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## **The History of the Philippine Islands in the Late Eighteenth Century: Problems and Prospects**

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## The History of the Philippine Islands in the Late Eighteenth Century: Problems and Prospects

DAVID ROUTLEDGE

The biggest problem facing the historian of the Philippines is the extremely unbalanced nature of available documentary resources. Successive kings of Spain wished that the people of their westernmost colony should learn to read and write Spanish so that they might understand royal decrees, but the friars, anxious completely to control the process of Hispanization and to prevent any questioning of the doctrines they taught, either failed or refused to put the royal orders into effect. The result was that a Filipino record — documents written by Filipinos about themselves or about the Spaniards — did not begin to accumulate in the natural order of things until the end of the nineteenth century, and documents from the eighteenth may be counted by hand.

The history of imperial Spain and of the great religious orders involved in the Christianization of the islands, however, cannot be regarded as any more than part of the story, albeit important between 1568 and 1898. Even if the prime motive forces of the process of history are accepted as deriving from the Spaniards — to put the matter in its extremest form — the skeleton must still be fleshed out with evidence as to the Filipino reaction, the Filipino point of view. This can be done in two ways. Either Spanish documents must be interpreted (perhaps it is better to say 'de-interpreted' since what is required is the removal of extraneous accretions imposed by the cultural conditioning of the writer) or different evidence, presumably non-documentary, must be found. Inter-disciplinary studies, usually with social scientists of one kind or another, have become increasingly common in recent years and can be of the greatest value, but

the historian must be careful not to lose sight of the different aims of different disciplines. The natural scientist is concerned to fit newly acquired information into an accumulation of knowledge about the way in which the universe works, and the social scientist desires to elucidate patterns of human behaviour, whereas the historian wishes to plumb the intrinsic significance of a discrete series of events. The anthropologist, for example, is interested primarily in the framework within which things happen — with kin-ties, the structure of religious belief, the way in which the various activities of the community are habitually performed. He may use events to exemplify general theory, but he will not use accumulated knowledge to illumine the dynamics of a particular series of related happenings as an end in itself. The historian who uses non-historical techniques, therefore, does well to be sure that he knows what he is about. He should be prepared for criticism both from his colleagues and from exponents of the discipline into whose preserves he is poaching, though the converse is also true. The historian of the Philippines cannot fail to be impressed with Felix Keesing's *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Manila 1962) but nor will he refrain from criticizing its weaknesses in historical technique, the most important of which derive from the dependence of the author on E. M. Blair and J. A. Robertson's highly personal and not altogether reliable compilation of documents on the history of the Philippines. But with an awareness of the pitfalls, one may hope that progress will be made, that eventually there will emerge something approaching an objective understanding of events which are essentially multi-cultural.

These thoughts were in my mind as I started some research in the general field of Philippines history. One of the first things I noticed was the scant attention paid to the eighteenth century. The establishment of Spanish interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth, on the one hand, and events antecedent to the revolution of 1898, on the other, have been much considered, but what happened in between has been largely ignored. Indeed, the eighteenth century has been described to me by a Filipino historian as *terra incognita*. The period of Hispanization and

Christianization is deemed to be over by 1700, students of later events have not looked so far back for the causes of movements which are their prime concern, and various long general works seem gradually to run out of steam as they move into the eighteenth century. For example, Juan de la Concepción's fourteen volumes, published in Manila between 1788 and 1792, go no further than the governorship of Pedro Manuel de Arandía (1754–9), and Martínez de Zúñiga's history (Manila 1803) is little more than a condensation of Concepción. Moreover, both were Recollect friars, reflecting their own experiences and the interests of their order in their writings, which thus belong primarily among the religious chronicles of the islands. Jose Montero y Vidal's *Historia General de la Islas Filipinas* (3 volumes, Madrid 1887–95) is probably the best history of the Spanish era as a whole, but it still illustrates the point. The author had not visited this islands, and his small amount of research in Spanish archives does not nullify the effect of a highly idiosyncratic reliance on the writing of others. Even Blair and Robertson devote to the eighteenth century little more than a third of the space devoted to preceding years. For this reason I decided that it was a good place to begin, and soon further narrowed my attention to the second half of the century and to central and northern Luzon.

