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Governor Anda and the Liquidation of the Jesuit Temporalities in the Philippines, 1770-1776

SALVADOR P. ESCOTO

Shortly after the Squillaci riot in Madrid in 1766, a special tribunal was set up in the Supreme Council of Castile to investigate the alleged Jesuit-inspired insurrection.¹ Known as the Extraordinary Council, it was responsible for all the operations that led to the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. This powerful six-man committee under the chairmanship of the Count of Aranda bypassed other governing bodies, like the Council of the Indies, and communicated directly with all royal executives and audiencias throughout Spain and her colonies. The first phase of its activities, which was primarily the work of Aranda, resulted in the arrest and expulsion of the Jesuits from all the Spanish domains. This was carried out generally with ease and within a relatively short period of time. The second phase, largely the work of the Counts of Floridablanca and Campomanes (the prominent *fiscales* of the Council of Castile), dealt with the liquidation of the Jesuit temporalities.² By the very nature of

1. Called after Marquis of Squillaci, the finance minister, who was hated by the Spanish people because he was a foreigner (Italian) and further was held responsible for the soaring price of staple food and for the unpopular ordinance banning the use of wide-brimmed hats and long cloaks in public. Modern works have generally exculpated the Jesuits from the charge of masterminding this bloody tumult. However, for political reasons and influenced by the Jesuits' earlier expulsion from Portugal (1759) and France (1764), Charles III laid the blame on them. A comprehensive reading on this topic can be found in Eguía Ruiz's *Los Jesuitas y el Motín de Esquilache*, and in good works on the reign of Charles III. None, however, exist in English.

2. Francisco Mateos, "Introducción" in *Documentos de la Compañía de Jesús en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, comp. by Araceli Guglieri Navarro (Madrid: Razón y Fé, 1967), pp. viii-xxv. The term *temporalidades* signifies the properties, revenues, and funds of the order.

the work involved, it was bound to encounter nagging problems and interminable delay.

Prior to its expulsion in 1768, the Society of Jesus had eight colleges, three missions and around 75 parishes in the Philippines. When Governor-General Simón de Anda assumed office two years later, most of the 143 Jesuits scattered throughout the Islands had already been shipped to Spain. They were replaced by the secular priests in Manila and in the neighboring provinces, by the Augustinians in the Marianas islands, Leyte, and eastern Samar, by the Franciscans in western and northern Samar, by the Dominicans in Negros and Panay, and finally by the Recollects in Bohol and northern Mindanao. Usually, these Fathers immediately took over the use of the parish churches, the rectories as well as other appurtenances, such as furniture and church vestments.³

Numerous difficulties were encountered, however, in the

3. "Catálogo de los colegios, residencias, casas parroquiales, ministerios y misiones de la Provincia de la Compañía Extinguida en Filipinas . . . , 1768," in *Colección Pastells* (119 vols.; Barcelona, 1894-1905), 106: 55-60; Anda to Aranda, Manila, 28 November 1771; and Aranda to Anda, Madrid, 23 March 1773, *ibid.*, fols. 109-110. This collection of Philippine documents by Pablo Pastells consists of transcriptions made from originals in various archives of Spain, and is now found in the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Tarraconense de la Compañía de Jesús in San Cugat del Vallés, Barcelona. Another 30-volume collection by Pastells, more limited to Jesuit history, is to be found in the Jesuit Casa de Escritores in Madrid. Hereafter these collections will be cited as APT or CE respectively. See also Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 591-593, 602-619.

Of the 143 Jesuits expelled from the Philippines, 11 were Germans, 11 Italians, 3 French, 1 Irish, 3 of unknown nationality and the rest were Spaniards. The last group consisted of 108 peninsulares and 6 creoles of whom 4 were born in the Philippines and 2 in Mexico. On 3 August 1769, twenty-one of them were deported aboard the ship *San Carlos*; twenty-four aboard the *Venus* on 20 January 1770; sixty-eight aboard the *Santa Rosa* on 23 January 1770; eight aboard the *Astrea* on 4 January 1771; fifteen died at sea or before departure; and seven were still left in Manila in 1772 because of sickness or old age. See "Razón de todos los Regulares de la Compañía que existieron en Filipinas al tiempo que llegó la Resolución de Su Majestad . . .," Manila, 16 de julio 1772, in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (cited hereafter as AHN) in Madrid, sección Jesuitas, legajos 891 & 245.

disposal of the haciendas, houses, and other valuables which were either owned by the Jesuits or had been entrusted by donors to their care. Inventories of goods and assessment of their market value had to be made. Land surveys and business transactions had to be carried out. Most frustrating of all, some records were missing and were never recovered; so the government had to use other means to know the facts. At the outset, the operation was so disorganized that it prompted Antonio Andrada, the fiscal of the *Audiencia*, to report to Aranda in early 1770: "The affairs of the properties of the Society will not be concluded for a long time to come." Msgr. Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa, the Archbishop of Manila, described it as an unbelievable mess.⁴

A mess it was indeed, but it was understandable. The Commission on the Jesuit Temporalities, the agency in charge of the properties left behind by the disbanded religious order, was headed by *Oidor* Manuel Galbán. It was in a sorry state right from the beginning, characterized by bungling and bitter partisan quarrels between Governor Raón (Anda's predecessor) and two *oidores* of the *Audiencia* on one hand and Judge Commissioner Galbán, the archbishop, the fiscal and the officials of the royal treasury on the other. Consequently, little was accomplished beyond the inventories of papers and valuables found inside the three Jesuit colleges in Manila — San Ignacio, San José and San Ildefonso. In the last institution, Galbán confiscated 3,728 pesos and assessed the content of the storeroom at 30,000 pesos. He also seized 4,934 pesos, 3 reales and 6 granos from the College of San José.⁵ When *Oidor* Domingo Blas de Basaraz succeeded Galbán as commissioner in June 1769, the former did not have the opportunity to be briefed on the condition of the office since they were not on speaking terms before the latter died. In going through the papers found in Galbán's room, Basaraz seemed more interested in searching for signs of irregularities

4. Andrada to Anda, 20 January 1770, AHN, *Jesuitas*, leg. 239; Archbishop Sancho to Aranda, 30 July 1770, *ibid.*, leg. 238^{bis}.

