VOL. I

The Philippines:

A PAST REVISITED
(Pre-Spanish – 1941)

by

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VII

Patterns
of Struggle

The most fundamental aspect of Philippine history is the history of the struggles of its people for freedom and a better life. It was in the course of the anti-colonial struggles against Spain that the native inhabitants of the archipelago gradually became conscious of their identity as one nation. But because colonial rule was established at an early stage of the people's social development and was maintained with but a short interregnum up to the twentieth century, the people's rebellions were for the most part negative responses to colonial oppression rather than positive movements for the attainment of national goals.

The nature of these responses was primarily determined by the main features of the two societies at each period of confrontation. Each resistance must therefore be viewed within the context of the society of the oppressor and the society of the oppressed.

The Landscape Reviewed

A brief recapitulation of the main features of native society and Spanish society at the time of colonization by Legazpi in 1565 is necessary at this point for an understanding of the type of exploitation imposed, the true extent of the suffering it caused, and the nature of the resistance it generated.

Although the indigenous societies encountered by the Spaniards were in various levels of development, as a general rule they were based on subsistence economies, produced no surplus, and therefore had no basis for the existence of an institutionalized exploiting class.
CERTAIN communities, however, were in transition to class society, having attained a relatively higher level of development because of the diffusion of the values and practices of the Muslim communities and also because of occasional contacts with traders from the Asian mainland. This was true of the Tagalog and Pampango areas where there were Muslim outposts.

But even in those communities where the beginnings of class stratification were discernible, the chiefs were still entrusted with communal responsibilities. There was as yet no real concept of private property in the sense of ownership of the means of production, and identification of the chiefs with the rest of the tribe was still buttressed by common activities redounding to the welfare of the group.

Spain at the time of the conquest was at the mercantilist stage of capitalist development although Spanish society still exhibited strong survivals of feudal values and forms. Mercantilism emphasized immediate extraction of wealth—particularly mineral wealth—for trading purposes, rather than long-range development of natural resources. Unlike the Latin American colonies, the Philippines had no rich hoards of gold and silver ready to hand. Since the Spaniards who came to the Philippines had neither the inclination nor the technical know-how to develop the natural potential of the islands, they made their fortunes by extracting what they could from the marginal economy of the native population.¹

The union of Church and State was the most salient feature of Spanish rule in the islands. This union meant active participation by the friars in the colonial administration. The limited mercantilist objectives and the great distance of the colony from Spain dictated that only a small administrative machinery be sent over. This fact increased the importance of friar participation in government affairs and also led to initial reliance on encomenderos for administration. It was likewise a consideration (though not the most important one) in the early use of the native chiefs in the lower rungs of colonial administration. The use of the chiefs as colonial intermediaries was responsible for the development of baranganic social stratification.

Early Resentments

Although some communities had initially welcomed the Spaniards, the very intrusion of the latter into the hitherto free and self-sufficient societies was bound to produce attempts by some native groups to drive the intruders away. The earliest of such attempts, that of Lapu-lapu, chief of Mactan, resulted in the death of Ferdinand Magellan. As Lapu-lapu and his men had fought Magellan’s expedition, so did other chiefs like Lakandula and Soliman lead their barangays in resisting the invaders under Legaspi.

Another attempt in 1587 brought together in alliance the chiefs of Tondo, Pandacan, Polo, Catangalan, Castilla, Taguig, Candaba, Navotas, Maysilo, Bulacan, Bangos and Cuyo. The leaders were Magat Salamat, son of Lakandula, and Agustin de Legaspi, Lakandula’s nephew. The chiefs solicited help from the Bornean rulers to whom they were related as well as from a Japanese captain who was supposed to bring arms and soldiers to help them drive the Spaniards away. If successful, the chiefs would give one-half of the tribute customarily collected by the Spaniards to their Japanese allies. The plan remained a secret from the Spaniards for fifteen months, but before it could be put into operation, it was betrayed by another chief. Most of the chiefs involved were sentenced to death or exile and their property confiscated. ²

Early Resistance

The underlying cause of most of the early resistance was the tribute and its cruel method of collection. (See Chapter 4) Whole communities would fight off soldiers sent by encomenderos to collect the tribute. A higher levy invariably aroused the people to rise in revolt. Even the King’s own encomiendas were not exempt from resistance. No tribute was collected from the king’s encomienda in Cebu for a period of three years because the natives were in revolt. In fact, the abolition of the tribute would be a principal demand of practically every uprising throughout the Spanish occupation. ³

Forced labor also led to a number of uprisings. In 1583, many natives of Pampanga were sent by the Spaniards to work in the gold mines of Ilocos. They were not allowed to return home in time for the planting season. As a result, there were grave food shortages in Pampanga and Manila the following year. Over one thousand were said to have starved to death in Lubao, Pampanga alone. ⁴ Because of the famine of 1584, the Pampangos decided to revolt. They sought the help of the Borneans for their plan to enter Manila one dark night to massacre all the Spaniards. Unfortunately, a native woman married to a Spanish soldier betrayed the plan. Many Pam-
pangos were arrested and executed.5

The policy of reduction (see Chapter 4) was also resisted. There was, for example, the rising of natives of Zambales and their subsequent retreat into the rugged mountain ranges of the province. The alcalde-mayor charged with pacification beheaded twenty Zambals to intimidate the rest into accepting resettlement.6 A similar rebellion also occurred in Nueva Segovia (Ilocos) in the wake of the resettlement efforts of the religious.7

Winning the Chiefs

There were, indeed, many instances during the first fifty years when the people demonstrated their resistance to the impositions and exactions of the colonizer. Although these were separate actions, each one a response to a particular grievance, they were all struggles in which whole barangays acted as one. This unity would, however, be slowly undermined by the techniques of colonization which deepened the stratification within the barangay communities, thus hastening the formation of classes in a full-blown colonial society.

The early colonizers tried to win over the more influential chiefs. This was easier to do in the more developed barangays around Manila where stratification was more marked. For example, the Spaniards rewarded Lakandula for his loyalty to them by exempting him and his descendants from tribute and forced labor. But when, after Legazpi’s death, the new governor withdrew these personal privileges, Lakandula threatened to revolt. Mollified by the restoration of his privileges and by a promise of better treatment for his people, Lakandula again became a loyal subject and even aided the Spaniards in driving out the Chinese pirate, Limabong.8

The Hispano-Dutch war greatly increased the demands on the material and human resources of the colony during the first half of the seventeenth century. Abuses and corrupt practices were condoned so long as they helped to produce the supplies and manpower so urgently needed.9 Moreover, since the earlier resettlement and pacification drives had established colonial control over a wider area, more communities were now subject to the increased exactions of tributes and forced labor. Resistance to the intensified exploitation was correspondingly widespread and took various forms depending on the level of development of the communities concerned.

