INCOMPLETE CONQUESTS IN THE PHILIPPINE ARCHIPELAGO, 1565-1700

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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Abstract

Incomplete Conquests in the Philippine Archipelago, 1565-1700

Stephanie Mawson

The Spanish colonisation of the Philippines in 1565 opened up trade between China, Latin America and Europe via the Pacific crossing, changing the history of global trade forever. The traditional understanding of the early colonial period in the Philippines suggests that colonial control spread rapidly and peacefully across the islands, ushering in dramatic changes to the social, political and economic environment of the archipelago. This dissertation argues by contrast that the extent of Spanish control has been overstated – partially as a by-product of an over-reliance on religious and secular chronicles that sought to magnify the role and interests of the colonial state. Through extensive archival work examining different sites of colonial authority and power, I demonstrate that Philippine communities contested and limited the nature of colonisation in their archipelago.

In making this argument, I challenge prevalent assumptions of indigenous passivity in the face of imperial expansion. By demonstrating the agency of Southeast Asians, particular actors come to the fore in each of the chapters: Chinese labourers, indigenous elites, fugitives and apostates, unpacified mountain communities, native priestesses and Moro slave raiders. The culture and social organisation of these Southeast Asian communities impacted on the nature of Spanish imperialism and the capacity for the Spanish to retain and extend their control. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Spanish presence within the archipelago was always tenuous. A number of communities remained outside of Spanish control for the duration of the century, while still others oscillated between integration and rebellion, by turns participating in and resisting the consolidation of empire. These communities continued to maintain their local and regional economies and customs. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, imperial control remained fragmented, partial and incomplete.

The dissertation contributes not only to the historiography of the Philippines – which remains under-explored – but also to the historiographies of Colonial Latin America, Southeast Asia and early modern empires. Conceptualising the Philippines as a frontier space helps to overturn the foundations of the myth of a completed conquest. This dissertation thus raises questions about the inevitability of empire by arguing that indigenous communities were active respondents to Spanish colonisation attempts and that indigenous traditions and culture in this region were both resilient and enduring in the face of colonial oppression.

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Writing a dissertation would be a miserable existence were it not for the care of friends and family – especially those who travel across the world to visit homesick antipodeans. There are too many to list, but especial thanks to mum, Emily, Bron & Sam, Kathryn, Isobelle, Kristie, Amanda, and Kirsty – all for different reasons. Also to Emma in particular for her friendship and support over the years and for laughing with me about ridiculous Cambridge customs. The greatest thanks belong to Karol who, as always, read more than anyone, listened the longest, provided much-needed hugs, and took me hiking and camping in the forest when I most needed it. Without him, this journey would have been impossible.

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List of Abbreviations

AFIO	*Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental*
AGI	*Archivo General de Indias*
AGN	*Archivo General de la Nación*
AGPR	*Archivo General del Palacio Real*
AHN	*Archivo Histórico Nacional*
APSR	*Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario*
ARSI	*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*
B&R	*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803: explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the Islands and their peoples, their history and records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the beginning of the nineteenth century, 55 Vols., Translated and edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark, 1903-9.*
BNE	*Biblioteca Nacional de España*
CDI	*Colección Documentos de Indias*
RAH	*Real Academia de la Historia*

Figure 1: Indiae Orientalis nova descriptio (1630) (National Library of Australia MAP RM4527)

Image of Indiae Orientalis map removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the National Library of Australia.

Figure 2: Pedro Murillo Velarde and Nicolas De la Cruz, Mapa de las Yslas Philipinas, 1744 (Norman B. Leventhal Map Center)

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Introduction

In March 1691 a group of indigenous leaders from Cagayan, in Northern Luzon, wrote a letter to the Spanish officials in Manila warning them of the imminent risk of an uprising in that province. Fed up with the combined burdens of labour, taxation, and military service, the Cagayanes were threatening to abandon settlements established by the Spanish and to take to the hills, following a longstanding pattern of resistance to Spanish colonisation. Lowland communities in Cagayan maintained strong connections to neighbouring autonomous mountain zones, channelling weapons, iron, and other goods into the uplands to better aid their independence. The *principales* warned that if just one village became discontent, they would call on the rebels in the mountains to come down into the lowlands and take everyone whether by choice or by force, killing all others and setting the churches and towns alight. In the meantime, the fugitives in the mountains looked down from their summits and would say to the lowlanders of Cagayan, 'Miserable slaves, how much better would it be if you came to live amongst us, your brethren that do not suffer as you suffer? Climb from there to be with us, because you know that amongst us you will be free from such labours'.[1]

In the annals of Southeast Asian historiography, the Spanish colonisation of the Philippines is often viewed as exceptional due to the Spanish model of empire building.[2] Unlike the Dutch and Portuguese – who preferred to settle in enclaves and establish partnerships with local indigenous rulers – the Spanish made vast territorial claims and embarked on a process of wholesale colonisation. Beginning in 1565, indigenous communities were brought under Spanish sovereignty through the *encomienda* system and forced to resettle in Spanish towns where they would be converted to Christianity. A new colonial economy was structured around tribute and labour regimes which saw thousands of Philippine *indios*[3] drafted into the service of the colonial state. Not content with the territorial bounds

[1] 'Miserables esclavos, quanto mexor os fuera veniros a vivir entre nosotros, parientes vuestros, q no sufrir lo que sufrís? Subí os acá con nosotros, pues savéis q entre nosotros estaréis libres de tantos trabaxos.' Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Audiencia de Filipinas (hereafter Filipinas), Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

[2] Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 11. Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 5. Pierre de Charentenay, S.J., *The Philippines: An Asiatic and Catholic Archipelago*, (Quezon City: Jesuit Communications Foundation, Inc., 2016), 12-13. Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830. Volume 2: Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 893.

[3] Throughout this dissertation I have used the term '*indio'* to refer to the various communities inhabiting the Philippine archipelago. This is an imperfect term, having a colonial origin which signifies that the individuals were subjects of the Spanish Crown. It is nonetheless more historically accurate than the modern epithet of 'Filipino', since such a national identity did not exist in this period. Where possible I have attempted to use specific ethnicities or place names, however the nature of Spanish sources means that this was not always possible.

of the archipelago, the Spanish even sought to conquer neighbouring regions like Mindanao,[4] the Moluccas and Sulawesi,[5] Formosa,[6] and Micronesia.[7] For some historians, the wholesale nature of this imperial project – which necessitated economic, cultural and territorial control – led to the systematic obliteration of Philippine culture and political autonomy, establishing a colonial legacy which the archipelago continues to struggle to confront.[8] Yet, letters like that written by the *principales* of Cagayan in 1691 shed a different light on this period of colonisation. Their warning was not just rhetorical. Countless times throughout the seventeenth century, the *indios* of Cagayan rejected colonisation. Abandoning and setting fire to Spanish settlements, they fled into the neighbouring mountains and away from Spanish control. Moreover, while the autonomy of Northern Luzon is well-established in historical accounts,[9] this story is shared by communities across the archipelago, in every province and island that the Spanish attempted to colonise.

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[4] Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973). Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Shinzo Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations: Maguindanao, Sangir, and Bagobo Societies in East Maritime Southeast Asia*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003). Oona Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2013).

[5] Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 151-175. Gary William Bohigian, 'Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire: Presidio Society in the Molucca Islands, 1606-1663', Unpublished PhD thesis, (University of California, Los Angeles, 1994). Stephanie Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores?*: Spanish Soldiers in the Seventeenth-Century Pacific', *Past & Present*, Vol. 232, (2016), 114-116. Antonio C. Campo López, 'La presencia española en el norte de Sulawesi durante el siglo XVII. Estudio del asentamiento español en el norte de Sulawesi ante la oposición local y la amenaza holandesa (1606-1662)', *Revista de Indias*, Vol. 72, Núm. 269, (2017), 51-80.

[6] José Eugenio Borao Mateo (ed.), *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*, Vol. 1 and 2, translated by Pol Heyns and Carlos Gómez, (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2001). José Eugenio Borao Mateo, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan, 1626-1642*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009). Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[7] Marjorie G. Driver, 'Cross, Sword and Silver: The nascent Spanish colony in the Mariana Islands', *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (1988), 21-51. María Dolores Elizalde, 'La ocupación española de las islas carolinas', *Revista de Historia Naval*, Vol. 6, No. 21, (1988), 77-93. Francis X. Hezel, 'From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish mission in the Marianas', *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (1982), 115-137. Francis X. Hezel and Marjorie G. Driver, 'From Conquest to Colonisation: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690-1740', *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (1988), 137-155. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'Colonialismo y santidad en las islas marianas: la sangre de los mártires (1668-1676)', *Hispania Sacra*, Vol. 53, No. 128, (2011), 707-745. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'Colonialismo y santidad en las islas Marianas: Los soldados de Gedeón (1676-1690)', *Revista Española de Historia*, Vol. 70, No. 234, (2010), 17-44. Stephanie Mawson, 'Rebellion and Mutiny in the Mariana Islands, 1680-1690', *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2015), 128-148.

[8] Jose Rizal, *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos*, Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/sobre-la-indolencia-de-los-filipinos/ Accessed 28 May 2018. Luis Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines: A Social History of the Filipino People, 1571-1800*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2006). Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 5.

[9] William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974. William Henry Scott, 'Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 72, No. 2, (1797), 137-159. William Henry Scott, 'The Igorot: An Integrated Cultural Minority', *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1972), 356-360. William Henry Scott, 'An Historian Looks into the Philippine Kaleidoscope', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1976), 220-227. William Henry Scott,

This dissertation argues that Spanish control was far more contested and limited by the actions of Philippine communities than the established historiography acknowledges. By focussing on the ways in which the colonial state consolidated its control, the historiography has over-emphasised the extent of Spanish power in the archipelago. At the same time, indigenous agency has not always been evident within Philippine historiography, leading to a lingering view that the colonial period was only ever one of great oppression and tragedy for Philippine *indios*.[10] Yet agency is written into the myriad of responses by Philippine communities to colonisation. As a number of ethnohistorians of Native American communities have pointed out recently, we need to be more mindful of how the historical archive pushes us to view the actions of non-Europeans from the vantage point of European interests and motivations. New generations of ethnohistorians are showing that not only is it possible to subvert this bias – 'facing out' of Indian country – but that doing so radically decentres seemingly established historical narratives.[11] By looking at resistance, subversion, and evasion from colonial control, this dissertation thus tackles some of the prevailing assumptions about the colonisation of the Philippines, demonstrating that empire was limited territorially, economically, spiritually, and militarily.

The Philippines was a complex place when the Spanish arrived in 1565, defined by its unique geography and a social system characterised by fragmented kinships networks. What we today call the Philippines is an archipelago of more than 7,000 islands, spanning from tiny and uninhabited rocks in the ocean to the large and populous islands of Luzon and Mindanao. Unsurprisingly, the communities that occupied these islands were often maritime communities that were connected with each other by the sea. But the Philippines is also characterised by its mountains. Sitting on the edge of the Rim of Fire, the archipelago is a product of volcanic and tectonic activities. Three large mountain

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'The Word Igorot', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1962), 234-248. William Henry Scott, 'Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims: 1576-1896', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1970), 695-717. John Flameygh and William Henry Scott, 'An Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1978), 285-295. Francisco Antolin and William Henry Scott, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789', *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 29 (1970), 177-249. Francisco Antolin, William Henry Scott and Fray Manuel Carillo, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789: Part Two', *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1971), 27-132. William Henry Scott, *A Sagada Reader*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1988). Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962. Ed. C. de Jesus, 'Control and Compromise in the Cagayan Valley', in Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus (eds.), *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1982), 21-39.

[10] This trope will be discussed in greater detail below, but see in particular Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*.

[11] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, (Yale University Press, 2009)**.** Pekka Hämäläinen, 'What's in a Concept? The Kinetic Empire of the Comanches', *History and Theory*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (2013), 81-90. Josh Reid, 'Indigenous Power in *The Comanche Empire*', *History and Theory*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (2013), 54-59. Michael McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2015).

ranges cut across the north of Luzon, while most of the smaller islands also have their own central mountains or hills. Small polities known as *barangays* occupied all of these different environments, with communities rarely exceeding a hundred families.[12] Despite the dispersed nature of the Philippine population, they maintained strong trade links with China, mainland Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean world via the Malay Archipelago.[13] The strengthening of these trade connections propelled an increase in militarisation, evidenced in the proliferation of fortifications and the intensification of regional slave raiding.[14] By the time the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, some communities had also converted to Islam,[15] although the majority retained animistic religious beliefs.[16]

Despite the complexity of this archipelagic world, the traditional view has been that the fragmented nature of Philippine communities allowed the Spanish to easily conquer the archipelago, and for 'hispanization [to proceed] without large-scale opposition'.[17] Such a view ignores the territorial

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[12] Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 73-74. Linda A. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 12.

[13] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 107. Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), 28-29. John Villiers, 'Manila and Maluku: Trade and Warfare in the Eastern Archipelago, 1580-1640', *Philippines Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1986), 149. Kenneth R. Hall, 'Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region: 600-1500', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2004), 251-252.

[14] Laura Lee Junker, 'Integrating History and Archaeology in the Study of Contact Period Philippine Chiefdoms', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1998), 309-313. Laura Lee Junker, 'Warrior Burials and the Nature of Warfare in Prehispanic Philippine Chiefdoms', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 27, No. 1/2 (1999), 43-48.

[15] Pilar Romero de Tejada, 'La presencia islámica indonésica en las Filipinas indígena', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo I, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 185-204. Isaac Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas (Siglos X-XIX)', PhD Thesis, (Universitat d'Alacant, 2011).

[16] Biblioteca Nacional de España [hereafter BNE], Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipielago Maluco desde su descubrimiento. Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los padres de la Compañia de Iesus*, (Roma: Por Estevan Paulino, 1604), 296-301. Alfred McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 10 (1982), 141-194. Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004). Charles J.H. Macdonald, 'Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (2004), 78-93.

[17] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels,* Vol. 2, 831. John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 84. Miguel A. Bernad, S.J., *The Christianization of the Philippines: Problems and Perspectives*, (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1972), 135. John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Growth and Decline: Essays on Philippine Church History*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2009), vii. Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, (Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services, 1975), 40-41. David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, (New York: American Book Company, 1905), 138-140. This view has been challenged by more recent historiography by historians like Linda Newson, Ana María Prieto Lucena, and Jaume Gorriz Abella who emphasise that the conquest was far more bloody and violent than previously suggested. See: Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*. Newson, 'Conquest, Pestilence and Demographic Collapse'. Ana María Prieto Lucena, *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas según la historiografía de los siglos XVI y*

limitations of the Spanish colonial state, adopting uncritically the overstated claims to sovereignty made by Spanish chroniclers, conquistadors, and royal officials. In reality, as in other parts of the empire, Spanish power in the Philippines was limited to centres of control and spheres of influence, with large territories in the archipelago remaining outside both of these zones. While this was partially a result of the demographic limitations of the Spanish population – something often acknowledged in the historiography[18] – this dissertation also demonstrates that the territorial boundaries of Spanish sovereignty were defined by the agency of Philippine communities. The phenomenon of fugitivism is essential to this argument. The geography of the archipelago combined with the demographic weaknesses of the Spanish state gave Philippine *indios* ample opportunity to simply abandon Spanish controlled regions – something which they did frequently and on a mass scale. At the same time, communities resisted incorporation into colonial settlements through warfare, rebellion, raiding and killing. Spanish control was thus constantly contested, confined territorially, and much smaller than imperial claims suggest.

Within those areas that did fall under colonial control, the Spanish are credited with achieving an economic transformation of the archipelago by introducing a silver-based economy centred around the galleon trade.[19] The impacts of the galleon trade were most evident in Manila. Yet, while the galleon trade transported immense wealth between Acapulco and China, the historiography of this trade rarely acknowledges that the Spanish ceded control of the domestic economy to Manila's Chinese community. Chinese merchants and labourers controlled every aspect of the city's economy

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XVII, (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 1993). Jaume Gorriz Abella, *Filipinas antes de Filipinas. El archipiélago de San Lázaro en el siglo XVI*, (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2011). Nevertheless, the view that the fragmented nature of the Philippines aided the Spanish in their conquest continues to be repeated within Philippine historiography and textbooks. See for example: Dante C. Simbulan, *The Modern Principalia: The Historical Evolution of the Philippine Ruling Oligarchy*, (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 17. Arun W. Jones, *Christian Missions in the American Empire: Episcopalians in Northern Luzon, the Philippines, 1902-1946*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 33. Helen R. Tubangui, Leslie E. Bauzon, Marcelino A. Faronda Jr., Luz U. Ausejo, *The Filipino Nation: A Concise History of the Philippines*, (USA: Grolier International, 1982), 321.

[18] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 41-43. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 171. Inmaculada Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila (siglos XVI-XVII)*, (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1997), 30-34. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 61-62, 119-120. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Barbara Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1: From Early Times to c. 1800, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 448. Juan Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los Españoles: Libro de registros, 1642-1672', *Revista de Indias*, Vol. 70, No. 249 (2010), 469-500.

[19] William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon: The Romantic History of the Spanish Galleons Trading Between Manila and Acapulco*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1959). Pierre Chaunu, *Las Filipinas y el Pacífico de los Ibéricos, Siglos XVI – XVII – XVIII (Estadísticas y Atlas)*, (México, D.F.: Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior, 1974). Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'La era de la plata española en Extremo Oriente (1550-1700)', *España y el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, 527-542. Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785*, (México: Departamento de Investigaciones Historicas, 1984).

– including the domestic supplies of silver. This was a consistent source of tension for colonial authorities, leading to some of the most violent clashes and massacres ever witnessed in the Spanish empire. The extent of this violence underscores the limitations of Spanish control over both the city of Manila and the domestic economy.

Historians have also often suggested that new colonial tribute and labour regimes reshaped the economy outside of Manila,[20] in Lieberman's words 'borrowing little, if anything' from existing social structures.[21] Yet, as chapter three of this dissertation demonstrates, these new colonial labour regimes in fact relied on the continuation of existing debt structures. The reliance of the colonial state on indigenous elites limited their ability to genuinely transform the economy. Spanish demands overburdened many of the traditional bonds of kinship that underpinned pre-existing economic structures, leading to widespread fugitivism and rebellion, and thus limiting the impact and effectiveness of these colonial economic structures.

Christian conversion has long been identified as one of the hallmarks of European colonisation in the Philippines.[22] Priests were often the only agents of the colonial state that communities ever saw. While the limited number of these priests has been noted by many historians, their miraculous conversion of hundreds of thousands of people in the space of a few short years has often been uncritically

[20] Luis Alonso, 'La inviabilidad de la hacienda asiática. Coacción y Mercado en la formación del modelo colonial en las islas Filipinas, 1565-1595', in Maria Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 181-206. Luis Alonso Álvarez, 'La fiscalidad de la monarquía: la formación de la Real Hacienda filipinas, 1564-1604', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y El Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 121-148. Luis Alonso, 'Financing the empire: the nature of the tax system in the Philippines, 1565-1804', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2003), 63-95. L. Alonso, 'The Spanish Taxation System and the Manila Food Market: Indications of an Early Commercialized Economy', translated by Trinidad O. Regala, *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1998), 5-20. Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas, 1570-1608*, (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995). Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo I*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 465-484.
[21] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2, 837.
[22] H. de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961). Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas: agustinos, franciscanos, dominicos y recoletos', in Leoncio Cabrero (eds.), *España y el Pacífico: Legazpi*, *Tomo II*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 251-280. Pedro Borges Morán, 'Aspectos Característicos de La Evangelización de Filipinas', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España Y El Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 285–318. Eladio Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines (1565-1665)*, (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1966). Ramon C. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines: From Mythos through Lagos to Kairos', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1985), 203-212. Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*. Pablo Fernandez, O.P., *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1898)*, (Manila: National Book Store Publishers, 1979).

repeated.[23] Archival records show that missionaries struggled throughout the seventeenth century to achieve genuine conversions thanks particularly to the highly dispersed nature of Philippine communities. Claims that evangelisation efforts eased the progress of colonisation fall short when we consider that some of the greatest abuses inflicted on communities were perpetrated by priests. Across the islands, *indios* routinely burnt down churches and killed missionaries, while native priests – known as *babaylans* – emerged as leaders of local rebellions.[24]

Finally, historians have often assumed that – even despite their numerical weakness – the Spanish maintained military superiority in the archipelago.[25] As my previous work on Spanish soldiers in the Philippines has demonstrated, this was largely a myth.[26] More often than not, Spanish soldiers were untrained and poorly equipped convicts and conscripts with only questionable loyalty to the imperial project. More importantly, Philippine communities demonstrated time and again their ability to outmaneuver the Spanish militarily. Slave raiders maintained a naval superiority that allowed them to easily evade Spanish armadas, while Spanish attempts to conquer the slave raiding polities of Maguindanao and Jolo were ultimate failures.[27] The military effectiveness of resistance to empire is not just confined to the more centralised societies of the southern archipelago. Arguably, semi- and non-sedentary communities were even more effective in limiting Spanish sovereignty. These communities used tactics of raiding and headhunting to erode Spanish authority, while much of Northern Luzon remained in almost constant rebellion against Spanish settlement, both in the uplands and the lowlands.[28] As with other parts of the Spanish empire, the colonial frontier in the Philippines was delimited by the actions of non-state agents.[29] It was the very lack of a state framework which

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[23] See for example: Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*, 1-21. John N. Schumacher, 'Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism: its historical causes', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 32 (1984), 251-272. Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-212.

[24] See chapter five.

[25] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2, 827, 837, 894. Victor Lieberman, 'Some Comparative Thoughts on Premodern Southeast Asian Warfare', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (2003), 219-220. José S. Arcilla, S.J., *An Introduction to Philippine History*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 10. Anthony Reid, 'Introduction: A Time and a Place', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3, 14.

[26] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Mawson, 'Rebellion and Mutiny in the Mariana Islands', 128-148. Stephanie Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System: Convict Transportation between New Spain and the Philippines during the Seventeenth Century', *Revista de Indias*, Vol. LXXIII, No. 259, (2013), 693-730.

[27] See chapter six.

[28] See chapter four.

[29] John E. Kicza, *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples Confront European Colonization, 1500-1800*, (New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003), 57-63, 171-172. See also: Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*. Hal Langfur, *The Forbidden Lands: Colonial Identity, Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil's Eastern Indians, 1750-1830*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

inhibited the progress of colonisation, allowing often semi- or non-sedentary populations to easily outmaneuver Spanish attempts at establishing colonial control.

This dissertation thus focusses on the diverse ways that Philippine communities shaped the colonial landscape, arguing that they limited the scope of Spanish control territorially, economically, spiritually, and militarily. The choice to end in 1700 follows a convention within Latin American historiography which sees the transition from the Habsburg to the Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century as heralding a period of considerable, empire-wide change. At the same time, focussing on the first century of colonisation allows us to genuinely reassess the success of the Spanish project of empire construction and the extent to which new colonial institutions were either adopted or resisted by local communities in different parts of the archipelago. Through an extensive examination of archival records, I challenge the idea of indigenous passivity and cultural degradation wrought by the presence of Europeans, while also demonstrating that empire was uneven and fragmented and that the Spanish presence in the Philippines was tenuous and in a state of perpetual crisis. Colonisation was constantly contested throughout the seventeenth century.

The remainder of this introduction will summarise the key historiographical interventions that this dissertation makes, beginning with an overview of the way the colonial legacy has been debated within Philippine historiography. I argue that early assumptions about the prevailing nature of Spanish colonisation were shaped by imperial propaganda and have led to a historiography dominated by research into colonial state formation. Ethnohistorians have responded to this situation by concentrating on the agency of non-Europeans, leading to a burgeoning literature on the way in which Philippine communities shaped the colonial era. Nevertheless, many of these histories continue to view Philippine agency from within an imperial framework. The penultimate section argues that while the Philippines has long been integrated into Southeast Asian regional histories, Philippine historiography has not adequately taken account of this wider context. Debates within Latin American and Southeast Asian historiography help us to overcome some long-held assumptions about the weakness of Philippine responses to colonisation. Insights from elsewhere in the Spanish empire show that environments and social settings like the Philippines posed the greatest difficulties for the Spanish, and it was here that they struggled most to gain control. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of methodology and a chapter outline.

The Legacy of Colonialism

> *'How strange is it, then, to find despondency rekindled in the spirit of the inhabitants of the Philippines, when in the middle of so many calamities they did not know if they would see the germination of what they sowed, if their field would become their grave or if their harvest would go to nourish their executioner?'*
>
> José Rizal, 1890[30]

> *'And I say that the conquest of this archipelago is the most beautiful in our national annals because … it was brought to a happy end without the spilling of blood: the sweetness of the Gospel moderated the severity of the sword: the cross and the sword in perfect harmony, pursuing the same holy ideal, brought this conquest to a happy end, which will always be one of the most precious glories of the Catholic Spanish Nation.'*
>
> Fr. Miguel Coco, 1893[31]

In his 1890 essay *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos* the nationalist revolutionary José Rizal lamented the impact of three centuries of colonialism on Philippine society and culture. For Rizal, colonisation had transformed Filipinos into a passive and indolent people. Centuries of war, rebellion, and subjugation had rendered Filipinos as mere shadows of their former prosperous and industrious selves.[32] Writing just three years after Rizal, Fr. Miguel Coco expressed almost exactly the opposite interpretation of the colonial era, wherein colonisation brought civilisation, prosperity, and, most importantly, Christianity to backward peoples, dragging them out of a primitive barbarity.[33] These seemingly irreconcilable views emerged out of a turbulent political moment – one in which the Philippines was undergoing a heightened revolutionary nationalism, while Spain's erstwhile empire was quickly unravelling.[34] Yet, these interpretations represent more than just the way in which history

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[30] '¿Qué extraño, pues, que se haya despertado el desaliento en el espíritu de los habitantes de Filipinas, cuando en medio de tantas calamidades no sabían si habían de ver germinar lo que sembraban, si su campo iba a ser su tumba o si su cosecha iba a nutrir a su verdugo?' Rizal, *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos*.

[31] 'Y digo que la conquista de este Archipiélago es la más hermosa en los Anales patrios, porque, como es bien notorio á propios y extraños, se llevó á feliz término sin derramamiento de sangre: las dulzuras del Evangelio templaron el rigor de la espada: la cruz y la espada en perfecta harmonía, persiguiendo el mismo santo ideal, dieron feliz término á esta conquista, que será siempre una de las más preciadas glorias de la Católica Nación Española. Por eso la historia de la conquista, conservación, civilización y progresos, así morales como materiales, de este pedazo de la-. Madre España, está tan íntimamente enlazada con la historia de las Corporaciones religiosas, y sobre todo, con la historia de la Orden de mi Padre S. Agustín, que no se da la una sin la otra.' (iii – Fr. Miguel Coco, 1893) Fray Juan de Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables*, Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Comp., 1893 [1630], iii.

[32] Rizal, *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos*.

[33] Fr. Miguel Coco, 'Al que leyere [foreword], in Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas*, iii-viii.

[34] Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines 1840-1910*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979). Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *Filipinos and their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998). Akiko Tsuchiya and

was mobilised and reinterpreted to suit the politics of the day. They embody enduring views of the Spanish colonial era that has had a significant and lasting impact on Philippine historical memory.

Tensions over the legacy of colonialism lie at the heart of Philippine historiography. While most interpretations have moved beyond imperialist glorifications of occidental civilisation, there remains a strong perception that the colonial history of the Philippines – and especially the spread of Christianity – sets the archipelago apart from the rest of Asia.[35] At the same time, Rizal's view of the colonial period has fed into more recent nationalist historiographies that depict the Spanish era as one of enduring suffering and brutal subjugation.[36] Both of these interpretations lead towards assumptions about the pervasiveness and uncontested nature of the colonial state. More recent historiography has been careful to acknowledge weaknesses and limitations in the colonial project, with ever greater acknowledgments of the role of accommodation, negotiation and adaptation of indigenous cultures, political structures, and communities.[37] Yet, even this new historiography is largely framed within the context of colonial state formation – asking nuanced and interesting questions about the nature of colonial control, yet never ultimately questioning its extent. What has emerged, I argue, is a very partial view of the colonial landscape. By focussing on how the colonial state exercised power, Philippine historiography has been skewed towards those regions where colonial control was realised while underplaying, exceptionalising, or at times even ignoring the actions and experiences of communities that contradict this narrative of progressive – even if halting – colonisation.

William G. Acree (eds.), *Empire's End: Transnational Connections in the Hispanic World*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2016).

[35] Charentenay, *The Philippines*, 12-13. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2, 893. Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 11. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 5.

[36] Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, vi-vii. Constantino, *The Philippines*. Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*.

[37] Fernando Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas durante los primeros cien años de soberanía española (1565-1665)', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo II*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 71-98. Danilo M. Gerona, 'The Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite in the Early Provincial Philippines, 1600-1795', in Maria Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 265-276. Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, 'Las élites nativas y la construcción colonial de Filipinas (1565-1789)', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 37-70. Stephanie Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire: Indigenous Soldiers and Contingent Loyalty, 1600–1700', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (2016), 381-413. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*. Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Felice Noelle Rodriguez, 'Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (2003), 143-164. Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*. Mark Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs, Murder, and Religious Change among Eighteenth-Century Aeta and Ilongot in Eastern Central Luzon', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (2015), 3-38. Mark Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century Missions on the Caraballo Mountains', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (2011), 367-398.

Historical interpretations of the colonial process in the Philippines extend back to the initial conquest itself, with both religious and secular officials chronicling their actions in the islands.[38] These chronicles recount the glorious deeds of secular and religious men, and especially those who were martyred in the process of bringing the Holy Gospel to heathen peoples. As John Villiers has noted, most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chronicles were written with overtly political purposes, such that impartiality and accuracy were neither desirable nor necessary. Many of these texts also had a 'moral or didactic purpose that was not always compatible with strict veracity or impartiality', meaning that it is 'sometimes difficult to tell where the true historiography ends and propaganda begins'.[39] These early chronicles typically present the idea that Spanish colonisation brought civilisation to parts of the

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[38] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*. Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Henry E.J. Stanley, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Cambridge Library Collection. Web. 02 August 2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511707803. Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas*. Francisco Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes. Progresos de la religión y armas catolicas. Compuesto por el padre Francisco Combes, de la compañía de Iesus, Cathedratico de Prima de Theologia en su Colegio y Universidad de a la Ciudad de Manila*, (Madrid: Por los herederos de Pablo de Val, Año de 1667). Francisco Colin, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la compañía de Iesus, fundación y progressos de su provincia en las islas filipinas. Historiados por el padre Francisco Colin, provincial de la misma compañía, calificador del santo oficio y su comisario en la governacion de Samboanga y su distrito.* 4 vols. (Madrid: Por Ioseph Fernandez de Buendia, Año de 1668). Don Diego Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Iapon y China, de la sagrada orden de predicadores. Escrita por el ilustrissimo señor Don Fray Diego Aduarte, natural de la Imperial Ciudad de Zaragoça y Obispo mritissimo de la Nueva Segovia. Añadida por el muy R. P. Fray Domingo Gonzalez, Comissario del Santo Oficio, y Regente del Colegio de Santo Thomas de Manila*, (Zaragoça: Por Domingo Gascon, Insançon, Impressor del Santo Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, Año 1693). Baltasar de Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Iapon y China del sagrado orden de predicadores. Escrito por el M.R. P. Dr. Baltasar de Santa Cruz, Catedratica de Prima en la Universidad, y Colegio de Santo Tomas de Manila, Prior del Convento de dicha Ciudad, Retor del Colegio Provincial de la Provincia, y Comissario del Santo Oficio,* (Zaragoça: Pasqual Bueno, Impressor del Reyno, 1693). Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las islas Philipinas: La temporal, por las armas del señor Don Phelipe segundo el prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del orden de nuestro padre San Augustin: Fundación, y progressos de su provincia del santissimo nombre de Jesus.* (Madrid: En la Imprenta de Manuel Ruiz de Murga, Año de 1698). Casimiro Diaz, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, (Valladolid: Imprenta Libreria de Luis N. de Gaviria, 1890). Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas: conquistas espirituales y temporales de estos españoles dominios, establecimientos progresos y decadencias*, (En Manila: en la imprenta del Seminario Conciliar, y Real de San Carlos: por Agustin de la Rosa, y Balagtas, 1788). Vicente de Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario de Philipinas, China y Tunking, de el Sagrado Orden de Predicadores. Tercera Parte, en que se tratan los sucesos de dicha Proincia desde el año de 1669 hasta el de 1700. Compuesta por el R. P. Fr. Vicente de Salazar, Rector de el Collegio de Santo Thomas de la Ciudad de Manila y Chancellario de Su Universidad.* (Manila: Impressa en la Imprenta de dicho Collegio y Universidad de Santo Thomas de las misma Ciudad. Año de 1742). Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús; segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por D. Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1749). Joaquín Martínez de Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas*, (Impreso en Sampaloc: Por Fr. Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción Religioso Francisco, Año de 1803).

[39] John Villiers, '"A Truthful Pen and an Impartial Spirit": Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola and the *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (2003), 450.

world that until that point had been backward and primitive. Antonio de Morga wrote in 1609 that Philippine communities were 'weighed down … by blind tyrannies and barbarous cruelties, with which the enemy of the human race had for long afflicted them', while the Spanish had brought them 'to a knowledge of the true God, and to the fold of the Christian church, in which they now live … under the shelter and protection of the royal arm'.[40] This view of colonisation as a benevolent and civilising project never really went away. It was resurrected within neo-imperialist American historiography,[41] by a long line of church historians,[42] and more recently within Spanish language histories.[43] As Antonio Molina wrote, Spanish and American colonisation was lauded as having transformed the Philippines into the only Christian and democratic nation in Asia – so much so that Molina argued that today it was impossible to separate that which was Filipino from that which was Christian or Western.[44]

Yet this exaltation of occidental culture was not without its critics. In the late nineteenth century, Spanish chronicles were re-read in the context of a surge in Filipino nationalism by *Ilustrado* intellectuals like José Rizal.[45] Rizal famously rediscovered and printed an annotated copy of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*.[46] His annotations told of a colonial era in which the Philippine people endured untold pain and suffering. Far from rising out of their primitive ways, Philippine culture was decimated by the exigencies of empire. Rizal argued that the Spanish were initially invited into Philippine communities as equals, with this equality solidified through the symbolism of the blood compact. This moment of contractual brotherhood between Filipinos and Spaniards was only later betrayed when Spanish colonisation transformed the Spanish firmly into the exploitative masters who dominated and subjugated Philippine communities.[47]

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[40] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 5-6.
[41] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*. Ramon Reyes Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1899).
[42] Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251-280. Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, 'La Iglesia y sus relaciones con los Filipinos en los siglos XVI y XVII', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 319-357. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-212.
[43] Antonio M. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1984). Maria Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera, and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001).
[44] Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, 7-8. Although a Filipino himself, Molina wrote one of the first general histories of the Philippines in Spanish, clearly directed at a Spanish audience and serving the purpose of providing a positive story of Spanish colonisation.
[45] Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados: Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 171-200.
[46] José Rizal (ed.), *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, por el Dr. Antonio de Morga*, (Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1890). Ambeth R. Ocampo, 'Rizal's Morga and Views of Philippine History', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1998), 184-214.
[47] Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados*, 171-173.

That Rizal and other *Ilustrados* would seek to assert the equal status of sixteenth-century Philippine rulers with their Spanish counterparts was necessarily part of their wider project for Filipino independence. Yet, after the revolution was betrayed by American colonisation in 1898, American historians produced texts aimed at both American and Filipino audiences which asserted that colonisation itself was not the problem. Rather, it was merely the Spanish who had always been corrupt, decadent, and exploitative masters.[48] Couched firmly in racial theories of the day, American colonisers were thrust into the role of enlightenment bearers, while Filipinos were once again recast as backward, even infantile. The American era also brought with it a dramatic change in mass education which eroded knowledge of the Spanish language within the islands.[49] Consequently, Filipinos were alienated from their own archives and once again reliant on translated chronicles, or on the highly mediated collection of translated archival sources put together by American historians Emma Blair and James Robertson.[50]

Thus, it is not surprising that when Filipino nationalist historiography boomed during the post-war period, the principal objective of these historians was to resurrect the agency of Filipinos within their own national story. Yet, this, in turn, had consequences for how the colonial period was interpreted. One of the leading historians of this period, Teodoro Agoncillo famously argued that 'Philippine history before 1872 [was] a lost history'. Since all history prior to the nineteenth-century nationalist moment was written by Spaniards, it was impossible to write anything other than a history of the Spanish during that period.[51] A more nuanced view was presented by Marxist historians like Renato Constantino, who disagreed that Philippine agency could not be found in the colonial era, but nonetheless viewed Filipinos prior to the nineteenth century as lacking the right revolutionary consciousness. Hence all of their actions were doomed to failure within the context of the long march of colonial domination.[52]

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[48] See for example: Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*. Reyes Lala, *The Philippine Islands*.

[49] Vicente L. Rafael, 'The War of Translation: Colonial Education, American English, and Tagalog Slang in the Philippines', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (2015), 284.

[50] Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803: explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the Islands and their peoples, their history and records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the beginning of the nineteenth century*, 55 Vols., (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark, 1903-9) [Hereafter *B&R*]. Glòria Cano, 'Evidence for the Deliberate Distortion of the Spanish Philippine Colonial Historical Record in "The Philippine Islands 1492-1898"', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2008), 1-30.

[51] Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, vi-vii. John D. Blanco, 'The Pastoral Theme in Colonial Politics and Literature', in Priscelina Patajo-Legasto (ed.), *Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?*, (Quezon City: The University of Philippines Press, 2008), 68. Milagros C. Guerrero, 'Foreward' in William Henry Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992), v.

[52] Constantino, *The Philippines*. Renato Constantino, 'Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol 6, No. 1 (1976), 5-28. See also: Jeffry V. Ocay, 'Domination and Resistance in the Philippines: From the Pre-Hispanic to the Spanish and American Period', *Lumina*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (2010), 1-45.

Others continued with the themes of cultural and social decimation wrought by the colonial period.[53] Most recently, Luis Camara Dery described the colonial period as one of consistent and immeasurable tragedies that encompassed, plagues, epidemics, natural disasters, and exploitation at the hands of the Spanish. This 'is a history of suffering, despair, anguish, and hopelessness of the Filipino people'.[54] Whether they rejected the colonial period or embraced it, however, none of these historians ever contested the pervasiveness of Spanish colonisation.

Agoncillo's dismissal of the colonial period was partially a rejection of obviously biased, ideological colonial texts that were produced with the explicit purpose of over-exaggerating Spanish claims to sovereignty. The first genuine attempt to move beyond these published sources and into the archives was undertaken by John Leddy Phelan, whose work remains an influential mainstay of Philippine colonial historiography.[55] Phelan wrote a much more nuanced depiction of the first century of colonial rule. For Phelan, 'the Spaniards launched a sweeping social reform in the islands, a reform which was religious, political, and economic in scope'.[56] This project of wholesale 'hispanization' was completed by the end of the seventeenth century, bringing 'the Philippines into the orbit of Western civilization, from which they have not departed since the sixteenth century'.[57] The nature of conquest itself was crucial to this process, which Phelan argued 'was swiftly and skilfully executed and hence relatively bloodless', unlike the precursor in Mexico half a century earlier.[58] Despite these conclusions, Phelan's account of this early history emphasises the messiness and unevenness of the Spanish presence – particularly the problems that the Spanish themselves confronted in terms of their numerical weakness, internal divisions, and inter-imperial rivalries with other Europeans, especially the Dutch. Nonetheless, most of these limitations are internal to the empire itself. The agency of Philippine communities was downplayed, with episodes of rebellion and the resistance of the mountain and slave raiding communities relegated to side notes within the overall narrative, which is one of progressive, if at times faltering, colonisation.[59]

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[53] Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*, 173-190. Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines*.

[54] He also believed that the Spanish conquest of the Philippines was more blood-thirsty than that undertaken in the Americas, while colonial labour systems 'ruined the socioeconomic landscape of the land and its inhabitants', destroying the 'initiative and enterprise of the native inhabitants and [transforming] them into an impoverished and fatalistic people'. Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, v-vii.

[55] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. John Leddy Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor: Mexico and the Philippines 1540-1648', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1959), 189-201. John Leddy Phelan, 'Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines', *The Americas*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1957), 221-239.

[56] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, viii.

[57] Ibid, 161.

[58] Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 192.

[59] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 136-152.

Ultimately Phelan's conclusions have proved far more enduring than his depiction of the messiness of the colonisation process. Building on Phelan's work, Nicholas Cushner saw the colonisation of the Philippines as heralding wholesale and dramatic change, which he described as 'nothing short of catastrophic', leading to a degradation of kinship networks, the 'sweeping away' of native priests, and 'the introduction of an economy based on profit'.[60] Following Rizal, Cushner argued that Filipinos were paralysed by the wholesale changes wrought by colonisation – a paralysis that was interpreted as laziness or indolence but was, in reality, a process of mourning or adaptation to colonial rule. Similarly, Robert Reed argued that the Spanish 'were committed to a comprehensive program of territorial expansion, economic exploitation, Christian conversion, and cultural change'.[61]

The main consequence of these conclusions has been that the vast majority of Philippine colonial historiography has focussed on the processes of consolidating colonial state functions. These histories chart the operation of the colonial economy[62] – and especially the galleon trade and the flows of silver

[60] Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 5.
[61] Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 11.
[62] Leslie E. Bauzon, *Deficit Government: Mexico and the Philippine Situado, 1606-1804*, Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1981. Alonso, 'La inviabilidad de la hacienda asiática', 181-206. Alonso Álvarez, 'La fiscalidad de la monarquía', 121-148. Alonso, 'Financing the empire', 63-95. Alonso, 'The Spanish Taxation System and the Manila Food Market', 5-20.

across the Pacific[63] – as well as the formation of new colonial forms of administration,[64] like the *encomienda* system,[65] governance structures including the audiencia and the cabildo of Manila,[66] and new colonial labour regimes.[67] The urban development of Manila as the centre of Spanish power has

[63] Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*. Mola and Shaw, 'La era de la plata española en Extremo Oriente', 527-542. Salvador Bernabéu Albert and Carlos Martínez Shaw (eds.), *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila*, (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013). M.N. Pearson, 'Spain and Spanish Trade in Southeast Asia', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 117-138. C.R. Boxer, '*Plata es Sangre*: Sidelights on the Drain of Spanish-American Silver in the Far East, 1550-1700', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 165-186. Pierre Chaunu, 'Le Galion de Manille: Grandeur et décadence d'une route de la soie', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 187-202. Han-sheng Chuan, 'The Chinese Silk Trade with Spanish-America from the Late Ming to the Mid Ch'ing Period', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 241-260. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, 'Arbitrage, China, and World Trade in the Early Modern Period', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 261-280. William J. McCarthy, 'Between Policy and Prerogative: Malfeasance in the Inspection of the Manila Galleons at Acapulco, 1637', *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1993), 163-183. Chaunu, *Las Filipinas y el Pacífico de los Ibéricos*. John Villiers, 'Silk and Silver: Macau, Manila and Trade in the China Seas in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 20, (1980), 66-80. Birgit Tremml, 'A Global History of Manila in the Beginning of the Modern Era', *Österreichische Zeitschrift fúr Geschichtswissenschaften*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (2009), 184-202. William S. Atwell, 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy circa 1530-1650', *Past & Present*, No. 95 (1985), 68-90. Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas*. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver: Manila-Macao Trade in the 17th Century', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (1996), 52-68. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, 'Born with a "Silver Spoon": The Origin of World Trade in 1571', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1995), 201-221. Dennis O. Flynn, and Arturo Giráldez, 'Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2002), 391–428.

[64] Patricio Hidalgo, 'Visitas a la tierra durante los primeros tiempos de la colonización de las Filipinas, 1565-1608', in Maria Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 207-226.

[65] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*. Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 465-484.

[66] Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*. Inmaculada Alva Rodríguez, 'El cabildo de Manila', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y El Pacífico: Legazpi*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 165-202. Luis Merino, *Cabildo Secular or Municipal Government of Manila: Social Component, Organization, Economics*, (Iloilo: Research Center, University of San Agustin), 1980. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'Conflictividad capitular y poderes locales en el Cabildo de Manila (1690–1697)', *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2016), 325-350. Charles Henry Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies as Illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila (1583-1800)*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919).

[67] William J. McCarthy, 'The Yards at Cavite: Shipbuilding in the Early Colonial Philippines', *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (1995), 149-162.

similarly attracted a great deal of attention,[68] as have histories of the church and the religious orders.[69] Many of these histories have emerged out of a burgeoning interest within Spanish academia to recover a lost corner of the Spanish empire - 'la gran desconocida', as María Lourdes Díaz Trechuelo coined it.[70] These histories are written firmly from within the interests and motivations of Spaniards in the Philippines and rarely ever represent the Spanish presence as either limited or contested.[71]

Yet, despite this, there remain some significant gaps within this literature, which I argue arise from underlying assumptions that the Spanish presence was more considerable than it really was. For example, the extent of the *encomienda* system has never been mapped – a gap which I fill in chapter

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[68] Javier Galván Guijo, 'La Fundación de Manila y su trazado urbanístico', in L. Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi.* Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 149-164. Lorelei De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594-1898: A Sociohistorical Perspective*, (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Publishing House, 2001). Dana Leibsohn, '*Dentro y fuera de los muros*: Manila, Ethnicity, and Colonial Cartography', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (2014), 229-251. Ubaldo Iaccarino, 'Manila as an International Entrepôt: Chinese and Japanese Trade with the Spanish Philippines at the Close of the 16th Century', *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, Vol. 17 (2008), 71-81. Reed, *Colonial Manila*. Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr. and Cornelio R. Bascara, *Manila*, (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992). Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr., *Insigne y Siempre Leal: Essays on Spanish Manila*, (Manila: De La Salle University History Department, 1986). Raquel A. G. Reyes, 'Flaunting It: How the Galleon Trade Made Manila, circa 1571-1800', *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (2017), 683-713. Manuel A. Caoili, *The Origins of Metropolitan Manila: A Social and Political Analysis*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999). Nicolas Zafra, *The Colonization of the Philippines and the Beginnings of the Spanish City of Manila*, (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1974). Javier Aquilera Rojas, *Manila, 1571-1898: Occidente en Oriente*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, Secretaría General Técnica, Centro de Publicaciones, 1998). Richard T. Chu, and Teresita Ang See, 'Toward a History of Chinese Burial Grounds in Manila During the Spanish Colonial Period', *Archipel*, No. 92 (2016), 63-90. María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo López-Spínola, 'Manila Española: Notas sobre su evolución urbana', *Estudios Americanos*, Vol. 9, No. 44 (1955), 447-463. Eufronio M. Alip, 'The City of Manila: Its Life and Progress During the First 100 Years', *UNITAS: A Quarterly Review For The Arts & Sciences*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (1971), 3-34.

[69] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251-284. Borges Morán, 'Aspectos Característicos de La Evangelización de Filipinas', 285-318. Sánchez Fuertes, 'La Iglesia y sus relaciones con los Filipinos', 319-358. Jaume Gorriz Abella, 'La Compañía de Jesús', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo II*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 359-376. José Arcilla Solero, S.J., 'Los cronistas jesuitas de Filipinas', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo II*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 377-398. Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Merchants and Missionaries: A Theologian's View of Clerical Involvement in the Galleon Trade', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1967), 360-369. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-212. Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, 'Religiosidad popular en Filipinas: hermandades y cofradías (siglos XVI-XVIII), *Hispania Sacra*, Vol. 53, (2001), 346-366. Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*. Fernandez, *History of the Church in the Philippines*. Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*.

[70] Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas. La Gran Desconocida (1565-1898)*, (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A., 2001). See also: Elizalde, Fradera, and Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico*, xvi.

[71] Josep Fradera is one of the only voices to explicitly argue that the Spanish were not capable of developing a project of effective colonisation until the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, these conclusions are not expanded upon in any great detail, nor accompanied by archival research into the consequences of this for the period prior to the nineteenth century. Josep M. Fradera, 'La formación de una colonia. Objetivos metropolitanos y transacciones locales', in María Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera y Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 83-104.

one of this dissertation, demonstrating the considerable territorial limitations of the *encomienda* system by the end of the seventeenth century.[72] Similarly, we have only a very limited understanding of the Spanish population.[73] While Phelan provided some details of the missionary population, no attempt was made to quantify the Spanish military presence until very recently,[74] leading to inaccurate and over-exaggerated depictions of Spanish military prowess in the region. We have a much better idea of indigenous demographics thanks to the meticulous work of Linda Newson. Nevertheless, although Newson assesses the demographic impact of Spanish rule on Philippine communities, she does so without presenting a full account of the spread and distribution of Spanish populations, leading to questions about the territorial extent of Spanish control.[75] Thus, a further assessment of the differential spread of Spanish territorial control is still necessary.

Where limitations are noted by these historians of colonial state formation they tend to revolve around internal weaknesses of the Spanish state – a lack of personnel, internal corruption – or inter-imperial rivalries and a threat mentality.[76] Elsewhere, indigenous rebellions have been emphasised, largely following the roll-call of rebellions presented by Blair and Robertson in Volume 38 of their document collection and centring on the tumultuous episodes of 1649 and 1660-1661.[77] Yet, even

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[72] Existing studies of the *encomienda* focus on the early colonial period, entailing the implicit assumption that the spread of *encomiendas* was firmly established by the early seventeenth century. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*. Despite this, late seventeenth-century *encomienda* records do not match those drawn up a century earlier, suggesting substantial change both in Spanish knowledge of the archipelago and the extent of their territorial claims. Complete lists of *encomiendas* include 1591: AGI, Patronato Real [heareafter Patronato], Leg. 25, Ramo 38. 1606: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 88. 1685: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 37.

[73] Partial attempts to map the Spanish population in the seventeenth century can be found in: Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los Españoles', 469-500. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Population Movements in the Spanish Pacific During the 17th century: Travellers from Spain to the Philippines', *Revista Española del Pacífico*, Vol. 19-20, (2006/2007), 133-151. Alva Rodriguez, *Vida Municipal en Manila*, 30-31.

[74] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 693-730.

[75] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*. Linda A. Newson, 'Conquest, Pestilence and Demographic Collapse in the Early Spanish Philippines', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2006), 3-20.

[76] Antonio Espino López, 'Ingleses y neerlandeses en la lucha por el dominio del Océano (siglos XVI y XVII)', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo II*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 539-566. Villiers, 'Manila and Maluku', 146-161. Ruurdje Laarhoven and Elizabeth Pino Wittermans, 'From Blockade to Trade: Early Dutch Relations with Manila, 1600-1750', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4, (1985), 485-504. Peter Borschberg, 'From Self-Defense to an Instrument of War: Dutch Privateering Around the Malay Peninsula in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (2013), 35-52. Campo López, 'La presencia española en el norte de Sulawesi durante el siglo XVII', 51-80. Prieto Lucena, *Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara*. Marta M. Manchado López, and Miguel Luque Talaván, eds. *Fronteras del mundo hispánico: Filipinas en el contexto de las regiones liminares novohispanas*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2011.

[77] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 87-240. Rosario Mendoza Cortes, *Pangasinan, 1572-1800*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 145-168. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 90-98. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 483. Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Celestina Puyal

here, following Phelan's interpretation, these events are seen as exceptional and brief moments of dissent.[78] Filipino historians such as Renato Constantino were concerned with explaining the reasons why early rebellions failed to lead to full-scale revolution, rather than assessing the impact that the rebellions actually had on shaping Spanish imperialism.[79] At the same time, historians like Cummins and Cushner argued that pre-colonial structures like debt servitude meant Philippine communities accepted colonial labour regimes without protest.[80] Such an assumption has been challenged by historians like Palanco and Newson, who have shown convincingly that rebellions were more endemic and often took place directly in response to colonial labour demands.[81]

Yet, the view of a passive or uncontested colonial era has proved remarkably resilient and has had more than just an impact on historical interpretation. As anthropologist Fenella Cannell has argued, historical perceptions of indolence and passivity have influenced how Filipinos view themselves and their culture. Colonisation is seen as having destroyed all that was authentic and distinctive about lowland Filipino culture. She writes that 'the recognition that the history of the lowland Philippines has been forcefully shaped by colonialism has been elided with something quite different; an anxious and discouraging notion in both the academic and non-academic literature, that the lowlands was perhaps nothing but the sum of its colonial parts, a culture without authenticity, or else was only to be defined in a series of negatives, by what it had failed to be'.[82]

Between Indolence and Agency

Such views of the colonial legacy are not unique to the Philippines. Matthew Restall calls this 'the myth of native desolation', or the idea that indigenous societies were swept aside or destroyed by colonisation. In Latin American historiography, earlier generations of historians juxtaposed robust European civilisations against what they viewed to be traditional, superstitious and primitive native cultures which were destined to be swept aside.[83] At the same time, post-colonial historiographies have sometimes perpetuated this same trope. Amy Turner Bushnell has argued that while a

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Boncan and Ricardo Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), 77-81. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 33-35, 151-154.

[78] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 136-152.

[79] Constantino, *The Philippines*, 81-108. See also: Ocay, 'Domination and Resistance in the Philippines', 1-45.

[80] James S. Cummins and Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines: The *Discurso Parenetico* of Gomez de Espinosa', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1-2 (1974), 118.

[81] Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 71-98. Newson, 'Conquest, Pestilence and Demographic Collapse', 14-15. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*.

[82] Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6-7.

[83] Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 102-130.

postcolonial emphasis on indigenous people as victims is born out of a desire to highlight the brutality of colonisation, such formulations nevertheless continue to emphasise the overwhelming power exercised by Europeans over indigenous peoples.[84] Bushnell instead encourages us to think about forms of negotiation and the roles of intermediaries within colonisation.[85]

Critiques such as this have led to a dramatic shift in the way Latin American indigenous histories are written. Nancy Fariss argues that newer historiography focuses on how indigenous people 'viewed and responded to domination as opposed to what merely happened to them'.[86] The role of adaptation is crucial to this shift. Gabriela Ramos argues that indigenous cultures endured because of their ability to adapt to a new colonial landscape. Indigenous culture is neither stagnant nor timeless, but ever evolving.[87] Pekka Hämäläinen similarly shows that by shifting our lens away from European interests and imperial expansion, it is possible to reconstruct seemingly disconnected actions of native societies as 'products of political strategy rather than signs of political degeneration'.[88] Indigenous agency is thus at the heart of recent historiography of the Americas, with numerous historians now demonstrating the integral role of native allies and intermediaries within the process of colonisation.[89]

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[84] Amy Turner Bushnell, 'Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries: The Field of Frontier Latin America', in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Daniels, Christine and Michael V. Kennedy (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2002), 16-17. See also: SilverMoon and Michael Ennise, 'The View of the Empire from the *Altepetl*: Nahua Historical and Global Imagination', in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 150-166. Brian Owensby, 'Foreword', in Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg (eds.), *Negotiation within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos confront the Spanish State*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), xi-xv.

[85] Bushnell, 'Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries', 17.

[86] Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), x.

[87] Gabriela Ramos, 'Conversion of Indigenous People in the Peruvian Andes: Politics and Historical Understanding', *History Compass*, Vol. 14, No. 8 (2016), 359-369. Gabriela Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532-1670*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

[88] Hämäläinen, 'What's in a Concept?', 82.

[89] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, James Delbourgo, (eds.) *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820*, (Sagamore Beach, Mass.: Science History Publications, 2009). Shino Konishi, Maria Nugent, and Tiffany Shellam, (eds.) *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives*, (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015). Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). David T. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750–1825*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). José Carlos de la Puente Luna, 'The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire', *Colonial Latin American Review,* Volume 23, No. 2, (2014), 143-170. Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being in Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008). Peter B. Villela, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 4-5. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, 'Introduction', in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 1-19. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg (eds.), *Negotiation Within Domination: New Spain Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State*, (University Press of

These works demonstrate that colonial encounter led to new cultural formations that were not premised exclusively on the violent obliteration of pre-existing cultures. Indigenous peoples – and particularly indigenous elites – often became integral to the formation of colonial authority and sovereignty over territories and populations,[90] while seemingly 'new' colonial systems of labour, tribute, and domination were often based on existing socio-economic structures.[91]

Colorado, 2010). Michel R. Oudijk and Matthew Restall, 'Mesoamerican Conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 30-33. Laura E. Matthew, 'Whose Conquest? Nahua, Zapoteca, and Mixteca Allies in the Conquest of Central America', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 102-126. Ida Altman, 'Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration: Indian Allies and the Campaigns in Nueva Galicia', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 145-174. John F. Chuchiak IV, 'Forgotten Allies: The Origins and Roles of Native Mesoamerican Auxiliaries and Indios Conquistadores in the Conquest of Yucatan, 1526-1550', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 175-225. Yanna Yannakakis, 'The Indios Conquistadores of Oaxaca's Sierra Norte: From Indian Conquerors to Local Indians', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 227-253. Bret Blosser, '"By the Force of Their Lives and the Spilling of Blood": Flechero Service and Political Leverage on a Nueva Galicia Frontier', in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (eds.), *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 289-316. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 158-172. Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 44-63. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall, 'Black Soldiers, Native Soldiers: Meanings of Military Service in the Spanish American Colonies', in Matthew Restall (ed.), *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 29-30. José Eugenio Borao Mateo, 'Contextualising the Pampangos (and Gagayano) soldiers in the Spanish fortress in Taiwan (1626-1642)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Vol. 70, No. 2, (2013), 582.

[90] Ramos and Yannakakis, 'Introduction', 1-19. Villela, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico*. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule*. Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1993). Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the Lettered City: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy and Political Culture in Colonial Peru*, (Boulder, Co.: University of Colorado Press, 2010). Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*. Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian justice in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008). Yannakakis, *The Art of Being in Between*. Oudijk and Restall, 'Mesoamerican Conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century', 28-64. Matthew, 'Whose Conquest?', 102-126. Altman, 'Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration', 145-174. Chuchiak, 'Forgotten Allies', 175-226. Yanna Yannakakis, 'Allies or Servants? The Journey of Indian Conquistadors in the Lienzo of Analco', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (2011), 653-682. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413.

[91] William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 218-232. Raquel Gil Montero, 'Free and Unfree Labour in the Colonial Andes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 56, No. S19, (2011), 297–318. Raquel Gil Montero, 'Mecanismos del reclutamiento indígena en la minería de plata. Lípez (sur de la actual Bolivia), siglo XVII', *América latina en la historia económica. Boletín de fuentes*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (2014), 5–30. Jeremy Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012). Noble David Cook and Mariana Mould de Pease, 'Patrones de migración indígena en el virreinato del Perú: mitayos, mingas y forasteros', *Histórica*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1989), 132-133. Jeffrey A. Cole, 'An Abolitionism Born of Frustration: The Conde de Lemos and the Potosi Mita, 1667-73', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 2, (1983), 309. Milagros Martínez, 'Comunidad indígena y hacienda españoles en Piura: el caso de San Francisco de Cumbicus (1645-1720)', *Histórica*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (1990), 93–137.

Ethnohistorians have sought to integrate some of these conclusions within Philippine historiography, demonstrating the way in which indigenous culture and socio-economic structures interacted with and shaped colonial society. Responding to Agoncillo, William Henry Scott argued that the 'cracks in the parchment curtain' allow us to locate indigenous voices and histories from within colonial archives.[92] His extensive corpus of work utilises early ethnographic descriptions of Philippine communities combined with other records including Chinese and Malay documents to recover the socio-economic and cultural basis of the archipelago immediately prior to European colonisation.[93] His work opened up space for historians to consider cultural continuities as well as indigenous agency within the colonial era.[94] Reynaldo Ileto demonstrates that indigenous belief systems became integral parts of the language of revolution and anti-colonialism during the nineteenth century.[95] David Irving's work on music in early modern Manila views the colonial period as one of cross-cultural exchange, which he defines as 'contrapuntal'.[96] Felice Noelle Rodriguez argues that the Spanish conquest was itself understood within established notions of warfare, tribute, and ransom.[97] Oona Paredes' ethnohistory of the Lumad examines evidence of cross-cultural interactions between the Spanish and these upland communities, challenging the view that they were unimpacted by Spanish colonial influence.[98] At the same time, the role of indigenous elites within new colonial structures – and particularly within the military – has attracted greater attention, demonstrating that colonisation was

[92] William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982).
[93] Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*. Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain*. William Henry Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984). William Henry Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, (Manila: De la Salle University Press, 1991). William Henry Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992). William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994). Scott's work has recently been expanded upon by the historical archaeologist Laura Lee Junker. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*.
[94] Other works on the pre-hispanic Philippines include: Ana María Prieto Lucena, *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas según la historiografía de los siglos XVI y XVII*, (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 1993). Ana María Prieto Lucena, 'La vision del indígena en Pigafetta', in Maria Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Vol. 1, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 249-264. Ana Maria Prieto Lucena, 'Los malayos Filipinos ante la llegada de los europeos', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi. Tomo I*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, S.A., 2004), 205-230. Gorriz Abella, *Filipinas antes de Filipinas*. Local ethnographic histories include: Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*. Peter Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua, 1521-1910: The Hispanization and Christianization of Agusan, Surigao and East Davao*, Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 1989.
[95] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*.
[96] Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*.
[97] Rodriguez, 'Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare', 143-164.
[98] Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*.

facilitated by processes of accommodation.[99] Within the sphere of religious conversion, Vicente Rafael's work on translation established that indigenous cultures and perceptions influenced how the process of colonisation was understood and adapted by local communities. For Rafael, Spanish concepts – particularly religious ones – were translated into the Tagalog vernacular and in the process, their meaning was reforged.[100] The anthropologist Charles Macdonald similarly argues that the basic structural components of pre-hispanic Philippine religions and Christianity were similar enough to allow Filipinos to readily adopt certain aspects of Christian doctrine.[101] Mark Dizon's work has extended this analysis, suggesting that Philippine communities were selective in their uptake of Christian beliefs and that they adapted and shaped Christianity to suit themselves.[102]

Taken together, all these histories have added a depth and complexity to our understanding of colonisation, disrupting the image of an unassailable colonial domination by bringing to the fore indigenous actors. Nevertheless, in the vast majority of these histories, the agency of Philippine people is still located within the interests of the colonial state. These histories ask *how* Philippine communities participated in colonial structures or shaped Christian conversion – not *whether* they did. Notably, the historiographies dealing with the two Philippine regions that resisted colonisation altogether – the uplands of Northern Luzon and the southern regions of Mindanao – remain exceptional within the colonial narrative and in some instances are excluded altogether. In the case of Northern Luzon, William Henry Scott's detailed analysis of the High Cordillera region emphasised the agency of upland

[99] Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413. José María Fernández Palacios, 'El papel activo de los indígenas en la conquista y defensa de las islas Filipinas: las compañías pampangas en el siglo XVII', in Marta María Manchado López y Miguel Luque Talaván, *Un mar de islas, un mar de gentes: población y diversidad en las islas Filipinas*, (Córdoba: Servicios de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2014), 101-126. José Eugenio Borao Mateo, 'Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army during the Dutch Wars (1600-1648)', in *More Hispanic than We Admit. Insights in Philippine Cultural History*, Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008, 74-93. Bohigian, 'Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire', 89-133. Augusto V. De Viana, 'The Pampangos in the Mariana Mission, 1668-1684', *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2005), 1-16. Augusto V. De Viana, *In the Far Islands: The Role of Natives from the Philippines in the Conquest, Colonization and Repopulation of the Mariana Islands, 1668-1903*, (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2004). Borao Mateo, 'Contextualising the Pampangos', 581-605. Gerona, 'The Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite', 265-276. Sánchez Gómez, 'Las élites nativas y la construcción colonial de Filipinas', 37-70. Simbulan, *The Modern Principalia*. Luis Alonso Álvarez, 'Los señores del Barangay: La principalía indígena en las islas Filipinas, 1565-1789', in Margarita Menegus Bornemann and Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador (eds.), *El cacicazgo en Nueva España y Filipinas*, (México: Plaza y Valdes, 2005), 355-406. Luciano P. R. Santiago, 'The Filipino Indio Encomenderos (ca. 1620-1711)', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1990), 162-184. Resil B. Mojares, 'The Life of Miguel Ayatumo: A Sixteenth-Century Boholano', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4, (1993), 437-458.
[100] Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism.*
[101] Macdonald, 'Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines', 78-93. See also: Stephen K. Hislop, 'Anitism: A Survey of Religious Beliefs Native to the Philippines', *Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, (1971), 144-56.
[102] Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 3-38. Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship', 367-398.

regions in rejecting colonisation while inadvertently exceptionalising this region.[103] By divorcing the experiences of these upland regions from very similar stories of resistance and fugitivism in the neighbouring lowlands – particularly in Cagayan – Scott contributed to the development of a seemingly permanent binary between colonised lowland spaces and the autonomous, authentic indigenous highlands. In the seventeenth century, this binary simply did not exist. Felix Keesing's work demonstrates that the experience of resistance, rebellion and particularly flight away from colonisation was in fact common across the whole breadth of Northern Luzon in the seventeenth century, including the lowland and valley regions. Keesing's claim that some upland groups in Northern Luzon formed from communities fleeing Spanish colonisation has often been cited by historians. Beyond this, his findings receive only limited attention by other scholars, particularly with regards to his sections on the Cagayan valley.[104] Chapter four of this dissertation demonstrates that many of his findings are supported – and extended – by the archival record.

Similarly, the history of the southern archipelago is often analysed in isolation from the larger story of the archipelago.[105] The most recent contribution to this field argues that the conflict with Muslim polities allowed the Spanish to consolidate their control across the rest of the archipelago by building solidarity with the indigenous groups that were most impacted by slave raiding activities, principally in the Visayas.[106] Since this study continues to separate the conflict from the social history of the rest of the archipelago, it ignores the concurrent widespread resistance to the Spanish presence in the Visayas as well as the way in which slave raiding activities effectively undermined Spanish sovereignty in the Visayas for much of the seventeenth century. It also underplays the considerable territorial contraction that occurred in 1663 largely as a result of the ongoing contestation to imperial expansion waged by the slave raiding polities.

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[103] Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*. Scott, 'Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines', 137-159. Scott, 'The Igorot', 356-360. Scott, 'An Historian Looks into the Philippine Kaleidoscope', 220-227. Scott, 'The Word Igorot', 234-248. Scott, 'Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims', 695-717. Flameygh and Scott, 'An Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820', 285-295. Antolin and Scott, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789', 177-249. Antolin, Scott and Carillo, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789: Part Two', 27-132. Scott, *A Sagada Reader*.

[104] Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. See also: Dennis Roth, 'Notes on the Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 21, no. 4 (1974), 371-378.

[105] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*. Francisco Mallari, 'Muslim Raids in Bicol, 1580-1792', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1986), 257-286. Francisco Mallari, 'The Eighteenth Century Tirones', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (1998), 293-312. Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*. Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, 'Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1956), 215-239. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905). Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908). McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*. Luis Camara Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History: A Study of the Impact of Moro Anti-Colonial Resistance, 1571-1896*, Quezon City: Luis Camara Dery, 1997.

[106] Ethan P. Hawkley, 'Reviving the Reconquista in Southeast Asia: Moros and the Making of the Philippines, 1565-1662', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 25, No. 2-3 (2014), 285-310.

This dissertation contributes to this new ethnohistorical approach to the seventeenth-century Philippines. By emphasising the limitations of colonial control, I demonstrate that colonial society was shaped by rejection and resistance as much as it was by accommodation and adaptation. The extent of this contestation in the seventeenth-century Philippines has been vastly underestimated. While the limits of the Spanish presence have long been acknowledged,[107] they have typically been framed as internal to the Spanish regime itself. Yet, the limitations of empire were also established through the actions of local communities; contestation is witnessed not just in large-scale rebellions, but also in more frequent acts of resistance, including flight, raiding, headhunting, burning churches, and killing priests, soldiers, and royal officials.

State Formation, Non-State Agents, and the Limits of Colonisation

The focus of Philippine historiography on the question of colonial state formation is in part a response to the nature of pre-hispanic society. Unlike many other parts of Southeast Asia in the sixteenth century, the Philippine archipelago hosted no major polities and was instead typified by small, fragmented kinship-based communities.[108] This led early on to a prevailing view that colonisation in the archipelago was relatively easy since the Spanish did not have to contend with an established state and were able to embark on a process of centralisation within their own centre of power in Manila.[109] Related to this, European military power and technology were seen as superior to existing Southeast Asian methods of warfare, meaning that even where resistance was waged it was short-lived.[110] Yet, recent trends in both Southeast Asian and Latin American historiographies help to overturn both of these assumptions. Across both regions, the existence of centralised indigenous states facilitated the process of colonisation far more than in communities that were semi- or non-sedentary. At the same time, recent explorations into the Spanish military capacity in the Philippines undermines their reputation for military sophistication,[111] while research presented in this dissertation demonstrates

[107] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 41-43. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 171. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 30-34. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 61-62, 119-120. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 448. Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los españoles', 469-500.
[108] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 73-74. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 12.
[109] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2, 831. Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 84. Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*, 135. Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*, vii. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 40-41. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 138-140.
[110] Lieberman, 'Some Comparative Thoughts on Premodern Southeast Asian Warfare', 215-225. Reid, 'Introduction: A Time and a Place', 3. Leonard Andaya, 'Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800', in Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1: From Early Times to c. 1800, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 430.
[111] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125.

that Spanish soldiers were outmaneuvered militarily time and again by both state and non-state actors.

Debates surrounding the legacy of European colonisation in Southeast Asia are markedly different from those in Latin American historiography thanks to the environment and historical geography of the region. While many historians have made a case that Southeast Asia occupies a distinct region – united by shared cultures – in the early modern period this region was nonetheless defined by fragmentation and localism owing to strong kinship-based social structures.[112] Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the region became increasingly connected to an Indian Ocean world economy through the activities of Chinese, Indian, and Arabic traders.[113] New and powerful indigenous states emerged, located especially around trading ports in places like Melaka and Makassar. The arrival of Europeans took place within this context. Rather than seeing the European presence as dominating local communities or sweeping aside local cultures, Southeast Asianists typically argue that the European presence was felt in the form of changing trading patterns, the building of new alliances, and shifting regional power dynamics.[114] Historians disagree as to the extent of these changes, with those focussing on mainland Southeast Asia generally arguing for greater resilience of local polities than was evident in island Southeast Asia.[115] Yet, even within the archipelagic region, powerful indigenous states emerged to counter European domination, particularly in Aceh, Johor,

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[112] Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across "Area Studies"', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.65, No. 4 (2006), 669-690. Barbara Andaya, 'Rivers, Oceans, and Spirits: Water Cosmologies, Gender, and Religious Change in Southeast Asia', *TRaNS : Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2016), 239-263. Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Seas, Oceans and Cosmologies in Southeast Asia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (2017), 349-371. Barbara Watson Andaya, *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 1999). Anthony Reid, *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads*, (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley Blackwell, 2015). Geoffrey C. Gunn, *History Without Borders: The Making of an Asian World Region, 1000-1800*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011). Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1: From Early Times to c. 1800, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680: Volume One, The Lands Below the Winds*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680: Volume Two, Expansion and Crisis*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830. Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2.

[113] K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Restraints on the Development of Merchant Capitalism in Southeast Asia before c. 1800', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 123-150.

[114] Anthony Reid, 'Global and Local in Southeast Asian History', *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2004), 5-21. Reid, 'Introduction: A Time and a Place', 1-19.

[115] Ibid. David Henley, 'Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2004), 85-144. Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 402-459.

Makassar, Sumatra, and Ternate.[116] Thus, unlike in the Spanish Philippines, the strategy of both Portuguese and Dutch colonisers relied on building alliances with existing state formations, and in doing so affecting a significant shift in local power structures. Empire, in this formulation, thus rested less on total domination and more on alliances and intercultural exchange.

The landscape of seventeenth-century Southeast Asia was consequently defined by numerous powerful and competing indigenous polities, in addition to the European presence. That the Europeans, and principally the Dutch, eventually achieved pre-eminence particularly in maritime Southeast Asia is usually explained through European military superiority.[117] As Anthony Reid has argued, 'Through warfare, impregnable fortifications, and monopoly commerce, Europeans had by 1650 gained control of the vital ports and products that had previously linked the region to the expanding world economy. Although they remained only peripheral players in the ongoing life of the region, they had changed the delicate balance between commerce and kingship'.[118] Similarly, Victor Lieberman has argued that Southeast Asian polities were ultimately unable to compete with European forces, perhaps owing to the European 'commitment to "total war," a determination not merely to rout the enemy, but to inflict crushing casualties that contrasted sharply with Southeast Asian traditions of desultory encounter and low fatalities'.[119]

Nevertheless, other historians of Southeast Asia have argued that Lieberman and Reid's assessments have put too much emphasis on states – both in terms of the consolidation of European power and the forms in which this power was effectively challenged. Historians like James Warren and Jennifer Gaynor demonstrate the importance of non-state actors in early modern global history.[120] Gaynor

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[116] Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 402-459. Anthony Reid, 'Political "Tradition" in Indonesia: The One and the Many', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1998), 28-30. J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Forces of Regional and State Integration in the Western Archipelago, c.1500-1700', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1987), 24-44. On Aceh see: Sher Banu A. L. Khan, *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom: The Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641-1699*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017). On Johor see: Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). On Makassar see: William Cummings, 'The Dynamics of Resistance and Emulation in Makassarese History', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2001), 423-435. On Sumatra see: Barbara Andaya Watson, *To Live As Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993). On Ternate see: Andaya, *The World of Maluku*.

[117] Lieberman, 'Some Comparative Thoughts on Premodern Southeast Asian Warfare', 215-225. Reid, 'Introduction: A Time and a Place', 3. Andaya, 'Interactions with the Outside World', 430.

[118] Reid, 'Introduction: A Time and a Place', 3.

[119] Lieberman, 'Some Comparative Thoughts on Premodern Southeast Asian Warfare', 219-220.

[120] James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2002). James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone: The World Capitalist Economy and the Historical Imagination*, (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1998). James Francis Warren, 'The Structure of Slavery in the Sulu Zone in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Slavery & Abolition*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2003), 111-128. James Francis Warren, 'The Balangingi Samal: The Global Economy, Maritime

argues that maritime peoples of Southeast Asia presented a consistent opposition towards European colonialism that is often hidden or overlooked in histories that focus too exclusively on state-based actors. Similar conclusions have been reached by the historical anthropologist, James Scott, who presents a provocative thesis on the role of upland spaces in mainland Southeast Asia as sites of ongoing resistance to incorporation into neighbouring lowland states.[121] Scott sees the isolation of upland communities from lowland states as a product of consistent resistance to inclusion in all state formations present in the region – indigenous, colonial and national.[122]

This dissertation demonstrates that resistance to empire in the seventeenth-century Philippines came from both state-based and non-state agents. In the south of the archipelago, the slave raiding polities of Sulu and Maguindanao effectively rejected Spanish attempts at military intervention and territorial expansion.[123] As chapter six demonstrates, as the Spanish attempted to penetrate southwards, these polities consolidated themselves while furthering their alliances to other centres of Southeast Asian power, including Ternate and Borneo.[124] By contrast, resistance to empire elsewhere in the archipelago involved the fragmentation of polities. Tens of thousands of Philippine *indios* abandoned Spanish settlements and *encomiendas*, often fleeing into mountainous interiors, mirroring patterns described by Scott. Their fragmented nature in many ways aided these communities. The Spanish found it virtually impossible to claim sovereignty over people they rarely saw and who refused to be reduced into larger settlements – a phenomenon also noted elsewhere in the empire.[125] Yet, in the annals of Philippine history, it is only the first group who are afforded genuine agency, with Moro leaders like Kudarat being elevated to the status of national hero. Those who resisted empire through flight remain intangible shadows, attracting very limited attention from historians. The historical geographer Linda Newson, while noting the widespread nature of fugitivism in the archipelago,

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Raiding and Diasporic Identities in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines', *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2003), 7-29. James Francis Warren, *The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of Southeast Asian Maritime State*, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007). Jennifer L. Gaynor, *Intertidal History in Island Southeast Asia: Submerged Genealogy and the Legacy of Coastal Capture*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016.

[121] James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). See also: Jean Michaud, 'Editorial: Zomia and Beyond', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2010), 187-214. Willem van Schendel, 'Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance: jumping scale in Southeast Asia', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 20, No. 6, (2002), 647–68.

[122] Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 19.

[123] See chapter six for a full overview of this historiography.

[124] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*, 21-25. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 131-138. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 107. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas'. Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints: Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

[125] Kicza, *Resilient Cultures*, 57-63, 171-172.

preferred to see this flight as evidence of a modest demographic collapse following Spanish colonisation.[126] This underplays the political agency that motivated the decision to abandon Spanish settlements or to resist their foundation in the first place. The actions of communities that fled into upland regions undoubtedly contributed to limiting empire in the Philippines as much as that by state-based actors, if not more. Frontiers were rendered porous, intangible, uncontrolled.

Latin American historians such as John Kicza have noted that non-sedentary and semi-sedentary groups were even more suited to resisting the encroaches of empire than those who were already formulated into sedentary state-based societies, where tribute and labour were already established structures. Semi- and non-sedentary groups were able to use local geographies to their advantage, with flight, ambush, and raiding used as common strategies against European colonial agents.[127] Many of the observations Kicza makes about non- and semi-sedentary societies in the Americas are equally relevant within the environment of the Philippines, where sedentism was often exceptional.[128]

At the same time, the upland regions of Northern Luzon have often been viewed as somehow untouched by colonisation, contributing to a prevalent lowland-upland divide wherein the lowlands, as Cannell argues, have no culture thanks to colonisation, while the uplands remain repositories of timeless, authentic indigeneity.[129] The archaeologist Stephen Acabado has recently confronted this problematic dynamic by uncovering archaeological evidence for large-scale migrations into upland regions during the seventeenth century. Following the work of Oona Paredes on the Lumad in Mindanao,[130] Acabado argues that it is more fruitful, therefore, to view these upland spaces as 'pericolonial': they were not colonised, but nevertheless felt the impact of colonisation through changing settlement patterns, trade relations, and alliances with lowland communities.[131] Upland communities were not isolated and 'authentic' indigenous spaces and indigenous communities

[126] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 179-246.
[127] Kicza, *Resilient Cultures*, 57-63, 171-172.
[128] Additionally, Spanish responses to these kinds of problems were similar in both locations. The Chichimec frontier in Northern Mexico mirrors that of Northern Luzon, particularly in the establishment of a network of forts. Kicza notes that the soldiers in these forts sustained themselves through capturing *indios* to sell as slaves in central Mexico. Ibid, 63.
[129] Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, 6-7. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 28.
[130] Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*.
[131] Acabado's findings are significant on another level, ascertaining once and for all that the famous Sagada rice terraces were constructed after Spanish colonisation, probably by lowlanders fleeing into upland space as a rejection of colonisation. Stephen Acabado, 'The Archaeology of Pericolonialism: Responses of the 'Unconquered' to Spanish Conquest and Colonialism in Ifugao, Philippines', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 21 Issue 1, (2017), 1-26.

demonstrated a considerable degree of agency in choosing how they responded to colonisation.[132] Chapter four of this dissertation contributes to this argument through a detailed examination of the history of Cagayan – a lowland region that used its intimate connection to upland geographies to limit Spanish colonisation for the duration of the seventeenth century.

In a similar vein to Acabado and Paredes, Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack Greene have suggested that the totality of European control over space and territory was overstated within colonial sources – especially maps – and subsequently misinterpreted by historians. Rather, they see Europeans as maintaining centres of control surrounded by spheres of influence, where mediation and exchange occurred.[133] Alexander Ponsen has likewise argued that there is 'a gaping divide' between claims to sovereignty across the Spanish empire and the ability of Spanish officials 'to impose effective sovereignty over those claims'.[134] Spanish claims to sovereignty over the entire Philippine archipelago were neither matched by their actual territorial claims through the *encomienda* system or their physical presence within local communities. The current historiography, therefore, over-emphasises Spanish control, while in reality the majority of historical works are written about only a very limited part of the Philippines.

These conclusions may well be unsurprising to historians of global empire. As Lauren Benton has argued, 'territorial control was in many places, an incidental aim of imperial expansion. … Empires did not cover space evenly but composed a fabric that was full of holes, stitched together out of pieces, a tangle of strings'.[135] Similarly, Rachel St. John has argued that 'by taking Spanish imperial claims at face value, [historians] have not only overestimated Spanish authority but may also have misunderstood what the Spanish empire most wanted … Despite their claims to vast, bounded territories and maps inscribed with clearly drawn lines, the Spanish imperial presence was in practice more nodal'.[136] Yet it is important to separate claims from ambition. Throughout this dissertation, a tension is evident between the realities of the colonial frontier – which was necessarily limited – and the ambitions of

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[132] Stephen Acabado, 'Zones of Refuge: Resisting Conquest in the Northern Philippine Highlands Through Environmental Practice', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, (2018), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaa.2018.05.005.

[133] Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, 'Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires', in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Daniels, Christine and Michael V. Kennedy (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.

[134] Alexander Ponsen, 'From Monarchy to Empire: Ideologies, Institutions, and the Limits of Spanish Imperial Sovereignty, 1492-1700', in Ignacio Gallup Diaz (ed.), *The World of Colonial America: An Atlantic Handbook*, (London: Routledge, 2017), 17.

[135] Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2.

[136] Rachel St. John, 'Imperial Spaces in Pekka Hämäläinen's "The Comanche Empire"', *History and Theory*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (2013), 79.

particular Spanish actors. Missionaries especially wished to pursue aggressive territorial expansion and were often the architects of the most violent and aggressive military incursions into indigenous territories.

This discussion emphasises both the call for a reassessment of the Spanish colonisation of the Philippines as well as the scope that such a reassessment might take. In the case of the Philippines, while large-scale rebellion has been acknowledged, other forms of resistance has been downplayed. What emerges in the chapters that follow is in fact a hidden history of constant, everyday violence that took place across communities within the archipelago. While the most common form of resistance was flight away from Spanish controlled areas, communities also used the tactics of raiding, headhunting, burning churches, and killing priests and soldiers as a way of subverting colonial authority within their communities. The extent of these practices is obscured by a historiography that focuses on the efforts of the Spanish to consolidate state power within the archipelago.

Methodology and Chapter Outline

This dissertation is based on an extensive examination of archival materials drawn from multiple locations. The major repository of colonial records on the Philippines is held by the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville. This collection incorporates official communication between royal officials in Manila and the Council of Indies in Madrid, as well as multiple collections of petitions, investigations, reports, official inquiries, and personal letters from both religious and secular officials. The research conducted in this archive was supplemented by work within the Archivo Histórico Nacional, which holds a number of other administrative records, including inquisition cases. The Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico is a secondary repository of both administrative and religious documents; for the purpose of this dissertation the majority of sources cited from this archive were inquisition records. While the AGI holds a good range of missionary sources, additional missionary records were consulted in Madrid at the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental and the Real Academia de la Historia, the latter of which has an excellent although poorly catalogued collection of Jesuit records. Jesuit records were also consulted at the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University, which holds microfilm copies from the Archivum Romanum Societatus Iesu located in Rome and includes most of the order's annual reports. Dominican records were found in the Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario at the University of Santo Tomás in Manila. The Biblioteca Nacional de España has a small number of manuscript records – the most important of which relate to the Chinese community in Manila – as well as a larger collection of digitised published and unpublished chronicles.

Since my intention has often been to look for disparate evidence on the actions of Philippine, Chinese, or Moro communities, I have found that cross-referencing a wide range of sources has allowed me the deepest reading of particular themes and events. At the same time, I am mindful of James Scott's argument that many archives are records of the way in which states attempted to make society legible so that it could better be controlled through the functions of the state, such as taxation and conscription.[137] These arguments have important implications for how we research colonial society, particularly in the early days of colonisation, when records were first being developed and were beset by the limitations of the state making project itself. It is therefore of fundamental importance for historians to question these colonial sources of information, particularly as regards to demography and the historical geography of colonial spaces. Colonial archives are often the repositories of reams of information about the aims and motivations of Europeans in consolidating the project of empire. Such information has too often shaped the kinds of histories that we write. Rather than eschew the archives in the manner of Agoncillo, it is therefore incumbent upon us as historians to ask different questions of these sources.

Methodologically, this dissertation sits firmly within the traditions of ethnohistory and social history. The approach of ethnohistory allows for a serious consideration of the way in which indigenous societies and cultures shaped historical experiences. Each chapter begins with an ethnographic overview of Philippine customs and political economies, drawing in particular from ethnographies of the pre-hispanic Philippines. By exploring the existing context in which colonisation took place, I have been able to apply new depths of understanding to colonial sources, to attempt to uncover hidden politics and agency within the actions of Philippine communities. The approach of social history is concerned with how society was organised, how economies really worked (or did not), who performed labour within these economies, how land was used, and what kinds of commodities were traded between whom and why. All of these factors form the underlying basis for how society operated and how power was exercised – both by the colonial state and against it. Where possible, I have attempted to gather quantitative data to look at demographics, labour, trade, rebellion, and fugitivism. It must be acknowledged that such data is always limited by the unevenness of the historical archive as well as the inconsistencies in early modern record keeping and the inevitable motivation of the colonial state for over-exaggeration. Yet even if these findings are only indicative, they nonetheless shed new light on particular aspects of the colonial landscape, while also allowing us to critically evaluate the

[137] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2-3.

hyperbolic claims of Spanish functionaries as against their own data. Finally, this dissertation also attempts to create a historical geography of the archipelago in the seventeenth century by showing how different geographies and environments shaped different experiences. Especially within general histories of the colonial era, the diversity of the archipelago is often underplayed. By embracing the complexity of the Philippines, we can gain new insights into the unevenness of colonisation.