5. "Real Acuerdo extraordinario de la Audiencia de Manila sobre las temporalidades de la Compañía extinguida," 1 de julio 1776, Pastells, CE, 20: 209; De la Costa, p. 588.

that could be used to denounce his deceased predecessor. Nevertheless, Basaraz too was able to accomplish something. He auctioned off some furniture and leased four haciendas to the highest bidders from July 1769 through July 1770. But his work was cut short at the arrival of Governor-General Anda who wasted no time in arresting him. Among other things, Basaraz was charged with the crime of being a sympathizer of the Jesuits and accused of using his office to protect their interests. To contribute further to the confusion, the few organized documents which the imprisoned oidor had were apparently mixed with the huge jumbled pile of Jesuit papers. And for nearly two years, the new governor-general deliberately left the commissioner's office vacant.⁶

Consequently, Anda had only superficial knowledge of the Jesuit possessions during the early part of his administration. When Aranda requested reports, he excused himself, protesting ignorance of the matter. The information contained in various letters he forwarded to Spain dealt mainly with expenditures incurred for the maintenance of the sick Jesuits, the names of those who had died, and other news of minor significance. Either because they were acquaintances or because he understood Anda's problems, Aranda did not seem to mind the inefficiencies of the Philippine governor-general. The Council Extraordinary's communication of 4 February 1768, calling for the establishment of a board to settle the claims and litigations made against the Jesuit temporalities was not implemented. In like manner, Anda failed to comply with the directives of 27 March and 9 July 1769 ordering the creation of boards which should decide the destination and use of the Jesuit colleges, houses and other assets. Under this arrangement, the lower boards (*Junta Municipal* and *Junta Provincial*) set up in towns and provincial capitals were supposed to seek guidance from the higher board (*Junta*

6. "Extracto que hizo Juan Bautista Revilla de las correspondencias de Basaraz con la Corte," Manila, [?] de enero y 24 de julio 1770, in the Newberry Library Ayer Collection, Chicago (hereafter cited as NLAC), Box 1415. The charges against Basaraz, who died in prison in 1773, can be found in José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas* (3 vols.; Madrid: Tello, 1887-1895) 2: 207-209.

Superior) in Manila, and this in turn should communicate with the king and ask for royal advice and approval. Anda did not heed the instructions because, besides being very busy, he considered these bodies of no immediate necessity. The Jesuit papers were in a state of disarray, he informed the Count of Aranda, and should be straightened out first before any meaningful operation could start. Accordingly, he hired four men to sort the papers. It was not until they had completed the task a year later that he appointed his nephew, Oidor Juan Francisco de Anda, as Judge Commissioner of the Jesuit Temporalities on 14 January 1772.⁷

The sorted bundles of documents were presented to the governor-general on 15 December 1771 with the following explanatory note: Jesuit properties outside Manila and vicinity would be hard to ascertain because many records and valuables were left in Zamboanga, the Visayas and the Marianas.⁸ Names of persons owing money to the disbanded order were missing and no records of income from estates, houses and annuities could be found. Documents on the *Obras Pías* and *capellanías*⁹ were few and so incomplete that it would be very difficult to find out the needed data and assets. Partial information on the estates in the neighboring provinces could be summarized as follows: 1) Those under the direct charge of the Father Provincial were Makati, Calamba and Nagtajan and were known as the

7. Letters of Anda to Aranda and vice versa from December 19, 1770 through August 2, 1772, Pastells, APT, 106: 96^v–97, 107–107^v, 109–110; 107: 256–258; AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 238^b₁₅.

8. The Jesuit Philippine Province also owned some estates in Mexico, namely, Hacienda de San Borja, Hacienda del Molino, Hacienda de Texcoco, and Hacienda San Nicolás de Buenavista. Sometimes a ranch in Terrafina, textile workshops in Batan and some lands in Chapingo are mentioned. No information about these Jesuit possessions is available from Philippine documents.

9. An *obra pía* (literally “pious work”) was an endowment or pious foundation in which the capital was invested in trade and the interest was used to support the “pious work.” On the *Obras Pías*’ loans depended not only the chronically insolvent government, but also the economic life of the Spanish colony in Manila, which subsisted mainly on trade. A *capellanía* was a kind of endowment, the income of which was used to defray the offerings for Masses said for the donor.

haciendas of the Jesuit Province. 2) Those belonging to San Ignacio College were Mariquina, Payatás, Mayhaligue, Nasugbú and small farmlands called La Piedad, Meycawayan, Japonés and Bocaue. Records on these lands were the most confusing and incomplete. 3) Those owned by San José College were Tunasan, Lian, and Calatagan. 4) San Ildefonso College owned small scattered landholdings called Maysilo, Santa Mónica, Marilao, Santibáñez, Valencia, Pandacan, Paco and Singalong. No papers were submitted from the neighboring province of Cavite, although the Jesuits had a college there which owned the hacienda Naic. They also possessed other lands such as Looc, but some of them had various names and appeared under the names of several persons. Practically none of the documents stated the exact size of each hacienda (measurement of cultivated areas was mentioned in some), how and when each estate was acquired, and many other important data were lacking.¹⁰

Available data of the foregoing haciendas were as follows:

1. Tunasan had 172 carabaos, 54 head of cattle, 89 horses and complete agricultural tools and equipment. Its warehouses contained timber, 20 cavans of salt, 70 bales of tobacco and around 14,000 cavans of palay (unhulled rice).¹¹ The hacienda, however, had an obligation to maintain eleven scholarships at San José College and to pay six pesos for three masses a year for the repose of the soul of Antonio Navarrete, a benefactor of the college.

José García de Arias submitted to the Commission the following expenditure during his term as administrator from 13 June through 17 August 1769:¹²

10. "Informe dirigido a D. Simón de Anda sobre lo practicado para la ejecución de la ocupación y extrañamiento de los Jesuitas en Filipinas," 15 de diciembre 1771, NLAC, Box 1353.

11. Grain measure in the Philippines is approximately as follows: there are two chupas or ochavas to a litro, three litros to a ganta, 25 gantas to a cavan (44 kilograms). A fanega is equal to 1.6 bushels or 1.25 cavans.

12. In order to understand the three-column currency figures, which will reappear several times in this article, it should be noted that the first column always represents pesos, the second column stands for *reales* or *tomines* and the third for *granos*. Thus, the figures 10/6/5½ mean 10 pesos, 6 reales and 5½ granos. There are twelve granos in one real or tomin, and eight reales or tomines in one peso.

Daily expenses for 75 days	40/5/0
Overseer's salary at two pesos a month	4/2/1 ³ / ₅
Steward's salary at 12 reales a month	3/1/7 ² / ₅
Cook's salary at 20 reales a month	5/2/8
Wages of four servants at eight reales a month each	8/4/3 ¹ / ₅
Salary of the <i>caporal</i> (person in charge of the livestock) at two pesos a month	4/2/1 ³ / ₅
Wages of his five assistants at ten reales each a month	13/2/8
Gardener's salary	2/1/0 ⁴ / ₅
Repairs of the irrigation ditches	0/7/0
Repair of the barn loft	1/2/0
Workers' wages and cost of material to repair the granary	7/6/6
Repair of five carts	1/6/0
Total	<u>93/3/0³/₅</u>

RATIONS

28 cavans of rice for the daily sustenance of the household for 75 days.

16 cavans and 5 gantas of rice for the rations to the caporal (9 gantas), gardener and five barn hands (6 gantas each) every Saturday for nine consecutive weeks.

18 cavans of palay for alms to the poor.

A total of 72 chupas of salt for the rations of two chupas to the caporal and one chupa to the gardener and to each of the barn hands every Saturday for nine weeks.

