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## Demographic Development in Mindoro

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We have been working on the history of Mindoro (Helbling 1990, 1992a and Schult 1991a,b,c 1992). We have come to the conclusion that the demographic development of the area is central to the understanding of its historical development, especially in the relationship between lowland settlers and the Mangyan. Whereas the demographic development of the lowland population is rather well documented, unfortunately very little reliable demographic data is available on the Mangyan population. The aim of this article is to reconstruct the demographic development of both the lowland and the Mangyan population in Mindoro since the beginning of the nineteenth century in the context of the history of this island.

We have tried to compute the development of the Mangyan population based on some of the more reliable data. We also had to explain the over- and underestimates of the Mangyan population in the various demographic censuses by taking into consideration the historical development of both the Mangyan and the lowland population and their relationship to each other. Our main thesis is that the Mangyan population outnumbered lowland settlers on the island of Mindoro up to the second decade of the twentieth century. It was only after the massive immigration from other islands, following the establishment of a rather effective infrastructure in Mindoro, and the changing economic conditions, that lowland settlers began to outnumber the Mangyan. This immigration caused the conflicts about land between lowland settlers and Mangyan that continue until these days.

First, we will discuss the separate developments of the lowland and the Mangyan population. Concerning the lowland population we relied mainly on the official census data, whereas for the Mangyan population we have had to depend on plausible estimates. Secondly, we have tried to sketch the history of the relations between the two

populations during the last two hundred years, taking into account their demographic development.

### **The Lowland Population of Mindoro**

The lowland population in Mindoro lives in the towns and villages in the western and eastern plains that separate the coast from the mountainous interior of the island. The lowlanders work predominantly as peasants, traders, retailers or employees and belong to one of the main Christian regional groups of the Philippines, namely the Tagalog, Ilokano or Visaya.

Thanks to the official censuses, we are rather well informed on the demographic development of the lowland population of the nineteenth and twentieth century. However there are some minor problems. One is the differentiation between "tributos" and "almas" in the nineteenth century. Another is the differentiation between the data on the island and those on the province of Mindoro in the twentieth century, the latter also including the island of Lubang.

We have relied on the data given in "Labor Evangelica" (1910), "Guia Oficial de las Islas Filipinas" (1834-1891) as well as the official census data (1903-1990). Table 1 shows the demographic development of the lowland population. (Appendix 1 contains the complete demographic data concerning the lowland population.)

The demographic fluctuations of the lowland population cannot be explained by a corresponding variation in its natural rate of growth, but is caused by immigration and emigration respectively. The average rate of population increase in the Philippines between 1903 and 1975 amounted to 2.52 percent (Salita and Rosell 1980, 275), whereas the population increase in Mindoro reached almost 4 percent in the same period (cf. appendix 1). Thus the immigration from Luzon and from the Visayas played an essential role in the nineteenth and even more in the twentieth century.

### **The Mangyan Population**

Mangyan is the general term for the "cultural minority groups" in Mindoro living as shifting cultivators in the mountains and hilly areas of Mindoro. Six ethnic groups can be distinguished, all of them called Mangyan, but speaking different languages (Barbian 1977; Zorc 1974, 1982): The Hanunoo-, Buhid- and the Batangan-Mangyan form the

southern group, while the northern group includes the Tadyawan-, the Alangan- and the Iraya-Mangyan.<sup>1</sup> The Iraya-, Tadyawan-, Buhid- and Hanunoo-Mangyan are generally more acculturated to the lowland society than the Alangan- and the Batangan-Mangyan living in the more remote mountain areas.

The differentiation between the tribal population in the mountains and the national lowland population started in the seventeenth century, after the beginning of the colonial exploitation and domination, as well as the process of christianization and the Moro attacks. The ancestors of the Mangyan fled the Spaniards and settled in the inaccessible mountain and hill regions, since the Mangyan prefer to retire from threat than to resist or even to strike back. They only deal with lowlanders for trade and wage labor.

Table 1. Demographic Development of the Lowland Population on the Island of Mindoro

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1716	12,000	1882	16,380
1735	8,000	1886	19,495
1749	8,300	1887	20,813
1770	2,730	1891	20,564
1778	3,807	1894	31,527
1807	3,739	1896	22,986
1815	5,017	1897	24,394
1820	4,883	1903	17,739
1834	6,377	1918	39,395
1838	6,672	1932	69,681
1843	7,342	1933	71,157
1849	9,209	1939	113,540
1851	8,443	1948	146,185
1857	9,691	1960	290,306
1861	10,702	1970	438,232
1866	12,084	1980	624,821
1871	14,310	1990	782,701
1877	15,030	—	—

The demographic development of the Mangyan population is more difficult to estimate. This is because the Mangyan mostly live in remote mountain areas and only a small portion of them, varying according to the centuries and different regions, settled on the plains.

