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Economic Developments in Antique Province: 1850–1900

Joselito N. Fornier



This article examines the changes in the provincial economy of Antique during the second half of the nineteenth century. The documents do not really indicate how much of the indigenous population remained untouched by the transformation or whether history “stood still” for a significant portion of the provincial inhabitants. Moreover, there are still conspicuous breaks in the documents that provide information on Antique’s economy during different time periods. The province’s peripheral role in the Philippines, poor compilation of data by the Spaniards, and lost records have caused gaps in this study of a provincial economy. Nevertheless, significantly more information is available on Antique Province during the latter portion of the nineteenth century. Thus, this article shows an obvious response from Antique Province to the changes occurring in the rest of the archipelago around the same time.

Antique Province, despite its geographical isolation, did not remain separate from the watershed in the economic development of the late nineteenth century. Earlier economic reforms, the growing stress on the Philippines to pay for itself, the loss of Spain’s Latin American colonies, increased participation of the Philippine provinces in the world and local markets, and the opening of the international port of Iloilo all combined to transform the provincial economy of Antique. With a segment of the provincial economy increasingly becoming formalized or measurable, transactions were easily recorded and quantified. These exchanges were conducted by *indios*, Spaniards, and Chinese.

Agriculture

Palay (*Oryza Sativa*) and *azucar* (sugar, one of the products of sugarcane or *caña dulce*, Latin name: *Saccharum Officinarum*), seem to be

the mainstays in the province's export items. While other crops were planted, the yields were negligible in comparison with palay and sugar. Thus, either because of poor management or soil incompatibility, many crops in the economic development plan of Governors Angel Paredes and Domingo Benito failed to produce significant harvests in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The records rarely show how much palay was planted in relation to sugarcane every year. It is possible, though, to extrapolate some interesting items from the sparse references that come up. The *Memoria de las Islas de Panay* (Report from the Island of Panay)-Antique (henceforth *MIP-A*) for 1870 shows that 21,395 *hectareas* of land were used for palay production with sugarcane a distant second at 8,165. In the same year, 340,009 *cavanes* of palay (valued at 169,661 pesos) were harvested as opposed to 23,385 *picos* of sugar (valued at 62,083 pesos).¹ The following yields were also reported: *abacá* – 170 *picos*; coffee – 13 *picos*; corn – 6,706 *cavans*; tobacco – 297 *fardos*; co-coa – 106 *cavans*.

The 1885 *Guía* reports Antique's production of the following: palay – 264,357 *cavans*; sugar – 69,371 *picos*; corn – 4,881 *cavans*; *abacá* – 153 *picos*; tobacco – 1,859 *fardos*; cotton – 35 *quintales*; coffee – 111 *picos*.

In 1886, 170,000 *cavans* of palay and 53,000 *picos* of sugar (third class type) were produced in the province. 44,500 *cavans* of the harvested palay and 50,000 *picos* of the sugar were mostly exported to Iloilo Province. According to the report of Governor Ladislao de Vera, 21,000 pesos and 112 pesos, respectively, had to be invested per *cavan* measure from the planting to the harvesting of palay and sugar.

Palay was worth one peso per *cavan* in the province and 1.50 peso outside. Likewise, sugar could be sold locally for 2.75 pesos per *pico* but three to four pesos for the same measure in Iloilo. During the year 1891, Antique palay and sugar amounted to 170,000 and 100,000 pesos respectively, in the market.² A comparison of palay and sugar production in Table 1 shows a drop in the staple harvest and an increase in the manufacture of sugar.

Some of these figures, especially the 340,009 *cavans* harvest for palay in 1870, may be questionable because of inaccurate Spanish returns. Part of the drop in palay and even sugar production may be explained away by bad weather and locust pests. Nevertheless, the numbers indicate a downward slide of palay harvests and a steady increase in the production of sugar.

These numbers show a significant improvement over the 108,883 *cavans* of palay harvested in 1808. On the other hand, if the above

Table 1. Comparison of Palay and Sugar Production in Antique Province: 1870, 1885, 1886

Year	Palay Production (In Cavanos)	Sugar Production (In Picos)
1870	340,009	23,385
1885	264,357	69,371
1886	170,000	53,000

data is correct, then the province's palay harvests were coming dangerously close to 1808 levels by 1886. The figures reflect a penchant for sugar production and show (in accordance with an 1861 statement in the *Gaceta de Manila* [henceforth *GM*]) preference for the cultivation of caña dulce because of higher profits. Antique Province, like many other areas of the Philippines, was also inclining towards sugar production and sacrificing the palay staple.

However, subsequent 1896 statistical returns (despite the absence of actual figures showing harvest yields, value, and hectareage of planted fields) imply that palay (as almost always the first agricultural product on the list) was still more important than the cultivation of sugarcane and manufacture of sugar.³ Caña dulce and sugar were always more expensive to produce than palay. The various stages of sugar production were also labor-intensive. Even though sugar was more profitable than palay (despite price fluctuations in the market), the latter—as a source of sustenance—was certainly more advantageous to have on hand. Unlike some other regions of the archipelago which totally shifted the agricultural base to cash crop cultivation (e.g., *abacá* in Kabikolan and sugar in Negros), Antique Province remained a primary palay producer. While the sugar industry seems to have made a significant dent in the palay harvests, palay remained the primary crop of the province. An analysis of reports in the *GM* shows that more work and land were allotted to the staple crop. In the long run, available palay kept hunger away from the door, was used as a medium of exchange, and satisfied obligations.

The *GM* published (on average) monthly provincial reports from 1861 until 1879. Among the items written in the reports were summaries of farming activities and crop conditions in the provinces for

a particular month. Thus, these accounts give an approximation of the agricultural cycle in Antique Province during a twelve-month period.

The planting season in Antique began around April—the transitory month between the Northeast and Southwest Monsoons. During this month, the farmers planted sugarcane and corn (the *GM* does not say when corn was harvested). From April to May, the seedbeds and fields were also prepared for palay. In May, the palay seeds germinated. The palay shoots were then transplanted to rice fields in June. All palay planting ceased by the end of July. Barring the destructive presence of pests (like locusts), diseases, or storms, the farmers would start harvesting the palay in October and finish the job in November. From January to March, the farmers cut and pressed juices out of the sugarcane. By the end of March, the milling of sugar was completed and another planting cycle would begin. However, two important items came up in the provincial reports with regard to the monsoon. First, tobacco production did not find a niche in the provincial economy inasmuch as torrential rains almost always ruined the tobacco seedbeds or the crop itself. Second, the weather had a drastic effect on the rice harvest. When the rains were late, many palay seedbeds did not produce the essential shoots for transplanting, resulting in poor harvests. On the other hand, too much rain flooded the fields inevitably ruining the palay crop.

Livestock

In 1870, the province had 25,883 carabaos, 2,978 horses, 5,168 cattle, and 4,432 pigs. In 1886, Ladislao de Vera reported the following number of animals for Antique: 27,077 carabaos; 2,368 horses; 11,353 cattle; and 14,864 pigs. The numbers dropped off somewhat in 1891 with 19,986 heads of carabao; 11,287 cattle; and 1,341 horses.⁴ In 1896, a statistical survey (summarized in Table 2) gives a detailed breakdown of animals in the province by *pueblo* (lit., town but more accurately defined as a municipality in the Philippine setting).

The drop in the number of carabaos, pigs, and cattle (probably because of disease) is evident in the latter portion of the nineteenth century. There is obviously a relation between the decline in the number of draft animals and the corresponding decrease in palay harvests. Fewer cows meant more fallow lands.