This turned out to be a good choice for several reasons. In the first place the period has a definite character of its own which relates it much more with what was to come than with what had gone before. Horacio de la Costa, the doyen of Filipino historians, has called the hundred years commencing in 1760 the 'formative century' because so much that is fundamental to contemporary society and politics traces its roots from thence.<sup>1</sup> It began with foreign occupation of the capital and two of the most serious revolts against Spanish authority of the entire colonial era. It witnessed the decline to insignificance of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade which had provided the *raison d'être* for the constitution of the colony in the first place and

1. Horacio de la Costa, 'The formative century; 1760–1860', *Asia and the Philippines* (Manila 1967).

conditioned the nature of its economy from then on. Affront to Spanish *amour propre* caused by these things, together with the slow seepage through to Spanish administrators of something of the ideas of the European Enlightenment under the benevolently despotic Charles III, generated considerable rethinking of the fundamental principles upon which the colony had been built. A series of plans for the economic development of the islands was canvassed, and by the end of the century some of the provisions of these had begun to be put into effect. Pressure of population combined with the exigencies of development to cause communities to move from one part of the islands to another. This led in turn to changes of the most fundamental kind in both the physical environment and the nature of social dynamics. In short, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the period contains the key to understanding the contemporary situation.

One useful result of the unprecedented nature of so much that was happening was a great increase in the amount of documentation — another advantage to be set beside the characteristic nature of the period. The English occupation of Manila was shock enough to the Spanish, but the Filipino reaction to so graphic a demonstration of Spanish fallibility was even greater. Full-scale rebellion — in Pangasinan under the leadership of Juan de la Cruz Palaris and in Ilocos under Diego Silang — developed as soon as news of the capture of the city reached the north, and was sustained even after the British occupation. Typical of the low Spanish regard for Filipinos at the time was the belief that such organization was beyond their powers, and that they must consequently have received guidance and assistance from somewhere. Parish priests were obvious candidates for suspicion, and the Dominican Provincial, Pedro Ire, was sufficiently uncertain to require the members of his order working in Pangasinan to write detailed reports of their actions. Secular officials were also called to account by a formal court of inquiry, and much ink was spent in its service. There is thus a quite unusual volume of what might be termed first-class primary evidence of the behaviour of the Spanish, and this is a matter of

some importance. The historian has continually to be aware of the quality of his material, in particular preferring to make judgments for himself rather than having to rely on others. He is thus more confident when documents result from the direct experience of the writer instead of being edited and emended by a superior hand. The reports of provincial officials and parish priests are more interesting to him than letters based on them, written by the governor or members of the *audiencia* for the king or the Council of the Indies, or by bishops and provincials for religious heads in Spain and Rome.

Quantity is insufficient in itself, however, if everything derives from Spanish hands and the historian is concerned with the meaning of Filipino actions. It is further necessary for him to get behind the assumptions which conditioned Spanish thinking — to see, for example, whether Ire was justified in believing political organization of a sophisticated order sustained over a long period of time to be beyond the Filipinos, and consequently failed to understand what was happening. It is necessary to penetrate the cultural environment of the Spaniards themselves, and of eighteenth century Europe in general. An example from the broad context within which the British occupation took place, will perhaps make the point clear. When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763, both England and France were aware that the Seven Years' War had been brought only to a truce. Both sought, therefore, to strengthen their respective control of world trade, and particularly to seek out new routes to China and the Orient by going north or south around the New World and across the Pacific. Spain had long maintained that this was *Mare Nostrum*, her own private sea, but the legal fiction this represented was soon to be exposed in all its naked absurdity as one exploring expedition after another filled the map of the ocean with more and more detail. Among the first discoveries was Tahiti in the Society Islands. Its favourable position and the amenable character of its people caused it to be visited many times by ships in need of refreshment. Tahiti was written about at length (and an attempt made at colonization by the Spanish), not only because it was much visited but because it seemed to