Furthermore they generally try to evade the administrative control of state authorities. Different censuses, most of them not more than estimates, strongly disagree with each other as shown in table 2.

Table 2. Demographic Data on the Mangyan Population

Year	Numbers	Sources
17th century	30,000	(de la Concepcion 1788)
1632	6,000	(de Buerras 1632)
1801	1,125	(plains, de Torres 1802)
1807	1,382	(plains, de Torres 1807)
1840	>6,000	(Logan 1849)
1870	30,000	(Cavada 1876, 37-38)
1887	30,000	(Blumentritt 1887)
1887	38,544	(Archipiélago Filipino 1900, 84; Pronouncing Gazetteer 1902, 667-68)
1899	15,000	(Worcester; Maceda 1967, 105)
1902	50,000	(Manila American 1902, 2)
1903	7,264	(Official census 1903)
1903	12,000	(RPC 1904, 11:540)
1903	6,000	(estimate by Offley, <i>ibid.</i> )
1912	5-20,000	(Miller 1912)
1918	11,127	(Official census 1918)
1919	15,000	(Supreme Court 1919, 721)
1932	14,450	(Non-christians, Bureau of Health 1932)
1933	14,696	(Non-christians, Bureau of Health 1933)
1939	14,528	(Official census 1939)
1948	6,939	(Official census 1948)
1960	6,431	(Official census 1960)
1963	38,750	(CNI-census, Sumbad 1963)
1968	40-50,000	(Schmitz 1970)
1970	14,260	(Official census 1970)
1970	31,000	(Tweddell 1970)
1973	82,000	(Population Center 1973)
1975	30,000	(Barbian 1977)
1975	18,871	(Mind. Integr. Devt. Plan 1975, 16)
1976	82,500	(Panamin 1976)
1979	123,000	(Phil. Stat. Yearbook 1981)
1980	22,655	(3.5% of the households, Official census 1980)
1987	123,000	(Tribal Forum 1987)
1988	68-87,000	(8-10%, Postma 1988, xvi)
1990	24,000	(ca. 3%, Official census 1990)

The starting point of our estimates are some of the plausible census data for the nineteenth and the twentieth century: Blumentritt (1887) 30,000; Sumbad (1969) 38,000; Miller (1912) 20,000; Postma (1988) 68-87,000 etc. Based on these data we simulated the development of the Mangyan population using the computer program "Dynamo" (Pugh 1986). We assumed an average rate of population growth of 1.5 percent per year, which equals those in other tribal societies (Lowman 1981, 281; Hames 1983, 415) but is lower than the average increase rate of the Philippine population as a whole (Salita and Rosell 1980).

However a steady population growth rate cannot be assumed. Owing to epidemics such as smallpox, cholera and others as well as wars, demographic set-backs which reduced the population, were common.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to trace frequency and impact of these epidemics. As a realistic assumption we assume one epidemic for every twenty years until 1960 reducing the population by ten percent for each epidemic. Owing to better medical assistance, since 1960 there have hardly been any epidemics. Illnesses such as tuberculosis, measles and so on, responsible for the high mortality rate among children, have been taken into account in the average growth rate of the population.

Taking these data and assumptions into consideration, we have estimated the development of the Mangyan population (cf. appendix 2). The different computations differ from each other (between 70,000 and 80,000 Mangyan in 1990) and we tried to approximate the demographic evolution of the Mangyan population by computing an average. Therefore we used the assumed number of 75,000 Mangyan in 1990 as the basis of our further computations. We are aware of the fact that this is only a very rough approximation. Nevertheless this way of computing the demographic development of the Mangyan population seems plausible. The data are presented in table 3. The raw data for this table can be found in appendix 2.