Table 2. Number of Carabaos, Horses, and Pigs in Antique Province: 1896

Pueblo	Carabaos	Horses	Pigs	Cattle
Hamtic	1,216	101	700	954
Anini-y	213	27	97	365
Barbaza	559	140	196	176
Bugason	155	200	460	294
Cagayancillo	17	0	14	69
Carit-an	648	0	186	150
Culasi	1,094	182	300	143
Dao	1,022	97	285	892
Egaña	422	28	364	251
Guisijan	495	36	190	63
Nalupa Nuevo	354	48	104	47
Pandan	1,152	119	123	374
Patnongon	1,565	68	446	726
San Jose	690	121	211	534
San Pedro	888	56	270	259
San Remigio	80	0	0	191
Sebaste	685	89	106	0
Sibalom	2,927	181	1,515	1,277
Tibiao	593	82	253	121
Valderrama	729	37	182	42
TOTAL	15,504	1,612	6,002	6,928

Family History Library (FHL), EA 1897, Dirección General de Administración Civil, Centro de Estadística, Estado demostrativo del número de ganadería existente en este pueblo, Año de 1896, Microfilm #1621347.

Commerce and Trade

The opening of the ports of San Jose de Buenavista (Antique Province) and Iloilo City (Iloilo Province) in the second half of the nineteenth century linked the provincial economy of Antique to the Philippines in a more substantial degree. Moreover, Antique Province joined world trade through the international port of Iloilo, which was a major export hub for sugar. While early nineteenth century sources made references to cargo vessels stopping in Antique, such occurrences were intermittent inasmuch as the province did not yet have a steady supply of products to sell. From all indications, the province was simply utilized as a stopping point for fresh supplies of food and water.

Internal trade in the 1850s still made up a good portion of provincial commerce. Nevertheless, the province was now able to export produce showing a surplus in agricultural harvest beyond minimum subsistence requirements as well as the demands of tribute and internal trade. Moreover, forest and animal products and various other items were being included in shipping cargo going out of the province. These export cargoes point to diversification and intensification in production and collection.

According to the *GM*, ships of various weights and sizes dropped anchor at Antique's port of San Jose in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The *GM* provincial and *Marina* (for the Manila Port) reports include ship class and name, cargo being loaded on and off the port, and the vessel's destination. These vessels consisted of the *fálua* (a sailing vessel weighing approximately ten tons), *bergantín* (a two-masted sailing vessel weighing about ninety tons), *goleta* (a schooner weighing about fifty tons), *panco* (a small sailing vessel of approximately ten tons), *pailebot* (a small schooner without main top-sail), *pontón* (a coasting vessel), *vapor* (a steamer), and the *bergantín-goleta* (*bergantín* and *goleta* hybrid).

Ships sailed to and from the port of San José to different places in the Visayas and Luzon, including Iloilo City and Manila. Unfortunately, the provincial reports were not always regular and also a few months behind the publication date of the *GM*. Sometimes, a vessel did not have any cargo to load from San Jose (or the other smaller, minor ports of Antique) and would leave, just as it came in, "*en lastre*" (with ballast). The *GM*'s shipping data and provincial reports ceased after 1872 and 1879, respectively.

Nevertheless, a regular maritime trade must have continued well into the late years of the Spanish period. Statistical and economic reports, as well as the *protocolos* (notarized documents) clearly illustrate activities dependent on commercial shipping. Palay, arroz (husked palay), sugar, products from the Orient and Europe, were constantly mentioned in the protocolo transactions, thereby signifying the persistence of a maritime trade that included Antique Province.

The reports on port activity in Antique were not regular. On the other hand, they do offer some insights on the number of ships going in and out of the province. Table 3 summarizes the number of vessels that dropped anchor in Antique Province in 1853, 1854, 1861, 1867, 1868, and 1871. This table is based on reports from the second volume of the *Comisión Central de Estadística de Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta del Boletín Oficial, 1855), *GM*, and *Estadísticas (Statistics)-Antique* [henforth *EA*] (1872). The years 1861, 1867, 1868, 1870, and 1871 also include the number of ships that exited from Antique Province. However, the number of ships that entered Antique Province for a given year do not match those that left for several reasons. First, the harbor master may have unintentionally omitted some vessels from the list. Second, there were ships whose home port was in Antique and may have stayed in the province for a while before sailing again. Third, some ships may have exited or entered during the start or end of a year. Lastly, some monthly reports were just too late to be published in the *GM* periodical.

Table 3. Port Activity in Antique Province: 1853, 1854, 1861, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1871

Year	Vessels Entered	Vessels Exited
1853	19	
1854	13	
1861	92	40
1867	88	89
1868	83	100
1870	83	88
1871	639	386

These ships came from many places in the Philippine archipelago and a couple even sailed over from Hongkong and Singapore. A majority of the vessels, however, were from Manila and Iloilo with the latter getting a bulk of the provincial trade. Antique was mostly a part of the Visayan trading network which included Cuyo, Calamianes, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Negros, Romblon, Mindoro, Sorsogon, and Masbate. A few boats came from other island groups in the archipelago such as Batangas and Albay in Luzon, and Zamboanga and Jolo in Mindanao.

The major port of Antique was in the capital of San José de Buenavista. The province did have minor ports in Bugason, Culasi, Dao, Nalupa, Pandan, Patnongon, and San Pedro. However, the principal produce from these pueblo (palay and sugar) usually had to be sent to San Jose if they were to be sold in the Iloilo Market.

Antique Province only imported items from the coastal trade of the early 1850s. Provincial imports were estimated at 16,820 pesos and 64 centimos for 1852; 32,222 pesos and 40 centimos in 1853; and 26,053 pesos and 25 centimos in 1854.⁵ By 1858, Antique was already starting to export sugar and palay out of the province. According to Bowring, the province sent out 789 picos (out of a total production of thirty thousand picos) of sugar and fifteen thousand cavan of palay to Manila. Moreover, Antique also exported numerous quantities of hides, horns, cowry shells, rattan wood, and various plant and forest products. Bowring estimates Antique's exports to Manila at seventy thousand pesos, an amount higher than the official figure of 26,051 pesos. In any case, the profit potential of sugar in the region was not lost on the British, who found the product cheaper than the sugar of Java or Bengal. In 1870, provincial exports totaled 197,809 pesos with imports amounting to 27,478 pesos (Bowring 1859, 385, 388-91, 398, 415, 419; PNA *MIP-A*, "Comercio"). Subsequent figures on the total amount of provincial trade are not available but palay and sugar unquestionably made up a bulk of the exports.

The price of palay and sugar is only available from the GM for the years 1861 to 1879. The provincial reports show that the lifting of the fixed price of two reales per cavan of palay allowed the crop to appreciate to its true market value. The result validated earlier recommendations by Spanish officials to lift the government's restriction on the price of palay. A casual glance at the palay price list for Antique from 1861 to 1879 indicates that the product never went below two reales (or its equivalent amount) per cavan.⁶ The cost of palay in Antique varied monthly, yearly, and pueblo to pueblo. The

price hit a low of thirty *céntimos*, but also reached a middle fifty *céntimos*, seventy-five *céntimos*, eighty-seven *céntimos*, before settling to slightly over one peso.⁷

Sugar prices also fluctuated. Based on data from the *GM* between 1864 and 1879, sugar—in Antique's market—hit a high of over two pesos per pico before settling down to a little over one peso per pico. Antique was not producing all three grades of sugar (first, second, and third class) that were on sale in the Iloilo market. While the *protocolos* show haciendas in Antique with sugar mills, it looks as if these operations were not as large-scale or as highly developed as those in Negros Province. Negros (as well as Iloilo Province)—which did produce all three classes of sugar—sold its products at quadruple the price of Antique sugar. In the 1880s, the price of Antique sugar shifted between 1 to 3 pesos. Judging from the transactions in the *protocolos* and also in response to the world market, Antique sugar had reached 3 to 4 pesos per pico by the end of the Spanish period in the province (1898).⁸