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Economic Roots of Nativism

In the more backward areas, the expression of protest took the form of a return to the old native religion. Given their limited consciousness, the only ideological basis for protest that the people could offer was a contraposition of the power of their old gods to the power of the new religion. Nativism was no doubt reinforced by the importance of the Church in colonial administration and by the frequent invocations by the friars of the awesome powers of their God in order to cow the natives into submission.

In Bohol, for example, while the resistance took the form of a religious war, its economic root is readily visible in the claim of the rebels that their old gods guaranteed them relief from tributes and church dues. Thus, material resentments were reflected in the realm of consciousness.

Tamblot

In 1622, a babaylan or native priest named Tamblot reported the appearance to him of a divata or goddess who promised the people a life of abundance without the burden of paying tribute to the government or dues to the churches if they would rise against the Spaniards and reject the Catholic religion, go to the hills, and there build a temple. Two thousand Boholanos from four out of a total of six villages supervised by the Jesuits revolted. They burned the four villages and their churches, threw away all the rosaries and crosses they could find, and pierced an image of the Virgin repeatedly with their javelins.10

It took an expedition of fifty Spaniards and one thousand native troops from Pampanga and Cebu to put down the revolt, but not before they had been fiercely attacked by 1500 Boholanos using a variety of crude weapons such as pointed stakes, stones and crossbows.

The Spaniards regarded this revolt as a dangerous one for there was some evidence that it would spread to other communities. And in fact, before the Bohol revolt was quelled, the natives of Carigara, Leyte also rose.

Bankaw and Tapar

The Leyteños were led by their old chief, Bankaw, who had received Legazpi in 1565 and had been baptized. Here, too, the uprising had nativistic features. The rebels erected a temple to their divata and church property was destroyed. Women and
children, emboldened by the usual superstitious beliefs, fought side by side with the men. After their defeat, Bankaw’s head was placed on a stake as a public warning, a son of his was beheaded, and a daughter taken captive.\(^1\)

Another nativist uprising which reflected the people’s desire to escape their economic deprivation occurred in Panay in 1663. A man named Tapar attracted many followers with his stories about his frequent conversations with a demon. Tapar promised that if the people abandoned the Catholic religion and attacked the Spaniards, the demon would help them in various ways. Mountains would rise against their enemies, Spanish muskets would not fire or if they did, the bullets would hit the gun-wielders themselves, and any native who should die in the rebellion would live again. The demon also promised that the leaves of trees would turn into fish, the fiber of coconuts into fine linen, and that they would have all they wished in abundance.\(^2\)

This revolt had one new characteristic: the adoption of certain features of the Catholic religion. Tapar proclaimed himself God Almighty and designated from among his followers a Christ, a Holy Ghost and a Virgin Mary. He also appointed popes and bishops. This new development reflects the strong hold that Catholic doctrine already had on the people by that time. After all, proselytization had been going on for a century.

The adoption of some features of Catholicism did not however prevent the rebels from killing a Spanish priest. This act provoked a series of bloody reprisals which finally stamped out the revolt. Tapar was executed.

Labor Conscription

Since the Hispano-Dutch war in the Far East was essentially a naval conflict, the demand for woodcutters, shipbuilders and crewmen rose sharply. A rash of shipwrecks in the galleon trade route compounded the crisis. Because of the urgent need to step up labor conscription, all the regulations designed to protect the polistas (see Chapter 4) were discarded, giving rise to grave abuses. Furthermore, it became necessary to extend manpower levies to villages that had not contributed this kind of forced labor before.

In order to partially relieve the Tagalogs and Pampangos who had been bearing the brunt of the conscription, Governor General Fajardo in 1649 ordered the alcaldes of Leyte and other Visayan provinces to step up labor conscription in their areas to supply the shipyards of Cavite, Bohol and the Visayas.\(^3\) This new exaction which separated families and took the men to far-away places for long periods of time caused deep resentment.

Since the decree conscripted one man per village, all villages now had a common grievance. But here, again, the struggle had to take a religious form, not only because Church property was the only material evidence of the Spanish presence, but because the return to the native religion was the clearest notice the rebels could give of their rejection of Spanish rule. Then, too, a consciousness imbued with the need to rely on supernatural support could not just abandon one powerful god without invoking the aid of another. Thus the revolt had to find some supernatural sanction before it could start.

Sumuroy

The first resistance engendered by forced labor occurred in Samar. Its leader, Sumuroy, significantly enough a ship’s pilot, was ordered by his father who was a babaylan to kill a priest in the convent. This he did on June 1, 1649.

On Corpus Christi day, all the people marched to the convent, sent the other priests away, and sacked and burned the church. They took the church vestments and cut these up into drawers and turbans for themselves.\(^4\) This act was probably deemed to be part of the declaration of rebellion. Common grievances quickly sparked similar actions in many other villages. As though on cue, almost all the coastal villages of Samar revolted. Churches were burned, the friars fled, and the rebels regrouped in the mountains where they built a fort.

The simultaneous actions alarmed the Spanish officials, especially since these involved even villages very close to Catbalogan, the seat of jurisdiction in the province. Emboldened by their successes, the Sumuroy forces even mounted daytime assaults on Spanish troops. When the Spaniards demanded Sumuroy’s head, the rebels contemptuously sent them the head of a pig.

The first force the Spanish alcalde mayor of Leyte was able to muster proved ineffectual as it consisted of collectors of tribute who were not used to fighting and natives who were relatives of the rebels. A general had to be sent over from Manila, only to be placed in a dilemma by the wide popular support for the revolt. To crush the rebels, he had to have a large number of native boats to ferry provisions and arms; on
the other hand, he was afraid of the consequences of a large concentration of natives, because even those uninvolved in the revolt regarded the rebels as their liberators and rejoiced over their victories.

The Spaniards finally used their newly converted former enemies, the Lutas of Zamboanga, to assault the rebel fort. The revolt ended in individual surrenders, and the rebels themselves killed Sumuroy and carried his head to the Spanish commander.