My intention has always been to chart the limitations of empire – but furthermore, to show how the agency of Southeast Asian communities fundamentally forged these limitations. At the same time, I have been mindful that not everything was always written down, while there were incentives for some things to be absent or removed from colonial archives, especially when they demonstrated the weaknesses of the colonial project. As Engseng Ho has so eloquently put it: 'There were reasons for writing things down and for not doing so. As well, the gnawing criticism of termites played its part'.[138] For these reasons, I have sought to supplement information found within the archives with other sources drawn principally from archaeological and anthropological texts. The work of archaeologist Laura Lee Junker has been essential to the writing of this dissertation, while the insights of modern anthropologists and ethnohistorians like William Henry Scott often helped me to understand hidden meanings within the archives.[139]

Far from a completed conquest, the Philippines existed in a state of protracted instability, beset by periodic rebellion and hosting large unconquered populations. These internal problems combined with a chronic shortage of priests and soldiers meant that the Spanish additionally never achieved their ambitions to extend Spanish domination beyond the confines of the archipelago. Each chapter charts these limits from a different perspective as well as a different geographical vantage point. Chapter one is designed as an introductory overview of the Philippines in the seventeenth century, focussing on the demographics of Spanish colonisation and how this limited Spanish claims to sovereignty. The chapter begins with a brief introductory overview of the pre-hispanic Philippines, introducing religious and political-economic concepts that will become important in future chapters.

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[138] Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility Across the Indian Ocean*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), xxiii.

[139] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*. Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*. Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino*. Scott, *Barangay*. Selected anthropological sources include: Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980). Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). Kenneth M. George, 'Headhunting, History and Exchange in Upland Sulawesi', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (1991), 536-564. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Macdonald, 'Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines', 78-93. Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*.

It then shifts to evaluating Spanish claims to the peaceful and total conquest of the Philippines by examining the internal weaknesses that they experienced. Chronic shortages in personnel meant that partial control was only ever possible, opening up considerable opportunities for Philippine communities to simply abandon Spanish spaces altogether.

From this basis, chapter two focusses in on Manila and the turbulent history of interaction between Spanish and Chinese communities. Manila has often been seen as a jewel in the crown of the Spanish empire. It was the hub of the galleon trade, which transported untold riches across the Pacific. Yet, this chapter argues that in reality the Spanish only exercised very limited control over this urban space. The city was also developed on the back of mass migration from Fujian province, with Chinese merchants and labourers quickly coming to assume all of the commercial and economic functions of the city, and in doing so controlling the silver flows and therefore the city's economy. Despite using a number of methods to control the Chinese – including segregation, economic regulation, religious conversion, and expulsion – ultimately the only power the Spanish really had was through the use of violence. This led to extraordinary episodes of massacre, unmatched by anything else in the Philippines during this period, and perhaps even across the empire.

Chapter three shifts towards the question of colonial tribute and labour regimes. Utilising the lens of slavery, I demonstrate that Spanish labour regimes were in fact continuations of pre-existing economies of debt-servitude. Moreover, these systems relied on the participation of indigenous elites, who at particular moments could withdraw their support for the colonial state. This led to periodic rebellions, some of which were widescale and extremely destabilising. By highlighting the dependency that the Spanish had on indigenous elites, this chapter demonstrates that these elites continued to maintain effective control over local communities in the provinces. At the same time, the power of these elites had an impact on colonial policy, as the case study of the abolition of indigenous slavery indicates.

Chapter Four moves into the upland regions of Northern Luzon. I argue here that upland spaces across the archipelago defined the limits of colonial control. While the Cordillera region of Northern Luzon has long been seen as having resisted colonisation, I demonstrate that in the seventeenth century communities across the archipelago regularly fled into upland spaces in order to escape colonial labour regimes and religious conversion. Moreover, these communities used tactics such as headhunting and raiding to defend their autonomy. The chapter focusses on two case studies – the Zambales mountains and the province of Cagayan – both of which have regularly been left out of the

majority of historical narratives of the colonial era. The second case study of Cagayan looks at the vast interior valley regions of Northern Luzon to demonstrate how they used their connections to neighbouring upland zones – combined with almost continual rebellion – to effectively limit Spanish control to the northern coast and hinterlands of Cagayan for the duration of the century.

Chapter five addresses the question of religious conversion, with a focus on the Visayas. A prevailing assumption in the historiography suggests that although colonial violence may have been experienced through colonial labour regimes, religious conversion took place relatively peacefully and rapidly, with Philippine communities welcoming both missionaries and the Gospel. This chapter argues by contrast that the conversion process engendered a much greater degree of conflict than previously acknowledged, while missionary claims to successful, widespread conversion are over-exaggerated. The chapter acknowledges that violence occurred on both sides – with priests engaged in abusive and corrupt practices, while Philippine *indios* reacted to conversion activities at times by killing missionaries or rebelling and fleeing into the interior. At the same time, anthropologists have stressed the continuation of pre-hispanic animist beliefs into the twentieth century; the chapter suggests that this continuation was in part a result of the contested nature of conversion as well as efforts by missionaries to adopt and adapt local customs into Christian practices.

The sixth and final chapter moves beyond Spanish claims to sovereignty to the southern archipelago, where slave raiding polities effectively resisted Spanish attempts at colonisation for more than three centuries. Often analysed within a framework of civilizational conflict between Islam and Christianity, this chapter instead argues that this conflict was engendered by the expansionary ambitions of the Spanish. The polities in the southern archipelago effectively formed alliances and used the tactic of slave raiding to erode Spanish authority in the region. These polities were enormously effective in curtailing Spanish ambitions to extend their control into what is modern-day Indonesia, while in 1663 forcing the greatest territorial contraction experienced by the Spanish in the archipelago – a contraction from which they struggled to recover.

Combined these chapters demonstrate that by the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish maintained only a tenuous position in the archipelago, with their power restricted to very specific regions of influence. The actions of Philippine communities defined the limits of empire territorially, economically, spiritually, and militarily.

1.
The Limits of Spanish Sovereignty

In 1619 the Franciscan Fr. Pedro de San Pablo wrote of the disappointing state of colonial control within the provinces of Camarines, Tayabas, and Laguna de Bay. In the space of just six years, the populations living in Spanish settlements had halved in size. While some *indios* had gone to work for the Spanish in Manila or elsewhere, many others had simply abandoned the settlements, sometimes establishing bases of resistance in neighbouring uplands. In Camarines, the Franciscans organised an expedition into the mountains near Labot, where several hundred *indios* were reported to have fled. Fr. San Pablo described the difficult hike through the dense terrain, saying that they saw neither the sun nor the moon for a whole week due to extensive rain and flooding that turned paths into streams. When they reached the people in the mountains, they tried to convince them to come back to the Spanish towns. Some said they would go, but many others said that they did not want to because of the great personal labours that the Spanish required of them. In the end, just eighty-one people returned to the lowlands, but many of those eventually went back to the mountains. San Pablo lamented this situation, noting how damaging it was to the spread of the holy faith. He laid the blame on the burdens placed on the *indios*, who were forced to labour in construction and to provide rice, oil, abaca, wine, beans and other legumes, none of which was paid for by the Spanish.[1]

Reports like this were repeated throughout the seventeenth century, presenting a common landscape in which *indios* abandoned newly founded Spanish settlements, often fleeing into uplands from where they engaged in destabilising activities such as raiding, burning crops, sometimes capturing slaves, killing townspeople, or setting fire to local churches.[2] The phenomenon of fugitivism is not unknown

[1] Archivo Histórico Nacional [hereafter AHN], Colección Documentos de Indias [hereafter CDI], Leg. 26, Núm. 28.

[2] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 5, Núm. 178. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 65. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 90. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 16, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 17, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 1, Núm. 2. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 4, Núm. 17. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 11. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 71, Núm. 1. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 155. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 156. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 55. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 133. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 27. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 5. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 48. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 163, Núm. 33. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara de Justicia [hereafter

within Philippine historiography, but the full extent of this practice has never been charted.[3] The actions of local communities reveal something stark about the nature of colonial rule in the seventeenth century. Rejection was not isolated or exceptional, but rather took place across the length and breadth of the archipelago, even within the confines of Manila itself.[4] Beyond demonstrating the limited acceptance of colonial rule within many Philippine communities, the extent of the phenomenon of flight also indicates that colonial control was territorially limited and that frontiers between controlled and uncontrolled spaces were porous. This chapter aims to provide an overview of both the territorial and demographic limitations of Spanish claims to sovereignty in the seventeenth-century Philippines. It does so by examining the historical geography of colonial control as well as the response of Philippine communities who made the frontier porous.

In recent years, historians including Matthew Restall have critically examined the limits of Spanish claims to sovereignty elsewhere in the empire.[5] Restall demonstrates that what he calls the 'myth of completion', or the idea that the Spanish established control rapidly and often with only minimal resistance, originated from over-exaggerations of Spanish military capacity in the early years of the conquest.[6] Moreover, these claims of a completed conquest constructed an edifice of colonial power that generations of historians accepted uncritically. More recent historiography has tackled many of these underlying assumptions, pointing out where colonial sources are biased, overexaggerated, or elide the significant reliance of the colonial state on native allies.[7] Many historians now accept that

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Escribanía], Leg. 404B. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [hereafter ARSI], Phil. 5, fols. 94r-113r: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las islas Philipinas desde el mes de junio 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años. Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 315-320, 413-318, 490-494, 550-556. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 137r-139v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 274r-275r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 11r-12r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 102r-104v, 210v-212R. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 25r-26r, 76v-77r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 11, Fols. 105r-105v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 406r-406v. Real Academia de la Historia [hereafter RAH], 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 66: Noticias desde el junio pasado de 79 hasta el presente de 80. RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 22: Description of the Philippines, 1618. Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 18-21.

[3] Fugitivisim has been noted in the following works: Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 175-176, 194, 243, 343. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 47-48, 84, 121, 140, 156-157, 162-163, 196, 208-211, 217. Fr. Julian Malumbres, O.P., *Historia de Cagayan*, (Manila: Tip. Linotype de Santo Tomás, 1918), 28. Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship', 384. De Jesus, 'Control and Compromise in the Cagayan Valley', 27. Scott, 'Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims', 702. Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Locality in Ifugao: Tribes, Domains and Colonial Histories', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1, (2005), 470. Pedro V. Salgado, *Cagayan Valley and the Eastern Cordillera, 1581-1898*, (Quezon City: Rex Commercial, 2002), 391-392, 433-434. Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, vii, 59.

[4] See table 1, chapter 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.

[5] Matthew Restall, 'The New Conquest History', *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2012), 151-160. Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Mark Christensen, 'Recent Approaches in Understanding Evangelization in New Spain', *History Compass*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2016), 39-48. Ponsen, 'From Monarchy to Empire', 17.

[6] Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 64-76.

[7] Bushnell, 'Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries', 17.

colonial power operated in a much more nodal fashion. Colonial states had degrees of influence, ranging from areas of complete consolidation to sites of exchange, like trading outposts. Beyond this control were frontier zones where colonial power was contested and zones that remained entirely outside colonial claims to sovereignty.[8]

Until very recently, these conclusions by Latin American historians have not made a significant impact on Philippine historiography, where only the regions of Mindanao and the Cordillera of Northern Luzon were acknowledged as uncolonised. This chapter argues that in the seventeenth century the Spanish were only able to establish pockets of control in particular locations within the archipelago. Just as Spanish claims to a peaceful conquest were rhetorical – designed to please imperial bureaucrats in Madrid – so too did their claims of sovereignty overexaggerate colonial control. By adopting the approach of historical geography, the true nature and extent of Spanish claims to sovereignty over the archipelago begin to emerge. Such an approach requires a full assessment of the differential nature of colonial power across the vast array of provinces, islands and populations that make up the archipelago. To date, Linda Newson remains the only historian to have utilised this approach and her study on demographic change over the course of the seventeenth century shows rich nuances and divergences between different provinces.[9] These findings are not reflected in the broader historiography. Historians have noted a chronic lack of Spanish missionaries, soldiers, sailors, and settlers, but no attempts have been made to quantify this.[10] By drawing together the disparate demographic information that exists, it is possible to make a reliable estimate for how many Spaniards were involved in the colonisation process and where they were concentrated.

What emerges here is a picture of a very partial colonisation. While the Spanish claimed sovereignty over the territories of Luzon and the Visayas, chronic shortages in soldiers, priests, settlers, and royal

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[8] Bushnell and Greene, 'Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires', 2. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*, 2. St. John, 'Imperial Spaces in Pekka Hämäläinen's "The Comanche Empire"', 79. Hämäläinen, 'What's in a Concept?', 87. Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan (eds.), *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 11-15. Kicza, *Resilient Cultures*, 57-63, 171-172.

[9] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*. Newson, article. A recent volume purportedly dedicated to the population of the Philippines nevertheless offers no real reflections on the demography of the Spanish: Marta María Manchado López y Miguel Luque Talaván (eds.), *Un mar de islas, un mar de gentes: población y diversidad en las islas Filipinas*, (Córdoba: Servicios de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2014).

[10] I have previously quantified the Spanish military presence in the Philippines: Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Limited population data appears in: Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 30-34. Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los españoles', 469-500. Chronic shortages of personnel are noted in: Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 41-43. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 171. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 61-62, 119-120. Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 448.

officials meant that colonial power was concentrated in specific regions. By mapping the location of seventeenth-century *encomiendas* and developing a method for estimating population ratios across the provinces, we are able to get a sense of the exact locations of colonial power. Crucially, this demonstrates significant gaps in territorial control that go beyond the regions that have been acknowledged as falling outside of colonial administration. The partial nature of Spanish colonisation meant that colonial tribute and labour regimes were applied unevenly across the archipelago. Some communities – notably those closest to Manila, and especially Pampanga – were overburdened by the demands of the colonial state. At the same time, the existence of large areas outside of Spanish control meant that many communities could evade these new labour regimes altogether. Migration emerged as the most common response, resulting in both the permanent flight of individuals and entire communities into uncolonised areas as well as more temporary forms of evasive fugitivism.

This chapter begins with an overview of the pre-hispanic Philippines – a complex world that could hardly have been easily swept aside, despite some grandiose statements in colonial chronicles. The next section examines the way in which the Spanish claimed sovereignty over the islands and established the institution of the *encomienda*, which became the prime means of extending colonial control within the Philippines. These claims to sovereignty are put to test against an analysis of the demography of Spanish colonisation, revealing the considerable unevenness of colonisation across the breadth of the archipelago. The implications of this incomplete and uneven conquest are indicated through the actions and responses of Philippine communities to colonisation.

Origin Myths: Ethnohistory of the Pre-Hispanic Philippines

In the beginning, before the land was formed, there was just sky and water and in the space in between a kite flew continuously. With nowhere to rest, this bird became very tired. One day the kite flew up and told the sky that the sea was planning to rise up so high that it would fill the sky with water. Responding in anger, the sky threatened to throw rocks and islands down to punish the sea. When the kite told the sea of this, she too became very angry and began to throw herself upwards with such energy and determination that she filled the sky with water. In fright, the sky retreated higher and began to place very large rocks in the sea, forming the first islands and causing the sea to subside. Finally, the kite had somewhere to rest. As he was resting on one of the beaches, the kite noticed a cane being swept by the current of the sea until it knocked against his feet. The kite pecked

at the reed, making two holes from which emerged a man and a woman. These were the first people ever to live in the world. The man was called Calaque and the woman Cabaye.[11]

This origin myth was recorded in the Boxer Codex – an anonymous manuscript dating from the late sixteenth century – and tells of the creation of the Visayan archipelago and of the Visayan people.[12] It is just one of many Philippine origin stories that were passed down through song and storytelling and recorded within Philippine folklore.[13] In Mindanao, the Mandaya believed that their ancestors came from two eggs laid and hatched by the limokon bird.[14] They also believed that the anger of the sun caused him to chase the moon and scatter the stars across the sky – accounting for the turn of the months – while the tides were caused by the submarine shuffling of a bad-tempered crab.[15] The Igorot of the Cordillera mountains in Northern Luzon believed that a Great Spirit named Lumawig fashioned the first people from many reeds, which he placed in pairs in different parts of the world.[16] Elsewhere, Philippine communities spoke of a God who created the earth.[17] In Samar, this God was called Badadum and was responsible for rewarding or punishing people, while another God, Macaobus, was responsible for the end of the world and would send a spirit called Tava as a harbinger of death.[18] Both Spanish chronicles and modern anthropology reveal that every community in the Philippines had their own mythologies and spirits, with their own unique names and narratives.[19] Although united by the

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[11] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fols. 28r-28v

[12] The same story was recorded by the anthropologist Mabel Cook Cole in 1916, but this time attributed to the Tagalog region of the Philippines. 'The Creation Story', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1916), 187-188. On the Boxer Codex, see: George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley, 'Introduction' in George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley (eds.), *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, Ethnography and History of The Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1-36.

[13] Early accounts of Philippine religion record that the traditions were passed down through song. BNE, Mss. 3002, fol. 27v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 296-297.

[14] 'The Children of the Limokon', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, 143-144.

[15] 'The Sun and the Moon', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, 145-146. The tale of the sun and the moon was also recorded in the Visayas, see 'The Sun and the Moon', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, 201.

[16] 'The Creation', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, 99-101.

[17] Spanish chroniclers record numerous names for this creator God. Alcina reports that the Ibabao called this God Malaon, while elsewhere it was called Macapatag. See Archivo General de Palacio Real [hereafter AGPR], P. Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas, parte mayor i mas principal de las islas Filipinas: dividida en dos partes: la primera natural, del sitio, fertilidad i calidad de estas islas, i sus moradores, etc. La 2ª eclesiástica i sobrenatural, de su fee i aumentos en ella, con el magisterio i enseñanza de los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús. Año 1668. Both Pedro Fernández del Pulgar and Pedro Chirino recorded that this creator God was called *Bethala Meycapal* in Tagalog and *Laon* in Visayan. BNE, Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*. In 1686, Felipe Pardo recorded that the Zambales believed in a creator God called Poon. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20.

[18] AGPR, Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas, 27v-28r.

[19] 'The Story of the Creation', in Mabel Cook Cole (ed.), *Philippine Folk Tales*, 139-140.

common threads of animism and ancestor worship, the cosmology of the pre-hispanic Philippines was exceedingly diverse. Communities believed that spirits inhabited the natural world that surrounded them, being present in trees and rocks, in birds and animals, and that these spirits could determine the fate of a community. Some of these spirits were said to be their ancestors. Priestesses – known as *catalonan* in Tagalog and *babaylan* in Visayan – helped to make sense of this complex spirit world, acting as conduits with the ancestors.[20]

The proliferation of different origin myths is indicative of the great ethnic diversity within the Philippines. Today there are 175 recognised indigenous languages across the more than seven thousand islands that make up the archipelago.[21] This ethnic diversity originates in the social structure of pre-hispanic Philippine communities, which were typically organised as local kinship-based groups. Communities known as *barangays* normally encompassed around a hundred families, although some larger communities of up to a thousand people have been recorded.[22] Historical geographer Linda Newson has estimated the population of the Philippines at 1.4 million in 1565.[23] Pre-hispanic *barangays* were thus numerous and occupied a diversity of geographies, from the rugged mountains of Northern Luzon to the fertile plains of Cagayan, Pampanga, and Laguna de Bay, from the maritime world of the Visayan archipelago to the estuaries, swamps, and mountains of Mindanao. It is thus unsurprising that Philippine animistic belief systems reflected a close connection to specific places and landscapes, creating a seemingly infinite panoply of spirits that was as diverse as the number of *barangays* in the archipelago. The spirit world was etched into the landscape that surrounded each community and formed a part of self-identity and a connection between the past and the present.

Most *barangays* subsisted on a mix of agriculture, hunting, and gathering, and settlements were often scattered into distant or isolated hamlets.[24] Early descriptions of Spanish explorations often described abandoned villages, suggesting that communities moved from place to place throughout the year.[25] In addition to subsistence patterns, a number of specific geographic factors contributed to the

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[20] BNE, Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 296-301.
[21] According to the annual reference publication, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, see:* https://www.ethnologue.com/country/PH Accessed 27 June 2018.
[22] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 73-74. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 12.
[23] Note, however, that this figure does not include the island of Mindanao, for which there is insufficient data to calculate pre-conquest population numbers. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 256.
[24] ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 45.
[25] Some of these communities may have abandoned their settlements in response to colonisation, as discussed in chapter four. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 247r-247v. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28.

scattered nature of Philippine settlements. In 1575, the Franciscan missionary Juan de Plasencia noted that inter-group warfare had a major impact on where *indios* were willing to settle and which land they wished to farm. Periodic conflict compelled many to flee into the mountains to escape violence or warfare.[26] This situation was most pronounced in the Visayas, where annual incursions by slave raiders regularly drove communities into the hills to avoid being captured or slaughtered.[27]

Philippine *barangays* were hierarchical – something which is also recorded within Philippine folklore.[28] In the Visayan origin myth narrated above, Calaque and Cabaye produced many, many children who all turned out to be very lazy. Enraged at their idleness, their father threatened to beat them with a stick. The children fled and hid in different parts of the house – in the bedroom, in the main room, in the kitchen among the pots and chimneys, and in the walls of the house. Visayans believed that this was the origin of class hierarchies in their society. The children who fled to the bedroom became the *datus* or rulers of the *barangay*; those who remained in the main room were the *timawas* or free vassals; and those who entered the walls were the debt servants. Those who fled into the kitchen were the Negritos who lived in the forests and mountains of many Visayan islands, while those who left the house disappeared completely, and so represented everyone else in the world who lived outside of Visayan culture.[29] This social hierarchy was an essential component to the pre-hispanic political economy of the Philippines. Spanish chroniclers differentiated the productive commoners from a layer of non-productive nobles. The latter was comprised of *datus* – who were both rulers and military leaders – and their noble retainers – known as *timawas* in the Visayas and *maharlikas* in Luzon – who often served as warriors but did not provide agricultural labour.[30] Beneath this noble layer sat the commoners – *oripun* in the Visayas and *alipin* in Luzon – who provided all of the agricultural and other labour within baranganic communities. The status of this servile class has thus confused both

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[26] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46.

[27] ARSI Phil. 5, fols. 75r-92r: Carta Annua de la Provincia de las Philippinas desde junio 1600 hasta el de Junio de 1601 Años. ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 103r-104v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años. ARSI Phil. 14, fols. 25r-26v: Letter from Fr. Miguel Gómez. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sánchez, 12-Abr-1603. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 45.

[28] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 15. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 363-364. San Antonio, *Crónicas de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno*, 161.

[29] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fols. 29v-30r.

[30] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 123-126. Scott notes that *timawa* in Luzon actually referred to a third tier of freemen who were not noble and did perform productive labour, which adds further to the confusion provided by these early ethnographic accounts. See William Henry Scott, '*Oripun* and *Alipin* in the Sixteenth Century Philippines', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 146.

Spanish observers and later historians alike. While *oripuns* were often referred to as slaves within Spanish reports and chronicles, in reality, their servitude existed on a spectrum from free vassals who paid tribute to their *datus* to full slaves, with most *oripuns* existing somewhere between these two extremes. The vast majority of commoners experienced some degree of dependency or debt to the noble classes; however, the degree of their servitude varied widely.[31] *Oripuns* normally entered servitude after having committed a crime or contracted a debt to another member of the community.[32] Spanish accounts indicate that ownership over *oripuns* was measured in terms of labour time and was often only partial. This meant that an *oripun* could owe half or a quarter of their labour to their owner; additionally, *oripuns* could have more than one owner.[33] Most historians of the pre-hispanic Philippines have concluded, therefore, that this type of slavery is better understood as debt servitude rather than chattel-slavery.[34]

Similar systems of debt servitude were widespread across Southeast Asia in the early modern period.[35] Historian Anthony Reid has argued that this was because labour was a scarce resource by comparison to an abundance of fertile land.[36] Consequently, power and authority within many Southeast Asian

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[31] Scott, '*Oripun* and *Alipin* in the Sixteenth Century Philippines', 138-155. Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 131. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three.
[32] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9.
[33] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 299. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28.
[34] Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 3. See also Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 197.
[35] Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1983). Robert J. Antony, 'Turbulent Waters: Sea Raiding in Early Modern South East Asia', *Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (2013), 23–38. Bryce Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare as a Vector for Cultural Transmission: The Case of Burma and Thailand', *Historian*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (2009), 481–506. Peter Boomgaard, 'Human Capital, Slavery and Low Rates of Economic and Population Growth in Indonesia, 1600-1910', *Slavery & Abolition*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2003), 83–96. Angela Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China (Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)', *Slavery & Abolition*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (2003), 143-154. Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*, (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2013). Bok-rae Kim, 'Debt Slaves in Old Korea', in Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani (eds.), *Bonded Labour and Dept in the Indian Ocean World*, (London: Pickering & Chatto Publishers Limited, 2013), 165-172. Yoko Matsui, 'The Debt-Servitude of Prostitutes in Japan during the Edo Period, 1600-1868', in Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani (eds.), *Bonded Labour and Dept in the Indian Ocean World*, (London: Pickering & Chatto Publishers Limited, 2013), 173-186. Hans Hägerdal, 'The Slaves of Timor: Life and Death on the Fringes of Early Colonial Society', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, No. 2, (2010), 19–44. Rila Mukherjee, 'Mobility in the Bay of Bengal World: Medieval Raiders, Traders, States and the Slaves', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2009), 109-129. Joseph MacKay, 'Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China', *Social Science History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (2013), 551–73. Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indios*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Anthony Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia', in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 156-181.
[36] Anthony Reid, 'Introduction: Slavery and Bondage in Southeast Asian History', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 8. Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 157. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*. Junker, 'Warrior Burials', 24.

societies came to rest on the control of labour rather than land. Southeast Asian societies needed ways of increasing labour supply.[37] Indenture through debt servitude was the most common way of binding people to the land and to a lord. The other means of increasing labour was through the physical capture of people through slave raiding. Raiding was thus a shared feature of pre-hispanic warfare – witnessed not only in the well-known practices of *mangayaw*, or sea raiding but also in the warfare tactics of upland communities.[38] The extent to which captives were integrated into *barangays* as *oripuns* or treated as chattel slaves differed across the archipelago, leading Reid to conclude that, at least by the mid-sixteenth century, the Philippines occupied a transitional state between an 'open' slave society – where slaves were socially integrated into the dominant community – and a 'closed' slave society – in which slaves remained excluded from that community.[39]

Slave raiding was a persistent problem during the colonial period, which the Spanish came to associate with the Muslim communities in the southern archipelago. Yet, raiding was not particular to Muslim warlords but was a common form of warfare throughout the region – practised not only by coastal communities in the Philippines but across the breadth of Maritime Southeast Asia. The Visayans were particularly renowned raiders, having raided as far away as coastal China for several centuries prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Laura Lee Junker has argued that the archaeological record demonstrates that the archipelago underwent increasing militarisation in the two centuries prior to 1565. One explanation for this militarisation is an expansion in long-distance trading networks.[40] The Philippines had been a hub for trade with China since at least the ninth century, and also maintained trading partnerships with Cambodia and other parts of Indochina, as well as Vietnam, Siam, and Tonkin.[41] Additionally, by the sixteenth century, the polities in the southern archipelago were well integrated into long-distance trading networks that spanned across the Indian Ocean, via their connections to

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[37] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 123.

[38] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 83. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 14, 50-54. Rodriguez, 'Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare', 151-152. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 345-347, 356-358.

[39] Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 163-164. Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 363-364. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 298-300. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Miguel de Loarca, 'Relación de las Yslas Filipinas', *B&R*, Vol. 5, 136-144. Juan de Plasencia, 'Customs of the Tagalogs', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 164-176. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9.

[40] Junker, 'Warrior Burials', 43-48.

[41] Archaeological evidence suggests that Chinese merchants primarily came to the Philippines to trade porcelain, gold, iron, lead, glass and coloured beads in exchange for wax, cotton, pearls, shells, betel nuts and fabrics. Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 28-29. Villiers, 'Manila and Maluku', 149. Hall, 'Local and International Trade', 251-252. Rafael Bernal, *Prologue to Philippine History*, translated by Ramon Echevarria, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967), 39.

the Muslim sultanates in Ternate and Borneo.[42] Trade served more than a purely economic function. In addition to their control of labour, Philippine chiefdoms asserted their power through ceremonialism – such as competitive feasting – and the possession and display of prestige goods. Typically, prestige items included Chinese porcelain and silks as well as gold ornaments, but in the centuries preceding the arrival of the Spaniards, slaves increasingly became commodities traded by those with high-status. The use of slave labour helped polities to obtain a competitive advantage since slaves provided increased labour power for trading and raiding activities as well as artisanal production.[43]

At the same time, long-distance trading relationships had wider cultural impacts, as evidenced by the conversion of a number of communities to Islam in the centuries prior to the arrival of the Spanish.[44] Within Philippine historiography, the arrival of Islam in the archipelago is recorded within the *tarsila* [genealogies] of Muslim rulers of Sulu and Mindanao. Islam was brought from Johor first to Sulu by the Arabic preacher, Sharif ul-Hashim, in the early fifteenth century, and then to Mindanao by Sharif Muhammud Kabungsuwan in the early sixteenth century.[45] By 1565, Islam was established among particular communities in Mindanao, Sulu and Manila, with the latter being a vassal state of Borneo.[46] However, it is important to note that even in Mindanao, Islam was adopted by a minority of chiefdoms.[47] Junker argues that Islamic polities in the southern archipelago exhibited far greater

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[42] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*, 21-25. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 131-138. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 107. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas'. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints*. The expansion of trading networks was not limited to long-distance maritime trade but was also exhibited in trading patterns between lowland and upland regions. These networks provided both types of community with much needed sources of subsistence, trade commodities and tools for craft production and warfare. These trading networks were particularly important for upland hunter-gatherer communities, which were typically nomadic and were therefore often reliant on trade with lowland, sedentary agricultural communities.

[43] Junker, 'Integrating History and Archaeology', 309-313.

[44] Romero de Tejada, 'La presencia islámica indonésica en las Filipinas indígena', 185-204. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas'.

[45] Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*. Saleeby, *History of Sulu*. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 49-51.

[46] Brunei also maintained vassalage with Mindoro and Balayan. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 81-82. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas', 459-469.

[47] Historians like Anthony Reid have noted that the arrival of Islam in Southeast Asia took place very slowly and that conversion was a partial affair limited largely to the leaders of particular communities, while the majority of their subjects remained adherents of animistic religions. Moreover, even among rulers, adoption of Islamic principles was partial – they retained a relaxed attitude to many of the fundamental tenets of the faith. Anthony Reid, 'Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 155-156. Matt Matsuda extends this argument, suggesting that local rulers were attracted by the higher status that Islam conveyed upon them, since it allowed them to set themselves apart from their subjects. Thus, port cities were sites of wealth and prosperity linked with Islamic knowledge and learning, while the hinterlands remained largely unconverted vassal populations. Matt Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 43. Thomas McKenna has similarly argued

commonality with other Philippine chiefdoms than would otherwise be suggested. Although sultanates maintained rigid hierarchies, the state had a weak central organisation and still relied on extended kinship networks for the establishment of power, while class structures paralleled those found elsewhere in the archipelago.[48]

Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Philippines was a complex place. While sixteenth-century Spanish accounts remain our primary ethnographic sources for understanding the pre-hispanic Philippines, these sources do limited justice to the complexity of this world.[49] In many accounts, the differences between communities across the archipelago are flattened and obscured. As the anonymous author of the Boxer Codex wrote, 'although it is true that in these islands of Luzon, Panay and Cebu there are a vast number of languages, one different from the other … with regards to rites and ceremonies almost all coincide, and if in some parts they differ, the difference is so little that it would be inconvenient to treat each of these nations individually'.[50] The information that is recorded in these sources is mediated through the colonial interests and intentions of their authors. For instance, we learn about specific Visayan religious customs from authors like Fr. Francisco Ignacio Alcina, who was looking for evidence that the Visayans either already had knowledge of or would be receptive to the idea of the Christian God.[51] It is the relative disinterest of the Spanish colonisers in understanding the complex culture and society of the Philippines that has created an impression within seventeenth-century chronicles of an easy and completed conquest.

The Origin of a Myth: The Conquest of the Philippines

In May 1571, Miguel López de Legazpi sailed into Manila Bay with the intention of seizing the settlement that would become the capital of the Spanish colony in Southeast Asia. Legazpi and his

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that Islam was used ideologically within sixteenth century Maguindanao polities to justify strict class hierarchies and to legitimate elite power over servile, tributary and enslaved populations. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 45-68.

[48] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 68-70.

[49] See for example: AGPR, Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 363-364. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 298-300. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Loarca, 'Relación de las Yslas Filipinas', *B&R*, Vol. 5, 136-144. Plasencia, 'Customs of the Tagalogs', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 164-176. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9.

[50] 'Aunque es verdad que en estas yslas de Lucon, Panay y Çoebu ay ynfinidad de lenguas unas diferentes de otras y por el consiguiente diferentes trages unos barbarisimos y otros de mediano entendimiento y otros de muy más claro, en lo que toca a rritos y serimonias gentelicas casi todos concuerdan, y si en algunas partes difieren en algo es tan poca la diferencia que sería ynconviniente tratar de cada nación de estas de por sí.' 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fol. 59r.

[51] AGPR, Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas.

crew of soldiers and sailors had spent the last six years stationed in the Visayas – first in Cebu and later in Panay – awaiting instructions from Madrid. They were part of an expedition devoted to finding a safe return passage across the Pacific from the Philippines to New Spain, opening up this vast ocean to the possibility of trans-Pacific trade and making a Spanish settlement in the East Indies viable. Although this had been attempted on several occasions following Magellan's fateful journey across the Pacific in 1521, the return voyage was not successfully completed until Felipe de Salcedo and Andrés de Urdaneta sailed the *San Pablo* from Cebu to Acapulco in 1565.[52] In the meantime, Legazpi and his men waited in Cebu; beset by starvation, they raided neighbouring islands for food and charted the archipelago and its native population in the process. In 1569, after the Portuguese besieged their tiny band for four months, Legazpi shifted the camp to Panay from where a number of reconnaissance missions sailed up the coast of Luzon. In the process, they discovered Manila Bay, a natural harbour that could be defended more easily than their current outposts in the Visayas. Although an early encounter with the native population of Manila resulted in a violent confrontation, the Spanish took possession of the settlement relatively quickly in May 1571, concluding peace treaties with Rajahs Soliman, Lakandula and Matanda. The city was formally founded on 24 June 1571.[53]

Shortly after this, Legazpi dispatched Juan de Salcedo to the neighbouring districts of Taytay and Cainta where he encountered a force of 3,000 *indios* in a fortified settlement who were prepared to fiercely resist the Spanish invasion of their territory. Despite their determination, Salcedo defeated them, killing 300 in the process. Salcedo then travelled onwards to Laguna de Bay where he claimed to pacify more than two hundred settlements without shedding any blood. To the north of Manila, initial resistance was encountered among the Pampangans, who sent a force of 2,000 to Tondo to march on Manila. Martín de Goiti was sent to engage them and claimed victory after killing 300. Following this, Goiti was sent into the territory of Pampanga to pacify more than 20,000 Pampangans who had fortified themselves against the Spanish. The conquest of Pampanga opened up the possibility of exploring further north, and over the course of 1572 and 1573, both Salcedo and Goiti

[52] Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 16-22, 220-221. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, 35-62. Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 79-83. Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 40-63. Leandro Rodríguez, 'El "Tornaviaje": motivaciones de la ida y vuelta desde Nueva España a Filipinas y viceversa', in Manuel Criado de Val (ed.), *Caminería Hispánica: Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Caminería Hispánica, Celebrado en Morelia (Michoacán), México, Julio 1996*, (Guadalajara, Spain: Aache Ediciones, 1996), 315-326. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Las Indias Orientales Españolas. Filipinas Puerta de Asia', in Juan Bosco Amores Carredano (ed.), *Historia de América*, (Barcelona: Ariel, 2006), 629-631. Zafra, *The Colonization of the Philippines*, 15-32.
[53] Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 57-70. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 115. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 22-27. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, 57-70. Agoncillo and Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 79-83. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 24-28. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 9-10. Cortes, Puyal Boncan and Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*, 30-32. Rodriguez, 'Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare', 143-164.

conducted expeditions to Pangasinan and Ilocos. Finally, in 1573-1574 Salcedo led a force of 120 soldiers to explore and pacify the Bicol Peninsula. In the process, Salcedo founded the city of Naga, which would become the capital of the province Nueva Cáceres, leaving a force of eighty soldiers there under the command of Pedro de Chaves. The exploration of Camarines was not completely peaceful and resulted in a number of hostile encounters; however, this did not prevent Salcedo from claiming to have pacified 20,000 men with limited bloodshed.[54] With the exception of Cagayan – which would prove more recalcitrant – the conquest of the Philippines was proclaimed to be completed.

According to the standard colonial narrative, following this 'relatively bloodless' conquest,[55] the real work of instituting colonial control began. This process was achieved through the combined efforts of missionaries, soldiers, and secular officials, who reduced the native population into *encomiendas*, founded new Spanish settlements, instituted new tribute and labour regimes, erected churches, and baptised and converted *indios* rapidly and efficiently. At least in theory, the *encomienda* was the most important of these institutions of colonial control. Modelled on the system imposed within Latin America, the *encomienda* was a means of dividing the Philippine population into distinct tributary groups. In return for pledging their vassalage to the Spanish King and paying tribute, *indios* received military protection and religious instruction.[56] *Encomiendas* were also a way of rewarding Spanish military and secular officials, granting them the right to collect tribute; however, following the experiences of exploitation in the Americas, restrictions were placed on the granting of private *encomiendas* and by the end of the seventeenth century, more than half were owned by the Crown.[57] The first *encomiendas* were distributed by Legazpi following the exploration and conquest of Luzon. By 1591, 667,612 *indios* were reported to have been incorporated into 267 *encomiendas* across the whole archipelago.[58]

Encomiendas were also intended to facilitate the religious conversion of indigenous communities. Each *encomienda* was supposed to have a minimum number of priests assigned to it, set at one priest

[54] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 115, 135, 154-155, 166, 179-180. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 68-70.
[55] Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 192.
[56] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 90-92. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 10.
[57] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 37.
[58] AGI, Patronato Leg. 25, Ramo 38. Tribute was to be collected annually and was set at a rate of eight reales per tribute – which often represented an entire family of four or more people – and later rose to ten reales. Single adults over the age of fourteen paid half the rate of a full tribute. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 31. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 166-168.

per every 4-500 *indios* by the Synod of 1582.[59] Missionaries were responsible for the day-to-day process of colonisation and were often the only representatives of the Spanish colonial state that *indios* regularly interacted with. They were principally concerned with reducing local populations into Spanish settlements, where they would construct churches and establish local mission bases for the purpose of religious indoctrination. Although there were secular clerics present in the Philippines, the majority of this work was conducted by five different religious orders who were granted different missionary fields throughout the islands.[60]

Table 1: Missionary Orders in the Philippines

Missionary Order	Year Arrived	Missionary Fields
Augustinians	1565	Visayas: Cebu and Panay. Luzon: Manila, Ilocos, Bataan, Batangas, and Pampanga.
Franciscans	1578	Luzon: Manila, Laguna de Bay, Tayabas, and the Bicol Peninsula.
Jesuits	1581	Visayas: Cebu, Panay, Bohol, Leyte, and Samar. Luzon: Manila, Cavite, Antipolo, and Marinduque. Parts of Mindanao. From 1667 they facilitated the colonisation of the Mariana Islands.[61]
Dominicans	1587	Luzon: Manila, Pangasinan, Zambales, and Cagayan.
Augustinian Recollects	1606	Luzon: Manila, Bataan, Pangasinan, and Zambales. Parts of Mindanao, Calamianes, and Romblon.

While vassalage to the King was nominally measured in the payment of tribute and a willingness to be baptised and convert to Christianity, colonisation also brought with it new labour regimes. This labour fell broadly under two key labour systems – the *repartimiento* and *bandala* – both of which were designed by imperial authorities in Madrid as paid, free waged labour systems, but which inevitably functioned much more like forced labour and were rarely ever paid. These two systems were essential for the survival of the Spanish colonial regime since they fulfilled the vast majority of labour needs in the archipelago. The *repartimiento* was essentially a labour draft, where *indios* were recruited to work on particular projects, primarily to support the shipbuilding activities of the Spanish. *Indios* consequently worked as woodcutters, shipbuilders, dockyard workers, construction workers, as oarsmen and sailors in galleys and other ships, as ropemakers, foundry workers, carpenters, knife

[59] Paul Arvisu Dumol (trans.), *The Manila Synod of 1582: The Draft of its Handbook for Confessors*, (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014) 94-96. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 90-93

[60] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 32-33, 167-176. Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*, 219-260. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 281-283.

[61] Unlike the other religious orders, the Jesuits preferred to establish centralised mission bases from where they would send missionaries to visit surrounding communities and neighbouring islands, with priests sometimes travelling for months or years at a time.

grinders, blacksmiths, stonemasons, tailors and porters among many other things. Additionally, the *repartimiento* was used to recruit indigenous soldiers to participate in missions of pacification or defence. By contrast, the *bandala* was designed as a means of ensuring the Spanish population was adequately provisioned and allowed the Crown to requisition agricultural products, especially rice, to feed the population of Manila and the garrisons of soldiers stationed across the archipelago.[62] Investigations into the *bandala* conducted in the 1650s by the attorney Juan de Bolivar y Cruz indicate that communities were allocated quotas of particular supplies which they were obliged to provide each year.[63]

Following the imposition of all of these institutions of colonial control, reports sent back to Madrid by both religious and secular officials proclaimed the great and rapid success of the conquest. In 1588, Bishop Fr. Domingo de Salazar claimed that Luzon boasted a tribute-paying population of 146,700, which would very quickly rise to 200,000 once Cagayan was properly pacified. Moreover, he believed that all of these tribute payers had been converted to Christianity, although he conceded that few of them had regular access to a priest.[64] By 1593, the Augustinians claimed to have baptised the entire population of Pampanga and reached 55,000 out of 80,000 souls in Ilocos and Pangasinan and 60,000 out of 80,000 souls in Laguna de Bay. The Franciscans had baptised 30,000 people, while the newly arrived Dominicans had reached 14,000 souls.[65] Similarly, in 1601 the Jesuits baptised up to 12,000 souls in just four years in the Visayas, and they believed they could increase this number to 40,000 very quickly.[66] By 1655, nearly half a million Philippine *indios* were divided into *encomiendas*.[67] Thus,

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[62] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 75. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 53. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 30. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 122. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 130. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 41, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 81, Núm. 109. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 104. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 107. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 75. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 48. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 38. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 329. McCarthy, 'The Yards at Cavite', 149-162. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413. John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 25-27. Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 189-201. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 117-118. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 479-480. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 81-82, 145.

[63] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50.

[64] It should be noted that each tribute usually represented an entire family and so is generally multiplied by a factor of three or four to find the total population. In this instance Salazar was therefore claiming to have converted 586,800 souls. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10.

[65] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22.

[66] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 95.

[67] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 7, Núm. 20.

following Legazpi's capture of Manila, the conquest of the Philippines moved rapidly until the Spanish were able to claim sovereignty over all of the islands except Mindanao and Palawan.

Population Ratios and the Limits of Colonisation

Or so the story goes. Yet, how meaningful were these claims to sovereignty in reality? Following the early and influential work of John Leddy Phelan, most historians have accepted these claims at face value. Although acknowledging the many and varied difficulties that the Spanish religious and secular authorities confronted, Phelan argues that by the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish had achieved an irreversible hispanization of the Philippines.[68] Yet, if we pause to consider the demographics of the Spanish population present in the archipelago, we are left wondering just how they managed it. Throughout the century, the Spanish population hovered around 2-2,500 people who were responsible for the administration of an estimated 1.4 million Philippine *indios* spread across numerous islands and inhabiting a vast diversity of terrains, many of which were inaccessible except by foot and were furthermore subject to the vagaries of tropical monsoons and frequent hurricanes and earthquakes. That this limited population was able to effect such a rapid colonisation of so diverse a population spread across such a vast territory certainly would be an amazing feat and requires some explanation. Despite this, no attempt has previously been made to try to account for Spanish population – neither in terms of their overall numbers nor in terms of their distribution across the islands. In part, this paucity of population statistics within the historiography is due to the fragmentary and partial nature of data contained within the archives. While tribute lists were drawn up to allow historians to estimate the indigenous population of the islands, no similar censuses exist for the Spanish themselves. By drawing together the data that does exist, we are able to establish the dimensions of the Spanish population in the seventeenth century and to arrive at some important conclusions.

The first conclusion is that the vast majority of Spaniards present in the islands were soldiers, comprising roughly three-quarters of the Spanish population, numbering around 1500-2000 throughout the century.[69] These soldiers were distributed across a network of presidios with the largest contingents stationed in Manila and Cavite to provide defence to the city and the galleon trade.

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[68] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 5. Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 11. Schumacher, 'Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism', 256. Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels,* Vol. 2, 831.

[69] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 109. AGI, Audiencia de México [hereafter México], Leg. 25, Núm. 62. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 1, Núm. 1, fols. 408r–428v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 1, Núm. 21; AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 285, Núm. 1, fols. 30r–41v.

Soldiers helped to defend the city of Manila and other Spanish outposts from external threats, including Dutch naval blockades and attacks from Japanese, Chinese, and Moro pirates. Additionally, they actively engaged in the process of colonising indigenous Filipino communities, through missions of conquest, by supporting tribute collection and evangelising activities, and by suppressing rebellions against Spanish rule. Soldiers were essential to the imposition of Spanish control in the archipelago; however, their role was limited by a chronic shortage in their numbers, the uneven dispersal of military capacity, and by a reliance on unruly convicts and impressed soldiers.[70] Levies held in New Spain rarely attracted sufficient numbers of voluntary recruits, and recruiting captains were forced to rely on a mix of coercion and impressment to fill the ranks of their companies. Additionally, roughly a quarter of all soldiers serving in the Philippines were convicts, sentenced to a period of judicial punishment for crimes including highway robbery, rustling, petty theft, idleness, vagabondage, and occasionally also rape and murder.[71]

Many royal officials in Manila complained that the recruits they were sent from New Spain were both militarily inept and morally deficient.[72] In addition to the large number of criminals arriving each year, officials spoke of receiving young boys and frail or disabled old men who had clearly only been sent to swell the ranks of a meagre consignment of soldiers.[73] The material conditions experienced within

[70] On average, 156 soldiers made the Pacific crossing from Acapulco to Manila each year, with a total of approximately 15,600 arriving in the course of the seventeenth century. Royal officials routinely petitioned the Viceroys of New Spain to send yearly dispatches of at least 300 soldiers, yet these numbers were rarely ever met, especially as the century progressed. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 58. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 64. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 67. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 17. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 44. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 49. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 1, Núm. 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 15, Ramo 1, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 47, AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 91. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 10, Núm. 57. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 2, Núm. 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 31, Núm. 43. AGI, México, Leg. 24, Núm. 39. AGI, México, Leg. 25, Núm. 4. AGI, México, Leg. 25, Núm. 62. AGI, México, Leg. 26, Núm. 22. AGI, México, Leg. 26, Núm. 46. AGI, México, Leg. 26, Núm. 91. AGI, México, Leg. 27, Núm. 35. AGI, México, Leg. 27, Núm. 58; AGI, México, Leg. 28, Núm. 2. AGI, México, Leg. 28, Núm. 24. AGI, México, Leg. 28, Núm. 46. AGI, México, Leg. 29, Núm. 18. AGI, México, Leg. 29, Núm. 37. AGI, México, Leg. 29, Núm. 86. AGI, México, Leg. 30, Núm. 14. AGI, México, Leg. 36, Núm. 25. AGI, México, Leg. 36, Núm. 35. AGI, México, Leg. 38, Núm. 86. AGI, México, Leg. 39, Núm. 7. AGI, México, Leg. 41, Núm. 18, AGI, México, Leg. 44, Núm. 23. AGI, México, Leg. 46, Núm. 19. AGI, México, Leg. 46, Núm. 45. AGI, México, Leg. 60, Ramo 1, Núm. 1. Gregorio M. de Guijo, *Diario, 1648–1664*, 2 vols. (México: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1952), i, 89, 209. Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables, 1665–1703*, 2 vols. (México: Editorial Porrua, S.a., 1972), i, 195, 277; ii, 62, 83–4, 177–8. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 99.

[71] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 100-101. Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 693-730.

[72] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 20, Núm. 137. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 87-125.

[73] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 90-91.

Philippine presidios – characterised by hunger, illness, chronic shortages in material supplies and pay, and exploitative commanding officers – commonly led to both death and disobedience. These presidios were often seen as places where soldiers went to die since the hope of returning was so remote.[74] In response, many soldiers turned to criminality, vagabondage, desertion, and mutiny. The garrison of Manila was regularly accused of engaging in vile deeds, including robbing the local indigenous population in order to feed themselves.[75] Others deserted their posts. Particularly in the Moluccas, many fled to join the Dutch or sometimes sought to escape to Portuguese India.[76] In the 1670s, a considerable number of convicts were found as stowaways on board the galleons bound for Acapulco, desperately trying to return to New Spain.[77] On occasion, soldiers also engaged in large-scale mutinies, which could be profoundly destabilising when they took place among newly colonised populations, as happened in the Marianas in the 1680s.[78] On the whole, therefore, the soldiers serving in the Philippines were routinely described as men of bad character who were not only useless but even posed a potential threat to the overall project of colonisation. This is significant when we recall that these men were the instrument of enforcing imperial power and the most numerous of the Spaniards in the archipelago.

[74] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 91. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 83. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 116.
[75] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 31, Núm. 43.
[76] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 112-119.
[77] Archivo General de la Nación [hereafter AGN], Reales Cédulas, Vol. 13, Exp. 13. AGI, México, Leg. 81, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. AGI, México, Leg. 46, Núm. 19. Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 718-719.
[78] Mawson, 'Rebellion and Mutiny in the Mariana Islands', 128-148. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 112-119.

Table 2: Distribution of Spanish Soldiers in the Philippines[79]

	1603	1636	1642	1644	1654	1655	1670	1672
Manila	900	446		407	821	799	708	667
Fort Santiago		22			50		86	81
Cavite		70			89		225	211
Maluku	180	480	507		389			
Cebu	86	50					135	135
Oton	66	50					169	169
Cagayan	46	80					155	155
Zamboanga		210			184			
Caraga		45					81	81
Formosa		180						
Calamianes							73	73
Other	255							
TOTAL	**1533**	**1633**	**2067**	**2085**	**Unknown**	**Unknown**	**1632**	**1572**

Table 3: Detail of Soldier Distribution in Pacific Presidios, 1670 and 1672[80]

Year	Location	Officers	Soldiers	Musketeers	Pampangan officers	Pampangan Soldiers	Total
1670	Manila	96	476	220	0	0	792
	Fort Santiago	9	66	20	4	46	145
	Cavite	48	150	75	36	355	664
	Caraga	9	81	0	6	45	141
	Calamianes	9	73	0	0	48	130
	Otón	17	169	0	6	91	283
	Cagayan	17	155	0	0	51	223
	Cebú	17	135	0	6	95	253
	Governors guard	2	12	0	0	0	14
	TOTAL	**224**	**1317**	**315**	**58**	**731**	**2645**
1672	Manila	72	528	127	0	0	727
	Fort Santiago	9	61	20	6	42	138
	Cavite	44	173	38	36	251	542
	Caraga	9	81	0	6	45	141
	Calamianes	9	73	0	0	48	130
	Otón	17	169	0	6	91	283
	Cagayan	17	155	0	0	51	223
	Cebú	17	135	0	6	95	253
	Governors guard	2	12	0	0	0	14
	TOTAL	**196**	**1387**	**185**	**60**	**623**	**2451**

[79] These tables were compiled as part of research undertaken for my MPhil. See: Stephanie Mawson, 'Between Loyalty and Disobedience: The Limits of Spanish Domination in the Seventeenth Century Pacific', Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Sydney, 2014. AGI, México, Leg. 25, Núm. 62. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 1, Núm. 1, Fols. 408R-428V. AGI, Filipinas, Libro 285, Núm. 1, Fols. 30R-41V. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 7, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 30. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 109.

[80] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 30. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 111.

Missionaries comprised the second largest Spanish population category. Missionaries were particularly important for the imposition of Spanish sovereignty at the local level since they were engaged in reducing indigenous communities into new Spanish settlements. Yet, the scattered nature of settlement in the archipelago posed a great problem for this project, not least because of the small numbers of missionaries that were present in the islands. Requests for more missionaries to be sent to the islands were among some of the most common petitions sent back to Spain throughout the century.[81] Writing about the Jesuit missions in the Visayas in 1660, Fr. Ignacio Alcina reported that they had around 30 priests stationed across the region, each in charge of between two and five towns. While each missionary tried his best, some towns were visited less frequently than others. At the same time, many *indios* continued to prefer to live in the mountains or by waterways where they managed their fields – creating a great deal of work for the missionaries to go and visit them.[82]

Thus, the dual factor of a large number of souls scattered across a very large geographic area combined with a lack of missionaries hindered the conversion effort in a number of ways.[83] Many priests complained about the fact that the time between visits meant that the *indios* simply reverted to their old customs.[84] Even those who lived near to towns were said to come once a week for mass but to return to their own ways of life the other six days. Alcina reported that the *indios* left their faith at the church door, continuing to cohabit out of marriage and engage in ritual feasting and drinking.[85] The vast majority died without receiving the holy sacrament – largely because it was an impossible task for such a small number of priests to travel to attend to so many remote hamlets.[86] Thus, while missionaries were the most dispersed of all Spanish settlers, their capacity to truly engage in the work of converting and reducing *indios* into Spanish settlements was severely limited throughout the century.

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[81] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 73. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 95. ARSI Phil. 10, Doc. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 15. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 95. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 69. AHN, CDI, Leg. 27, Núm. 36.
[82] ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660.
[83] ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603.
[84] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 15.
[85] ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660.
[86] Ibid. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. Salvador Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético* (1657), reprinted in James S. Cummins and Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines: The Discurso Parenético of Gómez de Espinosa', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1-2 (1975), 167. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 81-84.

Table 4: Missionaries Serving in the Philippines, 1588-1691

Religious Order	1588[87]	1591[88]	1593[89]	1598[90]	1601[91]	1610[92]	1656[93]	1691[94]
Augustinians	63			158	162	169	84	60
Franciscans	72			120	126	139	64	48
Dominicans	1			71	51	80	43	38
Jesuits	4			43	30	86	64	16
Recollects						16	26	14
Secular Clergy	7			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	59	35
TOTAL	**147**	**142**	**103**	**392**	**369**	**490**	**340**	**211**

Table 5: Distribution of Missionaries in the Philippines, 1588-1691

Province	1588[95]	1591[96]	1610[97]	1691[98]
Manila	43	12	128	48
Pampanga (including Bataan and Tondo)	18	28	30	22
Pangasinan	0	8	11	7
Ilocos	5	20	32	11
Cagayan	2	0	27	22
Laguna (including Batangas and Balayan)	37	34	46	22
Camarines	25	15	139[99]	33
Visayas	16	20	77	31
Mindoro, Calamianes and Marinduque	1	1	0	6
Mindanao	0	0	0	8
TOTAL	**147**	**142**	**490**	**211**

The final two categories of Spaniards present in the Philippines were the *vecinos* and the labouring and servant classes. *Vecino* status – or citizenship in Manila – was a prerequisite for participation in the galleon trade. As with the rest of Spanish America, residents of Manila could only become *vecinos* if they could prove that they were of noble status and of pure Spanish lineage.[100] In practice, the *vecino*

[87] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10.
[88] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 38.
[89] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22.
[90] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 8, Núm. 106. See also: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 167.
[91] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 29.
[92] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 3, Núm. 34.
[93] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 45. Note that the figures here do not include missionaries stationed in Manila and Cavite.
[94] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 100.
[95] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. Copy in AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 31.
[96] AGI, Patronato Leg. 25, Ramo 38.
[97] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 34.
[98] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 100.
[99] In this instance the Franciscans did not differentiate between provinces, so this number also includes missionaries stationed in Manila and Laguna de Bay.
[100] Auke Pieter Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamerica durante el reinado de Felipe III, 1598-1621*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 1995), 33-39. Auke Pieter Jacobs, 'Legal and Illegal Emigration from Seville, 1550-1650', in Ida Altman and James Horn (eds.), *'To Make America': European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 60. María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo López-

category also encompassed the secular officials who were in charge of the governance of the colony. These functionaries occupied roles within the royal audiencia,[101] the royal treasury, and the city council. They served as accountants, scribes, lawyers, justices, inspectors, and bailiffs, among other functions. Apart from the governor and the *oidors*[102] of the audiencia, the most important roles occupied by *vecinos* were as provincial *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores*, responsible for the administration of the provinces.[103] The *vecino* population also included all of the *encomenderos*. Nominally, *encomenderos* were supposed to live within their *encomiendas*, yet in practice the majority lived in Manila, travelling to the provinces only to collect tribute.[104] A small number of *vecinos* also resided in the Spanish provincial towns of Nueva Segovia (Lal-lo, Cagayan), Nueva Cáceres (Naga, Camarines), Cebu, Oton, and Vigan.[105] A further minority were recorded as absentee *encomenderos*, having been granted licenses to return to New Spain while still nominally benefitting from the tribute collected from their *encomiendas*.[106]

The data that exists for the *vecino* population of the Philippines is among the most incomplete and problematic demographic data since it does not incorporate wives, children, or household staff. The figures collected for the *vecino* population of Manila in 1621, however, suggests that these additional categories could increase the number of residents in the *vecino* category by anywhere up to five times.[107] However, it also needs to be noted that such settlers were largely limited to the confines of Manila and therefore did not necessarily contribute directly to the consolidation of Spanish control in the provinces. Similarly, the labouring classes appear even more as shadows within the Spanish population of the Philippines. This category includes transient workers like sailors and pilots, as well as skilled workers such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and caulkers. A document from 1672 lists 306 sailors and skilled workers present in the port of Cavite, alongside a much larger number of Chinese

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Spínola, *La emigración andaluza a América: siglos XVII y XVIII: I premio de investigación Andalucía América*, (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, 1994), 19-21.

[101] The seat of government within Spain's colonial jurisdictions responsible for overseeing the colony, enacting royal decrees and performing judicial functions.

[102] *Oidors* were members of the royal audiencia. The term translates loosely to 'judge'.

[103] According to records from the early seventeenth century, there were thirteen *alcaldes mayores* in the provinces of Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga, Laguna de Bay, Tayabas, Balayan, Pangasinan, Ilocos, Cagayan, Camarines, Arevalo [Panay], Cebu, and Calamianes. There were seven *corregidores* in Mariveles, Mindoro, Catanduanes, Ibalon, Panay, Leyte, and Butuan [Mindanao]. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 88. 'Description of the Philippine Islands', *B&R*, Vol. 18, 95.

[104] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 98-99.

[105] Note that there is no reliable data for the Spanish population of Vigan. Vigan replaced Lal-lo as the capital of the bishopric of Nueva Segovia in the eighteenth century, and so likely expanded after that time. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 293, Núm. 79. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 98, Núm. 35.

[106] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 53. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 99.

[107] Antonio García-Abásolo recorded approximately 430 servants making the Pacific crossing from Spain in the seventeenth century, although we have no equivalent figures for those travelling directly from New Spain. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Population movements in the Spanish Pacific during the 17th century', 149.

and indigenous workers.[108] It should be noted that in Manila itself, the Spanish population was dwarfed by a much larger population of Chinese and Japanese merchants, artisans, and labourers, Philippine *indios*, and slaves and freed slaves from Africa and South Asia.[109]

Table 6: *Vecinos* in the Philippines, 1588-1634

City	1588[110]	1604[111]	1621[112]	1634[113]
Manila	80	<300	1500	<600
Nueva Segovia	40	5	20	
Nueva Cáceres	30	12	15	
Cebu	30	20	50	
Oton	20		30	
TOTAL	**200**	**337**	**1615**	**647**

Table 7: Number of *Vecinos* in Manila, 1576-1695[114]

1587	1591	1621	1634	1638	1655	1666	1685	1695
180	300	1500	283	90	30	30	119	347

While the Spanish population in the seventeenth-century Philippines was a tiny fraction relative to the Philippine population, the Spaniards were concentrated in Manila and a few outposts and their presence across the islands was uneven and in many cases non-existent. By comparing a 1685 register of *encomiendas* with other available population statistics, we are able to see the extent of this uneven impact. Initially, *encomiendas* were established on an ad-hoc basis. In the Visayas, most of the first *encomiendas* were divided amongst Legazpi's fellow conquistadors based on a specific number of *indios* rather than a specific location. At that time the Spanish had very little real demographic knowledge of the land that they had 'conquered' – what knowledge they did have was based on reports from captains and other persons that had visited the various islands, presumably to pillage them for much-needed supplies. After complaints were received by the first *encomenderos*, Legazpi set about designating the specific sites where the *encomenderos* were to go to collect their tribute;

[108] The majority of these were sailors (224) and ships boys (45); other jobs reported included: boatswain, masters, master shipbuilder, master blacksmith, barrel maker, carpenters, caulkers, overseer of the gunpowder store. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 30. See also BNE Mss 2939 for a comparative list from 1626, which unfortunately does not contain sufficient numerical data for each category of worker.
[109] See chapter two for details of the Chinese community of Manila, where the implications of this population imbalance will be discussed in greater detail. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 35. Tatiana Seijas, 'The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640', *Itinerario*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2008), 19-38. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 115-132.
[110] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. Copy in AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 31.
[111] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 78.
[112] Note: some of the figures (especially for Manila) includes wives of *vecinos*. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 90.
[113] Comprised of 151 married couples, 81 single men, 45 widows, 169 children and 50 other men living outside of Manila.
[114] Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los españoles', 471. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida Municipal en Manila*, 30-31.

however, many of these early *encomiendas* were in fact just landmarks, such as river mouths.[115] For this reason, there is limited continuity between the first register of *encomiendas* recorded in 1591 and the 1685 register. By contrast, many of the place names found in the 1685 register have been adopted as municipalities in the modern Philippines, making it possible to map the distribution of *encomiendas* in the seventeenth-century Philippines (figure 1).[116]

As in Latin America, *encomiendas* in the Philippines did not function as land grants and were granted to *encomenderos* in terms of a designated number of tribute-paying *indios* rather than a specified geographic location.[117] Despite this, mapping the location of *encomiendas* – where *encomenderos* were to go to collect this tribute – provides us with a geographic overview of the parts of the archipelago that had some contact with the Spanish colonial state. This map clearly indicates the jurisdictions over which the Spanish claimed sovereignty in the seventeenth century. Some areas with a marked absence of *encomienda* claims are obvious – including the highlands of Northern Luzon and the majority of the islands of Mindanao and Palawan. Yet, the map also shows more localised concentrations of control by contrast to areas falling outside of Spanish jurisdiction.

[115] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 44.
[116] This map encompasses 81% of total *encomiendas* reported in the 1685 register and was created using GIS coordinates for modern municipalities, many of which still have the same names as the colonial *encomiendas*.
[117] For a comparative discussion of *encomiendas* in Latin America see: José de la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú: estudio social y político de una institución colonial*, (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992). James Lockhart, 'Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies,' *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1969), 411-429. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 58-97.

Figure 1: Location of Philippine *Encomiendas*, 1685

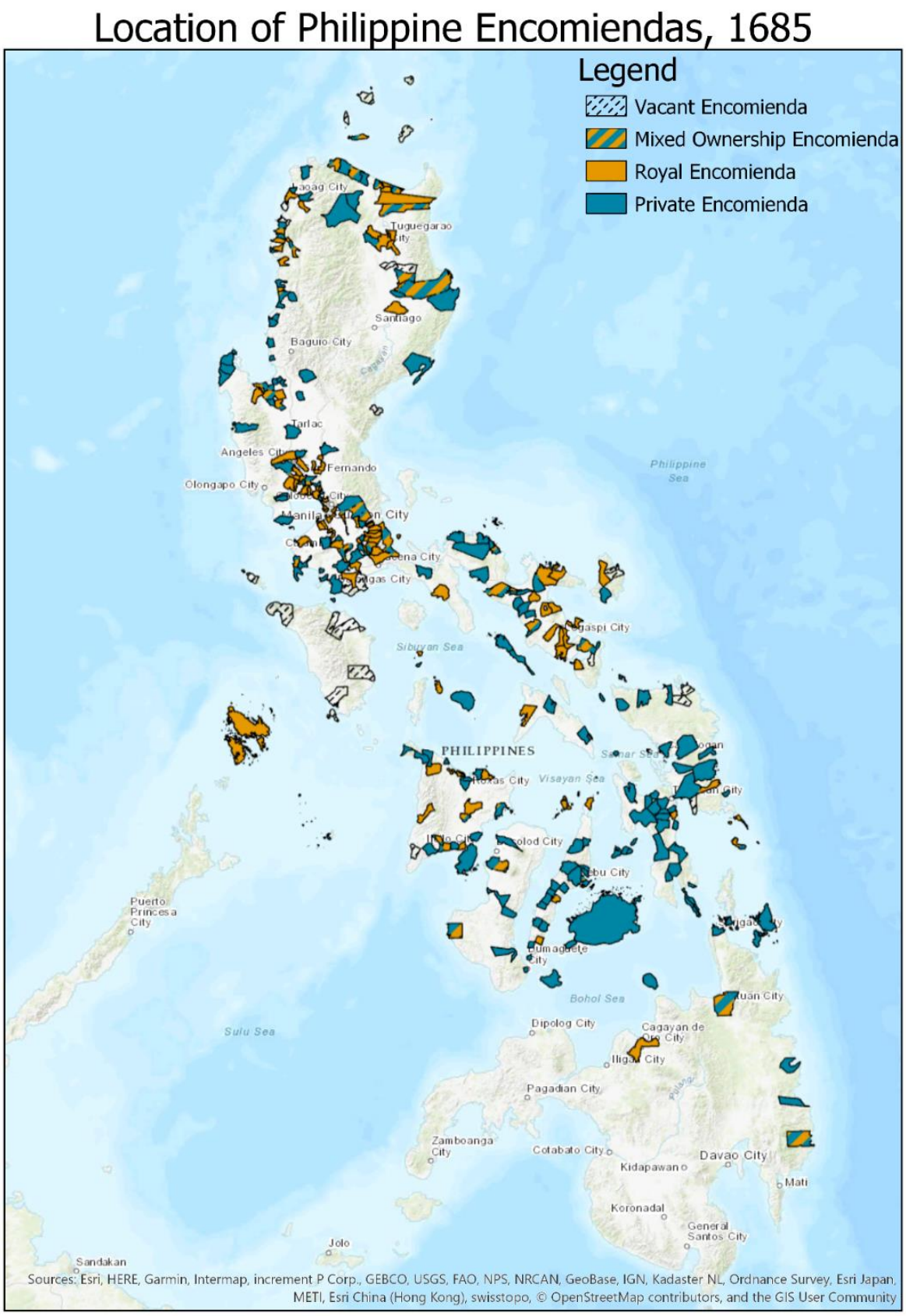

Table 8: Population Ratios. Spaniards and Missionaries to Land Area and Number of *Indios*, by region c. 1685

Province	Spaniards per km²	Spaniards to *Indios*	Missionaries per km²	Missionaries to *indios*
1. Cagayan	1:103 km²	1:105	1:860 km²	1:876
2. Ilocos	1:306 km²	1:1,694	1:611 km²	1:3,389
3. Mountain Provinces	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4. Ituy	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
5. Pangasinan	1:192 km²	1:1,617	1:289 km²	1:2,426
6. Zambales	1:135 km²	N/A	1:1,828 km²	N/A
7. Pampanga	1:286 km²	1:1538	1:415 km²	1:2,237
8. Manila and Tondo	2:1 km²	1:23	1:11 km²	1:556
9. Cavite	1:2 km²	1:10	1:178 km²	1:809
10. Laguna de Bay	1:218 km²	1:1,334	1:342 km²	1:2,097
11. Tayabas	1:676 km²	1:384	1:1,436 km²	1:816
12. Bicol Peninsula	1:334 km²	1:537	1:696 km²	1:1,117
13. Masbate				
14. Mindoro	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
15. Marinduque	1:465 km²	N/A	1:465 km²	N/A
16. Panay	1:54 km²	1:220	1:527 km²	1:2,000
17. Negros	1:2,135 km²	1:1,601	1:12,810 km²	1:9,607
18. Siquijor	1:23 km²	1:88	1:579 km²	1:2,222
19. Cebu				
20. Bohol	1:497 km²	1:1,386	1:995 km²	1:2,773
21. Leyte	1:288 km²	1:795	1:778 km²	1:2,147
22. Samar	1:874 km²	1:2,133	1:1,639 km²	1:3,999
23. Calamianes	1:165 km²	N/A	1:3,634 km²	N/A
24. Mindanao and Sulu	1:968 km²	N/A	1:11,187 km²	N/A
TOTAL	**1:99 km²**		**1:1,108 km²**	
Excluding Outliers[118]	**1:130 km²**	**1:336**	**1:781 km²**	**1:2,017**

I have supplemented this information with available population data to attempt to build a comprehensive overview of the distribution of all the different categories of Spanish settlers by comparison to both the territory and indigenous population numbers by the end of the seventeenth century (see Figure 1, Table 8, and Appendix 1).[119] This data allows us to approximate the ratios of Spaniards per square kilometre as well as the numbers of *indios* per Spaniard present in each of the different provinces of the Philippines (summarised in Table 8). Once we exclude Manila and Cavite, where the majority of Spaniards were concentrated, and the regions where the Spanish were either

[118] Populations with no Spanish presence: Mindanao, Palawan, Mountain Provinces, Ituy. Populations where the Spanish are over-represented (and therefore skew the results): Manila, and Cavite.
[119] Appendix 1 outlines the methodology behind this project in more detail, while also giving region-by-region overviews of the findings.

not present at all or virtually not present (Mindanao, Palawan, the Mountain Provinces, Ituy), on average there was one Spaniard for every 130 square kilometres and for every 336 *indios*. Furthermore, these ratios varied vastly across different provinces. While some provinces like Panay and Cebu boasted relatively high ratios of Spaniards to *indios*, others such as Ilocos, Negros and Samar had significantly fewer Spaniards per *indio*. In certain provinces, Spaniards were forced to cover vast distances – 874 square kilometres in Tayabas and more than two thousand square kilometres in Negros. Additionally, since soldiers comprise nearly three-quarters of all Spanish settlers, they skew these population ratios in a manner that exceeds their actual daily interaction with indigenous communities. If we look exclusively at the missionary population – who most regularly travelled to and between indigenous communities, these ratios are even more stark, with each missionary on average having to cover 781 square kilometres and 2,017 *indios*.

The principal conclusion to be drawn from this data is that, far from a completed conquest of the entire archipelago, Spanish control was partial and limited to particular locations where it was possible to concentrate their presence. Even in areas where Spanish control has long been assumed as firmly established in the seventeenth century – such as Ilocos and Pangasinan – colonisation was both fragmented and uneven. The data presented here also raises questions about the extent to which the institutions of colonial control genuinely operated within communities. The general nature of documents relating to colonial labour regimes contributes to the sense that these institutions were applied equally across all regions of the Philippines. Yet, if we attempt to sketch a geography of colonial labour, we find that particular provinces are overrepresented, while others are virtually never mentioned.[120] The provinces of Pampanga, Laguna de Bay and Camarines all emerge as common sources of *repartimiento* and *bandala* labour.[121] Where debts were recorded as being owed by the Crown in lieu of labour provided under the *repartimiento* and *bandala*, they were always highest in

[120] Woodcutting is reported to have taken place in Bulacan, Pampanga, Camarines, Laguna de Bay, and in the forests on the eastern edge of the Zambales mountains, between Pampangan and Pangasinan. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 48. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 2. Shipyards were established at various points in Oton, Camarines, Balayan, Lampon, Marinduque, Ibalon, Mindoro, Masbate, Leyte, and Cavite, although with the exception of Cavite these were not permanent installations. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 38, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 32. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 7, Núm. 21. ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 110v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el Junio de 1602 años.

[121] In 1658, the attorney Juan de Bolivar y Cruz investigated the extortionate practices wherein communities were asked to contribute more agricultural products than they could reasonably supply under the *bandala*. Although ostensibly a generalised investigation, Bolivar y Cruz only supplied evidence from the provinces of Pampanga, Laguna de Bay and Pangasinan, suggesting that problems of overburdening were limited to these regions. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50.

Pampanga.[122] In 1676, the attorney general Don Diego de Villatoro reported that the *indios* of the province of Pampanga were constantly forced to contribute to *bandalas* and were never able to satisfy the debt that they had.[123] In 1694, Fr. Antonio de Santo Domingo wrote that the provinces of Laguna de Bay and Pampanga had been depopulated thanks to the continual levies of labour for woodcutting expeditions. He argued that these levies should be conducted in other provinces to relieve the overburdening of these *indios*; and, if this was not possible that they should at least be exempted from supplying rice for Manila through the *bandala*.[124] Yet, such proposals were never properly enacted, since the reliance of the Crown on these provinces was as much a reflection of the weakness of their control in other parts of the archipelago. An attempt to shift the labour draft to the Visayas in 1649 gave rise to the Sumoroy revolt – a rebellion which began in Samar and spread across most of the Visayas and even into some *encomiendas* in Mindanao.[125] The Spanish did not have the control needed to impose labour drafts where the Spanish population was weak and largely reliant on missionary labour.

Of all these regions, Pampanga was the most integrated into the Spanish colonial system, being overrepresented in almost all aspects of colonial labour and local governance.[126] Pampanga offered geographical advantages for the Spanish colonial regime, being a large and fertile plain that produced both abundant grain and wood for shipbuilding. Its proximity to Manila combined with its numerous interconnected river systems also meant that transporting these agricultural products was relatively easy by comparison to other provinces that were further away or more mountainous.[127] At the same time, the Pampangan elite had early on shown the greatest willingness to welcome the Spanish into their lands and defending Spanish Manila from the Chinese pirate, Limahong, in 1574.[128] Pampangans were additionally formally integrated into the Spanish military forces, with companies of Pampangan soldiers stationed across the majority of Spanish presidios in the archipelago, as well as in the Moluccas, Formosa, and the Marianas Islands. While other indigenous groups served within military expeditionary forces, the Pampangans were the only group that was officially incorporated into Spain's standing armies in a formal capacity. They played a vital role in ensuring the defence of the

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[122] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50. See also: H. De la Costa, S.J, *Readings in Philippine History*, (Manila: The Bookmark Inc., 1965), 56-57.
[123] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 104.
[124] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 48.
[125] ARSI, Phil 7. fols. 668-679. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la compañía de Jesús*, 171v-175. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 101-128. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 411-413. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 89-90.
[126] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 81, Núm. 109.
[127] Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 25. Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 193. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 166-169.
[128] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 43, Núm. 27. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 249. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 22.

archipelago. Throughout the century, royal officials argued consistently that the Pampangans should be recognised for their service to the Crown particularly with regards to their military function, and many of their commanding officers were granted rewards for service in the form of military honours, official titles and offices, and, occasionally, the right to own an *encomienda*.[129]

Nevertheless, the close integration of the Pampangans into the colonial state came at a heavy price. Widespread famine in Pampanga was reported first in 1582 and again in 1602, with deaths of up to a thousand *indios* in one single *encomienda* alone.[130] Furthermore, while many Pampangan elites were satisfied with their titles and rewards, the vast majority of Pampangans did not see any benefit from their close alliance with the Spanish. As will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three, this region was the site of one of the most destabilising rebellions of the seventeenth century, sparked in response to exploitation experienced by labourers working in the forests of Bulacan.[131] At the close of this rebellion, the Pampangans were not entirely appeased by the concessions made by the Governor. Two decades later, the *principales* of the region sent a petition to the King in Madrid arguing that despite all of their many decades of labour, they nevertheless found themselves 'more in a state of slavery than as vassals of such a pious monarch'.[132] The overburdening of the province had led to thousands fleeing Pampanga to seek refuge in neighbouring provinces or in areas outside of Spanish control, such that they claimed the number of tributes had more than halved from 8,000 to 3,000 in just fifteen years.[133] Yet, while the overburdening of Pampanga contributed to the erosion of trust and colonial control among Spain's most loyal vassals, authorities in Manila had few options but to continue to overburden them.

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[129] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 41, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 104. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413. Borao Mateo, 'Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army', 74-93. Borao Mateo, 'Contextualising the Pampangos', 581-605.

[130] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. H. De la Costa, 'Church and State in the Philippines during the Administration of Bishop Salazar, 1581-1594', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1950), 314-316.

[131] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 2. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 140-180. See also: Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 92-96. Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 145-168. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 90-95. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 483. Cortes, Puyal Boncan and Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*, 77-81.

[132] 'Y así nos hallamos más en el estado de esclavos, que en el de basallos de un monarcha tan pio.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22.

[133] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22.

Fugitivism and Porous Boundaries

The unevenness of Spanish control within the archipelago opened up opportunities for *indios* to simply leave the Spanish sphere. The upland spaces of Northern Luzon, in particular, became magnets for those wishing to flee tribute and labour regimes. In 1708, Governor Zabalburu claimed that there were 400,000 *indios* living in the unconquered territory of Ituy, which lay between Cagayan and Pampanga. This would mean that the unconquered population of Northern Luzon likely outnumbered those living under Spanish governance at the start of the eighteenth century.[134] Linda Newson is more cautious, estimating the initial population of the entire unconquered territory of Northern Luzon at 199,150 in 1570, falling to 127,000 by 1800.[135] At the same time, migration into upland spaces was not limited to Northern Luzon. Colonial reports indicate that fugitivism was a common problem experienced across the islands, with reports of fugitives living in upland spaces in almost every province and island (see Table 1, Chapter 4).[136] This phenomenon impacted some of the most integrated provinces, such as Camarines where *indios* sought to evade colonial labour regimes by fleeing into the mountains in the remote Caramoan Peninsula.[137] In the Visayas, *indios* commonly took to the hills in anticipation of the annual slave raiding activities of the polities in the southern archipelago; however, at times this was also a tactic used to evade the evangelising activities of Jesuit missionaries.[138] Moreover, upland spaces became sites for contesting colonial control. Communities in upland regions used raiding and headhunting as tactics of warfare to destabilise newly established Spanish settlements. Reports abound of upland raiders stealing crops and burning down villages in an attempt to make these settlements unviable.[139] Such tactics were used as a means of deterring other *indios* from joining these settlements while positioning the mountains as veritable sites of freedom, where colonial tribute and labour regimes could not penetrate.

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[134] Newson has calculated the total population of Luzon minus the unconquered interior at 357,000. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 257.

[135] Ibid, 248.

[136] It should be noted that all of the reports contained within this analysis relate specifically to the abandonment of Spanish settlements, as indicated in the table provided in chapter 4. The reports give an indication of the geographic spread of communities living outside of Spanish control, and do not include more localised incidents of mobility or evasion.

[137] RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 22: Description of the Philippines, 1618. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 17, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 155. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 156. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 29.

[138] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 63. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 282.

[139] See chapter 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.

This flight into upland spaces has been noted by historians, however, the extent of these migration patterns has been disputed. Throughout her investigation of the population of Northern Luzon, Newson noted significant population declines coupled with anecdotal evidence that vast numbers of people were fleeing Spanish settlements to live within uncontrolled hinterlands. Yet, she remains reluctant to attribute too much of a causal relationship between these two phenomena.[140] By contrast, Felix Keesing was less equivocal about the fact that lowlanders from the provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan and Cagayan all migrated into upland areas to evade Spanish tribute and forced labour regimes. Indeed, Keesing even posits the possibility that the northern parts of the Cordillera mountain range were, in fact, uninhabited until several decades after the arrival of the Spanish, suggesting that the people of Apayao were largely comprised of lowland fugitives who moved into the interior in order to evade Spanish control.[141] This analysis is mirrored by a similar suggestion made by Oona Paredes about the Lumad communities that live in the vastly different environment of eastern Mindanao. Although the Lumad are today synonymous with mountain dwellers, early archival references indicate that they may have migrated to these upland areas shortly after the arrival of the Spanish, settling in territory that was easier to defend against the unwanted encroachments of soldiers and missionaries.[142] While the suggestions of these historians remain speculative, recent archaeological work conducted in the Ifugao region of the Cordillera Mountains demonstrates that there was a population boom in the early seventeenth century, suggesting a considerable migration flow that brought with it new agricultural technologies that helped construct the famous Ifugao rice terraces.[143] Thus the archaeological record is finally proving something to which the historical record only alludes.

Nor were these problems restricted to the island of Luzon. Outside of Northern Luzon, the region with the most frequent reports of fugitivism was Camarines.[144] In 1685, the Bishop of Nueva Caceres wrote about the situation in Camarines and Albay saying that they needed to make regular incursions against fugitive runaways who were living in the mountains of these provinces.[145] In the 1680s, there were reports of a large number of *indio* fugitives in the region of Balayan, Laguna de Bay. These *indios* were said to have abandoned their faith along with their obligations to the Crown. They were also hiding slaves.[146] Not even Manila was exempt from fugitivism. In 1582, a group of *principales* from the region

[140] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 179-246.
[141] Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 155-156.
[142] Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 31-33.
[143] Acabado, 'The Archaeology of Pericolonialism', 1-26. Acabado, 'Zones of Refuge'.
[144] RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 22: Description of the Philippines, 1618. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 17, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 155. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 156. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 29.
[145] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.
[146] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.

of Tondo reported that many *indios* were fleeing their province in order to escape the hardships of Spanish rule, including tribute payments.[147] The nearest uncontrolled upland space to Manila were the mountains between Antipolo and Tanay, where Jesuit missionaries reported substantial populations of unpacified *indios*.[148] In 1610, Governor Silva organised an incursion into these mountains, ordering soldiers to set fire to fields and houses and to capture as many *indios* as possible, sentencing them to ten years of slavery.[149]

In 1602 the Jesuits reported that half of the island of Leyte was in uprising and there was a large group of fugitives as well as a band of twelve people who were known killers. Some of the fugitives roved around in gangs around the countryside, sheltering other fugitives and engaging in idolatrous practices.[150] In October 1630 news arrived in Manila that many of the *indios* on the island of Negros had rebelled and fled into the mountains, especially those who belonged within the *encomienda* of Don Cristóbal de Lugo y Montalvo. Those who had fled into the mountains were engaging in attacks against those who remained within Spanish settlements.[151] In 1661, Marinduque was reportedly 'infested with *cimarrones* and *forajidos'* who lived in the mountains and had constructed forts so that they could live in freedom.[152] In 1667, the Jesuit Fr. Juan Andres Palavicino undertook a mission to the island of Mindoro where it was reported that there were many thousands of heathens called Manguianes, living naked and without law, king or God. Two years prior to this, two Jesuits baptised three hundred people. But without the permanent presence of missionaries, the *indios* had returned to their pagan customs and retreated back into the mountains to live as they had before.[153] In the 1690s the Augustinians reported that there were apostates and fugitives living in the mountains of Panay among other heathens that they called 'mundos'.[154]

In 1691 the senior *oidor* Don Alonso de Avella y Fuertes conducted an official inspection into the provinces to try to understand why so many *indios* were fleeing from particular *encomiendas*. His

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[147] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36.
[148] ARSI, Phil. 5, fol. 97v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las islas Philipinas desde el mes de junio 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 42: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661.
[149] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 36, Núm. 72.
[150] ARSI, Phil. 5, fols. 94r-113r: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[151] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 12.
[152] RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 42: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661.
[153] RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671.
[154] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 16, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. See also: RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 50: Letter from Manuel de Villabona de la Compañía de Jesús, procurador general de las provincias de Indias. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 71, Núm. 1. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 459-461.

inspection ascertained that *indios* in private *encomiendas* experienced severe abuses by *encomenderos* and tribute collectors and were also frequently subjected to demand for 'personal services'. Avella Fuertes noted that it was no wonder these *indios* sought refuge in the mountains since among the upland communities they were given the kind of safety and protection that was supposedly the centrepiece of the *encomienda* system but was routinely denied them by brutal *encomenderos*.[155] Yet, the demands of colonial labour regimes were not the only motivators for abandoning Spanish settlements. Many *indios* fled into the mountains to escape the evangelising practices of Spanish missionaries – whether through fear of the new religion, because of abusive behaviour of particular priests, or simply because they wished to continue practising their own religious traditions without persecution.[156] In some instances, fugitivism was a response to the arrival of missionaries in communities that had been relatively isolated until quite late in the seventeenth century. This was particularly the case on islands like Mindoro and Marinduque, where missionaries were relatively uncommon until after the 1660s.[157]

The widespread phenomenon of flight is not merely indicative of a local rejection of colonisation. It also demonstrates that the limitations of colonial control were experienced territorially as well as demographically, creating abundant opportunities for Philippine *indios* to cross the porous boundaries between spaces within and outside of the colonial state. What emerged was a very uneven colonisation where large swathes of territory simply fell outside of Spanish claims to sovereignty. The full extent of these geographic limits has hitherto been vastly underestimated. The Spanish effectively imposed a fragmented and weak sovereignty, concentrated into specific outposts, which in turn led to the overburdening of particular communities, especially in Pampanga.

The implications of this limited sovereignty will be explored in subsequent chapters from a number of different perspectives. Cognisant of their numerical weaknesses, the Spanish relied from the start on indigenous elites to help institute colonial tribute and labour regimes. As with elsewhere in the empire, these labour regimes were modelled on pre-existing social structures. Yet, their reliance on

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[155] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 25.

[156] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 17, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

[157] RAH, 9/2668, Número 42: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara de Justicia [Hereafter Escribanía], Leg. 404B. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 48. Additionally, in the Visayas flight into the mountains was a common response to the arrival of slave raiders from the southern islands of Mindanao and Jolo. In 1671, the Jesuits blamed the regular incursions of the Moros of Mindanao on the difficulties they had in reducing the *indios* of northern Leyte to coastal settlements. One proposed solution was to fortify the churches and residences in the coastal settlements to provide some protection against the Moros. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671.

local elites was a double-edged sword, as chapter three explores, since these elites retained considerable power and inhibited the implementation of imperial policies. At the same time, even with the aid of indigenous allies, the Spanish remained territorially over-extended, while apparently unwilling to abandon their ambitions to extend control throughout the archipelago. They thus found themselves embroiled in ongoing military conflicts both in Northern Luzon and Mindanao. In both arenas, indigenous mobilisations consistently outmaneuvered Spanish efforts, casting doubt on common assertions regarding the inherent military superiority of Europeans, even in environments characterised by semi-sedentary groups with little or no access to modern weaponry. Finally, the limitations of colonial control extended even into the heart of Spanish claims to sovereignty – to Manila itself – as the next chapter explores. In this urban environment, the Spanish were confronted by the emergence of a large Chinese population that quickly assumed control over the local economy, leaving the Spanish often feeling as if they were only guests within a space otherwise colonised from Fujian. Unlike elsewhere in the archipelago, however, Manila was the one place where military force was concentrated and could be deployed to assert imperial sovereignty, leading to periodic episodes of extreme and extraordinary violence against the Chinese community.