The "*Marina*" section of the *GM* gives a detailed listing of products on vessels plying the Antique to Manila route. The provincial section of the *GM* likewise describes the types of ships and cargos going in and out of Antique Province. However, the *MIP-A* provides a detailed summary of Antique's exports and imports for 1870. The listing is representative of most of the items exported out of and imported into the province. Export items included: *azucar* (sugar), *aceite* (oil from coconut), *algodón* (cotton), *bonga* (palm), *brea* (resin), *cocos* (coconuts), *conchas* (shells), *cueros* (leather), *guimaras* (packing material), *maiz* (corn), *mantas* (blankets), *nido* (birds' nests), *patadiones* (trousers), *palay* (unhusked rice grains), *ollas* (clay pots), *aguardiente de nipa* (spirits from nipa palm), *arroz* (rice), *bejucos* (rattan), *carey* (tortoise shells), *cerdos* (pigs), miscellaneous products of the country, *frijoles* (beans), *maderas* (different types of wood including *sibucáo*), *nipas* (palm), *petates* (potatoes), *panochas* (sugar blocks), *sal* (salt), *sinamay*, *piña en tela* (cloth made from pineapple fibers). The imports consisted of: *sal*, *taclobos* (giant clams), *anisado* (spirits with anise seeds), *telas de varios clases* (different types of cloth), *harina* (flour), *vino tinto* (red wine), *paraguas* (umbrellas), *cera labrada* (wax figures), *loza fina* (fine china), *loza ordinaria* (ordinary china), *bayones vacíos* (empty sacks), *frijoles* (beans), *ajos* (garlic), *carajais* (iron pans), *cebollas* (onions), *clavos* (nails), *muebles* (furniture), *sotanjú* (noodles?), *balas de algodón* (bales of cotton), *jabón* (soap), *cajas de hierro* (iron boxes), *cueros* (leather), and *generos de algodón* (cotton products).⁹

Economic Activities

People in Antique Province were engaging in a wide variety of economic pursuits during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Most of these undertakings were concentrated in the capital of San Jose and radiated outwards to the outlying pueblos. Since the capital had the best port in the province, this centralization complemented the growing export/import trade.

Greater diversification in economic activities was quite pronounced in the province by the year 1870 as speculators invested in agriculture. The mainstays palay, sugar, and some forest products of smaller quantities were exported regularly out of the province all the way into the 1890s. There were also some speculation in other crops like *abaca*, *café*, *cacao*, *maiz*, and *tabaco*. The yields were, however, negligible, because of incompatibility between soil and crop seeds. Cotton—a product which the province was cultivating in the first half of the nineteenth century—had all but disappeared at this juncture.¹⁰

In 1870, *molinos* (mills) numbering around 248 were devoted to sugar production. The manufacture of textiles (*piña* cloth, *jusi*, and *sinamay*) was also becoming an important component of the economy. Between 1871 and 1877, the looms increased from 3,773 to seven thousand (certainly an improvement over the 2,836 looms in 1811). No figures are available on the amount of textile exports from Antique although items like *sinamay* certainly found their way outside the province to Iloilo and the international market. According to the MIP-A, "the prices (for the textiles) are high and are sustained on account of the demand and the ease of export" (Fernandez 1875, 49–50; 1877, 348–50; RMAO, MIP-A, "Industria"). Most probably, the looms remained as home industries which the regular textile imports from Britain (via Iloilo Province) could not displace. Unlike the inhabitants of Iloilo, the people of Antique did not have an alternative source of income in large-scale sugar production or sugar warehouse storage—given the limited land and port resources of the province.

Significantly, while the looms increased between 1871 and 1877, the number of loom workers (weavers and spinners) decreased from about 16,168 (16,268 in another source) to twelve thousand (Fernandez 1875, 49–50; 1877, 341–50; see also PNA, EA 1872, Cuadro Num. 7, "Profesiones, Cargos u Ocupaciones," 1871). An increase in looms and cloth production would have driven down the price and profitability of the homespun textiles. Thus, the drop in numbers may simply be indicative of participation in other economic activities. Neverthe-

less, the looms did remain for the production of various types of fabrics. Moreover, for those who could not afford to buy the finished textile items coming in from Iloilo Province, homespun products served just as well.

The 1890s—which have the most number of manuscripts—highlight an assortment of economic activities in the province. These papers show either a watershed period in the 1890s or concrete documentation of entrepreneurial activity from earlier decades. The *Contribución Industrial* (Business Tax Registry) MSS of Antique (CIA) for 1894-1895 lists people who engaged in and paid taxes on business pursuits throughout the province. The CIA MSS are significant because they reflect external and internal activities in the different pueblos of Antique Province. A good number of business endeavors were registered in San José, San Pedro, Sibalom, and Culasi. Aside from the usual declarations of sellers of miscellaneous products, meat sellers, card table owners, or alcohol vendors, the summary also presents a wide range of occupations influenced by outside commerce. There were entrepreneurs declaring themselves as speculators of the products and fruits of the country; speculators of livestock; owners of shipping vessels; owners of sugar mills; sellers (stationary or roving) of local, European, Chinese, or Japanese products; and sellers of various types of yarns, textiles, and clothing. Clearly, quite a good number of these objects were coming from outside the province.

According to an 1896 report, the pueblos of the province engaged in only two main industries: palay and azucar. Very minor supporting agricultural products included *maiz*, *camote* (sweet potato), *tabaco*, *mongo* (beans), and *abaca*. Textile weaving (including *sinamay* production) was listed as part of the manufacturing sector in eight pueblos (Nalupa Nuevo, Valderrama, Bugason, Barbaza, Dao, San José, Sebaste, and Sibalom). However, the absence of actual figures in the report do not show the impact of the weaving industry on the provincial economy.¹¹ It may have provided an additional (but insignificant) source of income. On the other hand, sugar never replaced palay as the primary crop of the province. The absence of readily available level lands and good harbors, as well as the isolation of the province from Iloilo, discouraged the development of sugarcane as a major cash crop. Perhaps there was a touch of pragmatism involved. Palay—the weather and insects permitting—was the preferred staple food of the province. Planting sugarcane required a certain risk on the part of most farmers. Market prices notwithstanding, the advances received by the farmers for future sugarcane har-

vests or the processed sugar itself was a source of future indebtedness if the crop ever failed or did not produce the required amount of sugar. Planting more palay for food and less sugarcane offset some of the risks (e.g., hunger) involved.

Sugar production, nevertheless, continued all the way into the 1890s. It was judged profitable enough by those with capital to risk and even by those without substantial finances. Records give a specific description of two big estates in Antique (documented as haciendas in the protocolos) engaged in the planting and processing of sugarcane. These were mainly sugar-oriented estates with the requisite mills. The first one, located in Hamtic and owned by D^a Salud Aldeguer and D^a Esperanza Aristegui, measured over thirty-two hectares and sold for 2,750 pesos. The second, that of D. Julian Amador of Sibalom, measured over sixty-four hectares and was appraised at 7,000 pesos.¹² The documents on these lands are sale transactions and imply profitable operations that had been going on for some time. Nevertheless, these haciendas pale in comparison to the plantation estates measuring thousands of hectares in provinces like Negros or Pampanga.

Entrepreneurs seem to have acted as both middlemen and retailers in the sugar business of Antique Province. In the *Protocolos-Antique (PRA)*, acknowledged advances were coming directly from the people exporting the sugar outside the province. Moreover, the documents would almost always name the merchant and not the middleman as the creditor of a certain amount of sugar. The middleman—if any—was most probably an agent or employee connected directly with the entrepreneur's business.

