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The Tagalog Revolts of 1745 According to Spanish Primary Sources

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The Tagalog Revolts of 1745 According to Spanish Primary Sources

Many historiographical works refer to the Tagalog revolts of 1745 as an important milestone in the development of Filipino nationalism. However, the understanding of these revolts is impaired by the reliance on a few sources, mainly those found in Blair and Robertson's compilation. This article discusses the civil and religious sources found in Spanish archives and classic texts. Based on these sources, it provides a summary of the uprisings that took place against several religious estates between February and October 1745. It concludes with an interpretation of the meaning of these revolts.

KEYWORDS: FRIAR ESTATES · REVOLTS · TAGALOG · JESUITS · PHILIPPINE HISTORY

Many historiographical works refer to the Tagalog revolts of 1745 and consider them an important milestone in the development of Filipino nationalism. However, the understanding of these events has been incomplete and even distorted, a view arising from the very limited sources used by historians. The document that has served as the main historiographical reference concerning the Tagalog revolts of 1745 is the royal decree of 7 November 1751, approving all the measures undertaken by Pedro Calderón concerning both the pacification of the rebels as well as the adjustment of the boundaries of the religious estates, which were the object of the revolts that occurred between February and October 1745.¹ Following the legal form of that period, before it went to the dispositions, the royal decree summarized the reasons that justified those dispositions. Evidently this decree is not a direct source about those events. Nevertheless, it was published in Manila by *La Democracia* on 25 November 1901. From that periodical Blair and Robertson (1907, 48:27–36) took the decree and produced a translation in English.

As far as the religious archives are concerned, these contain much information on the monastic estates, but little about the revolts.² We know for sure that every religious order requested copies of the legal proceedings regarding its estates.³ However, as far as we know, the only ones that have been preserved are those found in the archive of the University of Santo Tomás in Manila, several volumes of which were cited by Dennis M. Roth (1977), who nevertheless did not specify their contents.⁴ Apparently the friars decided to draw a veil over these facts, which could undermine their prestige. Most of the religious chronicles opted to maintain silence on this issue.

However, this is not the case of Recollect Juan de la Concepción (1792, 11:280–86), who provided details concerning the incidents affecting the Jesuit estates in Balayán, but leaving out the rest, including those concerning his own order. This distorted account can only be explained by the very little sympathy he had toward the Society of Jesus, which is evident in several chapters of his work. The worst of all is that some historians simply copied from him without validating the information. This is literally what the Augustinian Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga (1803, 280–85) and the layman José Montero y Vidal (1887, 1:478–79) did, thus spreading a partial and manipulated version of events. Later on, Blair and Robertson (1907, 48:141) committed the same mistake, while also providing, as mentioned above, an English version of the

royal decree of 1751. Until now, authors take both texts—the royal decree and the account of Juan de la Concepción—as though these were the only documentary sources on the revolts, thus perpetuating an incomplete version of the facts. But abundant primary sources are available.

The Primary Sources

The most extensive database on these events is found in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville. Five *legajos* (box files) of the section Audiencia de Filipinas, numbered 258, 259, 260, 261, and 262, are cataloged under the title, “Letters and *testimonios de autos* related to the insurrection of Tagalog towns and others due to the vexations caused by the religious of Santo Domingo and San Agustín, and pacified by the auditor Don Pedro Calderón.” However, that title does not correspond exactly to the documents contained therein. Firstly, apart from the letters and *testimonios de autos*, most documents refer to land measurements and the litigation between the people of Silang and the Colegio de Santo Tomás, proprietor of the estate of Biñán.⁵ Secondly, the religious orders involved were not limited to those of San Agustín and Santo Domingo. Thirdly, Pedro Calderón was not the only person responsible for the so-called pacification of the revolts.

Nevertheless, the *testimonios de autos* contained in those five *legajos* are the most direct and relevant documents concerning the revolts. In general, the *testimonios de autos* were files initiated by the government or the delegated authorities that compiled everything related to a specific event and submitted to the Council of the Indies. Because at that time there was no division of powers as we understand it nowadays, those acts included the full ambit of power: appointments, decrees, copies of previous decrees and decisions, petitions, testimonies, declarations of witnesses, letters, official communications, penal processes, sentences, bureaucratic matters, and so forth. It is not surprising, therefore, that many documents included in a *testimonio de autos* appear together or are separated and included in other *testimonio de autos*, reports, or other files. In the same way that today we use authenticated copies, in those days the royal notaries made legally valid copies with their signatures and those of several witnesses. In fact, some of the *testimonios de autos* included in the five *legajos* are *traslados* (official copies) in their entirety, appearing two, three, or even four times. But there are also many original documents that, in the case of petitions or letters sent by the local inhabitants, were written in Tagalog and signed in their own

handwriting. In those cases, the relevant Spanish translations accompanied the original documents.

This explanation of the peculiarities of the documents in the five legajos gives an idea of the mess that the documents represent. Having said this, I shall now proceed to provide some details concerning the testimonios de autos and other documents found in the five legajos, which are used in the next section to construct a summary of the uprisings:

1. Legajo 258, piece no. 5. "Royal writ of execution in favor of the Colegio de Santo Tomás on the litigation of the lands in the estate of Biñán, and testimonio de autos concerning the tumultuous rebellion of the people of Silang and others that followed their aggressive acts concerning landmarks, and other hostilities. And further orders concerning the pacification and the punishment of the heads of the riots and conspirators from these villages." (216 sheets)
2. Legajo 258, piece no. 6. Judicial process on the revolt of the people of Silang and others who followed their example in assaulting the lands and estate of Biñán. And further proceedings on second pleading. (197 sheets)⁶
3. Legajo 259, piece no. 1. Documents presented by the Province of San Nicolas of the Order of Recollects about the estates they owned and the facts that occurred in Cavite el Viejo [Kawit] concerning the drawing of boundaries of those estates. (340 sheets)
4. Legajo 261, folios 1–19. Report of the Audiencia and letters of the father provincial of the Society of Jesus and the bishop of Cebú, addressed to the King.
5. Legajo 261, piece no. 2. Testimonio de autos on the punishment of *indios* (native subjects) of San Mateo, who rebelled and refused to lay down their arms. (10 sheets)⁷
6. Legajo 261, piece no. 3. Testimonio de autos on the pacification of indios in the province of Bulacán. (26 sheets)
7. Legajo 261, folios 493–523. Information given by the Rev. Fr. Baltasar Vela, parish priest of Cavite el Viejo, concerning his noncooperation and nonintervention in the errors of the natives of that town during the measurement of the lands in the estate of Imus, belonging to the Province of San Nicolás.⁸
8. Legajo 261, folios 524–532. Brief plea in favor of the indios of Silang and San Mateo, who were deprived of the lands they owned from olden days. 18 August 1745 [by the provincial of the Society of Jesus].

9. Legajo 261, folios 534–540. Request of the Jesuit procurator-general, Pedro Tavarnier, to clarify the accusations made against the Society of Jesus. 21 June 1745.
10. Legajo 261, last piece. Document concerning the measures taken for the pacification of some towns that staged a revolt in the provinces of Tondo, Bulacán, Cavite, and Laguna de Bay put into effect by the auditor Don Pedro Calderón Enríquez by virtue of the mandate granted by his most illustrious governor and captain general of these Philippine islands.⁹
11. Legajo 262, folios 7–24. File concerning the disturbances of some towns in the province of Balayán and the sending of military forces commanded by sergeant-major Don Juan González del Pulgar.¹⁰
12. Legajo 262, folios 348–359. Testimony of Pedro Calderón concerning the events of the previous year. Manila, 11 July 1746.
13. Legajo 262, folios 775–1116. Legal proceedings by Pedro Calderón in relation to the estate of Payatas, declared as crown land.
14. Legajo 262, folios 1150 verso–1158 verso. Legal proceedings concerning Balayán.

We also find in Legajo 449 some letters from the governor, Gaspar de la Torre, and Fray Juan de Arechederra, which will be quoted below.