The most significant aspect of this revolt was the spontaneity with which the other coastal villages of Samar initiated their own actions and joined the rebellion. Similarly, other provinces around Samar followed suit, with the people committing various acts of rebellion against abusive Spanish authorities. A Franciscan father was banished from Sorsogon, an alférez (chief ensign) was put to death in Masbate, an officer was killed in Cebu, natives of Camiguin tied up the father prior and humiliated him by placing their feet on his neck, several priests were killed in Zamboanga, and the entire coast of Northern Mindanao revolted.

Tricky Dabao

The uprising in Northern Mindanao which was led by a Manobo chieftain named Dabao is worth noting. The revolt was caused by the controversial decree to send carpenters to the Cavite shipyard.

Dabao was a cunning fighter with a bagful of tricks. Once, pursued by Spanish soldiers, he quickly presented himself as a Spanish soldier and asked to be baptized, thus forcing the priest to protect his new convert. He allowed the father prior of the convent in Linao to believe that he had been won over and, to prove it, entrusted the education of one of his sons to the priest. But this was just a ruse to enable him to move more freely among the new Christians whom he successfully convinced to join him in his plan to kill the religious and all the Spanish soldiers in the fort.

Dabao’s opportunity came when some men stole a quantity of maize and rice. He volunteered to catch the men and then set about preparing his own version of the Trojan horse trick. He chose eight strong followers of his and bound their hands behind their backs, but in such a way that they could untie themselves at his signal. Their weapons concealed on their persons, the “prisoners” were taken by Dabao to the fort. Just when the men were going to be set in the stocks for their punishment, Dabao drew his dagger and attacked the captain. This was the signal for the supposed prisoners to untie themselves and for the villagers armed with lances to join in the fray. The Spanish garrison was wiped out.

Governor Fajardo offered an amnesty to end the unrest in northern Mindanao, but the rebels who surrendered were either hanged or enslaved and taken to Manila where they were bought by Spanish households. A number were subsequently sent back home through the intercession of the Recollect fathers.15

Opportunities for the Chiefs

The nativistic revolts which involved entire communities without regard to social strata later gave way to struggle in which chiefs took advantage of mass unrest to advance their own interests. This development became noticeable by the middle of the seventeenth century in the more economically advanced provinces. By this time, the chiefs had already begun to enhance their economic status by taking advantage of the opportunities open to them as minor officials in the colonial administrative structure. Some of them now also made good use of their position as colonial intermediaries by exploiting the grievances of their followers to extract concessions for themselves from the Spaniards.

Although the chiefs had definitely become participants in the exploitative process, the people continued to follow their chiefs, though sometimes grudgingly. Traditional respect for the chief was reinforced by Spanish inculcation of feudal values with emphasis on acceptance of a hierarchical society. The people were constantly exhorted to obey their “betters.”

The period of intense exploitation of the natives was also the period of accelerated consolidation of principality control. The job of requisitioning supplies and recruiting manpower for the war was delegated to the local chiefs. This task proved very lucrative. Cabezas often confiscated the wages of polo laborers. Others who did not want to be conscripted had to pay for substitute workers. If they had no money, they borrowed at high interest rates from the local cabeza and became his debt peons.16 Thus, the war emergency strengthened the pre-conquest practices of debt peonage and share cropping.
New Stage in Native Resistance

Their growing wealth and a new awareness of their own prestige and influence nurtured in some of the chiefs ambitions of seizing power for themselves outside of the colonial framework. The middle of the seventeenth century thus marks a new stage in the pattern of native resistance.

Though the masses were gaining more experience and education in struggle, though they were participating actively in the historic process that would eventually lead to unification and awareness of national identity, class interests were emerging which would definitely undermine the integrity of their future struggles. For whenever the sufferings of the people from colonial abuses reached a peak which made the outbreak of violent resistance imminent, some chief or other would assume the leadership for the purpose of installing himself as the new authority in place of the Spaniards. He thus made use of the people’s libertarian impulses to satisfy his own ambitions.

The intensified exactions which had provoked the series of nativist uprisings in the Visayas and Mindanao also inflamed the people of the more advanced provinces of Luzon to rise against Spain. The higher level of consciousness of these communities, however, needed no magical mask to conceal the material reasons for their discontent. The nature of their grievances, the goals and conduct of their uprisings, and the outlook of their leaders clearly indicate a different level of economic and social development. The revolts of 1660 in Pampanga and Pangasinan illustrate the new features of native resistance.

The Maniago “Revolt”

The provinces were reeling under the exactions of forced labor for shipbuilding, bandalas, and other duties and services. Being one of the traditional suppliers of goods and services, Pampanga was particularly hard hit.

To provision the Spanish fleet and the garrisons, Pampanga was assessed 24,000 fanegas (bushels) of rice each year at two or two and one-half reales per fanega, a rate much lower than the market price. By the time the province revolted, the government owed the people 200,000 pesos. This was a great deal of money indeed by the standards of that time and, given the low prices, must have represented a very large amount of produce unpaid for. If, on the one hand, the large yearly assessment on the Pampangos was indicative of the amount of surplus they now produced, the size of the accumulated debt should also give us an idea of the resentment that was building up.

In addition, the war and the series of shipwrecks that plagued the galleon trade in the last few years forced large and repeated requisitions for timber cutters and shipbuilders. Ships were also needed for the naval units in Zamboanga and the Visayas and for convoy Chinese junks engaged in the lucrative trade between Manila and Canton. Thus, even after the war with the Dutch was over, labor drafts remained as large as ever.

The harassed Pampangueños also had to contend with military conscription. The Spaniards had come to rely on the fighting prowess of the Pampangos and used them extensively to quell revolts in other provinces. The Dutch-Spanish war intensified recruitment.

The immediate cause of the Pampanga rising was the ill-treatment to which timber cutters were subjected by the chief overseer of timber cutting in the province. One thousand Pampangos had been working for eight months under oppressive conditions. These men mutinied and signified their intention to revolt by setting fire to their camp site. They chose as their leader, Don Francisco Maniago, a chief from the village of Mexico who had previously been appointed maestre de campo.

The Spaniards were alarmed by this development for two reasons: first, because they knew that the Pampangos, having been trained in the military art by the Spaniards themselves, could become formidable enemies and second, because the Spanish force in the Philippines at the time was greatly reduced. It was therefore resolved to try conciliatory methods, but initially these proved fruitless.