Contracts and Debt Settlements

A more formalized economy demands tangible instruments of negotiation. These instruments may include money—either in currency or any product acceptable as a means of exchange—and written documents spelling out in detail the transactional intercourse between parties. The *PRA MSS* show that a formal economy was operating within Antique Province. But it also seems that an informal economy remained intact in the province. The lateness and sparsity of protocolos for Antique along with a high illiteracy rate in the province also suggest that people settled obligations and conducted transactions through oral means and a well-established honor system.

In the absence of written instruments, verbal negotiations and trust served just as well—if not better—than documents signed and sealed before the notary public.

Like many of the lowland provinces of the Philippines, the protocols for Antique also include mortgage agreements called *hipoteca* and *pacto de retroventa* (or *retrovenda*). In a *hipoteca especial* or special mortgage, a debtor promises to pay an obligation to a creditor and uses property (usually land) as a guarantee. The *hipoteca* does not give use rights to the creditor; rather, it gives the person full authority to demand the seizure and transfer of ownership of the property in case payment of the debt is not made. The *pacto* actually cedes property to a creditor as payment of a debt but allows the original owner to buy it back within a period of time.

Contracts involving the government had to be formalized because of the bureaucracy and the substantial amounts of money involved. Government contracts for the entire colony were handled the same way regardless of province. An auction (carried out through sealed bids) for a contract was announced through the *Gaceta de Manila* and the office of the provincial governor. The government awarded a contract monopoly (e.g., collection of slaughter and cleaning tax, cock-fight tax) to the person with the highest sealed offer. Theoretically, the bidding process was fair to all who participated. The person who could promise the most money for a contract or least expense for a government project—even if the winning margin outranked the next bid by only a few *céntimos*—acquired the contract for a specified time.

The process guaranteed both the government and the contractor money. The government, at the start of the bidding process, set a minimum amount for the contract. The prospective contractor had to go beyond that amount to beat other competitors. The awarded contract, when handled correctly, could be profitable. In the case of a tax monopoly, the contractor could keep any money beyond his original obligation to the government. He could also hire agents to make collecting more efficient. For building projects, the contractor could find ways to cut corners and have money left over from the original estimate.

Each contract awardee was required to provide as surety ten percent of the promised bid. The tax farming contracts were usually awarded for a three-year period. The amount of money going to the government for each three-year contract varied from about 300 pesos to over 1,500 pesos. The profitability of each contract, however, depended on the tax monopoly involved and the ingenuity of the

awardee. Over time, the contracts evolved from the provincial to the pueblo level. Overall, most of the contracts (especially the tax monopolies) reflect a growing commercial economy which placed a great emphasis on recorded transactions and exchanges.

The available data indicate that the bulk of government contracts went to three categories of persons: *Españoles - Peninsulares (Europeos)* or *Filipinos, Indios* of the *principalía*, and *Chinos*. All of them seem to have had sufficient resources to launch bids and pledge cash or property as guarantees for the fulfillment of contractual obligations.

Debt settlements could either be oral or written. The former require a great deal of trust and familiarity between two parties. However, the latter type can also be cumbersome and expensive. Written settlements required the payment of notary paper, fees to the notary public, a translator (when necessary), and also witnesses. The last two were especially needed if at least one party did not understand the Spanish language. When notarizing documents, many *indios* (even of the *principalía* class) required the services of an interpreter—a fact recorded in the *protocolos*.

At the pueblo level, the *gobernadorcillo* or *capitán municipal* could notarize written agreements. However, because of the literacy problem and fees involved, many natives probably chose to settle debts or other problems via oral agreements or go-betweens. The written agreements were drawn up for a variety of reasons. Debts with the government were always settled through the written instrument. Obligations involving a substantial amount of money in cash or kind also had to be notarized.

Payment for debts was usually in cash. However, a debt could also be redeemed through properties consisting of land, houses, and draft animals like the carabao. In many instances in the *protocolos*, the debtor would enter into a "mortgage" or *hipoteca* agreement with a creditor. The *hipoteca* set aside a certain number of properties equivalent to the debtor's liability. While the debtor retained use rights to the properties, he could not sell them until the obligation with the creditor had been satisfied. In case a debt remained unpaid, several less costly avenues could be pursued before the court system. First, the debtor could simply transfer the property to his creditor perpetually or for a certain number of years. Second, the two parties could simply redraw the agreement extending payment of a debt along with the resulting interest on the principal. Lastly, a *pacto de retroventa* allowed the creditor to gain possession of the property through a formal transfer. In fact, a *pacto* was sometimes used

in place of the *hipoteca*. Nevertheless, the *pacto* allowed the debtor to buy back the property after so many years.

The *protocolos* offer interesting examples of debt settlements resulting from failure to fulfill an agreement on sugar delivery. Sometimes repayment terms were harsh, other times they were light. In 1886, D. Pablo Espartero and D. Gabriel Española promised to repay (in writing) D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Dianco (a Chinese merchant), for seventy-two picos of sugar. To guarantee the obligation, the two pledged lands that would pass over to Sánchez Pe-Dianco in case of non-compliance.¹³

An 1887 case involving Eusebio Langan, Benedicto Langan, and Tiburcio Joanitas shows the three indebted to D. José Bautista Rivero in the amount of 1,109 picos of sugar for which a substantial cash advance had been given in 1884. Before the settlement, the assets of the debtors had been seized but were still not enough to cover the debt, hence the agreement in order to avoid jail.¹⁴

D. Rafael Salvani owed D. Jose Marcelo 255 picos of sugar but guaranteed its delivery at the port of Patnongon. Although Salvani pledged lands to Marcelo, he likewise agreed to pay the latter the market value of the sugar in case he fails to deliver the product. Thus, Salvani provided protection to the aforementioned lands.¹⁵

An 1893 agreement gave D. Eduardo Olivares use rights to three parcels of land belonging to D. Luis Gonzaga. Gonzaga owed Olivares 288 picos of sugar worth 886 pesos and 40 céntimos. The transfer—while giving Olivares virtual ownership of the land—still allowed Gonzaga to buy back the properties inasmuch as the agreement was a *pacto de retracto*.¹⁶ In all cases involving settlement of sugar debts, no mention was ever made of interests charged for the delayed delivery of the product. Either the entrepreneurs were banking on the high profit returns of sugar to make up for losses, or else they were trying (as much as possible) to keep good relations intact with the sources of sugarcane and sugar.

Significantly, many of the *protocolos* demonstrate a significant trust between parties in the documents. In transactions involving outright land sales or *pactos* the absence of a formal title to the property was always the norm rather than the exception. The government was slow in issuing written titles to properties and many engaged in the sale of land even without the document of ownership. However, money would still be exchanged with the owner promising to formalize the sale or the *pacto* as soon as the written title was issued. Presumably, the person buying the property acquired use rights. The preva-

lence of such an arrangement signifies adjustment to an institutional constraint through a long-standing tradition of trust.

The *PRA* does show people redeeming *pactos* or *hipotecas*, and as a result, the debt liabilities. However, those who could not pay transferred property to the creditors and, as the agreements stated, bore the cost of court proceedings (judgments and seizure orders). Still, many of the *pactos* and *hipotecas* in the *PRA* were never followed up and the fate of the debtors' properties remains unclear.

Entrepreneurship

Economic movement can be measured through the business-oriented individuals who speculate and risk capital. Entrepreneurs engaged in various economic activities in Antique in the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to surviving documentation, most of these business ventures were agricultural or agriculturally-related activities, retail, rental of property, and to a certain extent, government contracts for infrastructure and tax/fee collection.