The Historical Facts

Origin of the Conflict: Litigations Concerning the Estates

The controversy between the natives and the religious orders over the ownership of lands began as early as the end of the sixteenth century and exploded in the eighteenth. The Jesuit fathers in charge of the parish of Silang, Kawit, and San Mateo supported the claims of the people, negotiated with the proprietors of the estates, and, in some cases, gave their advice on the litigations. The whole history of the conflict is summarized in a document written by the provincial of the Society of Jesus.¹¹

According to his summary, the controversy between the Colegio de Santo Tomás and the people of Silang concerning the estate of Biñán began in the previous century. Subsequently, in 1704, thanks to the mediation of the Jesuit fathers, the people agreed that cows from the estate could pasture in the sitio of Bual. Some years later, the people intended to revoke that

permission, but the Dominicans refused to abandon the use of those lands for grazing. In 1717 the people injured a herdsman and killed some cows.¹² In response, the tenants of the estate burnt several houses in Silang. The Dominicans left the lands under litigation, but in 1741 they occupied them again. The people of Silang went to court, and the decision was in their favor in the first instance. But the Colegio de Santo Tomás appealed and the Royal Audiencia decided in its favor on 1 September 1744. According to the Jesuit provincial, the Audiencia's decision was celebrated in the estate with *comedias* (stage plays), fireworks, and the ringing of bells, even as the people of Silang seethed with indignation. Furthermore, according to the same source, the other religious orders took advantage of this opportunity to consolidate the expansion of their respective estates:

At that time, the Recollects, the friars of San Juan de Dios and even the nuns of Santa Clara were calling for the measurement of their lands, such that by Lent of 1745 all the Orders in the Philippines, except the Society of Jesus, were craving for lands when they should have been pleading for heaven. All of them wanted to take advantage of such a favorable conjuncture.

In the second part of this document, the Jesuit provincial, demonstrating his judicial erudition, mentions all the articles in the Laws of the Indies that uphold the right of natives to the land, and indicates the irregularities committed in settling the conflict.¹³ In the end he makes a short reference to San Mateo, saying that what transpired there was the same as what happened in Silang, at about the same time: "they were deprived of the tobacco fields they had owned, cultivated, and worked on since time immemorial."

As a matter of fact, the litigations concerning the Payatas estate in San Mateo began much earlier than that of Silang. In 1590 the governor, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, granted those lands as a favor to a private individual, whose descendants sold them to the Augustinian's Colegio de San Pablo some years later. The Audiencia considered this sale as against the law because the crown had never ratified the donation made by the former governor, and thus the lands remained properties of the king (*realengas*). The Augustinians appealed the sentence and continued to use the lands despite the people's protests, which, also in this case, counted the support of the Jesuit parish priests. By 1645 the Colegio de San Pablo had rented

the estate to a private individual.¹⁴ The father provincial of the Society of Jesus informed the king that the first sentence in favor of the friars that year was that concerning San Mateo, and "it required a lot of work to refrain the indios from being perturbed."¹⁵

The Incidents in Kawit

As the Jesuit provincial pointed out, the favorable disposition of the Audiencia toward the interest of the religious orders produced, on their part, a wave of claims. Subsequently, land surveyors went to the towns, raising deep concern among the people, "because this type of measurements always preceded usurpations."¹⁶

On 29 March 1745 the surveyors appointed by the Audiencia arrived in the hills of Dos Bocas to measure the estate of Imus, a property of the Recollects. The friars Francisco de la Encarnación and Santiago de la Encarnación accompanied them. According to the testimony of the two friars, the parish priest of Kawit, the Jesuit Fr. Baltasar Vela, escorted by the *gobernadorcillo* (town magistrate) and several *principales* (notables), approached them requesting to stop the measurements. The Recollects told the Jesuit priest that he had no part in the conflict, but the latter replied that he had "as an heir of Santa María Magdalena." After an exchange of heated words, the Jesuit left without saying good-bye, and a bit later reappeared followed by many people armed with arrows, lances, daggers (*balaraos*), knives, and even some pistols.¹⁷ The surveyors had to leave without accomplishing their task.

The version of Fr. Baltasar Vela does not coincide with that of the Recollects. According to him, he only tried to mediate, and not for a moment did he cooperate or participate in the "blunders" of the natives; rather, he tried to stop them but with no success.¹⁸

What all the versions agree on is that the incidents of 29 March in Kawit marked the beginning of the revolts. Moreover, all of them indicate that the alliance among the various towns to support each other was forged there too. Three months later, the public prosecutor of the Audiencia wrote that, as the Holy Week was approaching, the government did not want to take any measure of force.¹⁹

The Silang Uprising and the Commission of Juan Bautista Uriarte

After the Royal Audiencia issued its decision against the people of Silang, and despite the appeal of the fiscal, the marking of the boundaries of the

Biñán estate started in February 1745. What broke down the people's patience was the construction of a warehouse in a location they considered as theirs. Their answer was seen in succeeding events.

On 28 April 1745, three principales went to the administrator's house to deliver a letter signed by Joseph de la Vega, Francisco Santos de Medina, Ignacio Marcelo, Juan López de Montoya, Andres Pulido, and Francisco González on behalf of all the natives. In that letter they insisted on their rights and complained that they did not have lands to cultivate because the friars rented out these lands to mestizos and to Chinese rather than to them. The letter ends with an announcement of their intentions:

Vucas ng Dios Nuestro Señor jueves darating cami dian sa bayan sa manga lupa namin na inyong nagapi sa di catoiran (tabi sa lacas nang ingyong pilac) na ang aming gagao in ay iyuguiba ang bahay na inyong ginagao sa pasonang Monting Ilog kasama rin po ang manga presang nacacapit sa aming lupa.²⁰

Tomorrow, Thursday, the day of the Lord, we will arrive there in that town, to our lands that you won without reason (by the power of your money). What we will do is to destroy the house that you are building in the pass of Monting Ilog, along with the dams that belong to our lands.

The administrator of the estate, Fray José de San Vicente, for whom the residents had little affection, ordered the arrest of the three principales who delivered the letter, and had them bound and sent to Manila. The following day, in the early afternoon, he wrote to the rector of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, Fray Juan de Arechederra, informing him that the natives of Silang were beating drums to summon the people.²¹ In the morning of the 30th, he reported that 500 armed indios demolished the warehouse and two dams, and seized the tools of the Chinese.²²

On 1 May 1745, at the bidding of the Dominicans, the prosecutor of the Royal Audiencia, Santiago Orendáin, ordered the incarceration of the three men from Silang and the initiation of proceedings against them and those behind the threatening letter.²³ On the same day, ninety men from Silang signed a long memorandum addressed to the governor. After reaffirming their loyalty to God and the king, they alleged ignorance about the

perpetrators of the damages that were done in the estate on the previous day; they portrayed their miseries, and insisted on the fairness of their demands concerning the land. They also accused the estate's administrator of abuses and of disrespect toward the secular clergy. Finally they expressed their frustration over the slow and high cost of justice.²⁴

Meanwhile, a crowd had formed in front of the administrator's house to demand freedom for the three captive principales. A gunshot coming from the interior of the house made the situation very tense momentarily, but everything calmed down with the intervention of the secular priest of the town and estate of Biñán, the licentiate Don Joseph de Ordóñez, who was there with the crowd and later testified as to what occurred.²⁵

On the following day, at the request of the Audiencia's prosecutor, Governor de la Torre appointed Juan Bautista Uriarte as the commissioned judge, with the mission of pacifying the rebels, using force if necessary.²⁶ Uriarte arrived in Biñán on 4 May, and there received word that about 200 armed indios, some on horseback, were gathered in the sitio of Latag, one of the disputed areas. The natives were in control of all the access roads.²⁷ Uriarte stayed at the administrator's place and began his duty of taking formal declarations from the administrator and several tenants of the estate concerning the events that occurred on the previous days. All of them declared that they and their relatives in the neighboring towns had received threats from the people of Silang.²⁸ Meanwhile, eighty men from Indang signed a petition addressed to the governor, extending support to the people of Silang, saying "Silang na manga camag anac capatid namin . . . ang canilang casamaan ay casamaan din namin" (The people of Silang are our relatives and siblings . . . their evil deeds are also our own).²⁹

On 5 May, Uriarte sent the Jesuit Bernardo Pazuengos to Silang to mediate for peace. Pazuengos returned on the next day bearing the demands of the people: freedom for the three principales who delivered the letter on 28 April; possession and ownership of the lands under litigation, together with the corresponding legal deeds; and replacement of the estate's administrator by a calm and peace-loving friar.³⁰

Another Jesuit, Pedro de San Lucas, left on 6 May to negotiate the conditions for peace with the people congregated in Latag, where there were already some 1,600 men coming from Indang, Silang, Kawit, Bacoar, Las Piñas, and Parañaque. In his lengthy testimony, the Jesuit tells of his trip and how the indios had weapons and were well organized from a military standpoint. With

their spears, they controlled passage through the roads. They were firmly determined about their demands, but agreed to send representatives to negotiate with Uriarte, under a written guarantee of their security.³¹

In response Uriarte sent his notary, Baltasar Sánchez de Cuenca, to Latag to provide the safe-conduct passes. However, he could not deliver the passes because the men in Latag did not seem to be of sufficient rank, but he was escorted to Silang. Once there he was entertained and, in the evening, more than 300 people met in the *casa real* (town hall). The gathering insisted on the people's rights to the land, and took the opportunity to request the Society of Jesus to continue their provision of spiritual administration.³² The safe-conduct passes were finally handed over, although these would never be used.

