A HISTORY OF ILOCOS:

A STORY OF THE REGIONALIZATION OF SPANISH COLONIALISM

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ABSTRACT

This study is a local history of Ilocos from the onset of Spanish rule in the late sixteenth century to the division of the province in 1818. It traces the transformation of Ilocos from a pre-colonial trade center to a Spanish colony, and explores related themes of pacification and conversion; lowland and upland relations, socio-economic and demographic transformation; and resistance and rebellion.

In the sixteenth century Ilocos was a regional and international port visited by Chinese, Japanese and Tagalog traders. The prosperous commercial arrangement was based on the products obtained by the lowland Ilocanos from the upland Igorots as well as on rice and cotton grown inland. A mutually profitable trade arrangement existed between the Ilocanos who supplied the Igorots with cotton, salt and domesticated animals in exchange for gold and forest products.

Ethnic relations underwent change with the advent of colonialism. A Chinese mestizo community evolved in Vigan and a rivalry ensued between them and the babaknangs, the influential and wealthy Ilocano elites, over power and status in the colonial society. But the babaknangs were themselves divided between the principalia, the native ruling elite, and the ladinos, the educated Ilocanos who spoke Spanish and served as translators. This division was most evident in times of rebellions.

Colonialism fractured Ilocano-Igorot relations. Ilocanos were conscripted in the colonial army that attempted to subjugate the Igorots and exploit their gold mines. Later, the Ilocanos served as catechists in providing religious instruction to Igorots, many of whom had moved and settled in the fringes of Ilocos. Christianity created a permanent hierarchy between the Ilocanos who were the antiguos (old) and the Igorots who were
pejoratively called *bagos* (new). But while there was a hardening of ethnic relations, the familiar ties persisted because of trade. Ethnic alliances based on trade friendships surfaced in times of rebellion.

By the nineteenth century, Ilocos had reached a critical point. Heightened colonial demands, geographical constraints and a population explosion resulted in a series of rebellions. Ultimately, the Ilocanos found a solution in the form of avoidance protest through emigration.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Whether in Indonesia or elsewhere the locality or the subregion should be the focus for studying history in earlier Southeast Asia even though the region lay astride the communications of “the single ocean” and Indian literature reached its multiple landfalls.¹

- O.W. Wolters

Historiographical Context

This dissertation is one of a very few local studies on pre-nineteenth century Philippine history, and it focuses on the much-neglected story of the Ilocanos, the country’s third largest ethnolinguistic group next to the Tagalogs and the Cebuanos. The history of the Ilocanos has not been given its rightful place in the writing of a general, national history of the Filipinos, and part of the reason is the absence of any study of the region before the nineteenth century.

While there have been numerous general or national histories written which have significantly contributed to an awareness and understanding of the past,² Glenn May has reminded us that many suffer “oversimplified interpretive frameworks [and] inadequate

In recent years, less conventional histories have been written that introduce new paradigms and innovative ways of examining particular periods of history and specific groups of Filipinos. The focus, however, remains the period of Philippine history since the nineteenth century.

Filipino historians of the “Pantayong Pananaw” (“Us” Perspective) school of thought, on the other hand, identify a more fundamental problem in past Philippine historical writing. They argue that these general histories, like many other regional studies, do not uphold a genuinely indigenous, autonomous perspective of Philippine history. Instead, they subscribe to the Pangkami (“We” Perspective) histories which by their nature can be classified as radical history to the predominant colonial history of the past. The Pangkami histories are engaged in a colonial discourse of “we”, the Filipinos, as against “they”, the foreign colonizers. Philippine history, according to the Pantayo historians, must engage in a dialogue with the Filipinos, not the outsiders, about their history as a people and not just about their colonial past. Therefore, it must be written in the national language, which, unlike English, is understandable to all Filipinos. Moreover, it must explore the local, regional, and ethnic histories of the country, focusing on local developments and concerns. Ironically, the Pantayo is as guilty as the...
Pangkami in viewing Philippine historical writing in binary opposites: Filipinos against colonizers for the Pangkami while foreign-influenced histories versus indigenous historical writing for the Pantayo.

