeared from the politics of my country; when a new generation comes which will not condone crime and immorality; when Spain ends this strife by means of open-hearted and liberal reforms; finally, when all of us have died and with us our pride, our vanity, and our petty passions, then Spaniards and Filipinos will be able to judge it with calmness and impartiality, without bias or rancour.

In the following letter, written to Father P. Pastells, S.J., from Dapitan, in November, 1892, Rizal gives additional information regarding the Noli me tangere:9

> Your Reverence exclaims on the first page: What a pity that such talented young man has not lavished his talents in defense of better causes:
>
> It is possible that there could be other causes better than the one I embraced, but my cause is good and this is enough for me. Others will, no doubt, render greater utility, better reknown, greater honors, more fame, but the bamboo in growing out of this soil, came to support nipa huts and not the massive weight of buildings in Europe. I regret neither the humbleness of my cause, nor the poverty of its rewards, but the meager talents that God gave me to serve it. If instead of the weak bamboo, I had been the strong molave, I could have done better. But He who has placed things in order, knows what the future brings and does not err in any of His acts. He knows well the purpose of all things, even the smallest ones.
>
> As for the honor, fame, or gain I might have reaped, I agree that all this is tempting to a young man like me, of flesh and blood, with so many weaknesses he shares with others. Inasmuch as nobody chooses his nationality nor the race in which to be born, and since at birth privileges or misfortunes inherent in both cases are found, I accept the cause of my country, in the sincere belief that He who has made me a Filipino, would know how to forgive the mistakes I commit because of our difficult state and the faulty education which, from birth, we receive. Moreover, I do not seek everlasting fame. I do not aspire to be like others, whose situations, faculties and circumstances might be and are, in fact, different from mine. My only wish is to do what is possible, what is within my reach, what is most needed. I have seen a glimmer of light and I believe it is my duty to show it to my countrymen. Others who are more fortunate - Sarda or someone else - let them soar to great heights.

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9 - Ibid., vol. 4, no. 575. Translation by Prof. G. Fores-Ganzon.

It is well that your Reverence confined himself in his letter only to the philosphic-religious question, leaving the political for a later occasion. I would ask him to reserve it ad kalendas graecas. The subject is a very delicate one - untouchable under the circumstances in which I find myself, as your Reverence will understand. Without liberty, an independent idea would be provoking, while something gentle would be considered submissiveness or flattery. I do not wish to be a provoker, or a fawner, or a flatterer. Politics, if it is to be discussed intelligently and with good results, needs, to my mind, a wide sphere of freedom.

About the origin of my work and writings, your Reverence intimated something to me that I did not suspect - when he alluded to certain resentments and my wounded vanity. I do not deny that such might have influenced my latest works, but with respect to the earlier ones... With all the sincerity and impartiality that a man is susceptible to when he examines his past, I turned my eyes to the first years of my life and I asked myself if it were possible perhaps that resentment moved the pen with which I wrote Noli me Tangere, and my recollection answered me in the negative. If at different times I have been treated with glaring injustice; if my writings were ignored in disdainful silence; if against all reason, my pleas fell on deaf ears, I was then still very young. I forgave more quickly than I do now and no matter how deep the wounds were, they healed at last, thanks to the equanimity with which nature has endowed me. There were therefore, no "inflamed wounds", there were no "thorns that had imbedded themselves deeply". What existed was a clear vision of reality in my country, the living memory of what went on, and sufficient prudence to give an opinion of the etiology - in such a manner that I was able not only to describe the happenings, but also to foretell the future, because right now I see being realized what I called "fiction" with such exactitude that it can be said that I am taking part in the presentation of my own work. ...

As for the "German inspiration", Protestant, etc. etc., I shall say that I regret to see the intellectual P. Pastells at this point, thrown together with the multitude who believe whatever they hear without previous examination. It is true that I have read German literature, but it was when I pondered on what I read. But to suppose that I had been influenced by Germans is to show ignorance of the Germans - their character and their actions. Half of the "Noli me Tangere" was written in Madrid, a fourth in Paris, and the other fourth in Germany. Fellow-countrymen of mine who saw me work can testify. When people encounter something unexpected, and do not have the patience, nor the calmness to analyze it, they attribute it immediately to causes that concern them more closely; if it is good, to friendly spirits, and if bad, to enemies. During the Middle Ages, everything bad was the work of the devil, everything good, of God or his saints. The French today look at the wrong side of everything; the Germans near at hand, and thus, the rest.

Nevertheless, for the sake of truth, I shall say that in correcting my work in Germany, I changed it a lot and toned it down further, but I also tempered its rancour, softening many phrases and toning down many things to better proportions as I acquired wider vision of things viewed from afar, and as my thoughts calmed down amidst the soothing peace of that country. I can say further: no German knew about my work before it was published; not even Blumentritt who always extolled the Catholic religion in his letters to me; not Virchow, nor Jagor, nor Joust with all of whom I consorted in the societies to which I belonged, nor Schulzer in whose clinic I was working. Yet, I do not deny that the manner in which I was living could not have influenced me, above all as I viewed in my memory my native land in the midst of that country - free, industrious, studious, well governed, full of confidence in its future, and master of its destiny.

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I am grateful to you for your bountiful charity when you say: "If, with my own blood, I

could wipe out those premises, etc., "... It is true that my situation is not too agreeable, accustomed as I am to live in other atmosphere, to enjoy the freedom necessary to man so that he may be responsible for his acts. It is true that I have to deprive myself of many things and even repress myself; that the loss of family, the ruin of a future prepared since childhood, the seclusion from the world constitute a great punishment, but who has no sorrows in this life? A little philosophy and again a little resignation enable me to carry my abject burdens. What is my misfortune compared to that of many others? I know very well that there are <u>better trees</u> which give greater shade, but in the midst of the darkness that reign in my country, I do not seek the shade; I prefer the sun.

"And what a dark cloud hangs over the future? Your Reverence concludes the paragraph where he wants to show the goodness of his heart. What shall we have him do? The tempest shall pass away and, if bad, I shall pass away with it. There are beautiful passages in the work of Kempis which say that "in this world there can be no perfect security, nor complete peace"; that "man's life on this earth is miserable," etc. Life is short and even the happiest, is filled with bitterness, so that verily, it is not worth the trouble to sacrifice a principle for round pieces of metal or for one in the form of a cross. Moreover, everything is a matter of taste: some seek happiness in riches, in honors; others by humiliating and deprecating their kind; others in making the rest believe what they themselves do not believe, or in believing what nobody else believes; others are content with self-love, by self-containment, etc. <u>Affaires d'education</u> as the French would say; nerves, as doctors would say; egotism, as philosophers would say ... Who knows if the storm your Reverence predicts, in addition to uprooting this young plant, would not also overthrow secular trees, or at least shake them and tear them - would not clear the polluted air which the stagnation of many centuries have ominously and quietly exhaled? Who knows? Who can divine the consequences of an act? Welcome, it would be, if this storm could produce good - progress in my country; if by it,

the attention of Mother Spain could be awakened in favor of eight million subjects who entrust their future to her...

Rizal's other novel, El Filibusterismo, was dedicated to Fathers Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. The dedicatory reads as follows:

A LA MEMORIA

De los Presbíteros Don Mariano GÓMEZ (85 años)

Don José BURGOS (30 años)

y Don Jacinto ZAMORA (35 años)

EJECUTADOS EN EL PATIBULO DE BAGUMBAYAN

EL 28 DE FEBRERO DE 1872

La Religión, al negarse a degradaros, ha puesto en duda el crimen que se os ha imputado; el Gobierno, al rodear vuestra causa de misterio y sombras, hace creer en algún error, cometido en momentos fatales, y Filipinas entera, al venerar vuestra memoria y llamaros mártires, no reconoce de ninguna manera vuestra culpabilidad.

En tanto, pues, no se demuestre claramente vuestra participación en la algarada caviteña, hayáis sido o no patriotas, hayáis o no abrigado sentimientos por la justicia, sentimientos por la libertad, tengo derecho a dedicaros mi trabajo como a víctimas del mal que trato de combatir. Y mientras esperamos que España os rehabilite un día y no se haga solidaria de vuestra muerte, sirvan estas páginas como tardía corona de hojas secas sobre vuestras ignoradas tumbas, y todo aquel que sin pruebas evidentes ataque vuestra memoria, ¡que en vuestra sangre se manche las manos!

(Gante, 1891.)

English Translation of the "Dedicatory".

TO THE MEMORY

Of the Priests Mariano Gomez (85 years)

José Burgos (30 years)

and Jacinto Zamora (35 years)

Executed at the Gallows at Bagumbayan on February 28th, 1872

The Church, in refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime which has been imputed to you. The Government, by shrouding your cause in mystery and in darkness, has given rise to the belief that some error has been committed in a fatal moment. And the whole Philippines, in venerating your memory and calling you martyrs, makes known that it does not in any way recognize your culpability.

As long, therefore, as your participation in the Cavite affair is not clearly proven, whether or not you were patriots, whether or not you entertained sentiments of justice, sentiments of liberty, I have the right to dedicate to you my work as victims of the evil that I seek to combat. And, while waiting for the day when Spain will rehabilitate you and will regret her participation in your death, let these pages serve as a belated wreath of fallen leaves on your forgotten graves, and whoever, without clear proof, attempts to smear your memory, may his hands be stained with your blood.

Ghent, 1891.

On the "Dedicatory" to El Filibusterismo, Jayme C. de Veyra, noted authority on Rizal, in his unpublished work, Rizal Redivivo, makes the following observations:

> This dedicatory calls for some clarification, or rather rectification. The author did not have, at the time, the opportunity to check up, as he usually did, on the accuracy of some details of his work.
>
> The exact date of the execution, is February 17, 1872, as can be seen from the official records in the office of the Secretary of the Government.
>
> With respect to Father Gomez, it has not been possible to ascertain definitely his age at the time of his death. A biographer of his simply states that he was born "in the first quarter" of the 19th century. Ed. Plauchut, who made a detailed account of the execution, wrote that Father Gomez was over 70 years old. Another writer makes the statement that, "Father Gomez apparently was born on August 19th, 1787." If this statement is correct, Father Gomez should, at the time of his death, be 85 years old, the age attributed to him by Rizal.
>
> Father Burgos was born February 9, 1837, according to his baptismal record. He was, therefore, 35 years old, at the time of the execution.
>
> Father Zamora, who was born August 14, 1835, was two years older than Father Burgos.

Another notable work of Rizal as a propagandist was his edition of Antonio de Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas.

To work on that edition, Rizal went to London in his second trip abroad in 1888. He took his residence at Primrose Hill near the British Museum where he planned to carry on his historical studies. The Museum had a good collection of Philippine historical material including a

copy of the original 1609 edition of Morga's Sucesos.

The new edition of Morga's work was published in 1890 in Paris. It contained a prologue which Professor Blumentritt had prepared at the request of Rizal.

Rizal dedicated his work to his countrymen. The text, in Spanish, of the dedicatory reads as follows:

A LOS FILIPINOS

En el Noli me tángere principié el bosquejo del estado actual de nuestra Patria: el efecto que mi ensayo produjo, hízome comprender, antes de proseguir desenvolviendo ante vuestros ojos otros cuadros sucesivos, la necesidad de dar primero a conocer el pasado, a fin de poder juzgar mejor el presente y medir el camino recorrido durante tres siglos.

Nacido y criado en el desconocimiento de nuestro Ayer, como casi todos vosotros; sin voz ni autoridad para hablar de lo que no vimos ni estudiamos, consideré necesario invocar el testimonio de un ilustre español que rigió los destinos de Filipinas en los principios de su nueva era y presenció los últimos momentos de nuestra antigua nacionalidad. Es, pues, la sombra de la civilización de nuestros antepasados la que ahora ante vosotros evocará el autor; es transmito fielmente sus palabras, sin cambiarlas ni mutilarlas, adaptándolas, sólo en lo posible, a la moderna ortografía e introduciendo mayor claridad en la un tanto defectuosa puntuación del original, a fin de hacer más fácil su lectura. El cargo, la nacionalidad y las vitudes de Morga, juntamente con los datos y testimonios de sus contemporáneous, españoles casi todos, recomiendan la obra a vuestra atenta consideración.

Si el libro logra despertar en vosotros la conciencia de nuestro pasado, borrado de la memoria, y rectificar lo que se ha falseado y calumniado, entonces no habré trabajado en balde, y con esta base, por pequeña que fuese, podremos todos dedicarnos a estudiar el porvenir.

Europa, 1889.

Translation of the "Dedicatory"

To My Countrymen:

In the Noli me tangere I began the survey of the present state of our country. The effect of my effort is to impress upon me the fact that, before continuing to present to you other vistas, it is necessary to have an adequate knowledge of the past in order that we may be in a better position to judge the present and to measure the road that we have travelled during three centuries. Unimformed like many of you concerning our Past, without voice or authority to speak on what we neither saw nor studied, I deemed it necessary to invoke the testimony of a distinguished Spaniard who administered the affairs of the Philippines at the beginning of its new era and saw the last traces of our ancient culture. It is, therefore, the shadow of the civilization of our forefathers which the author presents before you. I transmit faithfully his words, without changing them or modifying them, adapting them only to modern orthography and introducing only such changes in the original text as will render easier their perusal. The position, the nationality and the moral qualities of Morga, together with the facts and testimonies adduced by his contemporaries, almost all of them Spaniards, make the work worthy of your careful consideration.

If the book succeeds in bringing to your mind a vision of our forgotten past and in rectifying falsehoods and calumnies, then I shall not have worked in vain, and with this as a basis, modest though it be, we can proceed to the study of the problems of the future.

Europe, 1889.

Besides editing Morga's Sucesos, Rizal, during his stay in London, wrote for publication in La Solidaridad two notable essays: "Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años" (The Philippines a Century Hence), and "Sobre la Indolencia de las Filipinas" (On the Indolence of the Filipinos). The first was published in La Solidaridad in its issues of

September 30, 1889-February 1, 1890; the second, in the July-September, 1890 issues.

In "Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años" Rizal called attention to the deplorable conditions existing in the Philippines and to the urgent and imperative need for reforms. With prophetic insight, he warned Spain that unless she adopted a more liberal and generous policy toward the Philippines and introduced the needed reforms, she was bound to lose her possessions in the Far East.

In the following excerpts from "Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años", we have Rizal's views on the situation in the Philippines and the reforms he wanted Spain to grant to remedy the defects of her colonial administration:[10]

> The country no longer has confidence in its former protectors, now its exploiters and executioners. The masks have fallen. It has seen that the love and piety of the past have come to resemble the devotion of a nurse who, unable to live elsewhere, desires eternal infancy, eternal weakness, for the child in order to go on drawing her wages and existing at its expense; it has seen not only that she does not nourish it to make it grow but that she poisons it to stunt its growth, and at the slightest protest she flies into a rage! The ancient show of justice, the holy residencia, has disappeared; confusion of ideas begins to prevail; the regard shown for a governor-general like La Torre becomes a crime in the government of his successor, sufficient to cause the citizen to lose his liberty and his home; if he obeys the order of one official, as in the recent matter of admitting corpses into the church, it is enough to have the obedient subject later harassed and persecuted in every possible way;[11]

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10 - From the Derbyshire translation, found in Craig, Rizal's Political Writings. Manila, 1933.

11 - Rizal was referring here to the case of Benigno Quiroga, Director of Civil Administration, who, in 1887, issued an order forbidding the bringing of corpses inside the churches. The order was confirmed by Governor-General Terrero. The Archbishop of Manila, however, Fr. Pedro Payo, strongly protested against the order. The case was elevated to Madrid. There Quiroga's order was rescinded. See Retana's Account of this incident published in Cultura Filipina, February, 1912.

obligations and taxes increase without thereby increasing rights, privileges and liberties or assuring the few in existence; a régime of continual terror and uncertainty disturbs the minds, a régime worse than a period of disorder, for the fears that the imagination conjures up are generally greater than the reality; the country is poor; the financial crisis through which it is passing is acute, and everyone points out with the finger the persons who are causing the trouble, yet no one dares lay hands upon them!

True, it is that the Penal Code has come like a drop of balm to such bitterness. But of what use are all the codes in the world, if by means of confidential reports, if for trifling reasons, if through anonymous traitors any honest citizen may be exiled or banished without a hearing, without a trial? Of what use is that Penal Code, of what use is life, if there is no security in the home, no faith in justice and confidence in tranquility of conscience? Of what use is all that array of terms, all that collection of articles, when the cowardly accusation of a traitor has more influence in the timorous ears of the supreme autocrat than all the cries for justice?[12] ...

So then, if the prudence and wise reforms of our ministers do not find capable and determined interpreters among the colonial governors and faithful perpetuators among those whom the frequent political changes send to fill such a delicate post; if met with the eternal <u>it is out of order</u>, proffered by the elements who see their livelihood in the backwardness of their subjects; if just claims are to go unheeded, as being of subversive tendency; if the country is denied representation in the Cortes and an authorized voice to cry out against all kinds of abuses, which escape through the complexity of the laws; if, in short, the system, prolific in results of alienating the good will of the natives, is to continue, pricking his <u>apathetic</u>

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12 - The Spanish Penal Code was extended to the Philippines in 1887.

mind with insults and charges of ingratitude, we can assert that in a few years the present state of affairs will have been modified completely -- and inevitably. There now exists a factor which was formerly lacking -- the spirit of the nation has been aroused, and a common misfortune, a common debasement, has united all the inhabitants of the Islands. A numerous enlightened class now exists within and without the Islands, a class created and continually augmented by the stupidity of certain governing powers, which forces the inhabitants to leave the country, to secure education abroad, and it holds out and struggles thanks to the provocations and the system of espionage in vogue. This class, whose number is cumulatively increasing, is in constant communication with the rest of the Islands, and if today it constitutes only the brain of the country, in a few years it will form the whole nervous system and manifest its existence in all its acts...

The Philippines will remain Spanish, if they enter upon the life of law and civilization, if the rights of their inhabitants are respected, if the other rights due them are granted, if the liberal policy of the government is carried out without trickery or meanness, without subterfuges or false interpretations.

Close indeed are the bonds that unite us to Spain. Two peoples do not live for three centuries in continual contact, sharing the same lot, shedding their blood on the same fields, holding the same beliefs, worshipping the same God, interchanging the same ideas, without ties being formed between them stronger than those fashioned by arms or fear. Mutual sacrifices and benefits have engendered affection. Machiavelli, the great reader of the human heart, said: La natura degli huomini, é cosi obligarse per li beneficii che easi fanno, come per quelli che essi ricevono (it is human nature to be bound as much by benefits conferred as by those received). All this, and more, is true, but it is pure sentimentality, and in the arena of politics stern necessity and interests prevail. Howsoever much the Filipinos owe Spain, they can not be required to forego their redemption, to have their liberal and enlightened sons

wander about in exile from their native land, the rudest aspirations stifled in its atmosphere, the peaceful inhabitant living in constant alarm, with the fortune of the two peoples dependent upon the whims of one man. Spain can not claim, not even in the name of God himself, that six millions of people should be brutalized, exploited and oppressed, denied light and the rights inherent to a human being, and then heap upon them slights and insults. There is no claim of gratitude that can excuse, there is not enough powder in the world to justify, the offenses against the liberty of the individual, against the sanctity of the home, against the laws, against peace and honor, - offenses that are committed there daily. There is no divinity that can proclaim the sacrifice of our dearest affections, the sacrifice of the family, the sacrileges and wrongs that are committed by persons who have the name of God on their lips. No one can require something impossible of the Filipino people. The noble Spanish people, so jealous of its rights and liberties, can not bid the Filipinos to renounce theirs. A people that prides itself on the glories of its past can not ask another, trained by it, to accept abjection or to dishonor its own name!