represent the complete vindication of a current philosophical theory that civilization had become degenerate by cutting itself off from the primitive simplicities and pastoral happiness which supposedly existed in Homeric Greece. There was much romantic nonsense in the cult of the Noble Savage, but unless the historian is aware of the existence of the cult and of the tenor of its thinking, he will fail to make anything of the naive enthusiasm of the explorer Bougainville, for example, who called Tahiti 'La Nouvelle Cythère' after the island in the Mediterranean where Greek legend had it that Aphrodite, the goddess of love, rose from the foam. Such thinking was hardly characteristic of Spanish friars in the Philippines at that or any other time, but Spain did not remain completely unaffected by the principles of the Enlightenment, and the validity of the point remains. The observer of an alien culture will see only what his own has conditioned him to see, unless he is able to consciously put that conditioning aside in the manner of the modern social scientist.

Even this is not enough, for while knowledge of modes of thought may make accessible in broad outline the nature of the cultural conditioning of members of the given social group, the character of an individual is not thus revealed, though it may be decisive in determining what he sees and writes. In such a situation the existence of many different reports about the same series of events is an enormous advantage, and makes the uprisings in Pangasinan and Ilocos between 1762 and 1765 very good subjects for study. The dynamics of society in revolt, obviously, are abnormal, but as it was the abnormality in this case which was responsible for the unusual abundance of evidence in the first place, it is impossible to have the advantages all ways. Eventually it should prove possible to move outward from the unusual to the usual, and to arrive at an insight into normal Filipino behaviour.

I want now to discuss the documents available for the study of Pangasinan and Ilocos in the 1760s, significant quantities of which have been published:

1. 'Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la provincia de Ilocos, en los años de 1762 y

1763: compuesta por el padre Pedro del Vivar, religioso Augustino en este año de 1764'.

This appeared in the fourth volume of a work entitled *Biblioteca Historica Filipina* (Manila 1892), a collection of Jesuit, Franciscan, and Augustinian chronicles published under the patronage of Jose Gutiérrez de la Vega. Note that there is no mention of Vivar on the title page, which refers only to the Augustinian history of Juan de Medina (1630).

Vivar arrived in the Philippines from Valladolid in 1752, and spent the rest of his life — until his death at Batac, Ilocos Norte, in 1771 — in Ilocos and the mountains of northern Luzon.<sup>2</sup> He was personally involved in the Silang revolt, and all later references to it, including those of Agustín María de Castro and Martínez de Zúñiga, are based on this *relación*, then the only known eye-witness account. Vivar also wrote about the mountain peoples, some of his material being published in *Relaciones Agustianas de las razas del norte de Luzon* (Manila 1904), edited by Fray Angel Pérez, O.S.A.

2. *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas, con prólogo y anotaciones del P. Eduardo Navarro* (2 volumes, Madrid 1908). Volume I includes 'Relación sucinta, clara y verídica de la toma de Manila por la escuadra inglesa, excrita por el P. Fr. Agustín María de Castro y Amuedo . . . año de 1770'.

Father Agustín was in the city during the siege and much of the occupation of the city, so that what he says ranks as primary observation, but he used Vivar and others for events in the provinces. He also compiled notes about all Augustinian friars who had worked in the Philippine province ('Osario Venerable') and a history of Batangas.

2. See AGI F159 for correspondence about the missions to the Igorots, and Vivar's first posting to the mountains in 1753.



The rest of Navarro's first volume consists of a collection of official documents referring to the siege and occupation of Manila, including a diary which he believed was written by Leandro Viana, famous for his attack on the miserable state of the colony which was instrumental in provoking Spanish questioning of their colonizing principles (q. v. 3 below). Navarro's reasons for the attribution are not convincing, though there is no reason why he should not be right.

The whole of the second volume deals with counter-measures undertaken by Simón de Anda from his base in Pampanga, and includes the diary of an expedition to Bataan to maintain the people's loyalty to Spain.