Setting aside these ideological and methodological differences, Philippine historical writing as a whole manifests obvious imbalances. First, the last century of Spanish colonialism and the succeeding fifty years of American and Japanese rule remain a favored period for researchers, while earlier centuries are often ignored. Scholars have fallen into the trap of assuming that the early centuries of Spanish rule was one of stagnation, constancy, and continuity. The dearth of works on the earlier period is traceable as well to the difficulty of accessing the limited archival materials on this period. Archival data are heavily concentrated on the nineteenth century. Even recent works which purportedly survey the entire three hundred fifty years of Spanish rule regard the pre-nineteenth events as of marginal importance, reserving at most a mere chapter on the period. 6

Second, historical writing tend to emphasize events in Manila and the surrounding Tagalog provinces. Developments in the distant provinces were subordinated to or reckoned in terms of the developments in Manila, the colonial capital, and the Tagalog


region. Outlying provinces were stereotyped as rural, traditional, and static. The previous consensus was that the entire hispanized archipelago possessed a uniform and monolithic politico-socio-religious structure because of Spanish colonialism.\(^7\) The wealth of local studies indicates, however, that Spanish colonialism was highly uneven and Filipino responses diverse.\(^8\) Proximity to Manila may have accounted for some of the regional variations. Spanish intrusion was more intensive and extensive in the Tagalog provinces, as documented by Reynaldo Ileto in his study of popular movements and Vicente Rafael in his analysis of the Christianization and conversion process.\(^9\) Consistent with the Southeast Asian concept of mandala polities, where the authority of rulers was strongest in the center and grew progressively weaker toward the margins, Spanish control also waned as one moved farther away from Manila.\(^10\) Ileto contends that provinces and pueblos or town centers were under tenuous Spanish control, while


\(^8\) The unevenness of Spanish colonial rule was also a factor in the contrasting response of the Filipinos to the Philippine Revolution of 1896. While the Revolution spread fast and immediately elicited popular support among the Tagalog provinces, the non-Tagalog provinces initially exhibited either apathy to what they perceived as solely a Tagalog affair or opposition to what they foresaw as a Tagalog attempt to impose its dominance over the non-Tagalogs. See Leonard Y. Andaya, "Ethnicity in the Philippine Revolution," in Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times: the Philippine Revolution of 1896, ed. Florentino Radao and Noelle Rodriguez (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), 49-82.


much of the countryside was in the grip of what the Spaniards branded as “bandits” or “lawless elements.”

The dichotomy between a metropolis-centered and dominant ethnic group-based national history as against the provincial-oriented and other ethnic group-focused local history is not only a Philippine historiographical issue; it is also a concern in the writing of Southeast Asian history. More than two decades ago and more recently in a 1999 revised edition, O.W. Wolters emphasized the need for local and regional histories as a prerequisite for a more reliable and complete reconstruction of a national history and, eventually, a regional history of Southeast Asia. Since then local and regional histories have mushroomed, and the historical landscape of Southeast Asia is beginning to emerge.

In the case of the Philippines, John Larkin’s seminal monograph on the Pampanga province started a Philippine trend towards regional and local studies. Although Larkin blazed the path of local history writing in the early 1970s, it was only in the 1980s that local and foreign historians began to take up the challenge. To date, many books, monographs and theses have been written on the histories of the provinces, with the one notable exception: Ilocos.

12 See O.W. Wolters, History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives.
14 In addition to the earlier works cited, the following are the local and regional histories that have been written: Alina N. Bamero, “Zambales Before the Revolution” (master’s thesis, University of the Philippines, 1991); Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, Kasaysayan Panlipunan ng Maynila, 1765-1898 (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1992); Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Pangasinan, 1901-1986: A Political, Socio Economic and Cultural History (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1990); Bruce Cruikshank, Samar: 1768-1898 (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985); Luis C. Dery, From Ibalon to Sorsogon: A Historical Survey of Sorsogon Province to 1903 (Quezon City: New Day Publisher, 1991); Joselito N. Fornier, “Antique (Antike) in the Nineteenth Century: Colonial Politics, Society, and Economy
The primary concern of local histories is to examine the unfolding of events and the socio-economic change that transpired at the micro level. While local history per se is valuable to people living in, or concerned with, a particular locality, it must serve two purposes: to explain events and document change in the region and to relate how they are similar or different from historical developments in other regions of the country, particularly in the metropolis. To achieve the first objective but to fail to address the second is tantamount to what Alfred McCoy calls a “neo-antiquarian swamp.”\textsuperscript{15} Ed de Jesus explains the term as meaning to “fall into the trap of endlessly churning out studies of increasingly smaller sub-national units, a process of academic involution leading to our learning more and more about less and less.”\textsuperscript{16} Thus, McCoy asked “how many Philippine provinces need to be studied before we can begin to make some meaningful inter-regional or perhaps national generalizations about the process of social change in

\begin{flushleft}


\textsuperscript{16} Ed C. de Jesus, “Conclusion: An Agenda for Philippine Studies,” in \textit{Philippine Social History}, ed. McCoy and de Jesus, 448.
\end{flushleft}
the colonial Philippines?"17 My reply is as many ethnolinguistic groups as there are provided that each study not only informs readers of events in that micro level, but also either validates previously-held interpretations or offers a new way of understanding Philippine history.