At this point, several testimonies insist on the peaceable attitude of the natives: Fr. Joseph de Noceda, the vicar of Silang, told Uriarte that he could go there with all guarantees of safety;³³ a tenant of Biñán declared on 11 May that he had heard the sound of the bugle horn (probably a *tambuli*) on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of the month, but that he did not hear it again afterward, suggesting things had settled down.³⁴

However, the Dominicans kept insisting on obtaining guarantees concerning their possession of the lands and to be compensated for the damages they had suffered. They also presented new testimonies made by their tenants to substantiate their claim about the subversive and violent character of the rebels.³⁵

On 13 May the Royal Audiencia issued a decree seeking conciliation in the meantime that they awaited the final resolution of the litigation, which would arrive from Madrid. The decree ordered the people of Silang to apologize for the damages caused and for rising up in arms. For its part, the Colegio de Santo Tomás was requested to give preference to the indios of Silang in renting out estate land.³⁶ The mediation by the Jesuit Bernardo Pazuengos seemed decisive in finding this solution, since he went directly from Biñán to Manila in order to have an interview with Governor de la Torre. Although no reference links him with any of the agitated towns, as a priest in the region Pazuengos had been given the title "Provincial of the Tagalog" and he showed a good knowledge of these places.

Nevertheless, the Audiencia's decree did not satisfy any of the parties. The Dominicans continued to demand their rights and to present even more witnesses in their favor. One of them declared that he went to Latag and

saw how the assembled men regarded as a general someone called Vega, who carried a cane with a silver hilt. (This person could be the Joseph de la Vega, whose name appeared as the first signatory of the 28 April 1745 letter.) This witness stated that he was arrested and sent to Silang because Vega said he was a spy. For a few days he was imprisoned in the *casa real* of Silang and finally released, thanks to the intervention of the vicar, Fr. Joseph de Noceda.³⁷

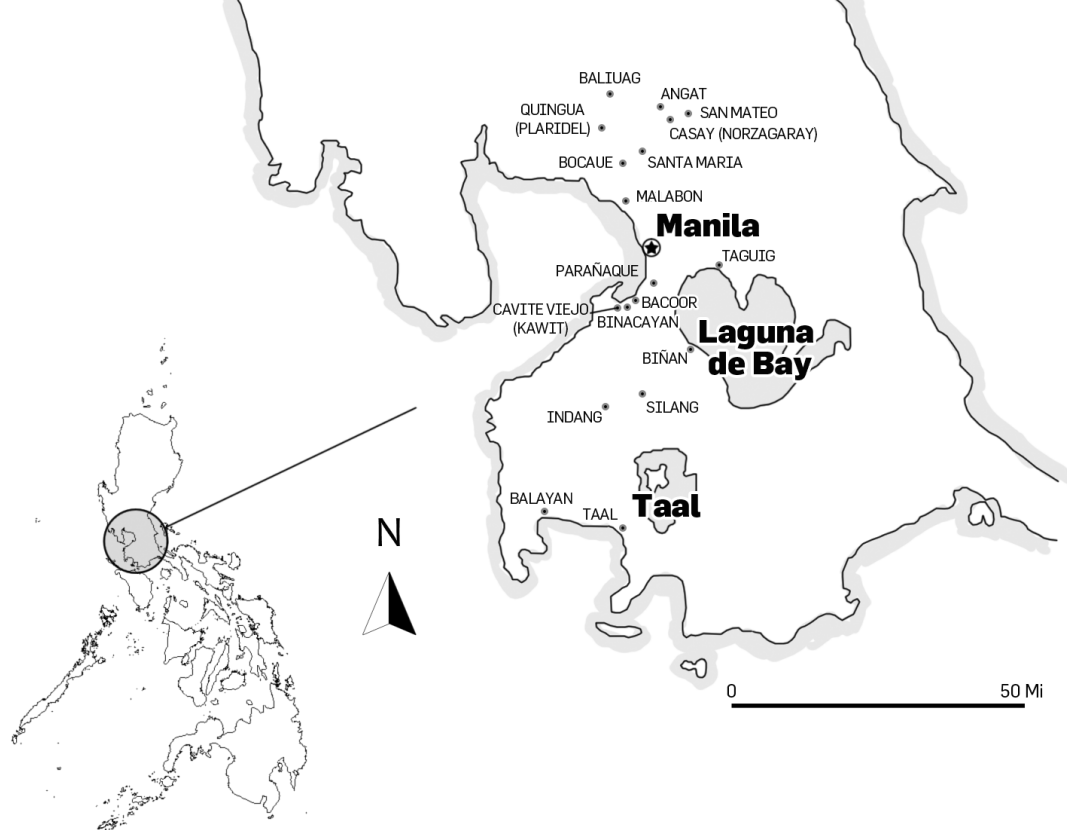
For his part, Juan Bautista Uriarte convened an assembly of the people of Silang on 17 May to notify them about the Audiencia's decree. He went to the meeting accompanied by a few of his men only. They were welcomed with merriment and a display of white flags in the windows of houses. However, after he had read the decree, only a small group of principales declared their acceptance of its injunctions. By midday the white flags had disappeared and armed men had spread to the barrios and pathways. In the afternoon a group came to see Uriarte, indicating their willingness to sign that they had been notified about the decree, as long as they were given the lands under litigation. Uriarte answered that such a decision was not within his authority. The natives then told him that they had an agreement with the people of Bacoor not to sign the notification unless they had received the lands, and that they would be killed if they signed without that condition being met.³⁸

After that unsuccessful trip, Uriarte expressed to the governor his pessimistic view of the situation. He considered the natives obstinate, but he saw the Dominicans as willing to compromise for they agreed with the decree's stipulation to rent out the land to the natives. However, what concerned him the most was that the conflict was going beyond the local level and spreading to other towns.³⁹

The Spread of the Conflict and Pedro Calderón's Commission

Indeed, the conflict in Silang had involved neighboring towns and there was evidence that the people had entered into formal pacts to form an alliance with these towns (see map showing Tagalog villages involved in the revolts of 1745). Subsequent events would show how the conflict spread to other estates.

On 18 May the *gobernadorcillo* of Taguig wrote that people from Parañaque and from his own town were uprooting the landmarks in the estate of Maysapang, and compelling everyone to sign a document that they had



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Map showing the Tagalog towns involved in the revolts of 1745

prepared.⁴⁰ The administrator of that estate confirmed that more than 400 indios, equipped with arms and drums, had destroyed all the landmarks and frightened away the cattle, driving them to the mountains.⁴¹ The *alcalde mayor* (provincial governor) of the province of Tondo went to Taguig to investigate the matter but had to escape at full speed to avoid the harassment of the crowd; he went directly to Manila to inform Governor de la Torre.⁴² On 20 May the attorney of the Augustinians went to the Audiencia and presented a formal charge.⁴³

Meanwhile, also on 20 May, the inhabitants of Bacoar declared that they had never been involved in riots or seditious acts, but admitted that they were in conflict with the estate of San Nicolas, a property of the Recollect friars. Recently they had decided not to pay rent until the new measurement of lands, which had been announced, was implemented. They added that, in the preceding days, they had had several incidents involving the administrator and the cowherds of the estate.⁴⁴

Also on the 20th the Audiencia issued another decree that condemned strongly the insolence of the natives, affirmed that there was no point in any of the natives' claims, and encouraged the restoration of order by force of arms.⁴⁵ The following day Governor de la Torre dismissed Uriarte and appointed the auditor Pedro Calderón to implement the Audiencia's order.⁴⁶ However, the Audiencia criticized this move, which it considered as depriving it of its competencies.⁴⁷

Pedro Calderón did not agree with the belligerence of the Audiencia's decree. On 22 May he raised the following points to the governor. Firstly, the instructions he had received—the same as those that were issued to Uriarte—did not consider the accommodating attitude of the indio as provided by the law. Secondly, the Spanish military force was limited and the consequences of a repressive action on a large scale could not be foreseen. Finally, he insinuated that the government should not be dictated upon by the religious orders.⁴⁸ Calderón's next step, which proved his independent character, was to write to the provincial of the Franciscans—the only religious order that did not have estates—requesting for a friar who spoke Tagalog to act as interpreter in the negotiations.⁴⁹ For such a task the provincial appointed Fray Sebastián de Totanes.⁵⁰

When the people of Silang heard about the transfer of the commission to Calderón, they wrote to him to assert their full arguments and express their desire not to be deprived of the Jesuits' spiritual administration of their parish. But this time, apart from the well-known grievances against the Dominicans of Biñán, they added that they felt harassed by the Recollects who owned the Santa Cruz estate. They warned the government not to look for the ringleaders of the disturbances, because they were all equally responsible.⁵¹ In relation to this last point, let me underline two points: on the one hand, the people of Silang knew that the witnesses presented by the Dominicans were revealing the names of the main ringleaders; on the other hand, in claiming collective responsibility, they were using the strategy of the celebrated Spanish comedy *Fuenteovejuna*.⁵² Quite possibly, their parish priest, Fr. Joseph de Noceda, was behind these two points.