We who today are struggling by the legal and peaceful means of debate so understand it, and with our gaze fixed upon our ideals, will not cease to plead our cause within the pale of the law. But if violence should silence us or should we have the misfortune to fall (which is possible, for we are mortal), then we can not say what course will be taken by the numerous forces that will rush in to occupy the places that we leave vacant...

History does not record in its annals any lasting domination exercised by one people over another, of different race, of diverse usages and customs, of opposite and divergent ideals.

One of the two had to yield and succumb. Either the foreigner was driven out, as happened in the case of the Carthaginians, the Moors and the French in Spain, or else these

autochthons had to give way and perish, as was the case with the inhabitants of the New World, Australia and New Zealand.

One of the longest dominations was that of the Moors in Spain, which lasted seven centuries. But, even though the conquerors lived in the country conquered, even though the Peninsula was broken up into small states, which gradually emerged like little islands in the midst of the great Saracen inundation, and in spite of the chivalrous spirit, the gallantry and the religious toleration of the califs, they were finally driven out after bloody and stubborn conflicts, which formed the Spanish nation and created the Spain of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The existence of a foreign body within another endowed with strength and activity is contrary to all natural and ethical laws. Science teaches us that it is either assimilated, destroys the organism, is eliminated or becomes encysted.

Encystment of a conquering people is impossible, for it signifies complete isolation, absolute inertia, debility in the conquering element. Encystment thus means the tomb of the foreign invader.

Now, applying these considerations to the Philippines, we must conclude, as a deduction from all we have said, that if their population be not assimilated to the Spanish nation, if the dominators do not enter into the spirit of their inhabitants, if equable laws and free and liberal reforms do not make each forget that they belong to different races, or if both peoples be not amalgamated to constitute one mass, socially and politically homogeneous, that is, not harassed by opposing tendencies and antagonistic ideas and interests, some day the Philippines will fatally and infallibly declare themselves independent. To this law of destiny can be opposed neither Spanish patriotism, nor the love of all the Filipinos for Spain, nor the doubt-

ful future of dismemberment and intestine strife in the Islands themselves. Necessity is the most powerful divinity the world knows, and necessity is the resultant of physical forces set in operation by ethical forces...

Therefore, we repeat, and we shall ever repeat, while there is time, that it is better to keep pace with the desires of a people than to give way before them: the former begets sympathy and love, the latter contempt and anger. Since it is necessary to grant six million Filipinos their rights, so that they may be in fact Spaniards, let the government grant these rights freely and spontaneously, without damaging reservations, without irritating mistrust. We shall never tire of repeating this while a ray of hope is left us, for we prefer this unpleasant task to the need of some day saying to the mother country: "Spain, we have spent our youth in serving thy interests in the interest of our country; we have looked to thee, we have expended the whole light of our intellects, all the fervor and enthusiasm of our hearts in working for the good of what was thine, to draw from thee a glance of love, a liberal policy that would assure us the peace of our native land and thy sway over loyal but unfortunate islands! Spain, thou hast remained deaf, and, wrapped up in thy pride, hast pursued thy fatal course and accused us of being traitors, merely because we love our country, because we tell thee the truth and hate all kinds of injustice. What dost thou wish us to tell our wretched country, when it asks about the result of our efforts? Must we say to it that, since for it we have lost everything, youth, future, hope, peace, family; since in its service we have exhausted all the resources of hope, all the disillusions of desire, it also take the residue which we can not use, the blood from our veins and the strength left in our arms? Spain, must we some day tell the Philippines that thou hast no ear for her woes and that if she wishes to be saved she must redeem herself?"

In a confidential letter written to Governor Despujol on August 30, 1892, Ricardo Carnicero, Spanish governor in Dapitan, reports an interview which he had with Rizal. In that interview Rizal expressed himself frankly on various matters of public interest at that time. Carnicero's letter read in part as follows:[13]

> My dear General: Inasmuch as Dr. Rizal has achieved certain popularity in the Philippines, which to me is not unknown, I tried from the moment of his arrival at Dapitan to win his sympathies. This is something which could not but happen in view of the good treatment that is being given him on all occasions. Now, with sufficient confidence, even going to the extent of getting my indorsement of his desired reforms, he said to me:
>
> > "I am very sure that the papers which were said to have been found in the pillows of my sister, have been placed there in Manila and were among the many copies which some days before had been brought to the city for distribution among friends. If my sister brought them, I would have known, and if she had an interest in their distribution, nothing could have been easier than to conceal them in her bosom, or in her stockings. If I had talked to my sister, I would have discovered the truth, although I firmly believe that she did not carry such papers. If that was what happened, I would call her stupid, and my sister is far from being so. For this incident, doubtless I have lost prestige before my countrymen, who would call me foolish, if it is not clear to them, or at least would suspect, that the papers could have been placed there intentionally in the luggage of my sister. When the General apprised me of the report received from the Chief of Customs, be-

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13 - Epistolario, vol. 4, no. 565. Translated by Prof. G. Fores-Ganzon.

lieve me, I had no idea of what was transpiring concerning me. I was very much surprised, therefore, when he ordered that I be taken to Fort Santiago. I was there 8 days without any charge being made, at least I should have been made to testify - something which I expected to happen so that I could defend myself against what appeared to have greatly upset his Excellency - the reference in those papers about the money of the Pope, which, after all, had been published in the European press from which the reference was extracted. To tell you the truth, I do not deplore the severity of the Governor-General's procedure towards me because from him, my country expects great reforms, and this is highly satisfying to me. I could write among others, to Pi Margall, Linares Rivas and Govantes, but the high respect which the General deserves from me, the favors given to my family, and above all, the need for self-restraint on my part so as not to create obstacles for him in setting up reforms in the Philippines, make me abstain from doing so. I would not wish to give publicity to the incident, except that my friends in Madrid would wonder why I do not answer their letters with the promptness that I am accustomed to do. They would doubtless think that I had them detained in Hongkong or that something new must have happened in view of my silence. At any rate, here I am perfectly well, separated though I be, from my family."

" -- Tell me, Rizal, what reforms would you like to see introduced in this country?"

"Rizal. -- Well, I shall tell you. First, give it representation in the Cortes. Thus, abuses committed by certain people will stop. Secularize the parishes and take away from the friars their right to share with the Government powers of ad-

ministration in this country. Let the parishes, as they become vacant, be distributed among the seculars who could well be natives or Spaniards.

Reform the administration in all its branches.

Encourage primary education by removing all intervention by the friars and giving teachers better salaries.

Give equal share of the power to run the affairs of this country to Spaniards and Filipinos.

Uplift the morale of the administration, and create in the capitals of the provinces with more than 16,000 people, schools of arts and trades.

These are my reforms. Once carried out, the Philippines would be the happiest country in the world."

" ---- Well, my dear Rizal, your reforms do not seem to me, on the whole, bad. Undoubtedly, though, you forget the great influence that the friars have in Manila as well as in Madrid. For this reason, it becomes almost impossible for the present to realize all your reforms.

"Rizal. -- Do not think so. The influence of the friars is losing much ground in all places, and I venture to assure you that, in any progressive government where five or six men like Becerra are in high favor, the friars will disappear. In Madrid, it is completely known what the friars are doing here, so much so that in the first conferences I had with Pi and Linares Rivas when the latter was with the liberal party, I was told things which I, a native of this country, did not know. Like these gentlemen, I can tell you the names of many who know well the doings of the friars in the Philippines. But, as they told me: 'The bad governments that in Spain come into power one after the other, are responsible for so much abuse on the part of the religious corporations. On the day things

change, we shall not forget those gentlemen.' -- In the Philippines, I am sorry to tell you, the friars are not liked; the more they intervene in public affairs the more hateful and odious they become. The deportation of my family was caused by the denunciation of a friar.

" ---- And are you in favor of the expulsion of the friars?"

"Rizal. -- No, sir, because in my country everybody is welcome. Sometime ago, during the manifestation of the gobernadorcillos of the province of Manila (March 1, 1888) petitioning the expulsion of the friars, and while I was in Japan, I was apprised of the occurrence by Perez Caballero. Later, I was consulted by friends from Manila about what they shoud do, and I told them: "For the manifestation, since it was done without my consent, you can suffer the consequences. I cannot advise anything on the matter."

" ---- Many of your reforms, as you may have known, will be carried out at the beginning of next year - the increase in the salaries of teachers, the increase of supplies for schools, and all the other things provided for by the decrees which you read yesterday. I believe you liked them."

"Rizal. -- Certainly, all of them satisfy me, but I fear they will not be pushed through because I agree with what the Consul told me when I left Hongkong: 'General Despujol, who is anxious to carry out many good reforms, will probably not remain in the country for the duration of the regular term. If the Government of Spain refuses to implement any of them, rest assured that he will present his resignation. General Despujol is a true gentleman, and, as

such, he would rather leave the position of Governor-General of the Philippines than abandon his plans.' Moreover, he has to meet difficulties which will be placed on his way by the religious orders. I have already advised my friends to give him support in his reforms."

" -----My friend Rizal, since you tell me you like this place very much and that it has good lands for agriculture, but neglected now for lack of labor, why don't you ask your family and friends to come here and settle, instead of going to Borneo as you intend to do?"

"Rizal. -- Well, the reason is simple: because the English government gives us guarantees that the Spanish government cannot offer. Do you wish that after settling here and cultivating lands for years and years, the friars should come and take them away from us?"

" -----Here you are far from the reach of those men; you should, therefore, change your way of thinking with respect to this matter. Moreover, consider that this is your own country."

"Rizal. -- Indeed, you are right, and for my part, I have told you many times that at Dapitan I, my family, and my friends could live comfortably, But suppose they do not like this place, and they become more miserable than they are, now, what then?"

" ---- Nothing, my friend, stop your worries. If it is true that you like this district, send for your family and friends, and I shall guarantee you, in the name of the Governor-General, that they will not be sorry for the change of residence."

"Rizal. -- Well then, begin with the transfer here of nine persons among relatives and

townfolks of mine in Calamba, who have been deported to Jolo. After them, I promise you, their families and friends will come."

" ---- With regards to the increase of 20 provincial doctors, you can get the post that will probably be created in this district. Do you wish me to speak in your behalf?"

"Rizal. -- If my family should come, perhaps it would be well for me to have the position. Without them, I would not consider it at all. Moreover, my friends would think me foolish, or worse. Nevertheless, 1000 pesos as provincial doctor, plus a contract for the supply of medicine of half a peso yearly per person, will amount to about 3000 pesos - a salary that is not at all despicable, hence quite acceptable. Therefore, you may proceed as you wish."

2. LA SOLIDARIDAD

In their campaign for reforms, the Filipino nationalists in Spain had as their main organ of propaganda the fortnightly newspaper La Solidaridad. The first issue of the paper came out in Barcelona on February 15, 1889, under the editorial management of Graciano Lopez Jaena.

Marcelo H. del Pilar, in a letter he wrote to Rizal on February 17, 1889, told of the publication of the initial issue of the paper. His letter read in part as follows:

At last our little periodical has come into being. It is democratic in its ideas, but it is much more so in the organization of its personnel. It is amazing how its director Graciano (Lopez Jaena) edits, corrects the proofs, makes the necessary adjustments, distributes the issues, even bringing the packages himself to the post office. The business manager, Naning (Mariano Ponce) gathers data,

> edits, corrects the proofs, writes addresses on the wrappers, seals the letters and also distributes the issues. I am the only one who is good for nothing, although I was kept busy by the newspaper during its period of inception and birth.

The paper was transferred to Madrid in November of the same year. The 21st issue, dated December 15, 1889, announced a change in the management of the paper. The announcement read as follows:

> The duties of Mr. Graciano Lopez Jaena, director of this publication in Barcelona, prevent him from continuing in that position in Madrid. His place will be occupied by Mr. Marcelo H. del Pilar y Gatmaitan.
>
> The management and the editorial staff are pleased to make known their gratitude to Mr. Lopez Jaena for the efficient manner in which he managed the paper in the capital of Cataluña. Needless to say, Mr. Lopez Jaena will have at his disposal the columns and the services of La Solidaridad.

La Solidaridad lived for over six years. The last issue appeared on November 15, 1895.

Mariano Ponce in the following article written in commemoration of the 23d anniversary of the birth of La Solidaridad relates the background of the paper:[14]

> The last decades of the nineteenth century saw unusual political activity in our country. The events of 1872 were followed by a period of apparent calm which lasted ten years. Later, articles by Filipinos appeared from time to time in the press at Madrid, giving information of the march of events here and setting forth existing conditions. Lopez Jaena, Eduardo de Lete, Pedro Govantes, Rizal and several others were the authors of those arti-

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14 - El Ideal, February 15, 1912. The article was included in Veyra-Ponce Efemerides Filipinas.

cles. At the same time Juan Atayde and other Filipinos in Madrid founded the association known as "Circulo Filipino" which received a subsidy from the Ministry of the Ultramar and which published a review as an organ of its own, But the association as well as the review did not live long. Later, in 1887, another review, entitled España en Filipinas, made its appearance, under the management of Eduardo de Lete. As soon as España en Filipinas was heard of, those who, in Manila, began to show active interest in public questions, started a movement to protect and to patronize the paper. A subscription was made and a few hundred pesos were collected. This amount was sent to the director of the review. But España en Filipinas had ceased to exist when Eduardo de Lete received the amount, and there appeared no possibility of reviving it.

The need of an organ of Filipino opinion in the metropolis was never more keenly felt. Arrangements were, therefore, made thru Ponce, who was already in the Peninsula, to have España en Filipinas revived. Ponce, however, found numerous obstacles to the realization of his plans. So he proposed in 1888 to start a new publication -- proposition which those in Manila accepted. Rizal was mentioned for the directorship of the proposed publication, but he could not leave for Spain as he was busy at the time editing Morga's Sucesos.

However, with the arrival at Barcelona on the first day of January, 1889, of Marcelo H. del Pilar, the question was definitely settled. The Filipinos who were in that city promised to finance the undertaking, until the necessary capital was raised in Manila for its maintenance.

On the 15th of February, 1889, the first number of La Solidaridad appeared in Barcelona.

The leading article appearing in the initial number under the title "Our Aims" (Nuestros Propositos), read as follows:

The provinces of Spain in Ultramar will find in La Solidaridad a determined advocate of their just and legitimate aspirations; an organ to voice their necessities, and to get forth, that they may be remedied, the evils which afflict those distant peoples.

It will discuss with unbiased judgment the political and economic problems which confront the peoples of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Fearlessly, but dispassionately, it will make evident the gangrene that corrodes society in these countries, as well as all sorts of irregularities committed in the administration of justice, finance and government of our beloved Antillas, the present and future needs of which engross the attention of all.

Its political program, therefore, with respect to the colonies of the Ultramar, is not bound to any system, or to any school.

As for the Philippines, inasmuch as they have greater need of support, deprived as they are of representation in the Cortes, we shall give preferential attention (thus complying with a patriotic duty) to the defense of democracy in those Islands.

A population of eight million souls should not be the exclusive patrimony of theocracy and traditionalism.

The Philippine Archipelago in the early years of our constitutional era had a place in our Parliament, having been heard and listened to in the formation of the organic law of 1812. But in 1837, she was deprived of this important right of her national personality, under the pretext that the new arrangement would work best for the happiness of her inhabitants and the development of her interests.

Since then it appears as if the policy of unmindfulness, neglect and indifference, towards our economic possessions has entered into the program of all political parties; and, while it is admitted that to study the evil and apply the proper remedy is of urgent necessity, all are for the postponement of the application of the remedy on the pretext that the ulcer is deep and mortiferous.

Other nations employ different methods: The British press and that beyond the Pyrenees publish reports featuring the fertility of the soil of that country. In the meantime, while Spain slumbers, the agricultural, commercial and industrial resources of the Philippines with the exception of those of monastic character, are developed by foreign capital.

Spanish integrity in the Philippines does not approve of a policy of unmindfulness towards our Archipelago; that country has heard the voice of the century; yonder are cherished legitimate aspirations for a better life, and we do not consider politic any attempt to throttle such aspirations with our traditional saying, 'that we shall see' ('ya lo veremos'.)

We believe, therefore, we are rendering a distinct service to the nation and to her institutions in offering, as we do, to public opinion a portion of the results of our humble studies on the questions above mentioned.

From another source, we get a slightly different version regarding the history of La Solidaridad. W. E. Retana gives us the following account:15

The large Filipino community in Barcelona in 1889, made up mostly of students, to whom the writings of Rizal and the European environment had imbued liberal sentiments, desirous of having an organ of their own, prevailed upon D. Pablo Rianzares to finance the publication of a paper. This Filipino was the first proprietor of the famous fortnightly, - La Solidaridad. At the head of the editorial staff was D.

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15 - Aparato Bibliografico de la Historia General de Filipinas, No. 2803.

Graciano Lopez Jaena, an orator of radical tendencies, a nervous and prolific writer, who was under the protection of prominent Spanish socialists, such as Sol y Ortega, Emilio Junoy, and other politicians well-known in the capital of Cataluña.

After the founding in Madrid of the Spanish-Filipino Association, the men behind La Solidaridad thought that, for their purposes, it was more advantageous to transfer to the metropolis the paper they had started in Barcelona. La Solidaridad thus came to Madrid. The first number that appeared there was the 19th, under date of November 15, 1889. The 21st issue (December 15) announced that Lopez Jaena had resigned from the editorship and that Marcelo H. del Pilar, who had acquired the ownership of the paper was to be its new managing editor. As the paper was somewhat radical in its views, constantly attacking the friars, the authorities in the Philippines forbade its circulation.

The men, all Filipinos, who distinguished themselves by their contributions to La Solidaridad were: José Rizal (who used the pseudonym Laong Laan); M. H. del Pilar; Mariano Ponce (who wrote under the pen names Naning and Kalipulako); Lopez Jaena; Antonio Luna (Taga-Ilog); José Maria Pañganiban (Jomapa); and several others. The Austrian professor Ferdinand Blumentritt also was a frequent contributor. Because of financial difficulties as well as of differences of opinion amongst its collaborators, La Solidaridad appeared for the last time on the 15th of November, 1895.

Unquestionably, the man who most distinguished himself as a newspaperman of great ability and wisdom was M. H. del Pilar. This man, having lost all hope of ever securing the longed-for reforms for his country, -- penniless and despair, had planned to leave for Japan, and there carry on the work. But death overtook him in Barcelona, July 4, 1896, a few days prior to the outbreak of the Katipunan, the origin of which was due precisely to his own initiative.

3. THE PETITION OF 1888 AND THE CALAMBA EPISODE

Dr. Tavera gives a brief account of these incidents as follows:[16]

> Before the publication of El Filibusterismo, public opinion in the Philippine Islands had been much stirred by an event which occurred in 1888 while General Terrero was governor. The people of Binondo and the friar who acted as parish priest in that town were at cross purposes, and the ill feeling grew to such an extent that a number of Filipinos presented to the governor a petition in which they begged that the archbishop and the religious orders should be expelled from the Philippine Islands.[17] The action of the petitioners was interpreted to mean a threat against the Spanish sovereignty, and at a meeting held by the high officials it was decided to prosecute with the greatest rigor all of the Filipinos who had signed the petition, which was said to be seditious. A large number of well-known persons were arrested and sent to jail, and public attention during many months was fixed on this occurrence. In the investigation and development of this case the government officials preserved the greatest mystery; peaceable, honorable, and respectable people were daily arrested and jailed, accused of the crime of conspiracy; and as though this were not enough to alarm the people, an old claim of the town of Calamba was revived. This was a case where the people of Calamba had brought a suit against the Dominican friars for the purpose of recovering title to certain municipal lands held by that order, and notwithstanding the fact that the trial of the suit was proceeding before the proper courts, Governor-General Weyler intervened, and for the purpose of strengthening the friars' side of the suit he sent an artillery company, composed of Spaniards, who carried their cannon

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16 - "Historical Account of the Philippines," Census of 1903, vol. 1.