The data given by Tweddell (1970) and Barbian (1975) as well as the official census data from 1903 to 1990 underestimate the actual Mangyan population, whereas the *Philippine Statistical Yearbook* (1981) and the *Tribal Forum* (1987) overestimate them. We maintain that the population data generated by computer make more sense in the context of the history of Mindoro in the nineteenth and twentieth century than the official census data. The fact that the Mangyan population has been underestimated in the official censuses can be attributed to the fact that only those Mangyan who had settled in the plains were registered, ignoring those living in the hill and the

mountain areas. Not only a superficial way of collecting data is responsible for the considerable fluctuation of the Mangyan population, as shown in the official census data, but also historical processes intervene. The Mangyan used to retire from the settlements in the plains to the remote mountain areas where they were saved not only from wars and epidemics ravaging the plains, but also from the census officials and state authorities.<sup>3</sup> At the end of World War II many Mangyan could not return to their fields in the plains since these had been occupied by lowland settlers.

Table 3: Demographic Development of the Mangyan Population

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1810	9,700	1910	27,130
1820	10,250	1915	29,260
1830	11,920	1920	28,650
1840	12,590	1925	30,890
1850	14,640	1930	33,320
1860	15,460	1935	35,930
1870	17,980	1940	35,180
1880	18,990	1950	40,920
1885	20,480	1960	47,600
1890	22,090	1970	55,440
1895	23,820	1980	64,800
1900	23,320	1990	75,000
1905	25,150	—	—

But the assumption maintained in the official censuses, that the percentage of Mangyan living in the plains varies in the same way as the total Mangyan population, is not convincing. The fluctuations of the Mangyan population in the different censuses are mainly to be explained by the varying percentage of the Mangyan population that settles in the plains or partly in the adherent hill region.

### **The History of Mindoro in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century**

We have to analyze in more detail the historical development of Mindoro in the nineteenth and twentieth century, to make clear our estimate of the demographic development of lowland settlers and Mangyan. We can divide the history of Mindoro in the nineteenth

and twentieth century into the following periods: 1750 to 1850; 1850 to 1900; 1900 to 1920; 1920 to 1990. Each period is characterized both by demographic criteria and by important political and economic developments.

### 1750-1850

Until the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores in Mindoro in 1570, it was said that the lowland population dwelled in prosperous and fortified towns on the coast. The lowlanders were integrated in a network of various political, economic, and social ties within the Philippine archipelago. At that time still many Mangyan also lived near the coasts and in the plains. The Mangyan were also part and parcel of the pre-Spanish barter system.<sup>4</sup>

After the establishment of the Spanish colonial system, war between the Spaniards and the Moros of the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao broke out. Spain's claim for political, religious, and economic hegemony all over the Philippines posed a severe threat to the Moros. Mindoro became one of the victims of the Moro wars. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in the eighteenth century, the coastal towns of Mindoro had been increasingly raided by the Moros. Spain's power was not strong enough to defeat the Moros. The Moros attacked and plundered coastal towns and villages almost annually, and killed and enslaved their inhabitants. Subsequently, the population of Mindoro abandoned the island in large numbers. They feared for their lives, hid in the interior and even fled in horror to Batangas. The Mangyan also retreated from the coastal areas.

This development started after the establishment of the Spanish colonial government and the evangelization of Mindoro by Spanish missionaries. Many Mangyan went into the interior because they wanted to evade paying tribute and forced labor (*polo y servicios*). On the other hand, some settled in "reducciones," were baptized, and protected by the missionaries from exploitation by the lowlanders. But due to the fierce Moro onslaughts, the missionaries also left Mindoro.<sup>5</sup>

The dramatic depopulation of Mindoro since the middle of the eighteenth century, e.g. 2,730 lowland Filipinos in 1770, resulted in a heavy decrease of tributes and thus left only small funds for the reconstruction of the destroyed settlements. Mindoro underwent rapid deterioration. At the turn of the century, the Spaniards undertook



several desperate attempts to repopulate Mindoro. One strategy consisted of inducing Mangyan to settle in coastal villages and thus to encourage settlers from neighbouring provinces to return to Mindoro. The Mangyan were a cheap labor force and well acquainted with the island's conditions. The plan was the same as in the sixteenth century. The more Mangyan dwelled near the coasts, the more farmers settled, the more tributes were available, and agriculture, trade and commerce increased. However, the program of repopulating Mindoro under the *corregidores de Torres* and Bayot failed to materialize. Despite the detachment of a small Spanish navy squadron in Puerto Galera, the Moro raids sporadically continued. Mindoro had turned into a wilderness and even prisoners could not be induced to settle there. At this point in time, much more Mangyan than lowland settlers still lived in Mindoro (Postma 1979, 16; 1984, 28; 1985, 32).