Following the thread of events, on 24 May Calderón issued an edict addressed to the people of Taguig, Parañaque, Bacoar, Kawit, Malabón, Indang, and all their *visitas* (hamlets). He ordered them to lay down their arms and return to their respective towns. He suggested that they could present memorandums expressing their grievances, and he promised that justice

would be served. Nevertheless, he pointed out that a resolution about the lands was forthcoming from Spain, that some estates were older than their towns, and that some lands they claimed as theirs were sold to the estates by their fathers or grandfathers.⁵³

The people's memorandums soon reached Calderón. All of them lamented that they were poor because of the lack of land to cultivate. They demanded to recover the lands they considered had been usurped by the estates, and their traditional access to woods, pasturelands, wild fruits, hunting, and fishing. Their allegations were clever and they had plenty of arguments: those from the barrio of Hagonoy (barrio of Parañaque, not Hagonoy in Bulacán) pointed to a formal defect in the procedure followed in the sale of land to the estate some years back.⁵⁴ The complainants from Parañaque attached a map, and collated copies of legal proceedings and the references to royal decrees that supported their claims. They also protested the exaction of 12,000 cavans (with 1 cavan equivalent to approximately 75 liters) of lime every year as tribute, without any kind of allowances.⁵⁵ Those from Binacayan felt defenseless because, in order to obtain justice, they had to pay notaries, procurators, and lawyers, for which they had no money.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, Calderón was receiving news of further disturbances. On 27 May the military chief of Cavite reported that indios from Bacoar were killing the horned cattle in the estate of San Nicolas.⁵⁷ That day Calderón left Manila for Pasig, together with a small escort. Along the way he saw armed people and glances that were grim. On 29 May he wrote to Governor de la Torre from Parañaque expressing his concern: the insurrectionists formed a multitude, and those from Silang, Kawit, Bacoar, Parañaque, and the barrio of Hagonoy had their own generals. Those towns had formed a confederation and had committed to help each other in the event that Tagalog blood was spilled.⁵⁸

Immediately Calderón began to enact measures to correct the abuses of the estates. On 31 May he granted the people of Parañaque their free use of pastureland and access to firewood.⁵⁹ On 2 June in Bacoar he signed the same order, and added an arbitrary formula to solve the disputes over land: until a new measurement or higher order is received, the people could sow the land they claimed as theirs and deposit the amount needed for leasing the land in the hands of a neutral person or entity.⁶⁰ Later the Casa de la Misericordia was appointed as such an entity.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the announcement of Calderón's order in the towns was marked by serious disturbances. In the casa real of Bacoar, a young boy shouted "*walang buis*" (no rent), and many people supported him. The assembly was dissolved and the crowd went to the streets. Many men appeared, armed with lances, arrows, and some guns. The helm of Calderón's boat was removed. Calderón took two pistols but he ordered the eight men in his escort not to fire unless they were attacked. Then he called in the parish priest and warned him about the grave consequences of such disturbances: in case the Spaniards had to leave humiliated from there, they would certainly destroy the town. The priest exhorted the people to quiet down, and some women and old men threw themselves on their knees, pleading for Calderón's mercy. The situation calmed down and actually some armed youths even went to Calderón to ask for his forgiveness. The notary signed his report at six in the evening when the disturbance was finally over.⁶²

On 4 and 5 June Calderón issued similar decrees for Silang, Kawit, Taguig, and the barrio of Hagonoy. He pardoned the people of Silang who had participated in the past events and conceded a discount in the rent they had to deposit in the Casa de la Misericordia. He also forbade the religious as well as the natives from constructing stone buildings in the lands under dispute.⁶³ Calderón considered the villages to have been pacified, and so he returned to Manila.

Nevertheless, the situation in those towns was not back to normal. According to the Recollect friars, the people of Silang were still killing cattle in the estates of Santa Cruz and Biñán. They had written to the tenants of both estates, asking them to clarify whether they were on the side of the natives or on that of the Spaniards.⁶⁴

Calderón's stay in Manila was brief. After an audience with Governor de la Torre he had to leave immediately to attend to new sites of revolt.

Uprising and Repression in San Mateo

On 31 May Calderón received the first news of strife in San Mateo: the inhabitants of that town had gone to Pasig in search of assistance to attack the estate of Payatas, but in Pasig "the peaceable and the calm prevailed," and the people did not join them.⁶⁵

What happened a few days later is narrated in nine sheets of a testimonio de autos. There are not many details compared with those available on the events that occurred in other towns, but in San Mateo the revolt deteriorated quickly to a tragic end.

Calderón went to San Mateo on 12 June. At the town's entrance he found a group of armed men who refused to follow the order to lay down their arms. Warned by the *gobernadorcillo* that there were plenty of other armed men in one of the houses, Calderón headed to that house together with the limited cavalry force that accompanied him. A confrontation erupted and a Spaniard was killed. The rebels vented their anger on the cadaver, and only by nighttime did they accede to turn it over to the parish priest for burial. In the meantime, Calderón took refuge, along with fourteen or fifteen of his men, in another house, where they were under siege until the following day. According to Calderón's testimony, the people did not press him on their claims and complaints, but "only demonstrated their irreconcilable hatred toward Spaniards." They gathered with their flags, drums, and bugle horns in front of the house, hurling insults and provocations.

The Jesuit parish priest, Juan de Velarde, announced the arrival of troops and exhorted the people to calm down, but to no avail. He wrote a letter to Don Pedro Lomboy, leader of the rebels, who replied that he knew that soldiers were on their way and that he was ready to fight.

The troops arrived the day after, composed of twenty-six Spaniards on horseback; 200 native soldiers equipped with guns, bayonets, and four cannons; plus 100 more natives with lances and arrows. The rebels made fortifications in the town center, but the Spaniards put it to the torch. The rebels had to flee, but even in flight they continued their resistance and refused to lay down their arms. Five or six of them were killed. In the evening, Calderón ordered that the forty huts in the hamlet of Burgos, which had been the center of revolt, be burned.⁶⁶

The procurator-general of the Dominicans, Fray Domingo Rodríguez, reported that in San Mateo only the church remained standing, with all the inhabitants running off to the mountains. He pointed to Calderón as the person responsible for that tragic end and fateful outcome. Pardoning the people of Silang while they were still up in arms provided a bad example for other towns to follow.⁶⁷

The Revolt in the Province of Bulacán

Without leaving the province of Bulacán, the troops mentioned above marched on to Meycauayan on 17 June. There they joined other troops sent by the provincial governor. Calderón issued an edict to the insurgent towns of Bocaue, Bigaa, Quingua (today's Plaridel), Baliuag, and Angat. He offered

amnesty to everyone, except the leaders of the revolt. After laying down their arms and accepting the government's offer, they could present their grievances to him and he would do justice, as he had done in Silang. If they persisted in their revolt, they would be treated in the same way as the people of San Mateo were treated.⁶⁸

An estimated 5,000 men took part in the revolt. Of this number 1,000 were entrenched in the estate of Lolomboy, while 4,000 rallied in Bocaue. Calderón called a meeting of his military board, and they decided to wait for the arrival of Pampangan troops and the results of the intermediation by the parish priest of Bocaue, Fray Francisco de Santa Rosa.⁶⁹

Fortunately the negotiation produced results before the troop reinforcements arrived. The friar presented to Calderón a document signed by the natives and Chinese mestizos of Bocaue, Bigaa, Angat, and the barrios of Bintog and Culianin. The document raised the following seven complaints: first, the estates had usurped lands the people had inherited from their ancestors; second, they could not gather firewood from the forest because if they were caught doing so they were whipped and their bolos were confiscated; third, contrary to the Laws of the Indies, they had to deliver the tribute in the place designated by the *alcalde mayor*;⁷⁰ fourth, in the compulsory sale of produce to the government (*vandala*), the same quantity was required of all families, regardless of whether or not they could afford it;⁷¹ fifth, during the draft labor of cutting timber they were not given sufficient food rations and were maltreated, beaten with rattan (*behuco*) sticks, and insulted;⁷² sixth, they had to pay excessive taxes on betel nut and wine; and, finally, they wanted the Chinese mestizos to be treated in the same way as the natives with respect to tributes and draft labor, and they did not want any non-Christian Chinese to reside in their towns. The document concluded with the reaffirmation that the complainants were fervent Catholics and loyal vassals of his majesty, Felipe V.⁷³