All documents, apart from the de Castro account, were taken from the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville, and appear to have been chosen so as to illustrate Augustinian patriotism during the uprising.

3. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, E. M. Blair, J. A. Robertson (editors), (55 volumes, Cleveland 1903-09).

Volumes 48-50 contain translations or synopses of a number of documents from the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, such as Viana's 'Demostración del misero deplorable estado de las Islas Philipinas', a few letters of Anda to the king, and Archbishop Rojo's account of the siege. English plans for the expedition, now in the British Museum, and reports of its success published in contemporary magazines, are also included.

4. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., 'The siege and capture of Manila by the British, September-October 1762', *Philippine Studies* x (1962) 607.
5. Nicholas Cushner, S.J., 'Documents illustrating the British conquest of Manila', Camden fourth series, volume 8, Royal Historical Society, London 1971.

Both Father de la Costa and Father Cushner publish documents (the former with translations) from the Jesuit archives at San Cugat del Vallés, near Barcelona, Spain. Cushner also includes material from the Public Record

Office, the India Office Library, and the British Museum, London, and the Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

6. Marqués de Ayerbe, *Sitio y Conquista de Manila por los Ingleses en 1762* (Zaragoza 1897).

This work is not the publication of primary source material at all, but an account written very largely from a manuscript in the library of the marqués. This was an account by Alfonso Rodríguez de Ovalle for the Marqués de Cruillas, an ancestor of Ayerbe. Ovalle sailed to Manila on the *Santa Rosa* with royal despatches announcing the terms of the Treaty of Paris, including instructions for the British evacuation. As Ovalle has been allowed to speak for himself, and as the manuscript is not otherwise available, it may perhaps be included in this list.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of this impressive list, much remains unpublished, indeed virtually unknown. It is mostly to be found in the Archives of the Indies, Seville, and the Dominican Archives, Manila.<sup>4</sup> The Archivo General de Indias houses the most important collection of documents for the history of the Spanish empire in the world. It is a collection, however, which is not easy to use, for apart from being grouped according to the institution of government from which they emanated and then arranged in chronological order, the documents remain effectively uncatalogued. The most important section for the student of the Philippines is labelled 'Audiencia de Filipinas', but other sections suggest themselves as being occasionally relevant, such as 'Ultramar' and the *audiencias* of Mexico and Guadalajara;

3. See the introduction to Ayerbe's work, and note Cushner, 'The British Conquest of Manila', 2, footnote 3.

4. It is perhaps appropriate to notice at this juncture the imperative necessity to an archive of its uninterrupted existence, and that in this respect the British siege and occupation of Manila were disastrous. The administration's records were completely destroyed during the bombardment, necessitating the request for new copies of all relevant royal orders in 1771 (AGI F670). The Augustinian records were pillaged from the Convento de San Pablo at the same time, the choicest items eventually finding their way into the library of Alexander Dalrymple, the British Admiralty Hydrographer, and from thence, into an American university.

others, like Lima, contain documents which can only have got there by being misplaced. The Sección de Filipinas contains over one thousand bundles (*legajos*) through which the researcher must patiently wade if he is to be certain of picking up everything relating to his subject. Looking for Philippine material in other sections is far worse than searching for the proverbial needle in a hay stack, so that it is lost unless other scholars note its presence. The following is a list of bundles dealing with the British occupation of Manila and the contemporary uprisings in northern Luzon:

*Sección de Filipinas*

713—16 Expedientes sobre la reclamación por Inglaterra de los dos millones de pesos capitulados en la toma de pa plaza de Manila, 1762—6.

717—18 Expedientes sobre expulsión de los Sangleys o Chinos católicos por delitos de infidelidad y otros durante la ocupación de la plaza por los Ingleses, 1755—89

These six bundles are entirely devoted to the siege and occupation, and not in the narrow sense implied by their titles. They contain only a fraction of the relevant documents, however, and are not even the only bundles so exclusively devoted (cf. Cushner, 'Documents illustrating the British conquest', 1, footnote 2).