#### 1850-1900

Not till the middle of the nineteenth century did the Christian lowland population match the numbers one century earlier, 8,300 in 1749 and 8,443 in 1851. The Spanish navy contained the danger of Moro attacks after modern steam ships had been dispatched to the Philippines. The last recorded Moro raid on Mindoro happened in 1870.

At the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century many reforms in the Spanish colonial policy took place, such as the Bourbon reforms, the opening of the Philippines to world trade, and the cultivation of export crops, which also affected indirectly the remote island of Mindoro. The commercialization of agriculture resulted in the cultivation of more and more land, especially in Central Luzon and Negros. A few landlords possessed vast tracts of land cultivated by an increasing number of tenants.

In search of idle land, settlers began to migrate to the country's frontier. Slowly but steadily, settlers from the Visayas and Luzon, but also "vagamundos" or "tulisanes" (bandits), as they were called by the Spanish colonial authorities, began to pour into Mindoro. New pueblos (municipalities) and parishes were founded, towns improved, and the land in the vicinities of individual settlements cultivated. But change came very slowly to Mindoro. Mangyan and lowland Filipinos cultivated their land by slash-and-burn technique for their own subsistence. Only very few crops, such as coconuts and luxury wood, were exported to Manila and Batangas. The only means of communication between the towns was by boat.

The permanent migration of new settlers, though on a low level, increased the number of lowland Filipinos at a much higher rate despite the occurrence of several calamities, such as typhoons and fires, and epidemics, for instance cholera, smallpox. The Mangyan, however, still comprised the bulk of the population of Mindoro.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1900-1920

A major, over-all change in Mindoro took place at the beginning of the twentieth century. The occupation of Mindoro by U.S. troops marked the beginning of a new era. The Philippine revolution against Spain (1896-98) and the ensuing war against the United States of America (1899-1902) caused heavy damages also in Mindoro and brought death and pain to its population. The U.S. occupation forces invaded Mindoro in 1901. They destroyed almost all towns in the island, burned crops and houses, killed people and livestock and resettled the population in special zones. Apart from being victims of the war, a cholera epidemic caused many casualties among the population in 1902. These events at the turn of the century resulted in a decrease in population. The lowland Filipinos were affected in a much more intensive way than the Mangyan who predominantly lived in the hardly accessible jungle, plains, and hill regions.<sup>7</sup>

After the pacification of Mindoro in 1903, the Americans began to establish their colonial rule. Owing to the assumed number of Mangyan, the Americans made Mindoro a special province under their direct control. The goal of the Americans was to foster the economic development of the island. Thus, they tried to repopulate Mindoro and to bring the vast tracts of idle land into cultivation. According to the Public Land Law of 1904, Filipinos could apply for a parcel of uncultivated public land to be conveyed to them after a bureaucratic procedure (homestead). Until 1913 not even 1,000 farmers applied for a homestead in Mindoro.

Improvements in infrastructure and economy were necessary to make this policy a success. In 1915 preliminary works for the construction of the provincial road, the Calapan South Road as it was called, connecting the provincial capital of Calapan with Pinamalayan on the east coast, began. This most important infrastructure project was completed in 1932. It made the fertile northeastern plain of Mindoro accessible to new settlers. In 1909 and 1913 free trade between the Philippines and the United States was established and created a large and stable market for export crops. This immediately

resulted in the establishment of an export economy in Mindoro. In 1910 the largest and most modern sugar hacienda of the Philippines was founded in San Jose. Copra became the island's leading cash crop.

From then on, Mindoro emerged as one of the most important areas of immigration in the Philippines. Around 10,000 new settlers from Luzon and the Visayas arrived in Mindoro until 1920. This and the social, economic, and political improvements made the Americans change Mindoro's status from a special to a regular province in 1921.<sup>8</sup> It was then that the total number of the lowland population exceeded that of the Mangyan. And the number of the lowland Filipinos continued to increase in the ensuing decades at a much higher rate. Our study's central thesis is that until about 1910, the Mangyan were the majority of Mindoro's population. Only between 1910 and 1920, did Mindoro's original inhabitants become what they are known as today—a cultural minority.