A more controversial historiographical issue is what Reynaldo Ileto has called the tendency of Philippine historians to view the past in a linear mode. Many follow a chronological sequence encapsulated in categories: a Golden Age (pre-Hispanic society), the Fall (the conquest by Spain in the sixteenth century), the Dark Age (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), Economic and Social Development (nineteenth century), the Rise of Nationalist Consciousness (post-1872), the Birth of the Nation (1898), and Suppressed Nationalism or Democratic Tutelage (the American colonial period).18 A major reason that the pre-Hispanic period continues to be romanticized is the lack of sources to base a reliable reconstruction. In the absence of documentation, there is an inclination to lionize the indigenous past, particularly as the subsequent Spanish period was marked by colonial exploitation and oppression. The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries are thus characterized as a dark period just prior to the nineteenth century which culminates in the glorious Philippine Revolution, the first anti-colonial revolution in Asia. The nineteenth century, therefore, has been an attractive period for historians working on the Philippines.

This dissertation hopes to address some of the historiographical issues mentioned above, which includes engaging Ileto's characterization of previous histories as creating a

17 McCoy, "Introduction: The Social History of an Archipelago," 11. McCoy's solution is to go beyond the national scope and to analyze regional social history in terms of its external, global linkage, i.e., how regions were linked in varying degrees in the global economy starting in the nineteenth century.
flawed 'metahistory'. It examines Ilocos society prior to Spanish conquest and documents the changes in this society during the first two and a half centuries of colonial rule. This study highlights the pre-nineteenth century as a time of fluidity and transformation. As the most distant province located in northwestern Luzon, Ilocos offers a useful comparative perspective with the Tagalog provinces nearer to Manila. The geography of Ilocos and the presence of the upland Igorots and Tinguians are the most striking differences between the history of Ilocos and that of the Tagalogs and other lowland groups.

The history of Ilocos is significant in the writing of a national history for several reasons. First, the Ilocanos constitute a large ethnolinguistic group whose massive outmigration from their homeland starting in the nineteenth century meant that their culture and history have spilled over to the other regions of the country and even across the Pacific Ocean to the shores of Hawaii and California. While Ilocano outmigration has been the subject of many studies, there is yet to be written a history of the Ilocanos prior to this outmigration. The historical conditions contributing to this process in the Ilocos can be traced to pre-nineteenth century Spanish colonial policies and practices and the oftentimes violent local opposition to them.

Second, Ilocos provides a case study of a regional variation in the process of Christianization and hispanization of the islands. Its distance from Manila and its being a non-Tagalog region undoubtedly affected the manner in which the Spaniards administered it as a colony. Moreover, how the Ilocanos responded to Spanish rule was also culturally determined and may account for differences with other areas in the archipelago. According to John Leddy Phelan, another factor leading to the varying
regional responses to Christianization/hispanization was the distinctive methods employed by individual religious orders and the degree of exposure of the indigenous people to the religion itself.  

Third, a study of Ilocos is unique because of the important presence of the upland Igorot communities residing in the Cordillera mountain range of northern Luzon. The strong relations between the lowland Ilocanos and the upland Igorots render Ilocos history distinct from other lowland communities. William Henry Scott, the premier historian of the Igorots, wrote extensively on Igorot resistance to colonial incorporation and on Igorot relations with their lowland neighbors—but all from the Igorot standpoint. This study will examine this relationship from an Ilocano perspective.

Finally, Ilocos, as was the pattern in most lowland Christian communities, experienced the continuing presence of one religious order, the Augustinians, during the whole of the colonial period. The Augustinians played a crucial role in shaping Spanish policies on pacification, resettlement, and governance. The rapid turnover of colonial authorities, which was an administrative nightmare throughout the colonial period, and the distance of Ilocos from Manila, meant that the Augustinians exercised immense power both in the secular and religious affairs of the region. Thus, it is worthwhile to focus on the Augustinians since they provided the continuity in colonial administration in Ilocos, and their pronouncements mirrored Spanish policies.

This study rejects the familiar polarization between the colonial and the colonized. Sources, for instance, reveal that in the earlier period of pacification the Augustinian friar and the conquistador did not always agree. In the same way the

colonized should also not be viewed as a homogenous group. The *babaknang* or Ilocano elites led revolts that were directed not merely against the Spaniards but also against the *principales*, the Ilocano ruling class, who themselves were *babaknangs*. The *babaknangs* and Chinese *mestizos* were also engaged in bitter rivalries. Finally, when the Igorots and Tinguians accepted Christianity and resettled in the lowlands, they were discriminated and sometimes persecuted by the Ilocanos who viewed themselves as better colonial subjects. Because this study goes beyond the division of colonial and colonized and highlights the ethnic relations between and among the Ilocanos, Igorots, Spanish and Chinese mestizos, it transcends the Pantayo-Pangkami categorization.