72 leaves of tobacco for the rations of the men mentioned above.

Since Tunasan was one of the most productive haciendas, its administrator decided to become his own boss and leased it at 2,300 pesos a year.¹³

2. Hacienda Payatás had an insufficient number of tools, few beasts of burden, no tenants and warehouses. It was leased to Miguel Santiago de Guevara at 650 pesos a year.

3. Hacienda Makati had an area of at least four square miles located in a fertile plain. It had 92 head of cattle, 14 horses, 63 carabaos and a tile and pottery factory. The granary contained 385 cavans of palay and another 119 cavans set aside for sowing. Its administrator, Vicente Gerónimo Cabrera, received eight percent of its annual income as salary.¹⁴

13. "Testimonio de diligencias practicadas por José García de Arias como administrador (13 de junio — 17 de agosto) . . . y arrendador de la Hacienda de Tunasan, 16 de octubre 1770," AHN, *Jesuitas*, leg. 239.

14. "Testimonio de las diligencias que hizo Don Vicente G. Cabrera, administrador de la Hacienda Makati, 12 de octubre 1769," *ibid.* While in Spain in 1769, Governor-elect Anda made a statement (probably exaggerated) that the tile factory of this hacienda netted an income of ₱30,000

4. Hacienda Calamba was administered by Luís Sandóval. It had 165 horses, 138 carabaos, 75 head of cattle and complete agricultural equipment. The warehouse contained some lumber, 331 cavans of mongo beans, 500 piculs of wheat, 1,112 cavans of palay and 21 bales of tobacco. A separate document written by a Jesuit brother, the former administrator of this estate, gave the following additional information: The sugar cane plantation of this hacienda produced 300 *pilones* of sugar a year. Its *tubigan* (irrigated rice paddies) of about 300 *quiñones* in area yielded an average of 435 pesos a year. In the wheat and rice producing highlands, there were five hamlets of tenants who each paid three pesos and four reales a year. Total rent paid in 1769 amounted to 672 pesos. There were also eighty houses in the adjacent areas of Christobal, Danlic, Bocal and Socol, each house paying a rent of one peso and four reales a year. The hacienda also owned a piece of land in the town which yielded an average income of 100 pesos.¹⁵

5. Mayhaligue was entrusted to Mariano García de Soares who administered it at the salary of ten percent of the estate income. This hacienda owned some non-contiguous farmlands and hamlet sites, namely, La Piedad, Maysilo, Meycawayan, Japonés and Bocaue.¹⁶

6. The scattered small landholdings called Valencia or Balete el Chico, Santibañez or Penafrancia, Singalong, Paco, Santa Monica and Pandacan. They were leased to Christobal Núñez de Velasco for 250 pesos a year.¹⁷

7-9. Lian, Calatagan, and Nasugbu under Juan Domingo de Vizcarra, sole provisional administrator, had few data available. It is known, however, that Lian had 101 carabaos and 10 horses. Calatagan was a ranch (*estancia de ganado mayor*) with numerous head of cattle, horses and carabaos. Nasugbu, the biggest of the three estates, had 1,400 cavans in the warehouse and employed eight cowhands to look after its sizeable herd of cattle.¹⁸

a year. (*Una Memoria de Anda y Salazar*, ed. T. H. Pardo de Tavera [Manila: Imprenta La Democracia, 1899], p. 19).

15. "Testimonio de las diligencias sobre el despacho de la Hacienda de Calamba a su administrador, Luís Lozano Sandóval, 17 de julio — 23 de diciembre 1769," AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 239; "Hermano Antonio Ortiz Narváez a los oficiales de la Hacienda Real, 22 de mayo 1769," *ibid.* A *pilón* is a loaf of sugar weighing 150 pounds. A *quiñón* is a land measure equal to 2.79 hectares or 6.94 acres.

16. "Testimonio de las diligencias sobre el despacho de la Hacienda Mayhaligue por su administrador, Mariano García de Soares, 28 de noviembre — 23 de diciembre 1769," AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 239.

17. "Testimonio del remate de las tierras de Valencia, Santibañez, Pandacan, . . . en arrendamiento a Christobal Núñez de Velasco, 17 de julio 1770," *ibid.*

18. "Testimonio de las diligencias sobre el despacho de las Haciendas de Lian, Calatagan y Nasugbu en su administrador, Juan Domingo de Vizcarra, [1770?]," *ibid.* An *estancia de ganado mayor* was a land measure equal to 1,742 hectares.

10. Hacienda Mariquina had 64 horses, 66 carabaos, new warehouses, a big tobacco farm and 14 full-time employees receiving a total wage of 14 pesos and 2 reales a month. The granaries had 1,176 cavans of palay and hundreds of bales of tobacco. This estate was leased to Miguel Mijares at 2,250 pesos a year.¹⁹

Despite this imposing array of real estate, the Commission on the Jesuit Temporalities was usually in financial trouble. The haciendas under government management barely yielded a profit and at times ended the year with a deficit. In fact, due to poor means of transportation, absence of ready markets, lack of tools, and an acute shortage of tenants to clear the woods and put the land at its full productive potential, the haciendas in the Philippines did not become profitable to their owners until the end of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, unlike their counterparts in Spanish America, the Philippine estancias had generally few cattle and no sheep, thus eliminating the potential of a lucrative market for meat, leather and wool, let alone the eventual establishment of meat-salting plants, *obrajes* for leather goods and textile factories, which had enriched many hacendados and entrepreneurs in the New World. The meat of the Philippine carabao is tough and consequently had limited consumer appeal. Since this animal is good for ploughing and pulling carts, it could be rented at an exorbitant amount of three pesos to naive peasants, but for only four reales to loggers. Despite the large number of carabaos on the haciendas, the income derived from their rental was small since only tame adults could be used, and these comprised one-fourth at the most of the entire herd. With regard to the horses, the best customer was the company of dragoons stationed in Manila, but its needs were small and it usually paid late and cheap — less than one peso per horse. There were of course the thousands of cavans of palay in the granaries which produced the bulk of the estates' income, but there were also pilferage, low seasonal cost, destruction by insects and rodents, and the inevitable waste due to rain, typhoons and inefficient handling. The price of one cavan

19. "Testimonio de las diligencias practicadas por Miguel Mijares como administrador . . . y arrendatario de la Hacienda de Mariquina, [1770?]," *ibid.*

ranged from 3½ reales at harvest time to 6½ reales during the rainy season. After a poor harvest, proceeds from the sale were not even enough to pay the transportation cost, the upkeep of the haciendas, and the salaries of the administrators and of other employees.²⁰