Meanwhile, armed rebels gathered in Lubao under Maniago and another group made preparations in Bacolor. They closed the mouths of rivers with stakes to deny the use of these waterways to the Spanish forces. The chiefs involved then sent letters to other chiefs in Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan informing the inhabitants of those provinces that the Pampangos had risen with such force that they could take Manila, and asking these provinces to join them in revolt and to kill all Spaniards in their regions so that together they might throw off the Spanish yoke and elect a king of their own.
Lara's Maneuvers

How Governor Manrique de Lara managed to defuse the dangerous situation is a minor masterpiece of colonial maneuvering. The shrewd governor was able to exploit the fundamental division between the native elite and the people which Spanish colonialism itself had created. He also managed to play off one chief against another.

Governor de Lara began his maneuvers with a show of force. With three hundred men he went to Macabebe, a rich and populous town in Pampanga. People there were getting ready to join the rebels but on seeing the well-armed Spaniards, they became frightened and pretended friendliness, which pretense was returned in full by Lara. This show of mutual cordiality caused other rebels to waver and distrust one another so that in Apalit, they took away the despatches given to a certain Agustin Pamintuan for delivery to Pangasinan and Ilocos for fear that said Pamintuan might betray them to the Spaniards.

De Lara's next problem was to assure the loyalty of Juan Macapagal, chief of Arayat, since it was necessary to pass through his territory to reach Pangasinan. If Macapagal could be counted on the Spanish side, this would prevent a junction of the forces of the two provinces. De Lara wrote Macapagal calling him to a conference. He came, but to preserve his options, passed by the rebel camp first.

De Lara treated him with great courtesy and promised him many rewards if he would side with the government. Macapagal readily changed his color, whereupon he was named maestre de campo of his people and his wife and children were invited to Manila, ostensibly for their protection but actually as hostages.

Change of Heart

When the rebels sent an envoy to Macapagal to secure his support, he had the envoy killed. Macapagal, now a loyal defender of His Majesty’s interests, went back to Arayat to organize a force that would prevent the rebels from using that route should they be forced to seek refuge in Pangasinan. Macapagal’s defection discouraged the other chiefs. Furthermore, they became envious when they learned of the preferential treatment bestowed on Macapagal’s family.

Similar stratagems were employed by friars on other chiefs with equally good results. The upshot of it all was that the Pampanga chieftains wrote the governor and

alleged, as an excuse for the disturbance, the arrears of pay which were due them for their services, together with the loans of their commodities which had been taken to Manila for the support of the paid soldiers; they entreated his Lordship to command that these dues be paid, so that their people delighted with this payment and therefore laying aside their fury, could be disarmed by their chiefs and sent back to their homes.\(^{19}\) (underscoring supplied)

Governor Lara proposed a partial payment of P14,000 on the P200,000 due the Pampangos. The religious helped in the negotiations by contacting the leaders and offering them rewards for themselves and amnesty for their followers. Soon the chiefs began changing their tune. Wanting to ingratiate themselves with the Spaniards, they claimed that it was their people who had forced the revolt on them.

The Non-revolt

Whether De Lara believed this or not, it was a development which he shrewdly proceeded to promote by conversing in a friendly manner with the chiefs, granting them their personal requests, and asking them as an earnest of their fidelity to send men as usual for the timber cutting. The wily governor returned to Manila taking Maniago with him under the pretext of appointing him maestre de campo for his provincemates residing in the city.

These skillful negotiations resulted in the Pampangos themselves demanding two garrisons — in Lubao and in Arayat — for their security. They were now afraid of the Pangasinenses whom they had originally induced to join them in revolt.

The Pampanga revolt was really a non-revolt. There were no deaths, no churches were ravaged, no villages burned. But, significantly, an account of this revolt mentions “threats of disobedience to their chiefs.” One may surmise that disapproval was registered by the people at the obvious sell-out by their leaders.

Middlemen of Power

The class composition of Pampanga society is evident in this revolt. The native forms of dependence based on kinship ties had already been transformed into exploitative relations. The chiefs had become middlemen of power. Here we see them maneuvering between the people and the Spaniards. The chiefs
used the people as a bargaining lever but abandoned their cause in exchange for honors and other benefits.

What happened in Pampanga would happen again and again. In the long history of the people's struggle against their colonial masters, there would be numerous other occasions when their own leaders would barter their cause for selfish advantage.

Pampango Collaboration

It is not difficult to see why the closest example of a popular resistance to foreign rule undermined by elite duplicity occurred in Pampanga. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Pampangos had already had a long history of cooperation with the colonizers. As early as 1587 or barely twenty years after Legazpi's arrival, the Tondo chiefs who were then planning to expel the Spaniards had tried to enlist the aid of the Pampanga chieftains. The latter refused to cooperate, stating that they were friendly with the Spaniards.

The early modus vivendi between the Spanish conquerors and the Pampangos had a firm material basis. Pampanga's favorable terrain made it a relatively prosperous and economically advanced region. Its fertile fields and the availability of water from its well-located rivers enabled it to produce the increasing requirements of the Spaniards. Being near Manila, Pampanga became the traditional supplier of foodstuffs for the city. Because of their dependence on this province, the Spaniards treated the Pampangos with relatively more consideration. Trade with the Spaniards made Pampanga a prosperous province.

The Pampango soldiers were much prized by the colonizers. They participated in the capture of Terranate during the wars in the Moluccas, were called on to guard Manila as needed, served as rowers and pioneers in expeditions conducted by the Spanish fleets, and as builders of galleons. Pampango soldiers were in great demand for putting down insurrections in far-flung areas of the country.

Conscription and provisioning — both profitable enterprises — were handled by the chiefs. Since the ones who benefited most from the policy of cooperation were the principales, they had a stake in the maintenance of Spanish rule. The enemies of the Spaniards were also their enemies. The objective conditions bred in the Pampango elite a deeper colonial-mindedness than in the principalias of less prosperous places.

For all the foregoing reasons, it is not surprising that after the abortive revolt which followed the famine of 1583, no other rebellion occurred in that province for almost eighty years. Instead, we find thousands of Pampangos helping to quell the Sangley rebellions of 1603 and 1639-40. And after the Maniago revolt of 1660, there was to be no other uprising in this province under the Spaniards.

Malong — New Ambitions

The Pangasinan and Ilocos uprisings which followed the abortive Pampanga revolt provide other evidences of the growing transformation of the principales into an elite class. In both instances the leaders wanted to replace the Spaniards as personal rulers of the people.