2.
Chinese Merchants and Labourers

On 20 November 1639, three thousand Chinese farmers from the settlement of Calamba armed themselves with knives, pikes, and farming implements, killed their local *alcalde mayor* and two priests and began marching on Manila.[1] They were part of a group of Chinese labourers who had been forcefully relocated to Calamba to grow rice for Manila under a scheme established by Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera. Yet, while the land in Calamba was fertile, during the growing season of 1639 more than three hundred of the settlers died from malaria. The rest were cruelly mistreated by the *alcalde mayor*, Don Luis de Arias de Mora. Fed up with compounding abuses, the Chinese farmers of Calamba rebelled in protest. In taking up arms, they provoked one of the largest massacres ever to take place in the early modern Philippines. Governor Hurtado de Corcuera responded by sending a large force of Spanish cavalry and Spanish and indigenous soldiers against the rebels. At the same time, he ordered that all of the Chinese inside the Parian – Manila's Chinese quarter – be put to death. Residents were dragged from their houses one by one and executed. As this was taking place, a group of Chinese butchers raised the alarm, encouraging as many as possible to flee the city, setting fire to the Parian as they left. In the meantime, the governor sent word to the provinces to execute the local Chinese residents. Over the next four months, those who had fled the Parian were systematically hunted down and killed. By 15 March 1640, 24,000 Chinese were dead.[2] The chronicler

[1] RAH 9/3663, Núm. 28: Relasión del alçamiento de los chinos en la ciudad de Manila por el mes de noviembre del año de 1639, causas del alçamiento y prinsipio del. BNE Mss. 2371 fols. 602-604: Relación verdadera del levantamiento de los Sangleyes en las Filipinas y de las vitorias que tuvo contra ellos el Governador don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera el año pasado de 1640 y 1641. 'Relation on the Chinese Insurrection', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 194-207. AGI, Indiferente General, Leg. 113, Núm. 47. Juan López, 'Events in the Philippines from August 1639 to August 1640', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 208-258. Casimiro Díaz, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, II, 401-430. Vicente Salazar, *Historia de la provincial del santísimo Rosario de Philipinas*, II, 149. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 25. Charles J. McCarthy, 'Slaughter of Sangleys in 1639', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1970), 659-667. Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila: Siglos XVI y XVII*, (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P., 2011), 493-506. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 385-387. Birgit Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644: Local Comparisons and Global Connections*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 310-311. John E. Wills, Jr., 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', in *China and Maritime Europe, 1500-1800: Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 59-60. Wu Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1959), 135.

[2] 1,300 were killed in Cavite, 500 in the farmlands around Manila, 450 in Marigondon and Silang, 300 in Bulacan, 600 in Pampanga, 200 in Pangasinan, 500 in Tal and Balayan, and 600 in Zambales. BNE Mss. 2371 fols. 602-604: Relación verdadera del levantamiento de los Sangleyes en las Filipinas y de las vitorias que tuvo contra ellos el Governador don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera el año pasado de 1640 y 1641. Gil notes that the total number of Chinese killed is inconsistent across sources, although the two main sources – the RAH manuscript cited above and a residencia completed in 1644 (See AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 409D) cite the figure of 24,000. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 506.

Casimiro Díaz wrote that 'the countryside was covered in Chinese corpses … [and] for more than six months, the water from the rivers could not be drunk, [as it was] corrupted by the dead bodies'.[3]

This episode represents possibly the largest massacre to take place outside of wartime anywhere in the Spanish empire – paralleled only by the events that occurred in Manila just thirty-six years earlier, in which 20,000 Chinese were similarly slaughtered during a period of rebellion.[4] We might view these episodes of the excessive use of force as exemplifying the power of the Spanish state in early modern Manila. This chapter argues, by contrast, that these displays of violence were necessary precisely because the Spanish lacked genuine control over both the urban space and the city's economy. While Manila has typically been seen as a glorious Spanish entrepôt – Spain's 'distinguished and ever loyal city'[5] – in reality, Manila was as much a Chinese city as it was Spanish. The city expanded dramatically on the back of Chinese migration, with Chinese populations exceeding the Spanish often twenty times over. Chinese labourers built the city from the ground up – erecting even the walls and parapets that were designed to keep them segregated from Spanish colonial rulers. Chinese merchants controlled the silver trade and Chinese artisans, agricultural workers, and tradesmen dominated the local economy, controlling and producing the vast majority of the city's provisions and material supplies. Vastly outnumbered, the Spanish struggled to govern this population, who showed limited interest in Spanish laws or religious beliefs beyond that which was essential for commercial interaction. Very quickly, therefore, the Spanish grew to distrust and resent the Chinese; they came to learn that

[3] 'Quedaron los campos cubiertos de cadáveres chinos, ocasionando por mucho tiempo pestilencial olor por todas las comarcas. En más de seis meses no se pudieron beber las aguas de los ríos, corrompidas de los cuerpos muertos, ni comieron peces de muchas leguas en contorno por estar todos cebados de cuerpos humanos.' Diaz, *Conquistas de las islas Filipinas*, 427.

[4] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 118. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 120. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 122. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 15. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 127. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 5, Núm. 76. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 92. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 96r-96v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 83. José Eugenio Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603: Chinese Perception of the Spanish on the Philippines', *Itinerario*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1998), 29-30. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 307-308. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 205-212. Albert Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations in the Late Sixteenth Century to 1603', *Philippine Studies*, 26, no. 1–2 (1978), 74-81. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 56-58. Berthold Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 50, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1908), 266-272. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 134-135. Joshua Eng Sin Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese: Community, Trade and Empire, C. 1570-C. 1770', (PhD Thesis, Georgetown University, 2014), 38-71.

[5] 'Insigne y Siempre Leal Ciudad' – this was the official title granted to the city by its first governor Miguel López de Legazpi and then ratified by royal decree in 1572. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 50r-51v.

colonial dominance could only be enforced through violence – first through periodic massacres in 1603, 1639, and 1662, and then through policies of forced expulsion.[6]

Shortly after Manila was founded in 1571, Chinese migrants flocked to the city on board Fujianese trading vessels, attracted by the silver trade.[7] The Ming dynasty's adoption of the silver standard combined with newly relaxed regulations on overseas trade made Manila a lucrative port for Fujianese traders.[8] Over the course of the century, the Chinese population of Manila boomed, reaching at its height 40,000 or more, dwarfing the Spanish population, which rarely exceeded two thousand, and was often considerably less.[9] The historiography of this Chinese presence in Manila has tended to oscillate between arguments that episodes of violence were a product of culture clash and the lack of Chinese assimilation,[10] and assertions that Spanish and Chinese communities achieved a remarkable coexistence, thereby underplaying the extreme violence that took place.[11] In the first camp, historians

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[6] A rebellion that took place in 1686 is often listed by historians alongside these three other examples as the fourth massacre of the Chinese to take place in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, while a considerable number of Chinese did lose their lives during skirmishes with the military and through execution at the end of a criminal investigation, these events are categorically different to the preceding examples. The skirmishes were small-scale, isolated, and conducted as part of an investigation into the criminal trial; they do not represent indiscriminate, government-sanctioned slaughter. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 67. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 3, Núm. 172. RAH, 9/2668, Libro 2, Número 122: Diario de los novedades de Filipinas desde Junio de 86 hasta el de 87. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 41. Jonathan Gebhardt, 'Chinese Migrants, Spanish Empire, and Globalization in Early Modern Manila', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (2017), 167-192.

[7] James K. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities: Hokkien Merchants in Early Maritime Asia', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2010), 189-190.

[8] Flynn and Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver', 53. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 189-190. Craig A. Lockard, '"The Sea Common to All": Maritime Frontiers, Port Cities, and Chinese Traders in the Southeast Asian Age of Commerce, ca. 1400-1750', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), 225. Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang, 'Introduction: The East Asian Maritime Realm in Global History, 1500-1700', in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (eds.), *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 8.

[9] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 109. Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila y las capellanías de misas de los españoles', 471. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 30-31.

[10] Milagros C. Guerrero, 'The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770', in Alfonso Felix, Jr. (ed.), *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), 15-39. Rafael Bernal, 'The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1770', in Alfonso Felix, Jr. (ed.), *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), 40-66. Marta María Manchado López, 'Chinos y españoles en Manila a comienzos del siglo XVII', in Miguel Luque Talaván y Marta María Machado López (ed.), *Un océano de intercambios: Hispanoasia (1521-1898)*, Vol. I, (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2008), 141-159. Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*.

[11] Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Relaciones entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas. Siglos XVI y XVII', in L. Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi.* Tomo II, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 231-248. Antonio García Abásolo, 'La difícil convivencia entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas', in Luis Navarro García (ed.), *Élites urbanas en Hispanoamérica*, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 487-494. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'The Spanish image of the Chinese in the Philippines', *Revista Española del Pacífico*, Vol. 21-22, (2008/2009), 67-75. Antonio García Abásolo, 'Conflictos en el abasto de Manila en 1686: multiculturalidad y pan', in Manuela Cristian García Bernal and Sandra Olivero Guidobono (eds.), *El municipio indiano: relaciones interétnicas, económicas y sociales: Homenaje a Luis Navarro García*, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 2009), 283-299. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Los chinos y

like Milagros Guerrero and Rafael Bernal have depicted the Chinese as parasitic on the larger and more important project of extending Spanish power. Their failure to assimilate to Spanish laws and customs in what was ultimately a Spanish colonial city led to episodes of violence.[12] By contrast, historians like Antonio García-Abásolo have argued that seventeenth-century Manila was 'one of the most original experiments in multiethnic coexistence in the world',[13] producing a 'singular *convivencia* [coexistence]'.[14] Although he does not deny the episodes of periodic violence, García-Abásolo chooses to downplay these moments, saying that 'to centre the attention in excess on the rebellions of the Chinese and the consequent reactions of the Spanish would … disrupt … another reality that considers the effort of both groups towards understanding'.[15] García-Abásolo asserts that this *convivencia* was a product of Spanish and Chinese mutual dependence, wherein they both realised they could not live without each other.

A newer generation of historians has moved beyond these polarised positions to argue that while *convivencia* did exist in Manila, violence was integral to it.[16] Most historians agree that very shortly after Manila was founded, the Spanish came to completely rely on the Chinese for their survival.[17] Ryan Crewe argues that *convivencia* was therefore not a choice for the Spanish, but something which

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el modelo colonial español en Filipinas', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, Vol. X, (2011), 223-242. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'El mundo chino del imperio español (1570-1755)', in Miguel Luque Talaván and Marta María Manchado López (eds.), *Un océano de intercambios: Hispanoasia (1521-1898): Homenaje al profesor Leoncio Cabrero Fernández*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos exteriores, Agencia española de cooperación internacional, 2008), 117-140. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Españoles y chinos en Filipinas. Los fundamentos del comercio del galeón de Manila', in Felipe Lorenzana de la Puente (ed.), *España, el Atlántico y el Pacífico y otros estudios sobre Extremadura*, (Llerena: Sociedad Extremeña de Historia, 2013), 9-29. Antonio García-Abásolo, 'La audiencia de Manila y los chinos de Filipinas. Casos de integración en el delito', in José Luis Soberanes Fernández and Rosa María Martínez de Codes (eds.), *Homenaje a Alberto de la Hera*, (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2008), 339-368. Reed, *Colonial Manila*. Reyes, 'Flaunting It', 683-713. Lorena Álvarez Delgado, 'Los sangleyes y los problemas de la diversidad cultural en una colonial imperial (Filipinas, siglos XVI-XVII)', in Antonio Jiménez Estrella y Julián J. Lozano Navarro (eds.)., *Actas de la XI reunión científica de la fundación española de historia moderna: Comunicaciones, Volumen I: El estado absoluto y la monarquía*, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012), 915-924. Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 51-82.

[12] Guerrero, 'The Chinese in the Philippines', 15-39. Bernal, 'The Chinese Colony in Manila', 40-66.

[13] Manila 'fue uno de los experimentos más originales de convivencia multiétnica dentro del mundo conocido por los occidentales'. García-Abásolo, 'Conflictos en el abasto', 285.

[14] García-Abásolo, 'La difícil convivencia', 487

[15] García-Abásolo, 'Relaciones entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas', 234-235

[16] Ryan Dominic Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory: Spanish Dominicans, Chinese Sangleys, and the Entanglement of Mission and Commerce in Manila, 1580-1620', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2015), 337-365. Lucille Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and their Impact on Southern Fujian', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2006), 509-534. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese'. Gebhardt, 'Chinese Migrants, Spanish Empire', 167-192. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*.

[17] Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 39-41. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 363-364. Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 54. García-Abásolo, 'Relaciones entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas', 234. García-Abásolo, 'The Spanish image of the Chinese in the Philippines', 74-75. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 124.

they were forced to accept, even if reluctantly.[18] Juan Gil argues that the Spanish experienced this coexistence as a series of failures to convert, integrate, and economically outcompete the Chinese.[19] Yet, such a conclusion is only sustainable if we continue to view Manila as ultimately a Spanish city. Joshua Eng Sin Kueh argues, by contrast, that Manila was in fact a Chinese colony, made up of Chinese migrants who can be equally viewed as colonists in their own right rather than interlopers on the Spanish colonial project.[20] Work by historians utilising Chinese records reveals that the Fujianese saw Manila as their city – occupied by their traders and emissaries and an abundant source of wealth thanks to the silver trade.[21] The Spanish, by contrast, were merely the conduits of this silver. Manila was a significant node in a much larger trading network controlled by Fujianese merchants that extended from Japan to Indonesia to Siam and beyond into the Indian Ocean.[22] Over the first half of the seventeenth century, these trading networks came to be dominated by powerful Fujianese clans, and particularly by the Zheng clan.[23] These historians also urge us to move beyond simplistic assessments of the Chinese in Manila. Although Spanish chronicles and documents often presented the Chinese as a unified, faceless mass, the Chinese population of Manila exhibited significant divisions between wealthy merchants – who were often favoured by the Spanish – and the labouring classes.[24] Understanding these divisions helps to shed new light on the politics of seventeenth-century Manila.

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[18] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 363-364.

[19] Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, xvi-xvii.

[20] Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 16. Leonard Blussé has made similar arguments about Dutch Batavia, which he sees as 'economically speaking, basically a Chinese colonial town under Dutch protection, notwithstanding the misleading image given by its canals and brick gables'. Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986), 74.

[21] Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 81. Lin Ren-Chuan, 'Fukien's Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries', translated by Barend ter Haar, in E. B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 183. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 187-188. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 509-534. Manel Ollé, 'La proyección de Fujian en Manila: los sangleyes del parián y el comercio de la Nao de China', in Salvador Bernabéu Albert y Carlos Martínez Shaw (eds.), *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila*, (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013), 155-178.

[22] Robert Batchelor, 'The Selden Map Rediscovered: A Chinese Map of East Asian Shipping Routes, c. 1619', *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (2013), 37-65. Robert Batchelor, 'Maps, Calendars, and Diagrams: Space and Time in Seventeenth-Century Maritime East Asia', in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (eds.), *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 86-113. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 193. Lockard, '"The Sea Common to All"', 223. Andrade and Hang, 'Introduction', 9-10.

[23] Andrade and Hang, 'Introduction', 11. Anna Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery: Victorio Riccio and Zheng Chenggong's Regime', in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (eds.), *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 202-225. Manel Ollé Rodríguez, 'Manila in the Zheng Clan Maritime Networks', *Review of Culture*, Vol. 29 (2009), 91-103.

[24] Gebhardt, 'Chinese Migrants, Spanish Empire', 167-192. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 347-348. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 509-534. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 284-286. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 53-66.

This chapter brings these strands of historiography together to conclude alongside Kueh that Manila was indeed as much a Chinese city as it was Spanish in the seventeenth century. This situation had profound consequences for the Spanish colonial project. Since Manila was the centrepiece of Spanish power in Asia, it is significant that the Spanish did not really exercise control over the local economy. While the Spanish attempted to enforce brutal sovereignty over the Chinese population, they never fully controlled their labour or commercial activities and violence was their ultimate resort to asserting authority within this urban environment. As Kueh argues, only by considering Manila as a Chinese colony can we begin to understand the mechanics of Spanish colonial control and the role of violence in colonial life in Manila.[25] The first part of the chapter, therefore, looks at Manila as a Chinese city, beginning with the Fujianese origins of Chinese Manila before moving on to an examination of how Chinese migrants came to control the city's economy. The latter part examines Spanish responses to this situation. In the first instance, the Spanish used a variety of economic and cultural means to try to exert authority over the Chinese, including segregation, taxation, and conversion. When these means failed, they resorted to strategies of population control, including violence, periodic massacre, and expulsion.

While this chapter draws from a wide variety of archival sources, I focus in on a series of documents produced following the threatened invasion of Manila by the Zheng warlord, Koxinga, in 1662. The events of this period led to impassioned calls for the immediate expulsion of the Chinese from the city, and in turn, generated a great outpouring of documentary evidence compiled over the next four decades principally by religious officials in support of the expulsion proposal. The sheer quantity of this material means that the mechanics of Manila's social and economic life were analysed in unprecedented detail and we learn a great deal about how the Chinese community interacted with both Spanish and indigenous communities, as well as the inner logic of Spanish hostility towards the Chinese.

The Fujianese Origins of Manila

When Diego Calderón y Serrano travelled to Manila from Acapulco to take up his position as oidor of the Audiencia in 1674, his first experience of a Philippine province surprised and dismayed him. Stopping in Balayan, he noted that most of the towns appeared to be filled with Chinese people who wore their own traditional clothes and carried themselves with great liberty. His fellow travelling companions informed him that the Chinese dominated commercial life throughout the islands. In Manila, Calderón y Serrano discovered that commercial life was similarly controlled by the Chinese.

[25] Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 17.

They ran the city's guilds and controlled the flow of silver and goods not only from China and New Spain but also from other neighbouring Asian trading ports like Siam, Golconda and Bantan. The guilds acted as arbitrators in the buying of goods and in raising and lowering prices. The Spaniards were required to purchase everything from them, and this was the case not only in Manila but across all the provinces. Calderón y Serrano remarked that while there were no more than fifty wealthy Spaniards in all the islands, there were more than ten thousand Chinese who had amassed fortunes – some of them very copious – at the expense of the Spaniards.[26]

Calderón y Serrano's description of economic life in Manila continues to clash with the traditional literature on the galleon trade and the boom of Manila as a global port city in the late sixteenth century. Dominated by economic historians, this literature has tended to emphasise the extraordinary flows of silver crossing the Pacific, while largely failing to consider what happened once the silver arrived.[27] The establishment of the Spanish settlement in Manila opened a new trading connection between European and Chinese markets which dwarfed any other comparable trade at the time. Bullion flows across the Pacific accounted for the largest single contribution of silver to China in the early seventeenth century,[28] peaking at more than 100,000 kilograms a year.[29] Chinese traders flooded Manila with sumptuous goods that they exchanged for this silver.[30] On their return route to Acapulco, Spanish galleons carried a cargo of silks of almost every variety, from Cantonese crepes to velvets, taffetas and heavy brocades, some of which were woven with rich silver and gold threads. In addition to bolts of material, the silks were woven into stockings, skirts, cloaks and robes, tablecloths, bed clothes, and tapestries.[31] All of these items were intended primarily for the American market. Yet, despite some of the more romanticised images of Manila as 'the greatest emporium in all Asia',[32] Manila was not really a boom town for the Spanish. Any profit made in Manila did not remain there,

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[26] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 978r-980v: Diego Calderón y Serrano, 10 April 1677. See also: AHN, Consejo de Inquisición, Leg. 5348, Exp. 3.

[27] The work of William Lytle Schurz and Birgit Tremml are an exception to this. See: Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*. Flynn and Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver', 55-56. Denis O. Flynn, 'Comparing the Tokagawa Shogunate with Hapsburg Spain: Two Silver-Based Empires in a Global Setting', in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 332-359. Flynn and Giráldez, 'Born with a "Silver Spoon"', 206. Atwell, 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy', 68-90. Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas*.

[28] Flynn and Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver', 53

[29] Birgit M. Tremml, 'The Global and the Local: Problematic Dynamics of the Triangular Trade in Early Modern Manila', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2012), 567-568. Atwell, 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy', 95. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 53-54.

[30] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 337-339

[31] In addition to Chinese produced goods, the galleons sometimes brought cottons from India and rugs and carpets from Persia as well as numerous other small commodities, including fans, combs and jewellery. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 32-33

[32] Reyes, 'Flaunting It', 697

with silver flowing outwards to China and the goods purchased from the Chinese junks proceeding onwards to Acapulco for resale.[33]

We can only sustain this impression of the unrealised economic potential of Manila if we continue to view the galleon trade as dominated by Spanish merchants. In reality, the fortunes of Manila were closely tied to Chinese politics and the migration flows of Chinese merchants and traders around Southeast Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite an official ban on maritime trade with the establishment of the Ming dynasty in 1368, Chinese merchants had maintained commercial networks across Southeast Asia largely through illegal smuggling and piracy led by Fujianese merchants.[34] In 1567, the ban on maritime trade was lifted. Fujianese merchants were granted licenses to trade across Southeast Asia, and after 1571 trade with Manila became one of the mainstays of these merchants.[35] The voyage from Fujian took fifteen to twenty days, with trading ships arriving in Manila beginning in March each year.[36] Records of ship arrivals compiled by Juan Gil show that in the earliest decades of the trade, the average number of ships arriving in port each year was twenty-five (see Table 1). Each of these ships carried with them between two hundred and four hundred crew;[37] furthermore, many did not leave with the ships returning to China but remained in Manila to work as traders, craftsmen, and labourers.[38] The annual population of Manila fluctuated throughout the century, as Chinese migrants arrived and left according to the fortunes of the trade, or as a result of the periodic pogroms and expulsions conducted by the Spanish (see Table 2). At its height – on the eve of the massacre of 1639-1640 – the Chinese population of Manila reached 40,000, making Manila possibly the largest Chinese city outside of China in this period.

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[33] Yuste Lopez, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas*, 32-34. See also Flynn and Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver', 58. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 22-24. Tremml, 'The Global and the Local', 555-586.
[34] Chang Pin-Tsun, 'Maritime Trade and Local Economy in Late Ming Fukien', in Eduard B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 65-66. Lockard, '"The Sea Common to All"', 225.
[35] Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 187-190. Lockard, '"The Sea Common to All"', 225. Ren-Chuan, 'Fukien's Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries', 183. Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, 258-259. Chinese chronicler, Li Guangjin, claimed that up to ninety percent of the male population was engaged in overseas maritime trade. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 345.
[36] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 337.
[37] Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 71.
[38] Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 157-158

Table 1: Chinese ship arrivals in Manila, 1580-1699[39]

Decade	Total ships recorded	Yearly Average
1580s	221[40]	25
1590s	148[41]	25
1600s	246	25
1610s	*102*[42]	*26*
1620s	*44*[43]	*11*
1630s	259	26
1640s	153	15
1650s	66[44]	7
1660s	46[45]	5
1670s	31[46]	3
1680s	88[47]	9
1690s	155	16
TOTAL	1574	15

Table 2: Chinese population of Manila, 1584-1662[48]

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	
1584	3500	1617	11,113	1630	10,533
1589	'About 4000'	1618	10,423	1631	13,607
1597	more than 8000	1619	13,048[49]	1632	14,460
1600	15,000	1620	14,795	1633	12,639
1604	457	1621	13,115	1634	12,823
1605	1,648	1622	15,665	1635	21,474
1606	8,181	1623	13,310	1636	more than 25,000
1607	15,000	1624	9,824	1639	40,000
1612	11,394	1625	7,748	1640	7000
1613	9,735	1626	11,501	1649	15,000
1614	9,950	1627	11,182	1662	14,000
1615	8,964	1628	11,180		
1616	9,400	1629	10,788		

[39] Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 574-639 (based on Contaduria records in the AGI)
[40] Data for 1584 unavailable
[41] Data missing for 1590, 1592, 1593, 1594
[42] Data missing for 1613, 1614, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1619
[43] Data missing for 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626
[44] No ships arrived in 1657.
[45] No ships arrived in 1667, 1668, 1669
[46] Data missing for 1674; No ships arrived in 1670, 1671, 1672
[47] No ships arrived in 1683.
[48] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 8. 'Letter from Santiago de Vera to Felipe II', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 80. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 87. 'Early Years of the Dutch in the East Indies', *B&R*, Vol. 15, 305. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 105. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 10: Anua de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de IHS del año de 1607. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 55. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 506. 'Description of Filipinas Islands', *B&R*, Vol. 36, 204. BNE, Mss. 11014, fols. 32r-37v: Avisos necesarios para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas] y su cristiandad.
[49] In 1619, the total number of licenses in Manila was 10,136, with an additional 2,912 licenses attributed to Chinese living in the provinces

While Manila was important for Fujian, it was by no means unique. Throughout the seventeenth century, Fujianese merchants maintained an extensive trading network that spread across mainland and maritime Asia and possibly into the Indian Ocean.[50] The Selden Map – produced between 1606 and 1623 for a leading Fujianese merchant – gives us the most detailed view of this extensive maritime trading network, while also demonstrating the importance of the Manila silver market (see figure 1).[51] Additionally, Fujianese traders made use of extensive trading networks within mainland China as well as overseas. Silk and porcelain remained the highest value trade commodities. Silk was sourced from the lower Yangtze region and then spun into fabric in Fujian, while porcelain was imported from Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province.[52] China annually produced approximately 2,500 tons of silk and exported approximately a third of this to Japan, Manila and India.[53] A plethora of skilled industries developed in Fujian to support this maritime trade, from shipbuilding to agriculture and mining.[54] Over the course of the seventeenth century, trade within this extensive maritime network came to be dominated by particular powerful families or clans, including the clan of Li Dan, who may have commissioned the Selden Map.[55] Yet, the most powerful Fujianese traders were the Zheng clan of southern Fujian, who controlled up to ninety per cent of the maritime trade by the second half of the seventeenth century.[56] Clans like the Zhengs purchased or acquired bonded servants – called godsons, but often unrelated to the merchant family – who would act as representatives or intermediaries for the family in foreign trading ports.[57] Other traders relied on borrowed capital or investments from

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[50] Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 193. Lockard, '"The Sea Common to All"', 223. Batchelor, 'The Selden Map Rediscovered', 37-65. Batchelor, 'Maps, Calendars, and Diagrams', 86-113.

[51] Batchelor, 'The Selden Map Rediscovered', 37-65. Robert K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549-1689*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014). Timothy Brook, *Mr. Selden's Map of China: Decoding the Secrets of a Vanished Cartographer*, (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).

[52] Pin-Tsun, 'Maritime Trade and Local Economy in Late Ming Fukien', 72-74.

[53] Flynn and Giráldez, 'Silk for Silver', 54

[54] Pin-Tsun, 'Maritime Trade and Local Economy in Late Ming Fukien', 72-74.

[55] Batchelor, 'Maps, Calendars, and Diagrams', 90-91. Andrade and Hang, 'Introduction', 9-10

[56] Andrade and Hang, 'Introduction', 11. Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 202-225. Cheng-heng Lu, 'Between Bureaucrats and Bandits: The Rise of Zheng Zhilong and His Organization, the Zheng Ministry (Zheng Bu), in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (eds.), *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 132-155. Cheng K'o-ch'eng, 'Chen Ch'eng-kung's Maritime Expansion and Early Ch'ing Coastal Prohibition', trans. Burchard Mansvelt Beck, in Eduard B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 217-244. Eduard Blussé, 'Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan? The rise of Cheng Chih-lung alias Nicolas Iquan', in Eduard B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 245-264. Xing Hang, *Conflict and Commerce in Maritime East Asia: The Zheng Family and the Shaping of the Modern World, c. 1620-1720*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[57] One Chinese chronicler described this arrangement as such: 'Some (people) adopt others as their sons. They do not feel ashamed to let them enter their own clans. When they are in merchant families they are sent all over the world with commercial capital. They travel through many kinds of dangers, some will disappear in enormous storms or fight for one fleeting moment of life with the wind and waves. Their real sons, however, can enjoy its profits without physical danger.' Quoted from Lung-hsi hsien-chih in Ren-Chuan, 'Fukien's Private

wealthier individuals in China to finance their operations.[58] All of these arrangements had an impact on the social life of Chinese Manila, although they are rarely acknowledged within the historiography beyond noting the existence of a class difference between wealthy merchants – usually described as Anay or Amoy traders – and the lower class, skilled tradesmen and labourers.[59]

The power and influence of these Fujianese merchant families also meant that the fortunes of Manila fluctuated according to the political situation in mainland China. In the mid seventeenth century, China – and particularly Fujian – was thrown into a turbulent civil war surrounding the Manchu conquest of China, wherein the Ming dynasty was overthrown by the Qing. The Zheng clan in particular initially remained loyal to the Ming, leading first to war and then outright repression in the province of Fujian. While the Zheng and their followers fled to Taiwan under the leadership of Koxinga, the Qing imposed a brutal maritime ban on Fujian, forcefully evacuating the coastal population up to thirty *li* (approx. fifteen kilometres) from the coast and in the process leading to more than a hundred thousand deaths.[60] Trade in Manila in this period consequently dwindled almost to nothing, with no ships arriving from China between 1667 and 1672, and only thirty-one ships in total for the rest of the 1670s (see Table 1). Trade only resumed once again following the successful Qing conquest of Taiwan and the defeat of the Zheng clan in 1683.[61]

Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries', 187. See also: Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 202-203. Ren-Chuan, 'Fukien's Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries', 186-188.

[58] Ren-Chuan, 'Fukien's Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries', 189-191

[59] Gebhardt, 'Chinese Migrants, Spanish Empire', 167-192. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 347-348. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 509-534. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 284-286. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 188. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 53-66.

[60] Dahpon David Ho, 'The Empire's Scorched Shore: Coastal China, 1633-1683', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2013), 53-74. Dahpon David Ho, 'The Burning Shore: Fujian and the Coastal Depopulation, 1661-1683', in Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (eds.), *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 260-289. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 186.

[61] Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 191. Ng Chin-Keong, 'The South Fukienese Junk Trade at Amoy from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries', in E. B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 300-301.

Figure 1: Selden Map with major trading ports identified by Robert Batchelor.[62]

Image of Selden Map removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Robert Batchelor.

Conversion, Segregation, Rebellion: Spanish Attempts at Controlling the Chinese

Thus, Manila's fortunes were intertwined with Fujian. Very soon after its founding, Manila became a bustling, populous centre for Chinese trade, attracting tens of thousands of Fujianese migrants. The Chinese community of Manila – known as the 'Sangleys' by the Spanish[63] – was quartered in a separate neighbourhood known as the Parian. Located outside of the Spanish Intramuros, but within cannon shot of the city walls, the Parian was founded, razed, and reconstructed numerous times throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[64] It became the thriving commercial hub of the city, where all kinds of trades and supplies were bought and sold. All of this commerce was controlled by Manila's Chinese community. From the outset, Fujianese merchants transported more than just high-value trading commodities; they also brought much-needed supplies including wheat and flour, as well as horses, cattle, and munitions such as saltpetre, sulphur, mercury, copper, iron, and lead.[65] A report from 1588 noted that the ships arriving from China each year carried 200,000 pesos worth of merchandise and more than 10,000 pesos in supplies such as flour, sugar, biscuit, butter, oranges, nuts, chestnuts, pine nuts, figs, plums, pomegranates, pears and other fruits, bacons, and hams – enough to sustain the city all year.[66] Moreover, many of the Chinese migrants helped to construct the burgeoning city of Manila, building Spanish houses, churches, and even the city walls that were designed principally to segregate the Spanish from the Chinese.[67] In addition to monopolising the city's commerce, the Chinese quickly came to occupy all of the skilled trades in the city (see table 3).[68] Such was the industry of the Chinese that many impressed Spanish observers believed no task was beyond them. As Fr. Plácido de Angulo wrote:

> *'One Sangley might now be a shoemaker, and in the morning if the whim takes him at daybreak a sculptor and silversmith, and among them, this is very customary. All of them know how to count, read and write in their characters, even if they are the*

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[62] The original map is located at the Bodleian Library: MS Selden Supra 105, Bodleian Libraries Oxford: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/866462cc-d658-41da-a33d-5a8c375b1ac0. This version was produced by Robert Batchelor to highlight the individual port cities across the region: Batchelor, 'The Selden Map Rediscovered', 39.

[63] William Henry Scott argues that the origin of this term is from the Chinese words '*chang* and *lai* … meaning "regularly come," that is, itinerants who could be trusted to keep commercial contracts from one trading season to the next'. Scott, *Barangay*, 190.

[64] Foronda and Bascara, *Manila*, 111. Alberto Santamaria, O.P., 'The Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)', in Alfonso Felix, Jr., (ed.) *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), 67-118.

[65] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 75. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 35, Núm. 3. Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 61. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 37-38.

[66] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10

[67] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas.

[68] Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 521-522. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 284-286. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 124.

most uncouth fisherman that is never separated from the fishing nets or his boat. Such an outstanding capacity is accompanied by an inexplicable and natural curiosity that these Sangleys have to see everything, walk everywhere, know everything and meet everyone.'[69]

Table 3: Trades occupied by the Chinese, 1689, 1690, and 1700[70]

TRADES	1689	1690	1700
Merchants *Silk and cloth merchants*	71	73	73
Craftsmen *Apothecaries, barbers, blacksmiths, box makers, brickmakers, carpenters, dyers, earthenware manufacturers, foundry workers, locksmiths, milliners, ropemakers, sawyers, shoemakers, silversmiths, swordsmiths, tailors, weavers*	191	183	488
Vendors of Consumables *Beef merchants, chicken merchants, confectioners, fish merchants, grocers, pork merchants, potato merchants, sugar merchants, wine sellers and various other vendors of food and drink.*	195	179	235
Vendors of Other Supplies *Booksellers, brass merchants, brick merchants, oil sellers, peddlers, pottery merchants, rattan merchants, straw merchants, tobacconists, wax vendors, wood vendors, and other assorted shopkeepers*	110	95	299
Producers *Agricultural workers, cooks, fishermen, gardeners, rice farmers, slaughterhouse workers, woodcutters, and other types of farmers*	73	81	301
Porters and Boatmen *Boatmen, carters of water, porters, runners, and others engaged in transport*	112	59	107
TOTAL	**752**	**670**	**1503**

[69] 'se ejercitará ahora en el oficio de Zapatero, y mañana si se le antoja amanecerá escultor y platero y esto entre ellos sucede muy de ordinario. Todos estos saben contar, leer, y escribir sus caracteres, aunque sea el más tosco pescador, que jamás se aparta de las redes, ni de la barca. A tan aventajada capacidad acompaña una inexplicable, y natural curiosidad que estos Sangleyes tienen de verlo todo, andarlo todo, saberlo todo, y conocerlo todo.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1015r-1018v: Copia de un capítulo en que se noticia de la nación China, que llaman sangleyes, que residen en el parían de la Ciudad de Manila, y demás Islas Filipinas, su natural, y daños que ocasionan en vivir en los pueblos y ciudades de aquellas provincias, y a su continuación esta la respuesta, hacienda juicio de esta representación.

[70] The purpose of the table is to represent the diversity of services occupations that were performed by Chinese, rather than as an accurate statistical representation of the Chinese merchant and labouring classes of Manila. This data is taken from three censuses of Chinese merchants and labourers conducted during the expulsion process initiated in 1686 (as discussed later in the chapter). While the data provided during this period is unprecedented for the insights it gives into the variety of jobs performed by Chinese within Manila's local economy, there are some problems with these sources. Firstly, it is likely that the first two years are an incomplete reflection of the total Chinese population, since they were produced to quantify outstanding trading accounts and additionally do not include the Christian Chinese population (as is the case for 1700). At the same time, these censuses were conducted at a time when the Chinese population of Manila was numerically less than at most other points in the century. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202

In the early days of the Spanish settlement, these functions performed by the Chinese were viewed as greatly aiding the establishment of a viable city and trading port. An early description of the population of Manila from 1588 said that there were six hundred Chinese living in the Parian with one hundred and fifty shops between them. Another hundred Chinese lived in vacant land across the river – many of these were married and had converted to Christianity – while three hundred fishermen, market gardeners, hunters, weavers, bricklayers, lime kiln workers, carpenters and smiths lived outside of the city between the river and the sea. Within the Parian, there were many tailors, shoemakers, bakers, carpenters, candle makers, pastry chefs, pharmacists, painters, silversmiths among others. In the city, there was a public market that every day sold foods including chickens, pigs, ducks, deer, boars, buffalo, fish, firewood, bread and other supplies from China.[71]

Yet, over the course of the century, such favourable descriptions of the commercial life of Manila became exceedingly rare. Many Spanish officials described the Chinese as maintaining a stranglehold over the commercial life of the city. Their domination of the skilled trades and city's provisions was seen as a sincere threat to Spanish sovereignty not only within Manila but throughout the archipelago. An anonymous report written in the 1660s gave a detailed account of how commerce was conducted in the city of Manila, with the author concluding that the situation was 'the most abominable to God and his people that could be imagined'.[72] The author wrote that each year ships came from China laden with silks, linens, blankets, ceramics, iron, and other goods. These ships also brought many Chinese migrants who would sell their merchandise to the vecinos through the hands of other Chinese, who were their godsons. The Chinese exhibited great unity, obedience, and wisdom. They had their own councillors or consuls, who operated in great secrecy, conducting their meetings at night so that the Spanish could not observe them. During these meetings they determined the prices at which goods would be sold and ensured that everyone in the Parian observed this with uniformity, beating any who broke the monopoly by selling their wares at a cheaper price. The Spanish were obliged to buy from them, and by these means, they came to control both silver and supplies as if they were really the owners of the islands. They bought all of the necessary supplies from the *indios* or the Spanish and were able to communicate with the *indios* with greater friendship than the Spaniards.[73]

[71] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10

[72] 'El estilo q hasta oy ha llevado esta tierra en su commercio ha sido el más abominable a Dios y a las gentes que se puede ymaginar.' BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 66r-68v: Avisos de el comercio de Filipinas, [en manos de los sangleyes], y su estilo hasta hoy.

[73] Specific goods cited included gold, amber, civet, rice, tortoiseshells, beans, sesame seeds, cotton, sugar, wax, abaca, betelnut, wine, coconut oil, cured meat, and blankets, among many other things.

The author concluded that it was almost as if the Spanish were governed by the Chinese and were their tributaries, and not the other way around.[74]

This shift in attitude occurred alongside escalating tensions between the booming Chinese community and the Spanish which culminated in the rebellion and massacre of 1603. The events of 1603 were not without their precedent. Even prior to the rebellion, many Spanish officials believed that it was wise to limit the numbers of Chinese in the city thanks to their flagrant violation of Spanish laws and lack of respect for Spanish sovereignty over the city.[75] Moreover, some believed the Chinese were prone to acts of violence and treachery. Just three years after the city was founded, the Chinese pirate Limahong attempted to invade and capture Manila.[76] Following this, several groups of Chinese sailors were involved in a series of shipboard mutinies between 1593 and 1597, in which they killed a considerable number of Spanish soldiers.[77] During the mutiny of 1593, Governor Gomez Pérez Dasmariñas had his throat slit by Chinese on board a vessel bound for Ternate.[78] Such acts, combined with the increasing migration of Chinese into Manila and their control of the material supplies of the city, generated great fear among the Spanish. When three Mandarins arrived in Manila in May 1603 – looking for a fabled mountain of gold that was said to lie in Cavite – many Spaniards believed this to be a sign that China was preparing to invade and seize control of Manila. Although the Mandarins left soon after, Governor Acuña ordered an immediate increase in military preparations, including the construction of new fortifications.[79]

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[74] 'Con su govierno venimos en el hecho a ser governados por ellos y tributarios suyos.' BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 66r-68v: Avisos de el comercio de Filipinas, [en manos de los sangleyes], y su estilo hasta hoy

[75] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 72. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 74. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 32.

[76] Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, 259-261. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 130-131. Igawa Kenji, 'At the Crossroads: Limahon and Wakō in Sixteenth-Century Philippines', in Antony J. Roberts (eds.), *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 73-84. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 462-463. Guerrero, 'The Chinese in the Philippines', 16-17. Bernal, 'The Chinese Colony in Manila', 50.

[77] The first of these mutinies took place on board a ship bound for Ternate in 1593; See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 4, Núm. 24. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 32. A second mutiny occurred after a Spanish ship was captured by a Siamese ship in 1594; See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 4, Núm. 28. The third incident took place on board a vessel sent to Mindanao in 1597; See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 141.

[78] In reviewing Chinese records for these events, Laufer makes the point that the Spanish sources conveniently omit the fact that the Chinese sailors were cruelly mistreated by Dasmariñas during the voyage, leading to the death of several. See Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, 261-266. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 4, Núm. 24. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 32. Bernal, 'The Chinese Colony in Manila', 50-51. Guerrero, 'The Chinese in the Philippines', 17-18. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 56. Foronda, *Insigne y Siempre Leal*, 97-99. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 132.

[79] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 44. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 56. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 67. Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603', 26-28.

From the perspective of the Chinese population, by contrast, such actions indicated that the Spanish were preparing for war; and moreover, that they were the objects of Spanish paranoia. Chinese stonemasons and construction workers set to building the very walls that were designed to keep them out of the city and helped to forge the artillery and munitions that would ultimately be trained on the Parian.[80] Combined with other forms of control, the Spanish were clearly asserting their authority and power within the city. Such actions made many in the Parian nervous. The rebellion which broke out in October 1603 was both a culmination of the heightened tension between the two communities and a contestation over who really controlled Manila.

The rebellion began on 3 October when a large group of Chinese – the Audiencia estimated them at 10,000-12,000 – set fire to several houses outside the city walls and then fortified themselves in Tondo.[81] The following day, the governor sent a contingent of soldiers led by Don Luis Dasmariñas in search of the rebels; however, the Spanish forces were insufficient, and they were hampered by the marshy terrain. More than a hundred Spanish soldiers died. On 5 October, the Chinese armed themselves and 'with great force and violence' they attacked the city. Despite their comparatively large numbers, many of the Chinese died during the ensuing battle. The Parian was then set on fire and the Chinese were forced to retreat before dividing into three parties and fleeing into the interior. They were then pursued relentlessly over the next two weeks by Spanish soldiers and a sizable army of indigenous soldiers, who slaughtered all of those they encountered. Those who were not killed during this fighting were sentenced to serve in the galleys.[82] Estimates of the number of Chinese involved in this rebellion varied widely, ranging from 10,000 to 21,000;[83] however, by the close of

[80] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12.

[81] This account is based primarily on the account given by the Audiencia immediately after the close of the events: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. See also: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 118. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 120. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 122. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 15. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 127. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 5, Núm. 76. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 92. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 96r-96v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 83. Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603', 29-30. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 307-308. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 205-212. Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 74-81. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 56-58. Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, 266-272. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 134-135. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 38-71.

[82] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 96r-96v. Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603', 29-30

[83] The Audiencia estimated 10-12,000: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. The Cabildo eclesiástico estimated 20,000: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 118. The Augustinians estimated 21,000: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 119. The Dominicans claimed there were 30,000 in the Parian prior to the rebellion: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 120.

these events, the Chinese population of Manila had been effectively reduced to just 457, indicating the scale of Spanish slaughter.[84]

The events of 1603 set a pattern of interaction between Spaniards and Chinese. Although many officials resolved to never allow the population of the Parian to swell to pre-rebellion levels, by 1606 there were 8,181 Chinese in Manila,[85] and this had increased to more than 25,000 in 1636.[86] The reality was that while the Spanish feared the Chinese community, the city could not function without their labour and commerce. Consequently, over the course of the century, a number of economic and cultural strategies were introduced to try to impose Spanish colonial order. Religious conversion, in particular, was promoted as a way for the Chinese to demonstrate loyalty to the Spanish regime. Yet, for the most part, these strategies were a dismal failure. Chinese Manila operated under its own laws and jurisdictions, and the Chinese interacted with the Spanish sphere to the extent that it benefited them commercially. Beyond that, they continued to practice their own customs and very few converted to Christianity.

The most obvious method of control introduced by the Spanish was the forced segregation of the city. The Parian was established in 1581 as Manila's Chinese quarter, set outside the city walls, which acted as an imposed barrier to limit and regulate Chinese-Spanish interaction.[87] The Parian was also clearly designed as a way of containing Chinese interaction with indigenous communities. Many Spanish religious and secular officials believed that the Chinese presented a corrupting influence on the neophyte *indio* communities, and therefore it was advantageous to place limitations on where they were allowed to live, work, and trade.[88] At the same time, as the century wore on, the Parian was also

[84] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 105.
[85] Ibid.
[86] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 55.
[87] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 348. Leibsohn, '*Dentro y fuera de los muros*', 229-251. Foronda and Bascara, *Manila*, 87-88.
[88] Angulo argued that it was not appropriate to allow newly converted *indios* to be confronted by the pagan Chinese who were prone to excess and all manner of vices and who were able through the course of ordinary trade 'to influence and introduce among the *indios* … their customs and pagan rites, their little esteem for the laws of God, or respect for those of the Church, their idolatries, their deceits, weaknesses, drunkenness', all of which was opposed to what the *indios* learned from the evangelical ministers. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, Fol. 1017r: 'No parece, pues, ser cosa apropósito el permitir tengan a sus ojos hombres tan desenfrenados en todo género de vicios, como son los Sangleyes gentiles, los cuales mediante la cercanía, trato ordinario, y familiar, influirán, y imprimirán en ellos como en un poco de cera, sus costumbres, y ritos Gentílicos, poca estimación a los mandamientos de Dios, ni respeto a los de la Iglesia, sus idolatrías, sus logros engaños, torpezas, embriagueces, todo opuestisimo de lo que aprehenden de los Ministros Evangélicos que los enseñan, y educan en las cosas de Dios, a costa de mucho cuidado, y afán,' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1015r-1018v: Copia de un capítulo en que se noticia de la nación China, que llaman sangleyes, que residen en el parían de la Ciudad de Manila, y demás Islas Filipinas, su natural, y daños que ocasionan en vivir en los

considered a matter of internal security, to prevent against the threat of Chinese rebellion. The Parian lay just outside the city walls, with artillery aimed at the Chinese at all times, and constant sentinels keeping watch by night and day.[89] While Chinese did enter the city to trade with the Spanish, they entered through militarised gates defended by a moat and portcullis.

Figure 2: 1671 map of Manila, with the Parian occupying the space to the north of the walled city.[90]

Image of 1671 map of Manila removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (Spain).

pueblos y ciudades de aquellas provincias, y a su continuación esta la respuesta, hacienda juicio de esta representación.

[89] Foronda and Bascara, *Manila*, 111.

[90] Descripción geométrica de la ciudad y circunvalación de Manila y de sus arrabales al Consejo de las Indias. Por el Padre Maestro Fray Ignacio Muñoz, del Orden de Predicadores. Año 1671. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Leg. 10.

Segregation was accompanied by economic regulations designed to control commercial activities and migration flows into the city,[91] including the introduction of taxation on imported goods (*almojarifazgo*) and mandatory licences for all Chinese wishing to disembark into the city.[92] Both regulations required the inspection of ships arriving each year, and a waystation was established at Mariveles for this purpose, with officials instructed to take a registry of the merchandise and crew. The licence fee was set at eight pesos and two *reales* and was applied indiscriminately to all Chinese in the Parian.[93] In the 1630s, a second licence fee – worth ten pesos and two *reales* – was introduced for Chinese residing outside of the Parian who wished to engage in farming or trade in the provinces.[94] Both taxation and licence fees were enormously lucrative for the Crown.[95] Licences in particular often accounted for the single greatest contribution to Crown revenues, greatly exceeding the tribute collected through royal *encomiendas*.[96] Yet, with these economic advantages came many incentives for extortion, corruption, and evasion. As early as 1605, Hernando de los Rios Coronel argued that officials engaged in inspecting vessels extorted illegal fees from Chinese.[97] Similar reports were repeated in 1627.[98] More concerning, however, were reports of Chinese flaunting the regulations. In the 1660s many Chinese were said to have occupied tracts of land in Mariveles, where they were able to wait for the arrival of the ships from China and give advice to the city that they were arriving, notifying other Chinese of the goods that they were carrying. Because of this, they were able to act as spies and to hide many of the goods in the ships, smuggling them into the Parian little by little, so that when their ships were inspected they did not have to pay taxes. In the same way, many Chinese disembarked and hid, mixing among the Chinese that were in the provinces to avoid paying the licence fee.[99]

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[91] The first such regulation was the *pancada*, introduced in 1586. The *pancada* was an attempt to engage in wholesale bargaining with the Chinese – wherein one Spanish representative would deal with just one Chinese representative and negotiate a price for purchase of all of the goods imported by all merchants that year. This system was intended to undermine Chinese attempts to raise prices. However, the *pancada* was quickly abandoned in favour of a more traditional free-market *feria*. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 74-78. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 353.

[92] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 361

[93] Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario [hereafter APSR], 40, Tomo 1, Doc. 3: Sobre sacar los sangleyes licencias.

[94] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 54. This fee was later merged into the half-yearly tribute, applied to Chinese living outside of Manila; see: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 41, Núm. 50

[95] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 42.

[96] BNE, Mss. 2939, fols. 160r-164v. BNE Mss. 3010: lo que cuesta a su majestad cada año las islas Filipinas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 54. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 55. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 292.

[97] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 76.

[98] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 135.

[99] BNE, Mss. 11014, fols. 32r-37v: Avisos necesarios para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas] y su cristiandad.

Segregation was similarly only partially successful. Since the Chinese controlled the city's commerce, not even the militarised walls could prevent daily intermingling between Spanish and Chinese communities.[100] Authorities were particularly concerned about poor Spaniards – largely soldiers – consorting with the Chinese and engaging in the vice of gambling.[101] Furthermore, Fr. Ricci accused the Chinese of engaging in the unspeakable sin of sodomy with the poorest Spanish soldiers, 'the scum of New Spain [that] come to stay in these islands, the thieves, the criminals, the restless, the expelled, the apostates'.[102] Since it was impossible not to rely on such men sent from New Spain, this sinful behaviour could only be prevented by removing the Chinese.[103]

More concerning to the officials, however, was their failure to segregate Chinese and *indio* communities. The Chinese developed independent commercial and employment relationships with local indigenous communities, typically exchanging commercial wares like cloth, blankets, needles, or

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[100] Although most evidence speaks of the dangers of intermingling between Chinese and lower class Spaniards and *indios*, even elite Spaniards maintained close commercial relationships with their Chinese counterparts. See for example: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 73. When Fr. Plácido de Angulo arrived in Manila in 1652, he found that many Chinese were living and sleeping within the walls of the city, and he was so shocked by this that he resolved write a document representing the dangers that this placed the city, with such a large number of Chinese living inside the walls. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1015r-1018v: Copia de un capítulo en que se noticia de la nación China, que llaman sangleyes, que residen en el parían de la Ciudad de Manila, y demás Islas Filipinas, su natural, y daños que ocasionan en vivir en los pueblos y ciudades de aquellas provincias, y a su continuación esta la respuesta, hacienda juicio de esta representación.

[101] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1114r-1121r: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, dominico, sobre que no se permita vivir en Filipinas a los chinos infieles, dejando sólo a los cristianos. Kristie Patricia Flannery, 'Prohibited Games, Prohibited People: Race, Gambling, and Segregation in Early Modern Manila', *Newberry Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 8, (2014), 81-92.

[102] Fol. 984r: '…toda la escoria de la Nueva España viene a parar a estas islas los ladrones, los facinerosos, los inquietos, los expulsos, los apostatas…' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas. Copies in AHN, Consejo de Inquisición, Leg. 5348, Exp.3; AGN, Inquisición, Volumen 520, Expediente 243; APSR, 40, Tomo 1, Doc. 30. Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 693-730.

[103] The homosexual activities of Chinese were a common source of ire among Spanish missionaries, and many Chinese were also commonly accused of engaging in sodomy with *indios*. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 126, Núm. 1. RAH 9/3657, Núm. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628, fol. 17v. BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 978r-980v: Diego Calderón y Serrano, 10 April 1677. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1114r-1121r: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, dominico, sobre que no se permita vivir en Filipinas a los chinos infieles, dejando sólo a los cristianos. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 999r-1000v: Consulta del Cabildo, Justicia y regimiento de Manila a la Audiencia, suplicando que, en consideración a las razones que alegan, se mande que todos los sangleyes infieles y cristianos que no fueren casados se reduzcan a vivir en su parián, y los sangleyes cristianos casados a los pueblos de Binondo y Santa Cruz, con las condiciones expresadas. Raquel A. G. Reyes, 'Sodomy in Seventeenth-Century Manila: The Luck of a Mandarin from Taiwan', in Raquel A.G. Reyes and William G. Clarence-Smith (eds.), *Sexual Diversity in Asia, c. 600-1950*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 127-140. It should be noted that sodomy was not considered a vice in China – see: Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 70-71. D.E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*, (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 114-116.

tobacco for local produce like chickens, rice, eggs, fruits, and vegetables.[104] In 1613, the City of Manila reported that a parallel trade economy had emerged between Chinese merchants and indigenous communities, which they believed was severely damaging to the Spanish republic since *indios* were less inclined to produce their own goods when they could purchase them from Chinese merchants.[105] The 1663 Council complained that the Chinese would often pay the *indios* much more – even twice as much – as the Spaniards did for their produce. They argued that when a Spaniard went into an *indio* village to buy chickens, he would find that there were none for sale; whereas if the Chinese went to the same town, all of the doors would open to them and they would be offered the best produce that they had.[106] Additionally, many of the guilds employed *indio* labourers in exchange for daily wages. In 1682, Fr. Cristóbal Pedroche described Chinese masters hiring *indios* as woodcutters, stonemasons, carpenters, and silversmiths. Under this arrangement, Pedroche argued, the Chinese, without ever working, earned ten pesos a month, while the *indio* believed that he was free and well paid.[107]

Increased interaction between the predominantly male Chinese population and indigenous communities led naturally to intermarriage between the two. [108] Spanish missionaries attempted to enforce a restriction on marriage only between those who had converted to Christianity, but they could ultimately do little about widespread concubinage. Attempts were made throughout the century to limit married and Christianised Chinese to particular settlements outside the Parian, particularly Binondo and Santa Cruz.[109] In 1678, the Audiencia went further than that, arguing that no wife should be permitted to live within the Parian and neither should the wives be allowed to enter into their shops or the alleys of the Parian. The same should be observed with the Christian Chinese, prohibiting them from entering the houses of other Chinese or the alleyways or doorways of their houses.[110] Yet, the repetition of these regulations so late in the century only further indicates the degree to which segregation had failed.

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[104] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 124. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 39-40.
[105] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 89
[106] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas.
[107] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.
[108] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 43
[109] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fol. 997r: Diego de Villatoro, 21 July 1678. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 520-522. Diaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 86. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 32. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 121-140.
[110] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 999r-1000v: Consulta del Cabildo, Justicia y regimiento de Manila a la Audiencia, suplicando que, en consideración a las razones que alegan, se mande que todos los sangleyes

Although royal policy was for all non-Christian Chinese to be confined to Manila's Parian, licenses were granted early on for the Chinese to live within the provinces.[111] Many of these Chinese were engaged in farming, particularly in the provinces surrounding Manila, like Bulacan and Laguna de Bay.[112] In these locations, they often rented land and were able to supply rice and other produce to the city. Others engaged in commerce, introducing new and unregulated commercial relationships into indigenous communities. Fr. Angulo wrote that many Chinese were attracted to the provinces by the opportunity of tapping into local produce markets. He believed they obtained licences through bribery and fraud. Once in the province, the Chinese would set up shops, selling items of little value, like tobacco, wine, snacks, and trinkets, through which they gained a familiarity with the local community. However, in time, these shops became the centre of commerce in the community. Angulo argued that in this way the Chinese learned all about the goings on in the town and were able to monopolise trade, sending their earnings and produce to their associates in Manila, where they were resold at a profit. Additionally, Chinese became creditors within the town, lending *indios* rice when they were short, and selling food and drink on credit in exchange for a cut of the harvest. Angulo concluded that even in the provinces, 'the Sangleys, as foreigners, work and can do anything as if they were natives, and the Spaniards themselves, as natives, know nothing and can do nothing, as if they were foreigners'.[113]

Religious conversion was another method used by the Spanish to control the Chinese of Manila. Early on, Spanish officials hoped that a swift conversion of a large number of Chinese would allow the city to be less reliant on the labour of heathen Chinese, or *infieles*.[114] However, this never really eventuated. The Dominicans were the principal order active in religious conversion in the Parian and Binondo, while the Jesuits had jurisdiction over the Chinese community of Santa Cruz.[115] Christian converts were granted elevated and beneficial positions within colonial society. They were viewed by

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infieles y cristianos que no fueren casados se reduzcan a vivir en su parián, y los sangleyes cristianos casados a los pueblos de Binondo y Santa Cruz, con las condiciones expresadas. Sin fecha.

[111] License data from the period 1619-1634 indicates that there were approximately 2000 licences granted annually for Chinese to live within the provinces (with a range from 1503 licences granted in 1624 to 2934 granted in 1634). AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 55. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 48-50.

[112] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 7.

[113] Fol. 1017v: 'de tal manera que siendo los sangleyes extranjeros, obran, y lo pueden hacer todo, como si fueran naturales; y los españoles mismos, naturales, ni saben, ni pueden hacer nada, como si fueran extranjeros.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1015r-1018v: Copia de un capítulo en que se noticia de la nación China, que llaman sangleyes, que residen en el parían de la Ciudad de Manila, y demás Islas Filipinas, su natural, y daños que ocasionan en vivir en los pueblos y ciudades de aquellas provincias, y a su continuación esta la respuesta, hacienda juicio de esta representación.

[114] In 1597, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas argued that as more and more Chinese were converted to Christianity, they were to be appointed to replace the *infieles* in the trades and other occupations, so that the latter might be removed from the islands. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 72. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 21.

[115] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 351. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 369-371.

the Spanish as more respectable and trustworthy, often acting as intermediaries between Spanish and Chinese communities, and some were able to build wealthy commercial empires through these means.[116] After 1627, Christianised Chinese were not required to pay licence fees and were reserved from paying tribute for ten years.[117] Despite this, the Christian Chinese population never increased much beyond five hundred.[118] In the 1680s, the archbishop of Manila reported that a recent survey of the Parian had found no more than three hundred baptised Chinese, but virtually none of them were considered to be genuinely practising Christians.[119] Some blamed this situation on the controversial requirement of Christian converts to cut their hair – a practice that was considered a sincere affront to Chinese culture and provoked numerous protests from the Chinese themselves, as well as theological debates that continued through the century.[120] As Chan has pointed out, in Chinese tradition maintaining uncut hair was not only seen as necessary for personal health but was also a sign of loyalty to the emperor. Chinese men with short hair were therefore marked as criminals and shunned from Chinese society.[121] Nevertheless, the willingness of Chinese converts to cut their hair was always seen as a measure of their commitment to their new religion.

At the same time, Dominican missionaries harboured sincere distrust even of those Chinese who did convert to Christianity, believing that their conversion was often motivated principally by temporal and material ends rather than a sincere devotion to Christ. The Chinese converted in order to be granted the right to marry an *india*, to gain patronage within the Spanish community, which could help in conducting business in Manila, or to gain exemption from paying the licence fee.[122] Many Chinese

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[116] Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 522. Jonathan Gebhardt has traced the lives of two specific merchants, Don Juan Felipe de León Tiamnio and Don Pedro Quintero Tiongnio, demonstrating how they were able to build themselves a trading empire by developing close connections with important Spanish officials, including the governor of Manila. Both men were at various points embroiled in accusations of corruption, smuggling, and of providing false accusations of sedition against other Chinese, possibly to remove some of their political rivals in the Parian. See Gebhardt, 'Chinese Migrants, Spanish Empire', 167-192.
[117] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 123
[118] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 357.
[119] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.
[120] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 75. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 123. APSR, 40, Tomo 1, Doc. 9: Que los sangleyes de las islas se corten el cabello. APSR, 40, Tomo 1, Doc. 10: Sobre lo mismo del documento anterior, hacia 1630. Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 358-359. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 304-305. Álvarez Delgado, 'Los sangleyes y los problemas de la diversidad cultural', 915-924.
[121] Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 67
[122] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 962r-968v: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, a favor de la expulsión. Parián de Manila, 5 de junio de 1682. APSR, 45, Sección San Gabriel, Tomo 13, Doc. 1. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.

believed that adopting a Christian name allowed them to conduct their commerce more easily and expanded their commercial opportunities.[123] Fr. Jacinto Samper claimed that some Chinese went to confession in order to obtain papers that they then sold to others, while others made up sins that they had never committed since confession was regarded as a hollow and ridiculous action. He noted that every Sunday more than a hundred Christian Chinese came to the Parian from the farmlands or towns closest to the city to hear mass, but they only came under duress and many of them were so bored and frightened that on Sunday morning they hid so as to be free of the hated mass.[124] Fr. Vittorio Ricci noted that temporal motivations behind conversion meant that when the Chinese returned to China, they abandoned their faith and recommenced their idolatrous ways: 'in Manila as in Manila, in China as in China'. If they were genuine converts, he argued, they would continue to practice as Christians in China, converting their wives, children, servants and family members; but this did not happen. Rather, many in China were greatly embarrassed to be Christians.[125]

Thus, despite the best efforts of Spanish missionaries, the majority of Chinese in Manila remained unconverted to Christianity and continued to practice their own religious customs.[126] The lunar new year was a focal point for celebration in the Parian, and many of the activities taking place in this period deeply offended Spanish missionaries.[127] Fr. Cristóbal Pedroche said that during this time the Chinese believed that they had to please the spirit and idols in order to have good fortune and profit in the coming year. They made offerings of food to the sky and the earth, for which they went in search of particular things like duck eggs, the heads of pigs or goats, chickens, and wine which they offered up with some brief, reverent words. During the lunar new year, they invited as many of their countrymen to eat together and considered it the greatest discourtesy to refuse these invitations. Pedroche understood that almost all of the Christian Chinese attended these ceremonies and believed

[123] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas. Fr. Cristóbal Pedroche gave an example of a Chinese who was baptised in order to gain patronage: he took as his patron Manuel Suarez and adopted his first name when baptised, becoming Manuel Simue. This patronage relationship allowed him to gather a great deal of fortune. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.
[124] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 962r-968v: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, a favor de la expulsión. Parián de Manila, 5 de junio de 1682. APSR, 45, Seccion San Gabriel, Tomo 13, Doc. 1.
[125] Fol. 983r: 'En Manila como en Manila, en China como en China.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.
[126] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas.
[127] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 360

it a matter of great embarrassment to reveal that they were Christians.[128] These practices were even more concerning to Spanish missionaries for the impact that they had on the indigenous population. Ricci noted that, although the missionaries and priests preached to them and taught them that there was punishment or reward in the afterlife, they saw that the Chinese ignored this and enjoyed themselves in this life and that they did better than the Spaniards. The Chinese easily persuaded the *indios* that they did not need to go to confess their sins to the priests because they had no power to absolve them since they were just ordinary men like everyone else. Ricci concluded that because of this many *indios* continued eating and drinking and sinning and finally died without being pardoned for their sins.[129]

The fears expressed by leading Spanish clergy and royal officials were both a response to the escalating growth of the Chinese community and a reflection of their own impotence in the face of Chinese control over the local economy. The resolution to this conundrum was the ongoing militarisation of the city: the Spanish could only assert their power over the city through the permanent threat of violence. The next time the Chinese rebelled – in 1639 – Governor Hurtado de Corcuera responded by ordering a wholesale pogrom of the Chinese community, ordering his soldiers to hunt down and put to sword tens of thousands of people, effectively reducing the population of the Parian from 'more than 40,000' to just 7,000 five months later.[130]

The periodic violence that escalated into the massacres of 1603 and 1639 was the ultimate response to Spanish fears of the Chinese. Purging the city of the Chinese threat was the only means by which the Spanish could truly impose their authority over the city. Yet, at the same time, these periodic pogroms revealed that Manila could not function without the Chinese. After each massacre, the economy of Manila ground to a halt. Supplies ran short and there was no one to fix the fortifications

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[128] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.

[129] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.

[130] RAH 9/3663, Núm. 28: Relasión del alçamiento de los chinos en la ciudad de Manila por el mes de noviembre del año de 1639, causas del alçamiento y prinsipio del. BNE Mss. 2371 fols. 602-604: Relación verdadera del levantamiento de los Sangleyes en las Filipinas y de las vitorias que tuvo contra ellos el Governador don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera el año pasado de 1640 y 1641. 'Relation on the Chinese Insurrection', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 194-207. AGI, Indiferente General, Leg. 113, Núm. 47. Juan López, 'Events in the Philippines from August 1639 to August 1640', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 208-258. Casimiro Díaz, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, II, 401-430. Vicente Salazar, *Historia de la provincial del santísimo Rosario de Philipinas*, II, 149. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 25. McCarthy, 'Slaughter of Sangleys in 1639', 659-667. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 493-506. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 385-387. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 310-311. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 59-60. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 135.

damaged in war.[131] Moreover, many worried about the impact on trading relations.[132] Consequently, after each massacre, the Parian grew once again, rejuvenated by new waves of migrants.

The cycle of massacre and renewal did nothing to resolve the fundamental issue of Chinese control over the economy. In 1677, Fr. Vittorio Ricci described the Chinese hold over the economy of Manila as 'an infernal monopoly' designed to swindle the Spanish of all their silver.[133] The Chinese had come to be masters and owners of all commerce, large and small, 'so that not even a needle can be found but that it is in their hands'.[134] No other nation would believe that the Spaniards – who should be the masters of the lands – had allowed themselves to be subject to such a 'vile, traitorous, disloyal, idolatrous and atheistic riffraff with such notable damages to His Majesty's vassals'.[135] A report written in the 1660s similarly concluded by asking in what other land would people entrust their meat and bread with their greatest enemies?[136] The 1663 council went further, writing that it was like living with

[131] Tremml, 'The Global and the Local', 571. Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila*, 40-41. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 189.

[132] Crewe, 'Pacific Purgatory', 363. Surprisingly, trading relations were not impacted by the 1603 massacre. Most historians have suggested that this was because the trade itself was not government-sponsored, and so the Ming dynasty had no interest in reprisals against the Spanish for the slaughter of tens of thousands of Fujianese merchants. See: Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603', 31-33. Anna Busquets notes, however, that in in the 1650s the powerful Fujianese merchant and warlord Zheng Chenggong banned trade with the Philippines under penalty of death after hearing about the abuses that Chinese merchants received at the hands of the Spanish. See: Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 202-225. In their response to later expulsion proposals, the Jesuits also continuously raised the threat of lost trade with China, questioning whether merchants would continue to return to Manila if they were treated so badly. See BNE, Mss. 11014, fols. 38r-41r: Razones que se ofrecen para que los sangleyes de esta república de Manila no sean desterrados de ella. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1003r-1014v: Juicio del papel escrito en 25 de marzo de 1677 [por Vitorino Ricci), sobre que no se permitan de asiento los sangleyes en las islas. Impreso favorable al asentamiento de los sangleyes. Sin fecha.

[133] Fol. 991v: 'Unen se pues los sangleyes en un infernal monipodio.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.

[134] Fol. 991v: '…echan levantado con ser señores y dueños de todo comercio mayor y menor y tan menor que ni una aguja se puede hallar sino es por su mano.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas. One additional consequence to this situation was that the Chinese also commonly became moneylenders to the Spanish population. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 288. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 85-93.

[135] Fol. 992v: '…cosa no creída de otras naciones, y tenida por fabulosa porque realmente parece imposible que siendo los españoles de la tierra se alce con ella una tan vil canalla, traidora, infiel idolatra, y ateísta con tan notable daño de todos los vasallos de SM…' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.

[136] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 66r-68v: Avisos de el comercio de Filipinas, [en manos de los sangleyes], y su estilo hasta hoy.

a knife held at their throat.[137] Many feared another uprising unless population controls were put in place.[138]

Behind many of these complaints appears to be a genuine distaste among the Spanish for the Chinese pursuit of profit through commercial enterprise. Many observers wrote of the humble origins of Chinese migrants, describing them as arriving in Manila with nothing more than the clothes on their backs and therefore needing to 'rob' the Spanish of all of their silver in order to survive.[139] Fr. Angulo argued that 'almost all of [the Fujianese] were fishermen, seditious men, runaways, thieves, harmful people, who go to other lands in search of riches that they cannot find in theirs'.[140] Vittorio Ricci wrote bitterly that the Chinese only ever acted in the pursuit of profit and that their gains were excessive.[141] At the heart of these criticisms was both a judgement about who constituted the 'right' sort of Chinese migrant and a lament that the Spanish seemed unable to compete with the commercial practices of the Chinese in the Parian. Most Spanish officials believed that wealth accumulation was reserved for the noble classes. Yet, no matter how hard they tried, the Spanish routinely lost their silver to the Chinese through the acts of everyday trade and commerce. Ricci and many others, therefore, felt that matters would be greatly improved if interaction with the Chinese was restricted only to the elite merchants who engaged in the profitable galleon trade that enhanced Spanish wealth and furthered their interests.[142]

At the same time, the Spanish were genuinely afraid of the lower-class Chinese. As Ricci wrote in 1677:

> *'by their hands we eat, with great risk to ourselves, … [and] they could in one day finish with all of the Spaniards if they poisoned the bread, because they are the bakers of the republic and in their hands and will also is the rice, the meat, the*

[137] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas.
[138] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 207
[139] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 74. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 124.
[140] Fol. 1015v: 'casi todos son pescadores, hombres sediciosos, huidos, ladrones, gente perjudicial, los cuales van a otras tierras en busca de riquezas, que no hallan en la suya.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1015r-1018v: Copia de un capítulo en que se noticia de la nación China, que llaman sangleyes, que residen en el parían de la Ciudad de Manila, y demás Islas Filipinas, su natural, y daños que ocasionan en vivir en los pueblos y ciudades de aquellas provincias, y a su continuación esta la respuesta, hacienda juicio de esta representación.
[141] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.
[142] Ibid.

birds, the fish, the eggs, the vegetables, the legumes, the fruit and all of the rest needed for the sustenance of human nature.'[143]

Fear of poisoning was common throughout the century. In 1597, Fr. Juan de San Pedro Mártir argued that the Chinese would poison, stab, or drown people without thinking.[144] In 1663, Chinese rice farmers were accused of having mixed their rice with ashes and lime, leading many soldiers to become sick. In 1682, Fr. Jacinto Samper suggested that a number of Chinese had bought poison to put in the snacks sold in the Parian.[145] The bakers were routinely singled out for suspicion, accused of engaging in dirty tricks by mixing seed in the flour to increase the weight – and therefore the price – of the loaves of bread they sold.[146] Numerous regulations were passed to try to control the bakers, placing restrictions on where they worked and slept.[147] The most serious incident involving the bakers occurred in 1686 when they were accused of placing shards of glass in the city's bread supply with the intention of murdering the Spanish. The investigation into this case initially resulted in all of the Chinese bakers being dismissed from their bakeries and replaced. However, when the city's bread supply fell short in the ensuing days, the Chinese were promptly reinstated and the investigation was formally annulled.[148]

Thus, Spanish attempts at controlling the Chinese population through segregation, economic regulation, and religious conversion largely failed. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Chinese continued to monopolise the city's economy, they consorted freely with indigenous communities, formed relationships with local women, and showed a disinterest in Christianity. In many ways, the Parian was a separate city to Spanish Manila. While the Spanish tried to enforce their authority in the city, they remained unable to establish domination over the Chinese. This impotence led to escalating fears of the Chinese and their control over the local economy and food supply. What might the Chinese do with this power? At what point would they conclude that Spanish sovereignty over Manila was against their interests?

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[143] Fol. 992r: '…por su mano comemos y con tanto riesgo nuestro, … podían en un día acabar con todos los españoles si emponzoñaran el pan, pues ellos son los panaderos de la república y en su mano y voluntad esta como también lo demás necesario el arroz, la carne, las aves, el pescado, los huevos, la hortaliza, las legumbres, la fruta y todo lo demás que para el sustento, necesita la humana naturaleza.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.

[144] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 32.

[145] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 962r-968v: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, a favor de la expulsión. Parián de Manila, 5 de junio de 1682. APSR, 45, Seccion San Gabriel, Tomo 13, Doc. 1.

[146] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 161. García-Abásolo, 'Conflictos en el abasto', 289. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 509-534

[147] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 161. García-Abásolo, 'Conflictos en el abasto', 289.

[148] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 69. García-Abásolo, 'Conflictos en el abasto', 296-297. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 516.

Invasion, Expulsion and the Economy of Manila

In May 1662, the Dominican Fr. Vittorio Ricci disembarked in Manila from a Chinese junk dressed in mandarin robes. He had arrived as the ambassador of Zheng Chenggong – otherwise known as Koxinga, the head of the famous Zheng clan – and bore a letter that inspired panic among the Spanish population of Manila.[149] In this letter Koxinga demanded that the Spanish pay him tribute, and threatened that if they did not do so, he would invade with 'hundreds of thousands of able soldiers [and an] abundance of ships of war', with which he would 'burn your forts, lakes, cities, warehouses, and all other things'.[150] Spanish officials in Manila were well aware of Koxinga's recent successful invasion of Taiwan that had led to the humiliating defeat of the Dutch.[151] Yet, Koxinga's ultimatum to the Spanish was also the strongest sign to date that Manila was a city that belonged as much to the Fujianese – and to the Zheng clan in particular – as to the Spanish. Many of the merchants in Manila were allied to the Zheng clan. After nearly two decades of fighting a losing war against the Qing in Fujian, Koxinga had been forced to retreat to Taiwan. He was sorely in need of both financial and military resources, and it was natural that he would call upon his extensive network across Southeast Asia for this purpose. As the largest Fujianese settlement anywhere outside of China, Manila was naturally the first port of call. At the same time, however, Koxinga's threats clearly indicate that he questioned the legitimacy of Spanish rule over Manila. His threatened invasion in 1662 was articulated as a response to decades of abuses that the Chinese of Manila – his vassals – had suffered at the hands of the Spanish.[152] 'Now your little, or mean Kingdom', Koxinga wrote in his letter, 'has wronged and oppressed my subjects, and my trading *champanes* … provoking discord and encouraging revenge'.[153] At this tense juncture, foremost in everyone's minds – Spanish, Sangley and Zheng – were the two previous rebellions of 1603 and 1639 that had both resulted in the deaths of thousands of Chinese. With the arrival of Koxinga's embassy, Spanish fears of renewed rebellion in the Parian were equalled by Chinese fears of repeated violence at the hands of Spanish forces.

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[149] RAH, 9/2668, Doc. 4: Relación de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Manila donde la embajada que envió Cotzen capitán general de las costas de China y Rey de Isla Hermosa con el Padre Fray Victorio Riccio su embajador el año 1662, hasta la segunda embajada que envió su hijo con el mismo padre y fue despachado a once de Julio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y tres. ARSI, Phil 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes.

[150] Quoted in Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 214-215. According to Anna Busquets, the only existing copy of the original letter was published by Domingo Fernández de Navarrete in his *Tratados históricos, politics, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China* (Madrid, 1676) – this is the version that she has utilised.

[151] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. ARSI, Phil. 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes. Tonio Andrade, *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Great Victory over the West*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 124-136.

[152] Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 213

[153] Quoted in Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 214.

Figure 3: The Portrait of Koxinga[154]

Image of Koxinga removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the National Taiwan Museum.

Koxinga's threatened invasion sparked one of the greatest crises ever experienced in Spanish Manila. The city had remained under Spanish control hitherto by the threat of violence, but an external invasion coupled with an internal rebellion in the Parian would quickly topple Spanish power. After the arrival of Koxinga, a council was called that determined that there should be a general expulsion of the Chinese from the islands, but so as not to cause too much of a disturbance, they delayed publishing this decree until they were able to muster cavalry and military units to defend the city.[155] Despite this, the Chinese heard rumours of the preparations being made by the city and began to fear a war – a situation that was reminiscent of the days immediately preceding the 1603 rebellion. Many Chinese feared that they would be slaughtered by the Spanish and some began to prepare to defend themselves. The governor was made aware that a revolt was brewing on 24 May – however, a number

[154] Anonymous, Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911). Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 100 x 60 cm. Collection of the National Taiwan Museum. http://www.npm.gov.tw/exh98/rebirth9801/index3_en.html. Accessed 9 August 2018.

[155] This account is based on RAH 9/2668, Número 4: Relación de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Manila donde la embajada que envió Cotzen capitán general de las costas de China y Rey de Isla Hermosa con el Padre Fray Victorio Riccio su embajador el año 1662, hasta la segunda embajada que envió su hijo con el mismo padre y fue despachado a once de Julio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y tres. A copy of this same manuscript is held in the Ayer Library and reproduced in 'Events in Manila, 1662-63', *B&R*, Vol. 36, 218-260. See also: ARSI, Phil 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes. ARSI, Phil. 12, Doc. 3: Relación de varios sucesos en estas Yslas Filippinas, desde el año de 1661 hasta este presente de 1664. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 478-479. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 514-527. Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 202-225.

of observers later wrote that the Chinese actually planned to flee rather than rebel and that this was motivated by their fear of slaughter.[156]

On 25 May Governor Manrique de Lara went into the Parian and promised to give the Chinese a contingent of soldiers to protect them, but this only created more fear. Eventually, a skirmish broke out at the city gate to the Parian and the soldiers on the ramparts fired into the crowd. In panic, a large number of people threw themselves into the river. Many of those unable to make use of rowing boats were drowned. Those who survived boarded a larger ship and set sail away from the city. The rest of the crowd went to Santa Cruz, while about 1500 people remained in the Parian, principally merchants who wanted nothing to do with the uprising. The governor understood that these events largely resulted from fear and wanted to avoid a confrontation, not least because it would drain military resources from the defence of the city against Koxinga.[157]

When the body of a dead priest was discovered in the Parian later that night, many Spanish vecinos called for a bloodletting; however, Governor Manrique de Lara was more concerned with negotiating a peaceful expulsion. He met with the captains of the visiting trading vessels and negotiated that they would deport as many Chinese on board these vessels as possible. The expulsion began on 2 June, with Christian Chinese allowed to remain behind in the barrios of Santa Cruz and Binondo. All of those who had fled the city and refused to return to the Parian were then hunted down by a contingent of Pampangan soldiers led by Juan Macapagal and Francisco Lacsamana. Over the next two weeks, 1500 Chinese were slaughtered during skirmishes with the Pampangan infantry in the foothills of the Zambales, while a number of others were decapitated, including two leaders of the alleged rebellion, who had snuck back into the Parian to try to board the ships bound for China.[158] On 10 June, a total of 1500 Chinese were expelled back to China, with only 600 Chinese *infieles* being allowed to stay to help with the fortification of the city in preparation for Koxinga's invasion.[159] A month later, the Spanish sent Fr. Ricci back to Taiwan with their response to Koxinga's request. In this letter, Governor Manrique de Lara informed the Zheng warlord that under no circumstances would they pay him the tribute he requested. Furthermore, they had expelled many of his subjects, they would no longer accept trade with his agents, and they were preparing to defend Manila in the case of war.[160] By the time Ricci arrived in Taiwan with this ominous message, however, Koxinga had contracted malaria and

[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 520.
[160] Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 217-218.

died soon afterwards. His son, who took over leadership of Taiwan and of the Zheng clan, never pursued his father's claim for sovereignty over the Philippines.[161]

Although Koxinga's invasion never took place, the threat alone was enough to provoke a serious emergency in Spanish Manila. Both secular and religious authorities agreed that living under the shadow of this threat was unsustainable; therefore, the Chinese population of Manila had to be purged by one means or another.[162] The idea of a generalised expulsion was thus one of the most enduring legacies of this period.[163] Ethnic expulsions were not a new concept for Spanish administrators, who had the precedents of the expulsion of Jewish and Muslim populations following the conquest of Granada in 1492, and the Morisco expulsion edict of 1609 to call on in making their proposal.[164] Authorities in Manila nevertheless had to contend with the fact that the entire colonial economy relied on the labour, skilled trades, and commercial networks controlled by the Chinese. Spanish attempts to assert control over the city were ultimately frustrated by this simple reality – without the Chinese, the colony would not survive.

The original proposal to expel the Chinese was made by a council of religious, secular and military authorities, convened immediately after the arrival of Koxinga's embassy.[165] Yet, the chief proponent

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[161] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 20. Andrade, *Lost Colony*, 299-301. Busquets, 'Dreams in the Chinese Periphery', 218-219.

[162] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas.

[163] The idea of expelling the Chinese was repeated over and over again throughout the following century. BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 66r-68v: Avisos de el comercio de Filipinas, [en manos de los sangleyes], y su estilo hasta hoy. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1126r-1127r: Auto acordado del Consejo sobre la expulsión de los sangleyes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 10r-16r: Consulta del Consejo. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 490r-493v: Carta de los vecinos de Manila, 30 June 1729. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, Fols. 494r- 502v: Carta de la Audiencia de Manila: Juan Francisco de Velasco y Francisco Fernández Torivio (sic por Toribio) remitiendo testimonio de autos sobre las providencias de la junta que se mando formar en cumplimiento de la cédula de 30 de mayo de 1734 y la conveniencia de la expulsión de los sangleyes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 292, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 292, Núm. 65. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 713. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 714. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 715. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 716. Manila, 24 de julio de 1736. Salvador P. Escoto, 'Expulsion of the Chinese and Readmission to the Philippines: 1764-1779', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (1999), 48-76.

[164] Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict*, (London: Routledge, 2014), 37-39, 202-206.

[165] BNE Mss. 11014, fols. 42r-65v: Pregunta y propuesta si será lícito, necesario... para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas]... expeler de todas ellas a los chinos o sangleyes infieles que viven en ellas, y a los fieles chinos o sangleyes con pretexto de cristianos y casados con indias naturales de ellas. It should be noted that this was not the first time expulsion was raised as a possible solution. Similar proposals were made as early as 1597 (See AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 72; AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 21) and following the 1603 uprising (See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 45; AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73).

of this proposal was in fact Vittorio Ricci, the Dominican priest who had previously served as Koxinga's hapless ambassador. In 1677, Ricci penned his *Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas*.[166] In this extensive tract, Ricci put forward six arguments in favour of the complete expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines, focussing on the spiritual damage associated with the Chinese community, the history of rebellion in Manila, and their control of the local economy and particularly of the silver that came from New Spain each year. For Ricci, the Chinese were greedy idolaters who taught the local indigenous population sinful and heathen customs and who were prone to sedition and rebellion. He saw no value in their continued presence in the city, arguing that while the commerce with China was essential to the colony, this could be limited to specific times of the year and Chinese migration to Manila could be effectively ended.