The Commission certainly had other sources of income, but these too presented problems that were hard to solve. The long inventories of furniture and other articles found in the Jesuit colleges in Manila implied potential cash if only they could be disposed of profitably. Judging from the estimate made in one college, it would be quite reasonable to assume that the combined valuables in the three institutions could easily reach, if not exceed, 100,000 pesos in value. Assessment, however, is one thing and actual sale is another. In a publicized auction held at San José College, several pieces of furniture and a hundred bundles of blankets and imported paper were sold for a total of 169 pesos, 1 real and 6 granos. The result of the sales at San Ignacio and San Ildefonso must have been extremely disappointing. Basaraz in early 1770 and Governor Anda on 30 August 1776 indicated that very few items were sold and that the rest were rotting in the warehouses. As regards debts owed to the Jesuits, many records were lost and consequently few debtors identified themselves to the authorities despite warnings of grave penalties. Among those known were Tomás de Anda, son of the governor-general, who had borrowed 400 pesos from the provincial superior in 1767, and Francisco Suárez who owed 78 pesos and 4 reales to the hacienda of Calamba. To make matters worse, many tenants of the haciendas refused to pay their rent after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Obras Pías previously under the care of the Jesuits had indeed enough funds to bail out the Commission from its financial difficulties. However, part of the money was invested in maritime trade and the rest was being used by the chronically insolvent government, which habitually depended on these charitable foundations for monetary assistance. Furthermore, data of the pious funds and

20. "Cuentas . . . de las haciendas del Colegio de San José, 1776," Pastells, CE, 20: 213, 214.

of other endowments were not yet fully known due to the loss of many important records. Oral inquiry from knowledgeable persons was being conducted, but it was time-consuming and obviously a poor substitute.²¹

Actually, the plight of the Commission was largely due to the unusual heavy expenditure incurred during the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1769 and early 1770. Much money was spent in fetching them from widely scattered islands and maintaining them in the capital in preparation for their deportation. On one occasion, the government was forced to buy a boat for 2,091 pesos in order to bring some of them to Manila and convey their replacements to the Visayas. The most expensive operation was the transportation of the 113 Jesuits aboard three ships dispatched by Raón to Spain. It cost 55,800 pesos besides the medical supplies worth 582 pesos and 6 reales provided for them. Their rations consisted of 428 piculs of wheat, 50 large pigs, 24,000 eggs and 3,000 chickens. Eleven Chinese servants, among whom were two cooks and one barber, attended to their needs. Upon reaching Acapulco, these had to return to Manila at the additional expense of the Commission on the Jesuit Temporalities. Not included in this expenditure was the refitting of the *Santa Rosa*, one of the three ships. Moreover, Viceroy Bucareli of Mexico later deducted 9,555 pesos from the Philippine *situado*²² for the wages and maintenance of the forty-nine crew members who went all the way to Cádiz. In turn, Anda spent 3,267 pesos for the fare and food of the eight Jesuits he dispatched to Spain aboard the ship *Astrea* in 1771. Consequently, when his nephew took over as Judge Commissioner in early

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 216–217; “Real Contaduría de Hacienda al Oidor Juan Francisco de Anda, 8 de agosto 1772,” *Pastells*, APT, 106: 104–104^v; “Valentín Figueroa al Gobernador Anda, 27 de agosto 1773 y 30 de agosto 1776,” *ibid.*, p. 111^v; 107: 183; “Basaraz al Rey, 24 de julio 1770,” NLAC, Box 1415.

22. The *situado* was the annual subsidy sent by New Spain to the Philippine colonial government to help it meet its fiscal needs. Actually, the viceroy merely returned the custom duties collected from the Manila galleons docked in Acapulco. See Leslie España Bauzon’s Ph.D. dissertation, “Deficit Government: Mexico and the Philippine Situado, 1606–1804” (Duke University, 1970).

1772, the coffer of the Jesuit Temporalities was bankrupt.²³

As late as January 1773, Commissioner Anda wrote to the Council Extraordinary complaining that the proceeds from the property of the disbanded order could hardly meet the expenses for the care of the sick Jesuits left behind, the upkeep of the churches and college buildings, and the salary of the employees. The haciendas had so far yielded nothing except troubles and expenses, but he was trying his best to lease them to private entrepreneurs. His efforts were finally rewarded when in that same year he was able to lease them all by public auction. The Hacienda Makati went to Francisco Javier Noroña for ₱1,200 a year; Calamba to Francisco Xavier Ramírez for ₱1,400 a year; Mayhaligue and the farm lands of Maysilo, Piedad, Meycawayan, Japonés and Bocaue to Juan Ramírez de Arellano for ₱2,400; Nagtajan to Félix Sousa for ₱375 a year; and finally the haciendas Lian, Calatagan, and Nasugbu to Fernando Araya for ₱1,900 a year.²⁴

Each lease contained the following clauses: 1) the lessee should make a complete inventory of all the valuables in the hacienda; 2) the maintenance of the estate was the responsibility of the lessee; 3) maintenance was understood to include the repair and cleaning of the granaries, warehouses, barns, corrals, fences and the irrigation dykes; 4) it was the lessor's duty to repair or rebuild the house, granaries, etc., if they were destroyed by earthquakes, flood, fire, or other natural disasters; 5) all contracts should be revoked in time of war and the estate must be returned in the same condition it was received; 6) the lessee should return the same number of animals he received except in time of epidemic; 7) if the crown needed animals, tobacco, palay, and other produce, the lessee was to be paid the current

23. Anda to the King, 10 June 1773, AHN, *Jesuitas*, leg. 238^{bis}; Anda to Aranda, 1 January 1771, *ibid.*, legs. 240–241; Aranda to Anda, 23 January, 11 August 1771 and 24 November 1772, *Pastells*, APT, 106: 98^v, 99–102, 109^v. See also Nicholas P. Cushner, *Philippine Jesuits in Exile. The Journals of Francisco Puig, S.J., 1768–1770*, (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1964), p. 4.

24. De la Costa, p. 594.

price; 8) the lease should be considered temporary and could be terminated at the king's pleasure.²⁵

The leases were purposely made temporary because it was the royal policy to dispose of these landholdings as quickly as possible. The crown did away with the sales tax and offered favorable terms to attract customers. In his letters dated 21 November 1771 and 6 October 1772, the president of the Council Extraordinary explained to Anda that in no way should lack of cash deter potential buyers, because they would be allowed eight months to pay the entire amount. If these terms were not sufficient, an additional grace period might be given with the consent of the *Junta Superior*. If despite all these inducements no buyers were interested, at least all the haciendas should be leased. This, the Count of Aranda pointed out, not only freed the government from the burden of administering them, but it was also for the good of the colony that lay people were in control of them. But money in the Philippines, especially in the 1770's, was hard to come by. In fact, it required great efforts and ingenuity on the part of Commissioner Anda merely to lease the haciendas. The first sale was not realized until 1796.²⁶

25. "Testimonio del remate de las tierras . . . y condiciones que deben guardar los arrendatarios, 7 de julio 1770," AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 239.