Andres Malong of Pangasinan was, like Maniago, a maestre de campo. At the start of his rebellion, just after his followers had sacked the rich village of Bagnan and killed the alcalde-mayor of Lingayen, he proclaimed himself king of Pangasinan and made his aide, Pedro Gumapos, a count. He then sent letters to all the chiefs of the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan demanding their allegiance and asking them to kill all Spaniards in their territories, or he would punish them. He also wrote to Maniago of Pampanga threatening that if the latter did not join the revolt, Malong's man, Melchor de Vera, would march on Pampanga with six thousand men — but by then the Pampangos had already made their peace.

Mass Participation

This revolt is remarkable for the great number of people who spontaneously joined it. Unknown to the Spaniards, an underground of revolt had been steadily spreading through clandestine intercourse between different villages. The people were ready to rise.

Soon after his first action, therefore, Malong could boast of more than four thousand followers, and although the rebellion lasted only one month — from December 15, 1660 to January 17, 1661 — accounts say that Malong was able to assign six thousand men to Melchor de Vera to conquer Pampanga and three thousand to “Count” Pedro Gumapos to reduce Ilocos and Cagayan, and still keep under his own command two thousand men for any contingency. Another estimate puts the total number of rebels at forty thousand men.

While these figures may be somewhat exaggerated, the size of
Malong’s forces was certainly large enough to warrant the use by General Esteban of two hundred infantry and other troops of different nationalities plus General Ugalde’s forces of Spaniards and Pampangos. Moreover, although the Spaniards attacked Malong only after Gumapos with around five thousand Zambals had gone to Ilocos, they still managed to slay more than five hundred rebels.

But mere numbers could not overcome the superior fire power and training of the Spanish-led troops. Soon after Malong’s defeat in battle, groups of rebels began surrendering to the Spaniards. The rebellion was virtually over. Malong was arrested and later executed in his hometown of Binalatongan, Pangasinan. 21

Gumapos

Gumapos and his army of Zambals did not fare any better in Ilocos, principally because the population seemed to vacillate between the two contending forces. There were instances when they joined the Gumapos forces in killing Spaniards but later regretted their participation. One group asked the Spaniards to hang the father of Gumapos for passing on information to his son.

On the other hand, while the Spaniards with fifteen hundred Ilocano troops were retreating before the Zambals, they were unable to rally to their aid the inhabitants of any town they passed. In Vigan, the Spaniards tried to build a fort within which they might better defend themselves while awaiting their reinforcements from Manila, but they failed to carry out their plan because the natives conscripted to build it kept disappearing. 22

But there was no ambivalence as far as the rich Ilocano chiefs in the areas invaded by Gumapos were concerned. Their loyalty was to their property. During the Zambal invasion, their main preoccupation was how to salvage their wealth. They brought to the bishop’s house all their gold, silver, and other valuables. The hoard was so large that it filled all the rooms to overflowing and much property had to be buried. In an effort to save this treasure and that of the Church as well, the bishop assembled the Zambals and publicly threatened them with excommunication if they took anything from the churches or from his house. The Zambals, although they had asked the bishop to say Mass upon their arrival, were not impressed by the threat of excommunication. They sent the bishop to the town of Santa Catalina and then proceeded to loot his house. They even unearthed the silver which the friars and the rich had buried. Then they plundered and burned Santa Catalina as well as other villages and convents.

Gumapos’ Ilocos campaign ended after an encounter with the Spanish forces during which four hundred rebels were slain and Gumapos himself was taken prisoner. He was later hanged in Vigan.

Religion and Rebellion

A new development worth noting was the attitude of the rebels toward religion. Rebellion did not result in a resurgence of nativism as in earlier revolts or among more backward peoples. In fact, the rebels on occasion asked to hear Mass and to be confessed.

Observance of Catholic rites, however, did not prevent them from appropriating or destroying church property. As for the priests, some were killed, others were jailed or sent away. Interestingly enough, one priest had his life spared when he was ransomed by a village chieftainess.

A Taste for Titles

Besides the rebellion that Gumapos unsuccessfully sought to incite in the Ilocos provinces, a short-lived revolt led by an Ilocano, Pedro Almazan, also occurred at this time. Like Manilo and Malong, Almazan was a member of the principia. He was a very rich chief of San Nicolas to whom Malong had addressed one of his letters urging revolt. Like Malong, one of the first acts of the wealthy Almazan was to have himself crowned king of Ilocos. The ceremony took place at the wedding of his son to the daughter of another chief. The young couple were named princes. Almazan wore the crown of the Queen of Angels which was taken from a church the rebels had sacked.

The Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos uprisings of the 1660’s were typical examples of revolts led by principales. 23 Because these principales shared, though to a lesser extent, the grievances of the people, it was possible for them to make common cause with the masses. But since the native elite had acquired through their association with Spanish officials a taste for
wealth, power, and high titles, revolt meant for them much more than mere eradication of oppression. They saw in mass unrest a vehicle for the satisfaction of their own ambitions. These revolts were early manifestations of the desire of the native elite to supplant the Spanish rulers whom they were beginning to regard as impediments to their own growth.

The Longest Revolt

The most successful of the revolts of the period was certainly that of the Boholanos led by Francisco Dagohoy. It was a concrete manifestation of the drive for freedom and a monument to the people's struggle.

The immediate cause was a personal grievance which Dagohoy had against Father Morales, a Jesuit priest who had ordered a native constable to arrest Dagohoy's brother. According to the friar, the indio was a renegade who had abandoned the Christian religion. Dagohoy's brother resisted arrest and killed the constable before he himself died. The friar then refused to give him a Christian burial on the ground that he had died in a duel which was forbidden by the Church. Dagohoy swore to avenge his brother. Three thousand Boholanos joined him in revolt. This number swelled to twenty thousand over the years.

Dagohoy's grievance was only the spark that kindled the uprising. Three thousand people would not have abandoned their homes so readily and chosen the uncertain and difficult life of rebels had they not felt themselves to be the victims of grave injustices and tyrannies.

Several features of this revolt are worthy of note, the most striking of which is the length of time the rebellion was sustained. No other revolt in the non-Muslim area even approximates the Boholanos' record of eighty-five years of tenacious resistance. The Boholanos maintained their independence from the Spaniards from 1744 to 1829. 24

No doubt, the distance from Manila and the fact that the Spaniards were busy with the British invasion during part of this period were factors that helped the rebels. But two aspects of this revolt were of greater importance in insuring the maintenance of a long resistance. One was the fact that the Boholanos had the good sense to establish their base in the mountains and to surround this with farm settlements. This made them self-sufficient.