17 - The Archbishop involved in this affair was Fray Pedro Payo of the Order of Preachers.

The text of the petition is reproduced in Del Pilar's Soberania Monacal, Appendix IX.

and camping outfit to the town of Calamba. Such of the people in that vicinity as dared to dispute the right of the friars to the lands in question were driven out of the town, their houses burned, and their families persecuted. Rizal's family and other prominent people of Calamba were expatriated and those who were able to escape arrest took refuge in Hongkong as an asylum from further outrage.18

In addition to the account by Dr. Tavera, it may be said that, in the closing days of the year 1887, the Department of Finance of the Central Government made an inquiry into the conditions existing in the estate belonging to the Dominican Corporation in the town of Calamba, with particular reference to the progress of production in the estate in the last three years. Availing themselves of the opportunity, the principales of Calamba presented a memorial on January 8, 1888, in which they made known that, while the estate had increased much in production, the income of the agriculturists tended to diminish, owing to the many exactions, abuses, and irregularities committed by the administrators of the estate. As a result, the memorial went on to state, the material conditions of the people living in the estate, instead of improving, had gone from bad to worse. Taking this fact into consideration, the petitioners asked that, either a formal contract based on equity be made, or, that the lots be sold to the tenants on reasonable terms.

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18 - The friar viewpoint on this episode is set forth in Sobre Una Reseña Historica, which was published in 1906 in refutation of certain statements made by Dr. Tavera in his "Reseña Historica de Filipinas."

According to the author of that work, the order of the court was executed by the agents of the law with the assistance of a military force; that the deportation of twenty-five residents of Calamba was effected after due trial; that, with regard to the destruction and burning of houses, only a few were pulled down, not more than four or five of these being of wood, the rest being houses in much dilapidated condition.

For presenting this memorial, the people of Calamba were threatened by the administrators with expulsion from the estate. Alarmed by such a threat, the people sought protection from the government, requesting its intervention in the affair. General Terrero was then governor and captain general of the Philippines. Known for his liberal ideas and tendencies, he enjoyed the confidence of many Filipinos. It appears, however, that the petition of the people of Calamba for the Government to intervene in their behalf was not brought to the attention of Terrero. It was not until May, 1888, when Terrero was no longer the chief executive of the Islands, that the petition was taken up for consideration. The petition was denied on the ground that the allegations set forth in the petition were unfounded.

Subsequently, the administrators of the estate brought suit in the courts for the ejection of the tenants from the estate. The judge of first instance of Laguna to whom the ejection proceedings were referred decided the case against the tenants. The case was taken on appeal to the Real Audiencia at Manila. The latter confirmed the judgment of the lower court.

Governor Weyler, who had succeeded Terrero, ordered a military force to put into effect the decision of the court. The court order of ejection was executed with undue severity. And, as additional punishment to the town of Calamba, the deportation of several prominent citizens was decreed. Among those ordered to be expatriated were the aged father of Dr. Rizal and Dr. Rizal's brother and sisters.

La Solidaridad featured the Calamba episode in several articles written by Dr. Rizal, Del Pilar and Eduardo de Lete.

4. LA LIGA FILIPINA

Rizal returned to the Philippines from Hongkong on June 26, 1892. Before leaving Hongkong, he wrote two letters - one to his relatives, and one to his countrymen. He left the letters sealed in the custody of Dr. L. P. Marquez,

a Filipino resident in Hongkong. Upon the envelope containing the letters, Rizal wrote: "Make these letters public after my death."

Texts of these letters follow:

To my dear parents, brothers, and friends: The affection that I have ever professed for you suggests this step, but time alone can tell whether or not it is sensible. Their outcome decides things but whether that be favorable or unfavorable, it may always be said that duty urged me, so if I die in doing it, it will not matter.

I realize how much suffering I have caused you, still I do not regret what I have done. Rather, if I had to begin over again, still I should do exactly the same, for it has been only duty. Gladly do I go to expose myself to peril not as any expiation of misdeeds (for in this matter I believe myself guiltless of any)? but to complete my work and myself set the example which I have always preached.

A man ought to die for duty and his principles. I hold fast to every idea which I have advanced as to the condition and future of our country, and shall willingly die for it, and even more willingly to procure for you justice and peace.

With pleasure, then, I risk life to save so many innocent persons: so many nieces and nephews, so many children, too, of others who are not even friends, who are suffering on my account. What am I? A single man, practically without family, and sufficiently undeceived as to life. I have had many disappointments and the future before me is gloomy, and will continue to be gloomy if light does not illumine it, the dawn of a better day for my native land.

On the other hand, there are many individuals, filled with hope and ambition, who perhaps might all be happy were I dead, and then I hope my enemies would be satisfied and stop persecuting so many entirely innocent people. To a certain extent their hatred is justifiable as to myself,

and my parents and relatives.

Should fate go against me, you will all understand that I shall die happy in the thought that my death will end all your troubles. Return to our country and may you be happy there.

Till the last moment of my life I shall be thinking of you and wishing you all good fortune and happiness.

To the Filipinos:

The step which I am taking, or rather am about to take, is undoubtedly risky, and it is unnecessary to say that I have considered it some time. I understand that almost every one is opposed to it; but I know also that hardly anybody else comprehends what is in my heart.

I can not live on seeing so many suffer unjust persecutions on my account, I can no longer bear the sight of my sisters and their numerous families treated like animals. I prefer death, and cheerfully shall relinquish life to free so many innocent persons from such unjust persecution.

I appreciate that at present the future of our country revolves in some degree about me, that at my death many will feel triumphant, and, in consequence, many are wishing for my fall. But what of it? I hold duties of conscience above all else; I have obligations to the families who suffer, to my aged parents whose sighs pierce me to the heart; I know that I alone, only with my death, can make them happy, returning them to their native land to a peaceful life at home. I am all my parents have, but our country has many more sons, who can take my place and even do my work better.

Besides I wish to show those who deny us patriotism that we know how to die for duty and principles. What matters death, if one dies for what one loves, for native land and beings held dear?

If I thought that I was the only resource for the policy of progress in the Philippines and were I convinced that my countrymen were going to make use of my services, perhaps I should hesitate about taking this step.

But there are still others who can take my place, who, too, can take my place with advantage. Furthermore, there are perchance those who hold me unneeded and my services are not utilized, resulting that I am reduced to inactivity.

Always have I loved our unhappy land, and I am sure that I shall continue loving it until my latest moment, in case men prove unjust to me. My career, my life, my happiness, all have been sacrificed for love of it. Whatsoever my fate, I shall die blessing it and longing for the dawn of its redemption.

During his brief stay in Manila, Rizal was able to obtain from Governor Despujol the lifting of the decree of banishment imposed upon his father, his brother and his sisters. But shortly after his arrival he was himself ordered deported to Dapitan.

In his diary, Rizal tells of the events and circumstances leading up to his deportation. Rizal's story reads, in part, as follows:

I arrived in Manila Sunday, June 26, at 12 noon. Many customs officers, with a commandant, met me. There were, besides, a captain and a sergeant of the Guardia Civil Veterana in plain clothes. I went down with my luggage and they visited me at the Customs House. From there I went to the Hotel Oriente where I occupied room No. 22 which faces the Binondo church. At 4 in the afternoon I went to see His Excellency (Governor and Captain General Eulogio Despujol), but I was told to return at 7. At 7 I saw him and he granted the liberty of my father although not of my brother. He told me to return at 7:30 Wednesday. From there I went to see my sisters Narcisa and Neneng.

The next day I went to Bulacan and Pampanga. I visited Malolos, San Fernando, and Tarlak, and, on the return, Bakolor ...

At 7:30 Wednesday, (June 29), I saw His Excellency but I could not obtain the lifting of the order of banishment, although he made me hopeful for my brothers...

The next day, Thursday, we talked about my plan to settle in Borneo. The General was strongly opposed. He told me to return Sunday.

Sunday (July 3), I went back. We talked about unimportant matters. I thanked him for lifting the order of banishment of my brothers and sisters. I informed him that my father and my brother would be coming on the first mail boat. He asked me if I wanted to go back to Hongkong. I said yes. He told me to come back Wednesday.

On Wednesday (July 6) he asked me if I persisted in my desire to return to Hongkong. I said yes. After a while, he told me that I had brought in my luggage some publications. I said no. He asked me whose were the pillows and the mats. I told him they belonged to my sister. For this he told me he would send me to Fort Santiago.

Mr. Ramon Despujol, his nephew and adjutant, brought me in a carriage of the Palace to Fort Santiago where we were received by Enrique Villamor, castellan of said Fort.

I was given a room, fairly well equipped, with a bed, a dozen chairs, a table, a wash basin and a mirror. The room has three windows: one, without bars, faces a courtyard; another, with bars, faces the wall and the beach; the third, which serves as a door, was provided with a lock. Two army men acted as guards. They had orders to shoot anyone who made signals from the beach. I could neither write nor speak to any one except to the officer of the guard.

D. Enrique Villamor gave me some books from his library.

The officer of the guard came every morning to present himself.

Every day a new chief of guard came who usually was a sergeant...

On Thursday, the 14th, between 5:30 and 6 in the afternoon, the Governor's nephew came to

inform me that at 10 in the evening I would leave for Dapitan. I got my luggage ready at ten o'clock. I was all set to go, but, as they did not come to fetch me, I slept. At 12:15, they arrived. The adjutant brought the same carriage in which he had taken me to the Fort. Through Santa Lucia gate he brought me to the Malecon drive where General Ahumada and other persons were waiting. In a launch another adjutant and two officers of the Veterana were waiting for me.

The Cebu left at one o'clock in the morning. I was given a good cabin on deck, on the door of which was the word "officers". Side by side with my cabin was that of Captain Delgras who was in command of the expedition...

We sailed past northern Mindoro, the west coast of Panay, and arrived at Dapitan, Sunday, the 17th, at 7 p.m. Captain Delgras and three artillerymen accompanied me in a launch managed by some eight sailors. The sea was rough.

The beach appeared to me very desolate; it was dark. Our lantern lighted a road covered with weeds.

In the town we met the commandant, a captain, Ricardo Carnicero, a Spanish ex-deportee (Antonio Macias), and the practitioner (D. Cannie?).

We went up the government house which I found quite spacious...

It was during his brief stay in Manila that Rizal founded the Liga Filipina. Le Roy gives, in the following brief account, the story of the founding an subsequent history of the Association:[19]

In 1891, Rizal set out for Hongkong, where he organized the first branch of his LIGA FILIPINA, and projected a return to his home. ...

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19 - Op. cit., vol. I, p. 75 ff.

A few days after arriving, Rizal assembled a large crowd of Filipinos of nearly all conditions of life at the house of a prominent Chinese half-caste merchant, for the purpose of organizing the LIGA FILIPINA on native soil. No particular pains were taken to surround the meeting with secrecy, and the aims of the league, as presented in writing by Rizal, were to conduct a campaign, through papers, pamphlets, etc., for the advancement and increase in culture of the people, for more liberal political institutions and improved educational facilities, and, as one of the specific means to securing all these ends, to organize cooperative Filipino commercial associations, establish foundries, machine-shops, etc., and in general endeavor to capture for the native element a more respectable share in the increasing commerce and industry of the archipelago.[20] Governor-General Despujol, sus-

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20 - A monument was erected near the spot where the Liga Filipina was organized. The inscription on the monument stated that the Liga Filipina was founded in a house on Ilaya Street, Tondo, on the 3rd of July, 1892. The persons who formed the board of directors of the Liga were:

President:	Ambrosio Salvador
Fiscal:	Agustin de la Rosa
Treasurer:	Bonifacio Arevalo
Secretary:	Deodato Arellano

Including among the members of the Liga were Andres Bonifacio, Mamerto Natividad, Domingo Franco, Moises Salvador, Numeriano Adriano, José A. Dizon, Apolinario Mabini, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Timoteo Lanuza, Marcelino de los Santos, Paulino Zamora, Juan Zulueta, Doroteo Ong-Junco, Arcadio del Rosario, Timeoteo Paez.

The aims of the Liga Filipina, as enumerated in its constitution, were:

1. Union of the whole Archipelago into one compact, vigorous and homogeneous body.
2. Mutual protection in every want and necessity.
3. Defense against all violence and injustice.
4. Encouragement of education, agriculture and commerce.
5. Study and application of reforms.

picious of Rizal from the first through the Spaniards' exaggerated resentment toward any one who speaks in a way at all derogatory of his country, let his good faith be easily imposed upon by those who were interested in seeing Rizal removed, or else seized the opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Spanish element which had been so harshly criticizing his efforts at conciliation of the Filipinos as a "policy of weakness". On July 7, when Rizal had been in the city scarcely ten days, he ordered him and a dozen of his intimates deported to the southern islands, Rizal being sent to Dapitan, a scantily populated district of Bisayans on the northwest coast of Mindanao.

The LIGA FILIPINA died almost at its birth, though revived secretly during the following year;[21]

Other provisions of the constitution of the Liga Filipina were:

"1) There shall be created a Popular Council, a Provincial Council, and a Supreme Council.

2) Each Council shall consist of a Chief, a Fiscal, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and members.

3) The Supreme Council shall consist of the Provincial Chiefs, just as the Provincial Council shall be composed of the Popular Chiefs.

4) The Popular Council only shall have command of the members."

(The text of the constitution is found in B. & R., vol. 52).

21 - The LIGA FILIPINA was revised in the early part of 1893. According to a report of Olegardio Diaz of the Guardia Civil of Manila, the Supreme Council, as constituted then, was composed of the following:

Franco ..... President
Arellano ..... Secretary-Treasurer
Francisco ..... Fiscal
Zulueta .....)
Legaspi .....)
Paez .....)
Bonifacio .....)-- Members
Nakpil .....)
Adriano .....)
Mabini .....)
Rianzares-Bautista...)
Flores.....)

but the cause it represented could not be smothered in such fashion, and Rizal's exile only served to excite the Filipinos to greater bitterness. After a lingering existence in secret for a year, the LIGA was formally dissolved, and prominent and wealthy natives, principally Chinese half castes and Tagalogs, but also a few Ilokans, Pampangans, Bikols, and Bisayans, pledged themselves to make stated contributions to carry on the contest (the Compromisarios). Almost at the same time, the Filipino agitation entered upon a new phase with the organization of a new secret society, in many respects distinct in membership and methods, and to a considerable degree distinct in its aims, from anything that had preceded it. This was the KATIPUNAN.

Before the formal dissolution of the Liga in 1894, popular councils had been established in the following districts of Manila:

Tondo, organized by Estanislao Legaspi into a popular council, called Talang Bakero; Trozo, by Andres Bonifacio, and called Nactan.

Elsewhere, only sections were formed, as were those in Ermita and Malate, organized by Flores; in Quiapo by Francisco; in Sampaloc and Nagtajan, by Adriano and Mabini and in Pandacan by Moises Salvador.

In the provinces, the progress of the Liga was very slow. Before its dissolution, only sections had been established in the provinces of Laguna, Batangas, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Bulacan, and Pampanga.

See Retana's Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino, especially volume 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

1. THE KATIPUNAN

(a) Organization of the Katipunan

The founding of the Liga Filipina marked the extension to the Philippines of the campaign for reforms which had been started in Europe by Rizal, del Pilar and other Filipino nationalists. The Liga Filipina, therefore, may be said to represent the Philippine phase of the Propaganda campaign.

The Liga Filipina counted with the enthusiastic support of many prominent people in Manila and in the neighboring provinces. Among the masses of the people, however, the reaction towards it was much less enthusiastic. The latter had the feeling that the campaign for reforms was not producing the desired results and that what the Filipinos should do was to prepare themselves for an armed conflict against the sovereignty of Spain, having for its ultimate objective the freedom and independence of the Philippines. It was this idea which led to the founding of a new organization more revolutionary in character, in methods and in purpose than the Liga Filipina. This was the Katipunan.

In the following passages, Epifanio de los Santos gives an account of the origin and activities of this society.[1]

> ... As it was the firm conviction of Andres Bonifacio that the campaign of La Solidaridad and the works of Marcelo H. del Pilar and of Rizal himself had only succeeded in aggravating the critical situation of the Islands, which made a change of methods necessary, the Katipunan did not delay long in materializing. Nevertheless, Bonifacio tried less violent means before organizing it, he followed the progress of Masonry in the Islands and took an active part in the Liga Filipina, to which he gave great impulse until he finally became convinced of its uselessness and

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1 - "Andres Bonifacio," Philippine Review, January, 1918.

reorganized it, as Mabini says, "under the name of Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (Society of the Sons of the People), already with separatist aims," Mabini gives an extensive account of the organization of the Liga, of its failure and difficult progress, and of the astounding success of the Katipunan.[2]

> Upon seeing the poor success of all work performed without order or concert, Rizal conceived the formation of a society entitled Liga Filipina, which was inaugurated a few days before his deportation to Dapitan, on the island of Mindanao. The constitution of this society limited itself to creating, by the vote of the members of the Liga, popular councils in the pueblos, a provincial council in each province, and a supreme council for the entire Archipelago, but it did not determine the aims and purposes of the association. I do not know whether these aims were determined at the first meeting presided over by Rizal in person, because I was not present and never had relations of friendship with the illustrious doctor. All I can say is that the society was dissolved a few days after its inauguration, on account of the deportation of its founder; and that later on, when it was reorganized through the initiative of Domingo Franco, Andres Bonifacio and others, they appointed me secretary of the supreme council. We then determined the aims of the society in a short program, in the following or similar terms: Sustain La Solidaridad and support the reforms requested by it; collect funds not only for the expenses of the newspaper but also of those of the meetings held in public in Spain in support of these reforms, and of the Deputies upholding them in Congress; in one word, we resolved to exhaust all peaceful and legal means, converting the society into a political party.

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2 - La Revolución Filipina.

The society had no better luck this time, as it was forced to dissolve after a few months of existence. Nevertheless the beginning was promising: the majority of the members of the supreme council were men known for their enlightenment, patriotism, and social position, and thanks to the efforts of Andres Bonifacio and others, the popular councils of Tondo and Trozo were soon organized, and those of Sta. Cruz, Ermita, Malate, Sampaloc, etc. were organizing. Each member was subsequently required to pay a small amount for monthly dues, the proceeds of which were applied to the expenses of the newspaper, which were the most urgent. The members paid in the beginning, but left off paying after a while, claiming that they were not agreeable to that purpose, as they were convinced that the Spanish government paid no attention to the paper, nor would it ever pay any to any other legal means. It appeared from the investigations made that the commissioners for the establishment of the popular councils had not required the acceptance of the program as a prerequisite for admission to the society; on the contrary, Andres Bonifacio who, through his tireless activity, had gained the most adepts for the society, was firmly convinced of the uselessness of peaceful means. The supreme coulcil, which was rather a committee on organization, seeing that its members had not been elected by suffrage, saw clearly that as soon as the members would elect those that were to be their officers in accordance with the constitution, the program would undergo a change, and the members of that council recognized for the first time that as regards political aspirations, the popular masses, whom the Spaniards considered as insensible or at least indifferent, ocucupied the front rank. Seeing that the efforts for conciliation and compromise remained without result, the council declared the society dissolved, in order to prevent the authorities from obtaining a knowledge of the same through dissension amongst its

members. Those who were in favor of continuing the paper, formed a body called Compromisarios (pledgors), because each of them pledged himself to pay a monthly contribution of five pesos for the support of the paper. Andres Bonifacio, on the other hand, reorganized the society under the name of KATIPUNAN NG MGA ANAK NG BAYAN (Society of the Sons of the People) already with separatist aims.