**Scope of the Study**

The focus of the dissertation is the history of Ilocos from the beginning of Spanish encroachment in the sixteenth century up to the establishment of colonial rule and division of the province into Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur in 1818. The decision to limit the study in this manner was based on the lack of sources for the pre-sixteenth century, and the realization that the division of the Ilocos signaled a major change due to the reintegration of the Philippines into international commerce in the nineteenth century. New themes—cash cropping, global trade, economic liberalization, influx of Western ideas, the population boom—make nineteenth century Ilocos a logical separate study from this one.

The themes of pacification and conversion, upland-lowland relations, socio-economic and demographic transformation, and rebellion and resistance will be addressed in this study. Chapter one reconstructs Ilocos society in the sixteenth century. Because of its geographical location, Ilocos was not isolated and instead had contacts
with the outside world. It evolved into a regional and international entrepot, with its ports and coastal communities regularly visited by Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog traders. This prosperous commercial arrangement was based on the products obtained in lowland-upland trade between the Ilocanos and the Igorots, as well as on rice and cotton grown inland.

Chapter two deals with the initial colonial contact between the Ilocanos and the Spaniards starting in 1572. The coming of the conquistadors, the religious conversion of the Ilocanos, the subsequent Crown-Church controversy, and the extraction of human labor and taxes will be examined. The colonizers introduced *reducción* or resettlement into compact villages and divided Ilocos into *encomiendas* to consolidate scattered population for the purpose of facilitating tribute collection and religious conversion.  

But the Christianization process was slow due to few missionaries and the lack of Crown and *encomendero* support. Meanwhile, pacification was noticeable only within the consolidated areas, normally the *cabeceras* or centers. The pre-colonial settlement centers maintained their status and even attracted more people since they were transformed into missionary and *encomienda* centers.

The transformation of Ilocos from an indigenous society that served as a trade entrepot to a colonial economy and plural society is the subject of the third chapter. The economic policy of the Spaniards was extractive in nature, hence they exploited the material and human resources of the colony. Land grants for raising cattle and cultivation of farm lands were allocated to the few Spaniards in Ilocos and some selected

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*20 Reducción meant the resettlement of the population into compact villages within the sound of the church bells. These villages were then assigned as *encomiendas* or an area where an *encomendero*, or holder of an *encomienda*, was given the right to collect tribute.*
babaknangs who had rendered service to the Crown. Rice and cotton cultivation was encouraged mainly to generate tribute in kind. Over time it was the Chinese mestizos, children of Chinese fathers and Ilocano women, who gained control of the economy. Their Chinese fathers came and settled in Vigan in the late sixteenth century in response to the new economic opportunities created by the presence of the Spanish community. The Chinese mestizos eventually constituted a significant bloc in the colonial economy and society of Ilocos. But their emergence signaled an intense conflict with the indigenous elite, called babaknangs, who were employed as lowly colonial officials. The position of the babaknangs was threatened with the entry and assimilation of the Chinese in Ilocano society. Over time the babaknangs and the Chinese mestizos came to compete openly against each other over limited power, wealth, and status in the colonial society.

Chapter four delineates certain aspects of the Ilocano-Igorot relations that changed with, or persisted despite, the appearance of the Spaniards. Theoretical studies of ethnicity have stressed the importance of the other in the shaping of a group’s identity. While the traditional relations between the Ilocano-Igorot helped to define each other ethnically, the arrival of the Spaniards in Ilocos complicated the picture since the introduction of Christianity and Hispanic culture added a new dimension to the relationship.

Chapter five analyzes the patterns of Ilocano resistance to colonial rule where class, race and ethnicity figured prominently. Prior to the eighteenth century, rebellion in Ilocos was not endemic compared to the Tagalog regions. Moreover, the few uprisings that occurred were instigated by outside factors. Starting in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, Ilocos became subject to frequent local unrest. Increasing
colonial impositions, such as the tobacco and basi or sugarcane wine monopolies, intensified competition for limited resources, and the tremendous increase in the population of the region contributed to this state of affairs.

The Spanish solution was to divide Ilocos into two provinces - Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur. The colonial discourse leading to the division of Ilocos in 1818 is the subject of chapter six. The significance of the study is discussed in the concluding chapter.

Sources

The history of Ilocos has been the subject of only four major studies: Isabelo de los Reyes’ two volume Historia de Ilocos, Felix M. Keesing’s The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon, William Henry Scott’s Ilocano Responses to American Aggression, 1899-1901, and Digna Apilado’s master’s thesis entitled “The Ilocos in the Shadow of the Revolution, 1898-1901.” Except for de los Reyes, which was written in 1890, the rest are contemporary works. Both Scott and Apilado’s works are outside the purview of my study since they deal exclusively with events in Ilocos during the Philippine Revolution.