The people of Meycauayan had not participated in the disturbances, but they also presented a document claiming back some lands that had been taken by the Augustinian estate (probably referring to the Malinta estate). Likewise they complained about their heavy burden of quarrying stones for public works.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, in Manila the superiors of the religious orders of Santo Domingo, San Agustín, and the Recollects wrote another petition to the governor, insisting on their claims and pointing out that the *indios* had attacked

all the estates near the capital, “*except for the eleven owned by the sacred Society of Jesus*”—a phrase underlined in the original text.⁷⁵

The submission of the rebels and their willingness to meet Calderón was communicated through the abovementioned friar of Bocaue. On 21 June Calderón went to Bocaue, and on his way he saw palisades and trenches but no people.⁷⁶ As soon as he reached the town, the alcalde mayor staged a well-prepared and impressive ceremony to demonstrate the submission and loyalty of the province. On the morning of the following day, the gobernadorcillo and the barangay heads appeared before Calderón. They said that people from outside caused the disturbances in their town and explained that they had elected a former alcalde mayor as their leader, because their actual head was in Manila and his lieutenant was sick. Calderón rebuked them sternly and said that he was being generous and merciful with the people for now, but next time they would certainly receive the most severe punishment. In the afternoon, the troops recruited by the alcalde mayor marched in with their flags and drums. There were fifty horsemen and 400 infantry soldiers from Malolos, Paombong, Calumpit, Hagonoy, and Quingua; Calderón thanked them for their willingness to serve and ordered them to retire because, with all the towns in peace, their services were no longer necessary. Nevertheless, Calderón reproached those from Quingua because people from that town had participated in the disturbances; they answered that only some *timaua* (commoners) and coarse people did. Later on, the barangay heads from the visita of San José came to kneel down in front of Calderón, who demanded that the leaders of the uprising be handed over to him because otherwise he was certain to burn their houses as a punishment.⁷⁷

On the following day Calderón formally answered the documents that the people had presented to him. He explained why not all the lands under dispute belonged to their ancestors, but he guaranteed that new measurements and revisions free of charge to the people would be undertaken as soon as he received the orders he awaited from Madrid. Those who did not have their own landholdings could come together and form new towns in uninhabited and vacant areas. Regarding the gathering of firewood from forests, they could do it freely. The tribute could be paid either in rice or in cash and always in their own village, because that was what the law provided. With respect to compulsory labor, he reminded the people that the law was clear enough and should be observed. The law also regulated the tribute of Chinese mestizos. Concerning the residence of Chinese in the towns, the government was studying the remedy. Eventually Calderón pardoned

everyone, except the leaders of the revolt, as he knew most of the people had nothing to do with it or had been compelled by malevolent groups to participate.⁷⁸

On the 23rd the principales and heads of barangay from Angat, Casay (today's Norzagaray), Baliuag, Quingua (today's Plaridel), Bigaa, and Santa María went to see Calderón. As he had done in previous days, Calderón rebuked them and forgave everyone except the leaders, who had run away. The relatives of Ignacio Gálvez and Baltasar de los Reyes were willing to hand them over on the condition that they would not receive an outrageous death. Calderón said that he would not burn the huts in the visitas of San José and Casay, where the revolts originated, but after the rainy season “we should deal with the said settlements and other similar ones in the province of Bulacán that are shelters for gangs.”⁷⁹

Calderón considered the province to have been firmly pacified because he ordered the return of about 1,000 Pampango soldiers and other reinforcement troops that had arrived from Manila.⁸⁰

The Final Episode: The Uprising in Balayán, Taal, and Rosario

By the beginning of May, while the revolt in Silang was ongoing, rumors about agitation in the province of Balayán spread, and it was even said that the alcalde mayor had been killed.⁸¹ This was not true, but by the end of June the said official had written two letters to the governor, reporting the gravity of the situation because the indios had occupied the estates of Lian and Calatagan. Governor de la Torre advised him to keep acting with prudence and measured care. The alcalde mayor was told to warn the indios that they would be strongly punished if they persisted in their belligerence. If possible, he should capture the leaders of the revolt and send them to Manila.⁸²

A few days later, the alcalde mayor of Balayán wrote to Calderón, saying he had issued an edict asking for peace and advising the people that they should present their claims in a formal way. However, according to the official, the rebels' answer was: “Come here Calderón and the Spaniards in your retinue whom we had been awaiting here. We neither asked for repose nor are we willing to give it. We are not like those of San Mateo.” Furthermore, they said that the amount of tribute they were willing to pay was three *reales* only (1 peso was equivalent to 8 reales), and that they were not going to render any kind of *polo* or compulsory labor.⁸³

The three Jesuit brothers in charge of the estates of Lian and Calatagan went to Manila on orders of their superior. One of them wrote that the rebels had subdivided the land and rented them out to the people. On 13 July the Jesuit superior asked the government to send troops urgently to Balayán.

Inexplicably the troops were not sent there until the end of September, when Governor de la Torre was about to die. It is also not clear why the mission was assigned to Sgt. **Juan González del Pulgar**, and not to Pedro Calderón. Regarding what happened later in Balayán a voluminous testimonio de autos was written, but we have no access to the original. We know about it only by way of a summary consisting of twenty-six sheets, which were sent to Spain. So on this summary we rely to complete the information given by Juan de la Concepción.⁸⁴

From these sources we know that Balayán, Taal, and Rosario were the towns that revolted. As in the other towns, the people also presented a written set of demands. However, in this case, the troops that were sent from Manila were received with gunshots as in San Mateo, and the situation rapidly turned into an armed confrontation, which ended in heavy repression. In fact, the summary concentrates on the approval of the measures taken by the military board on 2 October 1745 under the presidency of González del Pulgar. The board condemned some thirty men to death, although most of them were fugitives and the sentence could be carried out only in the case of five: Nicolas Manalo, Francisco de los Santos, and Santiago de la Trinidad of Balayán; and Pedro Dimalaban (alias Baldibol) and Agustín de Mendoza, both of Taal. Another eighteen were condemned to public flogging and hard labor in the galleys. Among them was Marcelino Crasmo, on the charge of possessing herbs, pieces of corporal (altar cloth for the Eucharist), as well as stones and hairs for witchcraft.

But the one considered as the top general of the rebels escaped that trial due to his status. He was the native priest Francisco Matienza, who was condemned by ecclesiastical justice to eight years in prison in Zamboanga and barred from returning to Tagalog towns, on pain of death should he fail to comply. Juan de la Concepción mentions that name and says that this person sought ecclesiastical asylum, but his status as a clergyman is not indicated. This detail, which is exceedingly important, is little known.

By chance, in the wake of Gaspar de la Torre's death, the person who was placed in charge of the interim government of the Philippines was Fray

Juan de Arechederra, mentioned above as the rector of the Colegio de Santo Tomás. The king had proposed his name to the pope to become bishop of Nueva Segovia; because there was no archbishop in Manila when de la Torre died, Arechederra was compelled to assume the position.⁸⁵ Arechederra did not want to take part in the affairs of the revolt of Balayán and so delegated the matter to his auditor, José Ignacio de Arzadun, who approved everything that González del Pulgar undertook in Balayán, ordered the implementation of public flogging, and sent to Cavite those condemned to serve in the galleys.

Interpretive Analysis

Based on the last piece of information just mentioned, the first point to highlight is the role played by the Society of Jesus in the conflict. The Jesuits, from their father provincial to the last priest, had been defending the rights of the people on their lands since half a century prior to these events. They used the judicial process to address people's complaints. When the revolt in Silang started, they mediated between the authorities and the native principales, based on their good relationship with some members of both groups. In doing so, they were not only criticized but also blamed as the promoters of the conflict. They had to respond firmly to such insinuations.⁸⁶

We can ask ourselves why the revolt was addressed *also* against the Jesuits, who presented their property deeds to the government, while the rest of the religious orders gave a thousand excuses for not showing them. The easiest answer might seem to be ingratitude, but that would be simplistic and ultimately untrue. In these revolts, as well as in the previous and subsequent ones, we can distinguish two sectors among the natives, i.e., the principales, who were obedient to the religious authorities; and the poorest, who were ready to break all bonds. The latter wanted land and had their own vision of their right to it, transcending any legal norms or consideration of beneficence toward the estates' proprietors.