Whereas the forces of other rebellions such as those of Malong in Pangasinan and Almazan in Ilocos moved from town to town engaging the Spaniards where the latter's superior arms gave them the advantage, Dagohoy's forces swooped down on the Spanish garrisons and retreated to their inaccessible mountain settlement after the fighting. Thus, when a Spanish expedition was dispatched in 1747, it occupied a few towns, won some skirmishes and captured a few rebels, but could not break the rebellion. Although the Spanish commander repeatedly sent groups of his men into the mountains, they failed to capture Dagohoy and other leaders.

Mountain Communities

The other factor which was responsible for the high morale of the rebels was the cohesiveness of their mountain communities. The establishment of mountain settlements proved beneficial in more than a tactical sense.

When people leave different communities to move to a virgin area that has to be cleared for cultivation, there occurs a dissolution of old property relations. Moreover, when such a pioneer settlement must be self-sufficient economically and must rely for its defense on all its members, a more egalitarian social organization is bound to develop. An account notes the orderly way in which the rebels regulated their communities. 25

We may surmise that in these mountain settlements where occurred a return to the old communal relations. Freed of the burden of the tribute and of forced labor and no longer subject to the abuses and exactions of corrupt officials and priests, the rebels were certainly better off than they used to be. All these considerations instilled in them a strong determination to defend their new freedom. In addition, Dagohoy was able to obtain the support or at least the sympathy of the people in the towns. Many joined the rebels or supplied them with arms and money. 26 This, too, was a source of strength.

Although the rebellion was initially animated by anti-religious feelings because of the abuses of the parish priest, Father Morales, by this time the Catholic religion had been part of Philippine life for close to two centuries and therefore could not just be abandoned. As Tapar in Panay had done in a cruder way, the Dagohoy rebels also adopted and adapted the Catholic religion. They solemnized weddings, baptized the newborn, and practised other Catholic rites, using some of their own people to
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perform the duties of the Spanish priests.²⁷

Negotiations Conducted

Perhaps the best indication of the importance and the success of this rebellion may be seen in the persistent efforts exerted by both the State and the Church to negotiate with Dagohoy. After the unsuccessful military attempts to suppress the revolt, it was the Church’s turn to make the effort. Bishop Espeleta of Cebu tried to persuade the rebels to give up their resistance by promising to secure a general amnesty, to find remedies for the abuses of government officials, and to assign secular priests instead of Jesuits to the Bohol parishes. The rebels refused the offer.

After the Jesuits were expelled from the country in 1768, the Recollect missionaries took over the parishes in Bohol.²⁸ They, too, tried to persuade Dagohoy to abandon his rebellion. One Recollect priest went into the mountains to speak with Dagohoy and to ask him to swear allegiance to Spain once more. Although the Recollects claimed that Dagohoy consented to return to the fold and even promised to build a church, the fact is that no church was built and the rebellion continued.²⁹

Beyond Dagohoy

It is not known when Dagohoy died, but his death did not end the resistance; it was finally crushed by the superior arms of the enemy. In 1827, an expedition of 2,200 native and Spanish troops failed to suppress the rebellion. In 1828, the Spaniards tried again. This time the military expedition was larger and better equipped. After the first encounter at Caylagan, the Boholano rebels retreated to their mountain base in Boasa and prepared their defense by building stone trenches around it. Within this perimeter the rebels had their fields of rice, corn and camotes, their banana groves, three springs that provided them with ample water, and their houses. The Spaniards attacked the stronghold, bombarding it with artillery. The rebels put up a stiff resistance but after suffering many casualties, the survivors were forced to abandon the fort. Some fought their way out of the encirclement and managed to escape. When the Spaniards left the area, the Boholanos regrouped and returned to Boasa but the Spaniards soon mounted a second attack. Although the rebels fought fiercely, superior arms won the day.³⁰

By August 31, 1829, the rebellion was over. It had taken a year of repeated assaults to crush the Boholanos. Captain Sanz, leader of the Spanish expedition, wrote in his official report that 3,000 Boholanos escaped to other islands, 19,420 surrendered, 395 died in battle, and 93 were exiled.³¹ He also reported the capture of a large number of enemy arms such as battle axes, lances, bolos, campilans, muskets and even artillery pieces.

The great number of surrenderees attests to the mass support the Dagohoy revolt counted on. An account of the rebellion written by Governor General Riafort contains the following revealing details: of the native troops numbering six thousand that fought under the Spaniards, 294 from Bohol and 32 from Cebu deserted, while 4,977 Boholanos and 22 Cebuanos were disbanded as being on the sick list. Moreover, to ensure peace, around ten thousand of the rebels had to be resettled in five new villages and the rest distributed to other villages.

Anti-Clerical Feelings

During this same period, the people were also ventilating their grievances against the religious orders. The pattern of resistance was now clearly based on economic exploitation. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the masses were already becoming acutely conscious of the economic injustices perpetrated by the Church such as landgrubbing, subjecting the cultivators to stringent rules, and charging exorbitant rents.

Agrarian uprisings occurred in what are now the provinces of Bulakan, Batangas, Laguna, Cavite, and Rizal. The principal causes of these revolts were the usurpation by the religious orders of lands of the natives and friar abuses in the management of their large estates. (See Chapter 6)

The British Interlude

The legitimate struggles of the people against the abuses of government officials and friars were given new impetus by the British occupation of Manila in late 1762 as an off-shoot of the Seven Years War in Europe. Encouraged by the capitulation of Manila to the British, the restive population in many provinces seized the opportunity provided by this demonstration of
Spanish military weakness to press their own libertarian demands.

Uprisings occurred in Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Cavite, Camarines, Samar, Panay Island, Cebu, Zamboanga, Cagayan, Pangasinan, and Ilocos. Everywhere, Spanish officials and friars were expelled or killed. Of these uprisings, the major ones were those in Pangasinan and Ilocos.

The Pangasinan revolt of the 18th century occurred simultaneously with the Ilocos revolt and for similar reasons: Spain’s loss of prestige due to the British occupation of Manila, excessive tributes, and abuses of the alcalde mayor and other officials.

The Pangasinan revolt which broke out in 1762 began in the town of Binalatongan (now Binalonan). The immediate cause was the arrival of a commission sent by the alcalde mayor to collect the royal tribute. The people demanded the abolition of the tribute and the replacement of the alcalde mayor who had been committing many abuses. The uprising was temporarily quelled after a force of forty Spaniards, a squadron of Pampanga horsemen, and a regiment of militia put to flight a disorganized rebel force of ten thousand in Bayambang.