The two volumes of de los Reyes’ work deal with the ethnography and history of Ilocos. Volume two covers the history of Ilocos from the onset of Spanish rule to the aftermath of the series of rebellions in the early nineteenth century. De los Reyes culled his Historia from the early Spanish accounts of the Philippines such as Francisco Colin’s 1663 Labor evangelica, Diego Aduarte’s 1640 Historia de la provincia del sancto

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rosario, Gaspar de San Agustin’s 1725 *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 1565-1615, and Juan de la Concepcion’s fourteen volume *Historia general de Philipinas* (1788-1892). 22

The other work that deals with the history of Ilocos is Keesing’s *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Keesing relied on four sources: the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago; Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo’s mid-nineteenth century *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de las Islas Filipinas*; de los Reyes’ *Historia de Ilocos*; and Blair and Robertson’s *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898. 23 The fifty-five volume *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898 is a valuable source and a standard reference material on the Philippines during the Spanish period. It is a compilation of manuscripts from the Spanish period translated and edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Many of the Newberry Library’s Ayer manuscripts on the Philippines are in this Blair and Robertson compilation.

My research started with de los Reyes, Keesing, and the Blair and Robertson collection. Then from 1995 to 1997 I conducted extensive research in Metro Manila and Ilocos. The first leg of the research was spent in the various archives and libraries in Metro Manila, notably the Research Management and Archives Office (RMAO); the Filipiniana and Rare Books collection of the University of the Philippines Main Library; the National Library; the Dominican Archives and Rare books collection of the

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University of Santo Tomas; the St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary; and the Lopez Library. The University of the Philippines in Diliman and the National Library own the most extensive Filipiniana and rare book collections. Since Ilocos during the Spanish period was part of the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia and was bordered by the Dominican-controlled provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan, I also explored the Dominican archives of the University of Santo Tomas. The Lopez Library had in its collection Isacio Rodriguez’s monumental twenty-three volume *Historia de la Provinciana Agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas* which is a compilation of Augustinian documents in Valladolid.\(^\text{24}\) Unfortunately there are only few references on Ilocos, which are also discussed in other sources or in Blair and Robertson. Finally, the St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary houses the collection of William Henry Scott, the premier historian of the Igorots.

The bulk of my archival research was conducted in the Research Management and Archives Office (RMAO), the national repository which houses an estimated 11,000,000 documents, mostly on the nineteenth century. The RMAO manuscripts are classified into topics or categories, e.g., *Erecciones de Pueblos* (Foundation of Towns), and arranged in bundles called *legajos*. Some categories are further classified into provinces. While many of the manuscripts have been catalogued, an undetermined number remain unsorted due to administrative limitations that preclude the hiring of fulltime, competent archivists. At the time of my research, there was only one overworked archivist cataloguing the documents. The archives apparently gave priority to the nineteenth

century documents since most of the catalogued materials are from that century. The Spanish handwriting of this period is more legible than that of the earlier centuries, and most scholars request nineteenth century documents. But errors can be found even among the catalogued bundles. For instance, a bundle listed as pertaining to Ilocos can include documents on other provinces.

Documents on Ilocos are abundant but they are mostly from mid-nineteenth century onwards. Among those that I examined, the most relevant were the *Erecciones de Pueblos* (Foundations of Towns), *Sediciones y Rebeliones* (Sedition and Rebellion), *Patronatos* (Ecclesiastical Documents), *Cedularios* (Collections of Royal Orders Signed by the King of Spain), and *Padrones or Tributos* (Tribute Rolls). The *Erecciones de Pueblos* (EPA) are supposed to pertain to the foundation of villages and towns. But the EPA translation is actually misleading since the bundles contain not only town charters but also an assortment of papers dealing with local disputes between and among *principales* (native elite), Chinese mestizos, Spanish officials, and parish priests. The EPA also includes provincial reports on diverse topics such as economic conditions, local unrest, and rebellion.

Materials on the Ilocano rebellions are also contained in numerous bundles of documents classified as *Sediciones y Rebeliones*. Several bundles on Ilocos were catalogued and entitled *Expediente sobre la sublevacion en Ilocos en 1816* (Papers About the 1816 Revolt in Ilocos). Once again, the title is misleading since the documents do not solely deal with the 1816 unrest but also with rebellions from the second half of the eighteenth up to the first two decades of the nineteenth century.
Classified as *Patronatos* are church related documents such as circulars from church officials, appointment papers of parish priests, establishment of new missions, and reports of friars. Since the domain of the friars extended to the secular and administrative affairs of the towns, *Patronatos* also included documents dealing with the local *principales* and disputes between the guild of *babaknang*, or the rich and influential Ilocanos, and the Chinese mestizo guild.

The *Cedularios* contain the oldest documents with many bundles dating as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Plowing through bundles of *Cedularios* can prove to be tedious because unlike the *Sediciones y Rebelliones* and *Erecciones Pueblos*, they are not catalogued by provinces. Moreover, the *Cedularios* deal with royal orders on all sorts of matters.