I do not think it is fair, either, to blame the Dominicans or the Augustinians. Usurpation of land was not demonstrated ever, despite the fact that the royal decree approving the proceedings of auditor Pedro Calderón mentioned such usurpation. We need to consider that the Bourbon kings were introducing administrative reforms in Spain and promoting policies to consolidate the public treasury, recovering every source of income pertaining to the

Crown. Those policies clashed with the ecclesiastical institutions in Spain, Spanish America, and the Philippines. Both Calderón, who represented Bourbon reformism in the islands, as well as the Council of the Indies took a position against the friar estates, not based on any principles of social justice but mainly because the fiscal privileges enjoyed by these estates were against the interests of the Crown's income (García-Abásolo 1991). When Gaspar de la Torre wrote to the king, he referred to the grievances of the people against the friars, but did not mention that the people's petitions also contained numerous references to abuses related to the polo (forced labor), vandala (compulsory sale of produce to the government), and tributes required by the government.⁸⁷

Communal lands were not specific to the Philippines; they had a long tradition in Castile, and were a source of numberless litigations until very recent times (Mangas Navas 1981). As the law put many restrictions on the disposal of communal lands, sometimes villagers sold lots irregularly, guided only by the desire for immediate profit. At other times pious impulses guided them to donate a part of those lands to religious institutions. It happened also that some proprietors as well as religious enlarged the limits of their properties by encroaching upon communal lands, which village authorities neglected or, because of corruption, deliberately ignored. The longer that time passed after those irregularities were committed, the more difficult it became for complaints to be processed and the restitution of communal property to be made. As attested by the messy files of litigations between villages and estates in the Philippines, it would not be surprising that religious orders also used irregular means to consolidate their estates. It would not mean, however, that they did not have legal arguments in their favor.

The same can be said about the exploitation of communal resources: pastures, firewood, wild fruits, hunting, fishing, and so on. In Spain there were specific ways of utilizing communal lands, and sometimes these applied to private properties as well. Particularly in the open fields of Castile, after a harvest the space remains open to everyone until the next sowing. When the Spaniards conquered the Philippines they introduced private property in the European sense, but also maintained collective property and the communal use of land, because these practices were not alien to them. In the specific case we are treating, it is clear that for a long time Tagalog people had been utilizing the resources of the lands within the friar estates, independently of the more or less legal origin of those lands. It is also clear that, in the

period prior to the revolts, the religious orders as proprietors had restricted the communal use of those lands. The main reason why restrictions were imposed was the change of activity in the estates, which were in the process of transformation from pure cattle breeding to a mix of cattle breeding and agriculture.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify some terms. In the archival documents on which this article relies are found the terms *estancia* and *hacienda*. Estancia is a term still used in several countries in the Spanish Americas and has to do with cattle activities; the word can be translated as ranch. Hacienda, like estate, is related to agricultural activities. The change of terminology is very important: ranches were changing into estates; the large properties belonging to the religious orders, which were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries primarily to raise cattle, were turning into predominantly agricultural complexes in the eighteenth century. The dams and warehouses constructed by the Dominicans in the estate of Biñán were a consequence of this transformation. The restriction in the communal use of land was also a consequence of those changes, given that the cultivation of rice was not compatible with public access to resources.

Another related change was the introduction of mestizo and Chinese tenants in the estates. The Tagalog people and the Spanish government did not like this change. The former did not like it because they felt relegated by mestizos and Chinese. The latter felt similarly because those people, who used to pay a double tribute, were exempt from paying the tribute when they entered the estates. The proprietors would cede the estate's management to the tenants themselves, a change that was linked to the subsequent opening of Manila to international trade.

Roth (1977, 3) mentions in the introduction of his classic work the increasing interest in Latin America on estates as a socioeconomic complex. Since then, many more works have appeared on that topic. Most of them share the purpose of investigating the characteristics of agrarian exploitation in colonial times, in order to understand the evolution of their own agrarian structures and their current problems (e.g., Bazant 1998; Sánchez González 2003; Fajardo et al. 2003). An in-depth study of estates and their transformation through the centuries would constitute a big contribution to the economic and social history of the Philippines. The sources are abundant, as mentioned at the outset of this article. Incidentally, the relationships between estates and towns were not very good either in Spanish America. As

José Sánchez González (2003, 181) puts it, “estates and communities were two worlds: near yet far from each other at the same time.”

When Roth (1977, 100) focuses on the 1745 revolts, he talks about the estates’ vulnerability and the permanent risk of revolts, which might explode when authority was relaxed. I do not share his view. The fact that the relationship between estates and communities was not good did not necessarily mean it would result in violence. The episodes of violence involving estates were few, and merely punctuated the century and a half prior to 1745 and the century and a half after that. Moreover, Spanish military forces were quite limited even in those provinces near Manila. They were able to subjugate isolated villages like San Mateo or Balayán, but by and large the maintenance of peace was the result of the persuasive power of the religious. At a general level, I am convinced that religious power was more effective than military power in the maintenance of Spanish rule from the time of Legazpi until 1898.

I find much evidence that social conflicts during the eighteenth century were the consequence of demographic growth. Population growth explains why the villagers needed more land to cultivate and why they claimed the areas that the estates had long occupied. It also explains why the estate owners were breaking up new land, building dams, replacing cattle with rice, and introducing new relationships with tenants. At the end of the day, what they were looking for was higher productivity.

Regarding this demographic growth a direct testimony exists. It comes from the bishop of Cebú, Protasio Cabezas, who had been parish priest of Silang. In 1745 he wrote: “the number of people has grown much, but they have enormous charges and they have no means for living and for paying all the taxes.”⁸⁸

It may be hard to believe that a demographic saturation had occurred in those times, if we consider the present density of population in the Tagalog provinces. However, we must take into account that Spaniards never wanted the dispersion of the population. After the conquest, the main task of soldiers and friars was the gathering of the indigenous population in compact villages. In the eighteenth century the forest still covered most of the areas, even in provinces where people were claiming lands. That is why one of the promises of Calderón to the people from Bulacán was the building of settlements in new territories.

Meanwhile, the appearance of *visitas* was the result of population growth in the towns. These were neighborhoods located at a certain distance from the

town center, which did not have their own parish and had to be visited (*visita*) by the town’s parish priest. People from the *visitas* were the most radical and violent in the revolts of 1745. They were the most deprived of land, the poorest, the youngest, and the least controlled by the church and by the social hierarchy of the *barangay*. Some years later, in the revolts of Pangasinán and Ilocos, the *visitas* were once again the nuclei of the staunchest rebels (Palanco 2002).

Of course, apart from the need for land, there were other factors for the revolt. In the case of Silang, for fifty years the Jesuits had channeled the people’s discontent into a judicial procedure. They had raised expectations of a successful outcome, which turned into anxiety and finally frustration, with the Audiencia’s decision of 1744. A year after the revolt, the Jesuit procurator-general Pedro de Estrada affirmed that the Society of Jesus would not have pursued the litigations if they knew that these were bound to be the cause of the riots.⁸⁹

There were also some organizational aspects of the revolts that deserve to be highlighted. For instance, the capacity of villagers to form armed groups and elect leaders and generals within a short period of time is noteworthy. To some extent, this capacity was due to Spanish influence. The making of announcements using a bugle horn and the calling of meetings in *juntas*, as well as the organization of groups of men to do public works, were Spanish practices. Nevertheless, while in Spain compulsory work was disappearing and remained only for public works in the respective municipalities of the men involved, in Spanish America and the Philippines people were obligated to render several forms of compulsory work for the government until the nineteenth century. In the Philippines the unpopularity of the *polos* was expressed in the claims of several towns, as we have seen above. The *polos* meant long journeys far from home and the workers, called *polistas*, formed their own organization and elected their own *cabos* (chiefs) and generals. As a result, although it was not their goal, the Spaniards were promoting the organization of the people apart from the official hierarchy.

Regarding armaments, there is nothing extraordinary about these in the rural world. Most of the people used to have lances, arrows, small swords, and daggers. The wealthiest had pistols and shotguns. These were not armaments intended for revolt. Lucas de Alcántara, one of the men from Silang who delivered the letter to the administrator of the Dominican estate on 28 April 1745, when interrogated why he and other men were carrying offensive weapons with them, answered candidly that they had to walk a long distance

and the paths were full of dangers and robbers. The weapons were for self-defense.⁹⁰

There were no punishments for possessing arms, but Marcelino Crasmo from Balayán was charged with possessing several objects that the Spaniards deemed were intended for witchcraft. He was condemned to 100 lashes and ten years of forced labor in the galleys.⁹¹ The Spaniards knew from their very first days in the Philippines that people used those kinds of “arms,” which they considered as targeted against the Catholic faith.