'Correspondencia con Gobernadores' — (these titles appear in manuscript lists in the reading-room in Seville — they are not of any real significance as descriptions of types of correspondence, nor necessary for locating bundles)

371 (1763) Leandro Viana, 'Demostración del misero deplorable estado de las islas Filipinas . . .'

388 (1759—72) Accounts of the interim tenure of the governorship by Archbishop Rojo and Francisco Xavier de la Torre; letters of Anda to Spain, including an account of the capture of the *Santísima Trinidad* by the British

390 (1769—80) Letters of Anda, including papers on disbursements made during the occupation

*'Duplicados del Gobernador'*

481 (1759—63) File on the province of Pampanga, including lists of men, by *barangay*, brought for military service; preparations for the defence of Ilocos

482 (1764) Files referring to the actions of Joaquín de Gamboa, the *alcalde mayor* of Pangasinan held largely responsible for the revolt in that province, by the Dominicans; revolt in Laguna

483 (1764) Anda's report on the expedition he led to defend Bulacan when the British showed signs of acquiring a foothold outside the city

484 (1764) Inventories of arms and payments to soldiers

*'Cartas Expedientes'*

- 605 (1764) Letters of Anda and the full report on the revolt in Ilocos (over 600 pages, cf. 481)
- 606 (1764) The occupation of the city
- 607 (1764) Anda to the bishops on the need to reconstruct the government machine after the departure of the British; papers on the defence of Pampanga, and another copy of the Bulacan report (cf. 483)
- 608 (1764) An account of the assault, and the behaviour of the Christian Chinese during the siege
- 609 (1764) Anda's report on the Pangasinan revolt (52 pages) with an accompanying file (more than 700 pages)
- 610 (1765) Letters referring to the death of Rojo, to damage done to Vigan cathedral during the uprising, and to rewards for services rendered during the rebellions in Pangasinan and Ilocos
- 617 (1767) A third copy of the Bulacan report (cf. 483, 607)
- 619 (1768) and 621 (1769) Letters reporting the expulsion of Chinese for infidelity during the British occupation
- 624 (1769) File on the reward to be paid Pedro Bicbic, Silang's murderer  
This includes letters of Santiago Orendain, the chief Spanish collaborator of the English in Manila, here described as working with Silang for the evil of the country. Orendain was tried for conspiracy by Anda after the British withdrawal — cf. 605, 606, 610
- 628 (1770) Letters relating to ecclesiastical plate during the occupation, and to personal property left by Rojo

*'Expedientes Diarios'*

- 668 (1765—7) Augustinian and Dominican reports on the state of their respective missions after the occupation
- 674 (1789—92) Augustinian complaints of iniquities suffered at the hands of the English

*'Expedientes y instancias de parte'*

- 681 (1761—4) Diary of the siege of Manila by Miguel Antonio Gomez, military governor of Manila; letters by the Franciscan, Recollect, and Dominican provincials on the siege. This bundle deals exclusively with aspects of the occupation, and contains much interesting material
- 682 (1765—9) Letters of Anda about Viana and other citizens of Manila who distinguished themselves during the occupation

Generally speaking, most of the documents to be found in Seville emanated from the highest levels of the Philippines Bureaucracy — from the governor or his immediate assistants, the members of the *audiencia*, the archbishop and bishops, or the heads of the great religious orders — and having with them only occasionally the letters from *alcaldes mayores*, parish

priests, and other junior officials upon which the reports were based. Two large files deal with the revolts in Pangasinan led by Palaris and in Ilocos by Silang. The latter occurs in two copies (F481, F605), something not uncommon which reflects the general practice of copying correspondence several times and sending more than one copy to Spain so as to ensure the arrival of the information at least once. The following is a more detailed list of the contents of the file on Pangasinan accompanying Anda's letter of 14 July 1764 (F609), which may serve as an example:

Anda's letter has the rubric 'La Real Audiencia Gobernadora y Capitanía General que fue de las Islas Philipinas da cuenta de haberse rebelado . . . la provincia de Pangasinan, y los medios que puso para reducirla hasta conseguirlo'. It tells in considerable detail what Anda did to put down the revolt, and gives his analysis of the reasons for the uprising's happening in the first place, and what should be done for the future.