Indios, Chinese, and Spaniards participated in varying degrees in the visible provincial economy. While women were somewhat in the background, they also found a niche in business activities. In the *protocolos*, it is common to find the husband giving a "marital license" to his wife to sell property or engage in business. The husband also declares in the *protocolos* whether he risks a business venture alone or jointly with the spouse. This practice obviously served to protect the interests of the wife.

Nevertheless, many people in the province did not participate in this commercial economy. The province did not have the rich farmlands of the other regions of the Philippines. Since most of Antique is mountainous, it was difficult to gain substantial profits from the speculative enterprises that were proving advantageous to the lowland regions of the Philippines. Moreover, many of the ordinary people lacked the capital to invest in entrepreneurship. Only sugarcane and its sugar byproduct survived into the second half of the nineteenth century to become a cash crop for the province. Even then, most of the risk and profits of cash cropping fell on the entrepreneur. Furthermore, the expanding economy required a certain formalization of and increased participation in business activities through written documents—things which many people in the province were ill-equipped to do, either in terms of financial resources or of literacy.

In the long run, a good portion of the population did not require most of the goods coming from the outside. By adopting a simpler lifestyle, they could produce or acquire locally through barter everyday necessities.

The Provincial Chinese

Like their contemporaries in the other provinces, the Chinese in Antique were visible in the economic sphere. Non-Spaniards and non-natives were initially restricted to farming activities though the Chinese found ways to subvert the prohibition. In 1830, some Chinese in Antique were found to be in violation of their residence permits by engaging in retail trade instead of agriculture.¹⁷ By 1839, the restriction was lifted with the governor-general allowing the Chinese to engage in the work of their choice.

Evidence from the number of protocols on government contracts dealing with infrastructure and fee collections suggests that the Chinese may have had a slight advantage over the Spaniards and indios in bidding. With an organization that allowed easy access to credit, the Chinese could easily exercise dominance in financial transactions. Once the ban on Chinese participation in commerce and contractual bidding was lifted, it was easy for this group to entrench itself in the economic affairs of the province.

The materials on the Antique Chinese during the latter half of the nineteenth century, though more plentiful, are scattered and distributed unevenly. This makes it somewhat difficult to establish a pattern of movement and economic activity. However, sufficient documentation does allow a coherent description of the Chinese in Antique during this period.

In the latter portion of the nineteenth century, there was clearly a greater number of Chinese residing in the province. The varied entrepreneurial activities of this group assisted in tapping the economic potential of the province. However, the pattern of Chinese immigration into the province is not at all clear. In 1865, the *Guía* registered twenty-one Chinese tributes for Antique. The other *Guías* list the following years and tributes for Antique's *mestizo* Chinese: 1855 – 37; 1857 – 55; 1859 – 48; 1863 – 47; 1865 – 53.¹⁸ By conjecture some of these *mestizos* may have been the offspring of Antique's Chinese residents. Twenty years later, an 1885 *padrón* (register) listing the names of Antique's Chinese residents shows the number of this group at 112.¹⁹

A very informative manuscript that has survived in the PNA is the *Padrón General de Chinos* (CHA)—a comprehensive ledger of Chinese residents in the province. It gives a good profile of the provincial Chinese for the years 1897–1898.

The register contains the names of 204 Chinese, their origin, age, religion, civil status, place of residence, job classification, *cédula* class, and corresponding *cédula* tax. The date of entry column pertains to the person's arrival in the province. Among all the Chinese in the 1897–1898 *padrón*, forty-five year old Pe-Yangco of Bugason entered the province the earliest (1865). The ages of this group of Antique Chinese vary greatly with the youngest at fifteen and the oldest at fifty-seven. Most of the Chinese are in the thirties and forties age bracket. Many are also single and all are male. Chinese who chose not to become Catholic were listed as "*ynfiel*," i.e., infidel. The Chinese Catholic stood out on the list not just because of the "Christian" designation but also because of the Spanish names he adopted. The names may actually belong to his *padrino* (baptism sponsor), and/or close associate in the province. For example, Pe-Chuanco appears on the list as Vicente Gella Pe-Chuanco. D. Vicente Gella, an indio was the province's first attorney and carried considerable political and social clout. Although not on the list, D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Dianco, the most economically visible Chinese of the province, also took the name of a Spaniard residing in Antique. Sometimes, the Chinese appellation was dropped altogether and only a *padrón* listing or *protocolo* designation could identify the ethnicity of a Chinese with a typical Spanish name. This was probably an attempt to lose all Chinese connections in the eyes of the authorities and the local populace. Still, most of the Chinese in the *padrón* chose not to adopt Christianity.

In the 1897–1898 register, the following Chinese (Table 4) were listed as Christians. However, the names with a question mark were recorded as "infidels" although the Spanish names suggest otherwise. Likewise, some persons with purely Chinese names (also with a question mark) were recorded as Christians. Normally, a convert would adopt a Christian (i.e., Spanish) name. However, there were no regulations (civil or ecclesiastical) preventing a convert from subsequently dropping the Christian name or even an "*ynfiel*" from taking a Spanish appellation. The anomalies may simply reflect looseness of practice rather than a clerical error.

Very few of the Chinese Christians on the *padrón* list were married to native wives inasmuch as they declared themselves "*soltero*"

Table 4. Chinese Christians of Antique Province: 1897–1898

Antonio Hiero Go-Guanchiao	Alfonso Rey Tan Toco
Andres Hiero y Tineng	Vicente Montilla
Severino Montilla Tan-Guincin	Vicente Gella Pe Chuanco
Nicolas Alegata Lim Guianchao	Feliciano Bravo (?)
Valentin Gomes Pe-Dianco	Taredo Montilla Tan Chinco (?)
Faustino Montilla Pe-Janco (?)	Gregorio Elizaga Yap Tinson (?)
Lorenzo Pavia Dy Yuso	Vicente Gilledo Pe Chuanguy
Ignacio Javier	Mariano Yglesias Pe Pianco
Santiago Sanches-Dy Yujon (?)	Toribio Bus(tamante?) Pe Pico
Vicente Sanches	Toribio Benedicto Pe Tiongco
Fan Bance	Lorenzo Legaspi
Lucas Martinez	Rofino Tomas Lim Pinco (?)
Juaquin Pe-Suo	Manuel Sunico (?) Pe Suanco (?)
Pe-Tiaoqui	Cipriano Pe Suyco
Fui Jaco	Vicente Pe Piaco (?)
Francisco Marcaida Pe-Sipco	Anacleto Villavert (?)
Alfonso Azcara	Nicolas Cumla (?)
Benito Gomes Chico Sing	Antonio Palacios (?)
Carlos Sassi	Joaquin Gabriel
Jose Montilla Son Guianco	Gabriel Tomas Pe Cauco (?)
Mariano Apura Tan Guianco	Feliciano Gella Lim Chuanco (?)
Feliciano Obalde Pe Chianco	Agustin Morales
Valentin Jabier	Rafael Natividad Pe Toco

(single). Still, nominal conversion—aside from the fact that it paved the way for marriage with a native Christian—lifted at least part of Chineseness. Adoption of Catholicism allowed the Chinese to live much more easily in a predominantly indio society with the religion providing avenues for social participation. By accepting an important component of the local culture, the Chinese initiated himself into indio society.

The Chinese in the *padrón* were scattered all over the province of Antique. Thus, this group took full advantage of various economic focal points in Antique. Despite the dispersion, the data in the *Padrón General de Chino* show that groups of Chinese preferred to cluster in the following places: San Jose, Culasi, Pandan, Bugason, Tibiao, and Sibalom. The choice of the provincial capital is no accident. Sibalom,

because of its fertile river basin was also a logical selection for Chinese business. While there is no evidence at this point which can accurately compare and contrast the economic viability of Antique's pueblos, the economic reports do show that they were all quite capable of producing the same agricultural products.