The revolt was however revived under the leadership of a native of Binalatongan, Juan de la Cruz Palaris, whose father had been a cabeza de barangay. Under Palaris, the revolt quickly spread to nine other towns. All Spaniards including the friars were driven out of these rebel towns and for more than a year, Palaris was the master of the province.

With Pangasinan and Ilocos both in revolt and the British to contend with, the beleaguered Spaniards could not muster enough force to confront the rebels in both provinces. But after the Ilocos revolt was put down, the alcalde of Cagayan came to the rescue of his counterpart in Pangasinan, bringing with him three thousand Ilocano soldiers. By the beginning of 1764, the rebels had to abandon the towns and retreat to the mountains, each rebel group led by a chief. By March, the revolt was crushed. Palaris was hanged in January, 1765.

Fr. Joaquin Martínez de Zuñiga notes in his account of this uprising that many of the rebels died of hunger in the mountains while others fled to other provinces. In the first census made after the rebellion, the population was found to have decreased by 26,927 or almost half of the previous number.32

Silang — Ilustrado Prototype

The more celebrated rebel leader of the British occupation period, and one whose exploits provide an interesting subject for study and analysis, was Diego Silang of Ilocos.

Silang, thirty two years old when he led the Ilocano uprising, was born of parents who came from the principia. Orphaned at an early age, he lived with the parish priest of Vigan. Some years later, this curate was transferred to Manila. Silang was travelling to the city in a junk carrying the friar’s personal effects when the ship capsized. He was captured by Aetas of Zambales who held him for some time as their slave. Ransomed by a Recollect missionary, he went back to relatives in Pangasinan and later returned to Vigan. There he married a well-to-do widow whose husband had left her fields and fishponds. She was the protege of Provisor (vicar general or ecclesiastical judge) Tomas Millan. For many years Silang was a mail courier between Vigan and Manila, travelling to the city every year at about the time the galleon from Mexico was expected. Thus he was in Manila awaiting the arrival of the galleon when the British occupied the city.

The Silang revolt, though it lasted a scant five months from December 14, 1762 to May 28, 1763, is important because it provides us with a prototype of the ilustrado leadership of the nineteenth century.

Vigan was then the center of an economically developing and prosperous region, and Silang, with his principia origins and Spanish upbringing, the property holdings of his wife, and his greater sophistication as a result of his many trips to Manila, had just the right background to emerge as the typical leader of that time and place. It is with a view to gaining insights into this evolving type of leadership that the short-lived Silang revolt is worth studying in some detail.

The case with which the British secured the capitulation of Manila shattered the myth of Spanish invincibility. Possibly, the idea of taking advantage of the Spanish defeat began to form in Silang’s mind while he was still in Manila. The Spanish author, Jose Montero y Vidal, writes that in Manila, Silang lived in the house of a lawyer, the “traitor Orendain.” Also, on the way home he stopped at Pangasinan where his relative, a maestre de campo named Andres Lopez, was one of the leaders of the uprising in that province.

In Vigan, the principals had been protesting against various abuses of the alcalde mayor and demanding the dismissal of
some local officials. News of the British occupation of Manila and of the Pangasinan revolt heightened the general restlessness and anxiety. Thus, upon his arrival Silang found it easy to rouse the people to take steps to protect themselves from the British on the ground that the Spaniards could no longer protect them. He argued that since the English were in possession of Manila and the Spaniards had been rendered powerless, the people should stop paying tributes and other taxes. He urged that they organize themselves to fight the British, warning that British domination could result in the loss of their Catholic religion. Significantly, he stated that this task required the unity of the principales and the common people.

Common Bases of Action

The principales and the common people had some common bases for action against Spanish rule. The people continued to find the tribute burdensome, particularly the comun which consisted of one real fuerte per tribute payer per year. While this may not have been a serious burden to the principales, it did not particularly benefit them either, so its abolition could be safely demanded in behalf of the people. But the principales and the common people were both affected by the abuses committed by the alcalde mayor as a consequence of the indulto de comercio.

The indulto de comercio was a privilege sold by the central government to most alcaldes mayores which allowed them to engage in commerce in their respective jurisdictions. Aspirants were expected to pay from 1/6 to 1/2 of their annual salary for this privilege. Because of the enormous profits that could be obtained from the indulto de comercio, alcaldías were much sought after. Some aspirants were even willing to relinquish their entire salary to secure appointment. The practice was reminiscent of the old capitulaciones of the conquistadores and produced similar abuses. (See Chapter 2)

While the alcalde’s excesses burdened the common people, his virtual control of the commerce of the region was particularly irksome to the principales whose own opportunities for further economic progress were thereby curtailed.

Defender of King and Church

While Diego Silang’s initial demands reflected the junction of principia and mass grievances, they did not go beyond the framework of typical principia objectives. He asked for (1) the deposition of the alcalde-mayor, Antonio Zabala, for his abuses of the indulto de comercio and his replacement by Tomas Milán, his wife’s old guardian; (2) the appointment as chief justice of one of the four chiefs of Vigan; (3) the abolition of personal services; (4) the expulsion by the bishop of all Spaniards and Spanish mestizos from the province; and (5) the appointment of Silang himself to head the Ilocano army against the English, his expenses to be taken from the comun already collected by the alcalde.

These initial demands, unacceptable though they were to the Spaniards, were nevertheless reformist rather than revolutionary. Silang was only against heavy taxation and abusive Spanish officials and for greater autonomy. All these were to be achieved with him as the head of the province but in the service of the Spanish king and in defense of what he termed “our sacred Catholic faith.”

Messianic Tendencies

Messianic tendencies blended with religious fanaticism caused him to cast himself as defender of King and Church. He declared Jesus of Nazareth to be the Captain-General and himself Christ’s cabo mayor. His house was full of images of saints. He was often seen reciting the Rosary and he urged his followers to hear Mass on Sundays, go to confession and receive the Sacraments and also to see to it that their children went to school.

Rebuffed by the Spaniards, Silang expelled the alcalde and other Spaniards from Vigan, proclaimed the abolition of excessive tribute and forced labor, and made Vigan the capital of his independent government. His defiance of the Spaniards lost him the support of many principales; therefore, in addition to his orders abolishing tribute and forced labor, he freed the people from the obligation to serve the principales and cabezas de barangay. He ordered that those principales who were now opposing him be arrested and brought to him. Should they resist, they were to be killed. He also imposed a fine of P100 on each priest but reduced this to P80 on their request.