The *Padrones* (Tribute Rolls) usually lists the names of taxpayers with the *principales* identified by the title “Don”. Listed in the entry were the amount paid and those who were exempted because they were either local officials or their eldest sons, aged, or physically handicapped. By perusing the tribute rolls, I was able to identify the political families of specific towns of Ilocos and how alliances among elites of different towns were established through marriages.

Many of these archival documents are in poor condition since the bundles are not kept in a controlled environment. Steps are now being taken to better safeguard the documents.\(^{25}\) One positive move was an agreement between the RMAO and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS Church, more commonly known as the

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\(^{25}\) These include an agreement between the RMAO and a funding institution in Spain to gradually microfilm the documents. Likewise, in 1997, President Fidel V. Ramos announced a multimillion-peso project to build a National Archives which will permanently store these documents. At present, the National Archives is a tenant in the dilapidated, left wing side of the National Library building.
Mormon Church) to allow the latter to microfilm the archival holdings. Because of the Mormon Church’s interest in genealogy, it has conducted an extensive microfilming project of historical records from other countries through the Genealogical Society of Utah (GSU). In the Philippines, their Family and Genealogical Resource Center contains microfilms of many RMAO documents such as the Tributos or Padrones.\textsuperscript{26} Moreover, since the inception of the project in 1989, the LDS Church has microfilmed numerous Roman Catholic parish records from every province in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{27} I discovered that their microfilm collection on Ilocos is one of the better ones with many of the Ilocos towns represented and the 20th century records intact. Unfortunately, the earlier centuries are spotty either because of the unavailability of records or the failure to microfilm the entire parish records.

My research in Ilocos focused on the parish records. In my perusal of available records, I noticed that some of the parish records were not included in the microfilm collection of the Mormon Church. For instance, a 1763 bundle on the entierros or defunciones (deaths) in Vigan, which listed the deaths of Gabriela Silang and other participants in the Silang rebellion, was available in the Parish of Vigan archives but was not included in the Mormon microfilm collection. The sensitivity of its contents was perhaps the reason why it was excluded.

Parish records include bautismos (baptisms), casamientos (marriages), and entierros or defunciones (deaths). Entries generally follow prescribed formulas. Baptismal entries include the names of the infant, parents, godparents, and presiding

\textsuperscript{26} For more information on the GSU’s microfilming project, especially on the Philippine records, see Lee W. Vance, \textit{Tracing Your Philippine Ancestors} (Provo: Stevenson’s Genealogical Center, 1980).

\textsuperscript{27} For a detailed listing of FHL holdings by topic and catalog, see \textit{The Family History Library Locality Catalog: Philippines} (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President, 1992).
priest; the date of baptism and the age of the infant; and a designation of sex and legitimacy status. Marriage entries indicate the names of the spouses, the two witnesses who were normally the godparents, and sometimes the parents; the date of marriage, the amount paid for the service if any, the barangay or village to which the spouses belonged, and the status and ethnicity of the spouses. Burial entries include the names of the deceased, the parents, if child, or the spouse, and the presiding priest; the date of burial and the amount paid as “limosna” (alms); and the barangay in which the deceased belonged. The entries usually identify those baptized, married, or interred as Chinese, Spanish or mestizo. Social status was either stated or implied in the entries. For instance, the principalía or mestizos can be inferred from the title “Don” which preceded their name. Slaves, servants, or reserved labor were likewise identified as belonging to specific elites.

The quality of parish records in Ilocos is highly uneven. The nineteenth century records are extensive and in good shape. In contrast, few of the pre-nineteenth century records survived. Those in existence are not well preserved with missing pages, holes in some pages, and generally brittle. In the pre-nineteenth period, entries were made by the parish priests and not by trained escribantes, and so the legibility of the handwriting is highly uneven.

Parish records are nevertheless an invaluable source. A survey of these records can indicate the quality of life in Ilocos during this period. For example, a particular year or a number of months may suddenly list a high number of deaths compared to a previous year, probably due to an epidemic. Likewise, entierros can provide numbers or listings of those who died or were executed as a result of a particular rebellion. Entries in
casamientos are indicative of the kind of assimilation that occurred within the society. For example, it was customary for Chinese to intermarry with Ilocano women. Baptismal and marriage records also assist in tracing the genealogies of prominent families in Ilocos.

Limitations of the Study

The foremost problem facing any scholar researching the pre-nineteenth century history of the Philippines is the dearth of sources. Reconstructing the pre-Spanish history of Ilocos is a formidable task. Because Ilocos’ prehistory has not been investigated in a detailed and systematic way as other parts of the Philippines, archaeological evidence is practically non-existent. There are very few archaeological finds, mostly unearthed accidentally by individuals, and they have not been adequately studied to determine their significance.