Not all the Chinese in Antique were successful in business. In several instances, the PRA shows Chinese trying to settle debts with fellow Chinese creditors as shown by the following examples. In 1886, Eusebio Benedicto Pe-Tiongco acknowledged his debt to Gabriel Tomas Pe-Caoco in the amount of 490 pesos and 3 reales including interest. Benedicto promised to pay the debt with 275 picos of sugar. However, he had to use his lands in Guisijan as a guarantee of payment.²⁰ Santiago Apura Pe-Chuyco owed considerably more money (1,803 pesos and 16 cuartos) to D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Dianco. In 1887, he agreed to pay half of the debt in one year, and the remainder in the second year.²¹ Like Tomas Pe-Caoco, Apura Pe-Chuyco pledged all assets, especially his store in Sibalom to insure his debtor payment of the obligation. Lastly, one Lim Chiojian residing in Culasi formally notarized arrears of 529 pesos, 5 reales and 15 cuartos to Francisco Moreno Lim Yengton of Binondo, Manila. The debt was apparently contracted from Moreno Lim Yengton's father, Lim-Chapco, who was currently in China. Lim Chiojian ceded his store in Culasi to Moreno Lim Yengton and the latter cancelled the debt and took responsibility for what his father might say.²²

However, the economic success of the Chinese and their offsprings is more obvious than the failures. Economic visibility is already one measure of achievement of the Chinese in Antique Province. Accumulated material wealth also demonstrates the realized potential of the provincial economy for the Chinese as shown by Doña María Antajay, a Chinese mestiza, and D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Dianco, originally from China. Both were residents of the capital of San José de Buenavista.

Antajay was the daughter of the Chinese Christian Estevan Antajay and Ana Gomes. She was born in 1810 or 1811, lived in the capital of San Jose, and was married to the late D. Felipe Moscoso. Antajay drew up a very extensive will in 1878. She apparently had some influence as the provincial governor (who was still functioning as the notary public)—D. Francisco Lorenzo Hurtado y Jimenez—came to her house in January of 1885 (Antajay was ill at that time) to notarize a document. After Antajay's death in May or June of 1885, the document was notarized and approved by the government in the same year.²³

Antajay and her husband inherited several pieces of palay, corn, and sugarcane lands, along with some coconut groves. Antajay, however, also credits herself with the acquisition of thirty-one strips of farmland measuring fifty-six cavans. All these agricultural plots were scattered in various pueblos and varied in size and price.

Overall, Antajay seems to have been successful. Aside from a retinue of material possessions, she also declared ownership of one hundred heads of cattle, forty carabaos, and 1,100 cavans of palay. At the time the will was made, Antajay was owed 3,500 pesos from palay and business dealings, and 1,332 pesos from mortgaged lands. She declared her total assets at 14,432 pesos and four reales. Although Antajay's business endeavors are not spelled out by existing records, it seems obvious that she dealt considerably in loans, land acquisition, and the retail of agricultural products like palay and sugar.

D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Diangco was unique among the Chinese of Antique Province. He was one of the only two recorded Chinese in the province to become a naturalized Spaniard and was even allowed the *principalía* honorific "*don*." Sánchez Pe-Diangco also spoke Spanish—clearly evident since he never needed a translator in the protocolos. He was the most visible Chinese entrepreneur of the province with varied economic activities in both the government and private sectors.

Sánchez Pe-Diangco's transactions in the protocolos outnumber the rest of the combined activities of the other Chinese in Antique; they also show control of considerable resources. Many of the protocolos with Sánchez Pe-Diangco's name involved the settlement of debts acquired for failure to deliver the required picos of sugar. Undoubtedly, Sánchez Pe-Diangco gave advances for the sugar. However, he also dealt extensively in other business ventures such as money lending, retail of *palay* and general merchandise, rental of property, contracts for the public market tax monopoly, and construction. Sánchez Pe-Diangco also acquired lands either as debt payments or simply as future collateral. In 1893, he pledged 2,000 pesos worth of land (numbering six parcels in four sitios) as surety for D. José Fontanilla's various transactions. While these lands were committed, Sánchez Pe-Diangco was able to put up other properties to borrow 3,450 pesos in cash—a debt which was paid in 1897. In the protocolo detailing this transaction, Sánchez Pe-Diangco refers to ownership of several other houses and parcels of land in the *cabecera* of San Jose. In the *Fincas Urbanas* (Registration of Urban Property) of 1890, he gives the value of three houses and one *camarín* at 2,700 pesos. The extensive

and descriptive document shows that one house in San Jose was used as surety for the obligation along with twenty-five parcels of land scattered in twelve sitios and three pueblos.

It is also difficult to figure out the actual cash reserves of Sánchez Pe-Diangco at any point in time. Judging from the transactions in the protocolos, Sánchez Pe-Diangco could immediately come up with about a thousand pesos in currency and several thousand more from the sale of property. The 10,000-peso contract that Sánchez Pe-Diangco acquired in 1895 to build the parish house and church of Sibalom shows his control of extensive financial resources.²⁴ D. Juan Sánchez Pe-Diangco died in May of 1901. He was survived by Doña Bernabela Dominguez, a native of San Jose.²⁵

However, the other Chinese were certainly active and visible in the province. They provided keen competition for government contracts involving the collection of fees from the local populace. They also engaged in a variety of activities involving the retail of different types of goods. The catch-all job title of most of the Chinese in the 1897–1898 padrón, i.e., *personero* (deputy, agent, solicitor) means that they were involved in all sorts of commercial ventures.

The Spaniards

The Spaniards and their mestizo offsprings provided another stimulus to business activities in the province. From all indications, there was no outright sign of conflict between the Chinese and Spaniards. Like the Chinese, the Spaniards also engaged in the bidding for government contracts and the retail of palay, sugar, and miscellaneous items.

Spaniards like D. Eduardo Olivares and D. Jovito Tiscar engaged in the production and retail of sugar. Sometimes they paid advances for the delivery of sugar, or else they owned the land and *molinos* (mills) that pressed the juices out of the sugarcane. D. Nicolás Tomás, a mestizo, obviously retailed palay by owning a storehouse which had a storage capacity of 4,000 cavans of palay. D. José Fontanilla, who was also the province's notary public, sold an assortment of Philippine products.²⁶

One business society owned by a Spaniard tried to establish an economic niche in the province during the early 1890s. The Señores Escuderos y C^a was owned by D. Eduardo Escudero y Berras and operated through a joint partnership with D. Valentin Venero and

D. Luiz García Palazuelos, both residing in Manila. After establishing a supply warehouse in Manila, the society or company would then sell European foodstuffs and drinks in the province. Moreover, the company would also buy and sell Philippine products. While the company was supposed to start operating in Antique in 1894, the surviving records do not say what happened to this venture.²⁷

Perhaps the richest Spaniard in the province was D. Victoriano Gonzales. Gonzales was probably active in the transportation of sugar, palay, and other products out of the province. Gonzales owned a *vapor* (steamer) which was built in Hongkong in the year 1883. The vessel cost sixteen thousand pesos to build. At any rate, Gonzales sold the ship to the government of Antique for only seven thousand pesos two years later.

The documents do not say if Gonzales had gone bankrupt. More likely, Gonzales had recouped the cost of the ship and made enormous profits from the transport and retail of various products. Furthermore, the ownership of the vapor meant that Gonzales was free to exploit the export potential of other provinces in the Visayas.²⁸

The Indios

The natives make up most of the parties in the business documents. Numerically superior to the minuscule numbers of Spaniards and Chinese, the indios were able to carry out business ventures in Antique Province successfully. They also engaged in the retail of palay and sugar.