This document became the clarion call for expulsion and was supported wholeheartedly by Governor Juan de Vargas, the Audiencia, and all of the religious orders,[167] with the notable exception of the Jesuits who published a number of anonymous tracts refuting many of Ricci's points.[168] The arguments put forward by Ricci and his supporters were viewed by the Council of Indies, as well as a special theological council convened in Madrid, before a decree was finally issued in 1686, authorising the expulsion to take place. The decree instructed the governor and the Audiencia to ensure that all those Chinese that were not reduced to the Christian faith within two months should leave the islands within a specified time determined by the governor and audiencia, but to be completed as quickly as possible. Additionally, the Chinese that came to trade should only be allowed to remain for the duration of the

[166] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 982r-995v: Discurso y parecer en que se demuestra que no conviene que la nación de China que llaman sangleyes habite ni viva de asiento en las islas Filipinas.
[167] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 978r-980v: Diego Calderón y Serrano, 10 April 1677. See also: AHN, Consejo de Inquisición, Leg. 5348, Exp.3. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1052r-1052v: Andrés González Cano, 30 May 1682. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 962r-968v: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, a favor de la expulsión. Parián de Manila, 5 de junio de 1682. APSR, 45, Sección San Gabriel, Tomo 13, Doc. 1. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1114r-1121r: Informe de fray Jacinto Samper, dominico, sobre que no se permita vivir en Filipinas a los chinos infieles, dejando sólo a los cristianos. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1102r: Diego de Aguilar, 24 June 1682. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1099r-1100v: Juan de Vargas, 20 June 1682. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1122r-1124r: Audiencia of Manila, 25 June 1682.
[168] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1003r-1014v: Juicio del papel escrito en 25 de marzo de 1677 [por Vitorino Ricci), sobre que no se permitan de asiento los sangleyes en las islas. Impreso favorable al asentamiento de los sangleyes. Sin fecha. See also: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1129r-1129v: Luis Morales, 13 September 1686.

trade fair and the time that was necessary to prepare their return voyage, without allowing any of them to remain unless they wished to convert to Christianity.[169]

In part, the idea of a generalised expulsion of Chinese was popular in the 1670s and 1680s because trade with China had diminished dramatically owing to the wars between the Qing and the Zheng clans and the Qing policy of forcefully depopulating coastal Fujian.[170] After the massacre of 1662, the Chinese population of Manila had not recovered as before, with fewer vessels arriving in this period and consequently fewer migrants (see table 1). Ricci and his counterparts believed that it would be wholly possible for Manila to survive with a drastically reduced population in the Parian comprised primarily of Christianised Chinese. Central to this was a belief that migration would be restricted to only the right sort of Chinese – largely wealthy merchant elites whose willingness to convert to Christianity was evidence of their respect for Spanish authority. Those who were principally targeted by the expulsion decree were therefore from the lower classes – the artisans, labourers, itinerants, and vagabonds. These same classes of Chinese had always been the object of suspicion.[171] Moreover, as Kueh and others have argued, they were often the principal movers of the different rebellions that took place.[172]

Yet, it was this very objective of the expulsion decree – to purge Manila of the labouring classes – which ultimately made the decree so problematic. As the Jesuits pointed out in their anonymous rebuttal of Ricci, the Chinese controlled the entire economy of Manila, not just the commerce that formed the backbone of the galleon trade. According to the Jesuits, the Chinese provided all three of the functions necessary for life within the city – skilled trades, provisions, and commerce.[173] Without them, all of the things essential to the republic would cease to be provided, all of the mechanical offices would halt or diminish, and there would be a great shortage in blacksmiths and sawyers, which

[169] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1126r-1127r: Auto acordado del Consejo sobre la expulsión de los sangleyes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 10r-16r: Consulta del Consejo. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 517-518. Álvarez Delgado, 'Los sangleyes y los problemas de la diversidad cultural', 915-924.
[170] Ho, 'The Empire's Scorched Shore', 53-74. Ho, 'The Burning Shore', 260-289. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities', 186. Roderich Ptak and Hu Baozhu, 'Between Global and Regional Aspirations: China's Maritime Frontier and the Fujianese in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2013), 211. Andrade and Hang, 'Introduction', 17.
[171] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 410r-412r: Memorial de los sangleyes dando razones para no ser expulsados. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter, 519-520
[172] Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 19-20, 39-40, 98, 117, 125-126. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 519-520. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 458-459.
[173] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1003r-1014v: Juicio del papel escrito en 25 de marzo de 1677 [por Vitorino Ricci), sobre que no se permitan de asiento los sangleyes en las islas. Impreso favorable al asentamiento de los sangleyes. Sin fecha. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 517-518.

would have consequences for the construction of ships for the galleon trade, among other things.[174] Moreover, many of the vecinos made money from renting property to the Chinese, and there would be certain individuals – widows in particular – who would be impoverished by their departure. All of the value of the lands would diminish without the Chinese to farm them, meaning there would be no one to harvest the sugar cane and there would be no one to rent these lands to. And finally, warned the Jesuits, they ran the risk of all trade from China ceasing altogether.[175] Fierce debate raged among the religious orders over whether or not the skilled trades could be taken over by the *indios*, with many arguing that this would be advantageous to both the *indios* themselves and the colony as a whole.[176] But, as the Jesuits pointed out, while this was a good idea in theory, it was not something that could easily be enforced without a period of transition during which time the *indios* would learn the trades from the Chinese.[177]

The Chinese were acutely aware of the power that they gained from occupying these skilled trades and controlling the city's provisions. In response to the expulsion decree, they produced several petitions politely requesting a suspension of the order.[178] Chief among their reasons for this suspension was the fact that they maintained extensive outstanding commercial debts not only with the Spanish population, but also with *indios*, *mestizos*, *mulattos*, and other Chinese. Concluding these complicated accounts would not only take time but required an injection of silver from New Spain. An audit of debt and credit arrangements between Chinese businesses and the rest of the population of Manila revealed that, of 761 different workshops and business operating in the Parian, 63% had outstanding accounts with Spanish residents, 59% had outstanding accounts with *indios*, and 75% had outstanding accounts with other Chinese. The Chinese pointed out that even with respect to these latter accounts, they could not possibly conclude them until they had tied up their affairs with the Spaniards and the *indios*. The Justicia Mayor of the Parian and the City of Manila agreed that executing

[174] BNE, Mss. 11014, fols. 38r-41r: Razones que se ofrecen para que los sangleyes de esta república de Manila no sean desterrados de ella
[175] Ibid.
[176] BNE, Mss. 11014, fols. 32r-37v: Avisos necesarios para la conservación de estas islas [Filipinas] y su cristiandad. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 1052r-1052v: Andrés Gonzalez Cano, 30 May 1682. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131, fols. 970r-977r: Informe de fray Cristóbal Pedroche, a favor de la expulsión. Hospital de San Gabriel, 10 de junio de 1682.
[177] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 131 fols. 1003r-1014v: Juicio del papel escrito en 25 de marzo de 1677 [por Vitorino Ricci), sobre que no se permitan de asiento los sangleyes en las islas. Impreso favorable al asentamiento de los sangleyes. Sin fecha.
[178] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 28r-165r: Compulsa de los autos hechos en virtud de la real cédula de 14 de noviembre de 1686 sobre la expulsión de los sangleyes infieles. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 174r-409r: Traslado de los autos obrados en cumplimiento de la cédula de expulsión de los sangleyes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 410r-412r: Memorial de los sangleyes dando razones para no ser expulsados. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 517-518.

the expulsion decree before these accounts could be concluded would be prejudicial to both parties.[179] Consequently, authorities were instructed to draw up a list of Chinese who did not have outstanding credit or debt arrangements, and in 1689, 341 Chinese were deported on the seven trading ships that had arrived from China that year.[180]

This meagre deportation appears to have been the only significant expulsion that occurred in this period. The delays caused by the suspension and a lack of available ships gave the Chinese time to represent their arguments against the decree, centring on their role as essential labourers, suppliers of the city, and creditors to both the Crown and individual Spaniards.[181] By 1695, a substantial shift in politics had occurred, with the Audiencia writing to the King to request a clarification on the original decree, citing fears that a complete expulsion posed the risk of completely cutting trade with China while grinding the local economy to a halt.[182] The Council of Indies clarified in October 1696 that the original decree was only meant to reduce the number of Chinese in the colony to 6000, as designated in the *leyes de recopilación*, because this number was needed for the conservation of the islands. They warned that they did not mean for the trade of the islands to diminish; it was never the will of the King for the total expulsion of all of the heathen Chinese, and they were leaving it up to the judgment of the audiencia to determine the quality of those that were to remain in the parian, containing the number to 6000, as had been established previously.[183] An audit of the Chinese population in 1700 revealed that there were just 2,117 Chinese in Manila, and so the expulsion decree was determined as concluded and put aside.[184]

While forced expulsion was itself a form of violence enacted on the Chinese community of Manila, unlike the earlier massacres it required a considerable bureaucracy. Royal officials were thus afforded

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[179] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 28r-165r: Compulsa de los autos hechos en virtud de la real cédula de 14 de noviembre de 1686 sobre la expulsión de los sangleyes infieles. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 174r-409r: Traslado de los autos obrados en cumplimiento de la cédula de expulsión de los sangleyes.

[180] Officials at the time reported that they had successfully deported 1,181 Chinese; however this figure is misleading since this included the original 840 crew who had arrived that year on board these vessels and who were never granted licences to remain in the city. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 174r-409r: Traslado de los autos obrados en cumplimiento de la cédula de expulsión de los sangleyes.

[181] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 174r-409r: Traslado de los autos obrados en cumplimiento de la cédula de expulsión de los sangleyes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 168r-172r: Carta de la Audiencia de Manila, 25 June 1690. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 413r-416v: Audiencia de Manila, 25 June 1691. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 1r-3v: Audiencia de Manila, 18 June 1695. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 421r-421v: Audiencia de Manila, 20 June 1700. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 518. García-Abásolo, 'Relaciones entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas', 242.

[182] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 1r-3v: Audiencia de Manila, 18 June 1695.

[183] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 418r-420v: Acordado sobre la expulción de los sangleyes.

[184] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 423r-456v: Traslado de la cédula en que se aprueba lo obrado sobre la expulsión de los sangleyes y lo que se ha ejecutado en su conformidad y padrón de los sangleyes. Chia, 'The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter', 518.

plenty of time to consider the consequences of their actions, and ultimately to avoid the mistakes made by the protagonists of the massacres in destroying the city's economy. Like the massacres, however, the expulsion proposal faced the same ultimate quandary: that Manila simply could not function without its Chinese labourers. Despite this, the proposal never went away. It was resurrected numerous times during the eighteenth century, always by disgruntled Spanish vecinos who were jealous of the Chinese monopolisation of the city's wealth, or by religious leaders outraged by their heathen and idolatrous ways.[185] Although expulsion did finally take place between 1767 and 1772, following the British occupation of Manila which many Chinese settlers supported, there is no evidence to suggest that any of these earlier economic problems were resolved. As Salvador Escoto has noted, the economy of Manila fell into a slump in the 1770s, and by 1778 the Spanish were forced to send recruiters directly to Canton to try to convince settlers to come back and fill the skilled trades in the city.[186]

While Manila remained a Chinese city, it would rely on its Chinese inhabitants to survive. As Kueh has pointed out, this indicates in the final analysis that Spanish colonial rule rested heavily on the participation of non-Europeans.[187] Yet, this was no peaceful *convivencia* nor extraordinary experiment in forward-thinking multiculturalism. As this chapter demonstrates, many leading Spanish figures in Manila exhibited a singular and at times violent hatred for their Chinese counterparts. Spanish officials attempted to control the Chinese community through both economic and cultural regulation, including forced segregation, taxation, licenses, and religious conversion. Yet, Manila's Sangleys remained steadfastly independent, retaining their own governance structures and kinship connections to mainland China, while showing disinterest in Spanish religion. They moreover displayed greater acumen in commercial affairs, dominating the economic life of the city and quickly monopolising the silver that flowed into domestic markets. The Spanish were acutely aware of how much this threatened their authority in the city and elsewhere in the archipelago. Yet, short of periodic slaughter, they remained impotent to subvert this imbalance. That they ultimately came to rely on the Chinese for all provisions, material supplies, and labour – largely against their will and better judgment – is only further evidence of the limitations of Spanish control, even at the very centre of their imperial outpost in the Philippines.

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[185] The proposal was resurrected in 1729, 1734, 1744, 1753-57, and 1764-1779. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 333, Libro 13, Fols. 157r-163r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 334, Libro 15, Fols. 303r-322r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 292, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 292, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 292, Núm. 65. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 386, Núm. 3. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 97, Núm. 39. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 160, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 335, Libro 17, Fols. 352r-356v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 336, Libro 18, Fols. 86v-88v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 713. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 714. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 715. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 716. Escoto, 'Expulsion of the Chinese', 48-76.
[186] Escoto, 'Expulsion of the Chinese', 48-76.
[187] Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 3.

3.
Debt Servants, Indigenous Elites, and Rebellion

On 12 June 1679, King Charles II issued a decree which ordered the emancipation of all indigenous slaves in the Philippines. The decree stated that it had been determined by general law that there was 'no cause or any pretext to make slaves of the native *indios* of the Western Indies and the islands adjacent; but that [the *indios*] must be treated as vassals of His Majesty'.[1] Building on more than 150 years of royal decrees regulating the use of native labour and sanctioning the exploitative behaviour of Spanish officials,[2] the decree particularly condemned the ongoing enslavement of captives of war by Spaniards in diverse imperial frontier settings like Chile and the Philippines,[3] resolving once and for all that this type of slavery was illegal. Yet, in the case of the Philippines, it also directly confronted the pre-hispanic institution of indigenous slavery that existed in the islands. Across the archipelago, the vast majority of slaves were not enslaved by Spanish masters but in fact experienced degrees of obligation, debt-bondage and enslavement to other Philippine *indios*. Spanish missionaries and other reformers had early on attempted to abolish these indigenous forms of servitude, but they remained such an entrenched part of the economic and power structures of Philippine communities that such reforms ultimately failed.[4] Yet, the decree of 1679 was unequivocal on the matter, concluding that 'all that currently live in slavery and their children should be with effect free'.[5]

When the audiencia received the decree in December 1681, they 'took it in their hands, kissed it and placed it over their heads, saying that they did and would obey it as a letter of their King and Lord'.[6]

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[1] 'Determinando por ley general el que por ninguna causa ni con ningún pretexto se hagan esclavos los indios naturales de las indias occidentales e islas adiacentes; sino es que sean tratados como vasallos de V[uestra] M[ajestad].' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28.

[2] Sherman, *Forced Native Labor*, 11. Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, '¿Esclavitud o liberación? El fracaso de las actitudes esclavistas de los conquistadores de Filipinas', *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, No. 20, (1994), 61-63. Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 216-230. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 18-26. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 215-221.

[3] Andrés Reséndez, 'An Early Abolitionist Crusade', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 64, No.1 (2017), 19-40. Walter Hanisch Espíndola, S.J., 'Esclavitud y libertad de los indios de Chile, 1608-1696', *Historia*, No. 16 (1981), 5-65.

[4] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 403A. De la Costa, 'Church and State in the Philippines', 314-335. Hidalgo Nuchera, '¿Esclavitud o liberación?', 61-74. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 18-26. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 258-259. Borges Morán, 'Aspectos característicos de la evangelización de Filipinas', 309-310. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 241. Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 198-199.

[5] 'Y que todos los que ahora viven en esclavitud y sus hijos quedasen con efecto libres.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28

[6] 'Y vista por dichos señores la tomaron en sus manos, bessaron y pusieron sobre sus cabezas y dijeron que la obedecían y obedecieron como carta de su Rey y Señor.' Ibid.

Yet, by September the following year, the audiencia had resolved to suspend the decree indefinitely and immediately return to slavery all those freed under its promulgation. The audiencia stated that during this brief period it was flooded by petitions. They beseeched the King to recognise the Philippines as unique within the Indies, that 'these islands should not be considered the same as the rest of the kingdoms and provinces of the Americas, where the slaves are negros and mulattos or pure *indios*'.[7] It was not possible to speak of just one concept of slavery among the multitude of experiences of slavery in the islands, and so all former slaves of the *indios* were ordered to return to their masters within fifteen days under penalty of 100 lashes and a year of service in the galleys.[8]

This chapter examines the role of indigenous labour in the colonial economy, arguing that new colonial forms of labour and tribute relied heavily on the pre-existing structure of debt servitude. By focussing on the colonial economy, I am therefore dealing explicitly with those parts of the Philippines that fell within Spanish sovereignty – particularly the provinces of Pampanga, Pangasinan, Laguna de Bay, and the Bicol Peninsula. The relationship between colonial labour systems and pre-hispanic forms of debt servitude arises from the reliance of the colonial state on indigenous elites, whose authority originated within structures of debt and obligation.[9] Yet, indigenous elites continued to wield significant power as brokers between the colonial state and local communities, hampering many efforts by Spanish officials to reform the existing political economy of the islands. Moreover, I argue that although these new colonial labour regimes relied on pre-existing social structures, they placed unprecedented strains on the social bonds that kept communities together. Indeed, many Philippine communities were overwhelmed by the burdens imposed on them by the Spanish, and instead developed ways of evading and resisting. Ultimately, the reliance of the Spanish on pre-existing social and economic structures was a double-edged sword, both supporting the colonial project whilst also sowing the seeds of its ongoing disintegration and unmaking in the form of fugitivism and rebellion.

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[7] 'No se deben estimar, como los demás reinos y provincias de el América, dónde todos los esclavos o son negros y mulatos o son puros indios: porque en estas se halla tanta diversidad de naciones que no es fácil el comprehender las, e imposible el repetir las.' Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Gerona, 'The Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite', 265-276. Alonso Álvarez, 'Los señores del Barangay', 355-406. Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 480. Prieto Lucena, 'Los malayos filipinos', 226. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 16-17, 34. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 120. Nicholas P. Cushner and John A. Larkin, 'Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines (1571-1626): Implications for the Formation of a Social Elite', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1-2, (1978), 102, 107-108. Santiago, 'The Filipino Indio Encomenderos', 162-184. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 210. M.N. Pearson, 'The Spanish "Impact" on the Philippines, 1565-1770', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 12, No. 2, (April 1969), 165-186.

The debate over the abolition of slavery in 1679 highlights these tensions. Most recently, this controversy has been interpreted as demonstrating the pro-slavery tendencies of the colonial elite.[10] However, this was the culmination of a long-standing conflict over the nature of colonial rule and the role of the slave-owning indigenous elites within the new colonial state. The 1679 abolition decree was the last of more than a century of royal decrees which sought unsuccessfully to curtail the ongoing use of debt servitude within new colonial labour regimes and to introduce instead a silver-based economy coupled with free waged labour. Over the course of the century, a division emerged between reformist royalists who wished to apply colonial law to the letter, and the majority of royal officials who knew that to do so would threaten their alliances with native elites. Thus, as this chapter will argue, new colonial labour regimes in fact relied heavily on pre-existing economies of debt servitude and slavery.

This argument is consistent with the broader literature on labour regimes elsewhere in the Spanish empire.[11] Particularly in the Andes, Raquel Gil Montero notes that the labour systems introduced by the Spanish were based heavily on existing practices of tribute, which was often paid in terms of labour or military service as well as the provision of particular goods.[12] Yet, surprisingly, such conclusions are rarely found in the historiography of the colonial Philippines, which focuses on the brutality of colonial labour regimes as part of a narrative of the destruction of Philippine communities.[13] Similarly, while a number of historians have noted the integration of pre-hispanic elites into colonial authority structures at the local and regional levels,[14] these studies rarely incorporate the broader findings of historians of indigenous allies and intermediaries both within the Spanish empire and beyond.[15] This

[10] Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 241-245.
[11] Mumford, *Vertical Empire*. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule*. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest*. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor*, 218-232.
[12] Gil Montero, 'Free and Unfree Labour in the Colonial Andes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', 297–318. Gil Montero, 'Mecanismos del reclutamiento indígena en la minería de plata', 5–30. Mumford, *Vertical Empire*. Cook and Mould de Pease, 'Patrones de migración indígena en el virreinato del Perú', 132-133. Cole, 'An Abolitionism Born of Frustration', 309. Martínez, 'Comunidad indígena y hacienda españoles en Piura', 93–137.
[13] Camara Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, vi-viii.
[14] Gerona, 'Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite', 265-276. Álvarez, 'Los señores del Barangay', 355-406. Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 480. Prieto Lucena, 'Los malayos Filipinos', 226. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 16-17, 34. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 120. Cushner and Larkin, 'Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines', 102, 107-108. Santiago, 'The Filipino Indio Encomenderos', 162-184. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 210. Pearson, 'The Spanish "Impact" on the Philippines', 165-186. Simbulan, *The Modern Principalia*, 17-20.
[15] White, *The Middle Ground*. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*. Schaffer, et. al., *The Brokered World*. Konishi, Nugent, and Shellam, (eds.) *Indigenous Intermediaries*. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*. De la Puente Luna, 'The Many Tongues of the King', 143-170. Yannakakis, *The Art of Being in Between*. Villela, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico*. Ramos and Yannakakis, 'Introduction'. Ruiz Medrano and Kellogg, (eds.), *Negotiation Within Domination*. Oudijk and Restall, 'Mesoamerican Conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century', 30-33. Matthew, 'Whose Conquest? Nahua,

wider historiography of intermediaries and go-betweens emphasises that colonisation was not merely a matter of wholesale conquest, defeat, and subjugation by Europeans, but rather involved processes of negotiation, translation, interpretation, and ultimately participation from indigenous subjects. By participating in the colonial order, indigenous elites also often facilitated the continuation of pre-hispanic political economies. While these findings remain true for the colonial Philippines as elsewhere in the empire, the literature remains largely quiet on the question of how this labour was organised and the extent to which the new labour regimes relied on pre-hispanic structures of authority and obligation. Where pre-hispanic social structures are mentioned in relation to labour, it is usually only in passing. For example, Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera has argued that the existence of pre-hispanic forms of tribute and labour extraction facilitated the introduction of the new colonial systems; however, the principal feature of pre-hispanic labour relations – debt servitude – is absent from his exhaustive examination of the *encomienda* system in the Philippines.[16]

This chapter begins by looking at pre-hispanic social and economic structures in the Philippines and examines the relationship between debt servitude, class structures and political authority and control. The next two sections examine the new colonial labour and tribute regimes, including the tribute system, the *repartimiento* and *bandala* and the illegal yet widespread mobilisation of labour through *servicios personales*. I will examine how debt was integrated into all of these practices – arguing that, despite efforts to do so, it was impossible to impose a new economy based on the circulation of silver and the payment of wages. Additionally, the co-option of these systems by the Spanish had serious social consequences for Philippine communities, leading to famine and increased debt servitude. The final section will discuss the responses of *indios* in the form of fugitivism and rebellion, focusing particularly on the major rebellions which broke out in Pampanga and Pangasinan in 1660-1661. Rebellions such as these were often the corollary of exploitation and abuse which accompanied the imposition of Spanish rule at the community level. Thus, while the Spanish sought to co-opt pre-existing social structures to help impose authority within local communities, they also found that these same traditions were used against them to diminish and destabilise colonisation efforts across the archipelago. Spanish authority was thus caught in a double-bind – reliant on the one hand on indigenous systems of debt, servitude and obligation, they also needed to challenge these same structures to effectively establish the legitimacy of their rule at the local level. It is for these reasons

Zapoteca, and Mixteca Allies in the Conquest of Central America', 102-126. Altman, 'Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration', 145-174. Chuchiak IV, 'Forgotten Allies', 175-225. Yannakakis, 'The Indios Conquistadores of Oaxaca's Sierra Norte', 227-253. Blosser, '"By the Force of Their Lives and the Spilling of Blood"', 289-316. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver*, 158-172. Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 44-63. Vinson III and Restall, 'Black Soldiers, Native Soldiers', 29-30. Borao Mateo, 'Contextualising the Pampangos', 582.

[16] Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 479-480.

that the formal institution of indigenous slavery achieved greater longevity in the Philippines than anywhere else in the empire.[17]

Labour, Debt, and Authority in the Pre-Hispanic Philippines

In 1667, the Pampangan *datu* Don Juan Macapagal petitioned the King to be granted an *encomienda* in recognition of his services to the King. At the time of writing this petition, Macapagal was the maestre de campo of the Pampangan infantry stationed within Fort Santiago in Manila. He had dedicated his entire life to the service of the Crown. Within the military, he had served as a soldier, squadron leader, sergeant, captain of infantry and *maestre de campo*, taking leadership of numerous campaigns against rebellious communities in Pampanga, Pangasinan, Cagayan and Manila. He had also taken up the civil offices of *gobernadorcillo*, *juez de sementera* and *principal* of the towns of Arayat, Candaba, Apalit and the foothills of the Zambales mountains. Yet more than this, Macapagal came from a line of esteemed and loyal indigenous supporters of the Spanish Crown. His great-grandfather was Don Carlos Lakandula, the native lord of Tondo, Bulacan and surrounds who was among the first to recognise Spanish sovereignty over Luzon when Miguel López de Legazpi arrived in Manila in 1571. Lakandula instructed his vassals to build a house and a garrison for Legazpi and his men, and he and his children were baptised and received the holy sacrament. Later on, he accompanied the maestre de campo Martín de Goiti in his conquest of the province of Pampanga and used his authority to convince the Pampangans to give their obedience to the Crown.[18]

Datus like Macapagal and Lakandula were essential to the establishment of Spanish authority within Philippine communities. Philippine elites served as *gobernadorcillos*, *cabezas de barangay*, collectors of tribute, overseers of labour drafts and military commanders.[19] Yet, along with their co-option into the structures of the colonial state, the Spanish had to either adapt or confront the power of the indigenous elite. While individual leaders like Lakandula and his descendants were particularly noted for their allegiance to the new colonial power, this loyalty was by no means guaranteed among the

[17] This chapter extends my previous work on how pre-existing social structures were mobilised to incorporate indigenous soldiers into the Spanish military in the Philippines. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413.

[18] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 43, Núm. 27. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 249. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 11-12. Luciano P.R. Santiago, 'The Houses of Lakandula, Matandá and Solimán (1571-1898): Genealogy and Group Identity', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1990), 44-45, 52-53.

[19] Gerona, 'The Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite', 265-276. Alonso Álvarez, 'Los señores del Barangay', 355-406. Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 480. Prieto Lucena, 'Los malayos filipinos', 226. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 16-17, 34. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 120. Cushner and Larkin, 'Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines', 102, 107-108. Santiago, 'The Filipino Indio Encomenderos', 162-184. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas*, 210. Pearson, 'The Spanish "Impact" on the Philippines', 165-186.

majority of Philippine elites. Indeed, many colonial sources make clear that the interest of local elites in the colonial state waned as the distance from Manila grew. Over the course of the century, the Spanish increasingly came to rely heavily on Pampangan elites and their vassals to fulfil the military and labour needs of the state. Outside of this region, loyalty among indigenous elites always remained less certain.

In order to understand this situation, we need to first understand the power relations that existed within pre-hispanic Philippine communities at the advent of Spanish colonisation. When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines in the late sixteenth century, they found a society which was characterised by geographic dispersion and intense fragmentation of power. Philippine *indios* lived in small, clan-based units called *barangays*, which averaged around a hundred families, although some communities of up to a thousand people also existed.[20] Moreover, slavery appeared to be a common feature of these *barangays* – the vast majority of commoners existed in some kind of servile relationship with the ruling *datu* and *timawa* elite. One of the earliest descriptions of Philippine slavery came from Governor Guido de Lavezaris, who was asked by the King in 1573 to provide information on the types of slaves that existed in the Philippines. Lavezaris' response painted a complex picture of pre-colonial Philippine social relations. He noted that slavery had two main origins – the first was through capture in raiding or warfare, and the second was as a result of debt. In the first instance, slaves were typically captured during raids conducted by one village on another or by maritime raiding parties, who typically killed the local elites, burned crops and seized villagers as slaves. Lavezaris noted that this type of raiding usually took place between communities that were not connected by trade or kinship. By contrast, slavery arising from debt had multiple, complex origins, many of which Lavezaris and other Spanish observers found difficult to fathom. Debts leading to slavery were often accrued as a result of minor causes, such as small thefts, or for having committed a crime or broken a rule or ceremony or for not taking due notice of a particular *datu*. In the case of a serious crime such as murder, adultery or poisoning, not only was the person who committed the crime made a slave but so were his children, brothers, parents, relatives and any slaves he himself might have. If anyone was orphaned, they were typically made a slave of the family that took them in – usually an uncle or brother of the father or mother – and this slavery was in return for being sustained by the family.[21]

The existence and functioning of these pre-hispanic forms of slavery was a source of great curiosity for many Spanish observers in the late sixteenth century. Numerous reports and accounts were

[20] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 73-74. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 12.
[21] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8.

commissioned, providing descriptions similar to that given by Lavezaris.[22] Slavery was often a central feature of ethnographic descriptions and chronicles produced by religious orders, who on the whole declared an abhorrence for these pagan customs and worked hard to see them abolished. Nevertheless, the use of the term slave (*esclavo*) and slavery (*esclavitud*) within Spanish documents has left a lasting legacy of confusion and misconception in the historiography of the early colonial Philippines, with some historians seeking to make comparisons to the contemporaneous chattel slavery occurring in the Atlantic slave trade.[23] While there is evidence that slaves were bought and sold as commodities both by Spaniards and Philippine indios,[24] the slavery which observers like Lavezaris witnessed in fact represented complex degrees of dependency and servitude. The historian William Henry Scott notes that there is no single term for slave or debt-servant reported by Spanish observers of both Visayan and Tagalog communities, but rather a plethora of terms encompassing the complex gradients of servitude. The terms differ from author to author, making a schematisation of Philippine servitude extremely difficult.[25]

Slavery in the Philippines in fact mirrored other social systems that extended across most of Southeast Asia in the early modern period, from China to Timor, Japan to Bangladesh and exhibiting very similar patterns of social organisation in all of these contexts.[26] Southeast Asian modes of slavery and slave-raiding were cornerstones of a political economy where labour was in short supply by comparison to the availability of agricultural land. Thus, warfare in Southeast Asia typically centred on trying to

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[22] AGPR, Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 363-364. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 298-300. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Loarca, 'Relación de las Yslas Filipinas', *B&R*, Vol. 5, 136-144. Plasencia, 'Customs of the Tagalogs', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 164-176. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9.

[23] Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*. Reséndez, 'An Early Abolitionist Crusade', 19-40.

[24] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 954. AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 957. AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 1027B. AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 1027C. AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 1028A. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 63. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 105. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 285, Núm. 1, Fols. 30r-41v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 27-35. Déborah Oropeza Keresey, 'La esclavitud asiática en el virreinato de la Nueva España, 1565–1673', *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 61, no. 1 (2011), 5–57.

[25] Scott, '*Oripun* and *Alipin* in the Sixteenth Century Philippines', 138-155. In the Visayas, Scott identified the following different subcategories of oripun: *tumataban, tumaranpok, horo-hanes, gintobo, mamahay, ayuey, lubus nga oripun, lopot, johai, palihog, lito, horiwal, tuhey, hashai, ginlubus, bulun, pikas, tilor, sagipat, silin, sibin, ginogatan and bihag.* Each of these categories related a slightly different category of servitude, ranging from full chattel slavery (*bihag*) to vassals who only provided some non-agricultural labour to the *datus* (*horo-han*). See pages 142-145. In Luzon, Scott identified two broad categories of alipin – *alipin namamahay* and *alipin sa-gigilid*. The first were debt servants, while the latter were 'hearth slaves', or those who served within their master's house and generally were closer to chattel slaves. See pages 145-151.

[26] Reid, (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*. Campbell and Stanziani, (eds.), *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*.

expand a local labour force, rather than on controlling territory.[27] Historians of Southeast Asia have asserted a fundamental difference in the social function of war between Asia and Europe; whereas Europeans aimed for the annihilation of the enemy, Southeast Asians utilised modes of warfare to seize control of populations and labour power.[28] Anthony Reid argues that Southeast Asian society was 'held together by the vertical bonds of obligation between men', wherein power was derived from how much labour an individual could control.[29] This helps to explain the prevalence of slave raiding and its intrinsic link to labour resources. Captives of war could be gradually integrated into their captors' society as labourers and their social status within the new society was defined by their competencies and skills.[30]

Nonetheless, captives of war were not the only bonded labourers present within Southeast Asian societies. Most historians of Southeast Asian slavery talk of gradients of servitude which extended from outright chattel slavery – usually entered into through capture or sale – through to debt bondage, which itself had gradients of servitude and indebtedness. Writing about slaves in Timor, Hans Hägerdal noted that whereas debt-bondsmen often existed in a situation very similar to European serfdom – indentured to a particular master and tied to a particular location – captives of war were treated much more like bounty that could be traded or sold.[31] Schottenhammer argues that different Asian terminologies for 'slave' reflect this division of different types of servitude, where '"slave" can, depending on the context, also mean "debtor", "dependent" or "subject"'.[32] The majority of historians, however, emphasise that those who experienced debt servitude vastly outnumbered slaves captured in raids or through warfare.[33] Debt servitude could also be voluntary – at least to an extent if individuals chose to indebt themselves – and theoretically impermanent – an indebted slave could labour to pay off his or her debt.[34] Hägerdal has suggested that sometimes individuals could find greater social security and stability within a dependent and paternal relationship of debt-servitude to their master than as a free individual without the protections afforded by that relation of

[27] Reid, 'Introduction', 8. Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 157. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*. Junker, 'Warrior Burials', 24.
[28] Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare', 486.
[29] Reid, 'Introduction', 8.
[30] Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare', 486
[31] Hägerdal, 'The Slaves of Timor', 24.
[32] Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China', 143.
[33] Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 159. Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China', 144. Boomgaard, 'Human Capital, Slavery and Low Rates of Economic and Population Growth in Indonesia', 88-89. Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare', 490. Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, 'Introduction', in *Bonded Labour and Dept in the Indian Ocean World*, edited by Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2013), 3.
[34] Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare', 490. Hägerdal, 'The Slaves of Timor', 20-21.

dependency.[35] However, debt-servitude was also utilised as a form of criminal punishment for crimes ranging from sexual impropriety or adultery to other breaches of social norms.[36] In many locations – including the Philippines – historians have identified both milder and harsher forms of bondage according to the nature and origin of the debt.

Debt is thus integral to our understanding of how pre-hispanic Philippine communities operated. It structured relationships of power and authority as well as systems of labour organisation. As Anthony Reid has argued, the key to understanding the varying forms of slavery and debt servitude in Southeast Asia lies in understanding the 'characteristically Southeast Asian acceptance of mutual obligation between high and low, or creditor and debtor'.[37] Reid also argues for a distinction between 'closed' slave systems, where societies practised debt servitude and yet lacked a developed monetary system, and 'open' slave systems, which usually involved the capture and sale of individuals.[38] Moreover, he describes the sixteenth-century Philippines as being 'transitional' between these two systems – between a society that was based on mutual obligation and debt servitude and one where individuals were sold as chattel or commodities.[39] This transition is supported by the archaeological record. Junker found that the Philippines underwent an increased militarisation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as evidenced through increased metals production and the construction of defensive fortifications. She argues that this indicates increased raiding, competition and warfare between different polities which was likely propelled by expanding long-distance trading networks in the archipelago as well as the need for increased control over labour.[40]

Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, when the Spanish arrived, the Philippine archipelago was a tumultuous place, where multiple types of slavery, debt servitude and mutual obligation existed side-by-side, upholding the dominance of the *datu* leadership and reflecting the transitional state between a 'closed' and 'open' slave society. Spanish ethnographic sources from the sixteenth century reflect the complexity of different types of servitude and dependence experienced within the archipelago at this moment in time.[41] To establish a simplified typology within this complex system, Scott

[35] Hägerdal, 'The Slaves of Timor', 20-21.
[36] Campbell and Stanziani, 'Introduction', 4
[37] Reid, 'Introduction', 8.
[38] Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 156-159.
[39] Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 163-164.
[40] Junker, 'Warrior Burials', 43-48
[41] Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 363-364. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 298-300. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Loarca, 'Relación de las Yslas Filipinas', *B&R*, Vol. 5, 136-144. Plasencia, 'Customs of the Tagalogs', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 164-176. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, Núm. 16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 2, Núm. 9.

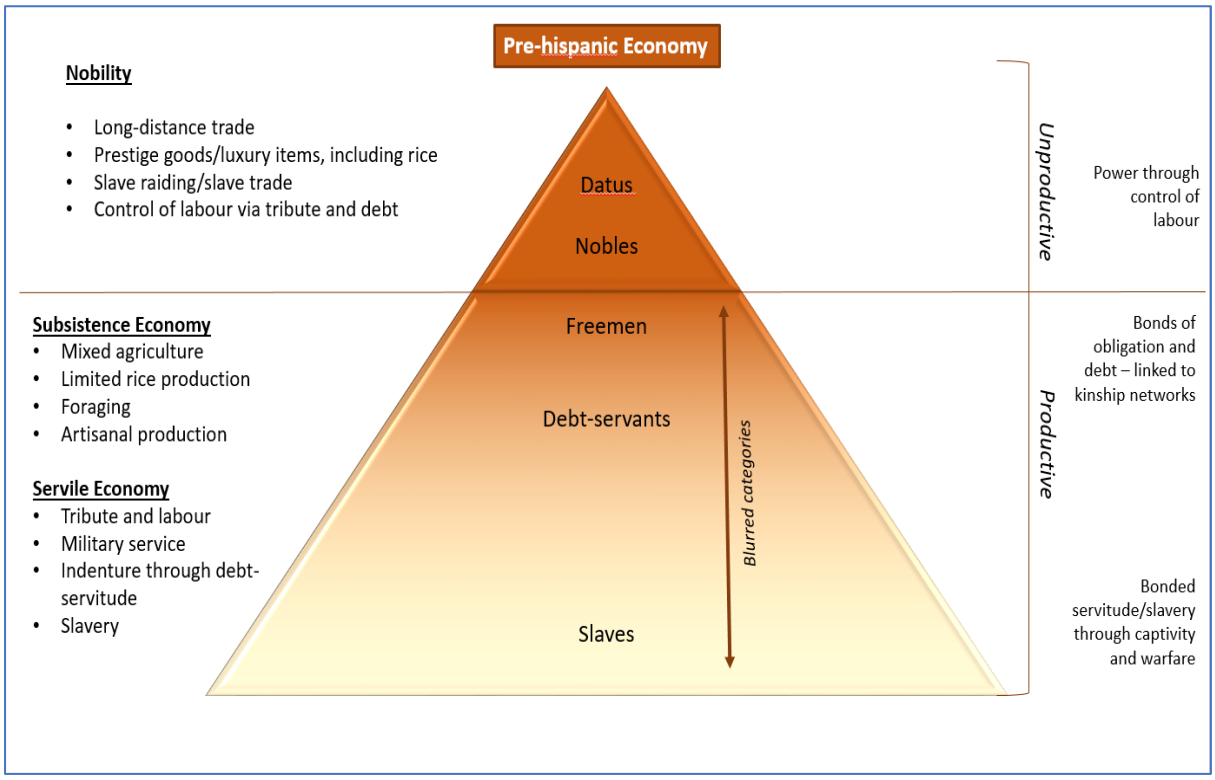
distinguishes between those who were debt servants who nonetheless had some degree of freedom and those who were closer to chattel slaves and could be bought and sold. In the first category – known as *alipin namamahay* in Luzon – debt servants typically occupied their own house and land and paid their debts through a designated amount of labour time. The amount of time owed to a master varied widely, and thus Spanish observers often talked of 'half-slaves' and 'quarter-slaves'.[42] Some servants in this category could commute their labour into tribute in the form of agricultural products. Others were allowed to serve in military service – either as oarsmen on raids or as foot soldiers – and even received rewards for their participation. Still others did not perform field labour, but provided other kinds of labour for their masters, such as construction work, and might pay tribute in the form of goods, usually rice or textiles. By contrast, the second category of slave – known as *alipin sa gigilid* in Luzon – typically lived in their master's house in a state of dependency. They also performed differing degrees of labour – a combination of agricultural and domestic work – with some days off for themselves. While both categories of slave could technically work their way out of service, this second category included slaves who were captured in raids and those who could be sold or exchanged as chattel.[43] Junker argues that the relationships of dependency that existed between *datus* and *alipins* were also one of mutual obligation – that a *datu* was obligated to provide a degree of protection and economic security in return for the tribute and labour provided by commoners.[44]

By the late-sixteenth century, the complex and decentralised political economy of lowland Philippine communities was based on an internal economy where labour and debt reinforced the hierarchical bonds of baranganic communities. But it was also shaped by an external economy which focussed on trading networks and slave raiding as a means of extending power and control. Debt was fundamental to the fabric of pre-hispanic societies at the advent of the Spanish arrival in 1565. Spanish colonial authorities stepped into this political economy with their own needs for labour and immediately began the process of establishing local networks of authority and control. Since they relied so heavily on the co-option and support of powerful *datus* like Lakandula and Macapagal, the Spanish consequently assimilated their pre-existing structures of power and vassalage. Despite this, the continuation of former practices of debt servitude and their integration into new colonial labour regimes became a source of contestation among colonial officials throughout the seventeenth century. At the heart of

[42] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 299. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28.
[43] AGPR, Francisco Ignacio Alzina, Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas. Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 363-364. Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 298-300. 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93. Loarca, 'Relación de las Yslas Filipinas', *B&R*, Vol. 5, 136-144. Plasencia, 'Customs of the Tagalogs', *B&R*, Vol. 7, 164-176. Scott, '*Oripun* and *Alipin* in the Sixteenth Century Philippines', 138-155. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 118-120.
[44] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 130.

these debates were competing visions over the nature of colonial rule and the duty of the colonial state to its subjects.

Figure 1: Pre-hispanic economy of the Philippines



Debt and the Colonial Labour Economy

Very early on in the history of the Spanish empire, restrictions were placed on the use of *indio* labour. The enslavement of indigenous peoples was formally abolished by a series of royal decrees beginning in 1526, long before the Spanish took possession of any territory in the Philippines.[45] These decrees declared it unlawful to enslave any *indio* regardless of whether or not the Spanish had engaged in just war against their people. Following the famous interventions of theologians and missionaries such as Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de las Casas, this imperial policy was intended as a means of curtailing the excesses of Spanish conquest. At the same time, these debates around indigenous slavery also had wider consequences for the organisation of *indio* labour. The New Laws of 1542 stipulated that all indigenous labour was to be freely contracted and all *indios* were to be paid for the

[45] Sherman, *Forced Native Labor*, 11. Hidalgo Nuchera, '¿Esclavitud o liberación?', 61-63. Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 216-230. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 18-26. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 215-221.

work they performed. The aim was to curb the exploitation of *indio* vassals particularly by *encomenderos*.[46]

While these debates took place prior to the colonisation of the Philippines and centred on experiences in New Spain – where the brutality of mass enslavement drove early colonial expansion – they nonetheless reverberated within Southeast Asia decades afterwards. Royal decrees were issued early and frequently, emphasising the inalienable freedom of indigenous subjects of the King and establishing the legal precedents for new colonial labour regimes to operate as voluntary waged labour.[47] Yet, the widespread existence of indigenous forms of slavery and debt servitude made the implementation of these decrees problematic, if not impossible. In particular, it was unclear whether Philippine *indios* were also prohibited from holding slaves as they had done previously. Moreover, the existence of an established system of debt servitude made it possible for Spaniards to flaunt the specifics of the decree particularly in the first decades of the Spanish presence, and many Spaniards were said to have received indigenous slaves from local elites or engaged in debt bondage themselves.[48] More importantly, as chapter one has demonstrated, the Spanish lacked hegemony over large parts of the archipelago and so their jurisprudence meant very little to those outside of their control.

At the heart of these debates was the role that the indigenous elites played in facilitating a transition to colonial rule within Philippine communities. To assert the fundamental liberty of indigenous subjects of the King would ultimately require breaking the established bonds of servitude that

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[46] Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 3. Reséndez, 20. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor*, 85-152.

[47] 1585: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 325v-326r. 1594: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fol. 65r. 1608: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 26r-26v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 28v-30r. 1609: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 83r-85r. 1639: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 122v-123r. 1656: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 87v-88v. 1660: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 190r-192r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 192r-194r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 6, Fols. 261v-262r. 1662: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 23v-44r. 1677: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fols. 246r-255v. 1679: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 276r-277r. 1696: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fol. 209r. 1697: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 26r-26v. See also Appendix 2.

[48] Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 21-23. The extent to which Spaniards themselves were engaged in the direct enslavement of Philippine *indios* during the seventeenth century is as yet unclear. Although seventeenth century Manila has been referred to by a recent historian as 'an emporium for slaves', very limited quantitative evidence is provided to support this assertion. By the 1620s, as Seijas argues, the city held approximately 8,000 indigenous slaves, 2,000 foreign slaves, 'in addition to an untold number of Muslim slaves'. However, she does not explain whether these slaves were owned by Spaniards or other Philippine *indios*, and this is also unclear from the sources she cites. See Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 33-36. Scott, by contrast, argued that the official ban on Spaniards holding Philippine *indios* as slaves during the 1580s was largely upheld by Spanish residents of Manila, and that the vast majority of Spanish-owned slaves in Manila after this time were imported from elsewhere in Asia, primarily through the Portuguese trade of South Asian slaves from Bengal and Malabar. See Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 18-35.

underpinned most Philippine communities. Some reformers – most notably missionaries in this early period – nevertheless campaigned strongly for all slavery to be abolished in the Philippines.[49] A clarification was sought by the royal officials in Manila in the 1580s about whether the enslavement of Philippine *indios* by other *indios* was legal.[50] A suggested solution put forward in 1586 would have seen the gradual phasing out of indigenous forms of slavery, with all children born free and no new slaves to be accepted as legal. But this proposal was never implemented, largely because of the weight of evidence to suggest that Philippine *indios* themselves would rebel heavily against the implementation of such a proposal and the Spanish presence in the islands would, therefore, be placed at risk.[51]

This same dynamic continued to characterise the new colonial labour systems established by the Spanish over the course of the next century – with royal decree after royal decree asserting the principles set out in the New Laws and royal officials in Manila – both secular and religious – continually arguing the exceptionalism of the Philippine case and the need for exemption from these royal provisions. More often than not, the practicalities of administering the colonial frontier outweighed the desires of even the most idealistic reformers to implement royal decrees. In practice, Spanish control at the community level was too weak, limited and reliant on local elites to affect a wholesale reform of the local political economy. And so, debt and unfree labour continued to feature heavily within colonial labour structures.

Indeed, debt was written into the very core of the colonial economy. A definitive royal decree issued in 1609 established once and for all that no labour could be performed by *indios* under these systems unless it was of their own free will and adequately remunerated.[52] Despite this, throughout the century we witness a reluctance on behalf to the colonial authorities to pay the wages owed to the *indios*. This situation of chronic debt to indigenous labourers has often been explained as arising from the Spaniards' own shortages in currency.[53] However, it was also evidently a way of containing the spread of currency into indigenous communities to keep debt at the forefront of local economies. To

[49] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 403A. De la Costa, 'Church and State in the Philippines', 314-335. Hidalgo Nuchera, '¿Esclavitud o liberación?', 61-74. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 18-26. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 258-259. Borges Morán, 'Aspectos característicos de la evangelización de Filipinas', 309-310. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 21. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 241.
[50] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 403A.
[51] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 12. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 21-26.
[52] Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 149-150. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 241-243. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 114, 118-119.
[53] Nicholas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines*, (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1976), 51. Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 193.

truly implement the royal decrees that regulated the use of indigenous labour would have required replacing a system based on debt servitude with one based on waged labour. However, flooding Philippine communities with silver would have the consequence of undermining the leadership of the *datu* elite and threatening the very power structures that the Spaniards relied upon for labour mobilisation in the first place. Therefore, for much of the century, Spanish officials attempted to limit and control this transition to a currency-based economy within Philippine *barangays*. A number of indigenous observers commented on this situation. For instance, in 1691, the *principales* of Cagayan province reported that the flow of silver was always out of the province towards Manila, where the *alcaldes mayores*, religious orders, vecinos and *encomenderos* sent their wealth to purchase goods and wares for their houses. Even *indio* leaders were known to do this, rather than spending the money in their own province.[54]

The Spanish desire to control currency is evident when looking at the history of the tribute system. In theory, tribute should have helped to introduce a silver-based economy into the archipelago, since tribute payers were obliged to pay in a quantity of *reales*. Yet, tribute was almost always paid in kind, reflecting the lack of a widespread currency system. Tribute was initially established at eight *reales* per tribute[55] by the first governor of the Philippines, Miguel López de Legazpi, and later rose to ten *reales*.[56] Legazpi valued the eight *reales* as equivalent to 100 *gantas* of rice, 1 piece of cotton measuring 2 *brazas* by 1 *braza*, 1 *maes* of gold and 1 chicken each year.[57] Yet, very quickly the substitution of monetary value for in-kind products led to great extortions in tribute collections, owing in part to the fact that gold was scarce and this part of the tribute needed to be substituted for alternative goods. Tribute collection resulted in wide variations in the quantities of goods that were considered a sufficient substitution for the eight *reales*. In 1581, Diego de Zárate reported that during the process of collecting tribute, the *encomenderos* would regularly extort more tribute from the *indios* than was legal.[58]

The response to this situation was to allow *indios* to pay half of the tribute in specie and the other half in kind.[59] However, shortly after the introduction of this reform, the vecinos in Manila complained that this encouraged the *indios* not to labour so hard to produce an agricultural surplus for the Spanish to

[54] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[55] A tribute often represented an entire family of four or more people.
[56] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 31. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 166-168.
[57] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 31. Hidalgo Nuchera notes that there were slight differences in how tribute payments were calculated across different documents produced in the late sixteenth century. See Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 142-144.
[58] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 38.
[59] Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 477.

live off.[60] By 1593, the governor Gómez Perez Dasmariñas conceded that the new order for tribute to be paid in specie had not worked. The islands had suffered from great shortages in agricultural products, which the governor said originated from the preference among *indios* towards idleness rather than work. He believed that, without being forced to work to pay their tribute, the *indios* engaged in drunken acts of debauchery and would wander for many months at a time away from their homes into the hills, abandoning their fields. The governor concluded that there was a need to control the labour time of the *indios* in order to keep them obedient to the Spanish Crown and the means by which they paid tribute was essential to this.[61] Echoing these sentiments, the Cabildo of Manila argued in 1603 that the change towards collecting tribute in specie had resulted in prices of goods escalating – doubling in just six years – as the *indios* refused to work. They preferred to purchase Chinese clothes and goods rather than make their own products.[62]

Thus, the Spanish learnt early on that by introducing a silver-based economy into Philippine communities, they were directly challenging the established social order which had previously relied on debt as the means of organising labour.[63] This situation was similarly carried through to the *repartimiento* and *bandala* systems. While these were both systems of compulsory labour, they were at least in theory legally differentiated from slavery or serfdom in that the labour was remunerated.[64]

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[60] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 31. Major inflation in prices shortly after colonisation was noted by a number of commentators, see for example: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180.

[61] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 46.

[62] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 44. It should be noted that the role of silver in the colonial economy functioned very differently in the Philippines than in other parts of the empire, where the widespread introduction of silver currency helped compel indigenous communities into work in order to pay their tribute and participate in new commercial markets. See for example: Raquel Gil Montero, 'Migración y tributación en los Andes: Chichas y Lípez a fines del siglo XVII,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2013), 58. Since the silver supply was monopolised by the Chinese community of Manila, as discussed in the preceding chapter, there is strong archival evidence that very little silver filtered through to the provinces of the Philippines and thus pre-hispanic models of debt-servitude remained the predominant principal of economic organisation within most communities.

[63] Undoubtedly, while a return to the payment of tribute in kind helped to keep Philippine communities productive, it exacerbated widespread extortion and profiteering. In 1623, Fr. Juan de Valmaseda noted that there were great variances in how tribute was calculated and collected in different parts of the islands, resulting in what he believed was an overpayment of tribute by more than 200,000 ducados each year. Since the price of goods were variable, the collection of tribute was also subject to abuse. In some regions the *indios* were paying just eight *reales* each, while in other areas they were paying twelve or sixteen *reales*. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 55. In 1627, the Dominican Fr. Melchor de Manzano reported that the *indios* of Bataan were paying much more tribute than the Pampangans, with greater quantities of rice being taken from them than elsewhere. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 130. Meanwhile in Cayagan, the four *reales* that the *indios* were supposed to pay in specie was in fact worth sixteen because of the unjust prices applied to the rice that the *indios* sold to the Spanish. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 133. Most of these extortionate measures also had the consequence of keeping *indios* in a situation of constant debt to the colonial state.

[64] Luis Alonso Álvarez, 'Repartimientos y economía en las islas filipinas bajo dominio español, 1565-1815', in Margarita Menegus (ed.), *El repartimiento forzoso de mercancías en México, Perú y Filipinas*, (México, D.F: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora Centre de Estudios sobre la Universidad, UNAM, 2000), 170-215. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 121-122. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the*

Yet, local level corruption combined with chronic shortages in currency and severe debts held by the Manila treasury meant that few, if any, indigenous labourers were ever remunerated for their service.[65] In 1616, the Augustinian Fr. Vicente Sepúlveda argued that the amount of labour the *indios* were expected to undertake was almost unbelievable. In Pampanga, the Crown owed the *indios* 71,705 pesos for rice, wood and other goods. These goods were usually bought at the lowest price found anywhere in the islands.[66] In 1620, the Franciscan Fr. Pedro de San Pablo conducted a similar investigation into Franciscan provinces and found the Crown owed the *indios* of Laguna de Bay, Tayabas, Tondo and Bulacan 524,789 pesos for seven years of service, while the *indios* of Camarines were owed 22,023 pesos for the same period.[67] In 1658, the attorney Juan de Bolivar y Cruz warned the treasury that he believed the debt owed to Pampangan labourers alone equalled 300,000 pesos.[68]

Furthermore, the common practice of selling rice back to communities at inflated prices kept debt levels high while also compelling communities to keep producing more rice because they could not afford to purchase it at the market. This type of extortionate behaviour was noted throughout the century.[69] In 1580, two Franciscan friars commented that rice was purchased at much lower prices than it was valued, and then sold back to the same communities at much higher prices.[70] A century later, this situation had not changed. In 1683, Bishop Ginés Barrientos wrote that, under the *bandala* system, *indios* were obliged to sell what they did not have and were then forced to purchase rice for two or three times more than what they sold it for. In many cases, they were not paid, were paid late or paid in kind with goods that were of such poor quality they were not fit for use. Moreover, the *repartimientos* were not merely of rice, but also included all of the fruits of the land, placing a great burden on the *indios*.[71]

Thus, although colonial labour regimes and economic structures were on paper 'new' and less exploitative of indigenous people, in reality, they relied on the continuation and extension of old systems of labour and debt servitude. Possibly the greatest consequence of the new colonial labour regime was that it forced *indios* further into debt. Unable to meet their obligations to the state, many

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Colonial Philippines, 51. Phelan, 'Free Versus Compulsory Labor', 192-193. McCarthy, 'The Yards at Cavite', 149-162.

[65] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.

[66] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 30. Similar problems had been witnessed in the provinces of Pintados, Ilocos and Tagalos, where the King owed 41,874 pesos.

[67] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28.

[68] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50. See also: De la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History*, 56-57.

[69] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 122. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 81, Núm. 109. Hidalgo Nuchera, 'La encomienda en Filipinas', 479-480.

[70] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13.

[71] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 10.

indios were forced to sell themselves into slavery.[72] The Augustinians commented on this as early as 1581, noting that the tribute levied on the *indios* was so great that many accrued debts to one another so that they might meet their payments. The debt increased regularly each month, and many *indios* found themselves unable to pay it back meaning that they and their children were enslaved.[73] Meanwhile, in 1620 Fr. San Pablo reported that in the provinces of Laguna de Bay, Tayabas and Bulacan, more than 473 *indios* had been forced into slavery as a result of their debts to the Crown, while 704 *indios* had died during the labour drafts and 1322 had fled into the mountains. In Camarines province, more than 271 had been forced into slavery, 438 had died and 2665 had fled.[74]

Servicios Personales and Informal Systems of Labour and Debt Servitude

While the situation described above upheld Spanish power within colonial settlements, not all royal officials were supportive of the state of labour relations in the Philippines. In the 1650s, a new group of secular reformers emerged within the audiencia of Manila, led by the senior oidor Don Salvador Gómez de Espinosa y Estrada. He is principally remembered within the archives for having written a tract called the *Discurso Parenético* in 1657, which became a source of great controversy in Manila for its strong condemnation of the widespread abuses occurring in Philippine communities.[75] The *Discurso Parenético* investigated the central role of unfree and illegal labour regimes within Philippine communities, which Gómez de Espinosa described as a form of 'slavery, violence and tyranny' which contravened the natural liberty of indigenous people.[76] The type of labour described by Gómez de Espinosa was typically labelled in colonial documents as *servicios personales* and was roundly condemned by royal officials in Madrid as a gross violation of Spanish jurisprudence which respected the personal liberty of all indigenous vassals of the King. *Servicios personales*, or the forced requisitioning of indigenous labour for the personal advantage of *encomenderos* and other Spanish officials, were prohibited very early on in the history of the Spanish empire, first in 1536 and then

[72] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 81, Núm. 109. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 30. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 43. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 30. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 117-118.
[73] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 18.
[74] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28.
[75] Salvador Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético* (1657), reprinted in James S. Cummins and Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines: The Discurso Parenético of Gómez de Espinosa', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1-2 (1975), 148-203. The original copy is held in the library of the Archivo General de Indias, Biblioteca I.A. 43/28. There is a second copy held by the Vatican Film Library – ARSI, Phil. 11, Doc. 88 – however the pages in this copy are out of order. Cummins and Cushner additionally note two other copies of the Discurso in the priory of Santo Domingo, Quezon City, Philippines and in the Archivo General de la Nación (México). Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 121-123.
[76] 'Esclavitud, la violencia y tiranía.' Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 148.

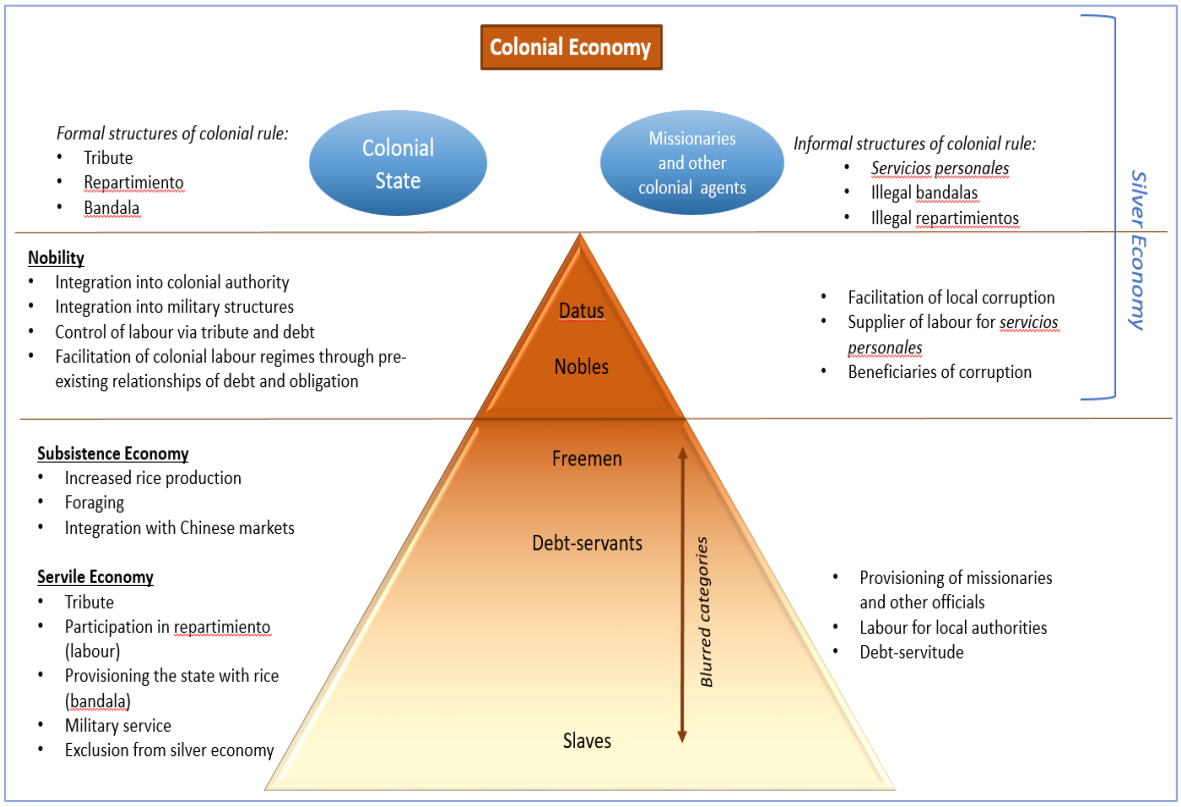
again with the publication of the New Laws in 1542.[77] Philippine *indios* should have benefited from these early reforms; however, evidence from throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrates that these decrees were flaunted time and again.[78] Thus, decades after their prohibition, *servicios personales* were a persistent reality in many Philippine communities and missionaries, *encomenderos*, royal officials and indigenous elites alike all relied upon them for both the imposition and continued functioning of colonial rule at the *barangay* level.[79] Gómez de Espinosa's work exposed the tension between the theoretical liberty of indigenous subjects within Spanish jurisprudence and the realities of the Philippine frontier. At the heart of this tension were the indigenous elite, who continued to operate the same structures of kinship-based debt and obligation.

The *Discurso Parenético* describes clearly how pre-existing structures underpinned the widespread exploitation of *indio* labour within Spanish settlements. Gómez de Espinosa explains carefully that *servicios personales* would not be possible without the participation and sanction of indigenous elites and the existence of a highly structured community hierarchy reliant on debt servitude. *Cabezas de barangay* occupied the highest position within local communities and were, alongside their offspring, exempt from participating in the *bandalas* and *repartimientos*. Instead, they occupied political and military posts. Below the *cabezas* were the *principales* and their offspring, who typically participated in both the *bandala* and *repartimiento* systems but were also rewarded with public, political and military positions. At the bottom were the commoners who not only served in woodcutting and other labour drafts but also as oarsmen, porters and in all of the other menial, low and mechanical jobs.[80] Each *cabeza* had under his care thirty tributes, known as a *cabanza*. The *cabeza* was responsible for collecting tribute from the *cabanza* to pass on to the *alcalde mayor* and the *encomendero*. But Gómez de Espinosa notes that the *cabanza* was also the means by which missionaries and royal officials accessed *indio* labour. The *cabezas* and *principales* not only took advantage of the sweat and labour of these *indios*, but they also sold them and managed them 'as if they were their masters and absolute lords'.[81] If someone had the need to cut, cart or carve wood to build a house, he would make a contract

[77] José Miranda, 'La función económica del encomendero en los orígenes del régimen colonial, Nueva España (1525-1531)', *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, Sexta época (1939-1966), Tomo II (1946), 421-422. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor*, 85-152. Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, 'Condiciones del trabajo de repartimiento indígena en la Nueva Galicia en el siglo XVII', *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (1989), 455. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 137-138, 232.
[78] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, 233-243. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 114.
[79] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 64. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 4. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 105. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 58. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.
[80] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 189-190.
[81] 'Los venden, y conducen a la manera, que si fuesen dueños, y señores absolutos.' Ibid., 190.

with the *cabeza* and they would agree on the price. The *cabeza* then provided his *cabanza* to do the labour and they participated despite never receiving a *real* of the agreed price, which the *cabeza* kept all for himself. Gómez de Espinosa said that the rule of the *cabezas* was one of 'despotic domination over goods, body and treasury'.[82]

Figure 2: Colonial Economy of the Philippines



These structures within Philippine communities thus facilitated the extension of *servicios personales*. Missionaries were chief among those accused of abusing *indio* labour within the *Discurso Parenético*. The religious orders routinely made demands on labour time, asking *indios* to labour in the construction and repair of church buildings without any limits or regulation.[83] Young, unmarried women were made to weed the patios of the churches and water the vegetable patches, to sow seeds and sweep the churches, to gather flowers to adorn the churches and to go from town to town carrying rice to be placed in the church granaries. All of this was done despite the fact that there were sacristans designated to assist in the churches.[84] Additionally, missionaries engaged in illegal requisitioning of goods, especially rice which was seen as a kind of compulsory alms that in some

[82] 'Tienen imperio, y dominación despótica sobre bienes, cuerpo, y azienda [hacienda].' Ibid., 190.
[83] Ibid., 160. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 105.
[84] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 105

provinces was called *Pasalamat*. Gómez de Espinosa described the missionaries as standing at the church door and asking all those who arrived for prayer or service to make a contribution of rice. Additionally, on Fridays, Saturdays and on holy days, *indios* were obliged to provide the missionaries with fish and eggs. Two houses were chosen in the town each week to pay two *reales* – one for fish and one for eggs – and if they did not pay then they were punished severely. They were also asked to provide chickens for ordinary and extraordinary expenses, including visits from guests and from superiors. Finally, some missionaries were implicated in extracting goods in order to engage in profiteering and trade. Indios were forced to contribute blankets, talingas, handkerchiefs, quilts, shawls, bolts of silk and cotton, wax, civet, cachumba, rice, coconut oil, lampotes and other fabrics, among many other things.[85]

Although frequently accused of exploiting indigenous labour, missionaries were not the only ones engaged in these kinds of activities. *Indios* frequently laboured as porters for *alcaldes mayores* and other travellers.[86] In 1580, two Franciscans pointed out that the Spaniards in the islands had become accustomed to using *indios* as oarsmen even in instances where they could navigate by sail. They behaved as cruel tyrants towards these *indios*, whipping them, calling them dogs and other insults and taking them by force, paying them little or nothing.[87] Gómez de Espinosa reported that on journeys between the provinces and Manila, *indios* typically transported clothes, provisions and other luggage. All the goods would be placed on hammocks and litters carried on their shoulders. These journeys put additional strain on the villages they passed through, which had to provide the travellers with food. When a visit was made to inspect the provinces, the officials demanded provisions of wood, water, vegetables, lemons, tomatoes, chillies, onions, salt, vinegar and other items. If they failed to provide any of these items, they were cruelly whipped and punished rigorously.[88] In Cagayan, the *indios* described being forced to constantly travel up and down the river to bring goods and news from one presidio to another throughout the province. One of these routes of communication, which linked the town of Cabagan with the fort in Itugud, was only possible via a very fast and rocky stream. The rapid currents meant that the *indios* were unable to travel in anything but small vessels which they carted along the riverbank by hand. Despite all their efforts, many times these boats were lost, swept away by the force of the streams and broken on the rocks.[89]

[85] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 159-163.
[86] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19.
[87] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13.
[88] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 180-182.
[89] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

Those who refused these labours would be subjected to cruel whippings, forced to cut their hair or placed in stocks and irons or in private gaols built for the purpose of punishing *indios*.[90] In 1679, the Augustinian Recollects were accused of having hanged an *indio* of out of spite for being unable to pay a fine of a hundred pesos.[91] The result was that *indios* lived in fear of the priests, *alcaldes mayores* and *encomenderos* and, although they were asked frequently during inspections of the provinces if they were mistreated, none dared to speak up.[92] Gómez de Espinosa concluded that *servicios personales* could not 'be free donations but compelled exactions, not voluntary alms but violent extortions'.[93]

The involvement of indigenous elites in the orchestration of *servicios personales* may help to explain the unwillingness of *indios* to speak out to colonial authorities since this type of exploitation sat firmly within the logic of existing debt servitude relationships within communities. This was certainly the opinion of the attorney Juan de Quesada Hurtado de Mendoza who recommended in 1630 that the audiencia organise an inspection to determine whether the *repartimiento* and *bandala* were taking place appropriately. He said that such an inspection would help to place at liberty some of the *indios* that were being held as slaves by *principales*. While some of these slaves were hereditary, others had been made into slaves through the loan of rice or other goods. Hurtado de Mendoza argued that by these means, parents, children and an entire generation had been placed in servitude. He noted that even though he and his predecessors had put a lot of effort into tackling the injustice of slavery, they had not been able to free many. He believed that this was because when an owner heard that his slave wanted to go and plea for liberty, he would capture and imprison him and punish him in a thousand ways. Hurtado de Mendoza called the *indios* 'a cruel people' and believed that the King should step in to resolve the situation.[94]

Although reformers like Hurtado de Mendoza failed to tackle the underlying structures of pre-hispanic slavery within Philippine communities, many royal officials both in Manila and Madrid attempted to control and sanction the abuses committed by Spanish missionaries and officials through *servicios personales*. Between 1575 and 1700 dozens of decrees were issued dealing with the treatment of *indios* by royal officials and missionaries (see Appendix 2).[95] In the 1650s, two royal officials – the *oidor* Don Salvador Gómez de Espinosa y Estrada and the attorney Don Juan de Bolivar y Cruz – made a

[90] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 170.
[91] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 49.
[92] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19.
[93] 'Y estas no podían ser erogaciones libres sino exacciones apremiadas, no limosnas voluntarias sino extorciones violentas.' Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 160.
[94] 'Que son cruelísima gente unos contra otros.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 4, Núm. 17.
[95] I have located eighty different decrees covering various aspects of the treatment of *indios* by royal officials and missionaries. See Appendix 2.

concerted effort to abolish *servicios personales* in the archipelago. While Gómez de Espinosa's *Discurso Parenético* was the centrepiece of this effort, the majority of his findings were repeated by Bolivar y Cruz in supporting letters sent to the Crown in 1657 and 1658.[96] The two officials argued that *indios* were, by nature, free and that this freedom was protected by the Catholic faith and by their incorporation into the Spanish Crown. For this reason, they could not and should never be forced to perform any service against their will.[97] Towards the end of the *Discurso Parenético*, Gómez de Espinosa reasserted the provision in the New Laws which stated that all indigenous labour must be free and paid, and that payment should be made directly into the hands of the labourers themselves, and not into the hands of the *cabezas* or *principales*. He additionally advocated for strict regulation on the hours worked, the seasonal timing of labour drafts and the conditions experienced by *indios* while labouring for the Crown.[98]

While the efforts of these two reformers were received well by the Council of Indies in Madrid, this was not the case in Manila, where the publishing of the *Discurso* provoked great outrage and protestation, particularly from the religious orders. The Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fr. Rodrigo de Cardena thought the book was dangerous and unfairly attacked the goodwill and aims of the missionary orders. The Franciscan Fr. Francisco Solier openly attacked the *Discurso* from the pulpit, warning that it could cause great damage to the project of conversion and he suggested that Gómez de Espinosa was doing the devil's work.[99] An anonymous pamphlet argued that the *Discurso* was an example of 'theological error' and was 'intolerable and scandalous'. The author of this pamphlet cautioned that Gómez de Espinosa could become the next Las Casas and that the information contained within the *Discurso* could fall into the hands of the enemies of Spain – particularly Makassar, China and Siam – and be used against them.[100] Gómez de Espinosa was greatly disheartened by the reaction of the priests and he wrote to Madrid to say that he believed that their attacks had overshadowed the original intentions of the work. In the wake the uproar, he agreed to gather up all of the copies of the *Discurso* and hand them to the prior of the convent of Santo Domingo, who

[96] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 43.
[97] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 51.
[98] Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 200-202.
[99] Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 138. A decade after this attack, Fr. Francisco Solier was publicly accused of violently abusing four *indios* in Sampaloc, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5.
[100] Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 137-143. The author of the pamphlet refers to the way in which Bartolomé Las Casas was used by imperial rivals to undermine the reputation and authority of the Spanish empire. See: Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

organised for them to be burned on a pyre.[101] For good measure, the religious orders also made a formal complaint against the tract before the Inquisition in New Spain.[102] Unfortunately, by the time letters of support for the *Discurso* from the Council of Indies reached Manila,[103] Gómez de Espinosa had already left to take up a position in Guatemala where he died shortly afterwards.[104] Although many of his efforts to institute reform were carried on by Bolivar y Cruz, who succeeded him as oidor in the audiencia, there is very little evidence to suggest that any real reform was made to the *servicios personales* or to the ongoing practice of debt servitude within Philippine communities.

Labour Rebellions and the Contingent Accommodation of the Philippine Elite

Nevertheless, the efforts of Gómez de Espinosa and Bolivar y Cruz undoubtedly contributed to the publication of the royal decree abolishing all forms of indigenous slavery in the Philippines in 1679. Whereas in the case of the *Discurso Paranético* opponents of reform had been able to stifle the contents through political maneuvering and the use of the inquisition, this time they had to answer directly to the King. Their explanations given for maintaining debt servitude in the Philippines provide us with the most coherent explanation for its importance both to the economic life of the archipelago and the ongoing survival of Spanish colonial rule. In making their reply to the King in 1682, the City of Manila and the religious orders argued that slavery was a part of the spiritual and temporal life of the indigenous people of the islands. They expressed grave concerns that if the slaves of the *principales* were liberated, there would be a shortage in farm workers and a lack of hands to cultivate rice and other crops and to work on the livestock estates, which could result in severe shortages of food and other necessities. Prices would rise, placing pressure on local communities. The potential was for a generalised famine across the archipelago, which, in turn, would weaken the Spanish defences since many would die and they would be open to invasion from surrounding enemies, which could result in a total loss of the archipelago. They furthermore feared that the *principales* would simply abandon the Spanish territories to go and live in enemy kingdoms among the Borneans, Sulus and Maguindanaos and so it was necessary to abandon the royal decree to avoid a great revolt. A confederacy between native elites and surrounding enemies would be enough to completely defeat them and the Spanish would lose the Philippines altogether.[105]

[101] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 51.
[102] Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 143-145.
[103] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 51.
[104] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 410A. Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 146.
[105] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28.

That Philippine communities would turn to rebellion against the colonial state is in many ways unsurprising. Throughout the century, many observers commented on the disastrous social consequences of the labour regimes imposed by the new colonial state. As early as 1582, widespread famine was experienced in the Pampanga region as Pampangans struggled to feed themselves while also meeting the demands of the *bandala*, *repartimiento* and tribute systems. The Bishop of Manila, Fr. Domingo de Salazar reported that the labour levies had forced many *indios* away from their fields for months at a time. Some of the labourers died and those who returned to their fields were exhausted and unable to produce a sufficient harvest. Consequently, the region suffered a major shortage in rice that year and many *indios* died of starvation, with more than a thousand deaths in one *encomienda* alone.[106] Twenty years later, in 1602, Governor Francisco Tello reported that famine and death from starvation were still widespread in the Pampanga region.[107]

Widespread famine was a natural consequence arising from the Spanish imposition of taxation and forced requisitioning of food from communities while also recruiting able-bodied men into lengthy periods of labour away from their regular agricultural duties. Woodcutting, in particular, required thousands of men to work in forests at any one time. Labour was mostly sourced from the Tagalog and Pampangan regions, but levies also occurred in the Visayas and Camarines at particular points in time. Labour drafts were seasonal and woodcutting occurred in mobile camps established within the forests. Severe conditions within the forests led to death, flight, desertion and ultimately rebellion.[108] In 1680, a group of Pampangan *principales* said that labourers in the forests often worked until they died and that the overseers 'treat us worse than slaves, beating us without mercy so that we work more than we have the strength for'.[109] The next largest areas of *indio* labour were shipbuilding and military service, both of which could result in terms of service lasting many months or even years. The main shipyards were established in Cavite as early as 1582, leading to the development of a vibrant port city with 1400 labourers working in the docks at any given time.[110] Secondary shipyards were also established at Oton, Camarines, Balayan, Lampon, Marinduque, Ibalon, Mindoro, Masbate, and Leyte,[111] and ships were periodically constructed in response to shipwrecks or shortages in available

[106] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. See also: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. De la Costa, 'Church and State in the Philippines', 314-316.
[107] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 31.
[108] McCarthy, 'The Yards at Cavite', 157-158.
[109] 'Los cabos a quienes se en carga el corte nos tratan peor que esclavos apaleándonos sin misericordia para que trabajemos más que lo que nuestras fuerças pueden alcansar.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22.
[110] McCarthy, 'The Yards at Cavite', 154-155.
[111] The majority of these were not permanent installations. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 38, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 32. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 7, Núm. 21. ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 110v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.

vessels. Pampangan *indios* served in military companies stationed all over the archipelago, while *indios* from other parts of the Philippines were regularly recruited into supporting extraordinary military expeditions involving thousands of indigenous soldiers.[112]

With the men away for months at a time, the women of the communities had to assume responsibility for agricultural work. Fr. Salazar described the wives of labourers weeping at having been 'left for dead'.[113] In 1619, the Franciscan Fr. Pedro de San Pablo related a story of an *india* from the province of Camarines being driven to infanticide out of desperation and over-work. Eight days after having given birth, this woman put a poisonous substance on her breasts so that the baby could not feed and to make it appear as if the baby had died of hunger. Her husband had been away from his family for such a long time and she did not want to have any more children because of the amount of work that it involved. She felt she was living in a worse condition than slaves who at least were given clothes and food.[114]

A further consequence of this situation was that *indios* also struggled to meet the requirements of the *bandala*. In 1658, the attorney Juan de Bolivar y Cruz conducted an investigation into the *bandala* in different provinces in the islands, finding that many communities could not meet their quotas for agricultural output due to a lack of labourers since many men were recruited to work in woodcutting or the shipyards.[115] In August 1657, a delegation of a hundred *india* women from the town of Apalit, Pampanga arrived at Bolivar y Cruz's house in Manila to present a petition asking to be relieved from the *bandala* that they had been asked to provide, which consisted of 871 *cavanes* of rice. They said they were unable to provide this amount because their harvests that year had been so lacking. In response, their *gobernadorcillo* had begun to hurry them and arrest and place in gaol their husbands, brothers and relatives, as well as widows and poor people. He also threatened to give fifty lashes to those who refused to contribute. They wanted to go to other towns to buy rice, but there was no one available for this kind of journey because many of their husbands were already serving in the woodcutting in the forests of Babuyan. Their poverty was so great that they were sustaining themselves and their children from tree roots and fruits of the forest because they had no rice. They humbly petitioned to be granted mercy and to be given a reprieve from the *bandala*. Having received this petition, the royal officials in Manila noted that the royal warehouses were very short on rice and that it was impossible not to requisition more to provision both Manila and Cavite. After the

[112] Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413.
[113] 'dejar a sus mugeres a la muerte.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180.
[114] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28.
[115] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50.

intervention of Bolivar y Cruz, a decree was issued saying that the *indios* needed to be paid for the goods they provided and that they should not be compelled into providing these services or subjected to any abuses. Additionally, the town of Apalit was excused from providing any more than 300 cabanes of rice for the *bandala* that year.[116]

In 1691, the *principales* of Cagayan wrote about the combined impacts that Spanish tribute and labour regimes had on their communities. They noted firstly that there was no silver in the province with which to pay the tribute that was being asked of them. Tribute collections were consequently regularly accompanied by whippings and beatings and some *indios* were imprisoned in the forts as punishment for their inability to pay. The leaders protested that 'even if they murdered us and tore us to pieces, it is impossible for most of us to pay [the tribute] because no one can give what they do not have'.[117] The use of force in the collection of tribute caused many Cagayanes to flee into the mountains or to other provinces, some leaving behind their wives and children. Meanwhile, those who stayed were forced into labour for Spanish and indigenous officials for up to a year at a time in order to make up for the tribute they could not pay. Families were torn apart by this situation, harvests were abandoned, and children were left without the means to provide for themselves. The Cagayanes concluded that many chose to abandon Spanish settlements altogether, fleeing into the mountains where they fought bitterly to maintain their liberty and independence.[118]

Although the new colonial labour systems fit within Southeast Asian traditions of servitude and obligation, communities did not automatically accept them, as some historians have suggested.[119] Indeed, many Philippine communities resisted the imposition of colonial labour regimes through rebellion and fugitivism. Flight away from Spanish controlled areas was the most commonly cited response of *indios* to the burdens imposed upon them by the colonial state.[120] In 1679, the attorney general Don Diego de Villatoro noted the widespread phenomenon of *indios* fleeing Spanish settlements and running away into the mountains. Villatoro believed that the greatest danger of this situation was that many *indios* who remained loyal to the Spaniards would see that those who fled led

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[116] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50.
[117] 'Aunque nos maten y desuellen, es imposible en los más de nosotros el pagarlo, porque ninguno puede dar lo que no tiene.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[118] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[119] Cummins and Cushner, 'Labor in the Colonial Philippines', 117-120.
[120] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 47. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 133. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 90. Gómez de Espinosa, *Discurso Parenético*, 159. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 89. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 90. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 145-146. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 25. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 29.

a freer and more licentious lifestyle.[121] Fleeing Spanish occupation whether by displacement or by choice, thousands thus chose to live autonomously in independent mountain communities. In 1667, Fr. Rodríguez reported that in the surrounds of Manila there was a greater number of Pampangans than in Pampanga. Although they had been asked on different occasions to return to their towns the *indios* would refuse. They would instead run away so that they could not be burdened as before.[122] In 1681, the Pampangan *principales* argued that the number of tributes in the province had fallen from 8,000 to 3,000 in the space of just fifteen years, 'because most have fled as they cannot suffer the continuous *repartimientos* and personal services in which we are occupied'.[123]

A number of large-scale rebellions were organised against the *repartimiento* and *bandala* throughout the century.[124] In 1649 a major revolt that extended across the Visayas was initially sparked by the imposition of a labour draft which would have sent thousands of Visayan *indios* to work in the shipyards of Cavite and forests of Pampanga. The revolt began in Palapag, Samar, when a *datu* name Sumoroy – formerly the castellan of the Spanish fort – thrust a spear into the chest of a Jesuit missionary. A few days later, the *indios* of the town gathered to eject the rest of the priests from the town and burnt down the church. This acted as a signal, and in towns along the coast of Ibabao *indios* rose up and burnt down their churches. The rebels retreated into the mountains, where they fortified themselves. Meanwhile, the rebellion extended across the Visayas to Camarines, Masbate, Cebú, Caraga, Iligan, northern Mindanao and Leyte.[125]

The most famous rebellion of the seventeenth century, however, began in the province of Pampanga in 1660. Up to that point, Pampangans had been considered the most loyal of all Philippine *indios*, serving in Spanish military contingents, provisioning the city of Manila through the *bandala* and providing the majority of labourers for Spanish shipbuilding and woodcutting expeditions.[126] Yet, the close relationship between the Pampangans and the colonial state came at a price. In October 1660, 330 *indios* engaged in woodcutting in the forests of Bulacan mutinied, taking up arms, setting fire to

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[121] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128.
[122] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 81, Núm. 109.
[123] 'Porque los más se huyen por no poder sufrir los continuos polos y serviçios personales en que nos ocupan.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22.
[124] One of the earliest such rebellions occurred in Leyte in 1601 and took two years to defeat. See Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 79-80. There was additionally another major rebellion in Pampanga in 1645, which acted as a precursor to later events. See: 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R,* Vol. 38, 97-98. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 71.
[125] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 101-128. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 411-413. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 89-90. ARSI, Phil 7. fols. 668-679.
[126] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 386-388. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 16-31.

their camp and electing the *maestre de campo* Don Francisco Maniago as their leader. They then marched to the town of Lubao in Pampanga, where they gathered support for their mutiny and sent messengers to the neighbouring provinces of Pangasinan and Ilocos to encourage other communities to join them.[127] Meanwhile, the mutineers set up blockades along all of the major waterways of Pampanga, to block trade from coming in or out of the province.

This rebellion was waged not only against the beatings and abuses that the Pampangans experienced at the hands of their overseers but also over the fact that they were asked to labour relentlessly as woodcutters, shipbuilders, dockyard workers, soldiers and sailors. The 330 mutineers were part of a contingent of more than a thousand Pampangans who had laboured in the forests of Bulacan for more than eight months. At the same time, by 1660, the treasury in Manila owed the communities of Pampanga more than 300,000 pesos for labour provided through the *repartimiento* and *bandala* systems.[128] The mutiny that started in the forests of Bulacan in October 1660 and became a widespread armed rebellion was a tactic mobilised by a desperate people to try to force the issue of their outstanding debts.

The authorities in Manila acted quickly to pacify the rebels, offering them concessions in an attempt to prevent the rebellion from spreading into other neighbouring provinces. Manrique de Lara issued the rebels terms of settlement which included a general amnesty, the payment of 14,000 pesos out of the 300,000 they were owed, pardoning the Pampangans from participating in the *bandala* for that year and publishing decrees that any *indio* engaged as a sailor, shipbuilder, woodcutter or soldier should be paid for their labour. In addition, Manrique de Lara acknowledged the need to remedy the rampant exploitation that Pampangans suffered across these varied labours.[129] After a tense stand-off between the rebels and a contingent of Spanish soldiers, the mutineers eventually agreed to these settlement terms and the province of Pampanga went back to work.

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[127] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 2. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 140-180. See also: Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 92-96. Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 145-168. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 90-95. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 483. Cortes, Puyal Boncan and Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*, 77-81.

[128] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 22, Ramo 9, Núm. 43. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 1.

[129] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34.

Yet, the actions of the Pampangan mutineers opened a space for sedition to fester. Barely two months later, on 12 December 1660,[130] the townspeople of Binalatonga seized arms and elected Don Andrés Malong as their leader. In this instance, the rebels of Pangasinan were intent on the complete overthrow of Spanish colonial rule. Vowing to never again pay tribute or participate in Spanish labour regimes, the rebels killed the local *alguacil mayor*, the *alcalde mayor* and his wife, along with twenty other Spaniards stationed in the region. Malong is then said to have declared independence from Spain and crowned himself King of Pangasinan. Very quickly many thousands of *indios* rallied to join Malong's rebellion, and he dispatched an army of 2,000 to reignite the rebellion in Pampanga and another 3,000 to head north to spread it to Ilocos and Cagayan.[131]

The anti-colonial dimensions of this rebellion were evident, and the Spanish responded in kind, dispatching a force of soldiers who sailed up the coast of Luzon to engage the rebels in fierce combat. They pursued them across the expanse of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, capturing more than 1500 rebels in the process and impaling dozens of heads on spikes across the villages that they defeated as an example to other rebels. Finally, Malong was captured and taken prisoner. He was condemned to be shot and his head was cut off and placed on a hook, while his headless body was hung from the feet in his hometown of Binalatonga. Upon his neck hung a sign which read in Spanish and the local language: 'As a traitor to God and the King I have been condemned by law'.[132] Another 133 rebels were shot or garrotted, with their heads and body parts scattered along the roads as a reminder of what befell rebels. A further 158 were sentenced to serve as forced labourers in the docks at Cavite or as servants to the religious orders. Such severe repression effectively ended the wave of rebellion in Northern Luzon.

Although this episode of rebellion in Pampanga and Pangasinan is brief – lasting just five months – these events nevertheless highlight the unease with which the Spanish ruled even within the heartlands of their control. At the same time, the fact that the rebellion was spearheaded by the figure

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[130] The chronicler accounts published by Blair and Robertson mark the date for the beginning of the rebellion as 15 December, however 12 December is recorded in two separate accounts written in 1661 by Governor Manrique de Lara. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30.

[131] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 2. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 140-180. RAH 9/2668, Doc. 42: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661. ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 13r-14v: Relación breve de lo sucedido en las islas Filipinas y otras adyacentes desde el octubre del año 1660 hasta el mes de junio del año de 1662. See also: Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 92-96. Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 145-168. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 90-95. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines,* 483. Cortes, Puyal Boncan, Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*, 77-81. Grace Estela C. Mateo, 'A History of Ilocos: A Story of the Regionalization of Spanish Colonialism', Unpublished PhD, (University of Hawai'i, 2004), 244-253.

[132] Fol. 35r: 'Por traydor a Dios y al Rey me ha condenado la ley.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34

of Don Andrés Malong is also significant. Prior to this, Malong had been considered one of the most loyal supporters of the Spanish regime. He was educated from a young age by Dominican missionaries and served in a number of military and administrative positions before going on to be appointed as *Maestre de Campo* of the province of Pangasinan. In this role, he served as collector of tributes, helped to build a fort in the province of Ituy and provisioned Manila through the mass requisitioning of rice from the provinces. Ultimately, over the course of his life, Malong had helped to impose the very institutions that he and his followers later rebelled against. Shortly before the outbreak of the rebellion, he had even successfully petitioned to be granted an *encomienda* – a recognition of loyalty and service to the King that was rarely ever awarded to *indio* subjects.[133] Thus, Malong's rebellion was truly an act of treason in the eyes of the Spanish.