The Katipunan spread very rapidly, because the insolent and provoking manner in which the friars conducted their campaign of opposition had exasperated the popular masses; but if the organization of political societies had then been permitted in the Archipelago and the middle class, which was the most educated and influential, had been able to move freely, there is no doubt that the popular resentment could have been calmed and the growth of the Katipunan prevented, because that class was resolutely in favor of the program of the Liga, even after they had passed through most cruel torments, and still more after the Biak-na-bato treaty.

To this we need only add that the foundation of the Katipunan was precipitated by the deportation of Dr. José Rizal. According to the testimony of J. Dizon, this society was founded in a flat on Calle Ilaya, in the afternoon of July 7, 1892, the same day on which the Gaceta published the decrees of deportation issued by Despujol. The society was then composed of Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, and José Dizon, and since the founders were in peril of their lives at any moment, they adopted the most extreme precautions in order to escape the Argus eye of the authorities, which precautions also prevented a greater diffusion of the society among the masses and made of it something in the nature of a synagogue of a few bold spirits to whom life was nothing. The society, says Pio Valenzuela, was constituted in the form "of two triangles with the bases inverted and communicating

by the vertices of their angles." And while Andres was in a position to know all the members, these did not either know their leaders or the other members. Andres Bonifacio finally realized that if the society continued as it was, it would not benefit the popular masses. Therefore, upon the initiation of Emilio Jacinto, the man who subsequently became the soul of the society, they both established a new policy, that of propagating the society by means of committees. Bonifacio and Jacinto first secured a small printing press; then they got out a Primer for the society, something like a revolutionary code, entitled Liwanag at Dilim (Light and Darkness), and then something like a commercial code, entitled Samahan ng Bayan sa Pañgañgalakal (Commercial Association of the People), and, especially, they founded an organ for the purpose of defending the interests of the Katipunan and of serving as an efficient means of propaganda and of communication with the initiates of the society.

Before the approval of the famous Cartilla (primer) of Emilio Jacinto, Andres Bonifacio had already prepared a similar primer, but he withdrew it because Emilio Jacinto's seemed better to him. Don Andres did not call his primer decalogue though it was one in appearance, but simply Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Z. Ll. B. (Duties of the S(sons) of the P(People),). It reads as follows:

Duties of the Sons of the People

1. Love God with all thy heart.

2. Always bear in mind that the true love of God is the love of thy country, and that this love is also the true love for thy fellow-men.

3. Engrave in thy heart that the height of honor and happiness is to die in order to save one's country.

4. Calmness, constancy, reason, and faith in all work and actions crown every good desire with success.

5. Maintain the mandates and aims of the K. K. K. thy honor.

6. It is of the incumbency of all to deliver and aid, at the risk of their own lives and property, and any one who runs great risk in the performance of his duties.

7. Let the acts of each in good government and the performance of duties be such as to serve as an example to his neighbor.

8. In so far as it is within thy power, share thy means with every indigent or unfortunate person.

9. Diligence in the efforts to earn means of subsistence is the genuine love for one's self, one's spouse, son, daughter, brother, sister, and compatriot.

10. Believe in the punishment of every scoundrel and traitor and in the reward of every good act. Believe, likewise, that the aims of the K. K. K. are God given, and that desires for thy country are therefore also desires of God.

ASSOCIATION OF THE SONS OF THE NATION

To all who desire to join this Association

In order that all who wish to join this Association may have full faith in, and knowledge of, its aims and doctrines, it is deemed convenient to make known to them these things, so that in the future they may have no cause for regret and will cheerfully fulfill their obligations.

The aims of this Association are high and sacred: to unite in body and in soul all the people of the Tagalog[x] race under a firm oath, in order that, thus united, they may have the strength, necessary to pierce the veil which shrouds the mind, and, in the light of Reason, may find the true way.

Here, one of the first commandments is to love your country and to help one another in every way.

The poor and the rich, the ignorant and the wise, are all equal,--true brothers to one another.

As soon as a person is admitted, he must put aside his evil ways and must submit to the authority of the sacred commandments of the Association.

All acts that are contrary to dignity and morals are considered here detestable; hence the private life of any one who desires to join this Association must be subjected to rigorous investigation.

If it is the applicant's purpose merely to discover the secrets of the Society or to promote his own welfare, or to find out who are members of the Association so that he can sell them for a handful of silver, he should not proceed, for the mere intent would be noted, and to him shall be applied the punishment that awaits all traitors.

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x - The word Tagalog refers to all the inhabitants of the Philippines; in other words, whether one is a Bisayan, and Iloko, a Kapangpañgan, etc., he is a Tagalog.

KATIPUNAN NG MGA A. N. B.

Sa may nasang makisanib sa katipunang ito.

Sa pagkakailañgan, na ang lahat ng pumasok sa katipunang ito, ay magkaroon ng lubos na pananalig at kaisipan sa mga layong tinutuñgo at mga kaaralang pinaiiral, ay minamarapat na ipakilala ang mga bagay na ito, at ng bukas makalawa'y huag silang magsisi at tuparing maluag sa kalooban ang kanilang mga tutungkulin.

Ang kabagayang pinaguusig na katipunang ito ay lubos na dakila at mahalaga; papagisahin ang loob at kaisipan ng lahat ng tagalog.[x] Sa pamagitan ng isang mahigpit na panununpa, upang sa pagkakaisang ito'y magkalakas na iwasak ang masinsing tabing nanakabubulag sa kaisipan at matuklasan ang tunay na landas ng Katuiran at Kaliwanagan.

Dito'y isa sa mga kaunaunahang utos, ang tunay na pagibig sa bayang tinubuan at lubos na pagdadamayan ng isa't isa.

Maralita, mayaman, mangmang, marunong, lahat dito'y magkakapantay at tunay na magkakapatid.

Kapagkarakang mapasuk dito ang sino man, tataligdang pilit ang buhalhal na kaugalian, at paiilalim sa kapangyarihan ng mga banal na utos ng katipunan.

Ang gawang lahat, na laban sa kamahalan at kalinisan, dito'y kinasusuklaman; kaya't sa bahay na ito'y ipinaiilalalim sa masigasig na pakikibalita ang kabuhayan ng sino mang nagiibig makisanib sa katipunang ito.

Kung ang hañgad ng papasuk dito'y ang tumalastas lamang ng mga kalihiman nito, o ang ikagiginhawa ng sariling katawan, o ang kilalanin ang mga naririto't ng maipagbili sa isang dakot na salapi, huag magpatuloy, sa pagkat dito'y bantain lamang ay talastas na ng makapal na nakikiramdam sa kaniya, at karakarakang nilalapatan ng mabisang gamut, na laan sa mga sukaban.

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x - Sa salitang tagalog katutura'y ang lahat ng bumubuo sa Sangkapuluang ito; sa makatuid, bisaya man, iloko man, kapangpañgan man, etc. ay tagalog din.

Here, deeds are needed and deeds alone are held in esteem; hence no one should come in who can not work, although he be an orator.

It must also be made plain that the duties that all sons of the Association must fulfill are extremely onerous, more so if one should remember that they can not be evaded and that there is no infraction knowingly committed that is not rigorously punished.

If it is the desire of the applicant merely to seek a life of ease and pleasure, he need not proceed, for he will find here onerous obligations, such as to defend the aggrieved, and to investigate thoroughly all that is evil; he will thus find himself constantly burdened with responsibilities.

Everybody understands the dangers that surround those who initiated this sacred Society, as well as the hardships that result from existing cruelties, errors and evils.

Likewise everybody understands the need of money, which today is the force that gives life to everything. The prompt payment of fees is therefore required, which is one peso for initiation and one real as monthly fee. Of the money collected, an accounting will in due time be given by the person entrusted with its keeping. Moreover, anybody is free to examine the records. The funds shall not be disposed of except with the consent of the majority.

The things set forth here should be carefully considered and meditated upon for it is difficult to fulfill and carry them out, unless one has a true love of country and a sincere desire for the common good.

That he may properly be guided by his own judgment, let him read the following:

Dito'y gawa and hinahanap at gawa ang tinitignan: kaya't hindi dapat pumasuk ang di magkagagawa, kahit magaling magsalita.

Ipinauunawa din, na ang mga katungkulang ginaganap ng lahat ng napaaanak sa katipunang ito ay lubhang mabibigat lalung lalu na, kung gugunitain na di mangyayaring maiiwasan at walang kusang pagkukulang na di aabutin ng kakilakilabot na kaparusahan.

Kung ang hañgad ng papasuk dito, ang siya't abuluyan o ang ginhawa't malayaw na katahimikan ng katawan, huag magpatuloy, sapagkat mabigat na mga katungkulan ang mga matatagpuan, gaya ng pagtatangkilik sa mga naaapi at madaluhong na paguusig sa lahat ng kasamaan; sa bagay na ito ay aabutin ang maligalig na pamumuhay.

Di kaila sa kangino paman ang mga nagbalang kapahamakan sa mga tagalog na nakaisip nitong mga banal na kabagayan (at hindi man) at mga pahirap na ibinibigay ng naghaharing kalupitan, kalikuan at kasamaan.

Talastas din naman ng lahat ang pagkakailañgan ng salapi, na sa ñgayo'y isa sa mga unang lakas na maaasahang magbigay buhay sa lahat; sa bagay na ito, kinakailañgan ang lubos na pagtupad sa mga pagbabayaran; piso sa pagpasuk at sa buan buan ay sikapat. Ang salaping ito'y ipinagbibigay alam ng nagiiñgat sa tuing kapanahunan, bukod pa sa mapagsisiyasat ng sinoman kailan ma't ibigin. Di makikilos ang salaping ito, kun di pagkayarian ng karamihan.

Ang lahat ng ipinagsaysay ay dapat gunitain at mahinahong pagbubulaybulayin, sa pagkat di magaganap at di matitiis ng walang tunay na pagibig sa tinubuang lupa, at tunay na adhikang ipagtangkilik ang Kagaliñgan.

At ng lalung mapagtimbang ng sariling isip at kabaitan, basahin ang sumusunod na

DOCTRINES OF THE KATIPUNAN N.M.A.N.B.

A life that is not dedicated to a high and noble purpose is a tree without shadow, if not a poisonous herb.

Doing an act of kindness with a view to one's own personal profit, not from a sincere desire to be kind, is not charity.

A truly godly man is he who is charitable and kind to his neighbor; and whose thoughts, deeds and words are in accord with Reason.

Whether the skin be white or black, all men are equal. One may surpass another in wisdom, wealth or beauty, but he can not be superior to him in manhood.

The man of noble character would prefer honor to personal profit, just as the man of perverse character would prefer personal profit to honor.

To the man of honor, his word is sacred.

Don't waste your time: lost wealth may be recovered; but the moments that pass away will never return.

Defend the oppressed and fight the oppressor.

The wise is cautious of speech and knows how to keep secret things that must be held secret.

In the thorny path of life, the father is the guide of his wife and children; if he goes the way that leads to evil, to evil also will his children go.

Consider your wife not as a mere plaything, but as a partner, - a companion in the hardships of life; be considerate towards her weakness and think of the mother that cared for you in your childhood.

MANGA ARAL
NANG
Katipunan ng mga A. N. B.

Ang kabuhayang hindi ginugugol sa isang malaki at banal na kadahilan ay kahoy na walang lilim, kundi damong makamandag.

Ang gawang magaling na nagbubuhat sa pagpipita sa sarili, at hindi sa talagang nasang gumawa ng kagaliñgan, ay di kabaitan.

Ang tunay na kabanalan ay ang pagkakawang gawa, ang pagibig sa kapua at ang isukat ang bawa't kilos, gawa't pañguñgusap sa talagang Katuiran.

Maitim man at maputi ang kulay ng balat, lahat ng tao'y magkakapantay; mangyayaring ang isa'y higtan sa dunong, sa yaman, sa ganda...; ñguni't di mahihigtan sa pagkatao.

Ang may mataas na kalooban inuuna ang puri sa pagpipita sa sarili; ang may hamak na kalooban inuuna ang pagpipita sa sarili sa puri.

Sa taong may hiya, salita'y panunumpa.

Huag mong sayañgin ang panahun; ang yamang nawala'y mangyayaring magbalik; ñguni't panahung nagdaan na'y di na muling pang magdadaan.

Ipagtangol mo ang inaapi, at kabakahin ang umaapi.

Ang taong matalino'y ang may pagiiñgat sa bawa't sasabihin, at matutong ipaglihim ang dapat ipaglihim.

Sa daang matinik ng kabuhayan, lalaki ay siyang patnugot ng asawa't mga anak; kung ang umaakay ay tuñgo sa sama, ang patutuñguhan ng inaakay ay kasamaan din.

Ang babai ay huag mong tignang isang bagay na libañgan lamang, kun di isang katuang at karamay sa mga kahirapan nitong kabuhayan; gamitan mo ng boong pagpipitagan ang kaniyang kahinaan, at alalahanin ang inang pinagbuhata'y nagiwi sa iyong kasangulan.

What you would not want others do to your wife, daughter, and sister, do not do to the wife, daughter, and sister of another.

A man is great not because he is a king, or because his nose is high or his skin white; not because he claims to be God's representative, or because he holds high positions on earth; a man is great and noble who, though born in the forest and knows no other language than his own, is modest in his ways, possesses dignity and honor and fulfills his promises; who neither oppresses nor aids the oppressors; who knows how to love and to defend his country.

When these things shall have been disseminated, and when the Sun of Liberty, shining radiantly over this unhappy land, will shed its beautiful rays over the united sons of the same race -- all brothers in the enjoyment of eternal blessings, then the sacrifice of those who have gone before, as are the sufferings and toils of the past, shall have been amply rewarded.

If the applicant feels that he understands these things and that he can comply with the prescribed duties, he may so indicate in the following declaration:

To Section _____

I_____

native of _____ of the province of _____years old, occupation _____ civil status _____, and residing in _____ street_____.

Having informed myself thoroughly of the worthy aims and teachings of the Association of the Sons of the Country, I wish to join the same. For this reason, I respectfully request that I be admitted as one of the sons of the Association; at the same time I promise to comply with, and to obey, the teachings and the rules that are followed therein.

_____ on _____ of _____ of the year 189___.

The entrance fee has been paid.

THE TREASURER.

Ang di mo ibig na gawin sa asawa mo anak at kapatid, ay huag mong gagawin sa asawa, anak at kapatid ng iba.

Ang kamahalan ng tao'y wala sa pagkahari, wala sa tañgus ng ilong at puti ng mukha, wala sa pagkaparing kahalili ng Dios, wala sa mataas na kalagayan sa balat ng lupa: wagas at tunay na mahal na tao, kahit laking gubat at walang nababatid kun di ang sariling wika, yaong may magandang asal, may isang pañguñgusap, may dañgal at puri; yaong di napaaapi't di nakikiapi; yaong marunong magdamdam at marunong lumiñgap sa bayang tinubuan.

Paglaganap ng mga aral na ito at maningning na sumikat ang araw ng mahal na kalayaan dito sa kaabaabang Sangkapuluan, at sabugan ng matamis niyang liwanag ang nangagkaisang magkalahi't magkakapatid ng ligayang walang katapusan, ang mga ginugol na buhay, pagud, at mga tiniis na kahirapa'y labis na natumbasan.

Kung lahat ng ito'y mataruk na ng nagiibig pumasuk at inaakala niyang matutupad ang mga tutungkulin, maitatala ang kaniyang ninanasa sa kasunod nito.

Sa By_____
Ako'y si_____
taong tubo sa bayan ng_____
_____ hukuman ng _____
ang katandaan ko ay _____ taon, ang hanap buhay _____ ang kalagayan _____
at nananahanan sa _____daan ng _____

Sa aking pagkabatid ñg boong kagaliñgan ng mga nilalayon at ng mga aral, na inilalathala ng Katipunan ng mga A. N. B., ninais ng loob ko ang makisanib dito. Sa bagay na ito'y aking ipinamamanhik ng boong pitagan, na marapating tangapin at mapakibilang na isa sa mga anak ng katipunan: at tuloy nañgañgakong tutupad at paiilalim sa mga aral at mga kautusang sinusunod dito.

_____ ika _____ ng buan ng _____
ng taong 189_____

Nakabayad na ng ukol sa pagpasuk.

ANG TAGA IÑGAT NG YAMAN.

K. K. K.

N. M. A. N. B.

To the_____

I hereby declare that, having joined the K. K. K. of the A. N. B., I took an oath in the name of the Country, and in the presence of a respectable gathering of this Association, to sacrifice all that I have and everything that is dear in life, in the defense of the holy cause, until victory is attained, even at the cost of my life. Likewise, I swore to comply with, and to obey faithfully, its instructions and orders.

IN WITNESS THEREOF, I have signed this declaration with blood drawn from my veins.

_____ on _____ day of the month of

_____ of the year _____.

I assume the name _____

K. K. K.

N. M. A. N. B.

By .....

Aking ipinahahayag na sa kadahilan ng pagkapasuk ko sa K. K. K. ng mga A. N. B. ay naghandog ako ng isang mahalagang panunumpa sa ngalan ng Bayang tinubuan, at sa harap ng isang kagalanggalang na kapulúñgan nitong katipunan, na gugugulin ang lahat namaigugugol at lahat ng minamahal ko sa buhay ko, sa pagtatanggol ng kaniyang banal na Kadahilanan, hangang sa abuting magdiwang, sukdang ikalagot ng hiniñga. Sa bagay na ito, isinumpa ko ring, lubos na tutupad at susunod sa kaniyang Patnugutan at mga kautusan.

Sa katunayan nito, aking itinala ang aking pangalan ng tunay na dugong tumatakbo sa aking mga ugat sa pahayag na ito.

..... ika ..... araw ng buan ng ..... ng taong 189.....

Tinaglay ko ang pamanat na _____

b) Other Particulars Concerning the K. K. K.

((1)) Procedure followed in the admission of new members to the K. K. K.

The applicant for membership was blindfolded and was taken to a dimly-lighted room. Here the mask was removed. On this walls, sentences like the following greeted the eyes of the candidate:

> "If you have strength and courage, you may proceed."
>
> "If mere curiosity brought you here, better withdraw."
>
> "If you can not control your bad inclinations, do not proceed; the door of the 'Highest, Most Reverend Society of the Sons of the Country' is still open to you."

On a low table there was a skull, a revolver, and a cutlass. There was also a piece of paper on which were written the following questions together with their respective answers:

> "I. In what condition did the Filipinos find themselves at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards?"
>
> The answer to this question was: "When the Spaniards touched the shores of the Philippines on March 16, 1521, the Filipinos were already a civilized state. They had freedom of government; they had artillery; they wore silk dresses; they carried on commerce with Asia; they had their own religion and their own alphabet. In short, they had liberty and independence."
>
> II. In what condition do they find themselves now?

Answer: "The friars have not really civilized the Filipinos, since enlightenment was against their interests. The Filipinos were merely superficially taught formulas of the Cathecism for which they paid numerous costly fiestas for the benefit of the friars."

III. What hopes do they have for the future?

Answer: "With faith, valor and perseverance these evils will be remedied in the future."