However, the predominance of indios with the honorifics D. and D^a meant that the *principalía* had the upper hand over non-*principalía* in economic affairs. In the first place, the *principales* had more money than the ordinary indio although wealth and social status do not necessarily go hand-in-hand for every member of the upper class. Second, the *principales*—because of their hereditary political privileges—had more access to manpower and a wider network and could readily comply with contracts involving the collection of fees. Third, some of the members of the *principalía* were at least marginally knowledgeable of the requisites necessary to start and operate a business in accordance with government regulations. Lastly, being a member of the ruling class meant persuasive influence over subordinate farmers—the source of agricultural products—for the export market.

The non-principalía who ventured into retail usually hawked their wares (labelled as local, Oriental, or European products) as roving vendors. They were probably provisioned by the Chinese, Spaniards, or indios of the principalía. During other times, they operated smaller outfits like card tables; and sold items like liquor, alcohol, and tobacco (for a sampling of these occupations, see PNA, CIA).

Whether through neglect, loss of documentation, or a propensity to hide wealth, the documents do not show many indios accumulating unusually large tracts of land or substantial properties as a result of business dealings. One exception, however, stands out through the will left by D. Jose Bautista Rivero, an indio resident of Tibiao and a native of Molo, Iloilo. Rivero died in 1890 at the age of seventy-one leaving his heirs substantial properties. After giving a generous bequest to charity (300 pesos) and the parish church (150 pesos), Rivero subsequently gave an account of all his wealth most of which probably came from the sugar trade. He declared ownership of a hacienda in Tibiao called "Santa Justa," along with a hydraulic mill and the accompanying attachments for the production of sugar, and a storehouse (*camarin*) in the hacienda for the sugar, altogether valued at about 2,000 pesos. Rivero also pointed out the existence of a cash box containing 7,000 pesos and additional money from sugar still in his storehouse (Rivero was not sure of the sugar's equivalent in pesos). Rivero also declared ownership of several parcels of land in Sibalom, Culasi, Nalupa Nuevo, and Guisijan; numerous cattle, horses, and carabaos; a house with a *camarin*; jewelry; sacred images; furniture; musical instruments; and carts. Rivero also engaged in money lending since he left behind several documents promising payment of debts. Rivero had clearly been a very busy entrepreneur.²⁹

Occupations

Generally, the Spaniards and principales occupied the higher positions in the political hierarchy. The Chinese were naturally excluded from politics unless one of their number was appointed as a *teniente* (lieutenant) to collect the *cédula* tax from the *gremio de Chinos* (Chinese *barangay*). Chinese were usually retailers and stuck to positions related to commerce. Indios were mostly *pescadores* (fishermen) and *labradores* (farm laborers or farmers). *Agricultor* (lit. farmer), seems to have been used exclusively by the Spaniards and mestizos and a better translation would probably be "agricultural speculator."

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed an explosion of jobs that were never recorded in pre-1850 Antique Province. These occupations may have existed in the first half of the nineteenth century or even before. Nevertheless, these occupations now make their formal appearance in the records. Even if these jobs were not caused by the economic development of the mid-nineteenth century and onwards, the listing means that these occupations were becoming a component part of everyday life in the province's formal economy.

A statistical survey from 1871 records the profession, responsibility, or occupation of men and women in Antique by race. However, the document yielded incomplete information because certain portions of the manuscript were blurry. Thus, Table 5 is only a partial reproduction. In addition, because of sparse numbers in positions like *gobernadorcillo* (head of a pueblo municipality, later *capitán municipal*) the enumeration may have excluded some information from the other pueblos.

As one would expect, the Spaniards occupied the higher political and religious positions of the province. A few Spaniards, Chinese, and mestizos were also classified as farmers and merchants. The women were heavily represented in the clothing sector where their skills were praised several times by different writers. However, they could and did venture into other occupations, especially as farmers. Overall, these jobs reflect the need for a variety of work as internal and external economic development took place. The indios, however, were active participants in the provincial economy and adopted specialized skills whenever necessary to meet the requirements of certain occupations.

The Sacadas: Migrant Workers

A special feature of Antique Province is its migrant workforce—men who are called *sacadas*. The *sacadas* were workers who cleared and worked the sugarcane fields of Negros. The periodic migration of workers from Antique to neighboring Negros Province probably started soon after the opening of the port of Iloilo to international trade. The port and the accompanying sugar plantations of Negros reinforced each other in the sugar trade. However, the vast fields of Negros needed more people than the island could provide. Antique Province provided a considerable number of laborers to complete the sugar export triad in the Western Visayas. It is acknowledged in Philippine history as the home of the *sacadas* (Umaña and Arriola 1964).

Table 6. Occupations of Men and Women in Antique Province: 1871

Occupations of Men	EE	EF	C	M	I
<u>a) Bureaucratic Administration:</u>					
Governor	1				
Government Employees	6	3			11
Pueblo Head					1
Pueblo Secretary					2
Clerks		1	1		36
<u>b) Peacekeeping:</u>					
Soldiers					35
Rural Guards					3
Carabineers					2
<u>c) Agriculture and Livestock:</u>					
Farmers		2	5	2	7,876
Harvesters					11
Horticulturists					17
Shepherds					127
Laborers who tie the feet of sheep for shearing					52
<u>d) Skilled Labor:</u>					
Stonecutters					15
Blacksmiths					26
Teachers					12
Pipe Fitters					53
Painters					3
Potters					8
Silversmith or Jeweler					13
Tanners					1
Sculptors					1
Manufacturers of gunpowder			1		1
Musicians					31
Shoemakers					11
Cooks			2		13
Distillers				1	68
Bakers					2
Coconut Palm Tapper					141
Butchers/Meat Sellers					3

Table 6 continued

Occupations of Men	EE	EF	C	M	I
<u>e) Clothing and Textile:</u>					
Embroiderers					4
Seamsters					4
Tailors					23
<u>f) Physical Labor:</u>					
Porters					2
Servants, Grooms					476
Day Laborers					7,893
Woodcutter					29
Sawers					31
Salt Makers					29
Coachmen					9
Laundrymen					7
Fishermen					195
<u>g) Shipping:</u>					
Chief or Captain of a ship					1
Sailors					51
<u>h) Medicine:</u>					
Medicine Men					6
Vaccinator					1
<u>i) Merchants, Traders, Sellers:</u>					
Merchants	2	5		3	114
Oil Sellers					2
Shopkeepers					7
Landlords					1,724
Sellers					6
Buyers					1
Pineapple Cultivator					1
Agents		2			
Cigarette dealers or sellers					1
<u>j) Other:</u>					
Pensioned					7
Parish Priest	3				

Table 6 continued

Occupations of Women	EE	EF	C	M	I
<u>a) Clothing and Textile:</u>					
Weavers		1		9	15,927
Spinners					331
Seamstresses		1			404
Embroiderers					15
<u>b) Agriculture and Livestock:</u>					
Harvesters					2
Farmers					356
Laborers who tie the feet of sheep for shearing					353
<u>c) Skilled Labor:</u>					
Teachers					12
Potters					18
<u>d) Physical Labor:</u>					
Servants				1	175
Fisherwomen					14
Washers					69
<u>e) Traders, Merchants, Sellers:</u>					
Landlords		2			117
Cigarette Dealers or Sellers					15
Sellers					18
Merchants		1		1	
Shopkeepers				2	23
Shopkeeper's wife; Tradeswoman					2
<u>f) Medicine:</u>					
Midwives					20

Codes:

EE = Español Europeo(a)

EF = Español Filipino(a)

C = Chino(a)

M = Mestizo(a)

I = Indio(a)

The choice to migrate was not unusual. Antique's population was growing and placed increased pressure on the productive capacity of the available farmlands. Due to the province's topography, only so much land was available for cultivation. According to the *MIP-A*, there were only 30,704 hectares of cultivated farmlands in the province for 1870. This figure may have been an overestimate inasmuch as the more accurate *Census of the Philippine Islands* gives the hectarage of cultivated areas in 1902 and 1903 as 24,281 and 21,662, respectively (*Census of the Philippine Islands* 1903). The numbers probably reflect the limits of technology or human endeavor in late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century agriculture.