Like the rest of the Philippines, there are no surviving indigenous written records of pre-sixteenth century Ilocos. The earliest accounts of the indigenous society and cultural practices of the Filipinos were the reports by the first generation Spaniards who settled in the Philippines starting in 1565. The major and most widely cited of these ethnographic accounts is by Miguel de Loarca, a conquistador and later an encomendero in Panay Island, Visayas; Juan de Plasencia, a Franciscan missionary who served in Luzon; Pedro Chirino, a Jesuit missionary who worked in Luzon and the Visayas; Antonio de Morga, a prominent, colonial official in the last five years of the sixteenth century; and Francisco Alcina, a Jesuit who worked in Samar and Leyte in the early
Of these accounts, only Loarca and Morga make reference to Ilocos. There were also some conquistadors and Augustinian friars who wrote of their activities in Luzon including Ilocos. In addition to the few references on Ilocos, I have used the more substantial early Spanish reports of other regions to evaluate and suggest possible conditions which may also have prevailed in Ilocos during the same time period.

I was unable to use the archives in Spain due to the lack of funding. However, Bruce Cruikshank’s examination of the materials in the Spanish archives indicates that local or regional studies are best served by the RMAO collection and not the Spanish archives whose collection tended to be of national orientation. Nonetheless, documents from the Augustinian archives in Valladolid could possibly have further enriched this dissertation. I hope to be able to access these archives in the near future when I revise this thesis for possible publication.

Archival materials at RMAO show an overwhelming nineteenth century and Tagalog-centered biases. There is only a sprinkling of documents on Ilocos in the earlier centuries. Even the parish records are incomplete for this period. There are no available


census statistics nor demographic reports which can be used to chart population increases and movements in and out of Ilocos. As a result it is difficult to chart a continuous account of the events in Ilocos. There are huge gaps that can only be filled by questions and conjectures. The challenge then is to overcome source limitations and use the available material to identify and trace the changes that Ilocano society experienced during the first two hundred fifty years of colonial rule.

The relevant documents were written by Spanish friars and colonial officials and rarely devote much attention to the lives of the ordinary people. They usually depict the natives either as loyal subjects to the crown and the church or as rebels who disrupt the colonial order. As faithful subjects, they were buried as statistics in the tribute rolls or parish records. As rebels, they were adjudged as either remontados (those who fled to the hills), ladrones monteses (mountain thieves), vagamundos (vagabonds or part of the floating population), tulisanes (bandits), or taga-labas or taong-labas (literally “outsiders” or those outside the established reduccion or resettlement area). 

Scott’s solution is to read through the “cracks in the parchment curtain” in order to capture “fleeting glimpses of Filipinos” and their diverse and unique reactions to Spanish rule. It is my hope that this dissertation will succeed in following Scott’s admirable example in the effort to reconstruct the transformation of Ilocano society in the early modern period.

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CHAPTER 2

ILOCOS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

To speak of an ethnic group in total isolation is as absurd as to speak of the sound from one hand clapping.¹

- Gregory Bateson

Located in the northwestern region of Luzon, Ilocos in the twentieth century comprises Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur (see map 1). These twin provinces were creations of an 1818 royal decree which partitioned the original Ilocos province. In 1846, Ilocos Sur suffered the loss of its eastern section when it was appropriated to form the politico-military province of Abra. It was further reduced in 1854 when a huge piece of its southern section was attached to the northern part of Pangasinan to create a new province called La Union. Although Ilocos had geographically shrunk, the ethnic Ilocanos continued to dominate northwestern Luzon. Still, it was a far cry from the Ilocos of earlier centuries when it comprised the entire coastal area of northwestern Luzon (see map 2).

Topography of Northwestern Luzon

The geography of northwestern Luzon is critical in shaping ethnic identities in the region. Lowland and upland societies evolved as a result of northwestern Luzon’s two distinct geographical regions. On the western side are the contiguous coastal provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, and Pangasinan while on the east are the mountainous, upland Cordillera provinces of Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province,

¹ Gregory Bateson, Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity (Glasgow: Fontana, 1979), 78.
Compared to its southern neighbor, Pangasinan, Ilocos has limited flatlands since it is wedged between the imposing Cordillera Central mountain range in the east and the vast South China Sea in the west. From Manila, Ilocos appears distant as it stretches to the tip of northwestern Luzon. To a large extent, the geographical location of Ilocos contributed to a distinct, strong sense of Ilocano identity, which was sharpened by the presence of the Igorots and Tinguians in the Cordillera and their collective experience during three hundred years of Spanish rule.