But what caused Malong to undergo such a radical shift in loyalty? As we have seen, communities responded to the excessive and combined burdens of new colonial labour regimes through fugitivism, abandoning their lands and in doing so abandoning their kinship networks. This was a response to a new regime which exceeded the traditional limits of mutual obligation that underpinned the economy of Philippine communities. Yet, it also meant that indigenous elites typically found their grip on authority slipping, as their bondsmen disappeared into the hills. Rebellion remained a final option for leaders like Malong, who sat at the intersection of colonial and pre-colonial systems of power and social organisation. Malong's rebellion represents the tenuous nature of colonial control in the seventeenth century, where Spanish power was itself beholden to the continued loyalty of local elites and their capacity, in turn, to keep their own subjects in control.

It was thus the actions of figures like Sumoroy, Maniago and Malong – all once-loyal *indio* leaders who led rebellions against the colonial state – that were at the forefront of the minds of colonial officials when responding to the decree to abolish slavery. In a region where rebellion was so prevalent, maintaining the loyalty of the *datus* was of paramount importance. The Spanish worried that freeing their slaves would shatter the power and authority of the *datus*, encouraging the subservient *alipins* to rebel and join the already swelling ranks of the fugitive communities in the highlands. Within this context, there was little to suggest why the *datus* themselves would remain loyal to the Spanish regime. Without the *datus*, the whole infrastructure of Spanish power – their capacity to collect tribute, to impose labour drafts and to convert souls – would crumble. Many Spanish officials genuinely believed that without the existing structures of debt servitude the Spanish would be unable to muster sufficient labour to support the colony. The *principales* of Pampanga province stated as

[133] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 52, Núm. 2. Santiago, 'The Filipino Indio Encomenderos', 173-176.

much in a petition against the abolition decree, arguing that slaves were indispensable for meeting the needs of tribute payments and the *bandala*.[134] Put simply, indigenous communities would refuse to produce surplus agricultural labour to feed the Spanish population, leaving missionaries and soldiers alike in a situation of shortages and hunger. Beyond this, labour in the forests and shipyards would cease, since the labour drafts relied so wholeheartedly on the coercion and obligation of debt-bondage.

Debt servitude was thus an integral part of Spanish domination in the archipelago. Recognising the legitimacy of the concerns raised by many different parties and in an almost unprecedented move, the Council of the Indies upheld the suspension of the royal decree to abolish slavery. Instead, a new decree was passed in 1692 which opted for a gradual phase out of indigenous slavery. This decree recognised the right of Philippine *indios* to continue to practice debt servitude while abolishing their right to trade debt-slaves – whether by loan, sale or inheritance. Additionally, no new slaves were to be recognised after the publication of the decree on 8 August 1692, and slavery could no longer be passed on to children or other descendants.[135] Most historians have identified this decree as initiating a slow but steady decline in indigenous forms of slavery in the Philippines. By challenging the transferability and hereditary nature of debt servitude, the decree initiated a transformation of the political economy of labour.[136] Yet, in making these concessions, the Council of the Indies effectively recognised the exceptional nature of slavery in the Philippines. Acknowledging the tenuous nature of Spanish power in the region, the new decree no longer undermined the economic foundations of unfree labour in the Philippines, allowing *datus*, missionaries and royal officials alike to continue to exploit pre-existing structures of debt and obligation into the eighteenth century.

[134] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28
[135] Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 61
[136] Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 58-64. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 244-245.

4.
Fugitives, Apostates, and Mountain Communities

In 1621, Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza reported that the *indios* inhabiting between four and six different *encomiendas* in the province of Cagayan had risen up, burnt the churches in their villages and fled into the mountains.[1] The Dominican, Fray Melchor Manzano believed that more than 8,000 Cagayanes were involved in this rebellion, abandoning Spanish settlements in favour of upland sanctuaries.[2] Neither the Dominicans nor the Governor in Manila wished to take responsibility for this situation, with both sides pointing to the abuses of the other to explain the origins of the rebellion.[3] Without wasting any time, Governor Fajardo de Tenza dispatched an expeditionary force led by the admiral Juan Baptista de Molina consisting of both Spanish and Pampangan soldiers. The governor advocated a harsh punishment to teach the rebels the benefit of loyalty to the Spanish regime.[4] Yet, by 1625 the rebellion had spread. The Cagayanes had fortified themselves in the mountains, sustaining themselves by raiding the crops of lowland villages that remained loyal to the Spanish.[5]

From the late sixteenth century onwards, Cagayan was the site of ongoing and extensive rebellion against colonial rule. Communities periodically set fire to their churches and villages and fled into the mountains. Their actions successfully halted the advance of the colonial frontier at the foothills of the mountains. Yet in the majority of histories of the colonial Philippines, Cagayan is notably absent.[6] Moreover, while Cagayan is exceptional for the vast territory that resisted colonisation – a quarter of the island of Luzon – this story is repeated elsewhere in the majority of upland spaces in the archipelago. This chapter reconsiders the place of mountains in the history of colonisation in the Philippines, arguing that upland areas represented uncontrolled sites of resistance, rebellion and freedom from the colonial state. From these upland sites, *indios* used headhunting, raiding, rebellion,

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[1] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 65.
[2] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, fols. 406r-406v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 133.
[3] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 85, Núm. 57. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 67.
[4] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 65.
[5] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 83.
[6] Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*. Constantino, *The Philippines*. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Cortes, Puyal Boncan and Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*. Newson is the only historian to include Cagayan within a generalist history of the seventeenth century Philippines. See Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 201-217. Cagayan features prominently in Keesing's regional ethnohistory of Northern Luzon. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Ed. C. de Jesus wrote about the history of Cagayan in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, however his treatment of the earlier period makes no mention of widespread rebellion or problems in controlling the lowlands. He concludes that the Spanish became the dominant force in the region because of their superior weaponry. See De Jesus, 'Control and Compromise in the Cagayan Valley', 21-39. There are two local histories of Cagayan: Salgado, *Cagayan Valley and the Eastern Cordillera*. Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*.

alliance building and open warfare to halt colonial expansion. Their actions not only severely restricted the scope of Spanish domination during the seventeenth century, but also well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The most famous of the unpacified mountain regions of the Philippines is the Cordillera mountain range in Northern Luzon. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Philippines passed from Spanish to American control, anthropologists and missionaries slowly began to 'rediscover' these mountain communities.[7] These observers marvelled at finding nomadic, hunter-gatherer societies that remained untouched by Christian conversion and still practised spirit and ancestor worship, living wholly outside of the control of the modern state. For a decade, *indios* from these unpacified mountains were paraded through fairs and expositions across the United States – beginning famously with the World Fair in St. Louis in 1904 – as examples of real-life savages and headhunters.[8] Sitting in their reconstructed villages, they fashioned *bolos* and other traditional weapons and performed traditional dances for the admiring American public. Subsequent generations of anthropologists were similarly attracted to the mountains of Northern Luzon, and the Philippines consequently played an important role in the development of twentieth-century anthropology, particularly on the subjects of headhunting, swidden agriculture and upland-lowland migration and exchange.[9]

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[7] See for example: Fay-Cooper Cole, 'Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwestern Luzon', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1909), 329-347. Rev. Oliver C. Miller, 'The Semi-Civilized Tribes of the Philippine Islands', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 18, (1901), 43-63. Godfrey Lambrecht, 'The Gadang of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya: Survivals of a Primitive Animistic Religion', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1959), 194-218. Christoph Von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Culture Change and the Conduct of Conflicts among Filipino Tribesmen', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1970), 193-209. Roy Franklin Barton, *The Half-Way Sun: Life Among the Headhunters of the Philippines*, (New York, Brewer & Warren inc., 1930). Felix Maxwell Keesing, *Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1934). Albert Ernest Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905). Fred Eggan, 'Ritual Myths among the Tinguian', *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 69, No. 274 (1956), 331-339. Fay-Cooper Cole, *Tinguian: Social, Religious, and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe*, (Chicago, 1922). Fay-Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian: A Study in Philippine Folklore*, (Chicago, 1915). Carmencita Cawed-Oteyza, 'The Culture of the Bontoc Igorots', *UNITAS: A Quarterly Review for the Arts & Sciences*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (1965), 317–77. Roy Franklin Barton, *Philippine Pagans: The Autobiographies of Three Ifugaos*, (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1938). Roy Franklin Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1919). H. Otley Beyer, *Origin Myths from Philippine Mountain Peoples*, (Manila: Bureau of Science, 1913).

[8] Patricia O. Afable, 'Journeys from Bontoc to the Western Fairs, 1904-1915: The "Nikimalika" and their Interpreters', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (2004), 445-473. Jon Olivera, 'Colonial Ethnology and the Igorrote Village at the AYP', *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 3/4 (2010), 141-149. Antonio S. Buangan, 'The Suyoc People Who Went to St. Louis 100 Years Ago: The Search for My Ancestors', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (2004), 474-498.

[9] Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*. Shu-Yuan Yang, 'Headhunting, Christianity, and History among the Bugkalot (Ilongot) of Northern Luzon, Philippines', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 2, (2011), 155-186.

Despite this, the upland regions have largely remained the preserve of anthropologists. The history of their extraordinary autonomy remains outside the scope of the vast majority of colonial narratives. At the same time, by singling out upland communities in pursuit of indigenous traditions untainted by colonisation, the anthropological literature has constructed a dichotomy that disconnects the history of upland spaces from their lowland neighbours. Indeed, their very existence challenged the story of the progression of colonisation told by historians like John Leddy Phelan, Nicholas Cushner and Renato Constantino. While Cushner and Constantino largely ignored these regions, Phelan used the idea of an upland-lowland divide to argue for the exceptionalism of the mountain communities of Northern Luzon, preferring simplistic explanations of pre-existing inter-group conflict between upland and lowland regions.[10]

What was established in the historiography, therefore, was a dichotomy between the colonised lowlands and the unconquered mountains. In the 1970s, the historian William Henry Scott noted both the absence of the mountain communities from existing histories and 'the creation of a distinction between lowland and highland Filipinos which contrasted submission, conversion, and civilization on the one hand with independence, paganism, and savagery on the other'.[11] In his *Discovery of the Igorots*, Scott argues that the history of the Cordillera region of Northern Luzon is one of systematic resistance, in which the Igorots used tactics of warfare including raiding, headhunting and guerrilla warfare to evade colonisation as well as to disrupt Spanish lowland settlements. He attributes significant agency and deliberation to the mountain communities.[12] Yet, Scott's ground-breaking work nonetheless perpetuates the upland-lowland divide. His narrative focuses almost exclusively on the Igorots and ignores not only other upland communities who have similar histories of resistance, but also the neighbouring lowland region of Cagayan. Scott's work, therefore, exceptionalises the Igorots and has contributed to their mythologisation within modern Philippine national discourse.[13]

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[10] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 140-144. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*. Constantino, *The Philippines*.

[11] Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots* 7.

[12] Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*. Scott was a prolific writer on many aspects of Philippines history, anthropology and culture. Select works on the mountain communities of Northern Luzon include: Scott, 'Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines', 137-159. Scott, 'The Igorot', 356-360. Scott, 'An Historian Looks into the Philippine Kaleidoscope', 220-227. Scott, 'The Word Igorot', 234-248. Scott, 'Igorot Response to Spanish Aims', 695-717. Flameygh and Scott, 'An Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820', 285-295. Antolin and Scott, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789', 177-249. Antolin, Scott and Carillo, 'Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789', 27-132. Scott, *A Sagada Reader*.

[13] Maria Luisa Aguilar-Cariño, 'The Igorot as Other: Four Discourses from the Colonial Period', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (1994), 194-209. McKay, 'Rethinking Locality in Ifugao', 459-490.

A considerable and largely unexplored archival base establishes that upland resistance to colonisation was not limited to the territory of the High Cordillera but encompassed a large swathe of upland areas across Luzon and the Visayas. However, only by exploring the actions of lowlanders can we understand the position of the uplands as sites of autonomy and freedom. This chapter argues that the histories of upland and lowland spaces are intertwined. The widespread phenomenon of fugitivism saw thousands of *indios* migrate into mountain areas to escape the colonial state. The actions of the lowlanders, particularly in regions like Cagayan, halted the expansion of the colonial state into upland regions.

A similar analysis comes through in the work of the anthropologist Felix Keesing, who used ethnohistorical sources to understand the rich ethnographic diversity among the different mountain communities in Northern Luzon. Keesing's study demonstrates the fraught and tumultuous relationship between both lowland and upland communities and the colonial state. The phenomena of flight, desertion and periodic rebellion appear consistently in all of his regional studies, leading him to find that many, if not a majority of people resisted inclusion into the Spanish state, particularly in Cagayan. Indeed, Keesing concludes that the ethnohistory of Cagayan 'is rendered embarrassingly complex by the escapings of valley peoples'.[14] While this study is unparalleled in its rich description of the history of Cagayan, it is limited by the source base. Keesing was not a historian by training and therefore relied heavily on published accounts and the official missionary histories written by the Dominicans in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[15] Since the purpose of these accounts is to present a history of the advance of Christianity, they downplay the politics of resistance and rebellion in Northern Luzon and overshadow the persistent failures of the missionaries and military alike with endless stories of evangelisation and apostolic zeal. Ultimately, these accounts fit into a tradition of overstating the Spanish presence. Thus, while Keesing's conclusions emphasise the tenuous nature of Spanish and indigenous relationships in Northern Luzon, the fuller archival record affirms and completes this story, showing in stark contrast to the missionary accounts just how limited the Spanish were in this region and how much power the mountain communities wielded in halting the progression of colonisation into their territories.

What follows in this chapter is ultimately a history of ongoing and extraordinary frontier violence that has rarely been acknowledged elsewhere in the historiography of the Philippines. In conceiving of

[14] Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 304.
[15] Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*. Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*. Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*. Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán*.

these spaces as frontier zones, we place them alongside similar frontier spaces in other parts of the empire.[16] While missionaries and colonial officials devised ever greater methods of armed coercion, the frontier developed a symbiotic logic of its own based in extensive and profitable trading networks between upland communities and lowland frontier settlements. Active resistance and trade interests, often illicitly pursued against colonial authority, combined to frustrate the aims of the Spanish Crown for control over the vast majority of Northern Luzon.

This chapter begins with an overview of uncontrolled upland spaces in the Philippines in the seventeenth century, arguing that flight into mountains to escape colonial control was common and widespread throughout the archipelago. The second section examines one particular mountain range – the Zambales mountains, just north of Manila – to show how local communities used the tactics of headhunting and raiding to defend themselves against conquest by both soldiers and missionaries. The remainder of the chapter focuses on Cagayan, demonstrating how valley communities used their relationships with upland spaces to limit colonisation in Northern Luzon. Both rebellion and trading networks figure heavily in this story, while the actions of lowlanders in the seventeenth century help in large part to explain the autonomy of many mountain communities in Northern Luzon into the twentieth century.

Fugitive and Unpacified Upland Communities in the Seventeenth Century Philippines

Across the Spanish empire, mountains represented sites of rebellion, resistance and desertion.[17] The term commonly applied to these spaces – *el monte* or *los montes* – contains within its own linguistic ambiguity many of the characteristics of this discourse. Gabriel de Avilez Rocha traces the origin of the term *monte* back to Iberia, where it signified 'according to context, a hilly terrain, sometimes

[16] Fabricio Prado, 'The Fringes of Empires: Recent Scholarship on Colonial Frontiers and Borderlands in Latin America', *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 4, (2012), 318-333. Caroline A. Williams, 'Opening New Frontiers in Colonial Spanish American History: New Perspectives on Indigenous-Spanish Interactions on the Margins of Empire', *History Compass*, Vol. 6, No. 4, (2008), 1121-1139. Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan (eds.), *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998). Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, 'Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires', in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (eds.), *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1-14.

[17] It is in fact possible that this discourse extends back prior to Spain's overseas expansion, since the final battles of the reconquista were fought against Moros who had fortified themselves in the Sierra Nevada mountains near Granada.

inhabited, sometimes barren, and sometimes wooded'.[18] In the New World, this term was applied to sparsely populated spaces lying outside of urban settlements, and it was in the interest of colonial administrators to mediate and control these spaces. Similarly, Edgardo Pérez Morales has argued that *montes* embodied a dichotomy between barbarity and freedom. Whereas Spanish colonisers saw forests and mountains as untamed sites of barbarous incivility, the same spaces attracted the imagination of outlaws, renegades and deserters wishing to flee forced labour, enslavement or illness associated with life within Spanish settlements. The *montes* were thus always sites of refuge and resistance.[19] Upland areas were the location of notorious maroon communities of African slaves in regions such as Orizaba in New Spain, San Basilio de Palenque in New Granada, the Isthmus of Panama, and Puerto Rico.[20] But the rugged and remote nature of mountains also often made them perfect sites of refuge and evasion for indigenous communities.[21]

This Iberian discourse on mountain regions forms a critical background to our understanding of upland spaces in the Philippines since many of these tropes pervade the colonial archive. Yet, at the same time, fugitivism in the Philippine context also relates to a broader Southeast Asian tradition of upland communities that sought to remain autonomous from lowland state authority. This is best described by James Scott in his examination of the large upland massif of mainland Southeast Asia that he and others term *Zomia*.[22] Scott has argued that upland areas across Southeast Asia hosted culturally distinct communities that were formed as deliberate settlements isolated from the control of the states that were predominantly based in lowland areas. He also argues that these upland regions attracted migration into them by those who wished to abscond from or evade the control of the state. Many cultural practices that have been seen as indicative of upland backwardness or timeless

[18] Gabriel de Avilez Rocha, '"In all the Lands of the Earth, Pastures are [Held in] Common": Pasture Fights in Early Colonial Puerto Rico', unpublished paper (2015), 15.
[19] Edgardo Pérez Morales, 'La naturaleza como percepción cultural. Montes y selvas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVIII', *Fronteras de la Historia*, Vol. 11, (2006), 68-69
[20] See for example: Jane G. Landers, '*Cimarrón* and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean', in Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson (eds.), *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 111-146. Ruth Pike, 'The Cimarrons of Sixteenth-Century Panama', *The Americas*, Vol. 64, No. 2, (2007), 243-266. Anthony McFarlane, '*Cimarrones* and *Palenques*: Runaways and Resistance in Colonial Colombia', *Slavery & Abolition*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1985), 131-151. Jane G. Landers, 'Maroon Ethnicity and Identity in Ecuador, Colombia, and Hispaniola', unpublished paper, presented at the Latin American Studies Association, March 2000.
[21] John Allen Peterson, 'Taracahita: The Unknown Interior of Northern New Spain', in Meliha S. Duran and Patrick H. Beckett (eds.), *Jornada Mogollon Archaeology: Collected Papers from the Fifth and Sixth Jornada Mogollon Conferences*, (Las Cruces, New Mexico: COAS Publishing and Research and Human Systems Research, 1991), 69-87. Tom D. Dillehay, *The Telescopic Polity: Andean Patriarchy and Materiality*, New York: Springer, 2014.
[22] Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*. Michaud, 'Editorial: Zomia and Beyond', 187-214. Van Schendel, 'Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance', 647–68.

traditionalism were rather strategic survival methods that helped upland communities to retain their independence. For Scott, lowland areas of state control were sites typified by intense warfare and the control of manpower, especially through slavery and slave raiding. He argues that individuals and communities fled into upland regions to escape the burdens of taxation, forced labour, conscription and slave raiding. To defend itself, the lowland state created a discourse of barbarity and uncivilised peoples that lived in upland regions, to create fear and difference between lowlanders and uplanders and to prevent lowlanders fleeing into uncontrolled upland spaces. Nonetheless, upland regions retained their image as sites of freedom from state intervention and control and posed an existential threat to the legitimacy of state control.

Within both Spanish and indigenous understandings of upland spaces, mountains are recognised as both sites of autonomy – where communities resisted incorporation into the colonial or lowland state – and sites of escape for lowlanders wishing to evade the exigencies of the state. In the context of the Philippines, autonomous mountain spaces came to be defined by the Igorot communities of the High Cordillera. These communities first came to the attention of the Spanish because of their rumoured control of gold mines hidden deep within the mountains.[23] Gold was present in small amounts among neighbouring lowland communities – valued as a prestige item and often crafted into elaborate belts or chains to signify the status of its owner.[24] The Igorot gold mines were said to be the most productive in all the islands. Control of locally produced gold would have substantially aided in paying for the costs of the imperial enterprise, which by the 1580s was already undergoing substantial scrutiny from Mexico and Madrid.[25] Thus, from as early as the 1570s the Cordillera Mountains became a site of potential conquest. In 1607 the 'Igorots' who inhabited the Cordillera mountains were described as intelligent and skilled in the arts of war and particularly known for their proclivity towards headhunting. The Spanish believed that there were between eighteen and twenty thousand *indios* living in Igorot territory at this time. They wore short capes made of fibre from the trees and carried lances and shields. While they conducted periodic wars against their neighbours, they also engaged in trade with lowland communities, exchanging gold for goods, including animals.[26]

Early attempts to penetrate into the mountains over the course of the 1570s, 1580s and 1590s were largely unsuccessful, frustrated by the terrain and hostility of local groups.[27] In 1623, the *alcalde mayor*

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[23] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 64. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 70. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 71.
[24] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 269-271.
[25] Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 43-45.
[26] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 45.
[27] Ibid. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 9-20.

of Pangasinan, Francisco Carreño Valdes led a mission into the Igorot mountains from the Ilocos coast with the intention of taking control of the mines. Although they were at first met with friendliness, the Igorots rose up unexpectedly and killed the *indio* leader who accompanied the mission and forced the Spaniards to retreat. The following year Captain Alonzo Martín Quirante organised a mission from Aringay in Ilocos, taking with him 70 soldiers and 1748 *indios* as well as 47 Chinese carpenters and other artisans. As the expedition pushed into the mountains, a number of the *indios* deserted. In the meantime, the Igorots burnt part of the terrain and built defensive stockades to try to prevent the Spanish forces from advancing into their territory. The Igorots were said to have built their settlements on the highest and roughest grounds, for defensive purposes, and they maintained sentinels and fortified their settlements with sharp stakes and stones placed along the access paths.[28] Although another attempt was made in the 1660s,[29] by the close of the seventeenth century Igorot territory remained fiercely independent and widely believed to be unconquerable.[30]

The Spanish often used the term Igorot, which means 'people of the mountains', to refer to all of the inhabitants of upland Northern Luzon. Yet, as Deirdre McKay points out, Igorot is itself a colonial term, derived from the lowlands rather than from the mountain communities themselves.[31] Igorot territory encompasses six different ethnolinguistic groups: Bontoc, Ibaloi, Ifugao, Isneg, Kalinga and Kankana-ey. At the same time, numerous other indigenous groups inhabit the Cordillera, Caraballo Sur and Sierra Madre mountains and the Cagayan Valley including Isinai, Gaddang, Ibanag, Itawis, Yogad, Ilongot, and Aeta.[32] Like the Igorots, many of these groups entered the twentieth century largely outside of colonial control. Their stories have been folded into that of the Igorots, even while they maintain their individual ethnic identities.[33]

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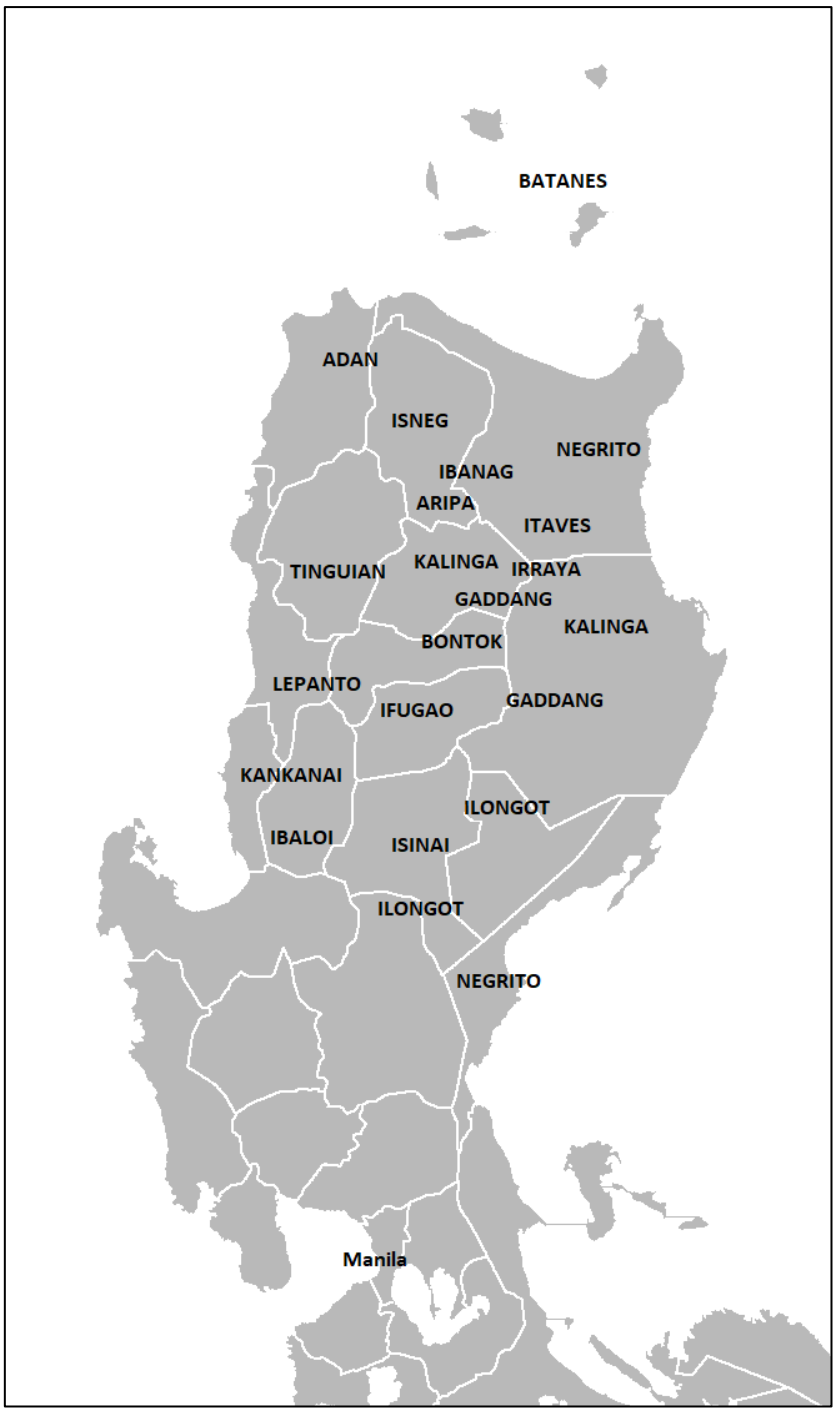
[28] Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 63-67. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 70. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 71. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 30-38. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 232.
[29] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 50. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 57-62. Diaz, *Conquistas de las islas Filipinas*, 236-253
[30] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.
[31] McKay, 'Rethinking Locality in Ifugao', 479-480. William Henry Scott, 'The Word Igorot', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1962), 234-248.
[32] Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*.
[33] A survey conducted in 1989 revealed that even among the ethnic groups normally subsumed under the Igorot category, many did not self-identify as 'Igorot'. See Steven Rood, 'Summary Report on a Research Programme: Issues on Cordillera Autonomy', *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1992), 320.

Figure 1: Ethnographic Map of Northern Luzon[34]



In the seventeenth century, the vast mountainous region of Northern Luzon was not the only upland space that remained outside colonial control. Similar stories of upland resistance can be found in almost all parts of the archipelago, from Antipolo, near Manila, to Laguna de Bay, Camarines, Mindoro and many Visayan islands (see table 1). Dozens of reports in the seventeenth century describe the

[34] Locations are approximate and based on the mapping work undertaken by Keesing, see: Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*.

upland areas of the Philippines as sites of lawlessness, apostasy, barbarism and fugitivism. The *indios* fleeing into the mountains were often called 'cimarrones', connecting them in the minds of colonial officials to the contemporaneous maroon communities in the Americas. Significantly, what these reports chart is an ongoing, persistent and large-scale migration of lowlanders into upland spaces in order to escape Spanish missionaries and colonial labour regimes.[35] Furthermore, reports of fugitivism increased in the second half of the century, suggesting that it was an escalating phenomenon. In 1679, the attorney general Don Diego de Villatoro noted the widespread problem of *indios* fleeing Spanish settlements and running away into the mountains. From the mountains, they would often attack Spaniards and loyal *indios* travelling on the roads between villages. They robbed farms and killed their inhabitants, sometimes entering into towns and burning and sacking them. Displaying his anxiety towards the legitimacy of Spanish colonial rule, Villatoro believed that the real danger of this situation was that many *indios* who remained loyal to the Spaniards would see that those who fled led a freer and more licentious lifestyle.[36]

It is not surprising that upland areas provided shelter to people fleeing colonisation of the lowlands as these regions always existed in a symbiotic relationship. The ecology of upland areas had a significant impact on the subsistence patterns of local communities. Groups that lived in the more rugged and densely forested mountains tended to be mobile hunter-gatherers, as the environment did not support sedentary farming. Anthropological studies of foraging societies that still inhabit upland areas of the Philippines today suggest that communities tended to be small and highly mobile, frequently relocating to temporary camps in the rainforest and living off bow and arrow hunting, trapping, fishing and foraging. Nevertheless, such groups relied on trade with farming settlements to supplement their subsistence with rice and other necessary staples only found within lowland regions. According to the archaeologist Laura Lee Junker, upland areas also controlled resources that lowland regions relied on for production, subsistence and long-distance trade. Thus, mountain communities typically traded meat, honey, wax, resins, and precious metals, including gold, in exchange for subsistence items such as rice and salt, and iron tools, weapons, and manufactured goods.[37]

[35] Recently the archaeologist Stephen Acabado has been able to trace this migration through the archaeological record, finding evidence for considerable population movement into upland spaces in the mid seventeenth century. See Acabado, 'The Archaeology of Pericolonialism', 1-26. Acabado, 'Zones of Refuge'.
[36] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128.
[37] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 239-245.

Table 1: Reports of Fugitivism in Luzon and the Visayas, 1574-1702[38]

Region	Province	Years where fugitivism was reported	Description of fugitivism
Luzon	Balayan	1688	A large number of fugitives living in the mountains of Balayan.[39]
	Bulacan	1688	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[40]
	Cagayan	1591, 1598, 1607, 1608, 1615, 1621, 1622, 1625, 1627, 1661, 1678, 1680, 1686, 1688, 1689, 1691, 1696, 1700	Regular reports of *indios* fleeing into the mountains, usually accompanying rebellion and abandonment of Spanish settlements.[41]
	Calamianes	1688	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[42]
	Camarines	1618, 1619, 1656, 1683, 1685, 1688, 1697	Numerous reports of *indios* living outside of Spanish control, particularly around the mountains near Laganoy, Camarines Sur.[43]
	Laguna de Bay	1670, 1679, 1686, 1688	Reports of towns being abandoned and fugitives living in the mountains.[44]
	Mariveles	1688	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[45]

[38] Additional reports exist detailing fugitivism in Mindanao, however since this region was so volatile, these will be dealt with in other chapters.
[39] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[40] Ibid.
[41] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 1, Núm. 2. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 65. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 133. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55. RAH, 9/2668, Num. 66: Noticias desde el Junio pasado de 79 hasta el presente de 80. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 27. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 5. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 163, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 406r-406v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 210v-212r. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 175-176, 194, 243. Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 315-320, 413-318, 490-494, 550-556. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 206. Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán*, 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 55. Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 18-21. Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 173.
[42] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[43] RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 22: Description of the Philippines, 1618. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 17, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 155. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 156. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 11r-12r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 102r-104v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 25r-26r. Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental [hereafter AFIO] 92/7: Informe del Obispo de Nueva Cáceres al Gobierno, sobre los daños que causaban los moros y las vejaciones a los indios por los alcaldes mayores. Norman G. Owen, *Prosperity Without Progress: Manila Hemp and Material Life in the Colonial Philippines*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 22-23.
[44] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 274r-275r.
[45] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.

Region	Province	Years where fugitivism was reported	Description of fugitivism
	Mindoro	1672, 1682	The *indios* of this region resisted conversion to Christianity and fled into the hills.[46]
	Pampanga	1667, 1679, 1680	Reports of many Pampangans fleeing the province for the mountains or other provinces to escape the burdens of the *repartimiento*, *bandala*. Fugitives living particularly near Gapan.
	Pangasinan	1688	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[47]
	Tondo	1582, 1702	*Indios* fleeing from Manila to escape the labour and tribute demands – often turning into vagabonds and highwaymen.[48]
Visayas	Cebu	1686, 1688	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[49]
	Leyte	1602, 1671, 1688	Periodic reports of *indios* fleeing into the mountains and living outside of Spanish control.[50]
	Negros	1630, 1688	Periodic reports of *indios* fleeing into the mountains, particularly around the mountains of Kabankalan.[51]
	Panay	1688, 1696	Reports of fugitives living in the mountains.[52]
Region Unspecified		1574, 1577, 1580, 1582, 1585, 1592, 1618, 1620, 1630, 1637, 1650, 1666, 1679, 1683, 1690, 1696	Regular reports of *indios* fleeing into the mountains, usually to escape the burdens of the *repartimiento*, *bandala* and tribute payments.[53]

[46] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 48. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 66: Noticias desde el junio pasado de 79 hasta el presente de 80.
[47] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[48] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[49] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 76v-77r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 11, Fols. 105r-105v.
[50] ARSI, Phil. 5, fols. 94r-113r: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las islas Philipinas desde el mes de junio 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 66: Noticias desde el junio pasado de 79 hasta el presente de 80. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[51] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[52] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 16, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 71, Núm. 1.
[53] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 11. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 34, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 180. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 19. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 5, Núm. 178. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 80, Núm. 41. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 4, Núm. 17. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 90. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 137r-139v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 274r-275r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 210v-212r.

Writing about the Buid in Mindoro, the anthropologist Thomas Gibson argued that flight was used as a means of avoiding violent encounters because they had little to gain from such confrontations. The Buid are consequently well-known as a pacific society.[54] Yet, in the seventeenth century, there is evidence that flight into upland spaces was often combined with aggressive resistance to colonial rule. More often than not, officials responded to fugitivism into upland spaces with violence. In the 1680s, the governor ordered an intervention into the mountains of Pansin, in Laguna de Bay. The *alcalde mayor* was instructed to take a force of indigenous soldiers to go and seek out the fugitives from the mountains. He was to apprehend them along with their slaves and to send them to Manila where they would be brought to justice. If they resisted, he was to respond with force, setting fire to their houses and fields. Similar incursions were organised periodically throughout the century, always with the intention of terrorising communities and making it difficult for them to live outside Spanish tributary settlements by burning their crops and enforcing harsh penalties of servitude.[55] Such incursions often required the support of indigenous allies who were willing to serve in the Spanish military forces.[56] This was certainly the case in Camarines and Albay, where regular incursions against fugitive runaways were supported by indigenous soldiers motivated principally by the promise that they would be allowed to take captives as their personal slaves.[57] Yet, with the formal abolition of slavery in 1682, these incursions were halted, and the mountain communities swelled in number in these provinces.[58]

In retaliation and responding to the tactics of the colonial state, upland communities actively destabilised Spanish settlements in the lowlands by raiding Spanish villages, attacking the crops of loyal *indios*, seizing them as slaves and sometimes killing them in the process.[59] Towards the end of the century, raids on local villages in Cagayan were frequent.[60] The aim of these raids was not to seize the town from Spanish control but to cause small-scale damage and terror by setting fire to buildings, seizing the townspeople as prisoners or cutting off their heads.[61] Periodic rebellion also meant that many of those who fled from Spanish settlements were skilled in the use of firearms, lances, shields

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[54] Janet Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', in Janet Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 7. Thomas Gibson, 'Raiding, Trading and Tribal Autonomy in Insular Southeast Asia', in J. Haas, ed., *The Anthropology of War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 125-145.
[55] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 125, Núm. 20.
[56] Ibid. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. Mawson, 'Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire', 381-413. Borao Mateo, 'Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army', 74-93.
[57] AFIO, 92/7: Informe del Obispo de Nueva Cáceres al Gobierno, sobre los daños que causaban los moros y las vejaciones a los indios por los alcaldes mayores.
[58] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.
[59] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128.
[60] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[61] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128.

and arrows and able to source gunpowder and munitions from across Northern Luzon. In 1691, the *principales* of Cagayan warned that it would only take one village to become discontent and this would act as a signal to the uplanders to come down into the lowlands and take everyone, whether by choice or force, killing all those who resisted and torching the Spanish towns.[62]

The established autonomy of mountain spaces made them obvious magnets for rebels, as well as refuges from oppressive colonial labour regimes and evangelisation efforts. Upland communities defined and delimited the colonial frontier, utilising tactics of violence and rebellion to disrupt the colonisation process. The remainder of this chapter presents two case studies to examine this situation in more detail. The first relates to the Zambales, a group of upland communities living in the coastal mountain range between Mariveles and Bolinao. Renowned as fierce headhunters, the Zambales are nonetheless often left out of accounts of the early colonial period.[63] Yet they successfully utilised headhunting and raiding to defend their territory from successive conquest attempts by Spanish missionaries and soldiers. The second case study focuses on the region of Cagayan and demonstrates effectively how upland resistance impacted on colonisation efforts in lowland regions as well. The vast territory of Cagayan remained the most tumultuous and uncontrolled region within the nominally 'pacified' areas of colonial control for the duration of the seventeenth century.

Headhunting and Raiding in the Zambales Mountains

The Zambales Mountains rise sharply away from the western coast of Luzon, extending between Mariveles and Bolinao and covering an area of 300 square kilometres, with peaks rising to more than two thousand metres. To the east lie the long plains of the province of Pampanga, the heartland of Spanish control in the Philippines. In the seventeenth century, the Zambales Mountains were inhabited by groups of hunter-gatherers who were variously referred to as Zambales, Negritos and Aetas. The Spanish struggled throughout the seventeenth century to establish a foothold among these

[62] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

[63] Marta María Manchado López recently wrote about the persistence of idolatries in the Zambales mountains in the late seventeenth century, however her chapter does not consider the wider context of ongoing rebellion and resistance. See: Marta María Manchado López, 'Los Zambales filipinos en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII. Evangelización, idolatría y sincretismo', in Marta María Manchado López y Miguel Luque Talaván (eds.), *Un mar de islas, un mar de gentes: población y diversidad en las islas Filipinas*, (Córdoba: Servicios de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2014), 145-174. Carolyn Brewer devotes two chapters to the Zambales region in her study, however these chapters suffer from a lack of contextualisation, with the region being used as representative of the remainder of the Philippines, thus losing its historical specificity. See Brewer, *Shamanism*, 143-188. The Zambales receive a smattering of references in the following sources: Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 2-4, 49-50. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 77, 81. Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 30-31. Borao Mateo, 'Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army', 78-79. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 171-172. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 100-101.

communities, who initially fell under the administration of the Augustinian Recollects and were later transferred over to the Dominicans in 1679.[64] Both groups of missionaries attempted to reduce the mountain populations into coastal settlements, where they would be more easily controlled. Initial accounts from the Dominicans in the early 1680s paint a picture of a region with a very scattered population. The largest Spanish controlled town consisted of no more than a hundred families, while the second largest comprised only fifty families. These two towns were located on the coast of the province, close to a fort established at Paynauen.[65] Considerable environmental problems hindered the reduction of these communities. Not only was the region characterised by rugged and high mountains, which became impassable during the monsoonal rains, but the coast was often inaccessible from the sea due to countervailing winds.[66]

Environmental factors alone do not account for the difficulties faced by missionaries and soldiers in this region. Of all the upland communities, the Zambales were regarded by the Spanish as particularly barbarous and uncivilised, defined by their custom of headhunting. In 1605, the attorney Hernando de los Ríos Coronel described them as 'a people who live naked in the mountains who are highwaymen who want nothing more than to cut off heads so as to slurp up their brains and he is the most courageous leader who has cut off the most heads'.[67] By the early seventeenth century, the Zambales mountains were a known site of recalcitrance which many officials believed was almost impossible to conquer. Unlike the Igorots, the Zambales offered no great incentive by way of resources – other than perhaps access to their timber supply – and may well have been left alone were it not for their proximity to the province of Pampanga. Throughout the century, the Zambales actively destabilised their lowland neighbours by raiding and engaging in acts of headhunting. In 1590, Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas reported a particular incident where twenty-four *principales* from Tondo were travelling through Zambales territory, carrying some gold and other goods for trade with the Pangasinanes. They were attacked by 250 Zambales armed with axes, spears and daggers, resulting in twenty-one deaths.[68] In 1606, the attorney Rodrigo Díaz Guiral reported on frequent attacks by the Zambales against the province of Pampanga. He described the Zambales as a people who lived as brutes without permanent abodes and were given to cutting off the heads of other indigenous peoples. The population of Pampanga, by comparison, were known for their sedentary ways and their

[64] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B. Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 131-133.
[65] Located in present-day Botolan.
[66] Domingo Pérez, O.P. 'Relation of the Zambals [1680]', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 310-311.
[67] 'Una gente que biven en los montes desnudos son salteadores y no quieren otra cossa más que cortar las caveças para sorberse los sesos y aquel es más baliente y principal que a cortado más caveças.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51.
[68] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 183.

agriculture, which made them easy targets for the Zambales who would swoop down and attack them while they were working their fields.[69] Fr. Pedro de Valenzuela similarly fell victim to headhunters while travelling through the Zambales mountains in 1648. He was shot through with arrows, beheaded, and his skull was later used as a ceremonial drinking vessel.[70]

Figure 2: Map of the Zambales region of the Philippines, 1744[71]

Image of map of the Zambales region removed for copyright reasons.
Copyright holder is the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.

[69] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 7, Núm. 100.
[70] Diaz, *Conquistas de las islas Filipinas*, 164-172.
[71] Cross-section of Pedro Murillo Velarde, and Nicolas De la Cruz, 'Mapa de las yslas Philipinas', 1744, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:9s161d40f (accessed September 24, 2017).

Figure 3: Depiction of Zambales in the Boxer Codex[72]

Image from the Boxer Codex removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Lilly Library, Indiana.

It is evident from these early Spanish accounts that headhunting and raiding of lowland settlements were common tactics of the Zambales that predated Spanish settlement in the archipelago. Headhunting was a common practice among many upland communities in the Philippines, as well as Southeast Asia more broadly.[73] The work of anthropologists has allowed us to move beyond colonial discourses of barbarity and civilizational backwardness, placing headhunting instead within a complex Southeast Asian cosmography. Janet Hoskins notes a variety of purposes behind headhunting

[72] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fol. 20r. The illustrations contained in the Boxer Codex are believed to have been painted by a Chinese artist in Manila in the late sixteenth century. For more details about the creation of these images, see: George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley, 'Introduction' in George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley (eds.), *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, Ethnography and History of The Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 31-34.

[73] Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*. Yang, 'Headhunting, Christianity, and History', 155-186. Janet Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). Barbara Watson Andaya, 'History, Headhunting and Gender in Monsoon Asia: Comparative and Longitudinal Views', *Southeast Asia Research*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2004), 13-52. George, 'Headhunting, History and Exchange in Upland Sulawesi', 536-564. Ricardo Roque, *Headhunting and Colonialism: Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870-1930*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

traditions in Southeast Asia, including mourning rituals, the improvement of community well-being, rites of passage into adulthood and occasionally to be released from debt. She notes that in some societies, it was unimportant whose head was taken and often raiders would take the head of older people, pregnant women or children, because they were easier targets.[74] Barbara Andaya argues that headhunting raids were almost universally associated with masculinity, the attainment of manhood and the right to marriage. Women were not excluded from the rituals but performed important roles in the ceremonial reception of the heads, which were associated with fertility and community well-being.[75] Yet, headhunting was also clearly a tactic of inter-community feuding and warfare, whereby the taking of a head was part of redressing a wrong done to one party and could either conclude or aggravate a conflict.[76] Renato Rosaldo argues that headhunting was as much a symbolic process which allowed communities to relieve themselves from a feeling of weight associated with burdens felt by the community as a whole. 'What is ritually removed, Ilongots say, is the weight that grows on one's life like vines on a tree.'[77]

Figure 4: Headhunter's Axe and Basket for Carrying Heads[78]

Images of headhunters axe and basket removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Australia Museum.

Many of the same conclusions can be found within the description of the Zambales communities written by the Dominican priest Fr. Domingo Pérez in 1681. Pérez described the Zambales as much more horizontally structured than their lowland neighbours in Pampanga. Although they maintained

[74] Hoskins, 'Introduction', 12-13.
[75] Andaya, 'History, Headhunting and Gender', 19.
[76] Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, 61-62.
[77] Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, 140.
[78] Images courtesy of the Australia Museum. Headhunting Axe: Catalogue No. E044250, bearing the description: 'Axe - metal blade and haft; N. Luzon, Philippine Islands; Miss Lucy A. White - Pres.; [ref reg]; Said to be a Headhunter's Axe.' Headhunting Basket: Catalogue No. E043508, bearing the description: 'Back-pack style basket made of rattan with plant fibre fringing. This bag was donated to the museum in 1937 and was described as, "Head-hunters basket - Igorot - in which heads are carried".'

some of the same class structures – including slavery – they operated in smaller and more egalitarian units, where age played the greatest role in determining authority. Headhunting was a common way of resolving disputes between groups, where the period of mourning could not be completed until another head had been taken. The taking of a head was often accompanied by a great ritual celebration. Pérez noted that children were inducted into the custom at a very young age, sometimes even as young as three, because it was considered shameful not to have taken a head. At times, communities would purchase slaves for a ritual killing where the children were able to take their first head – often sharing the privilege as a group. This communal killing was continued into adulthood, since it was common for a group to conduct a headhunting raid together and each claimed the kill as their own, regardless of who committed the act. Killings of strangers were sometimes undertaken as preventative measures because the presence of a stranger in a village might signify that that individual was themselves looking for a head to take.[79]

Headhunting was consequently a frequent practice. Pérez believed that three-quarters of deaths among the Zambales were violent, while only a quarter were of natural causes. In order to prevent a constant retaliation – where heads were exchanged for heads in perpetuity – Pérez noted that the family of the murdered were often paid in gold by the murderer to conclude the conflict. Those who were unable to pay this price in gold faced being enslaved by the family of the murdered, and so would sometimes capture a substitute to be enslaved or murdered in their place. Pérez offers a compelling explanation for why headhunting became a common weapon directed against lowland groups – and later against the Spanish and other *indio* subjects of the Crown: since those who were not a part of the extended kinship networks in the mountains did not need to be mourned in the same way, taking the head of an outsider was a way of ending the cycle of violence.[80]

The arrival of the Spanish into this mountain region exposed them to the practices of headhunting and set a pattern of violent confrontation between Zambales communities and Spanish missionaries and soldiers that continued for more than a century. In 1592 Dasmariñas sent captains into the region, taking with them 120 Spanish soldiers and more than three thousand indigenous soldiers.[81] The

[79] Pérez, 'Relation of the Zambals', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 310-311, 320-322.
[80] Ibid., 310-314.
[81] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 108. This followed two other military expeditions, the first organised in 1590 under the leadership of Captain Francisco Pacheco. Despite early signs of success, the Zambales who promised to come and live in the new Spanish settlements never showed up. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 10, Núm. 183. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 69. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 1, Núm. 2. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 74. A second expedition was led by Captain Don Alonso de Sotomayor, following the killing of a missionary and several other Spaniards. Yet, the Zambales continued to refuse to recognise Spanish rule and persisted in attacking and raiding lowland villages. Sotomayor was able to capture three *principales* and

companies entered the Zambales territory from six different directions in an attempt to surprise and root out their enemies. While the roughness and density of the terrain allowed many of the Zambales to easily escape and hide from the oncoming Spanish armies, the expedition nevertheless resulted in the capture of 2,500 men and boys. The majority of captives were taken while they were out hunting or gathering food in the forests, and this was part of a plan to reduce the Zambales communities to hunger and force them into Spanish settlements further down the mountains. The expedition was eventually called to a halt when the soldiers began to fall ill and die. Three presidios were established during this period on the Pampangan side of the mountains, as well as a fourth on the coast, at Playa Honda.[82] The captains left the presidios of the region well garrisoned, and the governor felt that the mission was a resounding success that would prevent future rebellion in the region.[83] Yet, by 1597 the remaining Zambales had regrouped, killed two *alcaldes mayores*, and headhunting and raiding of lowland settlements had resumed.[84]

The efforts of the Augustinian Recollects were similarly frustrated. Shortly after their arrival in the islands in 1606, they began work in the Zambales, reducing the *indios* to the town of Sigayen, where they also made plans to establish a monastery. Yet, in 1612, one of the missionaries was attacked by a Zambal wielding a headhunting knife. Although the Zambal did not succeed in removing the priest's head, he was wounded to such an extent that he later died. The attack prompted the entire town to rise up and burn down the church and convent before fleeing into the mountains. The remaining missionaries were escorted out of the area by some friendlier Zambales, leaving the entire area deserted.[85] In 1622, Governor Fajardo de Tenza reported that the Zambales still had not been conquered and continued to engage in the same disturbances as always.[86]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Spanish responded with increasing violence and militarisation. Over the course of the 1660s, Governors Salcedo and Leon ordered the military occupation of the Zambales Mountains.[87] Four forts were established in the neighbouring lowlands and garrisoned with 150 soldiers.[88] Meanwhile, a series of expeditions into the mountains were

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quartered them as punishment for killing the friar, but the expedition was ultimately a failure. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 69. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 74.

[82] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 108.

[83] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 2, Núm. 5. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 1, Núm. 2.

[84] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57.

[85] San Nicolas, *Historia General de los religiosos descalzos*, 475. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 81.

[86] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 5, Núm. 67.

[87] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 44. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 48. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 49. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.

[88] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 44. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 49.

organised with the intention of forcefully reducing the Zambales to obedience. Yet, by 1672, the soldiers had once again been withdrawn from the region, largely as a result of the dense and rough terrain and the distance the soldiers were required to travel, which made the expeditions enormously costly both in terms of money and lives. Many of the soldiers sent to engage in these conquests had become sick and the expeditions had achieved very little.[89] Despite working in the region for seventy years, by 1676, the Recollects had just barely 811 tributes under their control in the region, spread over eighteen different towns. The majority of these towns had less than fifty tributes, while several of the smallest had less than twenty.[90]

In 1679, the administration of the Zambales region was passed over to the Dominicans.[91] In contrast to the Recollects, the Dominicans had extensive experience of working in rebellious and uncontrolled mountain territories elsewhere in the islands. They were also not averse to the use of force and violence. Thus, shortly after their arrival, a new wave of conquest began. At the beginning of 1680, thirty soldiers, led by the *ayudante* Alonso Martín, marched through the mountains, burning down settlements and destroying crops. In May of that year, the Governor reported that the total number of people brought down from the mountains in 1680 was a thousand and that the four new towns were built after burning and destroying the houses and crops that these people had in the mountains.[92]

The report written by Fr. Domingo Pérez in 1680 makes it clear that much of this strategy was in fact the idea of the Dominicans. Pérez advocated the virtues of using force and the threat of violence from soldiers stationed in the fort of Paynauen. He argued that, despite their fearsome reputation, the Zambales were in fact extremely cowardly and used their tactics of flight and hiding in the mountains as their greatest weapon against reduction and conversion. They were frightened of the guns carried by the Spanish soldiers. The Dominicans thus used the soldiers to spread fear, especially by organising incursions into the mountains and destroying any crops that the Zambales had established. This was designed to look like an invasion into their lands. By contrast, the priests were portrayed as peaceable protectors of the Zambales against the brutality of the soldiers. The priests, therefore, went about instructing the soldiers where to go and what to destroy and then followed this by telling the Zambales that they should only cultivate in designated places near the Spanish settlements. Additional incursions were also organised to try to collect fugitives. Pérez considered these methods to be most

[89] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.
[90] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B, 16r-25v.
[91] Ibid. Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 131-133.
[92] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B.

effective against the problems of flight and resistance to the reduction process.[93] That same year, the Dominicans wrote that many of the Zambales continued to descend from the mountains and they believed that within a short time three-quarters of the population would be adequately reduced.[94]

Shortly after Pérez wrote his report, he was shot with an arrow and killed by a Zambal.[95] His death acted as a signal for many of the subjugated Zambales to revolt and flee into the mountains. For several days following his death, a group of Zambales attempted to assault the convent at Balacbac before retreating.[96] Governor Curucelaegui described the events surrounding Pérez's death as very turbulent, involving Zambales from the mountains sacking, slaughtering and robbing lowland villages. The Archbishop Fr. Felipe Pardo reported that the region was in uprising and said that many Dominicans were afraid of travelling through the towns around Playa Honda without an escort of soldiers. After the death of Fr. Pérez, they had retreated into the fort at Paynauen, afraid that they would all be killed.[97]

The death of Fr. Pérez marked the end of the last serious attempt to gain military control over the Zambales Mountains. Over the course of the next three decades, the Dominicans became embroiled in a drawn-out contest with the Recollects for control over the region, which eventually led to the Recollects regaining administration of the mountains in 1713.[98] Although they never completely abandoned the Zambales, Recollect activities in the eighteenth century were concentrated in the lowlands of the Tarlac Valley to the east of Zambales.[99] Thus, far from being cowardly and frightened of Spanish guns – as Pérez had so confidently stated – by the close of the seventeenth century the Zambales had successfully defended their territory from military invasion and spiritual conquest with bows and arrows and the headhunting bolo. Aeta communities continued to live in the Zambales mountains, largely unchristianised and practising a mix of hunting and gathering and swidden agriculture until 1991 when many were displaced from their ancestral lands not by colonial invaders, but through the catastrophic eruption of Mt. Pinatubo.[100]

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[93] Pérez, 'Relation of the Zambals', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 327-330.
[94] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B.
[95] Pérez, 'Relation of the Zambals', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 331-332.
[96] Juan de la Concepción, 'Extracts from Juan de la Concepción's Historia', *B&R*, Vol. 41, 252
[97] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20.
[98] Ibid. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 296, Núm. 101. Concepción, 'Extracts from Juan de la Concepción's Historia', *B&R*, Vol. 41, 232-272.
[99] Lino L. Dizon, *East of Pinatubo: Former Recollect Missions in Tarlac and Pampanga (1712-1898)*, (Tarlac: Center for Tarlaqueño Studies, Tarlac State University 1998).
[100] Stefan Seitz, *The Aeta at the Mt. Pinatubo, Philippines: A Minority Group Coping with Disaster*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2003). J. Peter Brosius, 'The Zambales Negritos: Swidden Agriculture and Environmental Change', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 11, NO. 2/3 (1983), 123-148.

Cagayan: Rebellion, Fugitivism, and Defining the Frontier, 1574-1625

In the seventeenth century, the province of Cagayan encompassed the expansive lowland plains and foothills of the Cagayan Valley, stretching from the coast of Luzon to the Caraballo Mountains in the south and bordered on both sides by the Cordillera and Sierra Madre mountain ranges. The Spanish arrived in the region in 1572 and determined that it would be a good defensive location against potential attacks by Chinese or Japanese pirates.[101] Initial explorations of the region revealed a vast and fertile valley, extending for more than 28,000 square kilometres, which was densely populated by communities spread along numerous waterways that extended down from the mountains and connected the coast with the interior. What at first looked like a promising region for expanding colonial agricultural resources and spreading evangelisation in fact proved to be one of the most persistently unmanageable of all the regions in the archipelago. Spanish maps of the region produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries show Spanish controlled fortifications, settlements and churches extending throughout the provinces. Yet these maps are works of spatial over-exaggeration, designed to amplify the reach of Spanish power and minimise the extent of uncontrolled – and unmapped – areas (see figures 6 and 7).[102] The history of Spanish colonisation in Cagayan is one of constant expansion and contraction of territorial control, as rebellion after rebellion spread through the valley in the seventeenth century (see table 2). Moreover, these lowland communities made use of their relationships with upland neighbours – defined by existing trading alliances – to solidify their opposition to colonial control.

Table 2: Rebellions in Cagayan Province, 1575-1639

Year	Region	Towns impacted	Description
1575	Coastal Cagayan	Camalaniugan	This town was first established by Juan Pablo de Carrion, however, shortly afterwards the Cagayanes rebelled and stole all of the Spanish supplies, forcing them to dismantle the settlement and return to Manila. Many of the Spanish soldiers were killed.[103]
1589	Isabela	Purao, Culi, Yagun, Pilitan	Generalised rebellion against Spanish control lasting for more than two years. More than 25 Spanish soldiers were killed while
	Cagayan River	Lallo, Talapa, Gattaran, Capa, Tuguegarao, Iguig	
	Babuyan Islands	Babuyan Islands	

[101] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 170-171.
[102] AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Núm. 22. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Núm. 140.
[103] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.

Year	Region	Towns impacted	Description
	Coastal Cagayan	Maquin	collecting tribute and attempting to enforce Spanish control.[104]
1598	Coastal Cagayan	Pata, Abulug	Rebellion against tribute collection. Twelve *principales* were executed and the Spanish cut down palm trees and destroyed crops. In response, the Cagayanes burned their villages and fled into the mountains.[105]
1605	Cagayan River	Tuguegarao	Rebellion against the *encomendero*, who was killed. The priest was also ejected from the town.[106]
	Chico River	Lubo	Reports that this region was in uprising, however, the bishop claims that it was always in uprising and tribute had never been satisfactorily collected.[107]
1607	Cagayan River	Nalfotan	Rebellion led by a priestess against Spanish missionaries, resulting in the town being burned down and the Cagayanes fleeing into the mountains.[108]
	Isabela	Simbuey	The *indios* of Simbuey killed their *encomendero* during tribute collection.[109]
1615	Isabela	Abuatan, Bolo, Batavag, Pilitan	Abuatan, Bolo, Batavag, Pilitan Rebellion led by native priestesses against religious conversion, resulting in the abandonment of some of these towns.[110]
1621	Isabela	Abuatan, Bolo, Pilitan	*Indios* of Abuatan burnt down the town and declared themselves enemies of Spain and God. The rebellion spread into neighbouring regions. Missionaries forced out of this region for the next half-century.[111]

[104] Ibid. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 67.
[105] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 173. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 175-176. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 206.
[106] Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán*, 28.
[107] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 55.
[108] Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 317.
[109] Ibid., 315-318.
[110] Ibid., 413-418.
[111] Ibid., 490-494.

Year	Region	Towns impacted	Description
1625	Apayao	Fotol, Capinatan	*Indios* of Capinatan killed two priests and then burned these two towns and fled into the mountains.[112]
1639	Apayao	Capinatan	Rebellion in which 25 soldiers were killed, the town was burnt down and the Cagayanes fled into the mountains. This settlement was abandoned by Dominican missionaries for the next several decades.[113]

Figure 5: Cagayan Valley in Northern Luzon, 1744[114]

Image of map of the Cagayan Valley removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.

[112] Ibid., 550-556. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 194

[113] Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 18-21.

[114] Cross-section of Pedro Murillo Velarde, and Nicolas De la Cruz, 'Mapa de las yslas Philipinas', 1744, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:9s161d40f (accessed September 24, 2017).

Resistance to Spanish settlement of the Cagayan Valley was continuous from the very outset. In 1575, a contingent of 150 soldiers led by the *maestre de campo* Don Luis de Sagajosa arrived to conquer and settle the province. The mission failed, however, when seventy soldiers died during the expedition from the hardships of the journey and from the lances and arrows of the Cagayanes. A series of expeditions followed this, all of them resulting in the loss of dozens of soldiers and in one case two galleys. In 1575 Juan Pablo de Carrion managed to establish a town at Camalayuga – a league from the eventual settlement site of Nueva Segovia – but the Cagayanes resisted and took the Spaniards' supplies. They were so warlike that Carrion was forced to dismantle the settlement and return to Manila, having lost many of his men in the fighting.[115] Gradually, over the course of the 1580s, the Spanish established *encomiendas* across coastal Cagayan and inland along the length of the Cagayan River. The capital of the province was founded at Lal-lo, and 22 different *encomenderos* were granted the rights to collect tribute.[116]

Yet, by 1589 word reached Manila that communities were in uprising along the length of the Cagayan River, from north to south. Soldiers and *encomenderos* were killed by bands of Cagayanes resisting tribute collection in all of the recently established *encomiendas*.[117] A group of Cagayanes even attacked the newly founded capital of the province, threatening to set it on fire, and demanding resources and munitions from the residents of the city. They warned that they would depopulate the province, removing all of the Cagayanes reduced into Spanish settlements.[118] The Spanish residents of the province petitioned the governor for licence to dismantle the city and abandon settlement of Cagayan because they could no longer sustain themselves; however, the governor refused, responding that to do so would mean risking the reputation of the Spanish in all of the islands.[119] An initial force of sixty Spanish soldiers and more than eight hundred indigenous allies was sent to quell the rebellion in June 1589. Yet, the commander of this expedition, Pedro de Chavez, reported that they had been unable to do much more than cut down palm trees and destroy the crops of the rebels. In return, the Cagayanes burnt down their villages and fled into the mountains, leaving the province as if it had never been pacified. Pedro de Chavez reported that they had been surrounded by so many enemies and had so few Spaniards that without reinforcements, the province would surely be lost.[120]

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[115] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.
[116] The tribute lists note that most of the *encomiendas* were in rebellion in 1591. AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 38.
[117] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.
[118] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 49. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 47.
[119] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.
[120] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 49. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 47.

The new governor Dasmariñas, who arrived in the islands in mid-1590, took stock of the situation and within two months sent Captain Fernando Becerra Montano with eighty soldiers and instructions to pacify the province.[121] Becerra found most of the settlements were deserted, the Cagayanes having retreated into the mountains, while their *principales* refused to meet with him. During the course of his expedition, Becerra learnt of a particular faction based in Tuguegarao, led by a female *principala* and her three sons, who were fiercely opposed to the Spanish presence in the province. When Becerra eventually met with the *principales* of Lal-lo and Pilitan, they told him that the *principala* of Tuguegarao had destroyed their crops and killed their people to warn them off allying with the Spanish and that she had also done this to other communities. They had been forced to flee from their villages and had retreated to a different site out of fear.[122] This information allowed Becerra to build alliances with particular groups by offering them protection from the faction in Tuguegarao and he returned to Manila claiming to have pacified the province and returned it to peace and vassalage.[123]

Figure 6: Depiction of Cagayanes in the Boxer Codex[124]

Image from the Boxer Codex removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Lilly Library, Indiana.

[121] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44. Although not mentioned in the original archival record, it is almost certain that Becerra was accompanied by an unknown number of indigenous soldiers.
[122] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 67.
[123] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.
[124] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fol.8r

What Becerra really achieved was the establishment of a Spanish foothold in the coastal region of the valley, while their influence over the majority of Cagayan remained negligible. Although Spanish missionaries and tribute collectors returned to the province over the coming decades, the peace that Becerra achieved was fleeting (see table 2). Initial unrest was provoked by the behaviour of *encomenderos*, *alcaldes mayores*, and the contingents of soldiers sent to collect tribute. In 1598, rebellion broke out in coastal Cagayan in response to brutality experienced during tribute collection. The Spanish responded by executing twelve *principales* and cutting down palm trees and burning crops; however, this, in turn, provoked the rebelling Cagayanes to burn down their villages and flee into the mountains.[125] In 1605, the *indios* of Lubo, on the Chico River resolved to rise up and kill as many Spanish soldiers as they could.[126] In 1607, the *indios* of Simbuey, in the plains of Irraya, killed their *encomendero*, Luis Enriquez, after he mistreated them the previous year. They lanced him and used his leg bones to make a stair from which the *principal* could climb into his house.[127]

Yet, as the century progressed, the focus of these rebellions shifted towards the Dominican missionaries, who after 1595 became the drivers behind the reduction of Cagayanes into Spanish settlements.[128] The Dominican chronicler Diego Aduarte wrote that the conversion of the Cagayanes to Christianity progressed very slowly and many in the town of Nueva Segovia could hear shouts and screams particularly at night emanating from the pagan ceremonies and celebrations that the Cagayanes continued to perform. During this period, the Dominicans built churches in the towns of Pata, Abulug and Camalaniugan. Aduarte suggested that the *indios* of these towns accepted the missionaries into their communities when they became convinced that the Christian God was able to cure an illness that had spread. Elsewhere, however, the conversion activities of the priests promoted conflict. This was particularly the case in the upper Cagayan Valley. In 1607, a priestess named Caquenga convinced many in the newly founded town of Nalfotan to abandon the Spanish settlement. They set fire to the church at midnight and began profaning religious items, smashing them to pieces and drinking from the chalice 'as a people without God, governed by the Devil'.[129] They later fled into the mountains. A similar rebellion occurred in the towns of Batavag, Bolo, Pilitan and Abuatan in 1615,

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[125] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 173. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 175-176.
[126] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 55.
[127] Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 315-318.
[128] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 5, Núm. 45. APSR, 56, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 9, Doc. 1: El gobernador interino, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, y el Cabildo de Manila conceden a los dominicos la evangelización del valle de Cagayan. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 73.
[129] 'Como gente sin Dios, governada por el demonio.' Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 317.

just eight years after these towns were founded by the Dominicans. Missionary attempts to eradicate animist practices performed by local priestesses caused a large number of Cagayanes to flee into the mountains, and it was difficult to convince them to return.[130]

In the 1620s, a new wave of revolt spread over Cagayan and formalised the territorial frontier of Cagayan to Lal-lo and the coast, with soldiers and missionaries abandoning large parts of the Cagayan Valley and foothills for the next half-century. The first wave of this rebellion again took place in Pilitan and Abuatan, which at the time was said to be the largest town in the province but does not appear on later maps. On 6 November 1621, the Cagayanes burned down the church and towns in this region and declared themselves enemies of Spain and of God. They fled into the mountains and the rebellion spread through the surrounding regions. In panic, the priest stationed in Pilitan decided to leave very early in the morning, but as he was making his escape a large armed crowd of Cagayanes came marching from Abuatan, naked and covered in oil. The priest attempted to reason with this crowd, lecturing all 800 of them for more than an hour in the patio of his church; however, while he was giving his lecture, another group began to set fire to the town and the Cagayanes left him to continue with their rebellion. From there, the rebellion spread throughout the region. Aduarte described the rebels as performing sacrilegious acts, dressing in the garb of the priests and thrusting a knife into the face of the statue of the Virgin Mary to see if she would really bleed. After carousing and celebrating the retreat of the Spaniards, the Cagayanes then retreated into the mountains.[131]

While the Spanish scrambled to respond to these events, a second wave of rebellion commenced in Fotol and Capanitan, in the Apayao mountains, beginning on 8 June 1625. The Apayao *indios* of this region had attempted on two previous occasions to escape into the mountains but were thwarted in their attempts. This time, they planned their rebellion carefully and kept it secret. In Capinatan the rebellion was led by two *principales* called Don Miguel Lanab and Alababan, who interrupted two Dominicans priests during their evening meal and decapitated them using traditional headhunting knives. One of the blows was not complete and the priest was saved by some friendly Apayaos who tried to place him on a barge to be taken out of the village. The rebels intercepted this and took him instead to their *principala* where he was cut to pieces and his body was thrown to be eaten by the pigs. The Apayaos of both Capinata and Fotol then set fire to the churches and fled into the mountains.[132]

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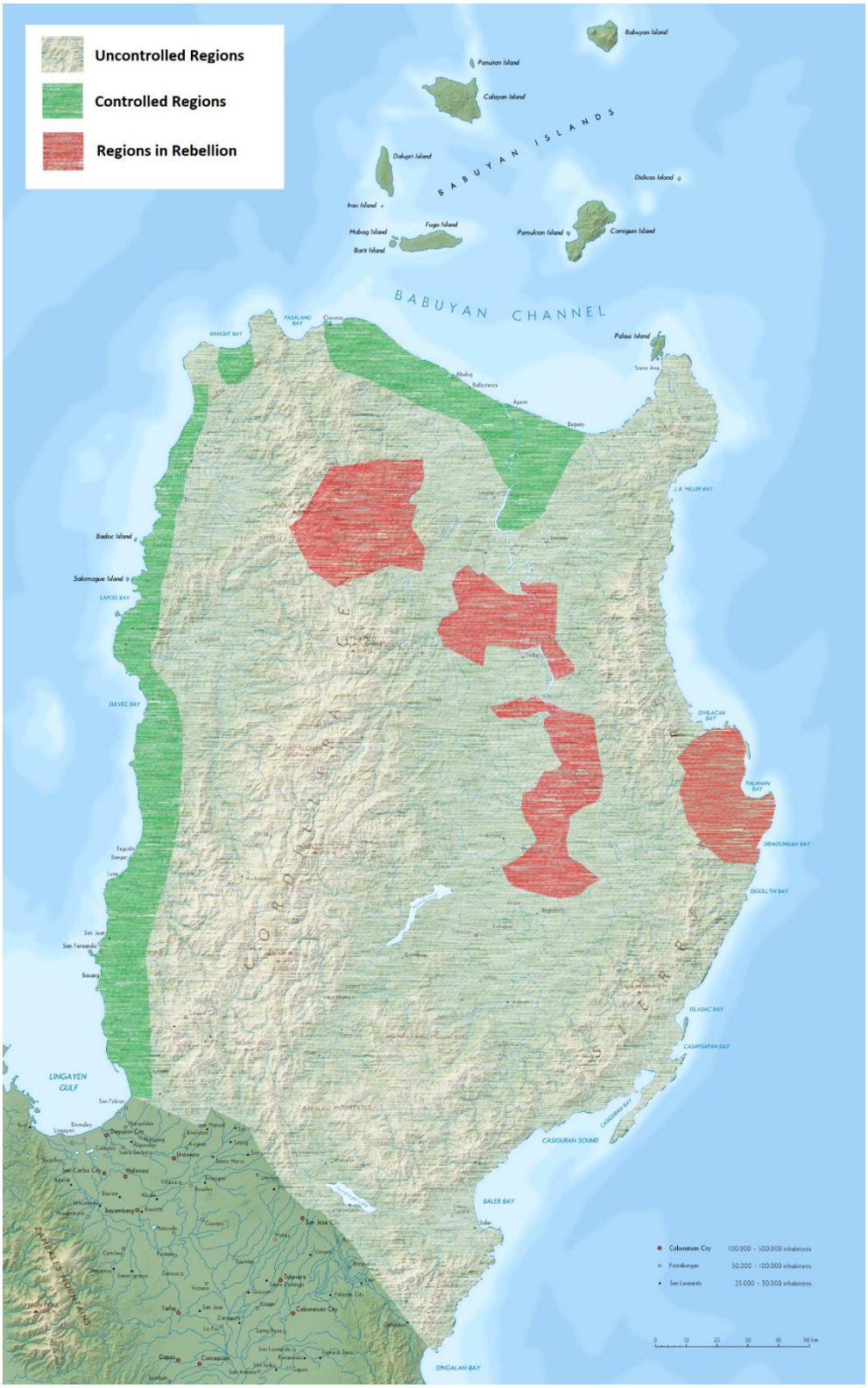
[130] Ibid., 413-418.
[131] Ibid., 490-494.
[132] Ibid., 550-556

The government in Manila responded by sending two contingents of soldiers who arrived some ten months after the beginning of this second rebellion.[133] They set about cutting down palm trees throughout the province, to try to remove some of the sources of subsistence that the rebels relied on.[134] In the process, the governor claimed that they were able to reduce more than a thousand Apayaos; however, the soldiers left after just two months to undertake the conquest of Formosa.[135] A report from 1628 suggested that areas of the province still remained in rebellion.[136] Although attempts were made over the next decade to return to the region of Capinatan in the Apayao mountains, the Apayaos once again responded with violence. At ten in the morning on 6 March 1639, a group of armed Apayaos attacked the sentry post in Capinatan and killed the sentinel before breaking down the doors of the fort and killing twenty soldiers. Five soldiers managed to escape but later died in a fire. The Apayaos then attacked the convent, although Santa Cruz says that they spared the life of the priest, placing him on board a small boat alongside all of his possessions and sending him out of the town. Once this was done, they burnt down the church and convent and then fled into the mountains.[137]

[133] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 208.
[134] Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 556-562.
[135] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85. Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 556-562.
[136] RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628.
[137] Santa Cruz, *Tomo Segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 18-21.

Figure 7: Regions under control, in rebellion and outside of Spanish control in Northern Luzon, 17th Century



Cagayan: Trade and Militarisation, 1673-1718

The rebellions of the 1620s limited Spanish control to frontier outposts in the coastal areas and northern reaches of the Cagayan Valley. Even in these areas, tribute records show a sharp population decline, with tribute numbers along the coastal region declining by a third during the decade of the 1620s. By 1623, the capital of the province boasted just 48 tributes.[138] No further attempts were made to push into the interior of Cagayan until the 1670s. These later efforts were led by the Dominicans and marked the most aggressive intervention into Northern Luzon to date. The first mission began in the Irraya region in 1673 and by 1678 the Dominicans had established three new towns on the site of the old mission settlements called Santa Rosa, San Fernando and Nuestra Señora de la Victoria de Itugud.[139] This was followed by renewed efforts in Fotol and the Apayao mountains (1684), the Batanes Islands (1686) and the Chico River region (1688), where they founded the towns of Tuga (1689) and Santa Cruz, near Malavag (1693).[140]

Yet, by this time the communities of Northern Luzon had accommodated themselves to the existing frontier and were prepared to heavily resist any further expansion into their territories. Reports from this period repeatedly emphasise the continued harassment of newly established lowland settlements by Cagayanes living in upland areas who were opposed to the Spanish presence.[141] In a number of instances, this resistance seriously impacted on the expansionary ambitions of the Dominicans. In 1688, a group of Apayaos descended on newly established missionary sites near Fotol and killed all but 140 *indios*, who then fled back with them into the mountains. The Dominicans were forced to retreat to the coastal settlement of Camalaniugan.[142] Meanwhile, in Irraya territory a faction of *indios* at Cabagan killed twelve new Christian converts, sparking a violent retaliation from the Spanish resulting in a further seventy deaths.[143]

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[138] APSR, 56, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 9, Doc. 3: Sobre encomiendas.

[139] Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 158-164. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55

[140] Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 22, 35, 158-164. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 27. APSR, 56, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 9, Doc. 7: Licencia del obispo para fundar la iglesia de Penafrancia (apayaos). APSR, 56, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 9, Doc. 7a: Mas sobre esta fundación. APSR, 56, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 9, Doc. 6: Lista de adultos bautizados en la misión de Ormag, Itaves. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. APSR, 58, Sección Cagayan, Tomo 13, Doc. 4: Misiones de los mandayas en 1684, por el P. Pedro Jiménez. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Núm. 140.

[141] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

[142] Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 384-397. The following year, in 1689, the *indios* of Batanes rose up and fled into the mountains following a smallpox epidemic that they blamed on the missionaries. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

[143] Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 158-164. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55. This region continued to be plagued by instability and fugitivism over the next decades. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.

While these events appear as a continuation of the same episodic resistance that had typified the Cagayan frontier, by the late seventeenth-century communities in the Cagayan Valley had developed sophisticated trading networks with their upland neighbours that gave these rebellions a more organised and sophisticated nature. Trade between lowland and upland groups had been reported as early as 1593 when it was uncovered that lowland groups were funnelling swords and other arms into the mountains to aid their resistance of Spanish settlement.[144] By the late seventeenth century, this trade was not only supplying uncolonised communities with a ready supply of arms, but also with iron for making their own weapons and farming tools and goods such as clothes and salt and other necessary items that they needed to continue to live their lives autonomously within the mountains.[145] By 1691, the *indios* living in the Irraya region of Cagayan were known to be skilled in the use of Spanish weaponry, including firearms, lances and shields as well as the arrows used by upland communities. Moreover, they maintained communication and alliances with unpacified groups in the mountains and were able to source gunpowder and munitions from Pampanga and Laguna and from along the coasts of Lampon.[146]

Significantly, this trading network was in fact facilitated by the Spanish presence in the province, thus complicating the process of colonisation even further. In the 1680s, Spanish forts were established across the province at Lal-lo, Cabagan, Itugud, Tuao, Capinatan, Fotol, Cabicungan, Aparri and Buguey, with the intention of supporting tribute collectors and defending the towns from attacks.[147] These forts were built in response to requests made by the Dominicans following a particularly large-scale revolt involving 4,000 Cagayanes fleeing into the mountains in 1678. Following these events, the Dominicans requested a force of Spanish soldiers to help them to reduce apostate communities, while providing protection to those who wished to return to their towns. Their proposal was met with only a lukewarm response from the military, who argued that, based on past experiences, sending soldiers into Cagayan was a drain on resources and achieved very little. Instead, they suggested that a more effective tactic would be to position soldiers within the missionary settlements and wait until the fugitives returned to the lowlands to conduct trade.[148] Thus the network of forts was established.

[144] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 25, Ramo 44.
[145] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.
[146] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[147] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. The last three forts, all located on the coast, had a corporal but did not host a permanent garrison of soldiers. They were largely established for coastal defence.
[148] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55.

Figure 8: Cagayan Valley, 1690[149]

Image of map of the Cagayan Valley removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (Spain).

Yet, far from protecting the Dominicans and their converts, these forts quickly became outposts within a lucrative trading network that extended throughout the province, connecting the Hispanicised coast with the unconquered upland interior. The vast majority of military officers, *encomenderos* and *alcaldes mayores* appear to be involved in this illicit trade. Fr. Francisco de Olmedo noted that the corporals of the presidios typically employed the Cagayanes in carting goods backwards and forwards between the capital and the interior, nominally under the guise of transporting food and materials for the infantry stationed in each of the forts.[150] This aid rarely reached the soldiers and would instead be confiscated by the military commanders and used for trade. Spanish officers took the tobacco, wine, salt, iron, clothes and other goods destined for the soldiers and sold them to Christian *indios*, who

[149] AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Núm. 22. Note that this map has inverted the North-South axis, so that the northern coasts are represented in the south.
[150] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.

then took them into the mountains to trade with unconquered and fugitive communities. In return, they would receive wax, gold and other goods from the mountains. The conduct of this trade placed excessive burdens on the communities under Spanish control, which local *principales* likened to slavery. Many of the Cagayanes were employed in a constant stream of tasks, from carting and hauling goods through the province, to hunting, harvesting, and cutting timber. Even in the towns without a military outpost, the *principales* argued, there was at least one Spaniard overseeing this trading network.[151]

At the same time, some of the Cagayanes living within newly established Spanish settlements actually benefited from this trade. The Christianised *indios* in the lowlands acted as intermediaries between the Spanish and the unconquered hinterland – suggesting one motivation to convert to Christianity and to live within lowland Spanish settlements. Moreover, they would trade their own goods as well as the goods given to them by the *alcaldes mayores* or *encomenderos*. Fr. Marrón noted that it was consequently in the interest of these Christianised intermediaries to convince other Cagayanes to remain within the mountains. They would often spread rumours of the great labours that *indios* suffered within Christian settlements through the tribute, *repartimiento* and *bandala* systems. Many *encomenderos*, military officers and *alcaldes mayores* were like-wise self-interested in maintaining this situation and would do nothing to aid in reductions or conversions.[152]

Thus, while trading activities in Cagayan may have been mutually profitable for the secular officials, military officers and their Christian intermediaries, it arguably played a significant role not merely in maintaining the status quo but in actually furthering the anti-colonial position of the communities in the unconquered hinterland. The many burdens associated with the ongoing trading activities both dissuaded upland communities to join Spanish settlements and encouraged those who had been recently reduced to flee back into the mountains. Fr. Olmedo argued that the trade conducted by the *alcaldes mayores* with the unpacified communities provided those communities with no incentive to live amongst the Christians. At the same time, many of those who had converted to Christianity regularly left for the mountains in order to escape the exploitative taxation and forced labour systems enforced on them by the Spanish soldiers.[153] The Cagayan *principales* agreed with this, saying that the towns of Nasiping, Gataran, Tocolana, Capinatan, Fotol and Abulug had been destroyed, with the

[151] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[152] Ibid.
[153] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.

residents joining the communities in the mountains. The *principales* argued that no one wanted to live in a town where they were treated as the slaves of the corporal of the presidio.[154]

Thus, the defensive fortifications established in Cagayan were transformed into trading outposts that undermined the advance of Spanish control in Cagayan. Numerous observers noted that these outposts were virtually useless in times of attack of rebellion. Fr. Ginés Barrientos reported that whenever hostile Cagayanes arrived within a town – usually to take a head or set fire to some of the buildings – the corporals and their soldiers were known to retreat into their fort, leaving the townspeople to resist and confront the enemies themselves. He argued that some of the Cagayanes liked to throw spears at the Spanish forts simply to prove that they could do so with impunity. Fr. Francisco de Olmedo similarly reported that a Spanish soldier had been killed at the fort in Capinatan, while another indigenous soldier was killed while on sentry duty at midday in the fort of Fotol; the soldiers would not come out of the forts to help defend their towns even when the town was on fire. Fr. Bartolomé Marrón had witnessed two *indios* have their heads cut off by invading forces in Tuao in 1689, while the corporal shut himself and his soldiers into the fort.[155]

The Cagayan *principales* went even further in their criticism of the presidios. They explained the dysfunction of the forts by describing the low-level conflict that regularly took place between the indigenous people in the Spanish towns and those from the mountains. These unpacified *indios* would descend from the mountains in parties of between twelve and twenty and would wait hidden within the dense jungle, looking for an opportunity to headhunt. When the *indios* of the town heard about this, they would immediately take up arms and begin to pursue the *indios* from the mountains through the forests, shouting to each other as they went. Because those from the town were more familiar with the paths and roads around their village, they were often able to catch up to the intruders and in turn cut off their heads. By contrast, the soldiers in the presidio prevented this speedy pursuit by demanding that the townspeople come to the fort to report the matter to the corporal, who would then call a meeting of the whole town and organise a contingent to pursue the enemies. The pursuit was thus delayed by some time and they were never able to catch up to the enemies or retaliate in any way. Because of this, the *principales* argued that the mountain communities had become more daring in raiding the towns that housed Spanish presidios because they knew that they were able to attack these towns almost without notice.[156] The *principales* spoke of the presidios as both an

[154] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

impediment and an embarrassment, while the Dominicans believed that the forts were largely responsible for the ongoing instability experienced within the province.

Figure 9: Location of Forts in the Lower and Middle Cagayan Valley, 1719[157]

Image of map of the Cagayan Valley removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (Spain).

Ironically, while they had initially been the greatest proponents of militarisation in Cagayan, by the end of the 1680s the Dominicans withdrew their support for the presidios. In 1689, Fr. Alonso Sandín collected a series of petitions from Dominican missionaries stationed in Cagayan advocating for the closure of all of the forts in the province, with the exception of the presidio in the capital, Lal-lo.[158] Nevertheless, the Dominicans continued to believe that the conquest of Cagayan could only be achieved through military means. In the 1690s, a new proposal emerged to concentrate military efforts in a region known as Ituy. Ituy encompassed the mountainous borderlands between Pampanga and Cagayan. Although its conquest had been attempted several times in the late sixteenth century,[159] this region remained unpacified and was considered to contain an extremely large population that was hostile to the Spanish. Fr. Cristobal Pedroche believed that there were more souls in this region

[157] AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Núm. 22.
[158] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.
[159] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 45. 'Expeditions to the Province of Tuy', *B&R*, Vol. 14, 301-315. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 9-20. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 271-277.

than in the rest of the Philippines combined,[160] while in 1708 Governor Zabalburu estimated the population of Ituy as reaching up to 400,000 people.[161] Such a large number of uncontrolled *indios* in the heartland of Luzon was not only an embarrassment but also presented a serious strategic threat since at that time there was no safe overland passage between Pampanga and Cagayan.[162]

Fr. Pedroche proposed establishing a fort in the region that would be garrisoned with a thousand *indio* soldiers – mostly from the province of Pampanga – who would be incentivised to serve in this occupation by being granted an exemption from paying tribute.[163] Furthermore, by relying on indigenous soldiers, the occupation would not overburden the already limited resources of the Spanish military. In February 1691 Captain Diego de Acosta was given the orders to march with a troop of soldiers to the fort of Itugud and from there to explore the region toward Paniqui with the aim of finding the best overland route to Pampanga. Acosta described visiting the towns of Afugao, Tafucan and Amulion, where he and his soldiers undertook a dawn raid. Since they did not have a native guide, they were not completely certain of the locations of the towns, but they nonetheless killed fifteen Cagayanes and captured four children. They searched the towns for rice and then burnt them down, inflicting the greatest amount of damages possible.[164] Despite this, shortly after initiating the campaign, the Sergeant Major Martin de Leon wrote to Manila to recommend that the Pampangan troops stationed in Itugud should be retreated. Most of them were anxious to return to their land in order to harvest their crops and prepare for the annual tribute collection. Leon warned that if they were not allowed to return home they might become upset with the Spanish and choose to simply desert.[165] Taking this threat seriously, the Spanish complied, and the soldiers were retreated on 24 February 1691, just two weeks after they began the mission.[166]

Following this failed attempt, a number of military commanders expressed considerable doubts over the viability of conquering Ituy and pacifying Cagayan. Captain Diego de Acosta believed that any attempt to conquer this territory would require a force of 500 soldiers at least, as well as a guide who would be able to show them how to travel through the territory overland from Pampanga. The

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[160] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[161] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 129, Núm. 23.
[162] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 122, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 129, Núm. 23. Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 158-164. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 225.
[163] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[164] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 35.
[165] The oidor Avella Fuertes, who was visiting the region at the time, reiterated this advice, and the Pampangans themselves also wrote a petition. Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

Ayudante Sebastian de Acencio added that they would need to find the means of maintaining a permanent presence in the region capable of dealing with the large number of hostile Cagayanes, as well as materials for the construction of a fort and labour in the fields to sustain the soldiers stationed there. Most captains believed that it was an unwinnable war. The sergeant major Don Ambrosio Saquin, a native of Itugud, believed it would be a mission of great terror and horror. He offered to act as a guide through the region but reiterated how difficult the occupation of this region would be and that they would need a constant military escort for all of their activities in the province. Acosta said that he had travelled on a number of occasions to this region to fight against rebel, heathen and apostate communities. He believed that their subjugation would be difficult because they were not afraid of the Spanish weapons, possessed their own firearms and were experienced in war.[167] Thus, by 1700 the proposed conquest of Ituy still had not begun. In explaining the reasons for this, Governor Fausto Cruzat wrote to the King that many experienced persons had argued that it would be an impractical conquest because of the large number of soldiers needed. Although it might be easy to travel across and gain access to the plains, it would be difficult to penetrate into the mountains, which were very rugged and where the Cagayanes largely lived, and they would need a significant military force, which they lacked. Consequently, he had not been able to take a resolution on the matter.[168]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Cagayan thus remained a frontier zone, defined by ongoing frontier violence. Cagayanes living in the unpacified hinterlands continued to use raiding, headhunting, rebellion and flight to defend themselves from the colonisation efforts of Dominican missionaries and Spanish soldiers. At the same time, many Spanish officials and military officers began to realise that the frontier offered opportunities not experienced elsewhere through the opening of an extensive, lucrative and illicit trading network. For these colonial officials stationed on the frontier, maintaining the status quo proved more profitable than attempting to extend colonial domination. These two elements combined to ensure that hundreds of thousands of *indios* retained their independence from the colonial state through most of upland Northern Luzon.[169] The Dominicans continued to push for an aggressive intervention into the region into the eighteenth century. Yet, in 1718, rebellion once again ripped through the province, particularly within many of the newly established missionary settlements. Beginning in the Itaves towns of Malaveg, Pias, Tavan and Tuao, by the end of November 1718 this rebellion had spread through the majority of the province,

[167] Ibid.
[168] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 122, Núm. 28.
[169] In 1708 Governor Zabalburu estimated the unconquered population of Northern Luzon at 400,000, however historical geographer Linda Newson estimates the initial population of this region at 199,150 in 1570, falling to 127,000 by 1800. See AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 193, Núm. 22. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 248.

reminiscent of the 1620s.[170] Just as they had been a century earlier, Spanish officials were limited in their ability to respond to this rebellion, and the instability of the Cagayan frontier continued on into the eighteenth century.