Nevertheless, nothing mentioned in the last paragraphs concerning the Tagalog revolts in 1745 was really new. These had been observed in previous revolts under Spanish rule. Even the pacts of mutual help entered into by the different towns, or the consciousness of an identity—Tagalog in this case—that was evident in written declarations were not new.

On 29 May Pedro Calderón wrote to the governor about the town of Pasig: “The people from this town swore and signed that they would help each other in the event that Tagalog blood from the confederated villages was spilled.”⁹² In fact, the pacts were more important than the blood. The Spaniards should have understood it in that way. Indeed Calderón was cautious when the Audiencia ordered him to repress with force the insolence of Silang’s inhabitants. But he had no qualms in using force against San Mateo. The tragic end in Balayán probably would have been different if their inhabitants had had an alliance with their neighboring towns.

A Milestone in the Development of Filipino Nationalism?

Roth (1977, 101), quoting Conrado Benitez, says that the revolts of 1745 “marked a turning point of sorts in Philippine history since it was the first-scale manifestation of Filipino anger against the monastic orders.” I do not share this interpretation. Those revolts were against the estates, not against the religious orders. In fact, there was not a single case of violence toward religious men. Such violence had occurred in previous revolts and would happen again some years later in Pangasinán, Ilocos, and Cagayán, but not in 1745. Furthermore, the fury against the religious in all those other revolts was more atavistic than anticlerical in a modern sense. From my point of view, both authors were giving the events of 1745 an advanced interpretation. Anti-clericalism in a modern sense appeared in Europe in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment. This phenomenon would not arrive in the Philippines until the nineteenth century.

Summing up, in relation to those who consider the 1745 Tagalog revolts as a milestone in the development of Filipino nationalism, I think that those revolts connected more with previous uprisings than with future ones. There are vast differences between the 1745 Tagalog revolts and the Filipino Revolution of 1896. In 1745 the people from the towns claimed the lands of the estates; in 1896 the claims came from the tenants within these estates. In 1745 the originators were the principales and the violence came later with the poorest, the inhabitants of the visitas mentioned above; in the 1880s the ilustrados were the originators and the violence came with principales like Aguinaldo and the semi-ilustrado Bonifacio.

However, we must remark that, unlike other previous revolts, in 1745 a new protagonist had emerged: the Filipino secular clergy. The parish priests of Biñán, Bacoar, and Balayán appeared on the scene to defend the rights of the people. Their reasoning was the same as that of the Jesuits, and so was their strategy for conciliation. However, when we read their testimonies we never find the word “indio.” The influence of the parish priest was always present in the letters and petitions of the people. For instance, the people of Silang expressed their continuing desire to be attended to by Jesuit parish priests. At the same time, they assumed an attitude of humility and self-deprecation: “We did it in that disordered way and did not use the legal means because we are Tagalog and our heart is weak.”⁹³ We cannot find such expressions in the writings of the people attended by members of the native clergy.

The parish priest of Balayán, Francisco Matienza, appears to be the most enigmatic and unknowable of the native secular clergy. I personally do not believe he instigated a violent revolt that had many dark spots. But his character, despite being diffused, reflected the profile of a new leadership. Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J., was not wrong when, years ago, in his *Revolutionary Clergy* (1981) and his books on Father Burgos (1999, 2004), he intuited the decisive role of the secular clergy in the forging of Filipino nationalism. This article has been written in his honor, with my gratitude for his guidance and help from a distance.

Abbreviations used

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
ff.	folio page numbers
leg.	<i>legajo</i> (box file)

Notes

The map in this article was produced by Kim Darby Go Bartolome.

- 1 Book 16, ff. 206r–211r, leg. 335, Filipinas, AGI. This *legajo* is a Book of Registry where the Council of the Indies wrote down every decree it issued. There are many copies of this decree in other legajos. In these notes legajo is abbreviated as “leg.” when followed by a number.
- 2 The main archives of the orders that owned estates in the Philippines included those of the Augustinians (Archivo de la Provincia Agustiniiana de Filipinas, Valladolid), Dominicans (Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario, Ávila), Recollects (Archivo de Marcilla, Navarre). The documentation of the Jesuits is very dispersed, but no trace about these events has been found in their catalogues.
- 3 Letter of Gov. Gaspar de la Torre to the king, Manila, 4 Aug. 1745, leg. 449, Filipinas, AGI.
- 4 Roth (1977) quotes several volumes of the archive of the University of Santo Tomás without specifying their contents. They are probably copies of some of the *testimonios* kept in Seville.
- 5 The Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Santísimo Rosario was founded in Manila in 1610 inside the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo. In 1619 it moved to an independent building and was called Colegio de Santo Tomás. Later on, after receiving the papal bulls, on 13 Aug. 1648 it was inaugurated as the University of Santo Tomás. Nevertheless, it was known as Colegio de Santo Tomás and it appears with that name in the documents we are quoting.
- 6 The contents of pieces 5 and 6 of leg. 258 are the same as pieces 6 and 7 of leg. 260. In leg. 261 and 262 we can find unnumbered pieces, which are copies of piece 6 in leg. 258.
- 7 There is a copy in leg. 162.
- 8 There is a copy in leg. 162.
- 9 There is a copy in leg. 162.
- 10 There is a copy in leg. 449.
- 11 Leg. 261, ff. 524–532, Filipinas, AGI. This document is not signed but its author is not in doubt. Some contemporary documents quoted it as belonging to the father provincial of the Society of Jesus.
- 12 The document we are quoting talks about 6,000 cows, but this number seems exaggerated because it would mean the total number of cattle in the estate. Furthermore, the rector of the Colegio de de Santo Tomás in a document dated on 13 Mar. 1717 says the villagers had killed “some” cows. Piece 1, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 13 The *Leyes de Indias* were the legal corpus for Spanish America and the Philippines. One of their main purposes was the protection of the native population. Reality was different and in those times it was said that “law is obeyed but not accomplished.”
- 14 This short synthesis of the facts has been drawn from the *autos* (legal proceedings) issued by Pedro Calderón. Leg. 262, ff. 775–1116, Filipinas, AGI.

- 15 Letter from the father provincial of the Society of Jesus, Pedro de Estrada, to the king, Manila, 20 July 1745, leg. 261, ff. 13r–19r, Filipinas, AGI.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Declarations of Fray Francisco de la Encarnación and Fray Santiago de la Encarnación, Manila, 30 Mar. 1745, ff. 321r–329v, piece 1, leg. 259, Filipinas, AGI.
- 18 Report of Fr. Baltasar Vela and testimony of the natives from Kawit, Manila, July and Aug. 1745, ff. 493–523, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 19 Report of the Audiencia to the king, Manila, 30 June 1745, ff. 1r–8v, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 20 Letter from the natives of Silang to Fray José de San Vicente, administrator of Biñán estate, Silang, 28 Apr. 1745, f. 1, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI. I want to thank Jason Lorenzo Godoy for his help in the transcription of the texts in Tagalog.
- 21 Letter from Fray José de San Vicente to Fray Juan de Arechederra, Biñán, 29 Apr. 1745, f. 3r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 22 Letter from Fray José de San Vicente to Fray Juan de Arechederra, Biñán, 30 Apr. 1745, f. 4r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 23 Petition to the Audiencia from the attorney of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, Fray Santos Rebuelta, Manila, 30 Apr. 1745; View by the public prosecutor Santiago Orendain. Manila, 1 May de 1745, ff. 9r–11v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI. This Santiago Orendain would play an important role in 1762 as the main collaborator with the British and instigator of the revolts that took place in some provinces.
- 24 Petition of the natives of Silang, 1 May 1745 (original in Tagalog followed by translation in Spanish), ff. 123r–138v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 25 Certification of bachelor Joseph Ordóñez. Silang, 1 May 1745, ff. 109r–120r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI. There is a mistake in the numbering of the pages that jump from 109 to 120.
- 26 Commission and instructions given by Gov. Gaspar de la Torre to Juan Bautista Uriarte, Manila, 2 May 1745, ff. 16r–20v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 27 Testimony of Juan Bautista Uriarte, Biñán, 4 May 1745, ff. 25r–27v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 28 Declarations of Gaspar Cueto, Pedro Esguerra, Gregorio de la Cruz, Francisco Salgado, Carlos Faustino Maglilo, Juan de los Angeles, and Juana de Guevara, Biñán, 4 May 1745, ff. 30r–37v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 29 Petition of the natives of Silang, 1 May 1745 (original in Tagalog followed by translation in Spanish), ff. 123r–138v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 30 *Auto* and testimony of Juan Bautista Uriarte, Biñán, 6 May 1745, ff. 1r–3v, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 31 Testimony of Pedro de San Lucas, Biñán, 7 May 1745, ff. 3r–9v, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 32 Petition of the natives of Silang, 7 May 1745 (original in Tagalog followed by translation to Spanish), ff. 13r–20r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 33 Letter from Fr. Joseph de Nozeda to Fr. Bernardo Pazuengos, Silang, 9 May 1745, ff. 69r–70v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI. We must point out that any communication from the friars had to be done through their superiors.