26. Aranda to Anda, 21 November 1771 and 6 October 1772, Pastells, APT, 106: 98^v, 108-108^v. Information on the sale of the Jesuit haciendas is fragmentary. The first hacienda sold was Nagtajan to Petrona Tuazon in 1796 for ₱7,000 (AHN, leg. 238^{bis}). Calamba (16,414 hectares in 1903) was first sold to Jose Azanza in 1803 for ₱44,507 (NLAC, Shelf 1448); then resold by Azanza to the Dominican friars in 1831 for ₱52,000. Naic (9,722 hectares in 1903) was also sold to the Dominicans for ₱25,000. (See *The Friar Land Inquiry: Reports by W. Cameron Forbes, D. C. Worcester, F. Carpenter* [Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910], pp. 94, 177. See also Nicholas Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* [Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1971], pp. 213, 256 note). Calatagan was bought by the Roxas Brothers (amount not mentioned) in the 1800's (Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico y histórico de las Islas Filipinas* 2 vols.; Madrid; De la Peña, 1850], I, 189). The haciendas of Makati and Piedad, and the farmlands of Balete and Peñafrancia were sold to the Marquis of Villamediana for an undisclosed amount in the late 1790's (NLAC, Shelf 1448; and Joaquín Martínez de Zuñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800*. tr. V. del Carmen [Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973], pp. 46, 175-176). Nasugbu was sold to a mestizo (name un-

Some persons other than buyers showed interest in the haciendas. Manuel Jauregui wanted the Hospital of San Juan de Dios to have the haciendas of Calamba and Nagtajan. These were previously his lands, but due to poor management and subsequent financial losses, he had given them to the Jesuits on 29 January 1759 in exchange for a room to live in and a lifetime pension of 25 pesos a month. He was left destitute at the expulsion of the Jesuits and the good Order of the Hospitallers provided him food and shelter. Aware of the meager resources of his host, the grateful man gave the power of attorney to the Father Procurator on 31 December 1771, so that he could notify the Superior General in Madrid to begin the legal proceedings for the transfer of ownership of the real estate. Although the case seemed headed for easy approval, actually it was a futile attempt from the beginning. The crown was strongly opposed to further acquisition of landholdings by religious corporations. Since they owned most of the estates in the Philippines, it was the royal policy to promote secular ownership of lands. Consequently, the hospital never got the mentioned haciendas. Instead, it acquired the pharmacy of Brother Kamel, a noted botanist of San Ignacio College.²⁷

Asking for an hacienda sometimes implied great risk to the petitioner, as in the case of a Dominican tertiary, Hermana Paula. A woman of great initiative and deep compassion for suffering humanity, she founded in 1750 a house for unfortunate native girls which she supported by begging. Soon her zeal produced amazing results. With alms coming from Manila and New Spain,

disclosed); Mayhaligue was apparently given to San Lázaro Hospital; and Liang remained in the possession of the College of San José (*ibid.*, pp. 100, 253). A rich Chinese mestizo by the name of Tuazon purchased Mariquina and Maysilo for an unspecified amount in the late 1790's (*ibid.*, pp. 171 note, 256-260). Payatás was sold to Prospero Vidies in 1802 for ₱15,000 (NLAC, Shelf 1448; Buzeta y Bravo, I, 189).

27. Paul S. Lietz, *Calendar of Philippine Documents in the Ayer Collection of Newberry Library* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1956), pp. 107-108, 111-112. Georg Josef Kamel was a noted Jesuit botanist. The great Linnaeus named an oriental flower (*thea japonica*) "camellia" in his honor. For details, see Leo Cullum, "Georg Josef Kamel: Philippine Botanist, Physician, Pharmacist," *Philippine Studies* 4 (July 1956), 319-339.

she was able to provide 180 girls with adequate housing, food, and sound instruction in Spanish, catechism, and the arts of home-making. In recognition of her exemplary life, pedagogical ability and the flourishing condition of the house, which she named Santa Rosa, the king conferred on it his royal protection in 1769.

In order to provide security to the *beaterio*,²⁸ Hermana Paula wrote to the king on 20 December 1769, asking for the hacienda of Mayhaligue. In a confidential letter dated 2 July 1773, Charles III explained to Anda why the request could not be granted. In the first place, Santa Rosa could cause trouble to the royal courts. Presently, it enjoyed the privilege of an oratory with the girls hearing mass in the same building. Pedro Enríquez Calderón, the fiscal of the Council of the Indies, feared that Sister Paula would apply later for a public church²⁹ complete with bells and eventually found a religious congregation with monastic vows. The *beaterio* of Santa Catalina had started exactly like that with the sole difference that while the former was for Spanish girls, Santa Rosa was intended for *Indias*. Furthermore, the king continued, there were more than enough houses for girls in Manila. He enumerated five, one of which was also for native girls, although it was located outside the city walls. Lastly, the king pointed out, Sister Paula's *beaterio*, being supported by alms, could only subsist as long as she remained alive and strong. In due time, Santa Rosa would face certain collapse, since it would be difficult to replace her. The Franciscan convent and that of the Poor Clares opposed this *beaterio* because it deprived them of some of the alms they depended on. It could also cause grave harm to the Hospital de San Juan de Dios, because this too relied on donations to supplement its

28. A *beaterio* is a house for women who wish to lead a secluded life of prayer and spiritual exercises. The inmates were not necessarily paupers or nuns, although many *beaterios* eventually became nunneries.

29. A public church means a place of worship where Catholics normally fulfill their religious obligations. At that period, they could not, for instance, ordinarily hear Sunday Mass in chapels of schools, hospitals, and other institutions. These places had only the limited privilege of an oratory and were intended only for students, boarders, or inmates.

limited funds. The hospital had only one hacienda with a monthly income of ₱500 and an *encomienda* of little value, while it cared for no less than 100 patients every day. The convents of the Augustinians, Recollects, and Dominicans, as well as the previously mentioned houses for girls likewise depended on alms. Manila, being a small place, could not afford the proliferation of such congregations. With the decadence of the Obras Pias, all the haciendas there would not even assure the survival of those presently existing. The Council of the Indies therefore recommended that for the meantime no further girls should be admitted into the beaterio of Santa Rosa.

The king ended his letter ordering Anda to inform him as soon as possible if it would be convenient to abolish Sister Paula's house and give all its assets to Santa Isabel, a school for Spanish girls. Although Anda's reply was lost, his feelings were known. On 22 October 1779, the king wrote to the new governor-general: "It has been decided that no change should be made during the lifetime of Hermana Paula."³⁰

The Archbishop of Manila attempted twice to get a big share of the Jesuit temporalities but each time was rebuffed by the crown. With general royal approval to obtain decent housing for his seminarians, the prelate saw a unique opportunity in the arrest of the Jesuits on May 24, 1768. At his order, the rector of the seminary, Fr. Martín de San Antonio Abad, took over the building of San José College immediately after the Fathers there had been herded to their place of confinement at San Ignacio College. The forty-one students of San José, then away for the summer vacation, were later told to continue their studies at Santo Tomás University or in other schools of their choice. Upon hearing of what had taken place, the king sent identical letters, all dated 21 March 1771, to the governor-general, to the audiencia, and to the archbishop himself. In an indignant tone, he reminded them that the college was established and endowed by its founders for the exclusive purpose of educating the sons of the Spanish inhabitants of Manila and that his father had