The last feature of the initiation ceremony was the "blood compact". It consisted in the applicant's writing his name in his own blood, which was drawn from an incision made on his arm. The candidate also adopted a new name by which he was to be known in Katipunan circles. Thenceforth, he became a full-fledged member of the Katipunan.3

((2)) Membership.- Katipunan members were of three classes: Katipun, Kawal and Bayani. Each had its own characteristic insignia and password.

Members of the Katipun class wore in the meetings of the Society black masks with a triangular figure on them containing the letters Z. LL. B. Each of these letters was placed in each corner of the triangle. The password of the members of this class was "Anak ng Bayan."

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3 - The use of assumed names was one of the devices adopted by the Katipunan Society to preserve the secrets of the Society. Assumed names would make it difficult for agents of the government to know and identify members of the Katipunan Society. The following were some of the Katipuneros with their assumed names; Andres Bonifacio (May Pag-asa), Artemio Ricarte (Vibora), Emilio Aguinaldo (Magdalo), Ildefonso Laurel (Maytiaga), José Basa (Kulog), Miguel Aurullo (Morgan), etc. See Artigas, Andres Bonifacio y el Katipunan.

Members of the Kawal class wore green masks which signified "hope". They had for password "Gom-bur-za," which is made up of the first syllables of Gomez, Burgos and Zamora.

Members of the Bayani class wore red masks, and had for password, "Rizal".

((3)) Government: The political organization of the Katipunan followed very closely that of the Liga Filipina. There were in the pueblos and provinces Katipunan centers known as "Balangay" and "Sangguniang Hukuman". All of these were under the jurisdiction of a supreme governing body, known as the "Kataastaasang Panguluhan ng Katipunan" (Supreme Council of the Katipunan). As constituted just before the outbreak of the Revolution, the Kataastaasang Panguluhan had the following as members:[4]

Supreme Head (Kataastaasang Pangulo) -- Andres Bonifacio;
Secretary (Kalihim) ---------- Emilio Jacinto
Treasurer (Taga-ingat-yaman)---------- Vicente Molina
Prosecutor (Tagausig) ---------- Pio Valenzuela

Members of the Board (Kawani)---(Pantaleon Torres
(Hermenegildo Reyes
(Francisco Carreon
(José Trinidad
(Balbino Florentino
(Aguedo del Rosario

((4)) The Katipunan Alphabet.- This was an adaptation of the Roman alphabet. The same letters were used but these were differently arranged. The letter "a", was "z" in the Katipunan alphabet, "i", was letter "n", "l" and "ll" was "j", "n" was "ll", "o" was "c", and "u" was letter "x". The following were the letters in the Katipunan alphabet, with their corresponding equivalents in the Roman alphabet:

4 - See Hermenegildo Cruz, Kartilyang Makabayan, Manila, 1922.

Katipunan Alphabet		Roman Alphabet
Z	----------	A
B	----------	B
K	----------	C
D	----------	D
Q	----------	E
G	----------	G
H	----------	H
N	----------	I
K	----------	K
J	----------	L and LL
V	----------	M
LL	----------	N
C	----------	O
P	----------	P
K	----------	Q
R	----------	R
S	----------	S
T	----------	T
X	----------	U
W	----------	W
Y	----------	Y

The Katipunan alphabet was another device adopted by the founders of the Katipunan society to guard their organization against detection. With the use of this device Katipunan documents were not likely to reveal so easily whatever secrets they contained.

The following are samples of Katipunan documents, written in the Katipunan code:[5]

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5 - José M. del Castillo y Jimenez, El Katipunan o El Filibusterismo en Filipinas, Madrid, 1897.

Model A

1) By Bnj

2) Tñllnllgnp kc sn knp lln .....

3) ng hngngn'g pfs. 6 22 414 kbnynrn'g

4) xkxj sn.

5) bvnllnll nb jnllgchnll

6) Tclldc nk g..... 1896

7) Ng. Png. Ng. Tngn.

8) Gxntlln Pngsnllgfnll

Model B

1) By Bnj

2) Tnllnllgnp kc sn knp. ll.....

3) ng hngngng pfs. 1 kbnynrn'g x ksj sn

4) pnypnch

5) tclldc ñk g 1896

6) Ng. Png. Ng. Tngn.

7) Gxñtlln. Pngsnllgfnll.

The English translation of these documents, which are in Tagalog, is as follows:

Model A.

1) Section ..... Number .....

2) I received from brother .....

3) the sum of pfs. 0. 22 418 corresponding

4) to the month of

5) ..... month and week.

6) Tondo ..... of 1896

7) ....
Chief Collector

8) Guitna (Name of Place) Pagsanjan.

Model B.

1) Section ..... Number .....

2) I received from brother .....

3) the sum of pfs. 1 corresponding to the month of

4) .....
patron

5) Tondo ..... of 1896

6) ....
Chief Collector

7) Guitna Pagsanjan

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2. THE PHILIPPINES ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION[6]

(a) Population

According to the Census of 1876 prepared by the Archbishop of Manila, the population of the Philippines was 6,173,632, distributed as follows:

Tribute Payers

Indians and mestizos	5,501,356

Non-Tribute Payers

Clergy and members of the religious corporations	1,962
Civil corporations	5,552
Spaniards outside of the government	13,265
Army	14,545
Navy	2,924
Foreigners	31,175
Heathens not reduced	602,853
Total	6,173,632

According to the recount made on the 31st of December, 1887, the population of the Archipelago was 6,000,364 of whom 5,996,341 were actually enumerated.

The population by provinces according to the recount of 1887 was as follows:

Provinces	Men	Women	Total
Abra	20,685	20,633	41,318
Albay	146,498	147,281	293,779
Antique	54,887	60,547	115,434
Balabac	1,319	791	2,110
Bataan	25,923	24,858	50,781
Batangas	155,434	155,746	311,180
Benguet	8,000	7,734	15,734
Bohol	121,095	123,870	244,965
Bontoc	6,873	7,112	13,985

6 - Guia Oficial de Filipinas para 1894.

Provinces	Men	Women	Total
Bulacan	119,043	120,178	239,221
Burias	902	806	1,708
Cagayan de Luzon	48,996	47,361	96,357
Calamianes	6,720	7,571	14,291
Camarines Norte	14,832	14,277	29,109
Camarines Sur	82,085	82,828	164,913
Capiz	94,877	100,013	194,890
Carolinas	861	4	865
Cavite	68,224	66,345	134,569
Corregidor	248	236	484
Cebu	257,875	246,201	504,076
Cotabato	3,024	1,114	4,138
Davao	2,195	1,771	3,966
Ilocos Norte	82,615	80,734	163,349
Ilocos Sur	87,467	90,791	178,258
Iloilo	210,986	212,476	423,462
Infanta	3,575	3,525	7,200
Isabela de Basilan	717	402	1,119
Isabela de Luzon	25,130	23,172	48,302
Islas Batanes	5,248	5,269	10,517
Islas Marianas	5,034	5,138	10,172
Isla de Negros	124,841	117,592	242,433
Jolo	2,548	348	2,896
Laguna	83,744	86,239	169,983
Lepanto	8,231	7,921	16,152
Leyte	139,003	131,488	270,491
Manila	163,989	136,403	300,392
Masbate y Ticao	10,819	10,547	21,366
Mindoro	34,318	38,338	67,656
Misamis	59,439	56,585	116,024
Morong (Distrito de)	23,710	23,230	46,940
Nueva Ecija	79,919	76,791	156,610
Nueva Vizcaya	9,988	9,391	19,379
Pampanga	112,739	111,163	223,902
Pangasinan	153,414	148,764	302,178
Paragua	3,437	2,548	5,985
Principe (Dist. de)	2,105	2,093	4,198
Romblon	17,616	17,212	34,828
Samar	86,421	89,145	185,566
Surigao	34,189	33,571	67,760
Tarlac	46,698	42,641	89,339
Tayabas	55,149	54,631	109,780
Tiagan	3,870	3,923	7,793
Union	54,406	55,658	110,064
Zambales	43,753	43,522	87,275
Zamboanga	9,763	7,436	17,199
TOTAL GENERAL	3,035,377	2,960,964	5,996,341

(b) Provincial Government

There is no uniformity in the system of provincial administration because of the existence of different political conditions in certain regions of the Archipelago.

The provinces were classified according to their form of government as follows: gobiernos civiles (civil provinces), gobiernos politico-militar (politico-military provinces), comandancias politico-militar (politico-military comandancias) and comandancias de distrito (district comandancias).

The civil provinces are found only in Luzon. The following are of this class: Manila, Albay, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Tayabas, Batangas, La Laguna, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Zambales, Pangasinan, Union, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Cagayan, La Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya.

The governors of civil provinces are, in their respective provinces, the representatives of the Governor General of the Islands. Besides, they perform the functions which the laws prescribe in connection with the mail, telegraphs, prisons, charities, health, public works, forests, mines, agriculture, commerce, industry, and others which the Governor-General may delegate to them.

The politico-military form of government is to be found in certain provinces of Luzon, in the Island of Mindoro, in most of the Visayan Islands, in the Island of Mindanao and in the Islands of Paragua, Jolo, Balabac, Calamianes, Marianas and Carolinas. The provinces that are under this category are: Cavite, Abra, Tarlac, Corregidor (in Luzon); Antique, Cebu, Iloilo, Capiz, Leyte, Samar, Negros Oriental, Negros Occidental, and Bohol (in the Visayas); the districts of Zamboanga, Basilan, Misamis, Surigao, Cotabato and Davao (in Mindanao); and Jolo, Balabac, Paragua, Calamianes, Marianas, Carolinas.

Politico-military governors have the same attributes as civil governors, except in financial affairs which are administered by the financial administrators (administradores de hacienda). Besides, they assume military command in their respective districts.

The comandancias politico-militares are found in different parts of the Archipelago. The following are

of this category: Morong, Lepanto, Benguet, Tiagan, Amburayan, Quiangan, Cayapa, Apayaos, Itaves, Principe, Infanta, Cabugaogan and Binatoogan, (in Luzon); Romblon, Masbate, and Ticao, Burias and La Concepcion (in Visayas); Matti, Dapitan, Tukuran and Reina Regente (in Mindanao); and Siasi, Tatoan and Bengao (in the Jolo Archipelago).

The governors of these comandancias are officers of the Spanish Army. They vary greatly from one another with respect to their duties and powers. Some have the same attributes as the politico-military governors; others depend in certain matters upon neighboring provinces; there are some that exercise all the functions of the public service, including the judicial, subject, however, to the counsel of the judge of the nearest court of first instance; and lastly, there are those who, like the commandants of Saltan, in Luzon, and of Butuan, Pancol and Malanut, in Mindanao, are merely military commanders in their respective districts.

(c) Ayuntamientos

There are eight in the Archipelago: Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, Jaro, Batangas, Albay, Nueva Caceres, and Vigan.

The oldest of these is that of Manila, which was erected at the time of the foundation of the capital, May 19, 1571.[7] The others are of recent creation and they differ much from the former in attributes and prerogatives.

The president ex-officio of all of these is the Governor General, and the vice-president, the governor of the province where the ayuntamiento is located.

The Ayuntamiento of Manila is composed of an Alcalde of the first and an Alcalde of the second election, a sindic, fourteen regidores, and a secretary. The Alcaldes are elected by the regidores, and the latter, by the Governor General.

Those of Iloilo, Cebu, and Jaro, in the Visayas, are composed of one Alcalde, two lieutenants of the Alcalde, a sindic, nine regidores and a secretary.

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7 - The founding of the ayuntamiento Manila took place June 24, 1571.

Those of Batangas, Albay, Nueva Caceres and Vigan consist of an Alcalde, two lieutenants of the Alcalde, a sindic, twelve regidores and a secretary.

(d) Municipal Government

Municipal administration is under the Tribunal. It is composed of the Gobernadorcillo who is the chief executive in the locality, a chief lieutenant (Teniente Mayor); the judges of police, planted fields and cattle (Tenientes de Policia, de Sementeras y de Ganados). The other officials are the four second lieutenants (Tenientes Segundos), the lieutenants of districts (Tenientes del barrio), and the Directorcillo, who acts as secretary.

Each municipality is constituted by various portions of the locality, which are known as Cabecerias de Barangay. These are local entities of from forty to fifty families, under the titular direction of the Cabezas de Barangay. The post of Cabezas de Barangay was in former times hereditary, but now it is filled by the Central Government on the recommendation of the municipal government.

The Cabezas de Barangay together with the ex-gobernadorcillos and ex-Cabezas de Barangay constitute the Principalia of the municipality. It is this class that intervenes in the election and from which come those that are proposed for gobernadorcillos as well as for the Cabezas de Barangay and Cuadrilleros. By tradition, the Principalia has become a sort of consultative body, which the authorities generally consult on matters of administration.

(e) The Ecclesiastical System[8]

The Archipelago is divided into five dioceses: one metropolitan (that of Manila) and four suffragan bishoprics (Nueva Segovia, Nueva Caceres, Cebu and

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8 - Guia Oficial, 1894.

Jaro). These act independently of one another, in accordance with the constitutions promulgated by their respective founders and approved by the Holy See, and subject to the prerogatives of the Royal Patronage, which belong to the Kings of Spain by virtue of bulls promulgated by the Roman Pontiffs.

In the Archipelago the rights of Royal Patronage are exercised by the Governor General in his capacity as Vice-Regal Patron. His powers, as such, are extensive and include the power to make appointments to all classes of ecclesiastical benefices and the right to inspect all religious corporations, brotherhoods, and confraternities, as well as other associations which are governed by the Laws of the Indias.

The spiritual administration of the parishes and missions is entrusted to the regular and secular clergies. The first is constituted by the different religious corporations established in the Archipelago, and the latter, by the priests ordained in the seminaries established in the different dioceses.

Manila was originally a bishopric but it was raised to the category of metropolitan in 1596 by a brief of Pope Clement VIII. Fr. Domingo de Salazar was the first Archbishop appointed, but he died before the certificates of appointment arrived from Rome. The Archbishopric includes the following provinces and districts: Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, Batangas, Cavite, La Infanta, La Laguna, Mindoro, Morong, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Principe, Tarlac and Zambales.

The Bishopric of Nueva Segovia was founded in 1595 by a brief of Pope Clement VIII. The first bishop of Nueva Segovia was Fr. Miguel Benavides. The original seat of the Bishopric was the town of Nueva Segovia in Cagayan, but it was transferred to Vigan in 1758. This Bishopric includes the following districts and provinces: Pangasinan, Tarlac, Cagayan, Isabela de Luzon, Nueva Vizcaya, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Union, Abra, Benguet and Lepanto.

The Bishopric of Cebu was erected in the same year that Nueva Segovia was founded. Its first bishop was the Reverend Fr. Pedro de Agurto. It includes within

its jurisdiction Cebu, Bohol, Misamis, Surigao, Leyte, Samar and Marianas Islands.

The Bishopric of Nueva Caceres was also founded in the year 1595. Its first bishop was Fr. Francisco Ortega.9 Its jurisdiction includes the following provinces and districts: Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, Tayabas, Masbate and Ticao and Burias.

The Bishopric of Jaro was founded in 1865 by a brief of Pope Pius IX. Its first bishop was Fr. Mariano Cuartero. Its jurisdiction includes the following provinces and districts: Iloilo, Capiz, Antigue, Isla de Negros, Calamianes, Romblon, Paragua, Zamboanga, Isabela de Basilan, Cotabato.

Of the religious orders established in the Philippines, four administer parishes in the provinces; namely, the Calced Agustinians, the Recollects, the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

The Agustinians administer the care of souls in the provinces and districts of Manila, Batangas, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Tarlac, (in the Archbishop of Manila); Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Union, Abra, Lepanto and Benguet, (in the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia); Cebu, in the Bishopric of Cebu; and Iloilo, Concepción, Capiz and Antigue (in that of Jaro).

The Dominicans administer the care of souls in some of the parishes in the provinces of Manila, Cavite, Laguna and Bataan in the Archbishopric of Manila; and in some of the parishes of provinces and districts of Pangasinan, Tarlac, Cagayan, Isabela de Luzon, Nueva Vizcaya and Batanes Islands, of the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia.

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9 - Date of Pope Clement VIII's brief creating the diocese of Caceres in Aug. 14, 1595. First Bishop was Fr. Luis de Maldonado, O.F.M. (1595-1596). Ortega served 1599-1601.

See Souvenir Program issued on the occasion of the blessing of the new altar and annex of the Cathedral Church of Nueva Caceres, September, 1941.

The Recollects have under their charge the religious administration of some of the parishes of Manila, Morong, Cavite, La Laguna, Batangas, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bataan, Zambales and Mindoro in the Archbishopric of Manila; some of the curacies in Romblon, Negros Oriental, Negros Occidental, Calamianes and Paragua in the Bishopric of Jaro; and some of the curacies in Cebu, Bohol, Misamis and Islas Marianas of the Bishopric of Cebu.

The Franciscans are found in some of the parishes of Manila, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Morong, La Laguna, Principe and Infanta, in the Archbishopric of Manila; Tayabas, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, Burias, in the Bishopric of Nueva Caceres; Samar and Leyte, in that of Cebu; and La Isabela de Luzon in that of Nueva Segovia.

3. OUTBREAK OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

(a) Discovery of the Katipunan

For over four years after its establishment, the Katipunan organization, thanks to the precautionary measures it adopted to guard and preserve its secrets, remained undetected. Rumors were numerous and persistent of its existence and of its plan to overthrow Spanish sovereignty, but up to the middle of August, 1896, the Spanish colonial officials could find no concrete and conclusive evidence to substantiate such rumors. Governor Blanco consistently refused to give credence to reports of an impending revolt brought to him from various sources, invariably dismissing all such reports as the product of wild imaginings on the part of the friars. The Katipunan might have continued carrying on its subversive activities strictly according to its plans, undetected and unmolested by the Spanish authorities, had it not been for the betrayal by a member of the Katipunan who revealed to Father Mariano Gil, curate of Tondo, some important secrets of the Katipunan.

The story of the discovery of the Katipunan is told by Father Mariano Gil himself in a letter which he wrote to W. E. Retana on November 24, 1896. The letter was published in La Politica de España en Filipinas on December 31, 1896.

The letter read in part as follows:[10]

Tondo, November 24, 1896.

My esteemed friend:

> In spite of the fact that "El Imparcial's correspondent has given the account that you request and that I am mailing you a copy of that paper herewith nevertheless I feel that I must do as you desire in order that in your pa-

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10 - Translated by Austin Craig and published in the Sunday Tribune, December 22, 1929. Dr. Gregorio F. Zaide in his work, Documentary History of the Katipunan Discovery, Manila, 1931, has included the document among the appendices reproduced in that work. Artigas in his Andres Bonifacio y El "Katipunan", Manila, 1911, gives in full the text of the document.

triotic review the matter may be treated with the fullest details.

For twelve years without ceasing I have been working against the intrigues of the infamous filibustering Masonic sect. I obtained excellent results during the epoch in which the unforgettable Weyler was governor-general, but since that gentleman, to the misfortune of these islands, ceased to be in that important post, all my efforts are neutralized, specially since the Marquis de Peña Plata (General Ramon Blanco-C.) has been governing the Archipelago.

On various occasions I have called attention to and sounded the alarm over, separatist reunions. These at times were in the lodges, but more often at banquets, dances, concerts, and recently what are called bicycle sports, have all been utilized, to the advantage of the enemies of the fatherland and to our very great disadvantage. But the highest authority never made any other reply than: "Masonry, like filibustering, exists only in the imagination of the friars."