His men took cattle from various estates and forced the proprietors to pay a ransom for their lives. Property of the Church was also taken. These moves caused him to clash with Bishop Bernardo Ustariz who refused to certify to the abolition of tribute, declared himself head of the province, and began to
organize a counterforce against Silang, recruiting even among the latter's followers. Silang then imprisoned all the religious, including Ustariz, whereupon the latter issued an interdict against Silang and exhorted his followers to abandon him. 37

Changing Masters

During the first phase of Silang's career, he was in effect conducting a "revolt" in defense of King and Church. During the second phase, when he abolished tribute and forced labor, confiscated the wealth of the Church and of other proprietors and even began to move against members of his own class, Silang could have become a real leader of the people struggling against all oppressors. Unfortunately, he opted for compromise and shifted his allegiance in a most servile manner from one master to another.

After receiving an ultimatum from the Spanish governor, Simon de Anda, and fearing that the latter was planning to march on Ilocos, Silang decided to seek the protection of the British. He sent to Manila two junk of plundered goods as a present to the English with a letter to the British commander in which he acknowledged the sovereignty of King George III.

Elite Servility

The letter gives us revealing insights into Silang's character. Typical of the native elite kowtowing before a new master, it begins with flattery.

Honorable Sir:

With the greatest pleasure and satisfaction imaginable have I received the news of your having conquered that Capital by Force of Arms and with so much ease which has undoubtedly been an effect of your good conduct and the permission of the Almighty, I have been informed that notwithstanding the fatal misfortune of that City your Lordship is endowed with so many great qualifications and compassion has behaved in the most generous manner to the poor Indians who were within and out of the Town paying them punctually for their labour without requiring any other acknowledgement than that they should obey and be loyal as they should to his Majesty George the 3d. King of Great Britain (whom God preserve) and for such obedience Your Lordship has been pleased to allow them their Freedom to enlarge their Trade, and Commerce, for their own benefit to caress them and prevent their being hurt by the Spaniards nor by your own Troops all which I have (been) minutely informed of . . . . 38

Declaring himself convinced of the superior qualities of the English, Silang offered his allegiance and that of his people in these words:

... I have thought proper from this moment to dedicate myself to the service of God and his Majesty King George the 3d whom I acknowledge for my King and Master, for which purpose I have under my Command my Countrymen of this Province of Ilocos, where I was born, who have agreed to my Opinion and acknowledgment, and all unanimously come into it without the least shew of uneasiness or concern upon Account of the Confidence they reposed in your Lordship's freeing them from Poll taxes and other laborious works all they beg is that your Lordship will condescend to let them maintain their Parish Priests and live as Christians and Catholicks . . . . 39

In the foregoing passage and again in the portion of his letter where he claimed to have saved the former alcalde from sure death at the hands of his followers, Silang tried to impress the British with his power over his people. According to Silang, the Ilocanos had chosen him as their Captain General and would obey no one else.

Knowing that the Augustinian friars were actively resisting the British and therefore must be regarded by the latter as their enemies, he tried to ingratiate himself further with this offer:

... if your Lordship pleases I will seize them and secure them here and have them ready whenever your Lordship pleases to demand them . . . . 40

He also carefully enumerated the gifts he sent:

As a proof of my fidelity submission and sincere affection, the unworthy I take the liberty to send your Lordship the following Present 12 loaves of Sugar 12 Baskets of Calamy 200 Cakes or Balls of Chocolate. I also acquaint your Lordship that this Province is provided with the following effects Paddy Wheat, Cattle Good Coco Wine Sugar Onions Carpick Fowl, Horses Cotton a kind of Liquor called Bassia kind of Wine from the Grape and other useful effects. 41
British Puppet

The British were properly appreciative. They gave Silang the title of "Sargento Mayor, Alcalde-Mayor y Capitan a Guerra por S.M. Britanica." A boat arrived carrying gifts for him. The British emissary also left behind with Silang 138 printed blank titles for governors and subordinate officials. The British probably appreciated most Silang's enumeration of the products of his region. That he did so indicates his own interest in trade as well as his awareness of British objectives.

It should be noted that the British invasion was directed and financed by a trading institution, the East India Company, hence the commercial orientation of the British administration. The governor of Cavite, Mr. Brereton, wrote to Silang inviting him to send his boats to Manila for trade. Silang in another letter to commander Dawsonne Drake mentioned that he intended to send a junk of his to Manila for commerce. This alacrity to take advantage of the new opportunities provided by the new dispensation was by now a typical principia reaction. Silang's own contact with the Manila galleons as a courier and the fact that his wife was a property owner in a prosperous town prepared him for these new commercial possibilities. In fact, the protest against Alcalde Zabala for his abuse of the indulto de comercio underscored the drive of the principia to appropriate for itself some of the economic benefits of colonization.

Silang's career was cut short by an assassin's bullet. His wife, Gabriela, assumed command of the rebel force to avenge her husband's death, but four months later she was captured and hanged.2

A Step in Political Awakening

Silang was the prototype of future leaders who would capitalize on the genuine grievances of the people. Though the people would find themselves repeatedly used and even betrayed by leaders from the elite, their experiences were not a total loss. Participation in actions like these revolts made them aware of their strength and gave them an education in struggle.

Each successive uprising was a step in their political awakening. Each local revolt was a contribution to national consciousness.

As early as 1624, the English philosopher and statesman, Francis Bacon, had commented on the "brittle State of the Greatnesses of Spain" and prophesied that this greatness which rested on nothing more than the treasure that was the Indies would be "but an Accession to such as are Masters by Sea." The English themselves soon proved the correctness of this forecast.

England developed a merchant marine that successfully challenged that of Holland, her rival sea power. Aggressive trading efforts based on a growing control of the sea allowed the English to conquer new lands as well as to penetrate the colonies of other rich empires.

By the seventeenth century, England had acquired important footholds in Asia, Africa, and America. The English colonized America during this century and acquired outposts in the West Indies during the same period. These possessions provided England with outlets for her manufacture.

Satellization of Spain

By 1700, England was no longer just a producer of raw materials for export. She had decreased raw wool exports and built up her own textile industry. In fact, she now imported wool and dyestuffs from Spain and exported finished textiles to that country for its internal consumption or for re-export to the Spanish colonies. Spanish gold and silver flowed to England to compensate for Spain's unfavorable balance of trade. England proceeded to undercut the Spanish empire, first, by exporting goods to Spain for domestic consumption and second, by trading with the West Indies and thus penetrating the Spanish colonies in America."