In any case, the plantation owners recruited their workers by paying them ahead of time. Subsequently, these laborers would be indentured through accumulated obligations. Those who were lucky enough to clear small plots for themselves were eventually pushed out by the haciendas (McCoy 1982, 317-21). However, the *sacadas* kept on coming well into the 1890s. In 1895, the governor of Antique expressed concern regarding absentee provincial residents who were in Negros and not paying the *cédula* tax. In responding to the governor, the hacenderos from Negros asked that their interests not be compromised.

Apparently, as a practical incentive serving the interests of both prospective laborers and hacenderos, the latter would initially pay the tax for the *cédula*—a document also needed to travel outside the province. The contractors, however, promised timely collection of the tax for the following year. Overall, the governor pointed out arrears of eight thousand pesos in the *cédula* collection because four thousand workers were in Negros (and not paying the tax).³⁰

Despite limited resources and the disadvantages posed by its geographical location, Antique's economy looked very different from that of the first half of the nineteenth century. The opening of the international port of Iloilo also presented new economic opportunities for Antique Province. Palay, sugar, and a retinue of minor agricultural and textile products were exported out of the province. On the other hand, a host of imported goods were also brought into Antique. The nineteenth century saw the province emerge out of isolation as ships from Manila, Iloilo, and other places dropped anchor in Antique Province. While port activity did not even match the number of ships that came in and out of Iloilo, Antique nevertheless played its role in a growing Visayan and Philippine economy.

Different groups of people participated in the economic development of Antique Province. Spanish, Chinese, and native entrepreneurs took advantage of the opportunities afforded by the province's resources and the chance to sell products in the Iloilo market. As money started to flow in, the demands of an economy increasingly becoming formalized necessitated the need for tangible and written instruments of negotiation. Moreover, occupational specialties came about with the demands of a changing economy centered around San José de Buenavista.

As the century wore on, cracks began to develop in the agricultural base of the province. The higher profits generated by cash crops persuaded a growing number of people to devote more farmlands to sugarcane (other cash crops failed to adapt to the provincial soil and climate). While rice remained as the staple of the province, it came dangerously close to shifting extensively to sugarcane cultivation. However, perhaps because of pragmatism and the limited agricultural lands of the province, a total transformation in the agricultural base never occurred and Antique has continued as a major producer of rice in the Philippines.

Eventually, a growing population and diminishing farmlands forced many people to migrate out of the province. As *sacada* migrant workers, the inhabitants of Antique Province worked in the sugarcane fields of Negros island. Sometimes the job was seasonal and the *sacadas* went home; others pulled up their Antique roots and stayed permanently in Negros. Overall, Antique contributed only a small portion of its agricultural products to an extensive trade network centered in Iloilo. Nevertheless, this Western Panay province compensated for the limitation through its *sacadas* who worked extensively to develop the sugar industry.

Notes

1. The *cavan* is a unit of dry measure for palay. One *cavan* of rice weighs 128 *libras* or pounds (with husk, i.e., palay) and 137 *libras* (without husk, i.e., arroz). The *pico* is a unit of dry measure equivalent to 10 *chinantas*, 100 *cate*, 1600 *tael*, or 137 *libras* and 8 *onzas*. One Chinese *pico* = 60 kilograms.

2. Biblioteca Nacional (BN), MS 19.218, Ladislao de Vera, "Exposición General de 1887, Sección 6a, Antique, Comprende los principales productos que se esplotan en la Provincia," 25 September 1886; *Guía* 1891, pp. 113-14.

3. *GM*, 7a Sección, 8 de Junio de 1861; RMAO, Estadística Antique (EA), 1872 and 1896; RMAO, MIP-A, "Comercio," "Terrenos," "Industria," "Agricultura," "Producción."

4. Philippine National Archives (PNA), *MIP-A*, "Ganadería,"; BN, MS 19.219, Exposición General de 1887, Estado Num. 1, Sección 6a, Provincia de Antique, "Industria pecuaria," 25 September 1886; *Guía* 1891, pp. 113-14.

5. Comisión Central de Estadística de Filipinas (Manila: Imprenta del Boletín Oficial, 1855), vol. 2.

6. The real is a currency unit equivalent to one-eighth of a peso fuerte. Two reales was worth about sixteen *céntimos* or 1.25 *pesetas*.

7. BN, MS 19.218; see also the Iloilo periodical known as *El Eco de Panay* (published from 1887-1898 but only the ones from 1893 to 1898 are available).

8. See reports in *GM*; PNA, *PRA* 1886, 26, August 8; *PRA* 1885, 12, March 3; *PRA* 1893, 49, October 19; *PRA* 1898, 34, July 21; and BN, MS 19.218, Ladislao de Vera, "Exposición General de 1887, Sección 6a, Antique, Comprende los principales productos que se explotan en la Provincia," 25 September 1886.

9. PNA, *MIP-A*, "Comercio."

10. PNA, *MIP-A*, "Agricultura."

11. PNA, *EA* 1897, Dirección General de Administración Civil, Centro de Estadística, Estado urbano-agricola-comercial, Año de 1896.

12. PNA, *PRA* 1896, 37, July 8; *PRA* 1898, 21, May 20. "D." preceding a person's name is an abbreviation for the honorific title Don.

13. PNA, *PRA* 1886, 15, May 13.

14. PNA, *PRA* 1887, 43, November 28; *PRA* 1886, 44, November 28.

15. PNA, *PRA* 1889, 17, April 25.

16. PNA, *PRA* 1893, 49, October 19.

17. PNA, *EPA*, Tomo IV, Exp. 5, fols. 88-90b.

18. *Guías* for the years 1855, 1857, 1859, and 1865.

19. FHL, *Antique - Taxation*. Gobierno Civil. Prestación Personal, 1880-1897. Book#s 2-3, 1880-1887. Microfilm #1716097, item 2, Seria 5.a: Chinos, 1885.

20. PNA, *PRA* 1886, 26, August 8.

21. PNA, *PRA* 1887, 19, July 6.

22. PNA, *PRA* 1888, 47, November 8.

23. PNA, *PRA* 1885, 7, January 18; *PRA* 1885, 37, July 17. The will is dated June 21, 1878.

24. For examples, see the following documents in PNA, *PRA* 1886, 15, May 13; 1887, 43, November 28; 1890, 14, April 25; 1890, 31, September 13; 1893, 21, March 17; 1893, 57, December 7; 1894, 64, December 17; 1896, 57, November 10; 1897, 43, August 18; 1898, 1, January 3; 1898, 2, January 26; 1898, 8, March 28. Also *FLA*, entry #129, 31 December 1890.

25. FHL, *PRA* 1902, 26, 17 November, Microfilm #1554788, item 5.

26. See PNA, *PRA* 1890, 13, April 24; 1891, 1, January 5; 1895, 12, March 3; 1898, 46, November 5. *CIA*, 1894-1895.

27. PNA, *PRA* 1892, 20, July 27.

28. PNA, *PRA* 1885, 30, June 9.

29. PNA, *PRA-LNRT* 1890, 4, May 6.

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