The file itself has the rubric 'Testimonio del expediente formada sobre consultas hechas por el Alcalde Mayor, y R<sup>vo</sup> Padre Provincial de la provincia de Pangasinan en que dieron cuenta de la alteración que tuvo a comun de naturales de Binalatongan (the modern San Carlos) en dicha provincia'. It is the first copy, and contains transcripts of letters, evidence given before the commission of inquiry, summaries, and notations of the governor, of which the following are the more important items:

Joaquin de Gamboa to Anda, 7 Nov. 1762

Andrés Melendez (Dominican provincial of Pangasinan) to Anda, 9 Nov. 1762

Oidores de la Audiencia (from Bacolor, Pampanga) to the king, 18 Nov. 1762

Report of Juan Antonio Panelo, (Anda's lieutenant in the three disturbed provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan)

Juan Vengara, O.P. (Priest at San Isidro) to Melendez, 4 Dec. 1762

'Testimonio de los gobernadores, cabezas de barangay, principales, oficiales de guerra, y naturales de comun al Anda', 12 Dec. 1762

Pedro Ire (Dominican Provincial) to Anda, 26 Dec. 1762

Superior Decreto, Mexico de la Pampanga, 30 Dec. 1762

Francisco Cavada (Alcalde Mayor, Bulacan) to Anda, 1 Jan. 1763

Melendez to Anda, from Bayambang, Pangasinan, 14 Jan. 1763

Antonio Lopez (Maestre de Campo, Pangasinan, and one of the leaders of the uprising) to Anda, 7 Jan. 1763

Letters of Ire to Anda, Jan. 1763

Ire to the priests of Pangasinan, 9 Jan. 1763

Melendez to Ire (from Asingan, Pangasinan), 11 Feb. 1763, with a note from Ire to Anda

Pedro Mangaliag (Escrivano del gobernador de naturales de Asingan) to Anda, 14 Feb. 1763

Francisco Xavier (Gobernador de Asingan) to Anda, 14 Feb. 1763  
Superior Decreto, with letters of Lopez, Jan.-Feb. 1763

Joseph Manalastas (Maestre de Campo General y Gobernador de las armas del regimiento de la infantería, Pampanga) to Anda, 4 Mar. 1763  
'Gobernadores electos de los naturales y los mestizos de Sangleys de Lingayan' to Anda, 17 Feb. 1763 (with similar letters from other towns)  
Evidence under various dates which appears to have been taken at a court of inquiry, or as officials moved around the country for the purpose  
'Lista de la gente de Pangasinan que se han unido y estan agregados al ejercicio católico'

Anda to the people of Pangasinan, 11 May 1763

Lopez to Anda (from Lingayen), 26 Feb. 1763

Evidence of Juan Prinpin, Joseph Mendoza de la Concepción, Juan Crisóstomo de Mendoza (Pangasinanes)

Francisco de la Virgen de Magallon (Augustinian Provincial) to Anda, with reply, Feb. 1763

Bernardo Ustaris, O.P. (bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia) to Anda (from San Fabian — then Pangasinan, now La Union), 20 June 1763

Lopez to Ustariz, 27 June 1763

'Los cavos y el comun de naturales de todos los pueblos de Pangasinan' to Anda (Spanish translation from the Pangasinan of the original)

Translation of more evidence taken in Pangasinan

Evidence of Gamboa

Teniente de Gobernador y Capitán General Don Joseph de Bustos reporting on his commission to straighten out the province

There is a degree of continuity in the correspondence, with letters and replies following one another in fair sequence. There is also a significant quantity of material from people who did not normally figure in correspondence between the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines and the Council of the Indies. It should thus be possible to build up a reasonably balanced analysis of what actually was happening in northern Luzon at the time,<sup>5</sup> comparing the views of the religious with those of the secular officials, and even getting some idea of the views of at least the principalía as expressed by the community leaders.