On the sixth or seventh day of last August, I sent a notice to the navy commander Señor Roca, by a person in my confidence. The commander referred my representative to Malacañang Palace so he could report to the governor general, which he did, and Governor General Blanco answered: "Undeceive yourself, freemasonry and filibustering are like a pit in which you put your finger and at once you touch bottom. Both evils exist only in the minds of the friars and a few other fanatical Spaniards."

On the 9th of the same month, and while my mind was tormented by the repeated confidences which were warning me of the nearness of the catastrophe, I revealed to General Echaluce the whole plot of the conspiracy with its minute details, and this gentleman, though he was unable to do all I would have liked, still took the measures of precaution which his position of Manila's military governor permitted him to.

Finally came the 19th, and God had taken it upon Himself to inspire a resident of this district, an employee of the printery of the newspaper "Diario de Manila" to tell his sister (who had found a home in the orphan asylum under the charge of the Augustinian nuns) all that he had heard from his fellow workers in the "Diario" printing office about the conspiracy which was coming to a head. On the advice of his sister and of the nun that he should tell it all to Friar Mariano Gil, on the very same day at 6:16 p.m. the Indian (Filipino-C) came to me, not in the confessional as some have charged, but in the sala of the parish priest's residence and said: "Father I have something of importance to tell you."

"About what?" I asked him.

"About murdering you and all the rest of the Spaniards", was his answer.

And he went on telling me all that I already knew, except one fact of which I was ignorant, or it would be better to say that I had considered it untrue on taking into account the character of the details with which it had come to me. This was the existence of 1,500 men, many of them armed, in the settlement called Tapusia in the jurisdiction of San Mateo, but no longer could I refuse to credit this most important fact since all the rest that he had told me agreed with the confidence that I have been receiving.

I continued to cross-question him, playing on his pride, as to the resources which so many men could command to live on in a hamlet so scantily supplied, and also as to how they may have secured weapons. He answered this was done out of money which the members had contributed in the conspirators' society "Katipunan" which numbered many thousands in the districts of Manila and the towns of the province, as many as 18,000 at least; besides large sums had been donated by four or five rich men in Manila and by three in Cavite. And on my requiring from him some document with signature that could prove beyond ques-

tion the existence of this assessment that the members were paying, he responded that I could not only seize the documents that I required but even the very lithographic stone with which the receipts were printed, besides the key to the cipher (in Japanese he told me) in which were indicated the respective contributions. At the same time he described to me the place in the printery where I could find the stone and begged me to go myself to search for it.

He added that for many months back, daggers were being made in the fire-box of the engine that ran the printing machines, between 12:00 and 12:30 of the noon hour. Also that the weapons of the 1500 men who were living in Tapsui had come in the Japanese Warship Kongo, being smuggled out of the bay by the Bitas Canal of this district. You can imagine the emotion that I experienced when you consider the conspiracy disclosed. Without losing a moment's time, I dispatched a messenger for the lieutenant of this section of the Guardia Veterana, Don José Cortes to whom, in the presence of the informer, I communicated the most precise details, at the same time giving him the names of those in the printery who were implicated, beginning with the two who signed the receipts, Policarpio Turla and Braulio Rivera. I pointed out to him how to proceed in detaining and examining all those incriminated.

At 6:40 the idea occurred to me to go personally, taking advantage of how well-known I am and of my good relations with the authorities. Another reason was that I did not feel entire confidence in view of the lieutenant's, however excusable, scanty knowledge of the affairs of the Indians, as to certain elements among them to whom he might have recourse. Then my fear, lest if the discovery fell down, General Blanco would be strengthened in his erroneous opinion, decided me, trusting in God, to go alone to the printery at a time when no employees were there, and discover and see first I was seeking.

I explained matters to the owner of the establishment, Don Ramon Montes, and two other

Spaniards who had charge of the accounting department. They were amazed, astounded, but assenting and most gladly opened for me all the doors and with great interest helped search for the "corpus delicti" --- the lithographic stone. After half an hour's hunt we found it and took the first proof. Then, satisfied with my labors and efforts, I made my way to the headquarters of the "Veterana" (Veteran police) in Tondo where I found the informer who recognized the proof as genuine. Two hours more saw my efforts crowned with the confession of the guilty figuring in the first place the two whose names I have given.

At midnight there was discovered in the same place, in a locker used by Policarpio Turla, a dagger, the rules of the Katipunan, and various other documents relating to it. All these, together with famous stone, were turned over by Sr. Montes to the "Veterana" who now have them.

On the following day I confiscated in the house of a parishioner another dagger of identical design with the first, another book of rules and various receipts, together with the cipher key.

This is the truth as to the discovery.

See now the report which General Blanco made to Señor Canovas, in the daily "El Nacional" of October 7, and comparing with my candid and truthful account you will observe the greatest contradiction. (Here follows a comparison and then, the signature of Fr. Mariano G. C.)

The portion of Father Gil's letter which is omitted in the Craig translation is here inserted:

"In that report he confidently asserted that he knew everything about the conspiracy, whereas the fact is that on August 9, he gave the answer that I quoted above. He stated also that the informer had a sister in Looban, which is not true, for the sister was in Mandaloya. Also, that the commandant of the Veterana went to the printing office, which is likewise not true,

for the captain (not the commandant) did not intervene until at midnight.

"With regards to Sr. Luengo's statement, a few things also need to be rectified. It now appears that everybody knew of the affair, whereas the incontrovertible fact is that the discovery was made by none other than this humble curate who, on that same night, was marked for assassination. According to Policarpo's testimony, I was to be disposed of following the assassination of certain individuals of the Spanish community. It is known also that Andres Bonifacio, the true founder of the Katipunan, had to bribe last May four insurgents "for fear," as he himself stated, "lest they upset the plans of the Katipunan," knowing as he did my vigilance.

"You may use these facts as you please, whose veracity I vouch for.

"Through a person I can trust I shall send you some interesting documents.

Affectionately yours,

Fr. MARIANO GIL."

José M. del Castillo has a slightly different version of the discovery:[11]

An Indian named Patiño, who was typesetter in the Diario de Manila, deeply grieved by the ill treatment he received at the hands of his fellow members as a result of differences that arose over the payment of fees which he refused to pay, happened to mention this unpleasant incident to a sister of his who was studying in the College of Mandaloyon. In relating the incident, he mentioned the cause for which

11 - Op. cit.

he was maltreated, explaining in detail the revolutionary plot that was being organized. The sister, greatly alarmed, went to see the Superior of the college and told what she had heard from her brother. The two women, panic-stricken, informed Father Mariano Gil of the secret and the latter advised them to send Patiño to him in order to answer certain questions.

Patiño, in effect, went to the convent of Tondo and appeared before P. Mariano. The latter had a difficult task in winning Patiño's confidence who tried by evasive replies and manifestations of ignorance, to conceal the truth. But in the end P. Mariano obtained from Patiño defined information as to where the Katipuneros kept certain documents which might reveal the secret of the Katipunan and the identity of its founders.

With that information P. Gil, accompanied by Patiño, went to the offices of the Diario de Manila, at seven o'clock in the evening of August 20, 1896. All the typesetters were still at work in the office and P. Gil braving their fury and antagonism, went to where Patiño said the papers were kept, and gathered those up, thus securing the incontrovertible proofs of the existence of the Katipunan.

From revelations made by Katipuneros who were taken in for police investigation immediately after the discovery, the Spanish authorities came to know the real nature and purpose of the Society and the extent and magnitude of its subversive activities. Confronted by the startling facts uncovered by Father Gil and the Guardia Civil, Governor Blanco, who up to that time for reasons of his own had been disinclined to take repressive measures, was constrained to act. On August 21, he sent a telegraphic message to the Spanish government in Madrid informing it of the discovery of the Katipunan. In that message, the Governor hinted that summary proceedings would be adopted in dealing with the situation.[12] On August 30, he placed eight provinces in Central Luzon-Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Laguna, Cavite and Batangas - under martial law.

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12 - Text of Blanco's message is in Artigas, op. cit., p. 56.

News of the discovery of the Katipunan and of the arrests of Katipunan suspects which followed created no little consternation in the ranks of the Katipunan. Andres Bonifacio, realizing the imminent danger that confronted him and the other leaders of the Katipunan, precipitately left Manila and went into hiding in the neighboring town of Caloocan.

The next few days saw momentous events in the history of the Katipunan. The most memorable of these was that which is now popularly known as the "Cry of Balintawak". It was the opening event of the Philippine Revolution. The spot on which this event is believed to have taken place is now marked by the Balintawak monument. According to the inscription placed on the monument, the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896. This date has been the officially accepted date for this event.

There is disagreement among historical witnesses as to the place and time of occurrence of what is at present generally known as the "Cry of Balintawak." Guillermo Masangkay, who was present at the historic occasion, confirmed the official version in all its essential details in a statement that he made in 1932. According to him the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896, near the spot where the monument now stands.[13]

Dr. Pio Valenzuela, who also had personal knowledge of the event, gives us to understand that it was at Pugad Lawin, not in Balintawak, in the yard of Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino, where the decision was made to take up arms. Dr. Valenzuela also states that the date of this event was August 23, not August 26. Moreover, Dr. Valenzuela says that, at the close of the meeting at Pugad Lawin, which was tumultuous, many of the Katipuneros tore their cedula certificates and shouted: "Long live the Philippines! Long live the Katipunan![14]

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13 - "A Katipunero Speaks", The Tribune Sunday Magazine, Manila, August 21, 1932.

14 - "Memoirs of the K.K.K. and the Philippine Revolution". Also, Valenzuela's statement published in Sunday Times, Aug. 29, 1948.

From another source we get a slightly different version. Santiago Alvarez, who, like Dr. Valenzuela and Guillermo Masangkay, was a prominent member of the Katipunan, in a series of articles published in Sampaguita, a Tagalog weekly, in 1927 and 1928, gave a detailed account of the history of the Katipunan. The account was prepared, according to him, from notes that he kept relating to his experiences as a member of the Katipunan.

Alvarez' account gives us to understand that it was on Monday, August 24, on the grounds of Melchora Aquino, at Sampalukan, Bahay Toro, that Andres Bonifacio and his Katipuneros met and made the historic decision to take up arms.15

Alvarez' narrative contains the following entries:

> Sunday, August 23, 1896.
>
> As early as 10 o'clock in the morning, at the house and barn of Kabesang Melchora, at a place called Sampalukan, barrio of Bahay-Toro, Katipuneros began to gather. About 500 of these arrived ready and eager to join the "Supremo", Andres Bonifacio, and his men...
>
> Monday, August 24, 1896.
>
> There were about 1,000 Katipuneros... The "Supremo" decided to hold a meeting inside the big barn. Under his presidency, the meeting began at 10 o'clock in the morning..."
>
> It was 12 o'clock noon when the meeting was adjourned amidst loud cries of "Long live the Sons of the Country. ("Mabuhay ang mga anak ng Bayan.")
>
> Tuesday, August 25, 1896.
>
> At two o'clock in the afternoon, a Katipunero look-out, watching from a sampalok

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15 - "Ang Katipunan at Paghihimagsik". Sampaguita, Agosto 14, 1927.

tree, reported that enemy troops were approaching. The Katipuneros immediately made ready to meet the enemy. At a point between Kangkong, Balintawak and Bahay-Toro, a brief encounter took place.

The earliest reference in a published Spanish document to the events of August 1896 is that made by Olegario Diaz of the Guardia Civil Veterana.[16] Diaz wrote a report on October 28, 1896, giving his version of those events. His account was prepared on the basis of official reports of the doings of the Guardia Civil and on information given by persons who either were captured by the Spaniards or voluntarily surrendered to take advantage of the amnesty offered under Governor Blanco's proclamation of August 30, 1896. Many of these had actual participation in the events of August, 1896, and, therefore, had first hand knowledge of those events. From Diaz' report, it appears that it was in the barrio of Balintawak where Bonifacio and the Katipuneros, in a meeting held on August 25, made their historic decision to go to war.

Diaz' report on the Balintawak affair reads as follows:

> The conspiracy having been discovered, Bonifacio and his followers hurriedly fled to the nearby town of Caloocan... On the 23rd Bonifacio moved to the barrio of Balintanac (sic.) followed by 200 men from Caloocan; on the 24th they were attacked by the Guardia Civil in the outskirts of the said town and they retreated to their old hiding places.
>
> The Supreme Council called for a big meeting to be held the following day in the above mentioned barrio. More than 500 members attended. The meeting began with a discussion of what course should be taken in the face of the new situation and in view of the arrests that were being made. There were some who were disposed to go back and surrender to the Spanish government. Bonifacio was strongly opposed to

16 - In Retana, op. cit.

go back and surrender to the Spanish government. Bonifacio was strongly opposed to such a course. He was for taking up arms at once. Put to a vote, Bonifacio's proposal was approved by an overwhelming majority. See how strong an influence he wields!

Orders were immediately sent out to Manila, Cavite, Nueva Ecija and other provinces for the Katipuneros to strike at dawn on Sunday, August 30th.

(b) The Battle of San Juan del Monte

The first bloody engagement of the Revolution took place in San Juan del Monte, close to the spot where the Pinaglabanan monument now stands. John Foreman, who was an eye-witness of the events of this period, wrote as follows on that battle and of the executions that followed:[17]

About 4 a.m. on Sunday, August 30, the rebels concentrated at the village of San Juan del Monte, distant half an hour on horseback from the city gates. They endeavoured to seize the powder magazine. One Spanish artilleryman was killed and several of the defenders were badly wounded whilst engaged in dropping ammunition from window openings into a stream which runs close by. Cavalry and infantry reinforcements were at once sent out, and the first battle was fought at the entrance to the village of San Juan del Monte. The rebels made a hard stand this time under the leadership of Sancho Valenzuela (a hemp-rope maker in a fairly good way of business), but he showed no military skill and chiefly directed his men by frantic shouts from the window of a wooden house. Naturally, as soon as they had to retreat, Valenzuela and his three companions were taken prisoners. The rebels left about 80 dead on the field and fled towards the Pasig River, which they tried to cross. Their passage was

17 - Op. cit., pp. 368, 369.

at first cut off by gun-boats which fired volleys into the retreating mob and drove them higher up the bank, where there was some hand-to-hand fighting. Over a hundred managed to get into canoes with the hope of reaching the Lake of Bay; but, as they passed up the river, the civil guard, lying in ambush on the opposite shore, fired upon them, and in the consequent confusion every canoe was upset. The loss to the rebels in the river and on the bank was reckoned about 50. The whole of that day the road to San Juan del Monte was occupied by troops, and no civilian was allowed to pass. At 3 p.m., the same day martial law was proclaimed in Manila and seven other Luzon provinces.

Under sentence of the court-martial established on August 30, the four rebel leaders in the battle of San Juan del Monte were executed on September 4, on the Campo de Bagumbayan, facing the fashionable Luneta Esplanado, by the seashore. Three sides of a square were formed by 1,500 Spanish and half-caste volunteers and 500 regular troops. Escorted by two Augustinian and two Franciscan friars, the condemned men walked to the execution-ground from the chapel within the walled city, where they had been confined since the sentence was passed. They were perfectly self-composed. They arrived on the ground pinioned; their sentences were read to them and Valenzuela was unpinioned for a minute to sign some documents at a table. When he was again tied, all four were made to kneel on the ground in a row facing the open seabeach side of the square. Then amidst profound silence, an officer at the head of the 16 Spanish soldiers, walked around the three sides of the square, halting at each corner to pronounce publicly the formula -- "In the name of the King". Whoever shall raise his voice to crave clemency for the condemned shall suffer death." The 16 soldiers filed off in four and stood about five yards behind each culprit. As the officer lowered his sword the volley was fired, and all but Valenzuela sank down and rolled over dead. It was the most impressive sight I had witnessed for years. The

> bullets, which had passed clean through Valenzuela's body, threw up the gravel in front of him. He remained kneeling; erect half a minute, and then gradually sank on his side. He was still alive, and four more shots fired close to his head, scattered his brains over the grass. Conveyances were in readiness to carry off the corpses, and the spectators quitted the mournful scene in silence. This was the first execution, which was followed by four others in Manila and one in Cavite, in General Blanco's time and scores more subsequently.

(c) Main Events of the Revolution

The Philippine Revolution passed through two distinct stages. The first embraced the events and developments that took place from the outbreak of the Katipunan revolt in the latter part of August, 1896, to the cessation of hostilities following the conclusion of the Pact of Biak-na-bato on December 14, 1897. It was in this stage that José Rizal was executed (December 30, 1896) for alleged complicity in the revolutionary movement. It was also in this stage that the Katipunan organization gave way to a new revolutionary government with a new group of leaders, to lead and direct the Revolution against the Spanish government in the Philippines. The new government was set up in Cavite in March, 1897, with Emilio Aguinaldo as president.

The second stage lasted from the resumption of the war against Spain shortly after the return of Aguinaldo from Hongkong on May 19, 1898, to the outbreak of hostilities between Filipino and American forces early in February, 1899. This stage of the Revolution witnessed events of far reaching significance in the political history of the Philippines. On May 1, 1898, Dewey's naval force destroyed the Spanish navy in battle in Manila Bay, thereby dealing a mortal blow on Spanish colonial power in the Philippines. Three months later, August 13, 1898, Manila fell into the hands of the American forces. On December 10, 1898, Spain ceded by treaty the Philippines to the United States. In this stage, too, the Filipino people had their first experience of political independence and had occasion to show their capacity, as a free and independent nation, to manage their national affairs.

A significant and memorable event of this stage of the Revolution was the coming into being on September 15, 1898, of the Malolos Congress.[18] The Congress was the third of the representative assemblies which, in the course of the Revolution, arose to assume a vital role in the affairs of the Revolution. The first of these was the assembly of Katipunan leaders which met at Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite, on March 22, 1897. The Tejeros Convention, as that meeting is commonly called, set up a new revolutionary government, with Emilio Aguinaldo as president, to direct and carry on the armed struggle for the independence of the Philippines. The second came into being on November 1, 1897, at Biak-na-bato. The assembly was composed of leaders of the Revolution who were in Biak-na-bato at the time. Its avowed purpose was to modify the constitutional basis of the revolutionary government which had been established by the Tejeros Convention. Its main accomplishment was the adoption of a new constitution, historically known as the "Constitution of Biak-na-bato."[19] It was under this constitution that the revolutionary government under Aguinaldo negotiated and concluded the pact of Biak-na-bato.

A series of events preceded the establishment of the Malolos Congress. On May 24, 1898, a few days after his arrival from Hongkong, Aguinaldo set up a provisional government in Cavite to direct and carry on the renewed struggle against the Spanish government in the Philippines. The government was dictatorial in form. However, it was not intended to continue indefinitely. It was to last

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18 - Many excellent studies have been made on the Malolos Congress by Filipino scholars. Among these are: Jorge Bocobo, "Felipe G. Calderon and his Great Work," in The Filipino People, September, 1914; Rafael Palma, "Apolinario Mabini - Estudio Biografico" in A. Mabini, La Revolución Filipina, Manila, 1931, vol. 1; Teodoro M. Kalaw, "Felipe Calderon," in Philippine Review, June, July, October, 1919; Maximo M. Kalaw, The Development of Philippine Politics. (Manila, 1926), Chapter VI; Leandro H. Fernandez, The Philippine Republic. (New York, 1926), Chapter III. One of the latest to appear was written by José Lopez del Castillo, Chief of the Division of Bibliography and Historical Investigation of the National Library. Written in Spanish, it was published in a series of articles in Nueva Era during the years, 1948-1950, under the title, "Malolos y Sus Prohombres."