- 34 Declaration of Francisco Ramos de los Santos, alias Ama ni Lucía, Silang, 11 May 1745, ff. 71v–72v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 35 Declaration of Catalina Josefa de la Rosa, Francisco de San José, Gan Guang, Lim Engco, and Juan Almansa, Biñán, 11 May 1745, ff. 140v–145r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 36 View of the Audiencia, Manila, 13 May 1745, ff. 38r–40r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 37 Declaration of Dionisio de Echevarría, Biñán, 14 May 1745, ff. 77r–78r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 38 Testimony of notary Sánchez de Cuenca, Biñán, 18 May 1745, ff. 62v–67r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 39 Letter from Juan Bautista Uriarte to Gov. Gaspar de la Torre, Biñán, 18 May 1745, ff. 81r–82r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 40 Letter from Iladeo Capistrano, *gobernadorcillo* of Taguig, to the governor of Tondo, Taguig, 18 May 1745, f. 88, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 41 Letter from Fray Joseph Moreno, administrator of Masapang estate, to Fray José de San Agustín, provincial of the Order of San Agustín, 18 May 1745, ff. 98r–99r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 42 Letter from the mayor of Tondo, Nicolás Díaz, to Gov. Gaspar de la Torre, ff. 89r–91r, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 43 Denouncement presented by Fray Sebastián de San Vicente, attorney of the Order of San Agustín, Manila, 20 May 1745, f. 100, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 44 Letter of the natives of Bacoor to the military chief of Cavite, 20 May 1745, ff. 76v–80v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 45 Extraordinary resolution of the Audiencia, Manila, 20 May 1745, , ff. 101r–103v, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 46 Nomination of Pedro Calderón to continue the proceedings initiated by Juan Bautista Uriarte, Manila, 20 May 1745, ff. 1r–2v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 47 Report from the Audiencia to the king, Manila, 30 June 1745, ff. 1r–8v, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 48 Consultation undertaken by Pedro Calderón, Manila, 22 May 1745, ff. 108r–109v, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 49 Decree of Pedro Calderón, Pasig, 26 May 1745, f. 28r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 50 Testimony of the notary, Pasig, 26 May 1745, ff. 28v–29r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 51 Letter from the natives of Silang to Pedro Calderón, 22 May 1745, ff. 159r–162r, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 52 In *Fuenteovejuna* (Lope de Vega, 1612) the inhabitants of the so-named village banded together and killed the *comendador* (commander) that mistreated the villagers and violated the maidens. When the officers of justice tried to investigate who had been the killer, everybody answered that the killer was Fuenteovejuna, and Fuenteovejuna was “all of them together.”
- 53 Edict of Pedro Calderón, Pasig, 24 May 1745, ff. 22r–24v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 54 Petition of the natives of Hagonoy to Pedro Calderón, 28 May 1745, ff. 31r–34v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 55 Petition of the natives of Parañaque to Pedro Calderón, 31 May 1745, ff. 45v–50v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI. The *polos* referred to compulsory labor for the government. According to the

law, the laborers were supposed to receive a salary, but there were numerous protests during all the years of Spanish rule due to irregularities and lack of payment. Such was the claim of the natives of Parañaque, which had nothing to do with the problem of lands.

- 56 Petition of the natives of Binacayan to Pedro Calderón, undated, ff. 95r–99v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 57 Letter of the *castellano* of Cavite to Pedro Calderón, 27 May 1745, ff. 30v–31r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 58 Petition of Pedro Calderón to Gov. Gaspar de la Torre, 29 May 1745, ff. 7v–15r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 59 *Auto* of Pedro Calderón, Parañaque, 31 May 1745, ff. 59r–60v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 60 *Auto* of Pedro Calderón, Bacoor, 2 June 1745, f. 68, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 61 The Casa de la Misericordia was a very important institution in Manila founded in the sixteenth century. It lent money for the commerce of the galleons and paid for many charitable activities.
- 62 Notification of the *auto* of 2 June, Bacoor, 2 June 1745, ff. 68v–70v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 63 Proceedings and *autos* of Pedro Calderón, 4 and 5 June 1745, ff. 86r–87r and ff. 104v–108r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 64 Letter from Fray Juan de la Hoz to his superior, Fray Ignacio de Jesús, Santa Cruz de Malabón, 5 June 1645, f. 131, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 65 Note of the notary regarding the information given by the vicar priest of Parañaque, 31 May 1745, ff. 58v–59r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 66 Piece 2, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 67 Petition of Fray Domingo Rodríguez, Manila, Aug. 1745, ff. 179r–184v, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 68 Edict of Pedro Calderón, 7 June 1745, ff. 2r–3r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 69 Boards of war and decrees, Meycauayan, 18 and 19 June 1745, ff. 5r–9r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 70 The Laws of the Indies ordered that authorities had to collect the tributes in the place and time most convenient for the natives. The fact that this claim is repeated through the centuries shows it was not complied with.
- 71 The *vandala* consisted of the compulsory selling of rice or other produce to the authorities. Abuses and irregularities were often another reason for unease among the natives.
- 72 See note 55.
- 73 Petition presented by the natives of Bocaue and other towns, 21 June 1745, ff. 17r–19r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 74 Petition presented by the principals and natives of Meycauayan, Bacoor, and other towns, ff. 24r–25v, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 75 Petition of Fray Bernardo Ustariz, Fray García Braceros, and Fray Joseph de la Concepción, superiors of Santo Domingo, San Agustín, and the Recollects, Manila, 19 June 1745, ff. 155r–159r, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.

- 76 Testimony of the notary, Bocaue, 21 June 1745, ff. 11v–13r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 77 Note of the notary, Bocaue, 21 June 1745, ff. 13r–16r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 78 *Autos* of Pedro Calderón, Bocaue, 22 June 1745, ff. 19r–22r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 79 *Auto* of Pedro Calderón, Bocaue, 23 June 1745, ff. 22v–23v, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 80 Note of the notary, Bocaue, 22 June 1745, ff. 23v–24r, piece 3, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 81 AGI, Filipinas, leg. 258, piece 5, f. 37. Declaration of Gregorio Feliciano, Biñán, 5 May 1745, f. 37, piece 5, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI; Testimony of the notary Sánchez de Cuenca, Silang, 8 May 1745, f. 62, ibid.
- 82 Letters of the provincial governor, Martín Joseph de Endaya, to Gov. Gaspar de la Torre, Taal, 27 and 30 June 1745; replies by Gaspar de la Torre, Manila, 1 and 4 July 1745, ff. 1150v–1152v, leg. 262, Filipinas, AGI.
- 83 Letters of the provincial governor, Martín Joseph de Endaya, to Pedro Calderón, Taal, 7, 10, 14, and 18 July 1745, ff. 1152v–1155r, leg. 262, Filipinas, AGI.
- 84 Leg. 262 and copy in leg. 449, Filipinas, AGI.
- 85 It was usual but irregular that bishops began to act as such when receiving notification that the king had proposed them to the pope. Episcopal consecration took place when they received the bulls from Rome, which used to arrive several years later.
- 86 Request of the Jesuit procurator-general, Pedro Tavnier, to clarify the accusations made against the Society of Jesus, 21 June 1745, ff. 534–540, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 87 Letter from Gov. Gaspar de la Torre to the king, Manila, 4 Aug. 1745, leg. 449, Filipinas, AGI.
- 88 Letter of the bishop of Cebú to the king, Manila, 17 July 1745, ff. 10r–11v, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 89 Letter of the procurator-general of the Society of Jesus, Pedro de Estrada, to the king, 20 July 1745, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 90 F. 21, piece 6, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.
- 91 File of Balayán, f. 4, leg. 262, Filipinas, AGI.
- 92 F. 34v, last piece, leg. 261, Filipinas, AGI.
- 93 Petition of the natives of Silang to the governor, Silang, 1 May 1745, piece 6, ff. 130v–138r, leg. 258, Filipinas, AGI.

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