The archives of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary of the Philippines (APSR), presently housed temporarily with the

5. Jose Arcilla, S.J., remarks on the drawbacks of having access only to the Dominican material for this subject in 'The Pangasinan uprising, 1762-1765', *Philippine Historical Review* IV (1971) 35. Rosario M. Cortes. *A History of Pangasinan, 1572-1800* (Quezon City 1975); William Henry Scott. *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish contacts with the pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City 1974).

archives of the University of Santo Tomás, are of particular significance to the student of the Philippines, because of the continuity of their existence and because the fathers have not chosen to remove them to Spain — during which process some material must inevitably have been lost. The Dominicans worked in Cagayan and Pangasinan, but not in Ilocos, so that there is much more relating to the Palaris revolt than to that of Silang. A Dominican, however, had been named to the see of Nueva Segovia, and Bernardo Ustariz not only played a significant part in events in Vigan, but also wrote at length to Anda and to the superiors of his order. With regard to the Palaris revolt, the Dominicans were anxious to refute a charge of complicity, and evidence submitted to the inquiry is most valuable. The following are the most important relevant documents:

Sección Historia Eclesiastica Filipina, tomo 6, documentos 36—8 Letters of Ustariz, Gutiérrez (priest at Lingayan), and various religious and provincial officials

Pangasinan 2/2—4, 6, 13 Letters of provincial officials

Pangasinan 5 The whole of this *tomo* is devoted to accounts by priests working in the province during the period of revolt, telling of their actions in detail so that the order could demonstrate that it had had nothing to do in fomenting the uprising

Pangasinan 6/8—23 Letters, mostly between Ire and Anda, relating to the revolt

Cagayan 10/28 'Petición de amnistía para los alzados de Pangasinan, 1764'

Cagayan 12/2 Letters relating to Silang's attempt to carry revolt into the province of Cagayan from Ilocos

Archivos de la Universidad de Santo Tomás (AST) folletos 114 'Compendio político-militar de la guerra de Filipinas contra los ingleses, acaecida el año de 1762, por Don Antonio Talero de Carbajal'.

Talero witnessed much of what he wrote about, being on board the *Santísima Trinidad* at the time of its capture — his material is mostly of a military nature as the title suggests.

By way of conclusion I should like to refer to the late eighteenth century more generally, and to say something of the relationship of the records in Spain with those in the Philippines. Although probably more documents for the years 1762—4 survive than for any other years, other periods can be studied in detail, with evidence permitting the scholar to reach out from the offices of the great officials, secular and ecclesiastical, and gain some understanding of life as it went on for the ordinary

people of Manila and the provinces. Some matters, of course, provoked more interest than others, and the following is a selection of subjects treated at length in the Seville archives, either with continual references throughout the files, or exhaustively on one occasion. The list is not in any sense complete, but gives some idea of the kind of material available. The numbers refer to bundles in the Sección de Filipinas:

- 158 Governor Marqués de Obando to the king, 18 July 1754, enclosing a request of the Augustinian provincial in Ilocos that he be permitted to send a mission into the mountains to convert Adanes. Obando agreed, accepting the argument that the area should be attached to Ilocos rather than to Cagayan because the Adanes feared the Cagayanes — see also 159
- 162 Report of the wreck of a party of Japanese on the coast of Cagayan — their reception and indoctrination by the Dominicans (undated, but 1761)
- 496 Victories of *alcaldes* in Samar and Misamis against the Moros; war in Zamboanga; reports of progress against pagan mountain peoples and Muslim southerners probably take up more space than anything else, except trading statistics related to the Acapulco galleons.
- 500 Inquiry into the state of the Ladrone Islands
- 501 Bishop Juan Ruiz de San Agustín of Nueva Segovia to the governor, 7 June 1788, reporting that the towns of Piddig and Laoag were in a highly disturbed state — this led to the eventual division of Ilocos into two provinces — see 692, and National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), Manila, Ilocos Norte y Sur 1798–1820 below)
- 676 Cost of sending religious to the Philippines (complaints of this kind are fairly common, and usually give a fair amount of detailed information in the process)
- 687 Bishop Miguel García of Nueva Segovia bemoaning the absence of competent diocesan clergy and the consequent need to rely too heavily on the regulars — cf. 691, 693 (the complaint of Don Dr. Mariano Priapil, the first Filipino to attain the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology from the University of Santo Tomás, that he was being prejudiced against on account of his race); 'Tratado de las islas Filipinas . . .', J. B. Muñoz, 10 August 1782 (a compilation mainly from primary sources by a distinguished scholar, containing much ethnographic information about the Visayas)
- 691 Construction of the ship *Guadalupe* in Siam; Royal Company of the Philippines; spiritual conquest of the Batanes Islands
- 712 'Traslado . . . sobre la conversión y reducción de los indios infieles en todo el distrito' — this is a large file giving statistics for each of the great orders, the Recollect returns beginning with an account of their advances, year by year, from 1600
- Sección Indiferente General 1527 'Plan demostrativo de los pueblos, cabezarías, tributos de naturales y meztizos . . . de la provincia de