19 - The full text of the Constitution including the names of the signers of the Constitution is in Kalaw, Maximo M., op. cit., "Appendix B."

only, in the words of Aguinaldo's proclamation, "until the time when these Islands, being under our complete control, may form a constitutional republican assembly and appoint a president and cabinet, into whose hands I shall then resign the command of these islands."[20]

Among the events of the Dictatorship government, perhaps the most memorable was the proclamation of the independence of the Philippines. The event took place at Cavite Viejo on June 12th, 1898. On that occasion, a group composed of commanders of the army and prominent residents of various towns in the province of Cavite, in the presence of Don Ambrosio R. Bautista, Auditor of War and "Special Commissioner appointed to proclaim and solemnize this act", affixed their signatures to the "Act of the Proclamation of Independence of the Filipino People." The "Act" read in part as follows:[21]

> . . . summoning as a witness of the rectitude of our intentions, the Supreme Judge of the Universe, and under the protection of the mighty and Humane North American Nation, we proclaim and solemnly declare, in the name and by the authority of the inhabitants of all these Philippine Islands, that they are and have the right to be free and independent; that they are released from all obedience to the crown of Spain; that every political tie between the two is and must be completely severed and annulled; and that, like all free and independent states, they have complete authority to make war, conclude peace, establish treaties of commerce, enter into alliance, regulate commerce, and execute all other acts and things that Independent states have the right to do. Reposing firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge for the support of this declaration, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred possession, which is our honor. We acknowledge,

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20 - Full text of the proclamation is in Taylor, Philippine Insurgent Records. Quotation is from Fernandez, op. cit.

21 - Taylor, op. cit., vol. 2.

> approve and confirm, together with the orders that have been issued therefrom, the Dictatorship established by Don Emilio Aguinaldo, whom we honor as the Supreme Chief of this nation, which this day countenance to have a life of its own, in the belief that he is the instrument selected by God, in spite of his humble origin, to effect the redemption of this unfortunate people, as foretold by Doctor José Rizal in the magnificent verses which he composed when he was preparing to be shot. Liberating them from the yoke of Spanish domination in punishment of the impunity with which their Government allowed the commission of abuses by its subordinates; and for the unjust executions of said Rizal and others who were sacrificed to please the greedy body of friars in their insatiable desire to seek revenge upon and exterminate all those who are opposed to their Machiavellian purpose, which tramples upon the penal code prescribed for these islands; ...

It was on that occasion that the present flag of the Republic of the Philippines was solemnly raised for the first time to the tune of the national anthem which, likewise, was played for the first time.

On June 18, 1898, upon the advice and recommendation of Apolinario Mabini, Aguinaldo issued a decree providing for the organization of municipal and provincial governments in towns and provinces which had come under the control of the revolutionary government. The decree prescribed a procedure, not only for the organization of municipal and provincial governments, but also for the election of delegates to the revolutionary Congress.[22] It was the first step leading to the eventual formation of the "Constitutional republican assembly" envisioned in Aguinaldo's proclamation.

A few days later, June 23, another decree, drafted, like that of June 18 by Mabini, was promulgated by Aguinaldo. This decree became the organic law of the Revolu-

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22 - Text of this decree is in Mabini, A., La Revolución Filipina, vol. 1, p. 169.

tionary Government. The decree transformed the "Dictatorship" into the "Revolutionary Government." It prescribed specific and detailed provisions for Congress. The latter was to be composed of members elected by voters in accordance with the provisions of the decree of June 18. The Government, however, was empowered, in case a province, because of war conditions, was not able to elect its representatives, to appoint "provisional representatives" from among "persons most noted for their education and social position who were natives of, or for a long time residents in, such province." The decree enumerated the powers and prerogatives of Congress.[23]

In the meantime, the Revolutionary Government extended with marked success its authority and control over the Philippines. At the time of the capitulation of Manila on August 13, 1898, the Revolution had established itself in power in eight provinces of Central Luzon, with officials of its own choosing exercising authority as provincial governors.[24]

Elsewhere, the efforts of the Revolutionary Government in establishing its power and authority were likewise meeting with success. Units of the armed forces of the Government, led by Manuel Tinio, occupied the Ilocos provinces. Another force under Daniel Tirona brought the entire Cagayan Valley under control. Farther up the headwaters of the Cagayan river, another revolutionary force, under Delfin Esquivel, occupied Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya. Some time later, Vicente Lukban established the authority of the Revolutionary Government in the Bicol provinces.[25]

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23 - Ibid. The provisions of the June 23 decree relating to Congress are in Chapter II of the decree, which bears the title, "Of the Revolutionary Congress."

24 - These provinces were: Manila, outside of the areas occupied by American forces, with Ambrosio Flores as governor; Cavite, except the port which was under American control, with Ladislao Diwa as governor; Bulacan, under the governorship of Segundo Rodrigo; Batangas, under the governorship of Manuel Genato; Laguna, under Escolastico Salandanan as governor; Pampanga, under Tiburcio Hilario as governor; Nueva Ecija, with Felino Cajucom as governor; and Bataan, under Pedro de Leon as governor.

25 - Fernández, op. cit., p. 129.

On August 12, 1898, a peace protocol was concluded in Washington which ended hostilities on the part of the United States and Spain. One of the articles of the protocol provided that American forces would occupy and hold the city and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of peace which was to determine "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

News of this event aroused, as was to be expected, deep apprehensions among the leaders of the Revolution. They understood clearly enough its significance and its implications. There was the possibility that in the conference which was going to decide the future political status of the Philippines, the Filipinos might not be invited at all or given an opportunity to be heard. In such a contingency a grave and critical situation would arise for the cause of Philippine independence which was the supreme purpose and objective of the Revolution.

Mindful of such a possibility, the Revolutionary Government proceeded to strengthen its claim to independence by convening the Congress of the Philippines. In two decrees, one promulgated at Bacoor, Cavite, on September 4, 1898, and the other issued from Malolos, Bulacan, on September 10, 1898, Aguinaldo gave notice of the appointment of persons as delegates to Congress and called upon these persons, together with those elected by voters in the provinces already occupied by the Revolutionary Government, to assemble at Malolos, Bulacan, on September 15, 1898.[26]

The Congress which came into being by virtue of the foregoing decrees was the one which is historically referred to as the "Malolos Congress." The inaugural session was held, on the designated date, in the church of Barasoain, Malolos. Fifty delegates were present on that historic occasion.[27] Included among them were outstanding representatives of that period of the culture and intelligentsia of the nation. Pablo Rianzares Bautista, one time political adviser of Aguinaldo, was in that honored group. He served as temporary chairman of the Congress. Pedro A. Paterno, the negotiator of the Pact of

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26 - Calderon, Felipe G., Mis Memorias Sobre la Revolución. Manila, 1907. Appendix. The names of the delegates listed in the two decrees are given therein.

27 - Fernández, op. cit.

Biac-na-bato, was also there. He was chosen permanent chairman of the Congress. Other prominent members were Felipe G. Calderon, Pablo Ocampo, Benito Legarda, Gregorio Araneta, Joaquin Gonzales, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, Tomás G. del Rosario, Arcadio del Rosario, Alberto Barretto, Perfecto Gabriel, Pablo Tecson, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Leon Ma. Guerrero, Antonio Luna, Aguedo Velarde, José Alejandrino and Ignacio Villamor.

At the opening session of the Congress, Aguinaldo read a message in his capacity as President of the Revolutionary Government of the Philippines. The text of the message reads in part as follows:[28]

> Representatives: The work of the revolution being happily terminated and the conquest of our territory completed, the moment has arrived to declare that the mission has been brilliantly accomplished by our heroic army. Now a truce is declared in order to give place to councils which the country offers to the service of the government in order to assist in the unfolding of its programme of liberty and justice, the divine message written on the standards of the revolutionary party.
>
> It is a great and glorious task an undertaking within the capacity of every class of patriotism, for undisciplined troops to fight and to break lances in opposition to the injustice done to those whom they defend and protect. But this is not all.
>
> It remains for us, further, to solve the grave and super-éminent problems of peace for those whom our fatherland demanded from us the sacrifice of our blood and of our fortunes and now at the present time call for a solemn document, expressive of the high aspirations of the country, accompanied by all the prestige and all the grandeur of the Filipino race, in order to salute with this the majesty of those nations which are united in accomplishing the high results of civilization and progress.

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28 - Taylor, Philippine Insurgent Records, vol. 2, Exhibit 247.

To those great friendly nations, whose glorious liberty is sung by the muse of History, was addressed the sacred invocation which accompanied our undertaking in its incredible acts of valor; to those nations, the Filipino people now send its cordial salutation of lasting alliance.

At this opening of the temple of the laws, I know how the Filipino people, a people endowed with remarkable good sense, will assemble. Purged of its old faults, forgetting three centuries of oppression, it will open its heart to the noblest aspirations and its soul to the joys of freedom; proud of its own virtues without pity for its own weaknesses, here in the Church of Barasoain, once the sanctuary of mystic rites, now the august and stately temple of the dogmas of our independence, here it is assembled in the name of peace, perhaps close at hand, to unite the suffrage of our thinkers and of our politicians, of our warlike defenders of our native soil and of our learned Tagalog psychologists, of our inspired artists and of the eminent personages of the bench, to write with their votes the immortal book of the Filipino Constitution as the supreme expression of the national will.

Illustrious spirits of Rizal, of Lopez-Jaena, of Hilario del Pilar! August shades of Burgos, Pelaez, and Panganiban! Warlike geniuses of Aguinaldo and Tavera, of Natividad and Evangelista! Arise a moment from your unknown graves! See how history has passed by right of heredity from your hands to ours, see how it has been multiplied and increased to an immense rise to infinity by the gigantic strength of our arms, and more than arms by the eternal, divine, suggestion of liberty which burns like a holy flame in the Filipino soul. Neither God nor the Fatherland grants us a triumph except on the condition that we share with you the laurels of our hazardous struggles.

And you, representatives of popular sovereignty, turn your eyes to the lofty example of these illustrious patriots!

> Let their example and their revered memory, as well as the generous blood spilled on the battlefields, be a potent incentive to arouse in you a noble spirit of emulation to dictate with wisdom the laws which in this fortunate era of peace are destined to govern the political destinies of our country...

The first important act of the Congress was the ratification on September 29, 1898, of the Declaration of Independence which was proclaimed at Cavite el Viejo on June 12, 1898, and which had been adopted by an assembly of local officials in Bacoor, Cavite, on August 1, 1898. But the work for which the Malolos Congress is best known was the framing of the Malolos Constitution.

Following the formal organization of Congress, with the election of Pedro A. Paterno as president, Benito Legarda as vice-president, and Gregorio Araneta and Pablo Ocampo as secretaries, Congress proceeded to the task of preparing a constitution for the Philippines. A committee of 19 members was created to draft a constitution. To Felipe Calderon, the committee entrusted the task of preparing a draft of the proposed constitution of the Philippines.

The proposed constitution which the Committee submitted to Congress had several distinctive features. One of these was its provision for a unicameral legislature. The legislature occupied a dominant position in the government. Apart from its purely legislative functions, it exercised executive and judicial powers. Moreover, it could scrutinize effectively the executive and judicial branches of the government. To insure the continuity of this scrutinizing power, the proposed constitution provided for a Permanent Committee of Congress to perform the functions of Congress while that body was not in session, with full power to act in cases of emergency. The National Assembly was to be, in the words of Calderon, "the omnipotent power in the entire nation."[29]

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29 - Loc. cit. Calderon says that the idea of a Permanent Committee of Congress was adopted from the Constitution of Costa Rica. The source of that institution may be traced to the Spanish Constitution of 1812. A summary of the provisions of that Constitution is given by José O. Rubio, op. cit. See supra.

The constitutional project was taken up for general discussion of October 25th. In sessions held between October 28 and November 29, the Congress took up article by article the proposed constitution. With one notable exception, the provisions of the constitutional project were approved without much difficulty and, substantially, in the form in which they were submitted. The one exception was that relating to the subject of religion.

The articles in the proposed constitution on this subject set forth three basic principles. The first declared the Catholic religion as the official religion of the Philippines. As such, its ministers were entitled to financial support from the government. The second, permitted other forms of worship as long as they were not contrary to morals and good usage or endangered public security. The third principle declared that appointments to positions in the public service as well as the enjoyment of civil and political rights should not depend upon the religious affiliation of the persons concerned.30

The principles were not in their entirety acceptable to all the members of the Committee that drafted the Constitution. Tomás del Rosario submitted in substitution the following amendment: "The state recognizes the liberty and equality of all forms of worship, as well as the separation of Church and State."

In the session of November 29, Congress voted on the question. The result was a tie, 25 members voting for the original proposal, and 25 for the amendment submitted by del Rosario. Pedro A. Paterno, president of the Congress chose to refrain from casting the vote that would have broken the deadlock. Another voting, therefore, had to be taken. Pablo Tecson, who had refrained from voting in the first balloting, voted in favor of the amendment. By a vote of 26 against 25, therefore, Congress approved the constitutional principle recognizing religious freedom and the separation of Church and State. It appeared in the Constitution as Article 5, Title 3.

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30 - Title 3, Articles 5, 6, 7 of the constitutional project.

With the solution of the religious question, Congress brought to a close its work on the Constitution. It next resolved to submit the Constitution just approved to the President with the recommendation that it be officially promulgated.31

Upon the advice of Mabini, Aguinaldo did not put the Constitution into effect as desired by Congress. Instead, he sent a message to Congress dated January 1, 1899, proposing several changes which he wanted Congress to incorporate in the Constitution. Among the changes proposed was one which would render without effect the widely discussed provision relating to religious freedom and the separation of Church and State. The text of the proposal read as follows:

> Pending the official recognition of Philippine Independence, the enforcement of Article 5, Title 3 is hereby suspended.

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31 - The following is a list of the signers of the Malolos Constitution: Agueda Velarde, Alberto Barretto, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Antonio Luna, Antonio Feliciano, Arcadio del Rosario, Aristón Bautista, Aristón Gella, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, Basilio Teodoro, Benito Legarda, Ceferino de Leon, Domingo Samson, Esteban de la Rama, Felipe Buencamino, Felipe Calderon, Felix Bautista, Felix Ferrer Pascual, Fernando Canon, Graciano Cordero, Gregorio Aguilera, Gregorio Aglipay, Higinio Benitez, Hipolito Magsalin, Hugo Ilagan, Ignacio Villamor, Isidro Torres, Isidro Paredes, Javier González Salvador, Joaquin Gonzalez, Joaquin Luna, José Basa, José Salamanca, José R. Infante, José F. Oliveros, José Tuazon, José Santiago, José M. de la Viña, José M. Lerma, José Albert, José Coronel, José Alejandrino, José Fernandez, José Luna, Juan Nepomuceno, Juan Manday, Juan Tuason, Justo Lucban, Leon Apacible, Leon Guerrero, Lorenzo del Rosario, Lucas Gonzales Maninang, Manuel Xeres Burgos, Manuel Gomez Martinez, Manuel Calleja, Marciano V. del Rosario, Mariano Abella, Mariano Lopez, Mariano Crisostomo, Martin Garcia, Mateo Gutierrez Ubaldo, Mateo del Rosario, Melecio Figueroa, Mena Crisologo, Miguel Zaragoza, Narciso Hidalgo Resurrección, Pablo Ocampo, Pablo Tecson Roque, Patricio Bailon, Pedro A. Paterno, Perfecto Gabriel, Pio del Pilar, Raimundo Alindada, Ricardo Paras, Salvador V. del Rosario, Santiago Barcelona, Santiago Icasiano, Sebastian de Castro, Sim-

In the meantime, the governments of towns which need the services of Filipino priests shall make adequate provision for their support.

Congress was not disposed to accept the changes proposed by Aguinaldo. After a series of conferences, Congress and the Executive reached an agreement whereby some of the proposed changes were accepted. One of those approved was the suspension of the provision relating to religious freedom and the separation of Church and State. With slight changes in phraseology, the proposal was incorporated as article 1CC of the Malolos Constitution.

As modified by Congress, the Constitution was officially proclaimed by Aguinaldo on January 21, 1899. Two days later, January 23, 1899, the Philippine Republic, with Aguinaldo as President, was inaugurated at Malolos. The Malolos Congress became the constitutional legislative body of the Republic under the name, "National Assembly," which was the title prescribed by the Constitution.

The Philippine Republic had only a brief existence. Within a few days after its inauguration, it had to face the problem of survival, being driven by the force of circumstances into the maelstrom of war. The government of the Republic had to move from one place to another finally going into hinding in the mountain fastnesses of Northern Luzon. The Malolos Constitution had neither the time nor the auspicious occasion to show its real worth. Whatever defects it might have had, it had one notable feature - its democratic spirit and ideal. It proclaimed as a basic principle of government, the democratic doctrine that sovereignty resides exclusively in the people. It can be said of the Malolos Constitution that it was, in the words of Aguinaldo, "the most glorious expression of the noble aspirations of the Filipino people, a mirror of their culture and a clear proof before

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plicio del Rosario, Sofio Alandi, Sotero Laurel, Telesforo Chuidian, Teodoro Sandico, Teodoro Gonzalez, Tomás Arejola, Tomás G. del Rosario, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Vicente Foz, Vicente Guzman Pagulan, Vicente del Prado, Vicente Somoza, Vito Belarmino.

(See, Retana, W., Aparato Bibliografico de la Historia General de Filipinas, vol. III, p. 1413.)

the world of their capacity to govern themselves."[32]

In the course of the Revolution, Spanish rule in the Philippines came to an end. At the peace conference held in Paris in the latter part of 1898, Spain agreed to relinquish her powers of sovereignty over the Philippines in favor of the United States. Such relinquishment was formalized in the Treaty of Paris which was signed on December 10, 1898. The conclusion of the Treaty of Paris marked the termination of the over three-hundred-year period of Spanish rule in the Philippines.

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32 - "Message to Congress," in Mabini, op. cit.

CHAPTER SIX

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEW AGE

The Government of the Republic carried on a determined though a losing struggle against the superior armed forces of the United States in an effort to defend and preserve the independence of the Philippines. The war was viewed as a continuation of the Filipino struggle for emancipation from foreign domination which Bonifacio had started in 1896.

The Philippine-American conflict lasted from the outbreak of hostilities between Filipino and American troops in February, 1899, to the establishment of civil government on July 4, 1901. On the latter date, the period of military rule was ended. William H. Taft was inaugurated as civil governor of the Philippines, the first American civilian to take over the duties and responsibilities of chief executive of the Philippines. Governor Taft's inauguration marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Philippines.

The defeat of the Filipinos at the hands of the armed forces of the United States meant the postponement to an indefinite and uncertain future of the realization of the independence aspirations of the Filipino people. There were quite a number of irreconcilables among those who fought in the war who were disposed to carry on the conflict at all costs. The great majority of the people, however, chose to accept peace, trusting in the benevolence and sense of justice of the American people. After taking the oath of allegiance to the sovereignty of the United States, they lent their support and cooperation in the establishment of civil government in the towns and provinces of the Philippines. They took active part in those governments and helped in the maintenance of law and order and in the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The policy which the United States intended to follow in the Philippines was formally proclaimed in the "Instructions" which President McKinley gave to the Second

Philippine Commission on April 7, 1900.[1] As set forth in the "Instructions," the primary object of American policy in the Philippines was to be the well-being of the Filipino people. The widest possible opportunity was to be given to the Filipinos to manage their own local affairs. Americans were made to understand that the government which they were to establish in the Philippines was "designed not for their satisfaction nor for the expression of their theoretical views, but for the happiness and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands." The "Instructions" went on to state that it was the "high and sacred obligation of the government of the United States to give protection to property and life; civil and religious freedom; and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippines Islands." In the words of Mr. Taft, the substance of American policy was: "The Philippines for the Filipinos."