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The history of upland communities in the Philippines challenges the dominant narrative of progressive Spanish colonisation in the archipelago. Consequently, these histories have often been entirely left out of colonial historiography. Where they are mentioned, they suffer from marginalisation. The communities who entered the twentieth century having successfully resisted colonisation for more than three centuries are often depicted as exceptional. Yet, this chapter has demonstrated that their story was shared by far more communities in the seventeenth century than ever previously acknowledged. Upland spaces offered a site of refuge for *indios* wishing to escape colonial control in virtually every part of the archipelago. Upland communities, in turn, used tactics of raiding, headhunting and defensive fortifications to both defend themselves from outside incursions and destabilise new colonial settlements in the lowlands. Moreover, as the turbulent history of Cagayan demonstrates, these tactics of resistance were not necessarily confined to upland areas. Cagayanes used existing relationships with mountain peoples and spaces to limit the Spanish frontier for the duration of the seventeenth century and beyond. Accounting for a quarter of the entire territory of Luzon and a very large proportion of the island's population, Cagayan was by no means marginal to the history of Spanish colonisation but arguably came to define the limitations of Spanish empire.

[170] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 132, Núm. 43. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 133, Núm. 11. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 141, Núm. 6. Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán*, 55-57.

5.
Native Priests, Priestesses, and Spiritual Landscapes

In 1677, the King issued a royal decree chastising the different missionary orders for their inability to prevent apostasy and failure to convert pagan communities living outside Spanish control.[1] Although the decree ordered each of the missionary orders to devote four or five friars to the conversion of these populations, the missionaries responded with strong evidence that they were already engaged in this work – indeed, that they were overwhelmed by the task of converting mountain communities made up of apostates and those who refused to recognise the Christian God.[2] Missionaries confronted great difficulties in travelling to these remote and dispersed communities. In some instances, such as in Santa Ines in Antipolo, missionaries established towns close to mountainous regions and attempted to create incentives for *indios* to voluntarily join the settlement. This approach met with very limited success.[3] Even in successful cases, as the Jesuit Fr. Ignacio Alcina noted, it was common for the *indios* to leave their faith at the church door.[4] Just as in Northern Luzon, therefore, the conversion process engendered a pattern of mass flight and periodic rebellion across the archipelago. In many cases, the figure of the *babaylan*, or native priest, emerged as a leader of these movements, rallying communities to flee into the mountains and reconnect with their ancestor spirits. Traditionally the role of the native priest was occupied by powerful female leaders, indicating that Philippine women played an active role in subverting, resisting, and rejecting spiritual colonisation.

Particularly in the Visayas, *babaylans* led a number of major rebellions, resulting not only in the abandonment of Christian conversion but often also in the violent death of Spanish missionaries.[5] The *babaylans* who led rebellions in the Visayas in the seventeenth century tell us something about the power of indigenous religion as a counteractive force to Spanish colonisation. Yet, historians have been traditionally reluctant to consider the process of conversion as a catalyst for conflict in the early colonial period, assuming instead that where resistance occurred in the Philippines, it was reactive

[1] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B.
[2] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 82, Núm. 91.
[3] RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 97v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[4] ARSI, Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660.
[5] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century. [Accounts by various early writers covering the period 1621-83.]', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 87-94. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la compañía de Jesús*, 17-19. Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas*, 226-228. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 13. ARSI, Phil 6., fols. 307r-314r: Annua Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinarum Insularum, Anni 1621. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671.

rather than cultural or ideological, a response to violence and abuse, and especially to the exploitation experienced through new colonial labour and tribute systems. Recent historiography has challenged these assumptions. Alfred McCoy argues that *babaylans* in fact offered an 'ideological opposition' to Catholicism. For communities faced with the erosion of their traditional political elite, religious leaders filled a gap in leadership and were able to confront the transformations taking place in their communities.[6] While it is important not to over-emphasise religious-based resistance in a region which has ultimately adopted Christianity,[7] these early conflicts over conversion provide an important backdrop to the process of religious syncretism that anthropologists have long argued is a hallmark of modern Filipino folk Catholicism.

The academic literature on religion in the Philippines displays a strong tension between the historical perspective that the project of Catholic conversion was completed rapidly through most of the lowland and island regions,[8] and the abundance of modern anthropological evidence that pre-hispanic belief systems are still prevalent across the breadth of the archipelago.[9] The first perspective was reflected in Phelan's account of the colonial era. While acknowledging many problems inherent within the process of conversion – including shortages of priests, abusive behaviour among the missionaries and the commercial interests of some missionaries – Phelan's conclusion that the project of Christianisation was completed by the end of the seventeenth century has nonetheless endured within the wider historiography.[10] Moreover, a generation of historians following Phelan underplayed

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[6] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 165-166.
[7] Ramos, 'Conversion of Indigenous People in the Peruvian Andes', 359-369.
[8] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251-280. Sánchez Fuertes, 'La Iglesia y sus relaciones con los filipinos', 319-357. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*. Schumacher, 'Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism', 251-272. Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-21. Borges Morán, 'Aspectos Característicos de La Evangelización de Filipinas', 285–318. Fernandez, *History of the Church in the Philippines*.
[9] Macdonald, 'Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines', 78-93. Richard W. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967). Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Charles Macdonald, 'Invoking the Spirits in Palawan: Ethnography and Pragmatics', in *Sociolinguistics Today: International Perspectives*, edited by Kingsley Bolton and Helen Kwok, (London: Routledge, 1992), 244-260. Hislop, 'Anitism', 144-56. F. Landa Jocano, 'Filipino Catholicism: A Case Study in Religious Change', *Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1967), 42-64. F. Landa Jocano, 'Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines', *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1965), 96-119. McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 141-194. Charles Macdonald, 'Cleansing the Earth: The *Pangarris* Ceremony in Kulbi-Kanipaqan, southern Palawan', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 45, (1997), 408-422. Thomas Gibson, *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands. Religion and Society among the Buid of Mindoro*, (London: Athlone Press, 1986). Penelope Graham, *Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature*, Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1987).
[10] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251-283. Sánchez Fuertes, 'La Iglesia y sus relaciones con los filipinos', 319-357. Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*, 1-21. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*, 4. As should be evident from this

the problems that he highlighted, preferring instead to view the 'expansive, prolific [and] glorious'[11] efforts of the missionaries as responsible for bringing the Philippines out of 'her chaotic, primitive socio-political status into a modern, well-organized society'.[12] For these historians, missionaries achieved more in the conquest of Philippine *indios* than any soldier. More than this, the friars were engineers, sailors, architects, builders, physicists, naturalists, linguists, mathematicians, astronomers, cosmographers, artists, artisans, teachers and pedagogues, moralists, and theologians.[13] For historians like Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla and Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, missionaries were champions of human rights, defending *indios* against the abuses they suffered at the hands of *encomenderos*, conquistadors and royal officials.[14] From within this view, the idea that conversion was partial or incomplete is difficult to contemplate. Missionary requirements that converts demonstrate a full and sincere understanding of the Catholic faith before they were baptised left no room for partial conversion. Thus, three decades after Phelan, historian John N. Schumacher reiterated that the Catholic evangelising project was largely complete by the mid-seventeenth century.[15]

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discussion, this perspective is most strongly put forward by Church historians; by contrast, ethnohistorians have presented a more complex view of the conversion process, in which Philippine communities exhibited agency over their interpretation of Christianity. See for example Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*. Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship', 367-398. Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 3-38. Nonetheless, the work of historians like Rafael and Carolyn Brewer – while relying primarily on published chronicle accounts written by the religious orders themselves – tend to overstate the capacity for the religious orders to embark on projects of wholesale social change in the early years of colonial rule. Brewer in particular argues that Catholicism was used effectively as a device to completely reshape gender relations within the archipelago. See Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines*. While helping to refine our understanding of the religious conversion process, these works nonetheless do not address the underlying question as to how widespread conversion really was in the seventeenth century. Thus, Barbara Andaya's conclusion in a recent summary essay on religious change in Southeast Asia echoes Phelan, albeit with some caveats: 'Caution should naturally be exercised in generalizing about the conversion experience of Filipinos, since cultural attitudes explaining the acceptance of Christian teachings in one area may not necessarily apply in another. Yet regardless of the reasons underlying missionary success, it is clear that by the latter part of the seventeenth century the adaptation process had enabled Christianity to take firm root in the northern half of the Philippines.' Barbara Andaya, 'Religious Developments in Southeast Asia, c. 1500-1800,' in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1: From Early Times to c. 1800, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 534.

[11] Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251.

[12] Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*, 4. See also: Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-212.

[13] Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 252.

[14] Ibid., 251-283. Sánchez Fuertes, 'La Iglesia y sus relaciones con los filipinos', 319-357. See also: Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*, 1-21.

[15] Schumacher argues: 'Most historians have at least tacitly accepted John Leddy Phelan's statement that practically all lowland Filipinos outside of Mindanao and Sulu had been baptized after two generations of missionary work - by 1620 in Luzon and by mid-seventeenth century in the Visayas. The deepening of that Christianity and its penetration into the culture took longer of course, but, allowing for variations between Manila and the provinces, Luzon and the Visayas, cabeceras and visitas, one could say that lowland Philippines was permanently Christian. By the end of the seventeenth century, substantial progress had been made in Christianizing the mountain peoples of northern Luzon, limited only by the lack of sufficient missionaries, and

These conclusions contrast starkly with the findings of numerous twentieth-century anthropologists, who emphasise the persistence of pre-hispanic animist religious beliefs and practices throughout the Philippines. Their studies show that nominally Christian communities continue to believe in the existence of a spirit world which needs to be acknowledged and placated through ritual observances. Rituals and ceremonies invoking these spirits take place especially during moments of crisis or illness or as part of social or economic activities like the beginning of the harvest or the construction of a road.[16] These arguments naturally raise questions regarding the completeness of Christian conversion centuries earlier during the colonial era – a question that a new generation of historians has also sought to address. Writing about the Western Visayas, the historical anthropologist Alfred McCoy concluded that 'Visayan animism had not merely survived as some atavistic curiosity, but in fact remained the dominant spiritual force in the Western Visayas'.[17] Indeed, he argues that 'folk Catholicism' hardly accounts for the processes that have taken place in the Visayas, where Catholicism did not supplant animism but was merely – and only very partially – incorporated into the pre-existing belief systems.[18]

Anthropologists have thus argued strongly for a religious syncretism in the Philippines, where pre-hispanic practices remain strong particularly in rural and provincial areas.[19] Yet, historians like Gabriela Ramos have recently argued that the term 'syncretism' is problematic since it implies that indigenous traditions were always static.[20] Instead, she has demonstrated through her work on religious change in the Andes that indigenous culture achieved longevity not through an oppositional process of resistance but through adaptation, thus achieving what others have described as 'a non-static, creative synthesis that is ever-evolving'.[21] This notion of adaptation has also been applied to the study of Christian conversion in the Philippines notably by the historian Vicente Rafael, who shows how

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similar, if less spectacular achievements had been made in the northern coast of Mindanao.' Schumacher, 'Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism', 256. Elsewhere Schumacher has argued that 'no whole people, at least prior to the late nineteenth century, had ever in the history of the Church been so thoroughly evangelized as were the Filipinos'. See Schumacher, *Growth and Decline*. Miguel A. Bernad argues by contrast that, while evangelisation had progressed to an impressive extent, the full Christianisation of the islands could not be considered complete since native Filipinos were denied access to entering the clergy. Despite this, he calls the Christianisation process a 'stupendous feat'. See Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines*.

[16] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 146-154.

[17] Ibid, 164.

[18] Ibid, 161-165.

[19] Landa Jocano, 'Filipino Catholicism', 42-64.

[20] Ramos, 'Conversion of Indigenous People in the Peruvian Andes', 359-369.

[21] Christensen, 'Recent Approaches in Understanding Evangelization in New Spain', 41. Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989). Ramos, 'Conversion of Indigenous People in the Peruvian Andes', 359-369. Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes*.

Philippine communities both adopted and transformed Christian beliefs through the process of translating them both linguistically and culturally.[22] At the same time, adaptation was not simply a concern for converts; it is also evident in missionary practices. Stuart Schwartz has argued against the idea of a rigid and intolerant Catholicism, suggesting that Catholic missionaries were tolerant of differing views of salvation while the disparateness of the empire fostered a pragmatic pluralism especially in areas where missionaries had limited control.[23] Similarly, the work of Mark Dizon shows how missionaries mobilised both living and spiritual kinship networks in the conversion process in the North Eastern highlands of Luzon in the eighteenth century.[24]

This chapter aims to extend these conclusions by arguing that missionaries across the Philippines only achieved conversion when they adapted their practices through a concerted engagement with existing cultures and belief patterns. In particular, missionaries needed to adopt many of the practices of native priests and priestesses in engaging with the spiritual landscape of local communities. At the same time, I argue that this adaptation was not merely a matter of cultural translation. The conversion process itself was far more contested and engendered far more violence on both sides than is ever acknowledged. While Philippine communities at times rejected conversion through acts of rebellion, running away, or killing priests, missionaries were responsible for some of the most extreme cases of abuse and corruption witnessed in the seventeenth-century archipelago. This history of abuse and violence has largely been written out of the historical record thanks in part to the dominant interest in church history by historians who themselves have missionary backgrounds.[25] The archival record demonstrates that peaceful conversion was by no means the favoured strategy of religious orders. Throughout the century a tension is evident between those who believed that conversion could only be achieved through force and those who realised that the use of force provoked greater resistance to conversion. Ultimately, a non-violent adaptation demonstrated by certain missionaries was a response to the strength of existing religious beliefs as well as the insistence of Philippine communities in maintaining a connection to their spiritual landscape.

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[22] Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.
[23] Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
[24] Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship', 367-398. Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 3-38.
[25] Historians associated with the Jesuit order: Nicholas Cushner, S.J., Horacio de la Costa, S.J., José S. Arcilla, S.J., John N. Schumacher, S.J., Francisco R. Demetrio, S.J., Francis X. Hezel, S.J., Thomas J. O'Shaugnessy, S.J., Pierre de Charentenay, S.J., W.C. Repetti, S.J., Miguel A. Bernad, S.J. Associated with the Augustinian Order: Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla. Associated with the Franciscan Order: Cayetano Sánches Fuertes. Associated with the Dominican order: Eladio Neira, Pablo Fernandez, O.P., Pedro V. Salgado. Associated with the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart: Peter Schreurs.

This chapter highlights the numerous challenges that limited conversion in the seventeenth century. The argument presented here also overturns the suggestion that there was a 'fundamentally asymmetrical' relationship between missionaries and indigenous groups.[26] The chapter begins with an exploration of Philippine animist beliefs in the existence of an all-pervasive spirit world that was embedded in the natural environment. This spiritual landscape severely limited the capacity of Spanish missionaries to reduce *indios* into Spanish settlements. Moreover, *indios* often actively chose to retreat further away from missionaries to continue practising their religious traditions. At times, this was a response to the abusive practices of Spanish missionaries, which ranged from exploiting indigenous labour to cruelly whipping *indios* or engaging in sexual violence against Philippine women. Thus, widespread fugitivism was also matched with periodic rebellion. As we have already seen, the figure of the native priest often emerged as a leader of these rebellions and provided a political counter-balance to Spanish missionaries. The final part of this chapter turns to the response of missionaries to this turbulent environment, arguing that those who adopted and adapted pre-existing spiritual beliefs were the most successful in their conversion aims. Moreover, the way that Filipinos chose to respond to missionaries gave them agency in their own conversion process, allowing them to choose the elements of Christianity that suited them and integrating these elements with their own pre-existing ideas about the world.

[26] Barbara Andaya, 'Glocalization and the Marketing of Christianity in Early Modern Southeast Asia', *Religions*, Vol. 8, No. 7 (2017), 2.

Figure 1: Depiction of Visayans in the Boxer Codex[27]

Image from the Boxer Codex removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Lilly Library, Indiana.

Spiritual Landscapes

In 1601, two Jesuit missionaries set off to preach the Holy Gospel in Catubig, in the very northeast of the Visayan island of Samar. They struggled for many days through difficult terrain, wading through thigh-high water and knee-high mud. They climbed up rugged and dense mountains, sometimes scaling cliffs with their bare hands. They suffered both hunger and thirst and their clothes became ragged. The missionaries felt that the task was worth these temporal discomforts because they encountered many people interested in their Christian religion. Fr. Juan de Torres related how one night they gathered together the communities of three towns, who rejoiced at the priests' arrival. They told these *indios* of matters relating to the afterlife, of the immortality of the soul, of how God

[27] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fol. 23v.

rewarded the Christians in heaven, and of the torments in Hell for those who did not convert. In response to these teachings, Fr. Torres claimed that all the *indios* begged to be made Christian and to be allowed to build a bigger church.[28]

This story is characteristic of missionary accounts of conversion activities in the Philippines in the early seventeenth century. Appearing in chronicles, letters and the regular annual reports produced by the Jesuit order, these accounts portray the miraculous conversions achieved by a small group of religious men in formidable environments.[29] Yet, it was not just difficult terrain and the shortage of missionaries that encumbered the conversion process.[30] Missionaries also had to confront both temporal and spiritual cultures that were in many ways inimical to the conversion project. Foremost among these was the way in which Philippine communities related to their local environments. For Philippine *indios*, the landscape was not only a place of economic productivity – a place to plant and harvest rice crops or to hunt or forage – but also a place deeply connected to their concept of the spirit world. Thus, for the *indios* of Catubig, the forests that Fr. Torres and his companion traversed were not only wild and rugged places but were also filled with the presence of both good and evil spirits whose humours could determine the fortune of those who passed through them. While historians have long acknowledged that the dispersed nature of Philippine settlement patterns hindered missionary activities,[31] there has rarely been an acknowledgment of the contribution that pre-hispanic religious beliefs made to this situation.

Writing about the highland groups of Eastern Luzon in the eighteenth century, Mark Dizon notes that one of the hallmarks of Philippine animism was that indigenous people 'regarded the world as full of signs and spirits that needed to be seen, assessed, and acted upon'.[32] This was a feature common to groups across the Philippines. Although the specific nature of these beliefs differed from community to community across the archipelago, all Philippine communities shared the common belief that the

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[28] ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 105r-106v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.

[29] See for example: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 69. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 73.

[30] On the shortage of priests, see: AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 95. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 35.

[31] Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 41-52.

[32] Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 18. Many of the characteristics of Philippine animism were shared across communities within Maritime Southeast Asia. For a comparative literature on Southeast Asian animism see: Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid, *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002). Andaya, 'Rivers, Oceans, and Spirits', 239-263. Andaya, 'Seas, Oceans and Cosmologies in Southeast Asia', 349-371.

world was guided by invisible spirits who could either be good or evil. Some of these spirits belonged to ancestors who had died, while others were said to occupy particular sites – like a rock or a tree – and performed different spiritual functions.[33] In describing Philippine beliefs, Pedro Fernández del Pulgar wrote in the mid-seventeenth century that the different spirits that *indios* worshipped – known as *divatas* by the Visayans and *anitos* by the Tagalogs – were intimately connected to place. Some spirits had ownership over the mountains and the countryside and the *indios* would ask them for permission to travel through these regions. Others looked after crops and ritual sacrifices were made to ensure the success of the harvest. There was an *anito* for the sea and for fishing and navigation, and an *anito* for the house, who looked after the person who was born there.[34] Fr. Pedro Chirino noted that many of the spirits were thought to take the form of animals or birds. Particular animals, like the crocodile, were held in reverence and offered sacrifices in order to keep them happy. Spirits also occupied particular locations like trees, stones, rocks, reefs and cliffs.[35] In reality, the pantheon of spirits and the functions they served differed from community to community. In the Zambales mountains in the 1680s, the *indios* reported the names of a hundred different spirits, all with different purposes.[36] The *indios* of Santo Tomás in Laguna de Bay in 1686 gave some examples of these purposes. For instance, there was a spirit for childbirth, another for midwives, others responsible for highways, hunting, farming, pathways, merchants, winds, harvests, cripples, navigation, marriage, plants, for the dead and sick and two that were considered to be guardians of the temple where they believed the souls gathered after death.[37]

Perhaps as a consequence of these variations across communities, the worship of these spirits was also specific to particular locations. Chroniclers like Antonio de Morga suggested that Philippine *indios* did not have any temples or other places of worship outside the home, where most ritual observances took place.[38] But what Morga and others may have missed is that this worship often took place in locations in the natural world that had designated spiritual importance. Chirino mentions a famous site in Mindanao where warriors would shoot a volley of arrows into a cliff-face each time they set out on a slave raiding mission. Another known site of worship was a rock at the mouth of the Pasig River

[33] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 297-298. BNE, Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.
[34] BNE, Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.
[35] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 299.
[36] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.
[37] Ibid. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.
[38] Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, 306. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 300. BNE, Mss. 3002, fol. 28v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.

in Manila.[39] For the *indios* of Santo Tomás, these sites were typically caves or gullies found in the mountains. The *indios* described gatherings in these sites that often involved more than a hundred people who would eat, drink, sing and make offerings to the spirits.[40] Other locations attained spiritual importance after they became the burial site of an important ancestor. Chirino relates the story of a warrior in Leyte who had a hut constructed on a part of the coast where his body was placed after he died and this site became a place of worship by all those voyagers who passed by.[41] Fields, where *indios* harvested their crops, were also common sites of ritual observance, where the spirits were called upon to ensure the success of the harvest or in times of plague or pestilence.[42] Other parts of the countryside could not be cultivated as they were considered to be inhabited by ancestor spirits.[43]

Thus, the Philippine landscape was heavily imbued with spiritual meaning. Missionaries were forced to confront these spiritual beliefs when convincing *indios* to join newly founded Spanish settlements and convert to Christianity. Royal officials and missionaries alike advocated the reduction of *indios* into towns where they could be congregated into populations of several thousand people, following similar settlement patterns utilised by missionaries in Latin America.[44] Doing so would aid the process of conversion, especially in the context of great shortages in the number of priests for such a dispersed population.[45] Yet, the process of founding new towns was severely curtailed by the pre-existing settlement patterns of Philippine *indios*. Throughout the islands, *indios* preferred to live in small, scattered and isolated hamlets or villages, where they could be close to their fields.[46] The idea of living congregated into a town made little economic sense to the majority of *indios* who lived off a combination of subsistence farming and hunting and gathering. Since most rice crops did not produce a surplus that lasted for the entire year, *indios* supplemented their harvests with fishing, hunting game or the gathering of root vegetables and fruits from the forests. Especially in highland areas, communities were often semi-nomadic and it was not uncommon for tribute collectors or missionaries

[39] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 298-299. Pulgar says that the Augustinians responded to this by removing the rock and putting in its place a cross and a chapel with the image of San Nicolas de Tolentino. BNE, Mss. 3002, fol. 27v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.
[40] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.
[41] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 297-298.
[42] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.
[43] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 297-298.
[44] See for example: Mumford, *Vertical Empire*.
[45] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 22. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 95. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 79, Núm. 35.
[46] ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 46. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 45.

to find previously occupied towns abandoned.[47] The Jesuit Fr. Mateo Sanchez noted that *indios* had very little need for the towns that the Spanish created. The great amount of labour that went into cultivation and hunting and gathering meant that *indios* were fully occupied in the countryside, whereas in the towns they had nothing to do. Moreover, since most *indios* preferred to work barefooted and wore little clothing, there was not even a need for towns as centres of artisanal production.[48]

The choice to live in scattered hamlets was largely shaped by a subsistence economy, yet this pattern of land use also had a clear spiritual dimension. *Indios* were connected to particular locations both for the worship of important and powerful spirits that could determine the success or failure of a harvest and the ritual remembrance of ancestors. The process of removing populations into towns disrupted these connections and required missionaries to sever the ties that *indios* felt with the land and with their own ancestors. Thus, the work of missionaries could lead to violent confrontations.[49] In 1600, two Jesuit friars, Fr. Valerio de Ledesma and Brother Dionisio, travelled to the island of Bohol to try to reduce the population into small towns. After working for some months and founding several settlements where the *indios* could be baptised and hear mass, the two friars were attacked by forty men armed with spears and shields who intended to take them by force. The friars were forced to flee. On their way back to Cebu, they visited another newly founded settlement where they were again attacked by another group of forty-eight men who set fire to the church and assaulted the newly converted Christians. The Jesuits established a sentinel and a watch fire to be lit at night to ward off anyone trying to enter the town. Nonetheless, the attackers besieged the town, attacking anyone who tried to enter or leave.[50]

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[47] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 247r-247v. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 28.

[48] ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603.

[49] At times, priests were killed for their work in newly converted communities. In 1645, the Jesuit Fr. Juan Domingo de Arezu was praying in the Church of Carigara in Leyte when he was stabbed in the back by three *indios*, who left him to die in a pool of his own blood. One source says that this was a revenge attack by an *indio* who the priest had reprimanded severely for not informing the church that his mother was dying, and so denying her the last rites. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas*, 148r, 258r-258v. ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660. In 1659, the Jesuit Fr. Jaime Esteban attempted to convince a particular *indio* from the mountains of Negros to cease cohabiting with a woman and to instead come to live within the Spanish town where he could convert to Christianity. When the friar sent the woman away to another town, the *indio* became so enraged that he plotted along with two others to murder the priest, eventually stabbing him to death. ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660.

[50] ARSI Phil. 5, fols. 75r-92r: Carta Annua de la Provincia de las Philippinas desde junio 1600 hasta el de junio de 1601 Años.

The common response of communities was simply to retreat further away from missionaries and to continue to practice their own religious observances. In 1682, the Augustinian Recollect Tomás de San Jerónimo wrote that the *indios* of Caraga regularly fled from Spanish settlements to resettle back into the mountains, dissolving into small family units and living at a great distance from one another. Despite every effort of the missionaries, they were unable to consolidate any major settlements in this region. He said that, at best, the *indios* would spend a night in the towns established by the Spanish, but at daybreak, they would disperse once again into the surrounding countryside.[51] On the island of Mindoro, the Recollects were similarly frustrated by their inability to form permanent settlements. In this instance, Fr. San Jerónimo wrote that it was the work of some ancient and superstitious *principales* who were able to convince the majority of those living in the Spanish towns to retreat into the interior of the island and renounce the Catholic faith. By 1682, the Recollects in Mindoro barely controlled two hundred baptised *indios*.[52] While fugitivism was an opportunity for *indios* to continue their pre-hispanic religious practices, it was also a means of escaping the exploitation and abuses that *indios* experienced in Spanish settlements, often at the hands of the missionaries themselves.

Missionary Abuse and Exploitation

As the previous two chapters have demonstrated, *encomenderos*, royal officials and soldiers were not the only ones capable of exploiting native communities. Many missionaries were reluctant to admit that their orders were involved in widespread exploitation or abuse as doing so would undermine their requests for ongoing aid and increased authority over indigenous communities. Nonetheless, ample evidence exists to implicate missionaries in exploitative behaviour. In 1690, the Audiencia accused the missionary orders in general of having largely abandoned their apostolic aims and of being 'those that most afflict the natives and inhabitants'.[53] They reported that many missionaries lived lawlessly, citing a recent case of a Franciscan missionary who had threatened an *alcalde mayor* with an arquebus when he was asked to comply with a decree ordering him to establish a school for children to learn to read in Camarines province. In 1683, the Bishop of Nueva Cáceres gave a damning description of the secular clergy serving in Camarines at that time. His main complaint was that the priests had failed to administer to their flock, did not teach the religious doctrine to their communities and left many *indios* to die without having received the Holy Sacraments. Some clerics were accused

[51] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 86, Núm. 48.
[52] Ibid.
[53] 'Son los que más afligen a los naturales y moradores.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 26, Ramo 1, Núm. 3.

of abandoning their parishes for months at a time, gathering to gamble by night and by day. They were also addicted greatly to Buyo – betel nut and lime – and González claimed that many of them felt that it was a martyrdom to have to abandon chewing this highly addictive substance for more than a quarter of an hour. Additionally, the bishop accused the priests of being principally interested in despoiling and robbing their flock and enslaving them and putting them to work in their service instead of teaching them the benefits of the Catholic religion.[54] In 1670, in the town of Sampaloc, just outside Manila, the Franciscan Fr. Francisco Solier was accused of punishing four *indios* – a man, two women and a young boy – for a theft that they did not commit. The man and boy were whipped and chained to stocks by the friar, while the women were imprisoned and tortured in the priest's bedchamber for a period of eight days. All four were then forced to leave town. A similar case took place the same year in the town of Dilao, Tondo, where four *cabezas de barangay* were tied up and whipped by a priest for refusing to pay alms. The document suggests that the friar was attempting to run his parish like an *encomienda*, extracting money and goods as 'alms' for the church.[55]

Missionaries were regularly accused of being more interested in commercial gain than conversion.[56] In Mauban, Tayabas, an alcalde mayor[57] was beaten black and blue by Fr. Andrés de Talavera in 1670 for having uncovered the fact that the priest was engaged in stockpiling food and rice while demanding more from the *indios* in his communities. In a fit of rage, Fr. Talavera ripped all the clothes off the *indio* and treated him so badly that he returned to his house near naked and covered in bruises. This created a great scandal among the *indios* of the town, who were scared and astonished by the behaviour of the priest. Shortly afterwards, many of the *indios* fled from the town into the mountains.[58] In 1686, the *indios* of Zambales province reported that the Augustinian Recollects were 'great friends of silver' and would extort money from them as punishment for sins that the *indios* committed, including cohabiting outside marriage or polygamy – both of which were common in newly converted communities. Other *indios* were forced to leave aside their own harvests in order to go in search of wax in the mountains for the fathers. Idolatries remained strong within these mountain communities.[59] One cleric in the region of Santo Tomás, Don Miguel de la Cueva, was said to have

[54] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145.
[55] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5. Notably, Fr. Francisco Solier was one of the most vocal opponents of the *Discurso Parenético*, which sought to highlight the abusive treatment of priests towards indigenous communities, as discussed in chapter 3.
[56] Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Between Empires and Emporia: The Economics of Christianization in Early Modern Southeast Asia', *Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 53, No. 1/2 (2010), 363-364.
[57] It should be noted that in this instance the *alcalde mayor* was reported as being indigenous rather than Spanish, as was normally the case in other provinces.
[58] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 5.
[59] The same *indios* reported that the Recollects had demonstrated little interest in teaching them the Holy Gospel – teaching them only basic commandments, and even then, only poorly so that many believed that

been entirely occupied with a horse and cattle ranch and rarely ever came to town to preach. The *indios* of this town generally despised him.[60]

However, an even more prevalent problem was sexual exploitation by priests. The illicit involvement of priests with native women was widely acknowledged and tacitly accepted within the Philippines throughout the century. Some of these affairs were clearly consensual and involved long-term relationships that led some priests to have many children with their *india* partners. This was the case with the priest Cristóbal del Castillo Tamayo, who was reportedly suspended by the archbishop in Manila in the 1680s for living with his illegitimate children in the province of Laguna de Bay.[61] In 1683, the bishop of Nueva Cáceres told a story of a Franciscan priest who fled his post after a group of soldiers were dispatched to take him from the arms of his lover, an *india* servant of a Spanish captain.[62] In 1608, the Bornean women Inés Mena reported that Fr. Alonso de Quiñones was so in love with her that when he returned to New Spain he wept in her arms, took a lock of her hair and then wrote her name down on a piece of paper so that he would have it with him as he crossed the sea.[63] Some accused missionaries blamed the beguiling ways of the *indias* for their situation. In 1601, the Jesuit Fr. Ledesma commented that many *indias* had very loose morals around sexual relations, believing that it was fine to copulate with the friars or other men so long as it took place outside of mass.[64] Another Jesuit, Fr. Mateo Sanchez commented in 1603 that the women of the Visayas were very provocative and attractive and it took a great strength of character for the priests to resist them.[65]

Yet, while these cases appear largely consensual, there is also evidence of widespread sexual violence committed by friars. In the Zambales mountains in the 1680s, one Augustinian Recollect was accused of systematically deflowering all of the young girls in the towns where he preached. One witness reported that he had seen this friar fondling a young girl and afterwards saw the same girl covered in blood and on the point of death after having been raped.[66] In 1615, Fr. Pedro de Velasco was accused of climbing through the window of a house one night in the town of Palapag wearing a pillow for a nightcap and a blanket in place of a cloak. However, instead of encountering the *india* of his desires,

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fornication was not a sin unless the priest specifically said it was. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.

[60] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.

[61] Ibid.

[62] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 145.

[63] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 3436, Exp. 22.

[64] ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 41r-42r: Letter from Valerio de Ledesma 10-Mar-1601.

[65] ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 104r-106v: Letter from Mateo Sanchez, 12-Abr-1603. For an extended discussion on the views held by Catholic missionaries regarding indigenous women and their sexuality, see Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines*.

[66] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.

he came face to face with her family who were all very shocked to see him in such a state. The Jesuit hierarchy appeared to take such crimes very seriously. For this and other offences, Fr. Velasco was whipped severely and placed in the stocks for two months before finally being convinced to leave the order.[67]

The solicitation of sex from women and girls during confession was acknowledged as widespread and condemned by church authorities.[68] A sample of inquisition records from 1607-1653 reveals twenty-five individual cases of solicitation during confession in Manila and surrounding towns.[69] Most of these demonstrate a fairly common pattern of events, where the priest would approach a woman and either invite her to have sex with him – which was usually refused – or rape her, sometimes during the confession itself and sometimes afterwards in his chamber.[70] Some priests publicly whipped *indias* who refused their advances, as happened to Juana Limin in 1605.[71] In 1608, María Sanayin was threatened with public flogging after she violently resisted the advances of Fr. Augustin de Peralta, but she defiantly declared that even if he flayed her she would not do as he wished.[72] The same year, in the town of Pila, Laguna de Bay, the fifteen-year-old Inés Singo was raped and assaulted by three Franciscan priests – including two priests she went to for help after the first rape – before a Dominican friar finally encouraged her to report these crimes to the inquisition.[73] Another *india*, Antonia Silicia, was abducted in 1615 and kept prisoner by Andrés Manuel, a cleric who had been expelled from the Company of Jesus. Fr. Manuel enlisted the help of bailiffs to capture her and drag her before him; he then whipped her before sending her to a house where she remained a prisoner for many months. He kept her there and would visit every few days to rape her.[74]

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[67] ARSI Phil. 11, fols. 51r-54v: Letter from Andres de la Cruz, 30-Abr-1615.
[68] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 35. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 8, Núm. 91. For a comparative study on this from Spain see: Stephen Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
[69] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 18. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 5. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 3436, Exp. 22. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 20. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 21. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 32. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4052, Exp. 26. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 3871, Exp. 11. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 3436, Exp. 51. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4052, Exp. 29. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 1. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 2721, Exp. 26. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 2721, Exp. 27.
[70] Although women were almost exclusively the subjects of these assaults, one inquisition record suggests that men could also be subjected to sexual exploitation. In 1618, Isabel Bini, the *principala* of the town of Mexico in Pampanga, reported that she had witnessed the Augustinian Fr. Augustin Mexia engaging in mutual masturbation with a group of men. She went to confront some of those who were involved, telling them that they were unclean, and they responded that they always washed their hands afterwards. They also told her that the priest had said that it was only a sin if it involved women, that everyone did it in Spain, and that it could be absolved through confession. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4052 Exp. 26.
[71] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 20.
[72] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 5.
[73] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4154, Exp. 21.
[74] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4052, Exp. 29, fols. 29r-30v.

That these various activities had an impact on the efficacy of conversion is hardly surprising. Some communities responded by rejecting particular missionary orders rather than abandoning the Christian faith entirely. In 1679, the *indios* of Mindoro wrote several formal petitions, complaining about the abuse they had received by the Recollects and saying that they instead wished to be administered by the Jesuits. These *indios* threatened to apostatise and flee into the mountains, abandoning the faith and abandoning the Spanish yoke.[75] Very similar cases can also be found in Panay in the 1660s and the Zambales Mountains in the 1680s, where *indio* communities threatened to abandon Spanish towns and the Christian faith if they were not administered by Jesuit missionaries.[76] While these examples involve intervention from the Jesuits, who were motivated by their own desire to be allowed into new missionary fields,[77] they nonetheless demonstrate that communities experienced exploitation and injury by the missionaries that came to convert them, and would act upon this.

In the most extreme cases, *indios* responded to the abuses they received by priests through wide-scale rebellion. In 1631, four Augustinian Recollects were killed during a major rebellion in the province of Caraga.[78] This rebellion has often been considered a response to abusive behaviour by the soldiers stationed in the province and also had strong connections to the political divide between the Spanish and the neighbouring Maguindanaos. Yet the Recollects themselves saw the events as an anti-colonial rebellion where the *indios* specifically rejected Christianity. An internal investigation that the order conducted into the rebellion suggested that the *indios* saw the priests as much as instruments of colonisation as the soldiers. The symbolism used by the rebels during the rebellion supports these assessments. Upon entering the town of Tandag, the rebels laid siege to the church and the convent, killing the prior, his companion and two other priests and robbing and sacking the buildings, destroying any religious artefacts that they could find. They desecrated religious images, broke and smashed crucifixes and took their axes to statues of Christ. After this, they held a mock Mass in the church, where an *india* called Maria Campan dressed herself in the priest's robes and then threw holy water

[75] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B. Damon L. Woods, 'Out of the Silence, the Men of Naujan Speak: Tagalog Texts from the Seventeenth Century', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (2015), 303-340.
[76] RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20.
[77] Woods, 'Out of the Silence, the Men of Naujan Speak', 303-340.
[78] Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 83-119. Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua*, 146-161. AHN, CDI, Leg. 25, Núm. 62. BNE, Mss. 3828: Informaciones acerca de la vida del venerable fray Alonso Orozco, fols. 213r-216v. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 85-86. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 16. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 128-131.

around the church, declaring 'I am Father Jacinto'. Following this Mass, the rebels continued their sacking of the town, and the church in Tago was also burnt to the ground.[79]

Native Priests and Rebellion

In 1621, four of the six towns on the island of Bohol rebelled and their residents fled into the hills, joining an already existing community of fugitives who were living outside of Spanish control. The rebellion was led by four *babaylans*, or native priests, who encouraged the *indios* to burn down their villages and churches and desecrate any Christian religious items that they could find. The *babaylans* had been instructed to do this by a *divata* – or ancestor spirit – who appeared before them in the forest and told them to abandon the Jesuit missionaries and seek a life of freedom and abundance in the hills and forests. The priests told their followers that the *divata* would protect them in their encounter with the Spanish, causing the mountains to shake and the bullets of the Spanish muskets to misfire.[80]

The rebellion of the Boholanos caught the Jesuits by surprise, as Bohol was long regarded as one of the most fruitful and obedient of all the Jesuit missions in the Visayas. Yet this rebellion must have taken considerable planning and was executed when the majority of Jesuit missionaries had left the island to celebrate the beatification of San Xavier in Cebu. In the mountains, the *babaylans* had constructed a series of clever fortifications. It took six months for a Spanish military force of fifty Spanish and a thousand indigenous soldiers led by Don Juan de Alcarazo to overcome the rebels. Using the rugged and swampy terrain of the interior of the island, the rebels brazenly attacked Alcarazo's vanguard with a force of 1500 *indios* but were repelled by the superior firepower of the Spanish. After Alcarazo sacked one of the key settlements in the mountains, killing large numbers of *indios*, the rebels retreated to a rugged hill fort where they were protected by thick and thorny vegetation. Along the

[79] Despite these devastating events, the Recollects continued to return to Caraga, refusing to give up their mission. The death of the four missionaries in 1631 was considered a type of martyrdom by the order. Nevertheless, the events in Caraga were severely concerning for many other missionaries, with the Jesuits worrying about the possibility of a '*motín universal*' that could spread across the rest of the islands. RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 15: Relación de lo sucedido en las islas Filipinas y otras partes circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1630 hasta el de 1632. Just three years later, in 1634, news arrived that more than 3000 *indios* had risen up in the islands of Leyte, Samar, Ibabao and Caraga, although we have no further record of these events or how they were dealt with. See: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 184. In 1649 a major revolt extended across the Visayas, involving communities in Samar, Camarines, Masbate, Cebu, Caraga, Iligan and Leyte. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 101-128. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 411-413. Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 89-90.

[80] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 87-94. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, 17-19. Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas*, 226-228. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 13. ARSI, Phil 6., fols. 307r-314r: Annua Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinarum Insularum, Anni 1621.

roads to their fort, they placed sharp stakes driven into the ground and positioned men armed with crossbows and stones in the trees ready to hurl at the Spanish soldiers. After six months, Alcarazo eventually mustered sufficient strength to assault this hill fort. The battle was fierce and bloody. Alcarazo's forces tore through the rebel stronghold, killing many and forcing the rest to flee further into the mountains. Thus, this seditious moment on the island of Bohol was put to rest, although the archival record says nothing further about those that fled.[81]

As this account suggests, rebellions were not merely reactive responses to abuse and exploitation. They also involved considerable planning by the *indios* involved and were often led by native priests. Religious leaders held great power within Philippine communities for their ability to commune with the spirit world – especially with dead ancestors – and for their perceived abilities as healers and fortune tellers. In most instances, these offices were held by women and when men took the role of priest they would typically dress in women's clothing.[82] An investigation into idolatrous practices in the Zambales mountains in 1686 uncovered 159 women who were either known priestesses or regularly engaged in ritual sacrifices.[83] Despite this, many Spanish chronicles mask the agency and power of these women.[84] At the same time, there is evidence that as religious leaders came to take on a more martial character – often leading rebellions – this role did pass to men. This transition occurred contemporaneously to the assimilation of many *datus* into new colonial leadership roles. For those communities that rejected colonisation, religious leaders thus became important symbols of community cohesion and resistance.[85]

Native priestesses presided over all the major religious ceremonies in Philippine communities. In the Visayas, these women were known as *babaylans*, while in Tagalog they were called *Catalonas*. Pedro Fernández del Pulgar said that the role of priest was often inherited, although others were chosen for

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[81] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 87-94. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas*, 17-19. Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustín*, 226-228. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 13. ARSI, Phil 6., fols. 307r-314r: Annua Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinarum Insularum, Anni 1621.

[82] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. BNE, Mss. 3002, fol. 28v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento. This was not unique to the Philippines, see: Barbara Watson Andaya, 'The Changing Religious Role of Women in Pre-Modern South East Asia', *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1994), 102.

[83] By contrast there were 19 men involved in these practices. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.

[84] Carolyn Brewer, 'From Animist "Priestess" to Catholic Priest: The Re/Gendering of Religious Roles in the Philippines, 1521-1685' in Barbara Watson Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2000), 69-86. See also: Marya Svetlana Camacho, 'The *Baylan* and *Catalonan* in the Early Spanish Colonial Period', in Marta María Manchado López and Miguel Luque Talaván (eds.), *Un mar de islas, un mar de gentes: Población y diversidad en las islas Filipinas*, (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2014), 127-144.

[85] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 165-166.

their natural aptitude for communing with the spirits.[86] The Zambales described a hierarchy among priests which the Dominican missionaries interpreted as being equivalent to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. In this region, some were like bishops who said the equivalent of mass which they call *mamagat*, others were priests called *mogatao*, and those who delivered the gospel were called *mibaniac*. Apostles were called *mibuaya*, acolytes were called *sumanga*. The priestesses were called *Baliang*, and they occupied the highest offices. During ceremonies, a sacrifice was usually made involving a pig or another animal and offerings were made to the spirits in the form of silver, pigs, deer, chicken, fish, eggs, tamales, cooked rice, wine, oil, vinegar, grapes, and other types of food. These celebrations were typically performed as a way of communing with the dead, in times of illness, to mark the start of the harvest or before hunting, fishing or commencing a long journey.[87] Spanish observers described the behaviour of the native priestesses as akin to being possessed by the devil.[88] Yet, for *indios,* the theatre of the sacrifice was an essential part of communing with the spirit world.

A former native priest from Zambales reported that each priestess had their own methods of performing ceremonies. His usual practice was to prepare the food and drink and then to sit beneath an awning and invoke the spirit with certain sung words. He conveyed with signs that the spirit sat on his shoulder where all of those present could venerate it, crossing their arms and asking the spirit to help them. They would give the *anito* offerings of food and drink while the priest sang praises to the spirit. Everyone then ate and drank, including the priest, in the name of the spirit, which showed signs when it was satisfied and ready to go.[89] Other *indios* described seeing the priestess urinate in front of the gathering as a way of expelling the spirit. In Santo Tomás sacrifices often involved the symbolism of a large serpent, which they called Sava. One *india* said she had seen this serpent in the mouth of a cave and that the priestess spoke to it saying – 'move aside, grandpa, allow your grandchildren to come and visit with you'[90] – after which the serpent disappeared, causing the *india* to be very afraid. She had also seen the priestess with eyes as if they were on fire, talking nonsense in a manner that terrified all that were present. Priestesses in this region were believed to be capable of miracles, such as causing water to spring from rocks.[91]

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[86] BNE, Mss. 3002, fols. 27v-29v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.
[87] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.
[88] Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, 300-301. BNE, Mss. 3002, fol. 28v: Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Descripción de las Filipinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco desde su descubrimiento.
[89] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23.
[90] 'Apartates abuelo, dexa a tus nietos que te vienen a visitar.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20.
[91] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.

In times of rebellion, the power of native priests could be harnessed to convince communities to abandon Spanish towns and reject Christianity, as was witnessed in Bohol in 1621. Shortly after the close of these events in Bohol, six towns in the region of Carigara in Leyte rebelled. This time they were led by an important *principal* known as Bancao, who had been one of the first *indio* chiefs to welcome Legazpi into the Visayas in 1565. Although initially converting to Christianity, over the course of the intervening four decades, it appears that Bancao grew tired of the Spanish yoke. Along with his son and another man called Pagali, they built a temple to the native spirits and incited six villages to rebel. Alcarazo was again sent to deal with this rebellion, and he took an armada of forty vessels containing both Spanish and indigenous soldiers, who joined the forces that were already on the island. The rebels fled into the hills as the Spanish troops advanced. They were pursued, and the Spanish forces killed many with their swords and muskets. The Spanish occupied a native temple for ten days and then burnt it down. In one of the melees, Bancao was killed with a lance and his head was placed on a stake as a warning to the others. His son was also beheaded and his daughter was taken captive. Several other rebels were shot and one of the native priests was burnt as a warning to the rest of the population of Leyte.[92] Notably, after these events missionary activity in this part of Leyte remained limited throughout the seventeenth century.[93]

The story of the murder of Augustinian Fr. Francisco de Mesa in the mountains of Panay in 1663 suggests that some communities utilised Christian symbolism in order to assert their own religious autonomy in times of rebellion. The chronicler Díaz notes that at this time a number of *indios* were living in the dense forests of the mountains of Panay where they continued to practice their indigenous religious practices. One of their leaders was a priest called Tapar, a *babaylan* who dressed in women's clothing and practised ceremonial sacrifices in caves and among the trees of the forests. Tapar was revered as a prophet by his followers and he led many of them in customary practices of ancestor worship. At the same time, Tapar appointed those among his followers as the Son, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, apostles, popes and bishops. It is unclear from Díaz's account whether this was done as a way of convincing converted Christians to return to indigenous religion, however, he implies that it aided Tapar in solidifying his following. The Spanish viewed the ritual celebrations that took place in these caves as akin to devil-worship, involving unspeakable debaucheries, sex-acts, excessive drinking and sacrifices to demons.[94]

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[92] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 87-94. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas*, 17-19. Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustín*, 226-228. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 13. ARSI, Phil 6., fols. 307r-314r: Annua Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinarum Insularum, Anni 1621.
[93] RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671.
[94] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 215-223.

When word of these activities in the mountain reached the lowland Spanish villages the Augustinian Fr. Francisco de Mesa asked for assistance from the *alcalde mayor* Pedro Durán de Monforte, who began to muster a force of Spanish, Pampangan and Merdica soldiers. In the meantime, Fr. Mesa travelled by himself into the mountains to attempt to talk to the apostates. The *indios* refused to come and meet with the friar, saying that 'they had taken refuge for the sake of their safety – not, however, for fear of the Spaniards, whom they esteemed but lightly, for they themselves were accompanied by all the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the apostles, who would defend them by working miracles'.[95] They declared that they no longer needed the services of the missionaries because they had their own bishops and priests and asked the friar to leave them alone as they did not intend to do any harm to any Christians.[96]

Despite making these promises, Tapar and his followers hatched a plot to kill Fr. Mesa. At midnight one night, a mob descended from the mountains and entered the village of Malonor where the friar was sleeping. They surrounded his house and with great shouts they thrust their lances through the bamboo walls and floor, wounding the friar. In desperation, Fr. Mesa attempted to jump out of the window, but he leapt straight into the crowd and was attacked again. He struggled across the road to the cemetery and died with his arms around the cross, as the crowd continued to lance him. The rebels then set fire to the church and the house. When the force mustered by the *alcalde mayor* arrived, they found the body of the slain father, but the insurgents were nowhere to be seen. They began to scour the hills for them and eventually found them and engaged them in battle. Several rebels were brought to Iloilo where they were killed and tied to stakes in the river. The woman who had been given the role of Virgin Mary was impaled on a stake and placed at the mouth of the river.[97]

Missionaries, Religious Adaptation, and the Spiritual Landscape

Faced with the combined problems of fugitivism, rebellion and apostasy throughout much of the archipelago, missionary orders in the late seventeenth century were forced to confront the reality that, for some communities, conversion had simply failed and new strategies had to be considered. Some missionaries believed that conversion had to be forced on unwilling communities by sword or firepower. As early as 1585, Franciscan and Augustinian missionaries had argued that unconverted

[95] Ibid., 220.
[96] Ibid., 215-223.
[97] Ibid., 215-223.

heathen communities should be severely punished for their persistent idolatries. In response, the senior *oidor* drafted 36 proposed ordinances that stipulated the kinds of punishment that could be meted out to *indios* for specific crimes committed against God or the Crown.[98] Nearly a century later, the Augustinian Fr. Diego de Jesús argued that no inhabitant of the archipelago would ever hear the word of God 'if they had not first heard the thunderclap of the arquebuses'.[99] Furthermore, he believed that a constant military presence was needed to ensure against apostasy. He cited the long-standing resistance of the Igorots in the highlands of Luzon, who had shown some interest in converting while soldiers occupied their towns, but as soon as the military retreated, the *indios* abandoned the faith.[100] The Augustinian Recollect Fr. Jesús de San Jerónimo was inclined to agree, saying that there were all too many *indio* communities who were fierce and bloodthirsty and hated with a passion the idea of being subjected to the Spanish yoke. Particularly in regions like Caraga, Fr. San Jerónimo argued, conversion relied on the exercise of His Majesty's arms.[101]

The Zambales Mountains were one region where this policy of conversion by arquebus was attempted, as discussed in the previous chapter. In 1680, a campaign of blood and fire was waged militarily throughout these mountains. For four months, a band of soldiers tore through the region, setting fire to the crops and houses in an attempt to force the *indios* to move into lowland areas. The military commander of this expedition, Ayudante Alonso Martín, spoke of it as a form of cleansing in the service of God. He believed that through the actions of his soldiers, they had convinced a thousand *indios* to join the Dominican settlements on the coast where they could attend mass and be taught the Holy Gospel.[102] Yet, just five years later, the Dominicans reported that despite all of their efforts, there was still a substantial population that willingly lived outside of Spanish control in the mountains. These *cimarrones* were afraid of the coastal villagers and chose to live separately from them. The Dominicans reported that it was almost impossible to convert these communities. After any religious observance, they would scatter back into the mountains and continue to practice their pagan customs. In 1685, Doctor Nicolas de la Vega Carvallo conducted an investigation into continued idolatries in Zambales, involving the interrogation of hundreds of witnesses and the confiscation of thousands of different religious items used in sacrifices and other ceremonies. This investigation revealed that pre-

[98] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 19.
[99] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B, Doc. 4: Letter from Fr. Diego de Jesús, Dated 1680, fol. 1r: 'la experiencia ha ya mostrado repetidamente que no oyen todos estos isleños las voces de los predicadores, si primero no han oído el tronido de los arcabuces.'
[100] Ibid.
[101] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 82, Núm. 91.
[102] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B.

hispanic religious traditions were widespread, while Christianity was almost completely absent from the day-to-day lives of the communities that lived in these mountains.[103]

By comparison, the strategy of the Dominican priest Fr. Juan Ibáñez in the region of Santo Tomás was very different. In May 1686, an investigation into the religious customs in this region found that many of the people living in the towns of this region would frequently gather in great numbers to worship their own spirits and demons, including a type of serpent. Typically, these celebrations would take place in particular caves where the *indios* would gather for days at a time in numbers that often exceeded two hundred people.[104] The persistence of these idolatries had been noted previously by the *alcalde mayor* of the province, Captain Miguel Sanchez. However, it was not until August 1685, when Fr. Ibáñez travelled to the town, that a real investigation was undertaken. Fr. Ibáñez began by visiting the house of a particular *mestiza de sangley* where he witnessed a sacrifice invoking the spirit of a sister who had died some days before. Upon witnessing this ceremony, however, the friar seized the food and offerings that were prepared and threw them into the river. Shortly after this, he did the same for another sacrifice that was prepared in a different house for a child who had been cured of smallpox.[105]

In September 1685, the friar was led into the mountains to be shown some of the caves that were used by the townspeople in their ceremonies. Some were in gullies with wide caverns, others were in the hills. The friar performed exorcisms in all of these places, covering over the entrances and placing a cross in front. In some of the caves, he found evidence of the ceremonies that had taken place, including incense and braziers with ashes and coals and preparations of buyo and tobacco. In one cave near the town of San Pablo de los Montes, the friar found a stone table which had holes that were like drawers where he discovered bowls and other vessels that were used to drink from. After each of his sojourns into the mountains, the townspeople went back to the town and the friar preached to them and exhorted them to repent and give grace to God. Throughout the months of September and October, he continued these activities, finding resistance in some villages but eventually convincing

[103] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. This episode is analysed by Carolyn Brewer, although her source – which she refers to as the 'Bolinao Manuscript' – appears to have been only a partial copy of the full archival sources available in Seville. See Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines,* 143-188.

[104] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. This case has also been described in detail in: Marta María Manchado López, 'Cristianización y persistencia cultural en Filipinas. El caso de la provincia de la Laguna de Bay en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII', in Salvador Bernabéu Albert, Carmen Mena García and Emilio José Luque Azcona, (eds.), *Filipinas y el Pacífico: Nueva miradas, nuevas reflexiones*, (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), 421-440.

[105] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 13.

the villagers to confess and repent. Fr. Ibáñez was successful in these activities because the villagers believed that he was imbued with extraordinary spiritual power. One witness told a story of how some villagers were worried because it had not rained even though it was time for the monsoon. Fr. Ibáñez told them not to worry but to pray to God and after they had done this, the rains began. In another town, one of the priests resisted Fr. Ibáñez's call to convert and in response, the friar told him that he should worry about God's punishment. Three days later, one of his daughters died and the entire town converted. Other witnesses spoke of the collapse of some of the caves that Fr. Ibáñez exorcised, which created a great fear among the *indios*.[106]

An engagement with the spiritual landscape was essential for successful conversion, and priests like Fr. Ibáñez found a way to integrate existing belief structures into their practice of Christianity. Fr. Ibáñez' exorcism and closure of more than a dozen caves – followed by the miraculous collapse of at least one – convinced the *indios* of Santo Tomás that the priest had more power than their own spirits who dwelled in the caves. Writing about Christian conversion in north-eastern Luzon in the eighteenth century, Mark Dizon similarly concluded that *indios* saw conversion to Christianity as a way to potentially escape the evil effects of ancestor spirits. This was especially so for young children who were baptised very early and were thus taken out of the traditional spiritual family and could be rescued from the illness and misfortune that a community might feel these spirits were visiting upon them. Dizon argues, ultimately, that 'the arrival of the new religion did not eliminate spirit beliefs; it simply gave converts in Southeast Asia access to more powerful spiritual forces to tame the traditional spirits'.[107]

Yet, in order for this to work, priests had to be able to prove that Christianity did indeed have superior power over local spirits. This was often achieved through symbolic acts or miraculous events. For instance, when the Jesuit missionaries in Dulac, Leyte built a pyre out of pagan religious artefacts in 1601, they did so to prove that such items contained no special spiritual powers.[108] Fr. Ibáñez's miraculous exorcisms in caves were similarly mirrored elsewhere. Alfred McCoy tells the story of a Recollect missionary who used a Latin invocation to cast out the evil spirit from a thicket, greatly impressing the locals who believed that anyone who touched this thicket would be killed.[109] In 1601, the Jesuits in Samar held a great procession asking God to bring the local communities success in their

[106] Ibid.
[107] Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 27-29, 33.
[108] ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 107r: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[109] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 155-156.

wars against slave raiders from Mindanao. This was done as a way of supplanting a pre-existing tradition where the *indios* asked their own Gods to provide them with good winds and success in battle.[110] Yet, possibly most powerful of all was the symbolic act of baptism. Many *indios* believed that the holy water used by the priests could have healing powers and was an effective way to counter evil spirits.[111] Stories similarly abound in missionary accounts of native priests or priestesses cursing missionaries. When the person making the curse subsequently fell ill or died, this was used as a way of proving the priests' superiority to pagan magic and convinced many to convert lest they themselves were similarly punished by the Christian God.[112]

Other missionaries used physical objects like *agnus dei* coins, which the *indios* believed had special powers of healing. The Jesuit Annual Report of 1601-1602 relates a story of a feud between a woman and a native priestess in a town outside Manila, which resulted in the woman being cursed by the priestess and falling gravely ill. When her husband came to a Jesuit priest for help, the priest gave him a small *agnus dei* and asked him to have faith that his wife would get better. The priest then fell to his knees and asked the Lord to give him strength of faith and to favour the newly converted Christians.[113] When the woman made a full recovery, many other members of the town came to the priest to ask for similar amulets to protect them from curses and other evil. McCoy notes that amulets became very popular even in some of the more Hispanicised provinces of the Philippines, along with Latin or Latin-sounding words which were thought to have magical powers.[114] Amulets had long held an important place within Philippine religious ceremonies as good luck charms or as protection against evil spirits.[115] Their replacement by Christian tokens like *agnus dei* coins thus was important in establishing the place of Christianity within local religious practice.[116]

Missionaries also made use of Philippine kinship networks. This was particularly successful with regards to native catechists – *indios* who became proponents of Christianity and used their relationships to spread Christian teachings. At the same time, kinship also presented problems for

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[110] ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 104r-104v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[111] Dizon, 'Sumpong Spirit Beliefs', 27-29.
[112] ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 101v-102v: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[113] ARSI Phil. 5, fol. 96r: Carta Annua de la Vice Provincia de las Islas Philippinas desde el mes de junio de 1601 hasta el junio de 1602 años.
[114] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 155-156.
[115] Ibid, 156. Landa Jocano, 'Filipino Catholicism', 54. Axel Borchgrevink, 'Ideas of Power in the Philippines: Amulets and Sacrifice', *Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2003), 41-69.
[116] Reynaldo Ileto has demonstrated how amulets continued to hold spiritual significance during the revolutionary era. See: Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*.

conversion when it came to questions of salvation and the afterlife. Many *indios* were concerned by the fundamental Christian tenet that only those who were baptised could enter heaven. For some, the opportunity to abandon their ancestor connections was a benefit of converting to Christianity – especially when these associations with ancestors were considered to be largely negative and the cause of sickness or bad luck. In these instances, the Saints and God acted as positive alternative spirits that indigenous communities could worship in a very similar manner to their ancestor worship. However, for many others, the idea of abandoning or completely severing ties with their ancestors was something that they were unwilling to contemplate and many *indios* expressed the preference for entering hell alongside their ancestors.[117]

Missionaries thus had to learn to adapt their strategies to suit local spiritual beliefs. Moreover, in many cases, this adaptation required missionaries to take on the roles previously played by native priestesses. Yet, this was not a case of supplanting the existing spiritual landscape with a new Christian orthodoxy, but rather the melding of the two. Anthropological research from the twentieth century strongly supports this. In the 1960s, F. Landa Jocano noted that, particularly in rural areas, communities continued to practice spirit worship and to believe in an integral relationship between the environment, the spirit world, ancestors and the material existence of the community. Moreover, religious beliefs coloured almost all of the social, economic and cultural activities that people engaged in – all activities were undertaken in careful consideration of the spirit world.[118] These communities tended to see Christian saints as intermediaries between themselves and God, who was considered unreachable by ordinary people. In this sense, saints were conceived 'as supernatural beings with powers similar to those of environmental spirits'.[119] Communities would appeal to saints to prevent illness or the destruction of crops and to ensure good luck in activities like fishing or hunting. Ritualistic use of Christian symbolism was seen as a way of improving the communion between the individual and the saint. Additionally, many Filipinos believed that religious artefacts or other objects blessed by a priest had supernatural power and could allow the person who possessed it to achieve extraordinary things. Holy Water was still considered to have curative powers, while other objects could heal stomach upsets or exorcise the effects of a witch or evil spirit.[120]

Along with these practices, communities continued to rely on baylans, or mediums, who were able to commune with the spirit world, practised herb medicine and other forms of magic and superstitious

[117] Dizon, 'Social and Spiritual Kinship', 367-398.
[118] Landa Jocano, 'Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog', 96-119.
[119] Landa Jocano, 'Filipino Catholicism', 48.
[120] Ibid, 42-64.

rituals, often within the natural environments of caves or gullies or springs. Baylans were seen to be capable of healing illness and could intervene in other instances where the community suffered misfortune. The belief in the spirit world was maintained through the telling and retelling of stories and legends that elevated ancestors as well as saints to heroic status. Landa Jocano concluded that particularly in regions like Panay the introduction of Catholicism did not lead 'to any substantial shift in the emphasis that is placed on folk beliefs, attitudes and practices'.[121] His conclusions are reflected in the work of a number of other anthropologists.[122] Alfred McCoy similarly documented numerous instances of spirit and ancestor worship. For example, he notes that in the Western Visayas some communities still believed that it was necessary to make noise through the beating of pots and pans to frighten away evil spirits – a phenomenon that was also witnessed by priests in the seventeenth century. Geomancy and sacrifices were still practised as a way of placating evil spirits, and ceremonies were still conducted by baylans to help negotiate the relationship between men and the spirit world.[123]

While anthropologists have been interested in charting this continuation of pagan beliefs and melding of religious practice, historians have not adequately explained how this might have taken place. Particularly with regard to the early colonial period, a triumphalism remains within a religiously dominated historiography. Of all the corners of Philippine historiography, it is here that we are most likely to find defenders of colonisation and the promise of civilisational advancement that it brought.[124] As this chapter has demonstrated, the history of conversion is fraught with contestation. Despite grandiose claims by religious orders to have rapidly baptised and converted hundreds of thousands of *indios* in the space of a few short decades, conversion clearly remained limited and partial. The efforts of missionaries were limited by their own internal weaknesses – a shortage of priests, the emergence of corruption or abuse – as well as the spiritual landscape in which they operated. This landscape was both physical – etched into the natural environment – and metaphysical, and Philippine communities retained strong connections to it. Religious practice was inscribed into this social world, influencing where people lived, where they grew their crops, and how they travelled across the countryside. Missionaries needed to contend with this reality before they had any real success in conversion.

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[121] Landa Jocano, 'Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog', 106.
[122] Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Macdonald, 'Invoking the Spirits in Palawan', 244-246. Francisco R. Demetrio, S.J., 'Shamans, Witches and Philippine Society', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1998), 372-380. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery*.
[123] McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 146-154.
[124] Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'Las órdenes mendicantes en Filipinas', 251. Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines*, 4. Reyes, 'Religious Experiences in the Philippines', 203-212.

At the same time, this chapter has demonstrated that Philippine *indios* did not automatically accept Christianity into their communities and were at times prepared to violently resist the conversion efforts of Spanish missionaries. This was sometimes a response to the abuse and exploitation that they experienced at the hands of individual priests. Yet religious symbolism was embedded in many of these rebellions, suggesting that these actions were also designed in part as a way of protecting community customs from being swept aside or censored by Christianisation. In the end, these actions demonstrate another dimension of Philippine agency, wherein communities were able to choose the elements of Christianity that fit within their existing worldview. The contested nature of conversion forced missionaries to adapt their strategies and to adopt much of the symbolism and spiritual worldview of local *indios*. What emerged from this by the end of the seventeenth century could only ever be a partial conversion, engendering a new and dynamic spiritual landscape that incorporated elements of both Christianity and animism.

6.
Slave Raiders and the Contraction of Empire

In October 1603, the Jesuit Fr. Melchor Hurtado arrived in the town of Dulac as part of a general visit to communities on the island of Leyte. One night, just before dawn, he was awoken by a group of *indios* with the news that a great armada of Maguindanao raiders was approaching the town. Dressing hastily, he and his companions fled as quickly as they could into the mountains, accompanied by villagers and guided by a local *principal*. Although they had a head start, the raiders were soon pursuing them by foot through the forests. In the blink of an eye, Melchor Hurtado found himself alone. He hid amongst the roots of a Banyan tree and waited for nightfall. From his hiding place, he watched a woman and child being taken captive, while another *indio* was killed by a raider wielding a kampilan.[1] Eventually, he was discovered and taken prisoner. His captor took him down the mountain to Dulac where he joined hundreds of other captives, who were laden on to the vessels brought by the raiders to be shipped back to Mindanao. After setting sail from Dulac, the raiders attacked other settlements in Leyte and Samar, entering the towns just before dawn and setting fire to the houses and churches after sacking them.[2]

In all, Melchor Hurtado spent nearly a year as a captive of the Maguindanaos between 1603-1604.[3] The voyage from Dulac took some time, stopping first to raid in other parts of Leyte and Samar, then sailing via Caraga and Surigao. Melchor Hurtado wrote of how, during this voyage, his clothes gradually disintegrated, and he became infested with lice. He also became very weak from illness, covered from head to foot with scabies.[4] Through all these ordeals, the priest continued to attempt to baptise, take confession and give the last rites to his Muslim captors and their vassals. Finally, the raiding party arrived at the mouth of the Pulangi River where they rowed upstream, firing their arquebuses and artillery in salute outside the houses of local *datus*. Over the next several months of his captivity, Hurtado had ample opportunity to discuss both religion and politics with the *datus* of Maguindanao. On several occasions, they exhorted him to convert to Islam, and for his part, he continued to hold mass, take confession, and attempt to baptise the local population of the Pulangi River. Overall, he was treated with kindness and respect, provided with adequate food and his own quarters. Over the

[1] A type of long-sword used by Philippine communities.
[2] ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 159r-188v: Copia de una del padre Melchor Hurtado escrita al Padre Gregorio Lopez Vice Provincial de Philipinas dandole quenta de su captiverio. October 1604.
[3] Colin, *Labor evangélica*, Libro III, 467-472, 506-510.
[4] De la Costa concluded however that the illness was likely dysentery. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 292. ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 159r-188v: Copia de una del padre Melchor Hurtado escrita al Padre Gregorio Lopez Vice Provincial de Philipinas dandole quenta de su captiverio. October 1604.

course of these months, he developed a particular friendship with Datu Silongan, with whom he discussed matters of astrology, philosophy, and religion. But ultimately, he remained the prisoner of Datu Buisan, who was intent on ransoming him for a piece of artillery that the Spanish had previously seized. Eventually, this was agreed to by the Spanish envoy, Cristóbal Gómez, who was sent to negotiate the terms of the ransom. Melchor Hurtado was thus released in September 1604.[5]

While his treatment may have been exceptional, Melchor Hurtado's experience of being captured by Moro slave raiders was shared by thousands of others during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – mostly by *indios* from coastal villages across the Visayas, Camarines, Mindoro and the Calamianes islands. Slave raids were devastating for local communities. Raiders would regularly capture hundreds of *indios* while at the same time often burning villages, looting and desecrating churches and sometimes burning crops as well. While slave raiding was a common form of warfare throughout Southeast Asia prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the raiding that took place in the seventeenth-century Philippines took a new political dimension as a response to Spanish expansionary ambitions in the region.

Shortly after settling in the Visayas and Luzon, Spanish officials began to plan the territorial conquest of the southern archipelago. The polities of Mindanao, Jolo, Borneo, and Ternate all responded to Spanish military aggression through increased raiding, not only thwarting these expansionary ambitions but actively destabilising new Spanish settlements in the Visayas and Camarines. Virtually no community south of Manila was exempt from the yearly assault, but the Visayan territories were the most frequently impacted. Over just three years, between 1599 and 1602, Maguindanao raiders seized 2,300 slaves from Visayan territories,[6] while in 1635, Governor Hurtado de Corcuera estimated that raiders from Borneo and the Camucones had collectively captured around 25-30,000 vassals of the King of Spain.[7] On occasion, raiders would even venture close to Manila as a way of demonstrating the weakness of Spanish defences.[8] This pattern of raiding continued throughout the century up until 1663, when the Spanish were forced to withdraw all of their military personnel from Mindanao, Ternate, and the Calamianes. This chapter argues that despite attempting for nearly a century to subjugate the southern archipelago, Spanish aims were ultimately defeated on this frontier.

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[5] ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 159r-188v: Copia de una del padre Melchor Hurtado escrita al Padre Gregorio Lopez Vice Provincial de Philipinas dandole quenta de su captiverio. October 1604.
[6] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 282-285. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 116-122. Camara Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History*, 15-16. See also: Domingo M. Non, 'Moro Piracy during the Spanish Period and its Impact', *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1993), 401-419.
[7] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82.
[8] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128. See also: Mallari, 'Muslim Raids in Bicol', 257-286.

The withdrawal of soldiers in 1663 was the greatest contraction of territorial control that the Spanish ever experienced in the Philippines – and one from which they struggled to recover. Despite this, the significance of 1663 is rarely ever acknowledged within histories of the Spanish-Moro conflict. Instead, these histories tend to pivot on a series of 'conquest' narratives depicting the defeat of two Moro polities of Mindanao and Jolo in 1637 and 1638 by Governor Hurtado de Corcuera.[9] Although Hurtado de Corceura only established a limited Spanish conquest over these polities that lasted less than a decade, his story of military conquest has been enduring, with one historian even dubbing him 'the last conquistador'.[10] Generations of historians have depicted this moment as a pivotal demonstration of the superior Spanish military prowess while ignoring the long litany of defeats that both preceded and succeeded this 'conquest'.[11] In doing so, the historiography overemphasises Spanish military power, rather than seeing the history of this conflict as a long succession of failures, in which the Spanish lacked the military means to match their territorial ambitions and were ultimately forced to abandon all pretence of controlling the southern archipelago.

This historiographical bias towards conquest narratives is not merely a methodological issue but arguably stems from a longstanding interpretation of the conflict as a civilizational struggle between Christianity and Islam.[12] This interpretation is evident within many of the earliest Spanish chronicles, where the Moros are painted as barbarians and the Spanish – particularly the priests involved in

[9] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 224. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 70. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 51: Copia de una carta del Padre Juan López, rector del colegio de la compañía de Jesús de Cavite para los Padres Diego de Bobadilla y Simón Cotta, procuradores de la provincia de Philipinas para Roma. ARSI, Phil. 11, 150r-164v: Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.S. a las armas españolas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg., 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. RAH 9/3657, Doc. 34: Letter from Zamboanga, dated 23 April 1638. ARSI, Phil. 11, 167r-174v: Continuación de los felices successos.

[10] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 373-398.

[11] Carlos Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros, en filipinas, en el siglo XVI y en el XVII: expediciones de Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera a Mindanao y Jolo', *Revista de Historia Militar*, Año XXIX, Núm. 59 (1985), 9-56. Hawkley, 'Reviving the Reconquista in Southeast Asia', 285-310. Isaac Donoso Jiménez has noted that the conquest of Mindanao also generated a number literary responses that helped to solidify the event within Philippine national consciousness. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas', 480-481. See also: Mellie Leandicho Lopez, *A Handbook of Philippine Folklore*, (Quezon City: The University of the Philippine Press, 2006), 272. David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume II: South and East Asia, Africa and the Americas (1600-1700)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 341-342. Vicente Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos*, (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1878), 311-322.

[12] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*. Hawkley, 'Reviving the Reconquista in Southeast Asia', 285-310. Mallari, 'Muslim Raids in Bicol', 257-286. O'Shaughnessy, 'Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus', 215-239. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*. Saleeby, *History of Sulu*. Owen. Camara Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History*. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 9-56.

various religious and military missions – as righteous civilisers.[13] Instead of critiquing these arguments as examples of Spanish imperialist ideology, much of the modern historiography has adopted the same framework. Most recently, Ethan Hawkley has argued that the conflict between Christianity and Islam allowed the Spanish to successfully unite the remainder of the Philippine archipelago in the face of a common enemy, allowing Spain to consolidate its control over diverse populations.[14] Such an interpretation shows only a limited engagement with the larger history of the archipelago, where Spanish control was far less certain and where Moro slave raiding contributed considerably to destabilising colonial rule, especially in the Visayas.[15]

From the opposing perspective of Moro nationalism, historians like Cesar Adib Majul and Najeeb Saleeby have interpreted the conflict as a liberation struggle of Muslims against Christian imperialism.[16] Majul sees the Spanish as promoting an aggressive ideology aimed at eradicating Islam from the archipelago, pushing the Moros into an anti-colonial struggle that allowed them to develop a united Muslim resistance movement. The anthropologist Thomas McKenna has challenged this interpretation, arguing that Muslim nationalism – where Islam and anticolonial struggles became intertwined – only emerged during the American colonial period. Furthermore, McKenna argues that much of this oppositional duality comes from ideological texts produced by the Spanish themselves, where they sought to justify material interests in trade monopolisation and tribute collection through the elevation of higher ideological ideals.[17] The seminal historian of the eighteenth century Sulu empire, James Warren, is similarly critical of this clash of civilisations discourse, arguing that it not only obscures differences between different Moro polities but acts as a distinct obstacle for genuinely understanding the complex ethnohistory of the region.[18] Warren is careful to identify the different ethnicities involved in this trade, rather than lumping them together as 'Moros' or 'Muslims'.[19] His approach has influenced a newer generation of ethnohistorians, like Jennifer Gaynor and Roy Ellen who demonstrate that the maritime communities in neighbouring eastern Indonesia had considerable agency in subverting and containing European ambitions to control the spice trade.[20]

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[13] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*. José Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo*, Madrid: M. Tello, 1888. Colin, *Labor evangélica*. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*.
[14] Hawkley, 'Reviving the Reconquista in Southeast Asia', 285-310.
[15] Scott, *Slavery in the Philippines*, 48-57.
[16] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*. Saleeby, *History of Sulu*.
[17] McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 4-5, 80-82.
[18] Warren, *The Dynamics of External Trade*, xxi.
[19] Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*. Warren, *The Sulu Zone*. Warren, 'The Balangingi Samal', 7-29.
[20] Gaynor, *Intertidal History in Island Southeast Asia*. Roy Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone: Past and Present in the Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

The purpose of this chapter is thus to decentre the history of the early Spanish interventions in the southern archipelago away from the conquest narratives that have over-emphasised the nature of Spanish power in this region. Instead, I argue that this is a history of continual failures on the part of the Spanish, where their aggressive imperialist ambitions were tempered by the agency of a complex array of Moro polities. The chapter begins with an overview of the historical geography of Moro slave raiding societies at the beginning of the seventeenth century, emphasising that multiple polities operated with a variety of political purposes. The remainder of the chapter looks in depth at the history of Spanish engagement with the Maguindanaos and Sulus. Since this is a complicated story, I have provided a table with a timeline overview to guide the reader through the course of events. I demonstrate that, despite the pomp and grandeur surrounding the conquest attempts of 1637 and 1638, the Spanish were consistently outmaneuvered by the Moros, who successfully utilised tactics of raiding to destabilise Spanish imperial aims in the region. The final section discusses the failure of conquest, explaining the events that led up to the abandonment of the southern archipelago in 1663. Despite trying for the best part of a century, Spanish forces were never able to overcome these polities. Moreover, Moro raiding on Spanish possessions in the Visayas disrupted Spanish colonial interests. By the end of the century, the original objective of territorial expansion and conquest was abandoned completely in favour of merely establishing peace in the region.

Slave Raiding Polities in the Southern Archipelago

Raiding was an integral part of the Southeast Asian political economy, tied inexorably to war, slavery and trade. Spanish chroniclers and royal officials wrote of slave raids in the Visayas as acts of piracy, senseless in their destruction of newly constructed Christian missionary outposts and barbaric for their seizure and sometimes slaughter of whole villages.[21] Yet, these chroniclers seemed unaware of the widespread nature of raiding across Southeast Asia, much less the social function that these raids performed. Throughout the early modern period, raiding took place in a wide geographical region extending from the Malay Peninsula to Indonesia, the Sulu Sea, Borneo, China and Japan.[22] The

[21] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 9.

[22] Reid, *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*. Antony, 'Turbulent Waters', 23–38. Beemer, 'Southeast Asian Slavery and Slave-Gathering Warfare as a Vector for Cultural Transmission', 481–506. Boomgaard, 'Human Capital, Slavery and Low Rates of Economic and Population Growth in Indonesia', 83–96. Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China', 143-154. Campbell and Stanziani, *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*. Kim, 'Debt Slaves in Old Korea', 165-172. Matsui, 'The Debt-Servitude of Prostitutes in Japan during the Edo Period', 173-186. Hägerdal, 'The Slaves of Timor', 19–44.

physical environment of Maritime Southeast Asia – characterised by island archipelagos that conducted a busy trade amongst one another as well as with continental Asia – made it an ideal place for maritime raiding. Raiders were intimately knowledgeable of the annual monsoonal cycles that would create the right sailing conditions needed for successful raids of other islands. Raiding was an organised tactic of warfare mobilised by chiefs and kings for the pursuit of power and prestige.[23] The principal objective of sea raiding was capturing slaves from rival communities. Large fleets of indigenous galleys, known as *caracoas*, would arrive at coastal villages laden with thousands of warriors who would plunder and set fire to the village and pursue the inhabitants, enslaving their captives. Coastal and inland fortifications were thus common in the pre-hispanic Visayas and ranged from impregnable defences to tree houses constructed fifteen or more metres above the ground. Visayan communities were also known to commonly abandon settlements in the face of sea raiders. If the raid was bad enough, this could result in the complete abandonment of a village and resettlement elsewhere on the island, often in a more inland location that was easier to defend.[24]

These methods of inter-island warfare did not cease with the arrival of the Spanish in the Visayas; rather, the Spanish presence merely created a military imbalance by restricting communities under their control from engaging in retaliatory raids.[25] For the duration of the first century of the Spanish presence in the Philippines, Moro polities from the southern archipelago consistently undermined Spanish rule in the region by conducting regular slave raiding missions that targeted Spanish controlled areas and effectively countered the notion of Spanish superiority and hegemony. The most powerful and well-known of the slave raiding communities were the Maguindanaos of Mindanao and the Sulus of Jolo; however, raids were also conducted semi-regularly by raiders from Borneo, Caraga in eastern Mindanao, and the Camucones, in modern-day Palawan (Calamianes).

Mukherjee, 'Mobility in the Bay of Bengal World', 109-129. MacKay, 'Pirate Nations', 551–73. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*. Reid, '"Closed" and "Open" Slave Systems', 156-181.

[23] Antony, 'Turbulent Waters', 23-25, 32-33.

[24] Scott, *Barangay*, 147-157. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 336-369.

[25] Scott, *Slavery in the Philippines*, 52-54. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 282-285, 311-312, 322-323. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 116-122. Camara Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History*, 15-16. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. See also: Owen, *Prosperity Without Progress*, 24-25.

Figure 1: Map of the Southern Archipelago[26]

Image of Indiae Orientalis map removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the National Library of Australia.

Many of the most powerful raiding polities in the southern Philippine archipelago had converted to Islam by the late sixteenth century.[27] Yet, slave raiding was not a subset of their religion, as has sometimes been assumed by historians;[28] rather, both the conversion of these polities to Islam and their increased interest in slave raiding reflected their integration into an Indian Ocean trading network that had been dominated by Islamic traders for several centuries.[29] Greater integration into global trading systems increased the need of these polities for slaves and bondsmen – as both labourers within trading societies and as chattel commodities.[30] The arrival of the Portuguese into this

[26] Cross-section from Jan Jansson, Indiae Orientalis nova descriptio (1630). National Library of Australia, MAP RM4527.
[27] Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas'.
[28] O'Shaughnessy, 'Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus', 215-239. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 9-56.
[29] Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas'. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints*.
[30] James Warren has made this argument for emergence of the Sulu archipelago in the late eighteenth century as the most aggressive slaving empire in the history of Southeast Asia. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*. Warren, *The Sulu Zone*.

region in the sixteenth century furthered this reliance on slave raiding since the Portuguese were eager slave traders themselves. Early Spanish observers noted that Borneo acted as a slave market of the Portuguese.[31]

At the end of the sixteenth century, the southern archipelago was centred around two major poles of commercial and political influence – Brunei and Ternate. Both were trading entrepôts with extensive connections throughout the Malay world, as well as established trading relationships with China, Siam, the Arabian Peninsula and, more recently, the Portuguese. In 1578, Governor Sande wrote that Borneo was situated at the centre of Southeast Asian trading routes, attracted many visitors from across the region, and was abundant in birds, food, fruit, wine, and slaves captured in raids.[32] Early Spanish accounts of Brunei described it as a bustling port city – the largest the Spanish had yet seen in Asia – boasting sumptuous palaces belonging to the Sultan, thriving shipyards and a well-armed and militarised population. Brunei was also a centre of Islamic learning, with an established mosque and learned men who wrote books in Arabic.[33] In the decades preceding the Spanish settlement of Manila, Brunei had established tributary populations in the Philippines – centred on Manila, Mindoro and Balayan. Although the Sultan of Brunei had previously maintained friendly trading relations with the Portuguese, the invasion of Manila and the hostile defeat of the local Muslim rulers set the Spanish on a path of conflict with Brunei.[34] Yet, for the most part, direct contact between Borneo and the Spanish was relatively rare in the seventeenth century as the two sides engaged in a proxy war.[35]

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[31] In 1578, Governor Sande noted that the Portuguese were trading large quantities of slaves in the region and were among the largest purchasers of slaves from Borneo. He had heard that the Portuguese had recently purchased 200 slaves that the Borneans had captured during raiding missions in the Philippines. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. See also: Seijas, 'The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila', 19-38. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 27-29.

[32] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. Sande mentioned people from the following places as regularly coming to trade in Borneo: Chincheo, Canton, Cambodia, Caviche, Siam, Patani, Parsan, Melaka, India, Bengal, Pegu, Sumatra, Manancabo, Aceh, Java, Batachina, Maluku, Mindanao, Linboton and many other islands close to Mindanao.

[33] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*, 18-20.

[34] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 81-82, 110-113. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas', 459-469. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150. Graham Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994), 54-57.

[35] In the late 1570s, the Spanish organised a number of failed military interventions against the Sultan of Brunei. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 110-111. Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 54-57. Alicia Castellanos Escudier, 'Expediciones españolas a Borneo en el siglo XVI', in Salvador Bernabéu Albert, Carmen Mena García and Emilio José Luque Azcona, (eds.), *Filipinas y el Pacífico: Nueva miradas, nuevas reflexiones*, (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), 21-52.