30. The King to Anda, Madrid, 2 July 1773, Pastells, CE, 20: 269^v—271^v, 287.

taken it under his protection in 1722. The king reprimanded the archbishop for having transferred his *Indio* and Chinese mestizo seminarians there without asking his permission. Furthermore, the four Piarist priests, among whom was the seminary rector, were licensed to go to the Philippines only in the capacity of household members of the archbishop and were not supposed to be assigned to positions of authority. Ex-governor Raón had acted very badly in permitting this whole affair to happen. The king ordered that the college be returned to its status quo and a secular priest, preferably an alumnus of the college, be appointed rector.³¹

The royal decree was not immediately implemented because it required a complete accounting of the college's total assets. Moreover, Governor Anda became ill, and difficulty arose over the question as to where to house the evicted seminarians. They were finally quartered in the upper floor of San Ignacio College on July 1, 1776. Then the archbishop asked for the hacienda of Mariquina so that he could use its income to provide for the needs of poor seminarians, but his request was again turned down. However, he obtained the use of the church of the college, though he had to share the ornaments and altar paraphernalia with poor neighboring parishes. He also received the college printing press with the condition that it should not be operated on ecclesiastical property and that all the workers should be laymen.³²

The condition of the Commission on the Jesuit Temporalities

31. Archbishop Sancho to the King, 12 March 1769, *ibid.*, 8: 307; the King to the Archbishop, 8 July 1770; Aranda to Archbishop Sancho, 2 August 1770, *ibid.*, 14: 259^v–260, 264–265; “Cédulas Reales”, 21 March 1771, *ibid.*, 20: 191–199. The reason for the royal action was that the College of San José was not the property of the Jesuits, but was, like an *obra pia*, administered by the Jesuits for the purpose specified by its founder. Hence it was to continue as before, but administered by the secular clergy. The same applied to the haciendas which belonged to San José, like Liang and Tunasan.

32. Aranda to Anda, 23 January 1771, Pastells, APT, 106: 102^v; Archbishop Sancho to the King, 20 June 1777, Pastells, CE, 20: 170; Real Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila, January 11 through June 14, 1774, *ibid.*, 199–203.

improved considerably from 1773 onward. As previously stated, in that year all the haciendas were leased, thus relieving the Commission of the burden of administering them, while at the same time assuring it of an income of ₱12,325 a year. Through inquiry and reconstruction of mutilated documents as well as probable recovery of some lost ones, Oidor Anda gradually acquired a clear idea of lesser known assets previously owned by the expelled order. In 1774, for instance, eighteen houses and three units of market stores in the Parian (the Chinese district) were located and assessed at the total value of 46,175 pesos and 3 granos. The Commissioner was so good in ferreting out debtors that by December 1775, he was able to compile a list of collectible loans totaling 88,090 pesos, 1 real and 4 granos, of which 66,635/0/4 was owed to the Obras Pias and 21,455/1/0 owed to other Jesuit properties. The investigation of the capellanías was completed the following year. The annual income was 2,487 pesos, 6 tomines and 1¾ granos, slightly more than half of which was part of the endowment of San José College. Thus, after four years of financial trouble, the Commission on the Jesuit Temporalities finally became solvent with a good amount of cash in the coffer.³³

However, all did not bode well for Governor Anda. In the first place, the reports of the progress made by the Commission arrived too late in Madrid to pacify the Council Extraordinary's mounting displeasure over the handling of the Jesuit affairs in the Philippines. Secondly, after a delay of six years, the royal decrees enjoining the establishment of the Junta Superior and Junta Municipal were not yet implemented. Thirdly, in a letter dated 20 January 1770, Antonio Andrada, the fiscal of the audiencia in Manila, wrote to the royal court complaining that he was completely ignored by the administration in all transactions involving the Jesuit temporalities. Although the fiscal's

33. *Ibid.*, 203-207; AHN, *Jesuitas*, leg. 245^{bis}. See details of these capellanías and Jesuit-owned houses and stores in Salvador P. Escoto, "The Administration of Simón de Anda y Salazar, Governor-General of the Philippines, 1770-1776" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1972), pp. 216-220.

complaint was then directed against Raón, the Count of Floridablanca thought it fitting to instruct the new governor-general on 23 January 1771 to rectify the situation. Despite this communication, Anda, like Raón, paid no attention to the fiscal, who promptly reported again Anda's misdeed on 13 January 1772. To aggravate the matter further, the Count of Campomanes viewed with deep dissatisfaction Anda's appointment as Commissioner of his nephew, who ran the office with independence, answerable only to his uncle. He considered it not only a glaring example of nepotism, but also the cause of many delays in the execution of the work of the Commission. The work was simply too much for one person to handle. Finally, the treasury of the Jesuit temporalities in Spain found it increasingly difficult to provide for the maintenance of the exiled Jesuits concentrated in Italy, because some colonies, among them the Philippines, had not contributed toward their support. So behind were their payments that by 1776 they owed the Jesuit Temporalities in Spain 4,851,000 reales de vellon. The Count of Aranda, who seemed to be quite lenient with the Philippine governor-general, could have mollified the Council Extraordinary's irritation toward Anda. But the Count was gradually slipping from the grace of the king. In fact, the Council Extraordinary was not only staffed with new members in late August 1773, but Aranda himself was replaced by Manuel Ventura Figueroa as its new head. Consequently, it was not long before the Council was ready to adopt stringent measures of reform.³⁴

In anticipation of the Council Extraordinary's hostile attitude, Anda wrote three letters to Ventura Figueroa on 28 June, 6 July, and 8 August 1775. In an apologetic tone, the governor recounted the events which had occurred since his arrival in the Islands and the difficulties he had experienced. After describing the deplorable state of the Commission under Basaraz and the necessity of hiring a staff to sort the chaotic pile of Jesuit papers, he mentioned that he had presided over the long trials of his

34. Tomás de Melo to Anda, 19 August 1770, AHN, leg. 238^{bis}; Parecer Fiscal, *ibid.*, leg. 239; Lietz, pp. 108-109; Mateos, p. xxix.

predecessor Raón and his associates which ended in December 1773. The tremendous amount of work involved, as indicated by the huge bundles of judicial papers shipped to Spain, not only prevented him from paying more attention to the Jesuit temporalities, but also had been the cause of the long illness he suffered beginning 1774. So grave had his condition become that some people gave him only two days to live. Although his health had recently improved, he was not allowed to attend to strenuous government work. In fact, he could hardly put on his shoes without feeling intense pain. Before his ailment, however, he was responsible for the repair of college buildings and improvements made in the haciendas. The funds of the Obras Pias, lying unproductive during the time of Raón, had been profitably invested in maritime trade. Despite his convalescent state, Anda continued, he was able to set up the Junta Superior and the Junta Municipal. He named the members of the former and mentioned José Farando and an alcalde-mayor in Cebu as respective heads of the latter. The governor-general ended his letter by requesting Ventura Figueroa to inform the Council Extraordinary that the delayed compliance with the royal decrees was not due to negligence on his part.³⁵