We can see that the lowland Filipinos exceeded the Mangyan before 1910. We have to take into consideration, however, that there are no detailed and reliable records available for the demographic development of the lowland population between the two censuses of 1903 and 1918. Thus, we have to rely on extrapolation. As mentioned above, the number of homestead applicants between 1904 and 1913 was very low. It is reasonable to conclude that the number of migrants was also low respectively. From this point on, the number of new settlers increased rapidly.

Our thesis about the number of the Mangyan population clearly is in contrast to the number shown in the official censuses of 1903 and 1918. Here the number of Mangyan given is very low. According to the census of 1903, the Mangyan were already a minority. One reason for this underestimate is that the Mangyan had retired to the inaccessible mountainous regions due to war and epidemics. This reaction corresponded to the customary way the peaceful Mangyan reacted to threats or intruders. By abandoning their settlements in the plains and adjacent hill regions, the Mangyan also evaded the census inspectors and the enumerators.

The census data on hand, however, were also the result of politically motivated underestimates of the Mangyan population. After the American occupation of the Philippines, all areas with either a majority population of Moros or so-called wild tribes, later on non-Christian tribes, had been governed by separate legislation since 1902. Owing to its assumed big number of Mangyan, Mindoro was also included. Unlike the regular provinces, no provincial elections were

held but authority was placed directly in the hands of an American governor.<sup>9</sup> To change this unfavorable status, the local elite had to downplay the important social position of the Mangyan. The appropriate means were the official censuses of 1903 and 1918. This casts no doubt on the real difficulties in topography of making a true counting of the Mangyan population a hard business.

The census of 1903 gives a total number of 39,582 people living in the province of Mindoro, i.e., including Lubang. 32,318 were classified as Christians and 7,264 as wilds, meaning 18.3 percent of the population being non-Christians. The census of 1903 is regarded as being not exact and unreliable. Even the Americans themselves admitted this.<sup>10</sup> A closer look at the original census data from the non-Christian tribes of Mindoro reveals this to its full extent. In all townships, only the *rancherías*, i.e. small Mañgyan settlements, next to the towns were counted, neglecting the majority of Mangyan living in the hinterland.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the results of the census, Mindoro remained a special province, thus excluding the native elite from participating to its full extent in self-administration. According to the elite's opinion, they were denied respect and prestige and the possibility of additional revenues.<sup>12</sup> The local elite sent a petition to U.S. Secretary of War Dickinson, complaining about "el triste y deplorable estado de nuestra provincia." It was said that the majority of inhabitants of Mindoro were discriminated against and the island had been made a second class province only because of the fact that a small number of pagans, i.e. Mangyan, lived in the island's interior according to the census of 1903.

Even under Spanish colonial rule, Mindoro had been regarded as a regular province. Now the inhabitants were not permitted to elect their provincial representatives. The Americans withheld the elementary right to vote from the Mindoreños. Further, they had to pay an annual tax for public works. This was humiliating. Thus the majority of inhabitants were discriminated against due to a minority of "infieles." The conclusion of the petition was: "El régimen especial de tribus infieles á que estamos sujetos es, pues, contrario á nuestro estado civilización y cultura y es además un obstáculo grande para la realización de nuestros ideales" (*Exposición* 1910, 7; *Special Report* 1911, 40). The Americans only made a concession to the local elite in 1914. Juan Morente Jr. was appointed first Filipino governor of Mindoro.<sup>13</sup> In 1916 the office of the governor became electable and the voters confirmed Morente in his office. But still, Mindoro was classified as a special province.<sup>14</sup>

As stated above, important social and economic improvements in Mindoro were achieved, serving as arguments to revise the province's status. One major obstacle, however, remained, i.e. the number of the Mangyan population. The census of 1918 gave the number of 11,127 Mangyan living in Mindoro compared to 7,264 in 1903. This meant only a moderate increase of 53.2 percent. This comparison was based on the already inaccurate and questionable census of 1903. On the other hand, the number of the lowland population almost doubled from 32,318 in 1903 to 60,804 in 1918. Thus, the percentage of Mangyan on the total population was only 15.5 percent.