The Borneans preferred to rely on a tributary population known as the Camucones to conduct raids in the Philippines and bring slaves back for trade in Borneo.[36] The Camucones were said to live in the islands of the Sulu sea, likely to the south of the Calamianes.[37] Spanish observers described them as nomadic, sea-dwelling communities whose boats acted as their houses. This description has led the historian Jennifer Gaynor to posit that they were in fact part of the Sama-Bajau – an ethnic group that extends across the eastern Indonesian archipelago.[38] As communities that were often mobile and engaged in raiding activities, they have been referred to derogatorily as 'sea gypsies'. At different moments the Sama-Bajau acted as mercenaries within the extensive regional slave trade – supplying captive slaves to larger polities like the Sultanate of Brunei.[39] Contemporaries were aware of this; Governor Acuña wrote in 1603 that the Camucones came from Calamianes and other islands closer to Borneo, as well as from islands towards Malacca, and they raided on behalf of Borneo.[40]

At the same time, the epithet 'Camucones' appears to have been applied liberally in the seventeenth century, suggesting that these raids were not conducted by one community or polity, but by many different groups. At times their armadas were said to be small and weak,[41] while at other times they arrived in large warships capable of carrying hundreds of raiders.[42] What united them in the eyes of the Spanish was how difficult it was to defend against their attacks. Of all the raiders in the seventeenth century Philippines, the Camucones were the most consistently troubling to the Spanish, owing in part to the fact that – unlike the Maguindanaos and Sulus – they maintained no centralised political structure with which the Spanish could negotiate, nor a fixed territory that could easily be invaded in reprisal. The Camucones were frequently described by the Spanish as the cruellest and most violent of all raiders since they often slaughtered villagers as well as capturing them.[43] A Jesuit description of a raid in Marinduque in 1625 told of how a priest was captured and had his throat slit, while the raiders used his cap as a drinking vessel. The raiders then went to Catbalogan in Samar, where two priests fled for their lives along with the *indios*. Those who could not flee were captured, including some who were sick with smallpox, who in turn had their heads cut off.[44] Although a number

[36] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 9, Núm. 132. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 285, Núm. 1, Fols. 30r-41v.
[37] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.
[38] Gaynor, *Intertidal History in Island Southeast Asia*, 45.
[39] Ibid. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*. Warren, 'The Balangingi Samal', 7-29.
[40] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.
[41] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 11: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otras partes circunvecinas del año de 1626.
[42] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 7: Relación de lo que ha sucedido en las islas Filipinas desde el mes de Junio de 1617 hasta el presente de 1618. See also: ARSI Phil. 11, Doc. 54. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde Agosto de 1627 hasta Junio de 1628.
[43] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 7: Relación de lo que ha sucedido en las islas Filipinas desde el mes de Junio de 1617 hasta el presente de 1618. See also: ARSI Phil. 11, Doc. 54.
[44] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 11: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otras partes circunvecinas del año de 1626. One incident from 1627 indicates that the term Camucones could be applied to almost any foreign invader,

of defensive armadas were organised over the course of the century, on the whole, they were ineffective.[45] Camucones sailed in light vessels that were faster and less cumbersome than Spanish galleys, and easily escaped Spanish pursuit, dispersing back to sea often before the Spanish had even learnt of their raids.[46]

Beyond Borneo, the other major pole of influence within the southern archipelago was Ternate, located in the Moluccas. Like Brunei, Ternate was a powerful trading entrepôt at the centre of the spice trade. As the only clove producing islands in the world, the Moluccas had attracted traders to their ports for centuries.[47] Yet, Ternate's rise to prominence as a regional power in the late sixteenth century was linked to their relationship with the Portuguese, who since 1522 had occupied fortified positions in Ternate and Tidore and had established a unique trading partnership with these islands. In 1570, the Sultan of Ternate Hairun was assassinated by the Portuguese, initiating a period of anti-colonial rebellion against the Portuguese. Hairun's son, Babullah, took up the position of Sultan and was motivated to avenge the death of his father. For the next five years, Babullah laid siege to the Portuguese fort in Ternate, leading to the eventual expulsion of the Portuguese from the island in 1575. Over the course of the next several decades, Babullah and his son Sultan Said al-din Berkat Syah set about establishing an extensive tributary network which extended across the majority of island polities throughout the Banda, Celebes, and Moluccas Seas.[48] By these means, Ternate consolidated their power in the region, seized greater control over the spice trade from neighbouring rivals in Tidore, and ensured that any uninvited future European interventions would be met with considerable resistance. The spice trade continued to thrive without a European monopoly. A 1603 description of

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regardless of their appearance or even intention to raid. In this episode, the Spanish captured a ship filled with 'Camucones' raiders who reportedly travelled naked and without firearms or even any iron nails in their ship. They were armed only with stones and slingshots and a bone chisel was later found in their ship. The Spanish captured the vessel and killed everyone, leaving just six alive, which they took with their ship to Cebu. They interrogated these *indios*, but they could not understand any of the languages that they spoke. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628.

[45] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85.

[46] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 7: Relación de lo que ha sucedido en las islas Filipinas desde el mes de junio de 1617 hasta el presente de 1618. See also: ARSI Phil. 11, Doc. 54. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 11: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otras partes circunvecinas del año de 1626. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 112. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde agosto de 1627 hasta junio de 1628. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82.

[47] Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*, 21-25. Charles Corn, *The Scents of Eden: A History of the Spice Trade*, (New York: Kodansha International, 1997). R. A. Donkin, *Between East and West: The Moluccas and the Traffic in Spices up to the Arrival of Europeans*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), 2003. A similar story can be told of the neighbouring nutmeg producing Banda islands. Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone*.

[48] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 131-133, 137.

Ternate noted the island regularly received traders from Java and Malaya, as well as Turks who travelled via Java and Aceh.[49]

Figure 2: Depiction of Borneans (L) and Ternatens (R) in the Boxer Codex[50]

Images from the Boxer Codex removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Lilly Library, Indiana.

This interaction with lucrative global trading markets meant that Ternate had access to sophisticated weaponry, including artillery.[51] In most of their engagements with Moros, the Spanish came up against highly militarised and fortified communities, who often had far superior artillery to the Spanish. This made them formidable foes. Governor Sande reported that in their initial encounters with Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao in 1578-1579, the Spanish had seized more than 200 pieces of artillery, most of which was Portuguese.[52] In 1584, Ternate was said to have fortified its main fort alone with 300 pieces of artillery, having amassed their weaponry through trade with foreign merchants. At that time, the King of Ternate had reportedly ordered that no merchant would be allowed to trade with his vassal states unless they brought artillery with them. By these means, Ternate was able to fortify not only their own forts within the island of Ternate but a large part of the Moluccan archipelago. The principal

[49] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18.
[50] 'Boxer Codex', The Lilly Library Digital Collections, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93, fols. 71v, 88r.
[51] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 6, Núm. 36. AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 115. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 13-14.
[52] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36.

fort in Ternate was garrisoned with a thousand men who were equipped with coats of mail, doublets and helmets that they had taken from the Portuguese. Additionally, they were backed by a thousand Javans, Chinese, Acehnese and Turks, the latter of whom were experts in fire bombs and other explosive weapons.[53]

Importantly for the Spanish in the Philippines, Ternate's influence extended to the island of Mindanao, where they retained an alliance with the Maguindanao rulers of the Pulangi River region.[54] Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Ternate was reported to have sent considerable aid to Mindanao in the form of shipbuilders, armourers, gunpowder manufacturers, artillery and manpower to help the Maguindanaos resist Spanish invasion into their island.[55] In 1597, Governor Tello argued that aid from Ternate had allowed the Maguindanaos to resist conquest by the Spanish and led directly to the death of Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa.[56] The following year, a force of 800 Ternatens arrived in the Pulangi River to fight against the invasion force of Juan Ronquillo.[57] The 1606 Spanish conquest of the Moluccas, while motivated by a desire to claim control over the spice trade, was also a response to the increasing influence of Ternate on Mindanao; the Spanish hoped that by conquering Ternate, they would cut off the supply of military aid to the Maguindanaos.[58] While the conquest was successful, in that the Spanish succeeded in reclaiming possession of the Portuguese forts in Ternate and Tidore, the Spanish never overcame Ternate's power. The arrival of the Dutch in the Moluccas and their alliance with Ternate locked the Spanish into a costly war of attrition that lasted until their withdrawal from the Moluccas in 1663.[59]

While Borneo and Ternate remained centres of trade, political power and Islamic learning, the Spanish in Manila were more immediately concerned with the Muslim polities based in Jolo and Mindanao. These islands were identified not only as the most obvious strategic sites for expansion into the spice islands but also as major obstacles towards that goal. The Sulu sultanate was centred in Jolo and

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[53] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. AFIO, 21/12: P. Gregorio de San Esteban, 'Memoria y relación de lo sucedido en las islas Malucas…' 1609-1619.
[54] Ruurdje Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1989), 29-30.
[55] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 6, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 79.
[56] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57.
[57] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 146. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162.
[58] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 1, Núm. 82. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, (En Madrid por Alonso Martín, 1609). Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 140-141. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 305.
[59] Bohigian, 'Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire'. Villiers, 'Manila and Maluku', 146-161. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*.

claimed the longest Islamic tradition in the region, dating back to the early fifteenth century.[60] Junker notes that the regional importance of Jolo pre-dated the arrival of Islam, with evidence of trade with South Chinese ports from the late thirteenth century onwards. At this time, Sulu was known to the Chinese as one of the most militarised and warlike populations among the spice island archipelagos, making regular raids on neighbouring territories, and particularly Borneo. Spanish observers in the seventeenth century similarly noted that the Sulu capital, Jolo, was one of the largest and wealthiest polities in the entire archipelago.[61]

The Sulu consolidated into a formidable slave raiding empire in the eighteenth century; yet in the late sixteenth century the Spanish believed that the Maguindanao polities, centred around the Pulangi River in Mindanao, were far more powerful. At the turn of the seventeenth century, power in Maguindanao was split between three rulers – Rajah Mura, Sirongan and Buisan.[62] Although Rajah Mura was the nominal head of the Maguindanao confederacy, the Spanish identified Sirongan, who lived in the Buayan region of Mindanao, as the most important of the three leaders. Buisan was also a powerful warrior who led some of the most successful raiding missions of the early seventeenth century. The competition between these three rulers was eclipsed by the rise to power of Cachil Kudarat, the son of Buisan, who became sultan of Mindanao in 1619.[63] The Maguindanao rulers maintained complex systems of vassalage with neighbouring communities living in the hinterlands of Mindanao, who traded in foraged forest products, as well as the itinerant maritime Sama and Ilanun ethnic groups.[64]

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[60] Scott, *Barangay*, 178.
[61] Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting*, 100, 106-107.
[62] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150-151, 276-279.
[63] See De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 295.
[64] Scott, *Barangay*, 175.

Figure 3: Map of Mindanao[65]

Image of map of Mindanao removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.

From the vantage point of Manila, the southern archipelago offered great opportunities for expanding Spanish power in the region. Royal officials coveted control over the spice trade, while tantalising rumours abounded that Mindanao was abundant in gold and other riches. Consequently, expansion of Spanish territorial control southwards was proposed very shortly after the founding of Manila. These ambitions were the most clearly articulated by Governor Francisco de Sande, the third governor of the Philippines. Sande was extremely aggressive and had an inflated sense of Spanish military capacity in the Philippines, arguing that if reinforcements were sent from Spain via the Straits of Magellan, they would not only quickly conquer Borneo, Mindanao and Jolo, but extend Spanish dominion over the spice islands and Java. He also thought that China could be easily conquered in much the same way that the Aztecs were defeated at Tenochtitlán – with a handful of valiant conquistadors.[66] While few royal officials shared Sande's optimism, many saw great merit in conquering the neighbouring Muslim polities and establishing *encomiendas* throughout those

[65] Cross-section of Pedro Murillo Velarde, and Nicolas De la Cruz, 'Mapa de las yslas Philipinas', 1744, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:9s161d40f (accessed September 24, 2017).

[66] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. This proposal was repeated by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa in 1582: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 4, Núm. 49. Manel Ollé, *La impresa de China: de la armada invencible al galeón de Manila*, (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002).

islands.[67] At the same time, both Maguindanao and Jolo stood directly along the sea route between Manila and the Moluccas. Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century, the conquest of the Moro polities was seen as essential to expanding Spanish power across Maritime Southeast Asia.[68] Yet, for all these ambitions, Spanish aims were frustrated and defeated in Mindanao and Jolo.

Table 1: Timeline of Conflict with the Southern Archipelago, 1578-1663[69]

Year	Event	Details
1578	Spanish military expedition	Military expedition to Borneo led by Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa; a battle ensued. The Spanish sacked the capital but retreated when soldiers started to die.[70]
	Spanish military expedition	Figueroa besieged the Sulu fort in Jolo, forcing Raja Pangiran to sue for peace.[71]
1579	Spanish military expedition	Two expeditions to Mindanao - local rulers flee and refuse to meet with Spanish[72]
1587	Conspiracy	Conspiracy against the Spanish among the Tondo *datus* related to the Sultan of Borneo[73]
1588	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Islas de La Canela[74]
1595	Slave Raid	Maguindanao and Ternate raid the Visayas, Cebu; 1500 captured.[75]
1596	Spanish military expedition	Attempted conquest of Mindanao led by Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa along with 214 Spanish soldiers and 1500 *indio* allies. Figueroa was killed in the fighting.[76]
1597	Spanish military expedition	Attempted conquest of Mindanao led by Juan Ronquillo. Ronquillo convinces Raja Mura to agree to peace, but not Buisan or Sirongan.[77]
1599	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Cebu, Negros, Panay; 800 captured.[78]

[67] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, Núm. 19.
[68] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 6, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 6, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 79. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 5, Núm. 45.
[69] This table is provided as an aid for the following two narrative sections.
[70] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34.
[71] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150.
[72] Ibid. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 112.
[73] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 46. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 53. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 7, Núm. 49. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 113.
[74] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 6, Núm. 36.
[75] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 5, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 74. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 161. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[76] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 79. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 5, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, Núm. 53. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150-151, 276.
[77] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 56. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 80. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 87. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 33. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 146. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 276-279.
[78] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 282. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.

Year	Event	Details
	Slave Raid	Camucones raid Mindoro.[79]
1600	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Bantayan, Panay, Bohol; 1400 captured.[80]
1602	Spanish military expedition	Attempted conquest of Jolo by Juan Juarez Gallinato; an extended battle occurred with Sulus fortifying themselves and Spanish eventually retreating in frustration.[81]
	Slave Raid	Raiders from Mindanao, Ternate, Sangil, Tagolanda and Basilan attack Calamianes, Mindoro and Southern Luzon; 700 captured.[82]
1603	Spanish military expedition	Spanish send forces in aid of Portuguese in Ternate; attempted assault on Ternaten fort resulted in failure.[83]
	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Visayas.[84]
	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Leyte; 700 captured including Fr. Melchor Hurtado.[85]
1604	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Calamianes[86]
	Slave Raid	Caragans raid Leyte; 160 captured.[87]
1605	Spanish diplomatic mission	Fr. Melchor Hurtado appointed to lead peace negotiations with Maguindanaos; Hurtado is seized as a captive until the outcome of the Spanish invasion of Ternate is known.[88]
1606	Spanish military expedition	Conquest of Ternate and Tidore; Spanish successfully establish a series of fortifications in the Maluku Islands, which they occupy until 1663. The success of this conquest was tempered by the presence of the Dutch who were more successful in building alliances with local rulers and gaining control of the spice trade.[89]
1607	Slave Raid	Caragans raid Leyte.[90]
1608	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Leyte, Samar and Negros.[91]

[79] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 173. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 116.
[80] ARSI Phil. 5, fols. 75-92. ARSI Phil 10, fols. 65-68. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 35, Núm. 42. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[81] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 32. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 47. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 279-280. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 117.
[82] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 53. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[83] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 3. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 115. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 9.
[84] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12.
[85] ARSI Phil 10, fols. 159-176. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 47. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 125r-125v: Letter from Gregorio Lopez, 10 December 1603. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 292-296. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[86] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 17. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 301. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[87] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 301. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[88] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 26. ARSI Phil. 14, fols. 30r-31r: Letter from Pedro de Acuña, 6 March 1606. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 203r-203v: Letter from Melchor Hurtado, 18 April 1606. ARSI Phil 10, fols. 205r-212r: Letter from Melchor Hurtado, 18 April 1606. Colin, *Labor evangélica*, Libro IV, 608-612. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 301-305.
[89] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 1, Núm. 82.
[90] Colin, *Labor evangélica*, Libro I, 212. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[91] ARSI Phil 14, fol. 41. ARSI, Phil 10, fols. 235r-235v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 60, Núm. 10. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 2, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 37. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 308. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.

Year	Event	Details
1609	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid the Visayas with 200 men; Spanish forces sank thirteen of their ships.[92]
	Fortification	Spanish fort established in Caraga.[93]
1613	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos and Caragans raid Leyte and Samar; 1000 captured.[94]
1616	Slave Raid	Sulus raid Camarines; 600 captured.[95]
1618	Slave Raid	Sulus join forces with Dutch and attack shipyards in Pantao and Cavite, taken a number of Spanish prisoners.[96]
1624	Sulu diplomatic mission	Datu Ache travels with an embassy to Manila to seek help with an internal dynastic change; the Spanish ignore and mistreat him, leading to renewed hostilities with the Sulus.[97]
1625	Slave Raid	Camucones raid Samar; 60 captured.[98]
1627	Slave Raid	Sulus raid Leyte; 750 captured. Attack on shipyards in Camarines.[99]
	Slave Raid	Camucones raid Oton.[100]
1628	Spanish military expedition	Military reprisal against Sulus involving 200 Spanish and 2000 indigenous soldiers who sacked and burned Jolo, destroying more than a hundred ships.[101]
1629	Slave Raid	Sulus and Camucones raid Visayas, Samar, Leyte and Bohol.[102]
1630	Spanish military expedition	Second military invasion of Jolo involving 350 Spanish and 2500 indigenous soldiers; attempt made on the hilltop fort was unsuccessful.[103]
1632	Slave Raid	Sulus, Sanguiles and Caragans raid Leyte.[104]

[92] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 309.
[93] Scott, *Barangay*, 162-163. Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua*, 133.
[94] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 38, Núm. 12. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 311. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[95] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 38, Núm. 12. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 7: Relación de lo que ha sucedido en las islas Filipinas desde el mes de Junio de 1617 hasta el presente de 1618. See also: ARSI Phil. 11, Doc. 54. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[96] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 38, Núm. 12. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 319. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 22: Anonymous letter to Governor Don Pedro de Ribero, 1618. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 123.
[97] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 320-321. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 125.
[98] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 20, Núm. 150. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 112. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 11: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otras partes circunvecinas del año de 1626. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[99] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde Agosto de 1627 hasta Junio de 1628. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 126. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 323. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[100] RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde agosto de 1627 hasta junio de 1628. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[101] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde Agosto de 1627 hasta Junio de 1628.
[102] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 13: Relación de los sucesos de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos desde el mes de Julio de 1628 hasta el de 1629. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 321-322. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 127. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[103] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 322.
[104] ARSI Phil 7, fols. 1-80. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 323-324. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.

Year	Event	Details
	Rebellion	Rebellion against Spanish in Caraga with intimations that it was orchestrated at the behest of Cachil Kudarat, the Maguindanao ruler.[105]
1634	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos and Sulus raid Dapitan, Bohol, Leyte, Sogor; 200 captured.[106]
	Slave Raid	Camucones raid Bataan.[107]
1635	Fortification	Military outpost established at Zamboanga with the intention of acting as an early warning system for raiding parties sailing from Mindanao and Jolo.[108]
1636	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Calamianes, Cuyo and Mindoro; 650 captured.[109]
	Slave Raid	Camucones raid Samar and Albay; 100 captured.[110]
1637	Spanish military expedition	Hurtado de Corcuera's military invasion of Mindanao; resulted in the capture of the fort but most Maguindanaos fled, including leader Cachil Kudarat.[111]
1638	Spanish military expedition	Hurtado de Corcuera's military invasion of Jolo; the Spanish besieged the Sulus for several months after which they sued for peace but then fled.[112]
1639	Spanish military expedition	Second military invasion of Jolo; Spanish sweep across the island, slaughtering the population and forcing them to become vassals of Spanish King.[113]
	War in Mindanao	Maguindanao communities resist Spanish invasion of their lands, establishing new alliances.[114]
1640	Slave Raid	Borneans and Camucones raid Mindoro, Marinduque.[115]

[105] AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 62. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 16. BNE, Mss. 3828: Informaciones acerca de la vida del venerable fray Alonso Orozco, fols. 213r-216v. RAH 9/3657, Núm. 15: Relación de lo sucedido en las islas Filipinas y otras partes circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1630 hasta el de 1632. Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 83-119. Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua*, 146-161. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 184.
[106] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[107] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[108] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 76. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 323-324. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 48. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 132.
[109] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 133. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[110] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 383. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[111] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 224. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 70. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 51: Copia de una carta del Padre Juan López, rector del colegio de la compañía de Jesús de Cavite para los Padres Diego de Bobadilla y Simón Cotta, procuradores de la provincia de Philipinas para Roma. ARSI, Phil. 11, 150r-164v: Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.S. a las armas españolas. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 25-36.
[112] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 387-389.
[113] RAH, 9/3729, Doc. 10: Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui, 1644.
[114] Ibid. Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 235- 265. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 388-390.
[115] ARSI, Phil. 8, fols. 1r-23v: Carta annua de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús del año 1640 y parte del de 1641. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.

Year	Event	Details
1642	War in Mindanao	Kudarat attacks Spanish outpost at Buayan, killing all but six Spanish soldiers. Buayan fort subsequently dismantled. Kudarat forces Spanish missionaries to flee for their lives at Sibuguey and Basilan.[116]
1645	Spanish diplomatic mission	Governor Fajardo sends Fr. Alejandro Lopez to negotiate a peace treaty with Kudarat; the treaty recognises Maguindanao sovereignty over most of Mindanao.[117]
	Dutch invasion	two Dutch ships arrived off the coast of Jolo with the intention of seizing the forts occupied by Spanish soldiers after an invitation by Sulu leaders; the attack was ultimately unsuccessful but convinced Spanish that occupation of Jolo was unviable.[118]
1646	Spanish diplomatic mission	Peace treaty signed with Sulus modelled on that negotiated with Maguindanaos.[119]
1648	Slave Raid	Camucones and Maguindanaos raid Capalongan, Paracale, Bacon, Albay and Camarines.[120]
1649	Spanish military expedition	Spanish retaliatory raid against the Camucones; villages and ships were burned, 200 captives taken.[121]
	Spanish military expedition	In reprisal for the Palapag revolt, Spanish soldiers raid Maguindanao territory, breaking the peace treaty. Kudarat threatens hostilities.[122]
1653	Spanish diplomatic mission	Reconfirmation of the peace treaty between Governor Manrique de Lara and Kudarat.[123]
1655	Slave Raid	Sulus raid Bohol, Leyte and Masbate; 80 captured.[124]
1656	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Marinduque and Mindoro.[125]
1657	Slave Raid	Sulus raid the Visayas; 1000 captives taken.[126]
	Slave Raid	Maguindanaos raid Bay of Manila; 1000 captured.[127]
1658	Spanish military expedition	Spanish engage Kudarat militarily, but their forces are weak and achieve little.[128]

[116] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 265-306. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 388-390.
[117] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 375-382. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 436-437.
[118] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 382-400. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 437-438.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[121] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 439.
[122] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 432-439. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 156-157.
[123] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 471-503. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 441-443.
[124] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 162. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[125] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 443.
[126] Ibid, 443.
[127] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[128] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 443.

Year	Event	Details
	Priests killed	Kudarat accused of killing Fr. Alejandro Lopez and his companion Fr. Juan de Montiel along with 17 other Spaniards. Spanish responded by sending an armada to punish them, sacking houses, ships and burning fields.[129]
1663	Slave Raid	Sulus raid Poro, Baybay, Sogor, Cabalian, Basey, Bangajon, Guinabatan and Capul.[130]
	Military withdrawal	Spanish withdraw all forces from Zamboanga, Ternate, Iligan, and Calamianes.[131]

Between Conquest and Diplomacy: Jolo and Mindanao, 1571-1638

In 1597, Captain Juan Ronquillo sailed an army of 230 Spanish and 1500 indigenous soldiers up the Pulangi River to wage an assault on the Maguindanao fort at Buayan.[132] When they arrived, they found that the Maguindanaos presented a formidable defence. They occupied a well-defended fort, garrisoned with many soldiers and artillery, and positioned at the head of a large lake, with a swamp on either side and a wall of more than a thousand steps in length. The *oidor* Antonio de Morga suggested that there were another four similar forts in the region.[133] Although Ronquillo set up a siege of this main fort, he was aware that defeating the Maguindanaos presented a considerable challenge. Writing back to Manila, he reported that, after several skirmishes with the Maguindanaos on his way to the fort, he was running low on ammunition. They had run down to just three thousand bullets, and the soldiers were tired and hungry, and many had fallen sick or were injured. Meanwhile, he believed that the *indios* inside were willing to fight to the death but would also be able to flee by ship without being easily pursued. Because of this he was reluctant to start a prolonged war and so he sent two captains with terms of a treaty which would require the Maguindanaos to give obedience to the Spanish King, pay tribute accordingly, cease hostilities against Spanish territories in the Visayas, and cut off peaceful relations with Ternate, with whom they were militarily allied. Having issued these terms, he retreated his men back down river to the coast, where they awaited the response from the

[129] ARSI Phil. 11, fols. 353r-366r: Traslado de una carta que el Señor D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara Governador, y Capitán General de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia Real, que en ellas reside, escribe al padre Magino Sola, de la Compañía de Iesus, residente en la Real Corte de Madrid, Fecha en Cabite, Puerto de dichas Islas, en 24 de Iulio del año de 1658 y recibida en Madrid en 19 de Iunio de 1659.
[130] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.
[131] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. RAH, 9/2668, Doc. 1: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. ARSI, Phil. 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 42. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38.
[132] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 56. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 8, Núm. 99. Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 80-84. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 113-115. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 276-279. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 16-17.
[133] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 56. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57.

Maguindanao rulers. Not long after this, however, a force of 800 Ternatens sailed up the Pulangi River, coming in aid of the Maguindanaos, who hoped that this powerful force would easily crush Ronquillo's armada.[134] Ronquillo met the Ternatens by land and by river. A major battle ensued in which the Ternatens were soundly defeated and their general, Cachil Babul, was killed.[135] This victory was significant. The Ternatens were widely believed to be undefeatable after they had successfully ousted Portuguese forces from the Moluccas in the 1570s. In fright, the Maguindanaos agreed to sign Ronquillo's treaty and he returned to Manila as a hero.[136]

While in 1597 Ronquillo had seemingly managed to achieve what no one before him had, shortly after negotiating the treaty he and his soldiers also abandoned Mindanao. Faced with ongoing rebellion in Cagayan and news of the arrival of Dutch and English ships in the Moluccas, the royal officials in Manila felt it prudent to retreat Ronquillo and his forces, but not before instructing him to set fire to as many coconut and sago palms as he could possibly manage – up to 50,000 trees according to one account – laying waste to Maguindanao food supplies.[137] Ronquillo's attempted conquest was part of a long line of concerted efforts by successive Spanish governors from the 1570s onwards to subjugate the Moros of Mindanao, Jolo and Borneo, using a combination of diplomacy and military conquest.[138] Yet, for the most part, these efforts were unsuccessful. In Mindanao, the Maguindanaos retreated into the interior of their island to avoid negotiating with the Spanish envoys.[139] In 1578, a Spanish siege of the hilltop fort in Jolo resulted in Raja Pangiran agreeing to swear fealty and pay tribute to the Spanish Crown. Pangiran also promised to cease raiding activities within Spanish possessions.[140] Yet, while the Sulus appear to have honoured the latter part of the agreement, they never fully recognised vassalage to Spain and did not wish to pay more than a symbolic amount of tribute. Moreover, both the Maguindanaos and the Sulus responded to Spanish subjugation attempts with violent resistance. In 1596, Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa was killed while leading the first full-scale military invasion of the Pulangi River. His replacement, Captain Juan de la Jara, was so intimidated by the Maguindanaos that he eventually abandoned his position to return to Manila, ordering his soldiers to

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[134] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60.
[135] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162.
[136] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 8, Núm. 99.
[137] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 146. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 35, Núm. 42. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 276-277.
[138] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 54-57.
[139] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 6, Núm. 60. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 112. Hayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations*, 49.
[140] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150.

burn down their palisades and prepare to retreat.[141] Matters proceeded no better with the Sulus. In 1599, thirteen Spanish soldiers were killed in Jolo when Captain Cristóbal Villagra went in search of supplies for the soldiers stationed in Mindanao. [142] In 1602, Captain Juan Juárez Gallinato led a retaliatory mission against the Sulus – however, the Spanish forces were vastly outnumbered, and the Sulus ultimately retreated to their hilltop fort where they were comfortably able to withstand Gallinato's soldiers. In frustration, Gallinato ordered that they destroy all of the towns and crops on the island and then withdrew.[143]

In invading Mindanao and Jolo, the authorities in Manila hoped not only to bring the Moros under Spanish vassalage, but also to negotiate an end to slave raiding activities in the region. Yet, these early campaigns had the opposite effect, instead solidifying Moro opposition to Spanish rule. Both the Maguindanaos and Sulus increased their raiding activities in the Visayas, beginning in 1599, when 300 Maguindanaos in fifty vessels sailed under the leadership of Sali and Sirongan, raiding Cebu, Negros and Panay and taking 800 captives.[144] The following year, Sali returned and took another 800 captives from Panay and Bohol.[145] In 1602, raiders from Mindanao and Jolo seized and killed another 700 people in the Calamianes.[146] The City Council of Manila reported that in the year 1603 alone, raiders had collectively taken two thousand captives, including missionaries.[147]

At the same time, Moro leaders began to use slave raids quite deliberately to destabilise the Spanish presence in the Visayas. In 1603, Datu Buisan led a particularly violent raid on Leyte, taking hundreds captive and giving the local *datus* a week to find ransom to pay for their release. When he returned, Buisan took the opportunity to entreat the people of Leyte to give up their alliance with Spain since they were clearly unable to protect them from external threats. If they joined in an alliance with the Maguindanaos, he argued, they would no longer have to fear these raids. Buisan asked them to think on this and said he would return within a year for their answer. Seeing reason in this, the *datus* of

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[141] De la Jara was imprisoned by Governor Tello for these actions. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, Núm. 53. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 56. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150-151, 276.
[142] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 1, Núm. 6. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 276.
[143] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 32. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 279-280. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 117.
[144] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 279.
[145] Ibid, 279. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 116-117.
[146] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 53. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 281-282.
[147] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 44.

Leyte entered into a blood compact with Buisan.[148] In response, the authorities in Manila sent a force of forty Spanish troops to convince the people of Leyte that they would protect them against the raiders. They used the Chinese uprising in Manila as an excuse for why they had not been able to come to their aid earlier and also agreed to ransom the rest of those who were still in captivity. Thus, the communities of Leyte were able to play the situation to their advantage by bargaining with both sides for better terms.[149] This turn of events was clearly of concern to the Spanish in Manila, as the Maguindanaos appeared to be moving towards building their own tributary populations within the Visayas.[150] Another squadron of caracoas from Mindanao and Jolo raided the Calamianes islands that same year. The raiders negotiated peace treaties with the communities in exchange for them becoming tributaries of Maguindanao. Unlike in Leyte, the Spanish could do nothing about this, having as yet no established presence in the Calamianes.[151]

While the Maguindanaos used raiding as a political tactic to consolidate power and convince territories to break their alliance with Spain, the Sulus realised raiding could also cause economic harm. In November 1627, raiders from the island of Jolo attacked a major Spanish shipyard located in the province of Camarines. The shipyard had been newly established and Chinese and *indio* labourers had been brought in to work on ship construction, along with great quantities of iron and rice and four pieces of artillery for its defence. That November two thousand raiders in more than thirty large, oared vessels assaulted the shipyards. The Jesuit account reported that the Spanish had carelessly failed to build fortifications or even mount their artillery. Consequently, the battle was short-lived. Many of the labourers were captured, while the dozen wounded Spanish overseers fled upriver, leaving the camp to the Sulu raiders. The raiders remained there for several days, feasting and drinking. They sacked the shipyards, seizing the artillery and iron, setting fire to the ships, and throwing the rice into the sea. On their way back to Jolo, the Sulus raided the island of Bantayan, where they met with resistance from a group of Spaniards, including a Jesuit missionary who was later dispatched to Manila to give an account of these events.[152] This raid was particularly brazen. For perhaps the first time, Moro raiders

[148] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 295. Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua*, 116-117. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 117-118.
[149] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 302.
[150] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 137.
[151] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 17. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 301.
[152] Among the three hundred captives was a Spanish noblewoman named Doña Lucia. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde Agosto de 1627 hasta Junio de 1628. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 126. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 321.

had targeted a strategic Spanish outpost, turning the object of their raiding mission towards one of destroying strategic military assets as well as the capture of slaves.

On the whole, the Spanish struggled to respond at all to these raiding activities. Initially, they tried raising defensive armadas to protect Visayan communities, before shifting to diplomacy and then finally aggressive military invasion. In 1602, Governor Acuña wrote that a defensive armada was the only possible way of protecting the Visayas since they lacked the capacity to place a garrison of soldiers in all of the numerous islands of the archipelago.[153] The following year, the governor stationed an armada in Oton under the charge of Ronquillo, who was instructed to pursue and attack any raiding vessels.[154] Yet, most officials felt that the defensive armadas were a dismal failure. Spanish ships were usually too heavy and cumbersome – requiring large teams of oarsmen to row – and were not light enough to pursue the caracoas of the Mindanaos.[155] Fr. Melchor Hurtado observed that the Mindanaos sailed in formation so that the least damage would be done to their fleet should they encounter Spanish vessels.[156] The *oidor* Antonio Ribera Maldonado argued that it would be better to invade and conquer Mindanao.[157] The Jesuits were of a similar opinion, saying that if they hadn't dismantled the fort that Ronquillo had established in Mindanao in 1598, they would not suffer from raiding to such an extent.[158]

The failure of Spanish defensive armadas only further destabilised the newly established Spanish presence within the Visayas. Prevented from engaging in their customary methods of defence and warfare, many Visayan communities would simply leave the Spanish controlled towns in April each year, anticipating the start of the slave raiding season by the change in the direction of the seasonal winds.[159] Particularly in the first decades of the century, the inability of the Spanish to put an end to Moro raids struck a real blow to Spanish authority in many communities. In 1605, Ríos Coronel argued that the prevalence of Moro raids across the archipelago caused fear amongst Spanish and indigenous populations alike, and few would risk travelling across certain parts of the archipelago. Many local indigenous communities also actively shunned Spanish society by climbing 'up into the mountains

[153] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 53.
[154] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12.
[155] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 8.
[156] ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 159r-188v: Copia de una del padre Melchor Hurtado escrita al Padre Gregorio Lopez Vice Provincial de Philipinas dandole quenta de su captiverio. October 1604.
[157] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73.
[158] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. See also: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 47.
[159] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 282.

saying that since the Spanish cannot defend them they are not going to pay tribute'.[160] Ríos Coronel's words were echoed by numerous other royal and ecclesiastic officials.[161]

Faced with ongoing destabilisation in the Visayas coupled with consistent failures to combat Moro raids militarily, the authorities in Manila realised that they desperately needed to find an alternative solution. In 1605, Governor Acuña appointed the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Melchor Hurtado, to travel as an ambassador to Mindanao, beginning a new era of diplomatic negotiations. Hurtado had already spent considerable time in Mindanao, having been captured by Buisan in his raid on Leyte in 1603. His time spent as a captive gave him unprecedented knowledge of the Maguindanao leaders. Furthermore, he had gained their trust, if not their friendship.[162] Thus, less than a year after his release from captivity, in August 1605, Melchor Hurtado found himself back in Maguindanao to negotiate peace and the release of more than two thousand Visayan captives. There was considerable disagreement among the three Maguindanao leaders – Sirongan, Buisan, and Raja Mura – over how to deal with these new overtures from the Spanish in Manila. While Sirongan was amenable towards a peace agreement chiefly because the Spanish offered to recognise him as the superior ruler of all of the Maguindanao *datus*, the other two were angered at being considered of only secondary importance. Buisan furthermore was still awaiting the ransom that he had been promised the year before. Ultimately, it was the preparations that the Spanish were making to go to war against Ternate which led to a breakdown in negotiations. Since Maguindanao was an ally of Ternate, and since Ternate was a much closer and, in many ways, more formidable threat to peace in the region, the *datus* were reluctant to ally themselves with the Spanish. Thus, instead of negotiating with Hurtado, they once again took him captive.[163]

This time Melchor Hurtado remained in captivity until word reached the Pulangi River in June 1606 that the Spanish had successfully seized the fort in Ternate and captured Sultan Said. Sirongan, Buisan and Raja Mura collectively wrote to Manila to sue for peace. They released Melchor Hurtado along with thirty other captives and sent him with their peace offer back to Manila.[164] However, Governor Acuña died of suspected poisoning shortly after returning to Manila from his conquest of Ternate.

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[160] 'Y subidos a los montes diziendo que pues los españoles no son para defenderlos no los quieren pagar tributo.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 51. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 63.
[161] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 7, Núm. 23.
[162] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 26. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 301-304.
[163] ARSI Phil. 14, fols. 30r-31r: Letter from Pedro de Acuña, 6 March 1606. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 203r-203v: Letter from Melchor Hurtado, 18 April 1606. ARSI Phil 10, fols. 205r-212r: Letter from Melchor Hurtado, 18 April 1606. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 303-305.
[164] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 303-305. Colin, *Labor evangélica*, Libro IV, 608-612.

Consequently, in the upheaval of government, these peace treaties were never ratified and the Maguindanaos resumed their slave raids.[165] In 1608, the Audiencia reported that in April the Maguindanaos had sailed with seventy-seven caracoas and attacked the islands of Leyte and Ibabao. They robbed and burnt churches, taking many captives.[166] Melchor Hurtado laid the blame for this situation squarely on Spanish involvement in Ternate. He noted that the Maguindanaos were united with Ternate in religion, friendship and trade and recognised Ternate as superior. Ternate was in turn united with the Dutch, who by then had established their own fortifications in that island a league away from the Spanish fort. Hurtado warned that it was possible that the Maguindanaos would ally themselves with the Dutch and gather together a great armada to sail on Manila. This placed the islands in the greatest danger. Hurtado recommended that they very quickly send more soldiers to the Visayas to defend them and to prepare a defensive armada.[167] A council of war convened in Manila agreed to increase fortifications in the Visayas and seventy soldiers were sent to join the fifty already stationed there.[168] Following another raid in 1609 a new presidio was established in Caraga, in eastern Mindanao.[169]

To a degree, this diplomacy was somewhat effective; although raiding did not cease, over the next decade its leadership passed principally to the Sulus, Camucones, and Borneans.[170] Yet, the Spanish were not always so tactful in their dealings with Moro leaders. In the 1620s, a Sulu embassy was sent to Manila to request their intercession in a dynastic challenge underway in Jolo. The leader of this embassy, Datu Ache received relatively little attention and left Manila soon after arriving. On their way home, the Sulus were intercepted by a search party in pursuit of Camucones raiders. Datu Ache and his entourage were captured and then thrown into prison in Manila, on the pretence that they were planning on raiding. They were left to starve. Eventually, their case was brought to the attention of the *oidors* by the Jesuits and they were released; however, Datu Ache had three valuable pearls confiscated from his possessions. Angry and humiliated, Datu Ache responded by leading the aforementioned raid on the Spanish naval base in Camarines, inaugurating a renewal of hostilities.[171]

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[165] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 307-308. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 120.
[166] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 2, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 37. ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 235r-235v: Letter from Juan Domingo Bilancio, 24 April 1608. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 60, Núm. 10.
[167] ARSI Phil. 10, fols. 270r-270v: Letter from Melchor Hurtado, 4 July 1608.
[168] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 2, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 3, Núm. 38.
[169] Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua*, 133.
[170] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 310.
[171] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 320-321. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 125.

In April 1628, the Spanish organised a major retaliatory attack on the Sulu capital of Jolo, mustering a force of 200 Spanish soldiers and up to two thousand *indios*.[172] In the space of half a day, this army ripped through the island, sacking and burning the town, the mosque, and the sepulchres of the Sulu rulers. They destroyed all of the fields and set fire to more than a hundred ships that lay in the mouth of the river, and robbed all of the small artillery, arquebuses, munitions and supplies that they could find, in the hopes that this would prevent the Sulus from conducting further raids. Meanwhile, Rajah Bungsu and his vassals retreated to his mountain fort, which the Spanish believed to be impregnable.[173]

The brutality of this invasion ultimately led to an escalation in the conflict with the Sulus. In 1629, they counter-attacked, burning more ships in Camarines and then raiding Samar, Leyte and Bohol. [174] The following year, the Spanish organised another military expedition to Jolo, this time involving 350 Spanish and more than 2500 indigenous soldiers. By the time they arrived, they found that Rajah Bungsu had dismantled the town and retreated with the majority of the population to his hill fort. Although the Spanish prepared a raid at dawn, at a time they thought the Sulus were the least prepared, it quickly became apparent that there would be no possibility of conquering the fort. Instead, they set about burning the villages and felling the fields in the countryside, slaying anyone that they came across.[175] In 1632, the Sulus again counter-attacked, raiding Leyte and this time seizing a Jesuit priest, Fr. Giovanni Domenico Bilanci, who later died in captivity.[176]

Around this time, the Maguindanaos also resumed their raiding, under the leadership of the new and powerful Maguindanao leader, Cachil Kudarat. In 1619, the Jesuits confirmed that they had received news from a Franciscan friar living among the Maguindanaos that they had ceased raiding because they were occupied in their own internal affairs.[177] When raiding resumed in 1634, Cachil Kudarat had

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[172] The various reports give differing accounts of the number of *indio* allies that accompanied this mission, ranging from 1600 to 2000. RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde agosto de 1627 hasta junio de 1628. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12.

[173] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde Agosto de 1627 hasta Junio de 1628. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 321.

[174] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 13: Relación de los sucesos de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos desde el mes de Julio de 1628 hasta el de 1629. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 321-322. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 127.

[175] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 322.

[176] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 322.

[177] RAH, 9/3657, Doc. 8: Relación de lo sucedido en las islas Philipinas y otras provincias y reinos vecinos desde el Julio de 1618 hasta el presente de 1619.

become the sole ruler of all of the Maguindanao communities in the Pulangi River region. Furthermore, Kudarat had managed to establish a political alliance with the Sulus through the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Sulu ruler.[178] In 1634, with a force of 1,500 soldiers, Kudarat's raiding fleet swept through the Visayas seizing captives. A letter from a Jesuit provincial in 1635 indicated the devastating impact of these raids. Not only had a number of senior missionaries lost their lives, but mission churches had been sacked and burned, ornaments and holy images had been desecrated and Christian communities attacked and scattered, with countless Visayans taken into slavery.[179]

The combined threat of the Maguindanaos and Sulus was of deep concern for the royal officials in Manila. In 1633, the Audiencia wrote to the King saying that the Moros posed the greatest risk to the reputation of the Crown and of the entire Spanish nation within the archipelago, describing the raiders as 'the vilest people that there are in the surrounding islands'.[180] Despite this, the government in Manila had never been able to present an adequate opposition to this threat. When news of the raids reached Manila, it was already too late to send out an armada to pursue them because by this time they would be already on their way back to their own islands. The armadas stationed in Oton and Cebu were thus ineffective and presented a constant drain on the resources of the Royal Treasury.[181] Responding to this request, the King issued a decree dated 16 February 1635 which was received by the Governor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera instructing him to put in place a final remedy against the Moros from Jolo, the Camucones and Borneo.[182] Later that year, a military outpost was finally established at Zamboanga – on the southwestern point of Mindanao – which was intended to act as an early warning system for raiding parties sailing from both Mindanao and Jolo.[183]

In 1637 Hurtado de Corcuera prepared an invasion force of 250 Spanish and 3,000 indigenous soldiers and set sail for the Pulangi River.[184] The official accounts of the ensuing battle fail to mention these indigenous soldiers, instead painting a picture of Hurtado de Corcuera valiantly assaulting the Moro towns and fort with just a handful of Spanish soldiers, placing his faith 'in the kindness and compassion

[178] Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 128.
[179] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 324.
[180] 'La gente más vil que ay en las yslas circumbecinas.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 7, Núm. 23.
[181] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 21, Ramo 7, Núm. 23. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 18.
[182] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 76. Note that Mindanao was missing from the original decree, but this omission was ignored by Hurtado de Corcuera.
[183] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 76. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 323-324. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 48. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 132.
[184] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82.

of God' rather than in the number of soldiers he had.[185] These accounts go on to depict a glorious victory for the Spanish over a heathen people. Cachil Kudarat had fortified himself at the top of a rugged mountain, with very few access paths, allowing him to withstand the initial assaults made by Hurtado de Corcuera's forces; however, eventually a section of the Spanish army managed to sneak through a back entrance that the Moros had considered inaccessible and they seized the fort. Rather than surrender to the Spanish, many of the Moros threw themselves off the mountain, while others fled. Although they captured a number of the Moros and plundered a large amount of artillery and munitions, Cachil Kudarat and the majority of his subjects escaped. This did not stop Hurtado de Corcuera from returning to Zamboanga and proclaiming victory over the Maguindanaos. He then sent his army to exact pledges of vassalage and tribute from Moro communities across Mindanao.[186] Meanwhile, a Spanish armada comprising more than a thousand mostly indigenous soldiers sailed along the coasts of the island, burning towns and crops, destroying trees and killing up to seventy or more *indios* that came across their path, until they finally reached the Spanish fort in Caraga, on the other side of Mindanao.[187]

Emboldened by his successes, the following year Hurtado de Corcuera set sail for the island of Jolo with an army of 500 Spanish and 3,000 indigenous soldiers. Having heard of the events in Mindanao, the Sulus were prepared for the arrival of the Spanish. They fortified themselves in a high and impregnable hill fort where they waited and watched as the Spanish soldiers built their stockades and attempted to barrage their heavy defences with little success. Hurtado de Corcuera realised quickly that his forces were insufficient to defeat the fortified position of the Sulus, and so he and his soldiers settled in for a siege in an attempt to starve them out. Initially, the Sulus received food and rice from a tributary population that continued to tend to their harvests in the fields surrounding the battleground. But Spanish incursions into these fields meant that eventually the supply of food to the fort dwindled and those inside were forced to survive principally on salted fish.[188] Suddenly, at the beginning of April 1638, the siege ended after three months. A messenger was sent down from the fort to surrender and request permission for the occupants of the fort to be allowed to come down

[185] 'Fiando más en la bondad y misericordia de Dios.' AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82.
[186] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 224. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 70. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 51: Copia de una carta del Padre Juan Lopez, rector del colegio de la compañía de Jesús de Cavite para los Padres Diego de Bobadilla y Simón Cotta, procuradores de la provincia de Philipinas para Roma. ARSI, Phil. 11, 150r-164v: Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.S. a las armas españolas. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 25-36.
[187] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82.
[188] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 387-389.

from the mountain. Over the next three days, thousands of Sulus streamed into the Spanish camps, while Hurtado de Corcuera negotiated the terms of peace with their ruler. Yet, despite the actions of their leaders, few of the Sulus were really willing to surrender and become vassals to the Spanish King. Within the stockades of the Spanish camp, disturbances broke out between Spanish soldiers and the refugees from the mountain fort amidst a torrential tropical storm that blew across the island. In the confusion, the majority of the Sulus turned and fled from the Spanish, disappearing into the forests and leaving behind all their possessions.[189]

The Failed Conquest, 1639-1662

Although both of these conquests in Mindanao and Jolo ended with the flight and escape of the Moro leadership, Hurtado de Corcuera was able to gather together sufficient plunder – including captives that he took as slaves – to return to Manila bearing displays of a glorious victory. After each of these battles, he held military parades through the streets of Manila, reminiscent of Roman triumphs and designed to demonstrate the might of the Spanish sword.[190] Despite these grandiose displays, the Spanish forces did not achieve lasting military occupations and their presence was fiercely resisted until they were driven out.

Almost immediately the peace was broken in Mindanao, beginning in the Buayan region. A dispute over who was to control the Buayan fort led to Cachil Moncay declaring war on the Spanish. Meanwhile, Kudarat regrouped to the north of the Pulangi River, and the Spanish were concerned that he would join forces with Moncay. The military commander Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui reported that he led an assault on Cachil Moncay's forts in the hills and marshes of Buayan, setting them on fire and destroying his crops. He then forged an alliance with Cachil Manaquior, a rival ruler, reducing him to the obedience of the King of Spain and installing him as a puppet ruler of the Buayan region. Moncay did not give up, however; he rallied his supporters to take back Buayan, attacking the Spanish soldiers stationed there, killing several, including a Jesuit priest. These actions frightened Manaquior, who fled

[189] Among the debris left behind after the storm included a number of infants and small children which the Spanish seized as slaves. AGI, Filipinas, Leg., 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. RAH 9/3657, Doc. 34: Letter from Zamboanga, dated 23 April 1638. ARSI, Phil. 11, 167r-174v: Continuación de los felices successos.

[190] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 224. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 70. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 51: Copia de una carta del Padre Juan Lopez, rector del colegio de la compañía de Jesús de Cavite para los Padres Diego de Bobadilla y Simón Cotta, procuradores de la provincia de Philipinas para Roma. ARSI, Phil. 11, 150r-164v: Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.S. a las armas españolas. AGI, Filipinas, Leg., 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. RAH 9/3657, Doc. 34: Letter from Zamboanga, dated 23 April 1638. ARSI, Phil. 11, 167r-174v: Continuación de los felices successos. Martínez-Valverde, 'Sobre la guerra contra moros', 36-38, 42-44.

from Buayan and later joined Kudarat in his resistance against the Spanish.[191] While the Spanish continued their occupation of Buayan, Kudarat retook his lands to the north along the Pulangi River, cutting off the supply route between the Spanish fort and the sea. In 1642, he attacked a shipment of supplies sent upriver to Buayan, killing all but six Spanish soldiers, who were taken captive. Although these six captives were later released, the Spanish commander at Zamboanga determined that a continued presence at Buayan was unviable, so they dismantled and abandoned the fort, essentially handing back the territory that they had nominally conquered from Kudarat just five years earlier. Kudarat then proceeded to stir up discontent among other populations along the coasts of Mindanao towards Zamboanga, forcing Spanish missionaries to flee for their lives from Sibuguey and Basilan.[192]

Matters proceeded no more peacefully in Jolo, where Raja Bungsu had retreated into the interior of the island and began to organise resistance against the Spanish, sending his son to muster support for a counter-insurgency among the other islands in the Sulu archipelago. The commander, Almonte, organised a second military invasion of Jolo in 1639, attacking Bungsu's new fort.[193] While Bungsu managed to flee, the Spanish slaughtered all of the Sulus that they found. A second military force was sent on a circuit of the island, enforcing obedience to the Spanish Crown at sword-point, and leaving the heads of 500 Sulu resisters hanging from trees across the island. After this, the Spanish sailed to Tawi-Tawi, burning ships and slaughtering more than 500 people with the intention of cutting off any possible resistance that they might offer. By these means, Jolo was subjugated and a governor was installed and provided with a contingent of soldiers to occupy the island. Despite this, the Sulus continued to resist and a second military incursion into the interior was organised which also travelled to the island of Parangan, where the Spanish reportedly slaughtered all of the inhabitants after their commander was killed in the fighting.[194] The Jesuits reported that in 1640 the Sulus joined with the Borneans in raiding the coast of Marinduque. One of the priests working there at the time described the raiders setting fire to the church, houses, and fields, although they did not capture anyone.[195]

Thus, by 1644, all of the gains made by Hurtado de Corcuera in his 'conquests' of 1637 and 1638 had been completely reversed. When the governorship passed to Diego Fajardo in August 1644, the

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[191] RAH, 9/3729, Doc. 10: Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui, 1644. Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 235- 265. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 388-390.
[192] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 265-306. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 388-390.
[193] RAH, 9/3729, Doc. 10: Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui, 1644.
[194] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 307-373. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 391-392.
[195] ARSI, Phil. 8, fols. 1r-23v: Carta annua de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús del año 1640 y parte del de 1641.

strategy of dealing with Mindanao and Jolo also changed dramatically from one of aggressive military invasion to peace negotiations. Governor Fajardo seemed far more cognisant of the genuine threat posed by ongoing war – not only from the point of view of a dwindling military capacity in the archipelago but also because relations with the Dutch continued to be hostile. He thus appointed the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Alejandro López to travel as an ambassador to Mindanao.[196] In June 1645, López met with Kudarat and was able to negotiate a peace treaty that solidified a perpetual friendship and a military alliance between Kudarat and the King of Spain. Importantly, unlike previous treaties, the Spanish did not attempt to force Kudarat into becoming a vassal of Spain; rather, they recognised his sovereignty over a large territorial area of Mindanao, and the right to maintain his own relationships of vassalage with communities surrounding the Pulangi River, Iranun Bay and in the hills further inland. Kudarat for his part agreed to cede the territories around Lake Lanao to the Spanish and to allow Jesuit missionaries into his settlements.[197] A similar treaty was signed with the Sulus in April 1646, following a failed Dutch attempt to ally themselves with the Sulus and take Jolo from the Spanish. This event convinced Governor Fajardo that continued occupation of Jolo was untenable. The Sulu treaty was modelled on the one already signed by Kudarat and recognised Sulu sovereignty over the majority of islands in the Sulu archipelago while granting the Spanish access to some of the smaller islands.[198]

The outcome of these treaties was a negotiated conciliation between the Spanish and the two Moro powers. Spanish military forces were tolerated in their outposts at Zamboanga and Caraga, while Jesuit and Augustinian missionaries were allowed to continue evangelising among the non-Muslim populations in Caraga, Dapitan, Zamboanga and Lake Lanao. This conciliation lasted four years before the first signs that the truce would not hold. In 1649, the Palapag rebellion began in Samar and spread across much of the Visayas, extending into the territory at Caraga. In response, Spanish soldiers pursued some of the rebels into Kudarat's territory, seizing captives.[199] Kudarat considered this to be a major breach of the peace treaty and responded by preparing his own raiding party. This raid was only averted through the intercession of Fr. López, who travelled to speak to Kudarat and convinced him not to go ahead. In 1653, the new governor Manrique de Lara sent an embassy to Kudarat to confirm their mutual commitment to peace; however, it seems that some of the Maguindanao *datus* were discontent with their restrictions on raiding. In 1655, Kudarat sent an aggressive embassy to

[196] Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, 239-248.
[197] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 375-382. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 436-437.
[198] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 382-400. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 437-438.
[199] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 432-439. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 156-157.

Manila to demand that the governor return some Maguindanao captives that were being held prisoner in Manila, as well as some of the artillery stolen during the campaign of Hurtado de Corcuera. Although Manrique de Lara agreed to these demands, he had little hope of meeting them. Fr. López returned to Mindanao to try to negotiate with Kudarat, but the negotiations turned sour when López belaboured the point that Kudarat refused to allow Christian missionaries into his lands. López was later killed while travelling through Buayan, reportedly by assassins sent on behalf of Kudarat.[200]

These actions meant that war was inevitable. Kudarat began to assemble a large alliance, bringing together allies from the Moluccas and the Sulu archipelago. Manrique de Lara instructed the commander at Zamboanga to begin preparing for an invasion of the Maguindanao territory.[201] In 1656, the Maguindanaos raided Marinduque, Mindoro and Camarines without opposition. The Bishop of Nueva Cáceres described this raid on the town of Tayabas in Camarines, saying that all of the *indios* fled into the mountains, followed by their priests. Those that remained were only able to survive the assault because they had previously fortified their church and stocked it with arquebuses and gunpowder. The priests in Camarines province were so fearful of a return to regular raiding that they suggested the *indios* of the region should come to mass armed with bows and arrows and practice firing these weapons in the patio of the church.[202] In 1657, the Sulus also raided the Visayas, taking a thousand captives. In 1658, the Spanish finally counterattacked, raiding the Maguindanao settlements, sacking their houses and ships and burning their fields.[203] The same year, the Sulus raided Bohol, Leyte, Samar, Masbate, and even travelled as far as Manila Bay.[204] Peace in the region had once again been shattered.

It was within this turbulent context that Koxinga's envoy arrived in Manila in 1662 bearing a letter threatening to rain down blood and fire over the city.[205] This threat was felt deeply in Manila in 1662

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[200] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 471-503. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 441-443.
[201] Combes, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes*, 503-510. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 443.
[202] AFIO 92/7: Informe del Obispo de Nueva Cáceres al Gobierno, sobre los daños que causaban los moros y las vejaciones a los indios por los alcaldes mayores.
[203] ARSI Phil. 11, fols. 353r-366r: Traslado de una carta que el Señor D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara Governador, y Capitán General de las Islas Filipinas, y presidente de la Audiencia Real, que en ellas reside, escribe al padre Magino Sola, de la Compañía de Iesus, residente en la Real Corte de Madrid, Fecha en Cabite, Puerto de dichas Islas, en 24 de Iulio del año de 1658 y recibida en Madrid en 19 de Iunio de 1659.
[204] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 443.
[205] See Chapter 2 for further details of Koxinga's threatened invasion of Manila. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 42. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. Tonio Andrade, *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Great Victory over the West*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 299-301. Yu-Chung Lee, 'The Relationship between the Cheng Clan and the Spanish Empire during the Ming Dynasty', *Hanxue Yanjiu*

and, over the course of the next year, twelve companies of soldiers were withdrawn from the southern archipelago – six from Ternate, four from Zamboanga, and one each from Iligan and the Calamianes. The majority of these soldiers were redeployed to Manila, while the remainder bolstered numbers in Cavite, Cebu, Oton, Caraga, and Cagayan. The governor also commissioned major refortification works in Manila and Cavite at this time, including the construction of a sea-wall and a new bastion to oversee the port and the shipyards.[206] While Koxinga's invasion was clearly the immediate threat that forced this unprecedented withdrawal of forces, it was not merely coincidental that the soldiers were withdrawn from presidios stationed in the southern archipelago where tensions with various Moro polities had been increasing over the past decade. In recounting his decision to withdraw these soldiers, Governor Manrique de Lara emphasised the threat posed by the raiders of Mindanao and Jolo and argued that the withdrawal of these soldiers was needed as much to establish peace with the bellicose Moro rulers as it was to prepare Manila against possible invasion. With new intimations of war particularly with Maguindanao, the continued presence of Spanish forces in the southern archipelago was untenable. Furthermore, they had proved of very limited use against the regular raids conducted by the Camucones, who remained unaffected by the peace treaties signed by Cachil Kudarat in Maguindanao and Raja Bungsu in Jolo.[207] The consideration with regards to the forces of the Maluku islands was slightly different – while these soldiers were not affected by ongoing raiding activities, they were situated on a frontier with the Dutch and surrounded by hostile populations allied to the Dutch-aligned King of Ternate. Many officials had long believed that the Maluku presidio served no purpose at all, while the soldiers themselves deserted in large numbers.[208]

The extensive contraction of territorial power that this military withdrawal entailed horrified officials in Madrid. For the next two decades, the King issued decree after decree ordering successive governors in Manila to re-establish the presidio at Zamboanga in Mindanao, saying that this retreat was not only an embarrassment for the Spanish Crown in the region but also opened up the opportunity for the Dutch to gain control over the southern provinces.[209] Yet, royal officials in Manila were all in agreement that re-establishing the Zamboanga presidio would risk reigniting war with the

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(Chinese Studies), Vol. 16, No. 2, (1998), 29-59. Ho, 'The Empire's Scorched Shore', 53-74. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 60-61.

[206] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 42.

[207] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 129r-131r.

[208] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 112-119. Bohigian, 'Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire', 71-76.

[209] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 129r-131r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 150v-152v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 8, Núm. 24. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fols. 147v-149v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 205r-206v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 353v-355r. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 355r-355v.

Moros. The withdrawal from Zamboanga had been accompanied by considerable violence. The Jesuits reported that many of the towns and churches that they had established in Mindanao had since been burned by the Sulus and Camucones, who had also killed two missionaries. Fr. Juan Bautista was stabbed to death when he refused to accompany a raiding mission, while Fr. Barrena died after having been taken captive. Kudarat also saw the Spanish withdrawal from Mindanao as an opportunity to extend his authority over the islands and the Christianised Lutaos of the Zamboanga peninsula were all brought under his control.[210] Consequently, most officials were in favour of maintaining peace with the Moros, even if this meant forfeiting the right to the territories of the southern archipelago.[211] In 1675, Governor Manuel de Leon wrote to the King, informing him that re-establishing the Zamboanga presidio would be inadvisable because he had managed to negotiate peace with Kudarat, and this would be seen as a breach of this peace and potentially reignite hostilities with the Moros.[212]

At the same time, peace with Maguindanao and Jolo following 1663 did not mark a full halt of raiding activities in the archipelago. The Camucones continued to engage in regular raiding throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century. Governor Manrique de Lara reported that they would come in very small and light ships, sailing from island to island, often living at sea with no fixed abode. He called them 'ladroncillos rateros' – despicable little thieves.[213] In 1666, Governor Salcedo organised several defensive armadas designed to capture and punish the Camucones raiders, with very limited success.[214] In 1679, the attorney Diego de Villatoro argued that the closure of the Zamboanga presidio had resulted in the islands being 'infested' by pirates from the Camucones. The provinces where the villages were most exposed to the sea, such as in Camarines, were most affected by the regular raids, although the Camucones were also known to have raided as far as Mariveles, at the mouth of the Bay of Manila. The *indios* of Camarines had built themselves an armada of small light vessels and had successfully defended themselves against the pirates.[215] Most officials in Manila believed that the Camucones were ultimately acting on behalf of the Borneans, with whom the Spanish had had only limited direct contact over the course of the previous century. When the Sultan of Brunei sent an ambassador to sign a peace agreement with the Spanish and open up direct trade with Manila in the early 1680s, it was hoped that this would help to put an end to the regular raids of the Camucones.[216]

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[210] ARSI, Phil. 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes.
[211] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 7.
[212] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 122, Núm. 1. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 205r-206v.
[213] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38.
[214] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 48. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 50.
[215] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 128.
[216] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 11, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 11, Ramo 1, Núm. 50. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 11, Ramo 1, Núm. 54. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 11. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 3. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 15, Ramo 1, Núm. 7. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 13, Ramo 1, Núm. 3.

Around the same time, in 1685, the governor in Manila received letters from both the Kings of Mindanao and Jolo saying that they would conserve the peace and that they were currently at war against one another.[217] Combined with a newly established trading relationship with Borneo, this gave many in Manila hope that the Moro wars had come to an end. They had already attempted to intervene into the internal affairs of the Maguindanaos, favouring Prince Curay as the successor to Kudarat and offering in 1671 to provide him with military support against three other rivals for the sultanship.[218] Yet, as the century progressed these internal disputes transformed into a conflict between Maguindanao and Sulu for supremacy over the whole region.[219] In 1690, Governor Abella Fuertes reported that peace with Maguindanao was unstable and that the brother of the ruling sultan had been put to death for wanting to break the peace with Spain. He also reported that the Maguindanaos were pursuing war against Jolo.[220] By the early eighteenth century, the Sulus came out of the conflict triumphant, building the biggest Muslim sultanate yet seen in the Philippine archipelago, which by the late eighteenth century became the largest and most notorious slave raiding entrepôt in Maritime Southeast Asia. Slave raiding thus once again resumed, this time reaching even greater levels of destructiveness.[221]

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The Spanish began their involvement in Maritime Southeast Asia in the late sixteenth century with great ambitions for controlling large parts of this maritime world; however, these ambitions died at the frontier with Mindanao and Jolo. For nearly a century, these polities – along with the Camucones, Borneans and Caragans – beleaguered the Spanish with constant raiding. Although the Spanish tried various tactics, including subjugation by treaty, defensive armadas, and military invasion, they were ultimately repeatedly outmanoeuvred by the Moros militarily and diplomatically. Thus, by the end of the century, they were forced to abandon their territorial ambitions and accept the limitations of the frontier established by the Moros. Moreover, although a peaceful conciliation was eventually reached

[217] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 27. Ruurdje Laarhoven has detailed the political continuity and development of the Maguindanao sultanate following the Spanish withdrawal, arguing that this did not signal a decline as has sometimes been assumed by historians like Majul. During this period the Maguindanaos continued to trade with the Dutch and, briefly, with the English. See Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*.
[218] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 10, Ramo 1, Núm. 7.
[219] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 9, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 127, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 129, Núm. 38.
[220] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 2, Núm. 15.
[221] James Warren, 'The Iranun and Balangingi Slaving Voyage: Middle Passages in the Sulu Zone', in Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (eds.), *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 66.

by the end of the seventeenth century, it had been brokered with considerable loss of life on both sides. While some missionary activity continued in Mindanao over the ensuing decades, it was limited and hampered by hostility from the Moros, who after a century of contact with various Spanish missionaries in the guise of diplomats had developed a distrust for them. Although the Spanish would continue to expand their possessions westward into Micronesia over the coming decades,[222] they never regained influence over these southern regions. When the Spanish reignited their military engagement with Mindanao and Jolo the following century, a new era of violence was ushered in. Thus, in the end, this period of conflict was ultimately one of failure for the project of empire building. The Spanish met their match in the southern archipelago, where polities maintained sophisticated military and diplomatic tactics and were ruthless in warfare, ultimately allowing them to retain their sovereignty.

[222] Driver, 'Cross, Sword and Silver', 21-51. Hezel and Driver, 'From Conquest to Colonisation', 137-155. Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995). Coello de la Rosa, 'Soldados de Gedeón', 17-44. Coello de la Rosa, 'La sangre de los mártires', 707-745. Omaira Brunal-Perry, 'Las islas Marianas enclave estratégico en el comercio entre México y Filipinas', in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico: Legazpi*, *Tomo I*, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 543-556. Deryck Scarr, *The History of the Pacific Islands: Kingdoms of the Reefs*, (South Melbourne: The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd., 1990), 94-105. Elizalde, 'La ocupación española de las islas carolinas', 77-93. María Dolores Elizalde, 'La proyección de España en el pacífico durante la época del imperialismo', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (1993), 277-295.

Conclusion

At two in the morning on 29 May 1686, more than sixty Chinese arrived in the Parian by ship, under the cloak of darkness and armed with scimitars and shields. Hearing a disturbance, the *alguacil mayor* of the Parian, Luis de Ortega, went with two assistants to see what was happening. Ortega and his associates were attacked by the crowd and severely wounded. Another Spanish official, Nicolás de la Ballena came to his aid and was killed during the commotion. After this bloodshed, the crowd quickly dispersed. Word of these events soon reached the governor inside the city walls, who dispatched two sets of soldiers by land and by sea to hunt down the Chinese who had fled the city. In the marshes to the south of Intramuros, eleven were killed and eight of their heads were taken and placed around the Parian for all to see, sparking horror and panic. Investigating the events, the *oidor* Don Pedro Sebastián de Bolivar y Mena uncovered what he deemed to be a plot for a generalised uprising that was to begin in the port of Cavite. At the conclusion of this investigation, five Chinese were hanged. A further sixty were brought to justice, given a variety of sentences including serving in the galleys or on public works, being fined quantities of silver and being exiled back to China.[1]

This rebellion came at a vulnerable moment. The 1680s was a period of crisis for the Spanish in Manila. After more than a century of colonial rule, the Spanish outpost in the East Indies had failed to thrive. That same year of 1686, the decree abolishing indigenous slavery had to be revoked thanks to genuine fears of widescale rebellion against colonial rule among indigenous communities and a loss of control over much needed indigenous labour.[2] News had recently arrived that the sultanates of Mindanao and Jolo were at war with one another, threatening the tenuous peace negotiated with these polities two decades previously.[3] In 1683, Fr. Domingo Pérez was murdered by a Zambal headhunter, and Dominican priests faced rebellion against their evangelising missions across the vast territories of Northern Luzon.[4] A royal decree ordering the religious orders to put more effort into reducing 'heathen' and apostate communities resulted in general protestations by the missionaries that they were doing their best with limited numbers.[5] Soldiers stationed in Cagayan were too frightened to leave their forts, while all efforts to militarily occupy these rebellious regions were permanently

[1] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 67. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 3, Núm. 172. RAH, 9/2668, Libro 2, Número 122: Diario de las novedades de Filipinas desde junio de 86 hasta el de 87.
[2] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 5, Núm. 28. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 61.
[3] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 27. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 24, Ramo 9, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 127, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 129, Núm. 38.
[4] Pérez, 'Relation of the Zambals', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 331-332. Juan de la Concepción, 'Extracts from Juan de la Concepción's Historia', *B&R*, Vol. 41, 252. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 20.
[5] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 82, Núm. 91.

delayed.[6] Overstretched and under-resourced, the Spanish in Manila felt surrounded by hostile forces. The Chinese community was the most immediate of these threats since they controlled the local economy of the city. They consequently felt the full force of Spanish fears, realised in the form of the expulsion decree issued in Madrid in November 1686, just six months after the rebellion plot was uncovered.[7]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Spanish colonisation of the Philippines thus remained tenuous and widely contested by communities across the archipelago. As this dissertation has demonstrated, these limitations were not unique to the 1680s. While the exact nature of their difficulties changed over the course of the century, the Spanish nonetheless operated in a permanent crisis. The limited nature of the Spanish population created a constant sense of unease among Spanish officials. The colonial archives are thus a documentary record of anxiety similar to that noted by historians of Colonial India and the Dutch East Indies.[8] These historians argue that anxiety was a corollary of colonisation and that the archival record shows how colonial states often responded with panic to established limits of their control and the threat of rebellion. Yet, in the seventeenth-century Philippines, we also witness a cognitive dissonance between the stated claims of sovereignty, control, and territorial expansion and the reality of the colonial frontier. The role of violence has long been acknowledged as a feature of colonial control in the Philippines, with historians like Newson emphasising that the violence of colonial labour regimes led to population decline in the seventeenth century.[9] Yet, this analysis never fully takes into account the reality that the limited nature of Spanish territorial control created zones of resistance, meaning that colonial claims to territory could only be upheld through intensive militarisation of particular regions. The anxiety of the Spanish colonial authorities in the Philippines was thus born out of an inability to consolidate control within their stated boundaries of colonial sovereignty and was also reflected in a parallel inability to expand territorially outwards.

The history of the seventeenth century Philippines is thus one of constant mobility of populations, many of whom fled colonised territories altogether. As chapter one of this dissertation has demonstrated, Spanish sovereignty was far more nodal than previously suggested, with vast swathes

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[6] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 14, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 122, Núm. 28.
[7] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 202, fols. 166r-166v: Gabriel de Curucelaegui y Arriola, 1 December 1688.
[8] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). Kim A. Wagner, '"Treading Upon Fires": The "Mutiny"-Motif and Colonial Anxieties in British India', *Past & Present*, Vol. 218, No. 1 (2013), 159-197. Robert Peckham, *Empires of Panic: Epidemics and Colonial Anxieties*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).
[9] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*.

of territory remaining outside of colonial control altogether. These territories extended beyond the confines of upland Northern Luzon to include both upland and neighbouring lowland spaces across the breadth of the archipelago. Some of these communities furthermore used tactics of headhunting, raiding, rebellion, and killing to erode established bases of Spanish influence, as chapter four shows.

While many *indios* chose to abandon Spanish settlements, open rebellions within nominally consolidated territories were by no means uncommon. The rebellions that took place in the Visayas in 1649 and Pampanga and Pangasinan in 1660-1661 are the most famous examples, impacting vast swathes of territory and threatening to topple colonial rule entirely.[10] In Cagayan, rebellion was often a precursor to flight into the mountains and formed part of an ongoing and often violent resistance to incorporation into the Spanish state. Several large scale rebellions in the 1620s convinced both the Spanish military and the Dominican missionaries to abandon the pacification of parts of this region for half a century, in effect limiting Spanish control to the waterways in the north of the province.[11] Elsewhere, rebellions were organised against labour regimes – as in Pampanga in 1645 – or against the conversion activities of Spanish missionaries.[12] Particularly in the Visayas, native priests led whole communities to abandon their coastal settlements and fortify themselves in the mountainous interior.[13] On a day to day level, missionaries working in the Philippines found their duties to be particularly dangerous, with the possibility of assassination a real threat for many.[14]

Simultaneously, while the Spanish found themselves unable to consolidate territorial control and were forced to retreat from interior regions, early ambitions to extend Spanish control south into the Indonesian archipelago faltered at the first hurdle of conquering the southern islands of Mindanao, Jolo, and Calamianes. The majority of these polities maintained connections to the powerful Islamic

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[10] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 2. 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R*, Vol. 38, 101-128, 140-180. See also: Palanco, 'Resistencia y rebelión indígena en Filipinas', 89-90, 92-96. Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 145-168. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 90-95. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 411-413, 483. Cortes, Puyal Boncan and Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga*, 77-81. ARSI, Phil 7. fols. 668-679: Annua de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús desde el año de 1646 hasta el de 1649 inclusive.

[11] Aduarte, *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, 490-494, 550-556. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 6, Núm. 85. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 208. RAH, 9/3657, Núm. 12: Relación del estado de las islas Philipinas y otros reinos y provincias circunvecinas desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628.

[12] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R,* Vol. 38, 97-98. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 71.

[13] 'Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century', *B&R,* Vol. 38, 87-94. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, 17-19. Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas*, 226-228. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 76, Núm. 13. ARSI, Phil 6., fols. 307r-314r: Annua Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinarum Insularum, Anni 1621. RAH, 9/2668, Núm. 17: Carta Annua de Philipinas desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1671.

[14] ARSI Phil. 12, fols. 1r-12r: Letter from Ignacio Alcina, 24-Jun-1660. See also De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, Appendix C, 596-605.

sultanates of Ternate and Borneo and, via these alliances, to a wider Indian Ocean trading network.[15] Additionally, they were highly militarised, possessed artillery and other weapons, and had access to modern warfare tactics.[16] Consequently, the conquest of the southern archipelago was not an easy undertaking. The Spanish attempted a number of military invasions of Mindanao, Sulu, and Borneo during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but these expeditions failed to secure their strategic aims.[17] Instead, what resulted from these attempts was a situation of ongoing hostilities, evidenced by the almost annual slave raiding missions organised against Spanish-aligned settlements in the Visayas by the Maguindanaos, Sulus, Camucones, Borneans, and Caragans.[18] Although slave raiding had been a persistent feature of Maritime Southeast Asia prior to the arrival of the Spanish, it is clear that in the seventeenth century it became both a tactic of resisting conquest and a means of disrupting Spanish aims in the region, as chapter six argues. Hampered by a lack of soldiers, limited finances, and inferior maritime technology, the Spanish were unable to offer any real defence of the region from these annual raids.[19] Although Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera organised two large-scale military invasions of Mindanao and Jolo in 1637 and 1638,[20] proclaiming victory over the

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[15] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18A, Ramo 6, Núm. 36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 7, Núm. 79. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 57. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 8, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 18B, Ramo 7, Núm. 60. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 144. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 146. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 9, Núm. 162. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 81-82, 110-111. Donoso Jiménez, 'El Islam en Filipinas', 459-469. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150. Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 54-57. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints*.

[16] AGI, Patronato, Leg. 46, Ramo 18.

[17] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 35. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 6, Ramo 3, Núm. 36. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 150, 279-280. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 32. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 31. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 47. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 3. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 115. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 25. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 23. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 29. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 1, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 30, Núm. 12. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 40: Sucesos de las islas Philipinas desde agosto de 1627 hasta junio de 1628. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 1, Núm. 9. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 117. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 322.

[18] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix B, 271-276.

[19] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 3, Núm. 53. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 8. ARSI, Phil. 10, fols. 159r-188v: Copia de una del padre Melchor Hurtado escrita al Padre Gregorio Lopez Vice Provincial de Philipinas dandole quenta de su captiverio. October 1604. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 47.

[20] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 82. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 224. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 70. RAH, 9/2667, Doc. 51: Copia de una carta del Padre Juan Lopez, rector del colegio de la compañía de Jesús de Cavite para los Padres Diego de Bobadilla y Simón Cotta, procuradores de la provincia de Philipinas para Roma. ARSI, Phil. 11, 150r-164v: Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.S. a las armas españolas. Martínez-Valverde, 25-36. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 8, Ramo 3, Núm. 97. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 233. AHN, CDI, Leg. 26, Núm. 74. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 387-389.

Moros, in reality, this conflict only ended when the Spanish abandoned their claims to the southern archipelago in 1663.[21]

1663 was a watershed moment in the history of Spanish colonisation of the Philippines since it marked a great contraction of territorial control and the effective abandonment of the grandiose expansionary ambitions of earlier generations of Spanish governors and royal officials. Smarting from the rebellions in Pampanga and Pangasinan and fearful of a threatened invasion of Manila by the Chinese warlord Koxinga, Governor Manrique de Lara chose to withdraw military forces from Mindanao, the Moluccas and the Calamianes.[22] This decision was not taken lightly; it reflected a pragmatic reality that Spanish military forces were simply too weak to manage such a multitude of threats. Having entered the colonisation of the Philippines with an overinflated sense of military superiority, the idea that scattered and politically unintegrated Philippine communities would be no match against Spanish military prowess had proven false.

Following this contraction of military control, Spanish governors turned their focus to consolidating control in their remaining territories and launched a new wave of militarisation north of Manila. Over the 1680s a series of ten fortifications were established along the waterways of the Cagayan Valley in an attempt to impose Spanish authority in the region.[23] The militarisation of Cagayan was undertaken at the behest of the Dominicans, who had also used military force to try to impose authority in the Zambales region.[24] By this time, many missionaries agreed with the sentiments of the Augustinian Fr. Diego de Jesus when he wrote that, in these intransigent areas, *indios* would not hear the voice of God 'without first having heard the thunderclap of the arquebus'.[25] Missionaries had put their lives at risk attempting to persuade and cajole recalcitrant mountain communities to convert to Christianity and come and live in lowland Spanish settlements but to no avail. Military intervention seemed like the best option for progressing the colonisation of the unconquered interior.[26] Yet, these efforts were also a failure. The chronic shortages of soldiers meant that each of the forts established in Cagayan hosted

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[21] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 30. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. RAH, 9/2668, Doc. 1: Anuas de las islas Philipinas: Del Estado de las islas desde el año 658 hasta el de 661. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. ARSI, Phil. 12, Doc. 70: Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reinos adiacentes. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 3, Núm. 42. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38.

[22] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 39. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 129r-131r.

[23] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18. The last three forts, all located on the coast, had a corporal but did not host a permanent garrison of soldiers. They were largely established for coastal defence.

[24] Pérez, 'Relation of the Zambals', *B&R*, Vol. 47, 327-330. AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B.

[25] AGI, Escribanía, Leg. 404B, Doc. 4: Letter from Fr. Diego de Jesús, Dated 1680, fol. 1r: 'la experiencia ha ya mostrado repetidamente que no oyen todos estos isleños las voces de los predicadores, si primero no han oído el tronido de los arcabuces.'

[26] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 23, Ramo 17, Núm. 55.

no more than a handful of soldiers, who lacked the capacity to respond in any serious way to a threatened rebellion or raiding attack on the village. Indeed, a number of *indio* observers argued that raiders would come to the forts to taunt the soldiers, openly brandishing their weapons and in at least one instance brazenly killing a soldier while he was on sentry duty.[27]

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Spanish thus found themselves militarily weakened on all sides, having been forced to abandon their claims to the southern archipelago and entrenched in an unwinnable frontier war in the interior of Luzon. Yet there was one region where the colonial state did use violence effectively to enforce colonial rule. Three times during the seventeenth century the Spanish orchestrated large-scale massacres of the Chinese population in Manila.[28] While these events have been dubbed 'rebellions' within the annals of Spanish history, this term was largely a means of justifying the extremity of this reaction and grants too much equivalence in responsibility to both sides. Similar tactics were never used against indigenous rebellions; ringleaders were executed, but general amnesties were offered for the majority of participants.[29] The massacres that took place in Manila were extraordinary acts of violence. In reality, these periodic pogroms on the Sangley population were a last resort by uneasy Spanish settlers anxious to wrest control over the one outpost where they felt they could impose their authority. With such a large and well organised Chinese community, connected to trading networks across Southeast Asia, it was hard for Spanish authorities to really feel in command of the city that lay at the centre of the Spanish Philippines. As chapter two

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[27] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 75, Núm. 18.

[28]AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 27, Núm. 45. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 117. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 118. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 4, Núm. 73. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 119. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 120. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 122. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 12. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 15. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 127. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 84, Núm. 128. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 5, Núm. 76. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 92. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 20, Ramo 4, Núm. 34. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 28. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 96r-96v. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 19, Ramo 6, Núm. 83. Borao, 'The Massacre of 1603', 29-30. Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*, 307-311. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 205-212. Chan, 'Chinese-Philippine Relations', 74-81. Wills, 'Maritime Europe and the Ming', 56-60. Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, 266-272. Ching-Hong, *References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources*, 134-135. Kueh, 'The Manila Chinese', 38-71. RAH 9/3663, Núm. 28: Relasión del alçamiento de los chinos en la ciudad de Manila por el mes de noviembre del año de 1639, causas del alçamiento y prinsipio del. BNE Mss. 2371 fols. 602-604: Relación verdadera del levantamiento de los Sangleyes en las Filipinas y de las vitorias que tuvo contra ellos el Governador don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera el año pasado de 1640 y 1641. 'Relation on the Chinese Insurrection', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 194-207. AGI, Indiferente General, Leg. 113, Núm. 47. Juan López, 'Events in the Philippines from August 1639 to August 1640', *B&R*, Vol. 29, 208-258. Casimiro Díaz, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, II, 401-430. Vicente Salazar, *Historia de la provincial del santísimo Rosario de Philipinas*, II, 149. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 37. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 2, Núm. 38. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 21. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 28, Núm. 25. McCarthy, 'Slaughter of Sangleys in 1639', 659-667. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 493-506. De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 385-387.

[29] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 9, Ramo 2, Núm. 34. Spanish jurisprudence additionally often allowed for the sentencing of rebels to serve limited terms of convict labour. For the juridical basis behind this type of punishment see: Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 693-730.

argues, violence through massacre and forced expulsion were thus the only means of asserting control. Yet, as Luis de Ortega and Nicolás de la Ballena discovered in 1686, even the threat of violence was not always sufficient to control the Sangley community.

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The enduring consequences of this long history of contesting colonisation in the Philippines are evident everywhere if we only look for them. During her fieldwork in Bicol in the 1970s, anthropologist Fenella Cannell collected the following story about ancestor worship:

> 'When God created the world, he blessed all the people in it ... But the tawo [ancestor spirits] were hiding among the tree-trunks of the forests, and so they didn't fall within the dominion of the blessing. That is why we cannot see them. But if the blessing at Mass reaches one of the tawo, we will see them and they will not be able to go back to their own place.'[30]

This story is fascinating as it relates the existence of ancestor spirits – and by extension the persistence of ancestor worship in Filipino society – to a process of 'hiding in the forest'. In the seventeenth century, flight into forests and upland regions was common throughout the Philippines. Seen from this perspective, the story told in Bicol in the 1970s can be read as an allegory, where the '*tawo'* are in fact the historic Filipinos themselves who ran away into mountains and forests to escape not just 'the dominion of the blessing' but also the dominion of the Spanish colonial state and its missionary agents.

All of the conflicts that have featured in this dissertation have continued to influence Philippine society over the three centuries following the close of this narrative. In some instances, the continuities are immediately apparent. The Spanish struggled with the question of expelling the Chinese for the duration of the eighteenth century, with a number of expulsion attempts made before the successful but only short-lived expulsions between 1767 and 1772.[31] Historians like Eva Mehl demonstrate that Spanish military weakness and reliance on convict labour extended well into the nineteenth century.[32]

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[30] Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, 119-120.
[31] Escoto, 'Expulsion of the Chinese', 48-76.
[32] Eva María Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765-1811*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). María Fernanda García de los Arcos, *Forzados y reclutas: Los criollos novohispanos en Asia (1756-1808)*, (Mexico City: Portrerillos Editores S.A. de C.V., 1996). Beatriz

Rebellion, too, was not limited to the seventeenth century. A century after Malong was executed, rebellion once again spread across Northern Luzon. The most famous of these multiple rebellions was led by Diego Silang and coincided with the British occupation of Manila.[33] The communities of Bohol staged a rebellion that lasted for eighty-five years, beginning in 1744 when the local leader Dagohoy led *indios* into the mountains, rejecting Spanish authority completely. Ulysses B. Aparece notes that Dagohoy is still commemorated as a folk hero and incorporated within ancestor worship on the island of Bohol. He also writes that he grew up with 'stories from the distant past … of headless Spanish priests walking in empty streets, *condenados* dragging metal chains, and spirit warriors in hot pursuit of Spanish soldiers'.[34]

Similarly, slave raiding remained a problem in the region, escalating over the course of the eighteenth century with James Warren estimating that between 200,000 and 300,000 slaves were captured by the Sulu sultanate between 1780-1880.[35] In Northern Luzon, Augustinian missionaries pushed into Igorot territories in the eighteenth century yet, as in the previous century, these attempts at the spiritual conquest of the mountains were largely a dismal failure.[36] The need for an overland highway connecting the plains of Pampanga with Cagayan continued to trouble authorities throughout the following century, as did the recalcitrance of Cagayan communities to incorporation into the colonial state.[37] As suggested in the work of James Warren, however, the Spanish may have finally found a solution to both of these problems of control by the mid-nineteenth century. He documents the forced relocation of Balangingi slave raiders to the interior provinces of Cagayan and Isabela to work on newly established tobacco plantations.[38] This appears to have been part of a new strategy by the Spanish state to attempt to break rebellion through both forced and incentivised migrations. The Balangingi were dispossessed from their maritime lifestyles and transformed into farmers, while the *indios* of

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Cáceres Menéndez and Robert W. Patch, '"Gente de Mal Vivir": Families and Incorrigible Sons in New Spain, 1721-1729', *Revista de Indias*, Vol. LXVI, No. 237, (Madrid, 2006), 363-392.