Cagayan', Miguel Joseph Flores, 20 Feb. 1780 — there is a great deal of statistical material of this kind, relating to the whole of the Philippines, which is probably amenable to detailed analysis. Unfortunately it presents a major problem of organization, and much work would be necessary before any kind of general pattern could be expected to emerge.

These resources of the Archivo General de Indias must be exploited before the history of the colony before 1800 can hope to be written. For the nineteenth century the situation is more complicated. The volume of documents in Seville drops sharply after 1800, reducing to almost nothing after 1810 — a reflection of the chaotic state of the mother country during the Napoleonic wars rather than of anything pertaining to the Philippines themselves. The situation was not rectified until the reorganization of government in 1823, and the establishment of the Ministerio del Ultramar, the records of which are to be found in the Archivo Histórico-Nacional in Madrid. Material for the first quarter of the century is thus much less than for the periods before and after, and the gap is only inadequately filled by the National Archives in Manila.

This collection is actually larger than that in Seville, but it is even more difficult to work with, having suffered the severest depredations over the years, and only recently acquiring a permanent home. The documents are in no sort of order, and few of them have been catalogued, though the work proceeds as quickly and as efficiently as possible, so that great strides have been made over the past few years. There is nothing at all dating from before the British occupation, however, and it would appear at the moment that there is very little from before about 1840, though this impression may change as cataloguing advances. When material does exist it is of the greatest value in complementing what is in Seville, because much more correspondence from local officials reached Manila than was ever copied and sent to Spain. A few examples will illustrate the point:

Patronato 1720—99 A large file on the death of Bishop San Agustín of Nueva Segovia, containing disposition of personal property and other details of the state of the diocese, by no means all of which was sent to Spain — see AGI F628

Patronato 1793—1830 Dissatisfaction between the *gremio* (brotherhood)

*de naturales* and the *gremio de mestizos* of Vigan over the conduct of Semana Santa (Holy Week) processions. The squabble was very petty, but the correspondence gives a vivid picture of social pressures at work in a provincial town at the time

Ilocos Norte y Sur 1798–1820 The necessity for dividing Ilocos into two provinces, largely as a result of the uprising of 1788 and 1807 — dated 14 May 1818

It should be evident from these lists that an enormous amount of work lies demanding to be done, and that the Seville collection must be used as the basis from which research should start. Sometimes, as with the Dominican activity during the Palaris revolt, other archives will provide a sufficiently wide general coverage, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Something which also seems to emerge is the need for work to be commenced as close to the ground as possible, for only by first laboriously fitting together many details can the historian hope later to make any valid general statements. For Pangasinan a distinguished beginning has been made by Rosario Cortes. Dr. W. H. Scott continues the work in magnificent style with his recently published work on the Igorots.<sup>6</sup> Such an impetus must not be permitted to go to waste.

6. Rosario M. Cortes, *A History of Pangasinan, 1572–1800* (Quezon City 1975); William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City 1974).