According to the local elite and many coastal town dwellers, there were no more arguments for classifying Mindoro as a special province. Finally, the Americans gave way to the agitation of Mindoro's local elite. Mindoro became a regular province on 1 July 1921. From this point on, the local elite was in full social and political control of Mindoro.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1920-1990

The decades from 1920 until today were characterized by a massive influx of new settlers to Mindoro. The average rate of increase outstripped that of the Mangyan by far (cf. appendix 1). This phenomenon resulted in permanent pressure on the Mangyan to retire further into the interior. While the Mangyan population increased steadily until 1960, interrupted only by an assumed decrease of the population by 10 percent every twenty years, the demographic development of the lowland Filipino population was characterized by fluctuations. These fluctuations were not the results of variations in the natural rate of increase in population. The average increase was 2.52 percent in the Philippines between 1903 and 1975 (Salita and Rosell 1980, 275). The waves of new settlers pouring into Mindoro since 1910 had been responsible for the fact that the rate of increase had been 3 to 5 percent between the different census periods (Appendix 1). The rate of increase from 1945 till today was higher than between 1935 and 1945 and in that decade higher than during the period of 1910 to 1935.

Since the 1930s the tenancy conditions in Central Luzon and other densely populated parts of the Philippines had deteriorated because of scarcity of land and the influence of a modern commercialized export economy (Kerkvliet 1971, 164). More and more farmers left their home provinces in search of virgin land, especially in Mindanao

and Mindoro. Because of its comparatively better developed infrastructure system, its connection to Batangas and Manila and, subsequently, the economic advantages in exporting crops, the east coast of Mindoro was much more attractive to new settlers than the west coast in the 1920s and 1930s. Since 1930 the provincial road construction to Bongabon had begun. This made it possible for new settlers to encroach deeper and deeper into the island's interior. Now, land pressure on the Mangyan exacerbated. The Mangyan retreated to the edge of the plains and to the island's hill regions (Schult 1991c, 59–61, 66–68).

The invasion of Mindoro by Japanese forces during World War II changed the pattern of migration. The influx of new settlers came to a standstill. For fear of the Japanese, the Mangyan fled to the mountainous areas. Also many lowland settlers went deeper into the island's interior and occupied the Mangyan's fields. After the war, the Mangyan had no chance to get back their lands (Helbling 1992a) on the northeastern plain.

Due to the deteriorating post-war peace and order situation in Central Luzon (Huk rebellion), new settlers arrived almost daily in Mindoro (Kerkvliet 1977). The farmers needed an ever increasing area of farmland for wet rice fields and coconut plantations. The Mangyan, who wanted to return to their ancestral land some years after the war, discovered that their land was occupied by new settlers who refused to vacate the land.

Thus, land conflicts, lasting up to the present, emerged and the exploitative character of lowland-Mangyan relations was perpetuated until today. Land grabbing became a constant pattern of immigration. Since the 1960s, an increasing number of settlers in search of land had also been going to the west coast, aggravating the land conflicts there. The pressure on the Mangyan in the two provinces of Oriental Mindoro and Occidental Mindoro intensified permanently because the settlers encroached more and more into the hill regions.<sup>16</sup>

## Conclusion

The most important result of our study is that the Mangyan population had outnumbered the lowland population until 1910–20. Contrary to all official census data the development of the Mangyan as a cultural minority is a relatively new phenomenon. The immigration during the second half of the nineteenth century led to an equal

size of both populations, a trend that was reversed by the wars at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was only after 1910 that the immigration of lowland settlers from other islands, increasing further during the twentieth century, resulted in a minority position of the Mangyan, constituting only 8–9 percent of Mindoro's population in 1990. This article underlines the fact, that the period between 1910 and 1920 was not only decisive for the infrastructural, economic and political but also for the demographic development of Mindoro.

Various factors are responsible for the fluctuation of the Mangyan censuses, so that even today no reliable data are available. The great differences between the demographic data on the Mangyan censuses can be explained, on the one hand, by the varying percentage of the Mangyan living in the plains or in the adjacent hill region. On the other hand, the over- and underestimate can be explained by political motives. The authorities were inclined to underestimate the percentage of the "wild" and "uncivilized" tribes in order to avoid the status of a "special province" with limited autonomy of the provincial elite, as in the first half of this century, and to keep the costs for assistance to the cultural minority groups low. Organizations concerned with the welfare of the Mangyan groups tend to overestimate the Mangyan population as funds are allocated mainly according to the demographic significance and political importance of the Mangyan population.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Census data on the lowland population of Mindoro (not including Mangyan population, Marinduque and Lubang)

#### Official censuses

Year	Mindoro Poptot	Mangyan	Lowlanders
1887	—	—	18,529
1903	25,003	7,264	17,739
1918	50,522	11,127	39,395
1939	118,893	14,528	104,365
1948	153,124	6,939 (4.1%)	146,185
1960	296,566	6,260	290,306
1970	452,492	14,260	438,232
1980	647,275	22,654 (3.5%)	624,821
1990	806,805	24,104 (3%)	782,701