[33] Like Malong, Silang was a *principal* from the town of Vigan in Ilocos. Initially he offered to aid the Spanish forces in exchange for greater indigenous power within the province, but after this was refused he allied himself with the British and took charge of the region, abolishing tribute and forced labour. When Diego Silang was killed during a skirmish, command of the rebellion passed to his wife, Gabriela, who led the forces for a further four months before she herself was overpowered, captured, and hanged. Constantino, *The Philippines*, 107-112. Fernando Palanco, 'Diego Silang's Revolt: A New Approach', trans. Jose S. Arcilla, *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (2002), 512-537. For other revolts that took place in the eighteenth century, see: Fernando Palanco, 'The Tagalog Revolts of 1745 According to Spanish Primary Sources', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 1-2 (2010), 45-77.

[34] Ulysses B. Aparece, 'Retrieving a Folk Hero through Oral Narratives: The Case of Francisco Dagohoy in the *Sukdan* Rituals', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society*, Vol. 41, No. 3-4 (2013), 143-162.

[35] Warren, 'The Iranun and Balangingi Slaving Voyage', 66.

[36] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 140, Núm. 29. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, Leg. 148. William Henry Scott, 'The Birth and Death of a Mission: A Chapter in Philippine Church History', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1965), 801-821.

[37] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 132, Núm. 43. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 133, Núm. 11. AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 141, Núm. 6.

[38] Warren, 'The Balangingi Samal', 7-29.

Cagayan and the neighbouring mountain regions found themselves increasingly colonised.[39] Alongside the development of industrial-scale agriculture, the Spanish colonial state finally seemed to be modernising and consolidating its control.[40] Yet, as we know, this period also marked the emergence of the revolutionary nationalism in the archipelago that ultimately led to Spain's withdrawal from the Philippines in 1898 before a new wave of colonisation began under the Americans.

Continuities can also be seen in the influence of pre-hispanic practices and beliefs over the development of Philippine culture. This has been documented most evidently in the realm of religion by anthropologists like Cannell, as discussed in chapter five. These works demonstrate the ongoing relevance of healers, mediums, and native priests as well as the continued use of geomancy in the construction of buildings and the belief that natural phenomena like earthquakes and eclipses were caused by the actions of particular spirits.[41] More disturbingly, Alfred McCoy noted that during the period of martial law under the Marcos administration, the continued popular belief in blood sacrifice as a necessary part of modern industrial production was exploited by local authorities as a way of covering up instances of industrial homicide.[42]

Numerous scholars have noted that pre-hispanic notions of debt are laden within the more modern Filipino concept of *utang-na-loob*. Mary Hollnsteiner described quasi-contractual forms of reciprocity at the *barangay*-level surrounding the organisation of labour within the community, as well as the lending of goods and the rituals surrounding the death of community members. Such debts were experienced as deep feelings of 'debt of gratitude' or 'debt of the inside', which Hollnsteiner argued

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[39] Ilocano and Chinese migration into Cagayan also took place in this era. De Jesus, 'Control and Compromise in the Cagayan Valley', 31-32. Henry T. Lewis, 'Migration in the Northern Philippines: The Second Wave', *Oceania*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (1984), 122.

[40] Owen, *Prosperity Without Progress*. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 186-209.

[41] Macdonald, 'Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines', 78-93. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery*. Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Charles Macdonald, 'Invoking the Spirits in Palawan', 244-260. Hislop, 'Anitism', 144-56. Landa Jocano, 'Filipino Catholicism', 42-64. Landa Jocano, 'Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog', 96-119. McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 141-194. Macdonald, 'Cleansing the Earth', 408-422. Gibson, *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands*. Graham, *Iban Shamanism*. Francis X. Lynch, SJ., 'An Mga Asuwáng: A Bicol Belief', in Aram A. Yengoyan and Perla Q. Makil (eds.), *Philippine Society and the Individual: Selected Essays of Frank Lynch, 1949-1976*, (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1984), 175-196.

[42] McCoy writes: 'In the mid-1970s peasants in the Wester Visayas were found to have a … fear of closed panel-vans in the belief that they were used by Americans, Tagalogs, or the local elite to kidnap people for sacrifice (*daga*) in mines and major centrifugal sugar mills.' McCoy, 'Baylan, Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology', 152.

underpinned patron-client relationships.[43] Others have critiqued this model, arguing that such an analysis underplays historic class differences that subjugated working people to elites, although these relations could be subverted during moments of rebellion.[44] Rosario Cortes notes that earlier models of debt servitude blended almost seamlessly into sharecropping arrangements in the eighteenth century – arrangements that continue to the present day.[45] At the same time, as Alex Tizon has recently demonstrated in a poignant personal family narrative, *utang na loob* can also still be experienced as actual slavery in much the same way as in the seventeenth century.[46]

Headhunting practices among upland communities persisted into the twentieth century, often noted by anthropologists as an essential part of dispute resolution which at times escalated out of control. In the mid-twentieth century, several American anthropologists worked towards the introduction of peace pacts to replace headhunting.[47] Nonetheless, Shu-yuan Yang documented headhunting among the Bugkalot in the early 2000s in response to the infiltration of the New People's Army into the mountains and the increase in violence between the NPA and the government-backed military. The same communities successfully used headhunting as a tactic of resisting resettlement resulting from a large-scale dam building project, demonstrating that headhunting remained 'a means of empowerment against state domination'.[48] The struggles of Northern Luzon fed into a turbulent twentieth century dominated by the rise of armed militia groups such as the Cordillera People's Liberation Army. Many upland communities also joined together to form the Cordillera Autonomy Movement that pushed for recognition of the historic distinctiveness of the upland regions, securing the Cordillera as an autonomous administrative region in 1998.[49] A similar story might be told of Mindanao, where the rise of Moro nationalism in the twentieth century has led both to ongoing civil war and recognition – at least until very recently – of the island's political autonomy.[50]

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[43] Mary R. Hollnsteiner, 'Reciprocity in the Lowland Philippines', Philippine Studies, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1961), 387-413. Charles Kaut, 'Utang Na Loob: A System of Contractual Obligation among Tagalogs', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1961), 256-272. Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*, 11-12.
[44] Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 121-123. Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, 104-105.
[45] Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 87-88. For a discussion of the impact of Filipino forms of slavery during the American colonial period, see also: Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[46] Alex Tizon, 'My Family's Slave', *The Atlantic*, June 2017 https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/06/lolas-story/524490/ Accessed 18 July 2018.
[47] Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing, *Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1934). E.P. Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966). See also: Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974*. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*.
[48] Shu-yuan Yang, 'Headhunting, Christianity, and History among the Bugkalot', 180.
[49] Titia Schippers, 'Securing Land Rights through Indigenousness: A Case from the Philippine Cordillera Highlands', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2010), 220-238. Rood, 'Summary Report on a Research Programme', 305-325.
[50] McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*.

As William Henry Scott argues: 'The rich fabric of Filipino life is not a tapestry with a deliberate design, nor even an oil painting executed by some creative artist. Rather, it is like the display or brilliant paints spilled on the floor of the artist's studio. It is, in other words, something of a mess.'[51] Like Scott, I argue that this mess is a product of Philippine agency in the face of colonisation. Agency is found in all these stories of constant disruption, failure, limitation, contestation. That Philippine communities did contest and shape their history of colonisation is reflected in the extraordinary cultural diversity of the archipelago, marked by 175 distinct languages and a plethora of ethnicities, suggesting that the process of colonial centralisation was far less successful than previously argued.[52]

These conclusions do not sit comfortably within a historiography that has overwhelmingly focused on how the colonial state exercised power and control. Lowland communities have often been contrasted to their upland neighbours who resisted colonisation and retained their pre-hispanic cultures and traditions. In rejecting colonisation, upland communities were thus bastions of 'authentic' indigeneity, while lowland communities were merely the willing receptors of multiple waves of colonial culture and ideology.[53] The anthropologist Fenella Cannell writes poignantly that lowland Filipino communities have typically seen themselves 'as having no culture worth the name', as 'disturbingly devoid ... of social backbone' and '"merely imitative" of their two sets of Western colonisers'.[54] Arguably, this concept of cultural obliteration within the lowlands has been perpetuated by the historiography of colonial state formation. By asserting a completed and largely uncontested colonisation process, by denying agency in the face of religious as well as military and economic colonisation, the 'people with no culture' are also ultimately a people with no history. Histories that only focus on the process of Spanish colonisation continue to over-exaggerate Spanish control. But more than this, they perpetuate an illusion that Filipinos retained their cultural heritage almost by accident – that indeed the agency of indigenous people was always reactive rather than constructive, that they were secondary actors within their own historical narratives, subjects of empire rather than active agents that shaped their communities and the world around themselves and in turn forced the Spanish empire itself to constantly change and reshape itself.

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[51] Scott, 'An Historian Looks into the Philippine Kaleidoscope', 220.
[52] Victor Lieberman was particularly forceful in his assertion that Spanish colonisation brought with it centralisation and a state-building project that conveyed numerous benefits to Philippine communities which they accepted willingly and without opposition. He argues that 'In local terms, Philippine unification was obviously revolutionary'. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 2, 832.
[53] Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, 6-7.
[54] Ibid, 1.

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While this dissertation is clearly positioned in relation to Philippine historiography, it also aims to intervene into the ongoing formation of global history. In recent years, historians have begun to eschew national and even regional histories in favour of writing transnational and global history.[55] This is viewed as a way of getting beyond the nation state, yet at times has the perverse effect of elevating empire back onto the centre stage. When we extend our scope beyond the local to the regional or the global, we lose sight of ordinary people.[56] Instead, writ-large upon these histories are the great men that traversed the oceans or conquered distant lands, whose names are memorialised in great tales of expansion and conquest. We have discovered the lowly sailors, soldiers, slaves and go-betweens and the networks of bureaucrats, artisans and functionaries that travelled with or supported these great men.[57] But always they labour in the service of empire. Those who rebel – the shipboard mutineers, the slaves who ran away, the soldiers who desert in droves – do so from within the heart of empire. Defying and unsettling empire's steady trajectory, their actions nonetheless emphasise the power behind empire without raising the question as to how dominant empire really was.

A similar critique of the emphasis on native allies and intermediaries has recently been made by Michael McDonnell, who has suggested that such a focus tends to still situate indigenous actors within the worldview of European interests and territorial expansion. He notes that far too much of the historiography of empire focuses on the movements, motivations and politics of Europeans, while

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[55] Richard Drayton and David Motadel, 'Discussion: The Futures of Global History', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2018), 1-21. Cátia Antunes and Karwan Fatah-Black (eds.), *Explorations in History and Globalization*, (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[56] Michael A. McDonnell, 'Facing Empire: Indigenous Histories in Comparative Perspective', in Kate Fullagar (ed.), *The Atlantic World in the Antipodes: Effects and Transformations since the Eighteenth Century*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 225.

[57] Clare Anderson, 'Global Mobilities', in Antoinette Burton and Tony Ballantyne (eds.), *World Histories from Below: Disruption and Dissent, 1750 to the Present*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 169-196. Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, (London: Verso, 2000). Marcus Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail*, (London: Verso, 2014). Paul S. Taylor, 'Spanish Seamen in the New World during the Colonial Period', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1922), 631-661. Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Carla Rahn Phillips, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Clare Anderson, et. al., (eds.), *Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: A Global Survey*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*. Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System', 693-730. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?' 87-125. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*. Cáceres Menéndez and Patch, '"Gente de Mal Vivir"', 363-392. Matthias van Rossum, '"Working for the Devil": Desertion in the Eurasian empire of the VOC', in Matthias van Rossum, Jeanette M. Kamp (eds.), *Desertion in the Early Modern World: A Comparative History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 127-160. Kristie Patricia Flannery, 'Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building in the Indo-Pacific World During the Seven Years' War', *Itinerario*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2016), 467-488.

'indigenous peoples have not been the main subjects of the story. Rather, they have been objects of European exploration, exchange, sexual relations, and now academic consideration'.[58] By contrast, McDonnell argues it is possible to write histories that focus on the worldview of indigenous peoples themselves.[59] For those who did not live in the heart of empire – in colonial settlements or as labourers supporting imperial expansion – how relevant was this concept of empire to their daily lives? Who, indeed, held and exercised power in these interactions that took place on the margins of imperial control?

When we write global history, are we then just replicating the story of the swift conquest of Europe over the rest of the world? Or is there another way to conceptualise global history that brings back to the forefront the 'people with no culture', 'the people with no history'? If we shift our focus away from Europeans, how does this change our understanding of the globalisation story? If we place agency back in the hands of the colonised – to show how they responded to, shaped, negotiated or resisted colonisation – how does this then reposition the story of colonisation?

The project of rewriting the history of colonisation from the perspective of non-Europeans is therefore also a project of disrupting the narrative of the unrelenting course of colonisation. This tautology of hegemonic imperialism has characterised not only the histories written by missionaries, colonisers and later generations of imperial admirers but also a more recent generation of historians who subscribe to a structuralist view of the stages of historical development. While social historians of the twentieth century looked backwards to find the origins of later revolutionary movements, they also unwittingly found in their absence the failures of previous generations to overthrow the chains of imperial oppression.[60] Thus, early colonial rule has typically been assessed as a period of colonial

[58] McDonnell, 'Facing Empire', 220.
[59] Something which he has demonstrated amply in his own work on the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes Region of North America. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*.
[60] Within Philippine historiography this perspective is best represented by Renato Constantino. Constantino, *The Philippines*. Such a perspective is arguably drawn from the theoretical perspectives of Hobsbawm, who saw all pre-modern forms of politics as primitive: E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959). This perspective has had an impact on both Spanish and Latin American historiography, see for example: J.H. Elliott, 'Revolts in the Spanish Monarchy', in Robert Forster and Jack P. Greene (eds.), *Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1970), 109-130. Anthony McFarlane, 'Challenges from the Periphery: Rebellion in Colonial Spanish America', in Werner Thomas (ed.), *Rebelión y resistencia en el mundo hispánico del Siglo XVII: Actas del coloquio internacional Lovaina, 20-23 de noviembre de 1991*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 250-269. Silvia Marina Arrom, 'Introduction: Rethinking Urban Politics in Latin America before the Populist Era', in Silvia M. Arrom and Servando Ortoli (eds.), *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765-1910*, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1996), 2.

consolidation met with limited opposition.[61] Generations of colonised and oppressed people were judged by their failures to meet historians' revolutionary objectives. Such an interpretation is particularly stark within Philippine history, where the revolutionary era came many decades later than its predecessors in Latin America, and where the anti-imperial ideals of the revolution were quickly swept away by new waves of colonisation, first by the Americans and then, briefly, by the Japanese. When history is judged by its adherence to conceptions of historical stages, where then can this leave the Philippine *indios* of the seventeenth century? In constructing this kind of narrative, have we not unwittingly fallen victim to the overstatements of the Spanish colonial record and the evangelising mission? Just as with Spanish maps of the colonisation of Cagayan (see figures 8 and 9, chapter 4), the limits of Spanish colonial control have been downplayed while their presence has taken on a monumental shape unmatched by their numerical reality. Historians need to look more critically at the questions they ask of the archive and the narratives they construct from these initial questions. By always asking *how* Europeans achieved their purpose in colonial expansion, we never stop to ask *whether they did*. And if they did not, why not? And if they did not, what else happened instead? And what of the agency of those who fall between the 'cracks in the parchment curtain'? As historian Ruth Mackay puts it, 'Quite simply, it is more instructive to look at what people did do rather than punish them for what they did not do. If we look at their words, at their strategies, and at their goals, we will find they did a great deal.'[62]

[61] Amy Turner Bushnell has argued that the seventeenth century in particularly is mythologised as 'the quiet century' in Latin American historiography. Bushnell, 'Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries', 23. Amy Turner Bushnell, 'A Peripheral Perspective', *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1997), 18-23.
[62] Ruth MacKay, *The Limits of Royal Authority: Resistance and Obedience in Seventeenth Century Castile*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13-14.

Appendix 1:
Mapping the Limits of Spanish Sovereignty in the Philippines, c. 1685.

Overview

The following maps provide an overview of the territorial and demographic limits of Spanish claims to sovereignty. They were created based on an *encomienda* list from 1685 which gave the distribution of each *encomienda* by province and provided details about whether the *encomienda* was owned by the crown, by an individual *encomendero* or was vacant.[1] This list was then compared with modern municipalities and mapped using GIS software. The majority of *encomiendas* could be matched with the names of modern municipalities. In cases of uncertainty or where a municipality changed name, I was able to look through local information to match the modern municipality with the old *encomienda*. Modern names are listed in brackets. This data represents 81% of *encomiendas* listed in 1685 (355 out of 436); I have noted where I was unable to locate particular *encomiendas*. It should be noted that this mapping project is only indicative, since we do not have any records detailing the geographic boundaries of *encomiendas*. However, in many cases the *encomienda* jurisdictions mapped exactly on to modern municipality data. In other instances, the boundaries are approximations, particularly in Cagayan – but in these cases they are more likely to overestimate territorial boundaries rather than underestimate them.

This *encomienda* data has been overlain by demographic information. Data relating to Spanish missionaries was variable. For the Dominicans, I used a list drawn from 1690 which gave a complete breakdown of the location and number of Dominican missionaries.[2] The Jesuits provided accurate information about the distribution of their missionaries within their annual reports; however this information is absent from the reports from the later seventeenth century and so I drew on the list provided in the 1672 annual report.[3] The distribution of Augustinians, Franciscans, Augustinian Recollects, and Secular Clerics was drawn from a document from 1691, which, based on other information, is likely to underestimate these populations slightly.[4] Unfortunately I was unable to find

[1] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 12, Ramo 1, Núm. 37.
[2] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 83, Núm. 52.
[3] ARSI, Phil 7, Doc. 13: Annua de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas, desde el año de 1665 hasta el de 1672.
[4] AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 100.

a more accurate source from this period. The location of forts and the number of soldiers in each was drawn from extensive research I previously undertook on Spanish soldiers in the Philippines.[5] The number of *vecinos* and royal officials were estimated based on various sources, however data for these groups was often difficult to source.[6] Estimates of the indigenous population of each province are sourced from Linda Newson's demographic study, selecting the figures reported for 1700.[7] Population ratios were found by dividing the area and indigenous populations by the total number of Spaniards.

It needs to be said that the population ratios are not designed to be accurate, but merely indicative of the variable spread of the Spanish population across different parts of the archipelago. Since the numbers of Spaniards in the archipelago were so small, a variation of even just one additional priest could drastically change the ratio for a particular region. As we know, both missionary and soldier numbers varied from year to year. Moreover, there are questions over the ultimate accuracy of indigenous population estimates, since they rely on limited and imperfect data provided by the Spanish state, as Linda Newson discusses in greater detail in her study.[8]

The ownership of *encomiendas*, including the name of the *encomendero*, were recorded in the 1685 *encomienda* list. It should be noted, however, that a number of *encomenderos* owned *encomiendas* in more than one province. Thus, while there are 125 *encomenderos* recorded in the overview table, in reality, this represents only 81 individuals. I have decided to include these duplicates since it was impossible to know where each of these *encomenderos* really resided. At the same time this data is intended to calculate the degree of contact between Philippine communities and Spaniards, and therefore arbitrarily removing *encomenderos* from individual provinces would present a false depiction of this contact. Nonetheless, this point should only underscore the tenuous nature of this contact, since *encomenderos* rarely visited their *encomiendas* and much less so if they were spread out across the breadth of the archipelago.

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[5] Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*?', 87-125. Mawson, 'Between Loyalty and Disobedience'.
[6] On *alcaldes mayores*: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 29, Núm. 88. 'Description of the Philippine Islands,' *B&R*, Vol. 18, 95. On *vecinos*: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 74, Núm. 90. Mesquida Oliver, 'La población de Manila,' 471. Alva Rodriguez, *Vida Municipal en Manila*, 30-31. On royal officials: Alva Rodriguez, *Vida Municipal en Manila*, Appendix, 391-403, 405-407. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies*, 24. Labouring population of Cavite: AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 32, Núm. 30 [1672].
[7] This was the closest year to 1685 where population figures were consistently reported across all provinces. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, Appendix D, 278-310.
[8] Ibid, 37-50.

The Philippines

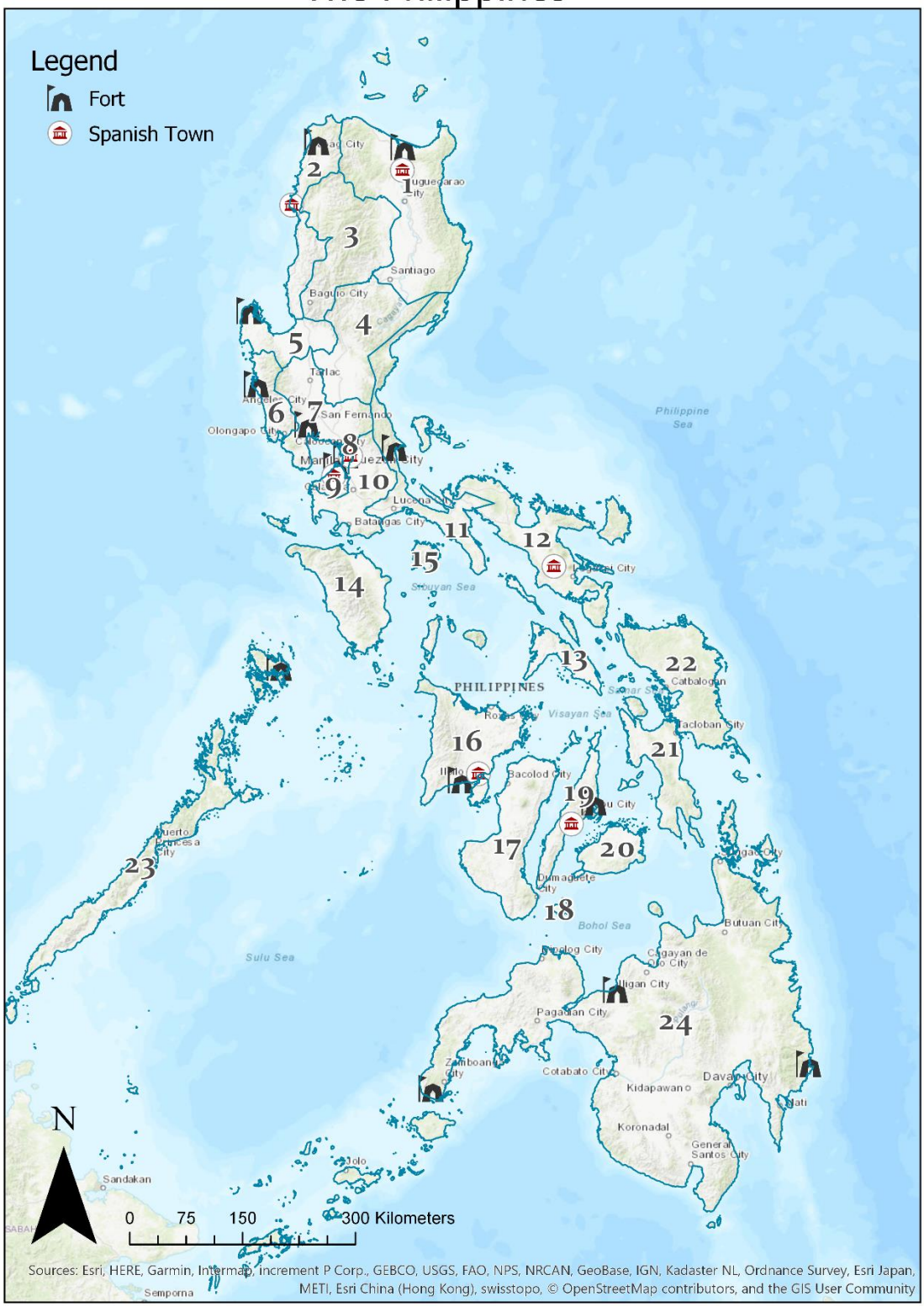
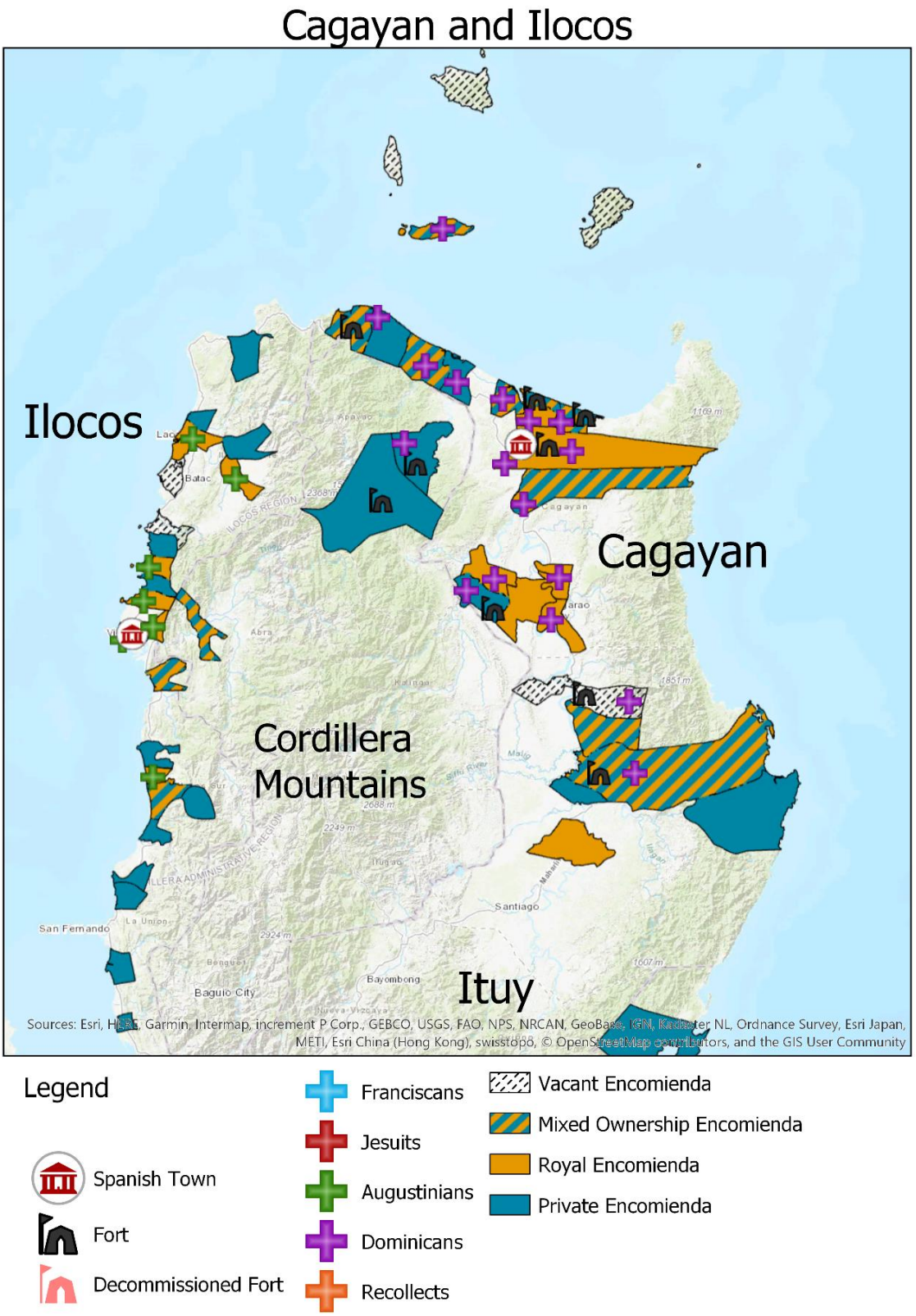


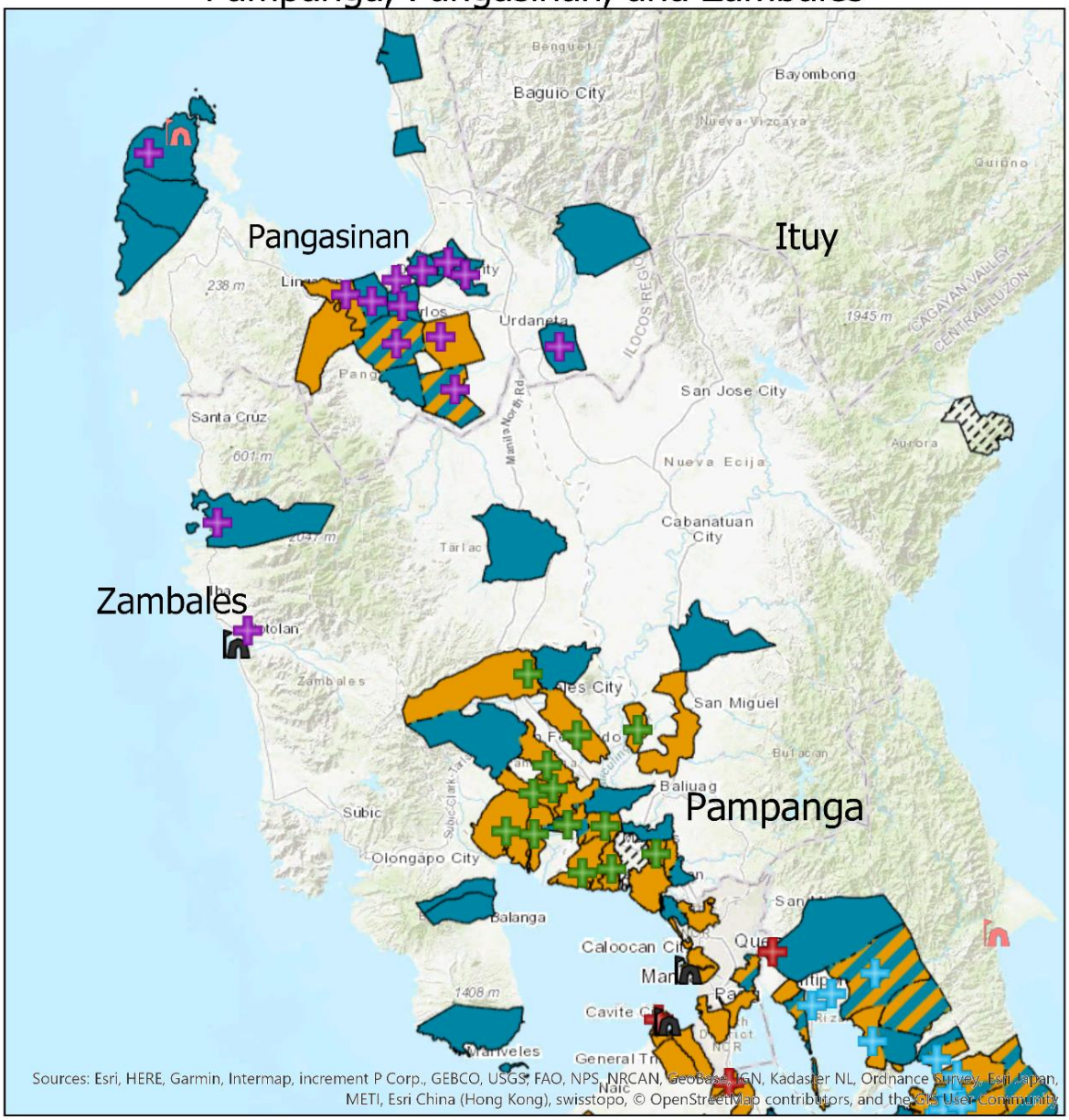
Table 1: Demographic Overview of the Spanish Presence in the Philippines, c. 1685

Province	Area (km2)	Encomiendas				Spanish towns	Forts	Spanish Population						Indigenous Population	Population Ratios	
		Total No.	Royal	Private	Vacant			Total	Encomenderos	Missionaries	Soldiers	Vecinos	Royal Officials		Spaniards per km2	Spaniards to Indios
1. Cagayan	23,221.00	42	21	17	10	Nueva Segovia	9	226	6	27	172	20	1	23646	1:103km2	1:105
2. Ilocos	7334.34	34	8	15	13	Vigan	*1*	24	11	12			1	40,664	1:306km2	1:1694
3. Mountain Provinces	14140.51	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Unknown	N/A	N/A
4. Ituy	12497.34	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Unknown	N/A	N/A
5. Pangasinan	5,193.03	18	5	15	0		*1*	27	8	18	0	0	1	43664	1:192km2	1:1617
6. Zambales	3,656.20	1	0	1	0		1	27	1	2	24	0	0	Unknown	1:135km2	N/A
7. Pampanga	9138.97	32	17	15	1		*1*	32	7	22	0	0	3	49219	1:286km2	1:1538
8. Manila and Tondo	557.55	31	25	6	0	Manila	2	1260	4	52	831	347	26	28898	2:1km2	1:23
9. Cavite	1243.81	5	5	0	0	Cavite	1	568	0	7	255	0	306	5666	1:2km2	1:10
10. Laguna de Bay	7185.10	47	29	17	5		0	33	10	21	0	0	2	44034	1:218km2	1:1334
11. Tayabas	11491.94	15	7	5	3		0	17	8	8	0	0	1	6526	1:676km2	1:384
12. Bicol Peninsula	17392.07	51	27	19	4	Nueva Caceres	0	52	9	25	0	15	3	27930	1:334km2	1:537
13. Masbate																
14. Mindoro	10155.78	7	0	0	7		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7514	N/A	N/A
15. Marinduque	929.29	0	0	0	0		0	2	0	2	0	0	0	Unknown	1:465km2	N/A
16. Panay	13696.36	38	18	22	1	Oton	1	255	11	26	186	30	2	56000	1:54km2	1:220
17. Negros	12810.35	12	4	9	0		0	6	4	1	0	0	1	9607	1:2135km2	1:1601
18. Siquijor	5211.62	38	5	35	3	Cebu	1	226	14	9	152	50	1	20000	1:23km2	1:88
19. Cebu																
20. Bohol	3978.31	2	0	2	0		0	8	4	4	0	0		11091	1:497km2	1:1386
21. Leyte	7779.70	33	2	30	1		0	27	16	10	0	0	1	21467	1:288km2	1:795
22. Samar	13114.93	18	2	14	3		0	15	7	8	0	0	0	31995	1:874km2	1:2133
23. Calamianes	14537.33	2	1	1	0		1	88	1	4	82	0	1	Unknown	1:165km2	N/A
24. Mindanao and Sulu	100679.87	10	3	8	3		1	104	4	9	90	0	1	Unknown	1:968km2	N/A
TOTAL	**295,945.40**	**436**	**179**	**231**	**54**		**20**	**2,997**	**125**	**267**	**1,792**	**462**	**351**	**427,921**	**1:99km2**	**1:143**
Excluding Mindanao, Calamianes, Mountain Provinces, Ituy	**154,090.35**	**424**	**175**	**222**	**51**		**18**	**2,805**	**120**	**254**	**1,620**	**462**	**349**	**427,921**	**1:55km2**	**1:153**
Excluding Manila and Cavite	**152,288.99**	**388**	**145**	**216**	**51**		**15**	**1,169**	**116**	**195**	**534**	**115**	**17**	**393,357**	**1:130km2**	**1:336**

Regional Maps



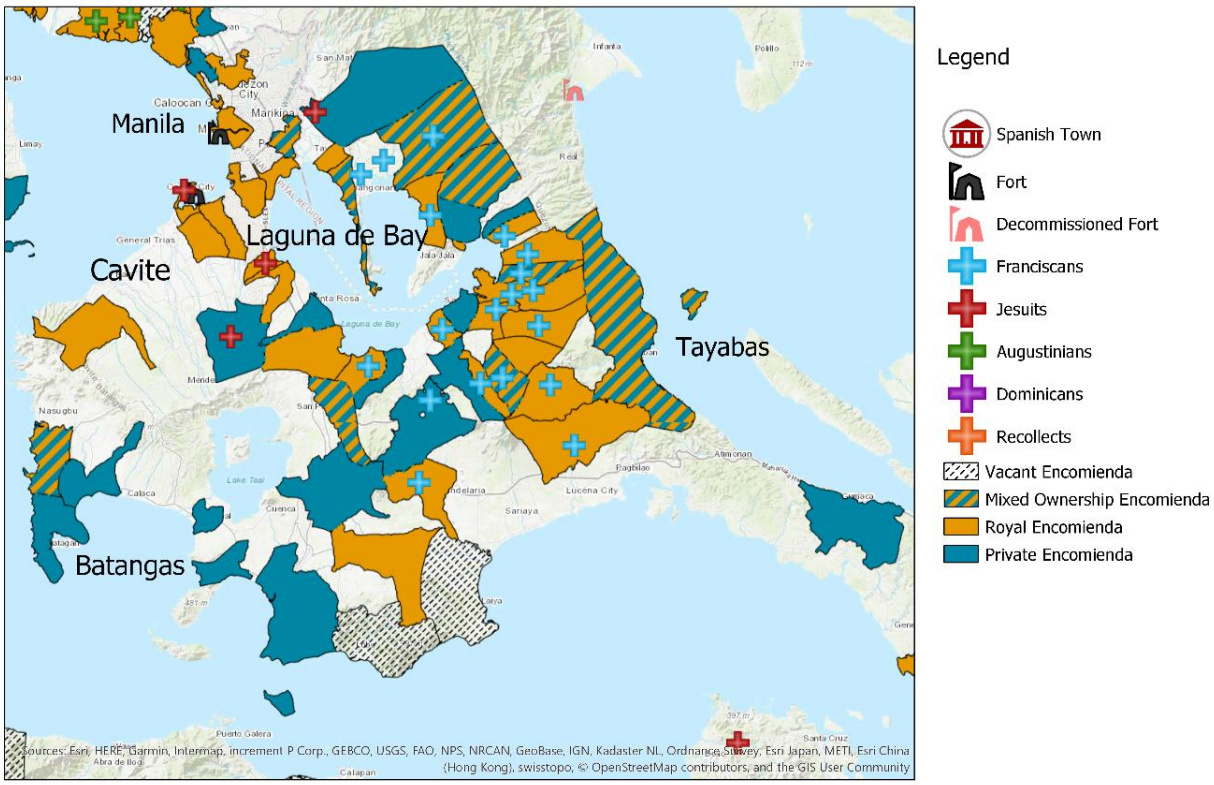
Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Zambales



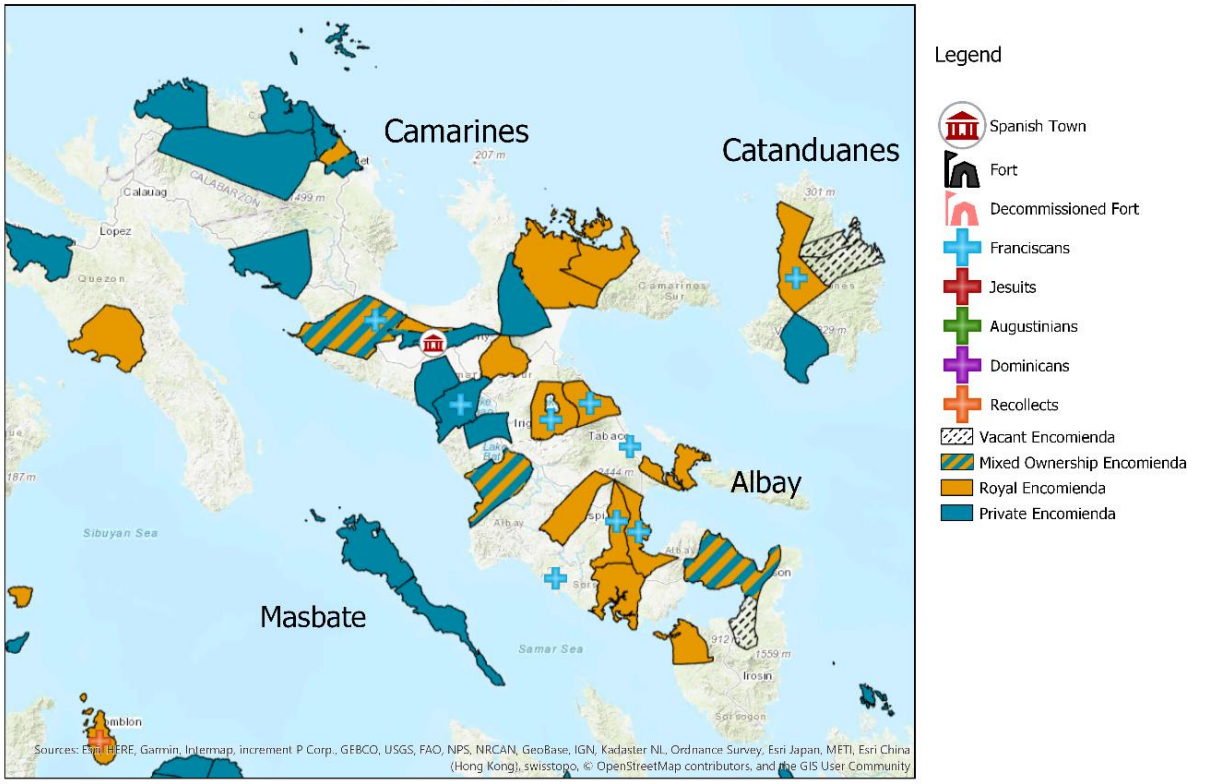
Legend

- Spanish Town
- Fort
- Decommissioned Fort
- Franciscans
- Jesuits
- Augustinians
- Dominicans
- Recollects
- Vacant Encomienda
- Mixed Ownership Encomienda
- Royal Encomienda
- Private Encomienda

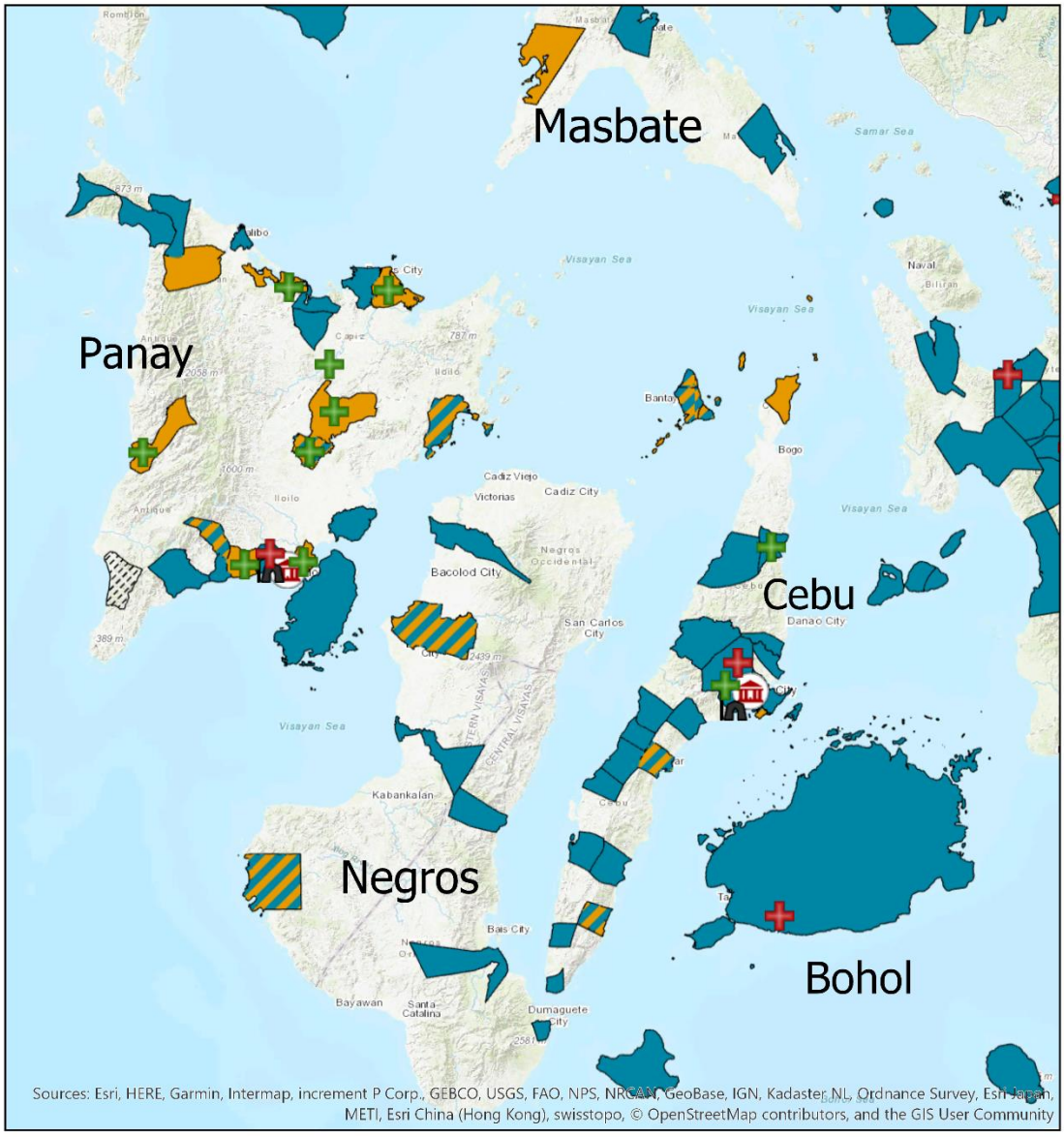
Manila, Laguna de Bay, and Batangas



Bicol Peninsula



Panay, Negros, Cebu, and Bohol



Legend

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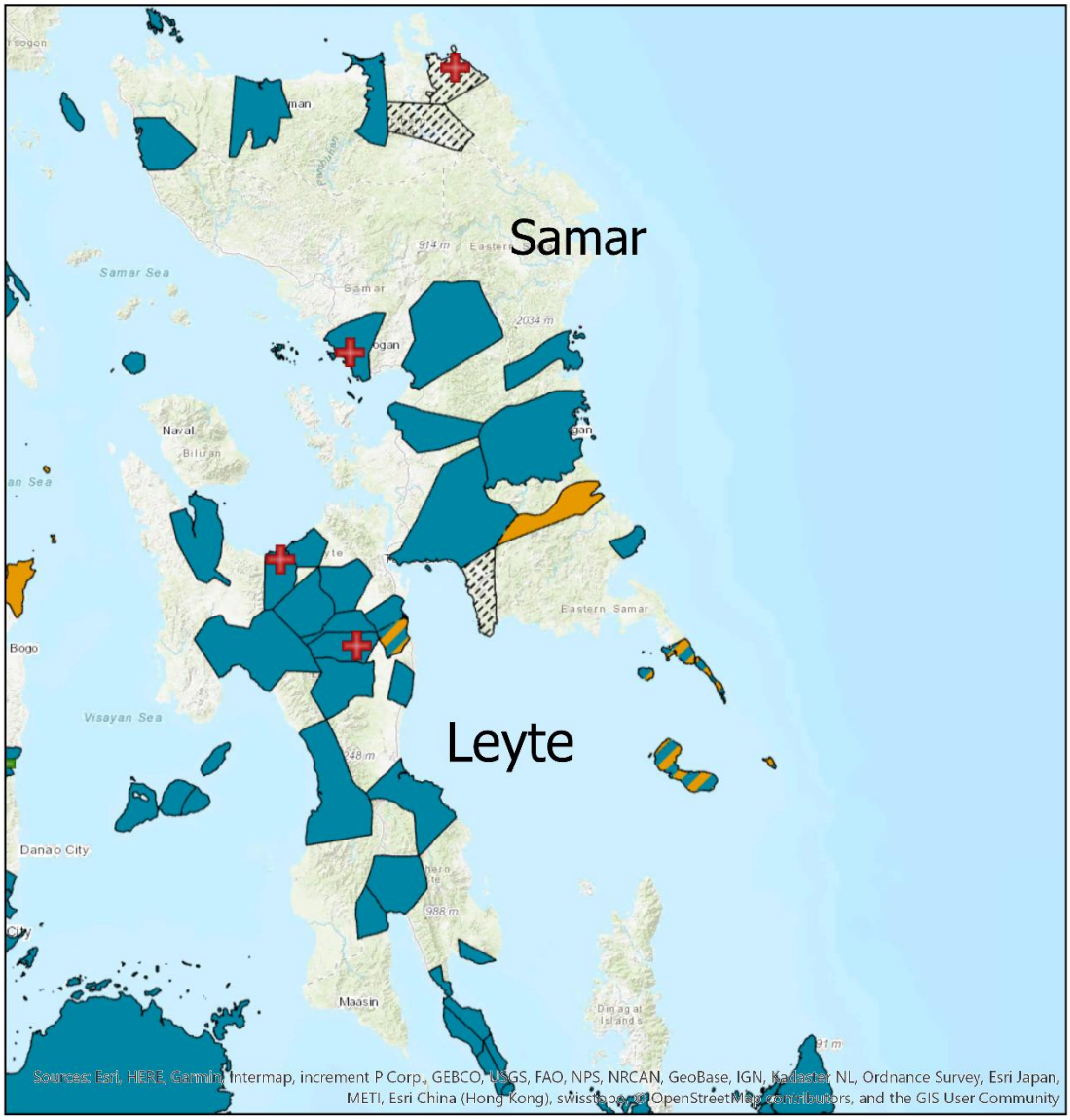
- Mixed Ownership Encomienda
- Royal Encomienda
- Private Encomienda

Samar and Leyte



Legend

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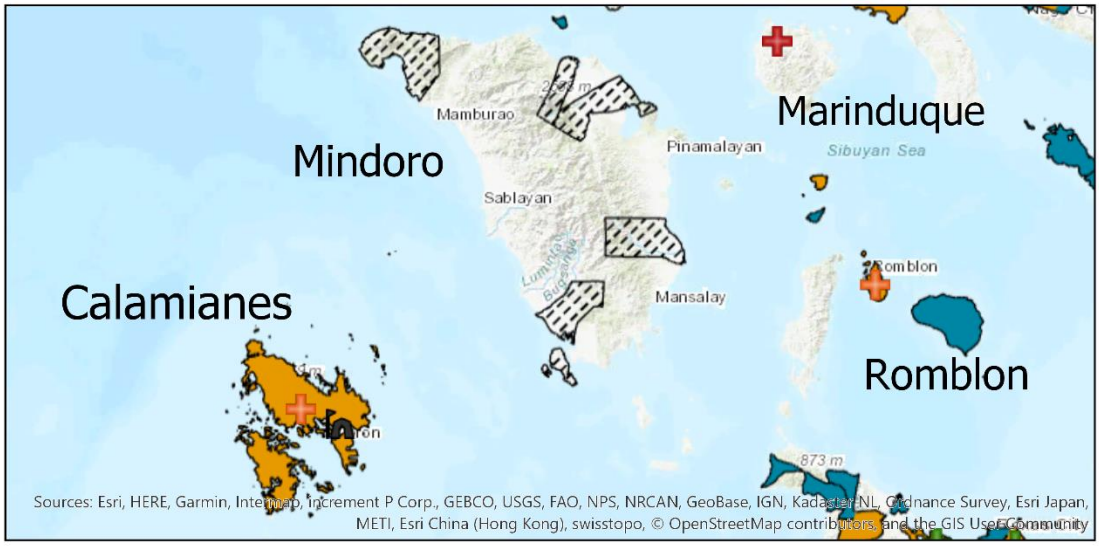
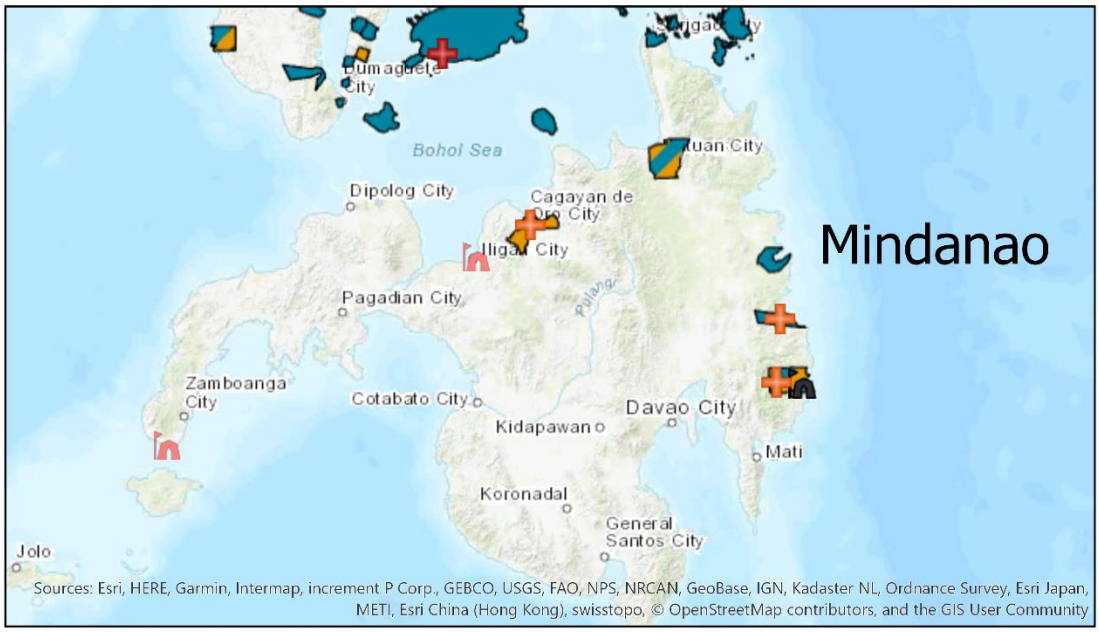
- Dominicans
- Recollects
- Vacant Encomienda
- Mixed Ownership Encomienda
- Royal Encomienda
- Private Encomienda

Mindanao, Calamianes, Mindoro, and Marinduque





Legend

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- Private Encomienda

Breakdown of *Encomiendas* and Missionaries, c. 1685

D = Dominicans ***F = Franciscans***
A = Augustinians ***R = Augustinian Recollects***
J = Jesuits ***SC = Secular Clergy***

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Cagayan	Aparri	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Bagumbaya [Lal-lo]	Royal Encomienda		2 (D)
	Batagua [Ilagan City]	Private Encomienda	Nicolas de Almazan	1 (D)
	Batu [Gattaran]	Mixed Ownership	Jacinto Valdes	
	Buguey	Private Encomienda	Joseph de Perena	1 (D)
	Camalaniugan	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Camiguin [Calayan]	Royal Encomienda		3 (D)
	Capinata [Kabugao]	Private Encomienda	Luis del Castillo	2 (D)
	Cabicunga [Claveria]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Curububuyan [Calayan]	Vacant		
	Duludu [Solana]	Royal Encomienda		
	Dumon [Gattaran]	Vacant		
	Fuga [Aparri]	Vacant		
	Gattaran	Mixed Ownership	Jacinto Valdes	
	Halabangan [Pamplona]	Royal Encomienda		
	Lobo [Piat]	Royal Encomienda		2 (D)
	Lulu [Tuao]	Private Encomienda	Jacinto Valdes	2 (D)
	Lulutan [Ilagan City]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Maguin [Buguey]	Vacant		
	Malaguey [Iguig]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Mandayas [Pudtol]	Private Encomienda	Joseph de Perena, Luis del Castillo	
	Massi [Pamplona]	Private Encomienda	Maria de Soto	1 (D)
	Nabunga [Iguig]	Royal Encomienda		
	Nassiping [Gattaran]	Vacant		1 (D)

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Cagayan	Pata [Claveria]	Private Encomienda	Maria de Soto	1 (D)
	Pilitan [Tumauini]	Mixed Ownership	Convento de San Juan de Dios/Vacant	
	Purao [Gamu]	Private Encomienda	Jacinto Valdes	
	Sugarrio [Cauayan City]	Royal Encomienda		
	Talapa [Gattaran]	Mixed Ownership	Jacinto Valdes	
	Tocalana [Lal-lo]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Tubigarao [Tuguegarao]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Tulaque [Abulug]	Private Encomienda	Joseph de Perena, Luis del Castillo	1 (D)
	Valle de Simbue [Cabagan]	Vacant		1 (D)
	Calabatan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Nicolas de Almazan	
	Carlanga [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Luli [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Jacinto Valdes	
	Magamon [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Manatu [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Maquila [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Luis del Castillo	
	San Pedro [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Talama [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Valle de Sinabanga [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Francisco de Jaina	
Ilocos	Bacarra	Private Encomienda	Captain Juan de Isla, Captain Francisco de Jaina, Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo	
	Banguey [Bangued]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Manuel de Telles de Ledo	
	Bantay	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Baro [Badoc]	Vacant		
	Bitalac [Tagudin]	Vacant		
	Cabugao	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Cagayan [Paoay]	Vacant		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Ilocos	Candon	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Dingras	Mixed Ownership		2 (A)
	Ilaguan [Laoag]	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Languiden [Bangued]	Vacant		
	Lapo [San Juan]	Private Encomienda	Maria Macapagal	
	Masinloc	Private Encomienda	Maria Macapagal	
	Narvacan	Mixed Ownership	Sergeant Major Vicente Valenciano/Vacant	
	Panay [Magsingal]	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Pedic [Piddig]	Private Encomienda	Convento de San Juan de Dios	
	Purao [Balaoan]	Private Encomienda	Convento de San Juan de Dios, Colegio de Santa Isabel	
	Samat [Bugallon]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Nicolas	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Carlos Pasqual de Panero	1 (A)
	Santa Catalina	Private Encomienda	Captain Alonso de Castilla	
	Santa Cruz	Mixed Ownership	Sergeant Major Francisco Sanches/Vacant	
	Santa Lucia	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Sigaian [Sigay]	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	
	Sinay [Sinait]	Private Encomienda	Don Antonio Fernandes de Vega	
	Tagurin [Tagudin]	Private Encomienda	Convento de San Juan de Dios, Colegio de Santa Isabel	
	Vigan	Private Encomienda	General Don Thomas de Endaya	1 (A)
	Bocabit [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Magpala [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Parras [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Pasanguitan [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Porlan [Unidentified]	Vacant		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Ilocos	*San Juan de Taguier [Unidentified]*	Vacant		
	Sinalongan [Unidentified]	Vacant		
	Toledo [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
Pangasinan	Agno	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	1 (D)
	Agoi [Agoo]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Martin de Leon	
	Bagnotan [Bagnotan]	Private Encomienda	Colegio Real de Santa Potenciana de Manila	
	Balonguey [Urbiztondo]	Private Encomienda	Maria de Rodas, Joseph Cascos de Quiros, Maria de Vera	1 (D)
	Baratao [Bauang]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento Leon, Sergeant Major Alonso Lozano, Los niños huerfanos del colegio de San Juan de Letran de Manila	
	Bigmalay [Binmalay]	Private Encomienda	Colegio Real de Santa Potenciana de Manila	2 (D)
	Binalatongan [San Carlos City]	Mixed Ownership	Maria de Rodas, Joseph Cascos de Quiros	2 (D)
	Bolinao	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	1 (D)
	Calaciao	Private Encomienda	Fernando de Bobadilla	2 (D)
	Lingayan	Royal Encomienda		2 (D)
	Mangaldan	Private Encomienda	Maria Prado de Quiros	3 (D)
	Malasiqui	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Malonguey [Bayambang]	Royal Encomienda		1 (D)
	Manavat [Manaoag]	Private Encomienda	Monasterio de Santa Clara	1 (D)
	San Jacinto	Private Encomienda	Maria Prado de Quiros	1 (D)
	Leuan [Bayambang]	Mixed Ownership	Maria de Rodas, Joseph Cascos de Quiros, Maria de Vera, Monasterio de Santa Clara	
	Tubi [Masinloc]	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	1 (D)

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Pangasinan	*Ala Alor [Unidentified]*	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	
	Buquil [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Luis Jurado	
Pampanga	Abucay	Private Encomienda	Doña Nicolasa Cortés	
	Apalit (ER)	Private Encomienda	Ayudante Esteban Ramos	
	Bacolor	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Mariveles	Private Encomienda	Captain Marcos Rosales	
	Betis [Guagua]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Bani	Private Encomienda	Ayudante Esteban Ramos	
	Candaba	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Gapan	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Francisco Sanches	
	Guagua	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Lubao	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Macabebe	Mixed Ownership	Don Juan de Esguerra	2 (A)
	Magala	Private Encomienda	Monasterio de Santa Clara	
	Mexico	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Minalin	Royal Encomienda		
	Porac	Private Encomienda	Monasterio de Santa Clara	
	Samal	Private Encomienda	Doña Nicolasa Cortés Ayudante Esteban Ramos	
	Sesmoan [Sasmuan]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Tarla [Tarlac City]	Private Encomienda	Monasterio de Santa Clara	
	Bocabi [Bocaue]	Private Encomienda	Don Juan de Esguerra	
	Calumpit	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Caruya [Balagtas]	Royal Encomienda		
	Catangalan [Obando]	Private Encomienda	Don Juan de Esguerra	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Pampanga	Guiguinto	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Hagonoy	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Malolos	Vacant		
	Matungao	Royal Encomienda		
	Pambon [Paombong]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Quingua [Plaridel]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Francisco Ximenes	
	Polo [Valenzuela]	Royal Encomienda		
	Dapdad	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Ayumbon [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Alonso Fernandes Pacheco	
	San Miguel de Mayomo [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Francisco Sanches	
Manila and Tondo	Antipolo	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Torteza	1 (A) 2 (J) 2 (SC)
	Balete el chico [Mariana]	Royal Encomienda		
	Balete el grande [Mariana]	Royal Encomienda		
	Dilao [Paco]	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Don Galo	Royal Encomienda		
	Hermita de Nuestra Señora del Guia [Ermita]	Royal Encomienda		2 (SC)
	Malate	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Binondo	Royal Encomienda		4 (D) 1 (SC)
	Nabotas	Royal Encomienda		
	Pandacan	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Parañaque	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Passi [Pasig]	Private Encomienda	Sabiniano Gerónimo de Somente y Ramírez	
	Quiapo	Royal Encomienda		2 (SC)
	Rosario [Pasig]	Royal Encomienda		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Manila and Tondo	San Anton [Malate]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Miguel	Royal Encomienda		4 (D)
	San Sebastian [Quiapo]	Royal Encomienda		1 (R)
	Santa Ana	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Santa Cruz	Royal Encomienda		1 (J)
	Silang	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Juan de Robles	3 (J)
	Solares de Bagumbaya [Ermita]	Royal Encomienda		
	Taguig	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Tambobo [Parañaque]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Tondo	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Indan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Juan de Robles	
	Negritos de San Ignacio [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Joseph Camacho de la Pena	
	San Jacinto [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Palo [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Sapay Namayan [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Taytay [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Torteza	
	Ylaguio [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
Cavite	Bacoor	Royal Encomienda		
	Binacaian [Kawit]	Royal Encomienda		
	Cavite el Viejo [Cavite City]	Royal Encomienda		2 (J) 2 (SC)
	Maliosi [Imus]	Royal Encomienda		
	Marigondon	Royal Encomienda		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Laguna de Bay	Balayan	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Alvarés	
	Batangas	Private Encomienda	Doña Graviana de Mercado	
	Bauan	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Baxos de Tulay [Lian]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Alvarés	
	Galvan [Calauan]	Vacant		
	Lipa	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Lobo			
	Sala [Cabuyao]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Taal	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Tanagdan [Calatagan]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Luis de Pineda Matienza	
	Tuley [Lian]	Royal Encomienda		
	Aetas Negrillos de Laguna de Bay [Tanay]	Vacant		
	Angono	Royal Encomienda		
	Bay	Royal Encomienda		
	Baybay [Rosario]	Royal Encomienda		
	Biñan	Royal Encomienda		
	Binangonan	Royal Encomienda		
	Cavisite [Cavinti]	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Lilio [Liliw]	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Longos [Kalayaan]	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Los Baños	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Lumban	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Mabitac	Mixed Ownership	Captain Juan Martin de Arce	
	Majayjay	Mixed Ownership	Doña Josepha Pasqual de Panno	2 (F)
	Narcarlan [Nagcarlan]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Juan de Veristain	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Laguna de Bay	Paete	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Pagsanjan	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Pangil	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Pila	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Pililla	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	San Francisco [Biñan]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Juan de Calamba [Calamba]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Miguel [Santo Tomas]	Royal Encomienda		
	San Pablo de los Montes	Private Encomienda	General Francisco de Teja	1 (F)
	San Pedro de Tunasan	Royal Encomienda		
	San Salvador [Luisiana]	Royal Encomienda		
	Santa Cruz	Private Encomienda	Doña Josepha Pasqual de Panno	1 (SC)
	Santa Maria de los Angeles	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Torteza	
	Santo Thomas	Private Encomienda	Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo	
	Siniloan	Mixed Ownership	Captain Juan Martin de Arce	
	Tanay	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Tingues de Lumban [Lumban]	Royal Encomienda		
	Aras [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Cavacab [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Maribago [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Mnor [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Poetan [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Tayabas	Baler	Vacant		
	Binangonan	Private Encomienda	Don Rafael Omen de Acevedo	
	Calilaya [Kalayaan]	Mixed Ownership	Don Rafael Omen de Acevedo	1 (F)
	Casiguran	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Pedro Losano	
	Catanavab [Catanauan]	Royal Encomienda		
	Gumaca	Private Encomienda	Don Rafael Omen de Acevedo	
	Indios Cimarrones del Pueblo de Santa Maria Quilbay	Royal Encomienda		
	Lucban	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Mauban	Private Encomienda	Don Rafael Omen de Acevedo	
	Palanan	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Pedro Losano	
	Polo [Mauban]	Vacant		
	Tayabas	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Tiaonsadyaya [Tiaong]	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Bondo [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Calabat [Unidentified]	Vacant		
Camarines, Albay and Masbate (Bicol)	Bula	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Buy [Buhi]	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Camaligan	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Lopez	
	Canaman	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Lopez	
	Capalonga	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Alonzo Velasquez	
	Carabanga [Libmanan]	Royal Encomienda		
	Casiguran	Vacant		
	Cogsagua [Daraga]	Royal Encomienda		3 (F)
	Daet	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Lopez	
	Guas [Goa]	Private Encomienda	Admiral Leandro Cuello	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Camarines, Albay and Masbate (Bicol)	Guinobatan	Royal Encomienda		
	Indan [Vinzons]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Christobal Romero	
	Labo	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Christobal Romero	
	Lagonoy	Royal Encomienda		
	Libon	Private Encomienda	Admiral Leandro Cuello	
	Ligmanan [Libmanan]	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	Magarao	Royal Encomienda		
	Mapoto [Ocampo]	Royal Encomienda		
	Milavit [Libon]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Lopez	
	Minalabac	Private Encomienda	Doña Clemencia de Naveda y Alvarado	
	Nabua	Private Encomienda	Doña Clemencia de Naveda y Alvarado	
	Naga	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Lopez	2 (SC)
	Paracali	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Alonzo Velasquez	
	Payo [Panganiban]	Vacant		
	Putiao [Pilar]	Royal Encomienda		
	Quinalanson [Garchitorena]	Royal Encomienda		
	Ragay	Private Encomienda	Doña Clemencia de Naveda y Alvarado	
	Solsogon [Sorsogon City]	Vacant		1 (SC)
	Tabuco [Naga]	Private Encomienda	Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo, Doña Clemencia de Naveda y Alvarado	
	Tagboanen [Cataingan]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Christobal Romero	
	Tarisay [Talisay]	Royal Encomienda		1 (SC)
	Viga	Vacant		
	Virac	Private Encomienda	Captain Francisco de Jaina, Convento de San Juan de Dios	
	Albay [Legazpi City]	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Camarines, Albay and Masbate (Bicol)	Bacacay	Royal Encomienda		
	Bacon [Sorsogon City]	Royal Encomienda		1 (SC)
	Buria [Claveria]	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	Ibalon [Legazpi City]	Royal Encomienda		
	Ilacan [Caramoan]	Royal Encomienda		1 (SC) 2 (F)
	Islas de Tibi [Tiwi]	Royal Encomienda		1 (F)
	Masbate	Royal Encomienda		
	Pantao [Libon]	Royal Encomienda		
	Poro [Bacacay]	Royal Encomienda		
	Yguey [Magallanes]	Royal Encomienda		
	Costas de Bucaigan [Bacacay]	Royal Encomienda		
	Cabitan [Mandaon]	Royal Encomienda		
	Masbate	Royal Encomienda		
	Pantao [Libon]	Royal Encomienda		
	Poro [Bacacay]	Royal Encomienda		
	Yguey [Magallanes]	Royal Encomienda		
	Costas de Bucaigan [Bacacay]	Royal Encomienda		
	Cabitan [Mandaon]	Royal Encomienda		
	Dumanao [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Alférez Juan Veles de Guevara	
	Camarines [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Lanpigan [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Siminondig [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		2 (F)
	Ynguinan [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Cebu and Bohol	Bohol	Private Encomienda	General Don Francisco Enríquez de Losada, Doña Magdalena de Briones	4 (J)
	Panglao	Private Encomienda	Doña Juana Mrñe, Doña Maria Piñero	
	Adpili [Balamban]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Piñero	
	Bagatayan [Sogod]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Camacho de la Pena	
	Bantayan	Mixed Ownership	Doña Mariana de Villa Real	1 (SC)
	Barili	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Felix de Herrera Ravachero	
	Camote	Private Encomienda	La Ciudad del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús	
	Canamucan [Compostela]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Joseph Garces	
	Candaya [Daanbantayan]	Royal Encomienda		
	Carcar	Mixed Ownership	Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo/Vacant	
	Cotcot [Liloan]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Dapitan [Cordova]	Mixed Ownership	Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo/Vacant	
	Guisan [Aloguinsan]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Piñero	
	Ilaban [Boljoon]	Mixed Ownership	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	
	Lantac [Naga City]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Piñero	
	Liloa [Liloan]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Camacho de la Pena	
	Malivago [Lapu-Lapu City]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Mandavi [Mandaue]	Mixed Ownership	Captain Joseph Torres Fajardo	
	Maralongon [Delaguete]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	
	Pajo [Lapu-Lapu City]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Camacho de la Pena	
	Potat [Dumanjug]	Private Encomienda	Captain Thomas y Bañes de Agurro	
	San Joseph [Cebu City]	Private Encomienda	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	1 (A) 4 (SC) 2 (J)
	Santa Monica [Pinamugah]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Cebu and Bohol	Tanon [Santander]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Juaquin del Guía	
	Tuburan	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Juaquin del Guía, Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	
	Tumanduc [Dumunjug]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Juaquin del Guía, Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	
	Ynatilan [Ginatilan]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando de Altamirano y Legaspi	
	Siquijor	Private Encomienda	Don Geronimo de Castro y Andrade	
	Batan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	La Ciudad del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús	
	Baum [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Budion [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	
	Candaya [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Doña Mariana de Villa Real	
	Cascasan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Daraguete [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Doña Juana Mrñe	
	Libas [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	
	Lulucan Quimpin [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Macsava [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda		
	Pampan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Doña Mariana de Villa Real	
	Sagsag [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Joseph Garces	
	Toncob [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	
Negros	Bago [Bago City]	Private Encomienda	Captain Francisco Duarte	
	Binalbagan	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Francisco de Moya y Torres	
	Caracob [Silay City]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	
	Sipalay	Mixed Ownership	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	
	Dumaguete	Private Encomienda	Captain Alonzo de Castilla	
	Tayasan	Private Encomienda	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	1 (SC)

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Negros	*Mongan [Unidentified]*	Private Encomienda	Captain Francisco Duarte	
	Sima [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Tambuco [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Tanay [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Alonzo de Castilla	
	Tocaba [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	
	Yguanes [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
Panay	Pandan	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Ajuy	Mixed Ownership	Sergeant Major Diego de Morales	1 (SC)
	Antique [Hamtic]	Vacant		
	Bungason [Bugasong]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Ymaras [Guimaras]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Arevalo [Iloilo City]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A) 2 (SC)
	Dumangas	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Francisco de Moya y Torres	
	Guimbal	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Jaro [Iloilo City]	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Laglag [Dueñas]	Mixed Ownership	Sergeant Major Cristobal Romero, Doña Maria Domingues de Murrillo	1 (A)
	Oton	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	1 (A) 4 (J)
	Pasig	Royal Encomienda		3 (A)
	Tigbavan [Tigbauan]	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Aclan [Kalibo]	Private Encomienda	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	
	Batan	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Burisanga [Buruanga]	Private Encomienda	General Don Juan de Atienza y Veñes	
	Ibajay	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Lopez de Sesar	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Panay	Malinao	Royal Encomienda		
	Aranguen [Roxas City]	Private Encomienda	General Don Juan de Atienza y Veñes	
	Baya de Maharlu [Sapi-an]	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Manbuiao [Mambusao]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Sebastian de Villa Real, Admiral Antonio de Acevedo	
	Panay	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Mayan [Tubungan]	Mixed Ownership	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Miagao	Private Encomienda	Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cebu	
	Bago [Bago City]	Royal Encomienda		
	Banton	Royal Encomienda		
	Romblon	Royal Encomienda		1 (R)
	Sibuyan	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Simara [Corcuera]	Private Encomienda	General Don Juan de Atienza y Veñes	
	Berveran [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		2 (A)
	Camansi [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Guisan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	General Don Juan de Atienza y Veñes	
	Tabal [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Admiral Don Pedro de la Peña Mareda	
	Alipetos [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Baon [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Don Francisco de Moya y Torres	
	Pabin [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Sogor [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		1 (A)
	Tingues de Baon [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Vicente Valenciano	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Leyte	Abuyog	Private Encomienda	Captain Thomas y Bañes de Agurro	
	Alangalang	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	
	Barugo	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	
	Baybay	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Don Joseph Garces	
	Buraguen [Barauen]	Private Encomienda	Don Antonio Fernandes de Vega	
	Carigara	Private Encomienda	Doña Mariana de Villa Real	5 (J)
	Dagami	Private Encomienda	Doña Maria Rosa de Cepeda	5 (J)
	Dulac	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Don Juaquin del Guía	
	Leyte	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph de Aytamarren	
	Malaguicay [Tanauan]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Nicolas de Alfaro	
	Maliron [Patrana]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Nicolas de Alfaro	
	Ocmuc [Ormoc]	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Don Joseph Garces, Doña Maria Piñero	
	Palo	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph de Aytamarren	
	Tinagon [Tanauan]	Vacant		
	Xaro [Jaro]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph de Aytamarren	
	Maripipi	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	Cabayan [San Juan]	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	Cavalian [San Juan]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando de Altamirano y Legaspi	
	Santa Cruz [Bontoc]	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Juan Tirado	
	Sogor [Sogod]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando de Altamirano y Legaspi	
	Panaon	Private Encomienda	Don Geronimo de Castro y Andrade	
	Candaya [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Ibabao [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Joseph Lopez de Viscarra	
	Ilaguan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Geronimo de Castro y Andrade	

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Leyte	*Libanao [Unidentified]*	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Juan Tirado	
	Limang [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	San Poetan [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph de Aytamarren	
	Soloan [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Tambuco [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Martin Carrillo	
	Tambue [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Don Juaquin del Guía	
	Tubi [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Manuel de Valenzuela	
	Vincay [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Nicolas de Alfaro	
	Vito [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Nicolas de Alfaro	
Samar	Balanguivan [Balangkayan]	Royal Encomienda		
	Batan [Hernani]	Private Encomienda	Captain Roque de Llamas	
	Boronga	Private Encomienda	Don Geronimo de Castro y Andrade	
	Guivan [Guiuan]	Royal Encomienda		
	Sulac [Sulat]	Private Encomienda	Don Manuel de Valenzuela	
	Taytay [Guiuan]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph de Aytamarren	
	Biri	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Joseph López de Viscarra, Sergeant Major Juan Tirado	
	Canaguan [San Isidro]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Juan Tirado	
	Capul	Private Encomienda	Convento de San Juan de Dios	
	Catarman	Private Encomienda	Captain Don Joseph López de Viscarra	
	Palapag	Vacant		4 (J)
	Pamboan [Pambujan]	Private Encomienda	Don Manuel de Valenzuela	
	Rio de Catubig [Catubig]	Vacant		
	Basi [Basey]	Private Encomienda	Don Martin Carrillo	
	Burabut [Marabut]	Vacant		

Province	Encomienda	Ownership	Encomendero(s)	Missionaries
Samar	Calvigan [Calbiga]	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Juan Tirado	
	Catbologan	Private Encomienda	Don Martin Carrillo	4 (J)
	Paranas	Private Encomienda	Sergeant Major Juan Tirado	
Mindanao and Calamianes	Butuan	Mixed Ownership	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
	Caraga	Mixed Ownership	Alonzo Fernandes de Ardila	1 (R)
	Catel [Cateel]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Camacho de la Pena	1 (R)
	Cagayan [Cagayan de Oro]	Royal Encomienda		1 (R)
	Sidargao [Siargao]	Mixed Ownership	Alonzo Fernandes de Ardila	
	Surigao	Mixed Ownership	Alonzo Fernandes de Ardila	
	Vislin [Bislig]	Private Encomienda	Don Joseph Camacho de la Pena	
	Camiguin Island	Private Encomienda	Sargento Mayor Don Juaquin del Guía	
	Calamianes	Royal Encomienda		4 (R)
	Cuyo	Private Encomienda	Captain Lorenzo Vásquez Coronado	
	Compot [Unidentified]	Royal Encomienda		
	Linac [Unidentified]	Private Encomienda	Don Fernando Nieto de Silva	
Mindoro and Marinduque	Calavite [Paluan]	Vacant		
	Lin [San Jose]	Vacant		
	Luban	Vacant		
	Bongabon	Vacant		
	Naojan [Naujan]	Vacant		2 (J)
	Santiago [Naujan]	Vacant		
	Vaco [Baco]	Vacant		

Appendix 2: Royal Decrees Concerning the Treatment of *Indios*

Year	Expediente	Content
1574	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 58v-59r	Prohibiting the forced migration of *indios* between islands and ensuring that they are treated well.
1575	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 57v-58r	That no Spaniard is permitted to hold an *indio* as a slave even if the *indio* was already a slave or was obtained through just war, and that those who are enslaved must be freed.
1580	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 169v-170r	Denouncing abuses received by the *indios* from the soldiers.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 175r-176r	That new discoveries of populations must not be accompanied by abuses of the *indios.*
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 176r-177r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 181v-184v	That tribute must come from the fruits of the lands and not be accompanied by torture or abuse or involve excessive taxation.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 191r-191v	That new discoveries of populations must not be accompanied by abuses of the *indios.*
1584	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 296r-296v	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1585	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 1, Fols. 325v-326r	That the *indios* must be treated well, as free subjects of the King.
1594	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fol. 64r	That the indigenous elites be recognised according to their status.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fol. 65r	That the religious orders are not to use *indio* labour if it is for things that are not very necessary, and that they must always pay them for their labour.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fol. 66r	That the distribution of lands should not be prejudicial to the *indios.*
1596	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fols. 215r-215v	That the *indios* should pay tribute according to what they have and to the quality of their lands.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 339, Libro 2, Fol. 224v	That the *indios* should pay tribute according to what they have and to the quality of their lands.
1602	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 1, Fols. 40v-41r	That the Audiencia must remedy the abuses of the *indios* to avoid further diminution of tributes.
1604	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 1, Fol. 70r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1608	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 26r-26v	That the *indios* must be treated well and if they are engaged in any labour it must not be detrimental to their harvests and they must be paid daily wages into their own hands, punctually and at a fair rate.

Year	Expediente	Content
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 28v-30r	That the personal service that *indios* provide once a week in providing fish for free to the religious orders and *alcaldes mayores* on Fridays must cease. The *indios* must be paid for their labour and for any fish that they give to the Spanish.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 30r-30v	Ordering for a remedy to the excesses by the missionaries against the *indios.*
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 36v-37r	That the *indios* who serve as ships boys must not be abused or mistreated.
1609	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 83r-85r	That no *indio* is to be used in farming for religious or secular officials, and that they hire Chinos instead, and that if the *indios* must be used because of a lack of labourers, that it only be under certain conditions. The decree also condemns the abuses *indios* receive from their caciques as well as the religious orders.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 85v-86r	Decree sent to all levels of government throughout the Indies that tribute must not be commuted to personal services, and tribute must only be paid in kind or in money.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 86r-86v	That the *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* must liberate the *indios* from the grievances and abuses they receive from their caciques.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 86v-87v	That the idle Spaniards be put to work in mines and public works to relieve the *indios* and prevent vagabondage.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 87v-88r	That the governor must investigate the instances of abuse *indios* receive from their caciques.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 88r-88v	That the governor investigates whether the native caracoas are better vessels and if so to build many more using the labour of captured rebel *indios*, to relieve the burden places on the vassals of the King.
1613	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 172v-175r	Ordering the governor to investigate instances of abuse by the religious orders and to punish them.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 176v-177v	Censuring the religious orders for burdening the *indios* through requisitioning rice, money and personal services.
1618	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 255r-259v	Ordering the governor and the archbishop to ensure that the religious orders live in moderation because it was widely known that especially the Augustinians were constructing houses and churches without permission and imposing labour on the *indios*.

Year	Expediente	Content
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 2, Fols. 269r-271r	That the governor must avoid the excessive burdens placed on the *indios* as occurred in previous governorships when the galleons were to be built.
1620	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 261v-262v	That the *indios* who serve as ships boys must not be abused or mistreated.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 262v-263v	That the Audiencia must do everything it can to ameliorate that abuses that the *indios* receive from the religious orders.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fol. 284v	That the vexation of the *indios* must be avoided, particularly in relation to the construction of galleons, which has been very damaging.
1624	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 3, Fols. 59v-60v	Instructing the Dominicans to moderate their treatment of the *indios.*
1627	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 400v-401v	That the *indios* of Bataan are not made to pay more tribute than they owe or to serve in the sentinel of Mariveles.
1628	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 340, Libro 3, Fols. 406r-406v	That the *indios* of Cagayan are not made to pay more tribute than they owe, because this has been a cause of flight and rebellion.
1631	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 3, Fols. 195v-197v	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1632	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 329, Libro 3, Fols. 222r-222v	That the abuses the *indios* receive from their *principales* must be stopped.
1638	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 43r-43v	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1639	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 122v-123r	Decree against the Augustinians, saying that they are known to repeatedly exploit the *indios* without paying them, among other abuses.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fol. 132r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 133v-134r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1641	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 140v-142r	That the religious orders are not to interfere in matters of justice among the *indios.*
1643	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 4, Fols. 156r-158v	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1656	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 87v-88v	That a portion of the annual *situado* be designated to pay the debt owed to the *indios.*
1660	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 190r-192r	Ordering the governor to pay the debt owed to the *indios.*
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 192r-194r	Ordering Bolivar y Cruz to ensure that the debt owed to the *indios* is paid.

Year	Expediente	Content
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 232r-233v	That in years of shortages, tribute should be paid in specie.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 6, Fols. 261v-262r	Instruction to the Viceroy that the debt owed to the *indios* be paid for the services they had provided to the Crown.
1661	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 243r-247r	Ordering that no *indio* be punished with financial penalties.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 247r-248r	Prohibiting all forms of personal services by *encomenderos*, *alcaldes mayores*, *corregidores*, justices, *provinciales* or any type of clergy.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 249v-250r	Repeating a decree originally granted in 1655 prohibiting the *repartimiento* of fabrics or any other goods in Ilocos and elsewhere.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 5, Fols. 250v-251r	Ordering that all *repartimientos* and *bandalas* must only take place in times of great necessity and that no *indio* should be asked for what they did not have and that they should always be allowed to reserve enough for their own sustenance.
1662	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 21r-21v	That the *indios* must be relieved from personal services.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 21v-23r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 330, Libro 6, Fols. 23v-44r	Order that two decrees from 1609 and 1610 be reissued regarding the good treatment of *indios* and the illegality of personal services.
1673	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 41v-43r	Order to the governor to proceed against missionaries for abuses against *indios.*
1677	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fol. 185v	That the *indios* should have no more than one patron saint and be obliged to contribute only once a year for the festivities of that saint.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fol. 187r	That the personal services provided by the *indios* for the *alcaldes mayores* and other ministers are illegal.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fols. 243r-246r	That the governor pays in total the debt that was owed to the Pampangans for the *repartimientos* and *bandalas* and that similar abuses be disallowed.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 341, Libro 7, Fols. 246r-255v	That the abuses of the *indios* of Pampanga by the *alcaldes mayores*, *alguaciles*, scribes and religious orders cease and that they are not allowed to ask for supplies without paying for them and that they must pay them what they owe.
1679	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 276r-277r	That the *indios* must be paid for their labour in shipbuilding and that they must not be mistreated.

Year	Expediente	Content
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 287v-289v	That the religious orders are not to take anything from the *indios*, even under the pretext of alms, and that transgressors must be punished.
1681	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 7, Fols. 340v-341r	That the *indios* must be treated well.
1685	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 6v-7r	That the religious orders are not to take anything from the *indios*, even under the pretext of alms.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 8r-8v	That the *indios* must be treated well.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 9v-10r	That the religious orders must not ask for money from the *indios.*
1686	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 61r-63v	Requesting information about the viability of the abolition of slavery in the Philippines.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fol. 63v	Requesting information about the viability of the abolition of slavery in the Philippines.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 8, Fols. 75v-76r	That abuses by the *alcaldes mayores* be investigated and punished.
1690	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 15r-16r	That abuses by the *alcaldes mayores* be investigated and punished.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 4v-5v	Regarding the vexations by the soldiers of the presidios in Cagayan.
1696	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 180r-180v	Regarding abuses by the missionaries against the *indios.*
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fols. 182r-182v	Regarding abuses by the missionaries against the *indios.*
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 331, Libro 9, Fol. 209r	That the *indios* of Nueva Segovia should be paid for their personal labours.
1697	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 25r-26r	Investigation into the abuse of *indios* in the province of Camarines.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 26r-26v	That the *indios* must be paid for their labour.
1698	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 31r-31v	That *indios* must not be asked to labour excessively and that all abuses must be denounced.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 37r-37v	That the governor must abide by laws against the overburdening of *indios* for work in churches.
	AGI, Filipinas, Leg. 332, Libro 10, Fols. 40v-41v	Order against illegal commerce in Camarines which obliges *indios* to sell their goods at very low prices.

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