Hardly had Anda sent his last letter when to his dismay he received a communication from the Council Extraordinary dated 23 December 1774. It ordered among other things the abolition of the Commission entrusted to his nephew and the creation of a board in the audiencia which would exercise full authority in the management of the Jesuit temporalities. Known as the *Real Acuerdo*, this body should have the oidores and the fiscal as members and the governor-general as ex-officio president. It should meet three times a week and appoint a custodian for each college. The head of the defunct Commission should hand over all the papers and give a complete account of his office to the Real Acuerdo. The general supervision of the Jesuit colleges, rectories and missions should be divided equally among the oidores with the senior member specifically in charge of the

35. Anda to Ventura Figueroa, 28 June, 6 July, and 8 August 1775, AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 238^{bis}.

colleges in Manila and Cavite. Money received from the rent or lease of properties as well as from payments of debts should be remitted to Spain after operational and other expenses had been deducted. As befitting an important member of the Real Acuerdo, the fiscal's opinions should be sought in all transactions and all documents should be made available to him.³⁶

Anda was obviously irked after he read the message, but under the circumstances he could do nothing but obey. Accordingly, he notified all the persons concerned, including acting Fiscal José Ricardo de Villaseñor, who had succeeded the deceased Antonio Andrada in early 1775. The Real Acuerdo was established on 6 September 1775, and the college custodians were appointed with the salary of ₱1,000 a year each. In compliance with the decree, Commissioner Anda turned over to the Real Acuerdo all the documents of his office on 30 October. Then on 23 December, he submitted the financial statements of the Jesuit temporalities, which he divided into two categories: 1) *caja de la provincia*, which comprised the revenues from the haciendas and other properties; and 2) *caja de las Obras Pias*, which concerned the money of the Pious Funds. The former, according to Oidor Anda, had only 174 pesos, 7 reales and 9½ granos when he assumed office on 21 January 1772, so that he was forced to borrow ₱3,000 in order to meet the expenses of the Jesuit temporalities. The Obras Pias had 133,664/5/4, of which ₱56,000 were invested in maritime trade and the remaining 77,664/5/4 was being used by the government. The statement of accounts from January 1772 through September 1775 was as follows:

CAJA DE LA PROVINCIA

66,756/3/3¾	operational expenses and payment of debts
45,016/0/0	loaned to the government
7,517/0/2¼	cash in the treasury
8,341/5/4	lease of haciendas
<hr/>	
127,631/0/10¾	total gross income
-66,756/3/3¾	operational expenses and payment of debts
<hr/>	
60,874/5/6¼	net income

36. Royal order to the President and to the Audiencia of Manila, 28 December 1774, Pastells, APT, 106: 229-231.

CREDITS (CREDITOS ACTIVOS) OF THE (JESUIT) PROVINCE

21,455/1/0	Loans
51/4/0	Medicine from the pharmacy
347/2/8	Students' board and lodging
14,397/6/7 $\frac{1}{3}$	House rents
9,587/4/4	Annuities (<i>censo</i>)
497/4/6	Rent of small farmlands
<hr/>	
46,336/7/1 $\frac{1}{3}$	
- 4,045/1/10	Liabilities (<i>créditos pasivos</i>)
<hr/>	
42,291/5/3 $\frac{1}{3}$	Total collectible amount

CAJA DE OBRAS PIAS

85,399/0/7	Loans to the government
68,000/0/0	Invested in maritime trade
34,348/6/9	Retained in Acapulco, years 1768-1770
26,000/0/0	Estimated profits from investments at 25 per cent interest
5,333/3/8 $\frac{2}{5}$	Cash in the treasury
<hr/>	
219,081/3/0 $\frac{2}{5}$	Total

CREDITS OF THE OBRAS PIAS

66,635/0/4	Various loans
11,181/3/0	Loans contested in court
<hr/>	
77,816/3/4	Total

In short, from 1772 through 1775, the Jesuit Province had current assets of 103,166/2/10 $\frac{2}{15}$ and the Obras Pias had the amount of 296,897/6/4 $\frac{2}{5}$, for a total of 400,064 pesos, 1 real, 2 $\frac{8}{15}$ granos.³⁷

The governor-general was still in a bad mood when the Real Acuerdo sent its first report to Spain on December 31, 1775. On that same day, he wrote to Ventura Figueroa: "I understand that the Council Extraordinary took particular notice . . . of my having appointed Oidor Juan Francisco Anda to the Commission of the Jesuit Temporalities." To begin with, Anda argued, when Raón appointed Galbán and subsequently Basaraz as Judge Commissioner, the Council Extraordinary approved the

37. Demostraciones con que el Oidor Juan de Anda en cumplimiento de la Real Provisión de 23 de diciembre 1774 . . . presentó al Real Acuerdo las cuentas generales de los caudales de la Temporalidad, 30 de octubre 1775, AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 238^{bis}.

performance of the former and gave guidelines to follow to the latter. With this precedent, why was it wrong when he made a similar appointment? With regard to his nephew, he had chosen him because the other two oidores in the audiencia were already assigned to other commissions of the government. Furthermore, his nephew was a capable and honorable man, highly dedicated to his work. Due to his diligence more than ₪200,000 had been introduced into the treasury. The Commission was now run in an orderly fashion, in sharp contrast to the confusion that had existed during the first four years of its existence. Concerning the deceased fiscal's complaints, Anda continued, no previous royal *cédulas* ever mentioned that his participation was necessary. During the entire period of Oidor Anda's commission, Andrada had not made a single request to see any papers on the temporalities. On the other hand, no *expedientes* (records) were forwarded to him for fear that he would keep them too long, as he used to do with other expedientes on different matters, thus causing considerable delays in the flow of government operation. The governor-general then explained how his recent illness was mainly responsible for his apparent neglect. He ended his long letter stating that the creation of the Real Acuerdo indirectly detracted from his and his nephew's honor and zeal for the royal service.³⁸

Probably without the governor-general being aware of it, Villaseñor wrote also to the Council Extraordinary about the same time. He criticized the way the ex-Commissioner had prepared the financial reports which gave the Real Acuerdo only a superficial idea of the "perplexing and complicated condition of the temporalities," especially concerning specific assets. Because of this, it would be very difficult to make a detailed statement of accounts in the years to come. He considered the college custodian's annual salary of ₪1,000 as too much and he proposed that 300 pesos would be about right. As acting fiscal, he received only one-fourth of the regular ₪827 salary of his predecessor, and the amount was not enough to live on. Con-

38. Anda to Valentín Figueroa, 31 December 1775, *ibid.*

sequently, he was requesting an additional amount which the Council Extraordinary would consider fair in compensation for his work in the Real Acuerdo.³⁹