**Additional censuses**

Year	Numbers	Sources
1588	20,000-25,000	(Postma 1976, 192)
1716	12,000	(de Asis, de la Concepcion, BR, 41:173)
1735	8,000	(Zuñiga 1893)
1807	3,739	(de Torres 1807)
1818	4,670	(Buzeta/Bravo 1850, app. no. 2)
1839	6,675	(Ruiz 1925)
1850	8,921	(Buzeta/Bravo 1850, 334)
1857	8,346	(Ruiz 1925)
1870	14,583	(Cavada 1876, 37-38)
1876	13,562	(Ruiz 1925)
1886	17,776	(Rojos 1888, Nat. Arch.)
1887	19,566	(Census 1887, in: RPC 1901, 599-600)
1887	20,184	(Census 1887, in: NARA. BIA-RG 350- Entry 27)
1896	23,499	(Census 1896, in: RPC 1901, 599-600)
1932	69,681	Christians (Arch. of the Recollects, Bureau of Health)
1933	71,157	Christians (Arch. of the Recollects, Bureau of Health)

**Guia Oficial de las Islas Filipinas**

Year	Tributos*	Numbers	Source
1833	2,060 tributos	10,300 almas	(Guia 1834)
1839/40	1,477 tributos	7,390 almas	(Guia 1842)
1842	1,560 tributos	7,830 almas	(Guia 1844)
1845	1,759 tributos	6,920 almas	(Guia 1947)
1848	1,840 tributos	9,209 almas	(Guia 1849)
1850	1,961 tributos	8,921 almas	(Guia 1851)
1852	2,124 tributos	8,528 almas	(Guia 1853)
1858	4,559 tributos	9,861 almas	(Guia 1858)
1860	2,330 tributos	10,114 almas	(Guia 1860)
1891	—	21,428 almas	(Guia 1891)

\* Tributos have to be multiplied by a factor of five to get the total population; the population of the island of Mindoro is about one fourth of the population of the former Province of Mindoro.



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## Labor Evangelica 1910

Year	Number	Year	Number
1749	8,300	1861	10,702
1770	2,730	1866	12,084
1778	3,807	1871	14,310
1815	5,017	1877	15,030
1820	4,883	1882	16,380
1834	6,377	1886	19,495
1838	6,672	1887	20,813
1843	7,342	1891	20,564
1847	7,596	1894	31,527
1849	9,209	1896	22,986
1851	8,443	1897	24,394
1857	9,691		

## Annual Population Growth on Mindoro 1903-1980

Period	Mindoro	Eastern Mindoro*	Western Mindoro*
1903-1918	4.06	4.67	3.22
1918-1939	2.92	3.63	1.56
1939-1948	2.73	3.36	1.12
1948-1960	5.35		
1960-1970	4.19		
1970-1980	3.55		
1903-1980	3.95		

\* Since 1950 Oriental Mindoro and Occidental Mindoro.

**Appendix 2: Demographic Development of the Mangyan Population**

**Average growth rate of population of 1.5 per year; until 1960 population reduction of 10 percent every 20 years on the average.**

**Estimation of the Mangyan Population (1890-1990)**

Year	Source	MangyanPop	MangyanPop 1990
1890	(Blumentritt 1887)	30,000	
1890-1960		30,000 - 62,300	
1960-1990		62,300 - 97,400	97,400
1970	(Pop. Center 1973)	80,000	
1970-1990		80,000 - 117,700	117,700
1960	(Sumbad 1963)	38,000	
1960-1990		38,000 - 59,400	59,400
1910	(Miller 1912)	20,000	
1910-1960		20,000 - 34,200	
1960-1990		34,200 - 53,500	53,500
1970	(Tweddell 1970)	31,000	
1970-1990		31,000 - 41,800	41,800
1988	(Postma 1988)	77,500	
1988-1990		77,500 - 79,800	79,800
estimated average population 1990			74,400 ( $\pm$ 5000)
70,000- 80,000 Mangyan correspond to 8.2- 9.2% of Mindoro's total population			

**Computation of the Mangyan Population (1890-1990)**

MangyanPop 1990	Year	MangyanPop
75,000	1960	47,600
	1890	22,000
80,000	1960	50,900
	1890	23,600
70,000	1960	44,480
	1890	20,640

## Notes

1. Cf. Conklin (1957); Miyamoto (1988); Gibson (1986); Lopez-Gonzaga (1983); Erni (1988, 1992); Hofmann (1992); Pennoyer (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980); and Kikuchi (1984).