Succeeding presidents of the United States and the American Congress confirmed in its essential features the policy originally enunciated by President McKinley. In 1913, President Wilson re-asserted this policy and reiterated its ultimate objective. In the message which he sent to the Filipino people through Governor General Francis Burton Harrison, the President said: "We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence."

In their new situation, however, the Filipinos did not lose sight of, nor abandon, their independence ideal. They took advantage of the guarantees of individual freedom, freedom of expression and freedom of association, that the new sovereignty gave them to continue through peaceful means and lawful methods the campaign for independence. Under the able leadership of new men, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon, the independence campaign

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1 - The "Instructions" has been described as "The Magna Charta of the Philippines." The original draft was prepared by Elihu Root, Secretary of War in President McKinley's Cabinet, Wm. H. Taft, following his appointment as Chairman of the Second Philippine Commission, helped in the final drafting of the document. See Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft, N.Y., 1939, Vol. 1

was carried on with vigor and determination. Difficulties, discouragements reverses, were encountered on the way. The campaign was, just the same, pushed through to a successful conclusion.

The outstanding achievements of the Filipinos in their campaign for independence were in the form of political concessions and reforms. The first notable gain was attained in 1907. That year the Philippines was given the privilege of setting up a national assembly which was to share with the Philippine Commission powers of legislation. This concession gave to the Filipino people a large measure of authority and responsibility in the administration of their own affairs. The Speaker of the Philippine Assembly assumed the status and dignity of "Leader of the Filipino People." As such, he came to be regarded as "both the symbol and the chief artisan of the cause of independence."[2]

The inauguration of the Philippines on October 16, 1907, was a notable landmark in Philippine history. The Assembly was, in the words of Mr. Osmeña, Speaker of the Assembly, "the work of our men, of those men who ... having lost faith in justice on this earth, after exhausting all the resources of their intelligence, turned their eyes toward heaven, and, commending their cause to God, took up arms... It was born of the blood and tears that gushed forth in floods in the past. The Philippine Assembly is nothing but the child of the Philippine Revolution."

The First Philippine Assembly, faithfully interpreting the popular sentiment, lost no time in making known the desire and aspiration of the Filipino people for independence. In 1908, it adopted as its own the declaration made by Mr. Osmeña, Speaker of the Assembly, at the close of its first session. In his speech before the Assembly, Mr. Osmeña had declared "before God and before the world," that the Filipino people "aspire for their independence and that they consider themselves capable of leading an orderly life, efficient for themselves and for others, in the concert of free and civilized nations."[3]

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2 - Hayden, The Philippines. New York, 1950, p. 171.
3 - Speech at San Miguel de Mayumo, May 10, 1910.

The action of the Assembly was the first significant step taken by that body in the campaign for Philippine independence.

The next important gain was obtained in 1916 with the enactment by the Congress of the United States of the Jones Law. The passage of that law represented the culmination of the independence campaign waged in the United States by Manuel L. Quezon during his incumbency as Philippine Resident Commissioner in the Congress of the United States. Besides enlarging the powers of self-government of the Filipinos, the Jones Act defined, in the preamble to the act, the ultimate goal and purpose of American policy in the Philippines. The preamble stated that "it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement"; that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein"; and that "for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose, it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

In 1934, with the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Law, Philippine independence became attainable within a forseeable future. The law provided for a ten-year period of preparation for independence under a commonwealth government. The act also provided for the calling of a constitutional assembly to draft a constitution.

The Constitution of the Philippines as drawn up by the constitutional assembly was ratified by the Philippine electorate in a popular referendum held on May 14, 1935. The Commonwealth government which it created was formally established on November 15, 1935. On that date Manuel L. Quezon was inducted into office as President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

The inaugural ceremonies were attended by high officials of the Government of the United States - the Secretary of War, George H. Dern, who came as personal representative of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and prominent members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

In his inaugural speech, President Quezon spoke in part as follows:[4]

> ... The event which is now taking place in our midst transcends in importance the mere induction into office of your Chief Executive. We are bringing into being a new nation. We are inaugurating its government. We are seeing the fruition of our age-old striving for liberty. We are witnessing the final state in the fulfillment of the noblest undertaking ever attempted by any nation in its dealing with a subject people. And how well this task has been performed is attested to by the blessings which from fourteen million people go to America in this solemn hour. President McKinley's cherished hope has been fulfilled -- the Filipinos look back with gratitude to the day when Destiny placed their land under the beneficent guidance of the people of the United States...
>
> As we enter upon the threshold of independent nationhood, let us pause for a moment to pay tribute to the memory of Rizal and Bonifacio and all the heroes of our sacred cause in grateful acknowledgment of their patriotic devotion and supreme sacrifice.
>
> Fellow countrymen: The government which we are inaugurating to-day is only a means to an end. It is an instrumentality placed in our hands to prepare ourselves fully for the responsibilities of complete independence. It is essential that this last step be taken with

4 - Blue Book of the Inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, Manila, 1935.

full consciousness of its significance and the great opportunities that it affords to us.

Under the Commonwealth, our life may not be one of ease and comfort, but rather, of hardship and sacrifice. We shall face the problems which lie in our path, sparing neither time nor effort in solving them. We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient and strong so that the foundations of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring -- a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but also the exacting demands of the future. We do not have to tear down the existing institutions in order to give way to a statelier structure. There will be no violent changes from the established order of things, except such as may be absolutely necessary to carry into effect the innovations contemplated by the Constitution. A new edifice shall arise, not out of the ashes of the past, but our of the standing materials of the living present.

Reverence for law as the expression of the popular will is the starting point in a democracy. The maintenance of peace and public order is the joint obligation of the government and the citizen. I have an abiding faith in the good sense of the people and in their respect for law and the constituted authority. Widespread public disorder and lawlessness may cause the downfall of constitutional government and lead to American intervention. Even after independence, if we should prove ourselves incapable of protecting life, liberty, and property of nationals and foreigners, we shall be exposed to the danger of intervention by foreign powers. No one need have any misgivings as to the attitude of the Government toward lawless individuals or subversive movements. They shall be dealt with firmly. Sufficient armed forces will be maintained at all times to quell and suppress any rebellion against the authority of this Government or the sovereignty of the United States.

There can be no progress except under the auspices of peace. Without peace and public order it will be impossible to promote education, improve the conditions of the masses, protect the poor and ignorant against exploitation, and otherwise insure the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. I appeal, therefore, to every Filipino to give the Government his loyal support so that tranquility may reign supreme in our beloved land.

Our Constitution establishes an independent judiciary by providing for security of tenure and compensation of our judges. But independence is not the only objective of a good judiciary. Equally, if not more important, is its integrity which will depend upon the judicious selection of its members. The administration of justice cannot be expected to rise higher than the moral and intellectual standards of the men who dispense it. To bulwark the fortification of an orderly and just government, it shall be my task to appoint to the bench only men of proven honesty, character, learning, and ability, so that every one may feel when he appears before the courts of justice that he will be protected in his rights, and that no man in this country from the Chief Executive to the last citizen is above the law.

We are living to-day amidst the storm and stress of one of the most tragic epochs of history. Acute unemployment and economic distress threaten the stability of governments the world over. The very foundations of civilized society are shaken. The common man alone can save humanity from disaster. It is our duty to prove to him that under a republican system of government he can have every opportunity to attain his happiness and that of his family. Protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labor and capital in industry and agriculture, solicitous regard on the part of the government for the well-being of the masses are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society.

A government draws the breath of life from its finances, and it must balance its income and expenditures as any other going business concern if it expects to survive. It is my duty, then, to see that the Government of the Commonwealth live within its means and that it stand four-square on a well balanced budget.

The larger expenditures which the grave responsibilities ahead of us will entail, including national defense, must be borne by taxation. So long as we are able to meet those responsibilities from our present income, we shall not impose new taxes. But we are among the least taxed people in the world and, therefore, when necessity arises, we should be willing to accept the burden of increased taxation. Liberty and independence can be possessed only by those who are ready to pay the price in life or fortune.

To enable us more adequately to meet the new responsibilities of the Commonwealth and to raise the living conditions of our people, we must increase the wealth of the Nation by giving greater impetus to economic development, improving our methods of agriculture, diversifying our crops, creating new industries, and fostering our domestic and foreign commerce. I trust that the forthcoming trade conference between representatives of the United States and the Philippines will result in a more just and beneficial commercial relation between the two countries.

The establishment of an economical, simple, and efficient government; the maintenance of an independent civil service; the implantation of an adequate system of public instruction to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency; the safeguarding of the health and vigor of the race; the conservation and development of our natural resources -- these and other matters of equal import are touched upon at length in the platform of the Coalition and in my speech of acceptance of my nomination, and it is unnecessary for me to reiterate my views regarding them. Having been elected on the

virtuality of that platform and the policies enunciated by me in the course of the presidential campaign, I renew my pledge faithfully to carry them into execution.

Good will toward all nations shall be the golden rule of my administration. The peoples of the earth are interdependent and their prosperity and happiness are inseparably linked with each other. International brotherhood and cooperation are therefore necessary. Amity and friendship, fairness and square deal in our relations with other nations and their citizens or subjects, protection in their legitimate investments and pursuits, in return for their temporary allegiance to our institutions and laws, are the assurances I make on behalf of the new Government to Americans and foreigners who may desire to live, trade, and other associate with us in the Philippines.

In the enormous task of fully preparing ourselves for independence we shall be beset with serious difficulties, but we will resolutely march forward. I appeal to your patriotism and summon your nobility of heart so that we may, united in the common endeavor, once more dedicate ourselves to the realization of our national destiny. I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding Hand. May He give me light, strength, and courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people!

The final stage of the independence campaign was reached on July 4, 1946. On that day, in pursuance of the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippines attained its status as a full-fledged independent state. At an impressive creemony held that day at the Luneta, President Truman's proclamation was read announcing the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippines and the recognition by the United States of Philippine independence. The proclamation read in part as follows:

> "the United States of America hereby withdraws and surrenders all rights of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States of America in and over the territory and people of the Philippines and on behalf of the United States of America, I do hereby recognize the independence of the Philippines as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the Government instituted by the people thereof under the Constitution now in force."

Signalizing the conclusion of that historic event was the simultaneous hauling down of the flag of the United States and the raising of the flag of the Republic of the Philippines.

President Manuel Roxas delivered on that occasion a notable address.[1] In his speech, the President pointed out the character and significance of the event and its place in the history of the Filipino campaign for independence as well as in the larger history of man's struggle for freedom through the ages. The portions of his speech dealing with these points are the following:

> An historic drama has just been unfolded before our eyes. The American flag has been lowered from the flagstaffs in this land . . . not in defeat, not in surrender, not by compulsion, but by the voluntary act of the sovereign American Nation. The flag which was first raised in conquest here has been hauled down with even greater glory. The Stars and Stripes will no longer fly over this land, but in the hearts of 18,000,000 Filipinos and in the eyes of many millions more in this part of the world the American flag flies more triumphantly today than ever before in history. Some hundreds of yards from

1 - Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic. Manila, 1947.

here at Fort San Antonio Abad, the American flag was first planted in 1898. As its brave colors fluttered down from the flagstaff a moment ago, the cycle of history had completed a full turn. In the culmination today, America justified her destiny. For America, today's act of renunciation was the climax of triumph . . . for enlightenment, for democratic values, for liberty. We mark here today the forward thrust of the frontiers of freedom.

I have raised the Philippine flag to wave henceforth alone and unshadowed over the entire Philippines. American sovereignty has been withdrawn. It has been transferred and is now possessed in full measure by the Filipino people.

We have thus reached the summit of the mighty mountains of independence toward which we and our fathers have striven during the lifetime of our people.

As the spokesman for America predicted half a century ago, the Filipino people now look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila Bay, and placed this land under the sovereignty and protection of the United States.

The birth of this nation is attended today by dignitaries from many lands. It is attended by the personal representative of the President of the United States, by leaders of the Congress and of the armed forces and other high officials of the American Government.

The President of the United States has proclaimed our independence. The Republic of the Philippines has now come into being, under a constitution providing a government which enthrones the will of the people and safeguards the rights of men. The historic event has been completed.

There remains for us to evaluate the significance of what has occurred.

There are moments when men should pause in their humbleness and look beyond the passing shadow of events to see the towering magnitude of the forces which have been brought to bear upon the affairs of current time. I judge this such a moment, and I am humble before it.

We who are gathered here personify, but no more than that, the act of establishing a new nation. All of us are mere symbols of the millions of men, and the hundreds of hopes which are involved in our passing pageant.

It can be said that the eyes of the world are upon us. But the world is not listening especially to the brittle words we say, words which pass quickly from hearing and fade soon from even the printed page. The peoples of the earth see in this occasion a magnificent flowering of the human spirit, an interval of grandeur in an epoch in which the grandeur of unselfishness is rare indeed. The peoples of other nations are listening to the words uttered in the human soul . . . mystic sounds unlimited by time or language . . . sounds which ring in intimate harmony with the voices of freedom heard . . . now remote . . . now insistent . . . since the dawn of human history.

This occasion, this event which happened here, responds to a cry which is common to all mankind. This cry, the cry for freedom, for liberty, and for dignity resounded in ancient times from the hillsides of Greece; in the Middle Ages, from the high plateaus of Bohemia and the green countrysides of Britain; in the beginning of modern times, from the canals of Venice, from the narrow streets of Paris; and finally and most memorably, from the bright

new world which began on the western shores of the Atlantic.

The revolutionary doctrines so immemorably phrased and immortally achieved by the early Americans had not sprung full-grown from the American soil. They were convictions which had been distilled from the product of centuries of thought, of struggle, and of sacrifice. On the shores of Galilee, 2,000 years before, a people small in numbers had defended the dignity of man and the glory of God. In the shadows of the towering Alps the heroic Swiss had fought for home and freedom against the ruthless tyrant. These events and a thousand more went into the making of the American Revolution. The labored thoughts of centuries of scholars, the lyrics of a thousand poets, the insurgence of numberless philosophers, all contributed to the ferment of ideas which found final form in the America of 1776.

American democracy was established. The miracle was that it succeeded. And with its success the eternal search for freedom took new heart and courage. In France the human spirit broke its bonds only to be subdued again by military despotism. The Old World was shaken to its foundations. Anxious kings and princes took violent steps against the doctrines of liberty. But freedom did not die, the struggle for freedom did not end. It gained new impetus as the American democratic experiment continued to flourish, to give hope to men who loved liberty in every land. Gradually democracy moved irresistibly westward across a vast continent until it reached the shores of the Pacific.

Nor did the broad ocean stay the westward surge of the pioneers of liberty. They planted its seeds in this land . . . seeds which beat today their richest fruit.

So as we embrace <u>our</u> national freedom, we must see in it, as other peoples of the

world do, not alone the product of our struggles and strivings, not alone the altruism of America, but also the final product of the world's age-old quest for liberty. We owe to our own heroes . . . to Rizal, to Bonifacio, to Mabini, to Quezon, to Del Pilar, and to many others a gratitude of memory, both deep and abiding. But in this supreme moment we must likewise pay tribute to the great apostles of freedom of many lands who contributed to our independence and nationhood, just as surely as if they had lived and died on our soil. Kosciusko, LaFayette and Simon Bolivar were all soldiers of liberty, equally with Washington, Jefferson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The origin of our liberties reach far back into antiquity, but it was America, who, through the past two centuries, incubated the concepts of freedom and the equality of men, which have now found such firm lodging in the Philippines.

Long before the coming of America to the Philippines, our aspirations for nationhood had been influenced by thoughts and doctrines originating in the United States. The philosophers of our several revolutions were inspired by the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the Federal Constitution. Our patriots of those early days demanded the rights of free speech and of free press and of self-government. We well recall those who died here on the altar of religious freedom. When the first Philippine Republic was proclaimed, its Constitution provided for a representative democracy. The Philippine Declaration of Independence borrowed even the language of the great American charter of liberty.

When American troops landed on these shores in 1898, they found in full cry the yearning for freedom. American control had to be spread by force of arms throughout the Islands. But the conquerors spoke strange

words into Filipino ears. They said that America had come not to exploit but to teach, not to tyrannize but to lead, not to own but to liberate. To our great surprise and to the wonder of the entire world this promise was kept. The benevolent stewardship was discharged with scrupulous regard. The successive spokesmen America sent here reiterated and emphasized the intentions of the United States to educate the Filipinos for freedom.

General Arthur MacArthur, the gallant chieftain who led the first armies of occupation, early won our confidence, for he spoke to us not as the Captain of a conquering host but as a friend and liberator. Americans have maintained that role ever since. The presence here today of the great son of that first leader adds scope and significance to the present hour. The name of MacArthur will be forever emblazoned in the pages of our history.

Our independence missions to the United States received without exception kindly and sympathetic hearings. Our aspirations for independence were given consistent support and encouragement. In 1916 the Jones Act promised us freedom as soon as we should be ready for it. In 1933 and 1934 that promise of independence became a compact between two peoples. The Filipinos, subdued and conquered in 1900, were accepted in 1934 as partners in agreement. The mighty nation whose power awed the earth, whose wealth and substance had won a great conflict in 1918, offered us our independence, promised to restore to us our national birthright and took steps to prepare us for our national freedom.

Then came the war. General Douglas MacArthur directed that heroic defense which has become a legend in military history. The Filipino people thronged to the colors to do battle for their motherland. They continued

to resist under the American flag even after that flag was lowered in temporary surrender. When General MacArthur at the head of his valiant legions of liberation returned in 1944, his forces were swept up in a tidal wave of gratitude and were carried forward on a mighty current of acclaim and support. The scattered remnants of his Filipino forces of 1941, their ranks filled out with the heroic guerrillas, flocked to his standards and added fury to the successful assault upon the enemy.

The world cannot but wonder today as we become a nation. A new era has come to the Orient. The first democratic Republic has been established in this quarter of the globe. Freedom has been granted our people, a freedom requested by peaceful petition and freely granted by the American Congress. There are members of that Congress here today and among them are men to whom our obligation of gratitude is deep and everlasting. We will never forget their long and ardent labors for our liberty and welfare. They are heroes of our history and of our people. Their place in our hearts is secure.

As we stand at this moment, facing the thorny path of the future, trying our first unaided steps on the road which leads to tomorrow, let us take comfort in our national sturdiness and courage. We are 18,000,000 strong. Our people bear well the burdens of adversity. The national spirit is one of humility, of gentleness, and kindly brotherhood. Stout of heart and firm of purpose, prudent and wise in the deep wisdom of nature and of God, our people have great reservoirs. This land, this child of freedom, has great responsibilities to America. We are a staging area of democracy in this part of the world. But whatever our role in history, of one thing we may be sure . . . the Filipino, strong in his faith and steadfast in his loyalty, will support his nation, come what may. This daughter land of America, sprung from the

hardy stock of Asia, will not be awed by difficulties. It will live and endure the shocks of time. This is our faith, and this is our resolve. With the help of the Divine Province, our steps will be illumined by the shining countenance of truth and of righteousness . . . our spirits will be eased from the weariness of toil by the grace of knowledge that our people's happiness is our goal.

Our independence is our pride and our honor. We shall defend our nation with our lives and our fortunes. As a poet wrote long ago:

Let independence be our boast
Ever mindful what it cost.
Ever grateful for the prize,
Let its altar reach the skies.

With the inauguration of the Philippine Republic on July 4, 1946, a new era began for the Filipino people.

E N D