The Philippine mail reached Madrid early in September 1776. As usual, the Count of Campomanes strongly influenced the response of the Council Extraordinary. He regarded Anda's complaints as unjustifiable. The Real Acuerdo in no way detracted from the honor nor belittled the services of the governor-general and his nephew, since the former was ex-officio president and the latter was a member of the Real Acuerdo itself. Its establishment was merely a change of method and technique in the management of the Jesuit temporalities, which badly needed drastic reorganization in its operation. He agreed to the proposed salary reduction of the college custodians and recommended an additional salary of 300 pesos for the acting fiscal. Finally, the Count of Campomanes regarded Oidor Anda's financial statements as too general and wanted them rewritten and itemized. They should include not only the names, capital, loans, and profits of each of the Obras Pias, but also mention the founders, dates of foundation, obligations imposed by the founders, and whether their wishes had been carried out. In regard to other possessions such as haciendas and houses, the reports should show separate entries for each one, with specific information on the amount and name of the produce, dates when the sales were made and at what price, the location and description of each property, with the rents, names of renters and other details.⁴⁰ On 26 September 1776, the Council Extraordinary endorsed everything proposed by Campomanes and sent the directive to the Real Acuerdo.⁴¹ But the ailing governor-general was already dead when it arrived.

Thus ended the first phase of the operation of the Jesuit temporalities. Despite indications to the contrary, Oidor Anda's

39. Villaseñor to the Council Extraordinary, [December 1775?], *ibid.*

40. Parecer Fiscal, 7 September 1776, *ibid.*; Ventura Figueroa to Anda, 21 September 1776, *Pastells*, APT, 106: 115^v-117^v.

41. "Providencias presentadas por el Consejo Extraordinario al Rey para mejorar el manejo de los negocios de la temporalidad en Filipinas," 21 de octubre 1776, *AHN*, *Jesuitas*, leg. 238^b¹⁵.

handling of the Jesuit properties could be rated quite good, as may be seen in the commendatory result of his *residencia* in 1779. In fact, in that same year he was promoted to the Audiencia of Mexico. Bankrupt and chaotic in the early 1770's, the Jesuit temporalities had become solvent and manageable when the Commission was dissolved in 1775. Houses were rented, all the haciendas were leased, data on loans were straightened out and big profits were made from trade investments of the Obras Pias' funds. During his term as Judge Commissioner, there was not a single complaint of mismanagement directed against him in the royal audiencia. With the exception of the acting fiscal's letter, all accusations forwarded to Spain were not against him but primarily against his uncle.⁴²

On the other hand, it was obviously for the good of the Jesuit temporalities that the Real Acuerdo took over the management from him. As Campomanes rightly implied, the work was simply too much for one man to handle and more would be accomplished if it were divided among several responsible persons. For instance, the younger Anda alone could never have completed on time the itemized statement of accounts which the custodian of San José College, Francisco Xavier Balcarce, accomplished on 17 July 1776. This lengthy report indicated a net income of 28,147 pesos, 2 tomines and 2 granos from 1768 to 1775.⁴³ In addition, San José College had fourteen capellanías with an annual yield of 1,323/3/5. The 1772-1775 financial report prepared by ex-Commissioner Anda was too general because he had no time to improve the crude method of bookkeeping which he had inherited from his predecessors. He in turn passed it on to the Real Acuerdo and consequently even up to the close of the eighteenth century, the statement of accounts coming from the Philippines was not as thorough as it ought to be.⁴⁴ The

42. "Residencia del Oidor Juan Francisco de Anda tomada por el Oidor Félix Quejada y Obejero," 9 de octubre 1779, AHN, sección Consejo de Indias, leg. 21690; Ricardo Magdaleno (ed.), *Títulos de Indias* (Valladolid: Librería Casa Martín, 1954), p. 140.

43. For full details, see Escoto, pp. 221-230.

44. Ventura Figueroa to the Real Acuerdo, Madrid, 30 October 1777, 31 January 1783, Pastells, APT, 106: 118-120.

itemized reports demanded by the Count of Campomanes, which required minute details reminiscent of the Domesday book, were apparently never fully drawn up. Furthermore, it took nearly twenty years to obtain complete information concerning the Obras Pias.⁴⁵ Most conspicuous of all, there was no indication as late as 1776 that the Real Acuerdo had retrieved all the records of the Jesuit possessions in other islands. Some estates there could be compared favorably with their richest counterparts in Luzon. For instance, the hacienda Tachona in Guam was said to be at least thirty miles in circumference. The hacienda Talibon in the island of Bohol, the estancia in Zamboanga and the hacienda in Mandawe in Cebú comprised vast tracts of lands and had thousands of horses and cattle.⁴⁶

In conclusion, the administration of Governor Anda dealt with the partial liquidation of the Jesuit temporalities in Manila and in the neighboring provinces. The long delay in its work can be attributed partly to the government's initial ineptitude in the confiscation of the properties in 1768. If Anda's charges against his predecessor were substantially true, the execution of the Pragmatic Sanction in the Philippines was glaringly disorganized and erratic when compared to similar operations carried out in Spain and in various parts of Spanish America. The location of some of the Jesuit possessions on widely scattered islands further complicated the problem. However, it is fair to state that no evidence has been found to support the allegation that the

45. There were forty-five Obras Pias under previous Jesuit management with combined liquid assets of 252,442 pesos, 1 real and 4 granos in 1768. In 1796, this amount had soared to 513,168 pesos, 1 real and 3 granos. Following the recommendation of the general accountant of the Temporalities, the king reduced the number of the Obras Pias from forty-five to twenty-six and limited their combined funds to 151,625 pesos, 1 real and 7 granos. Due to this reduction, the royal coffer received a windfall of more than a third of a million pesos. See details in Escoto, pp. 231-243.

46. Inventories of the last three haciendas in the late 17th century can be found in AHN, Jesuitas, legs. 237, 245 and 891. In the estimate of Montero y Vidal (II, 218-219), the total value of the Jesuit temporalities amounted to two million pesos. For an interesting article written from a Jesuit's point of view, see Ernest J. Burrus, "A Diary of Exiled Philippine Jesuits, 1769-1770," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 20 (1951), 269-299.

Jesuits had immense wealth in the Philippines. Moreover, many tenants refused at the beginning to pay their rents and debtors tried to conceal their identity from the authorities. In fact, a good number of loans were contested in court. Most noteworthy of all, however, was the lamentable deterioration of the haciendas. Under the new management, some of most productive lands were sadly neglected and lying fallow as late as 1800. So slow was the process of liquidating the Jesuit temporalities that it was still plodding on at the turn of the 19th century.⁴⁷

47. Details of Anda's charges against Raón can be found in *Montero y Vidal*, 2: 189–198. For the condition of some of the former Jesuit haciendas by the end of the century, see *Martínez de Zúñiga*, pp. 67–68, 100, 153. An analysis of the economic repercussions of the Jesuits' expulsion from the Philippines has still to be written. A socioeconomic approach to the study of the religious haciendas in the Philippines, with emphasis on the Dominicans' landholdings, can be found in Dennis Morrow Roth's "The Friar Estates of the Philippines" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1974).