Comparatively little is known about the Tadyawan- and Iraya-Mangyan. For the Alangan-Manyan see Maceda (1967); Kikuchi (1984); Helbling (1990, 1992a, 1992b); Helbling- v. Dittfurth (1988); Leykamm (1979), Macdonald (1970).

2. Cholera epidemics occurred in 1883, 1880 and 1902, smallpox, rinderpest and locust plagues occurred in 1856, 1881 and 1888 in the lowlands and also affected the Mangyan (Postma 1979, 20; Schult 1991). In 1911 a cholera epidemic ravaged the Halcon region (MPP 5 1911,18) and a small pox epidemic reduced the Buhid population by 30-50 percent in 1948/49 (Gibson 1986, 23).

3. Cholera and smallpox epidemics in 1880, 1888 and 1902; The Philippine Revolution in 1898, the American conquest and destruction of Mindoro 1901-1903, and the Japanese invasion in 1942.

4. BR (1570, 3:73-104; 1572, 3:141-72; 1574, 34:298); Chirino (1604, 41, 275); Zufiiga (1803, 45); Postma (1977, 254); Lopez (1976, 14ff.).

5. D. de Salazar et al. (1586-1588); BR (7: 44ff., 269); Chirino (1604, 18-19, 250-51); de Morga (1609, 202-3, 245-46, 265-66); BR (1637, 27:216); BR (1639, 29:155-56); BR (1646-1660, 36:177-80); BR (1661-1712); BR (1756, 41:181); BR (1887, 41:285); Barrantes (1878, 45ff., 105 ff., 145-46); Montero y Vidal (1888, 149, 238, 259, 304ff., 335, 353, 359). For an impressive though still incomplete list of Moro attacks, see Postma (1975, 212 ff.); de la Costa (1961, 375-76, 473-74); Postma (1977, 255ff.); Postma (1979, 6ff.); Schult (1991c, 26-30).

6. Cavada (1876, 35ff.); Cushner (1971, 186ff.); Postma (1979, 20ff.); Schult (1991c, 31ff.).

7. Report War Department (1902, 9:328ff.); RPC (1903, 5:857-58); RPC (1904, 11:541-42, 13:86); RPC (1905, 43, 70, 72, 86); del Rosario ([1916?], 78ff.); Postma (1979, 29ff.); Miller (1982); Schult (1991c, 46-49).

8. RPC (1901-16); Navarro (1923-24), appendices; Schult (1991c, 49-52, 59-68). For immigration, see Schult (1991a, 92ff.); for a history of the San Jose Hacienda, see Schult (1991b, pp. 458 ff.).

9. Schult (1991c, 70ff.); Act No. 500; Act No. 547; Public Laws (1903, 1:121-28, 168).

10. Census (1903, 2:14, 72, 73); May (1987, 64ff.); Report of the Governor General (1919, 18).

11. Original Census Schedules from the non-Christian Tribes of Mindoro (Census of 1903), MPP No. 7; *Manila Freedom* (1903, 1, 8); RPC (1904, 11:542-43).

12. Act No. 1396, 14 Sept 1905, Public Laws (1905, 5:11-29). The corresponding law affecting the local administration in special provinces was Act No. 1397, 14 Sept 1905, repealing Act No. 547 providing for the establishment of local civil governments for the Mangyans (Lopez 1974, 90).

13. Until then all governors of Mindoro had been Americans: Robert S. Offley 1902-8, Louis J. van Schaick 1908-12, Rudolph E. Walters 1912-13, Carl L. Stone 1913-14.

14. Act No. 2569, Public Laws (1916, 11:159-60); Executive Session, *Executive Journal* (1913), Stone (1913); Landicho (1952, 68-69).

15. Excerpt (1917); Census (1918, 2:100 ff., 791); Act No. 2964, Public Laws (1921, 16:204-5); Report of the Governor General (1921, 54); Landicho (1952, 100-101).

16. Lopez (1976, 94-95); Gibson (1986, 20-24); Helbling (1990); Schult (1991c, 110; 119-20; 133-37; 142-45).

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