The home of the Igorots and the Tinguians is the Cordillera Central, considered the biggest and highest chain of mountains in the country, some 70 kms. long and 250 kms. wide, enclosing an area of about 1,750,000 hectares. It serves as the backbone of northern Luzon and is made up of three parallel ranges running north-south. The 1,829 meter high Malayan Range on the northern and western sections of the Cordillera borders Ilocos and is considered the roughest and most abrupt. More massive than this is the 2,438 to 2,743 meter high Central Range which is marked by rugged highlands. On the side of Cagayan in northeastern Luzon is the Polis Range which is known for its high peaks, such as Mt. Puluog (2,929 meters) and Mt. Alchan (2,576 meters). Located in the fringes of the Cordillera are three secondary mountain ranges: the Caraballo del Norte on the northwest, Caraballo on the southeast, and the Ilocos Range on the west. Among the

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1. The provinces of Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, Mt. Province, Kalinga and Apayao constitute the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR).
2. For administrative purposes, the Philippine government refers to Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union and Pangasinan as Region 1. The geographical features of Pangasinan are more akin to Central Luzon which is marked by extensive fertile plains. Culturally, however, Pangasinan is more related to the Ilocano provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur and La Union. Moreover, in terms of geographical proximity, it is closer to northwestern Luzon.
provinces of the Cordillera, only Abra has some flatlands since the Abra valley lies to
the west of the range. Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, Apayao, and Mountain Province are
suitable only for forestry and wildlife, as are the eastern half of Ilocos Sur, Abra, and
Ilocos Norte. About two-thirds of the total land area of northwestern Luzon is
mountainous, with the Cordillera accounting for most of it.5

The massive Cordillera dwarfs the Ilocos. In the sixteenth century, the Ilocos
coastal plain was a long, thin strip of land from the town of Agoo near the Lingayen Gulf
to Cape Bojeador in the north. In the mid-1700s, Ilocos was a thirty-five-league (about
108.5 miles) stretch of sea coast so narrow that it was only three leagues (about 9.3 miles)
at its narrowest and six leagues (about 18.6 miles) at its widest.6 Fifty years later,
another account described Ilocos as more or less forty leagues (about 124 miles) from
Balaoan in the south to Bangui in the north, with a breadth of about four (12.4 miles) to
six leagues (18.6 miles), except from Sinait to Dingras where it extends to eight leagues
(24.8 miles).7 An American colonial official, David Barrows, commented in the early
1900s that the Ilocos coast is a “mere ribbon in width.”8

Geography has not been kind to the Ilocanos. Ilocos is a rugged, irregular
expanse of land made up mostly of mountains and thick forests, with a narrow coastal

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5 For more on the contrasting features of northwestern Luzon, see Cleto, *The Ilocos and Cordillera
Provinces: A General Physical and Socio-Economic Profile* and Domingo C. Salita, *Geography and
National Resources of the Philippines*.

6 Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Geographia, historica de las Islas Philippinas, del Africa y de sus Adyacentes*,
tomo VII (Madrid: En la Oficina de D. Gabriel Ramirez, 1752), 60 and Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, *Status
of the Philippines in 1800*, trans. Vicente del Carmen, intro. Fr. Isacio Rodriguez, O.S.A. (Manila:
Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 394. Each league is roughly about 3.1 miles.

7 Jose Arzadun, *Descripcion de la provincia de Ilocos* (Manila: 1794), 2.

8 Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press,
1962), 11.
plain in the west. It is only in Ilocos Norte that this flatland stretches into the interior, a generally mountainous terrain trending north-northwest and south-southwest. Ridges and hills abound from Laoag to Currimao. In central Ilocos, this flatland is even punctuated by trenches and narrow ravines of up to about 100 meters deep.\(^9\) Ilocos Sur and La Union are also mountainous with its foothills usually leveling down abruptly on a narrow flat area. This mountainous terrain limits the areas suitable for agricultural production. It also confined early settlement and economic patterns in these flatlands near the coastal areas.

Apart from a scanty farmland, Ilocos is for the most part not conducive to large scale rice cultivation. The soils washed down from the steep Cordillera slopes tend to be gravelly rather than fertile. Because of their residual deposits, this type of soil is not favorable for farming. The soil on the eastern side of Ilocos next to the Cordillera is usually shale, while coastal Ilocos Sur is a combination of shale and sandstone. Shale is a clay-like type of soil, dark brown, and sticky while sandstone is sandy and permeable. Both shale and sandstone are acidic and less productive than alluvial soils which are the most fertile and thus best suited for agriculture. The shale soil when dry hardens, becomes difficult to till, and water can hardly pass through it.\(^{10}\) In contrast to Ilocos Sur, La Union and Ilocos Norte possess fertile alluvial soil.

The presence of river systems can to a certain extent overcome these difficulties. For instance, the alluvial deposits of the Laoag River and its tributaries have assured Laoag and the neighboring towns of San Nicolas, Sarrat, Dingras, Piddig, Salsona, and

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Banna of good farming. Overall, however, the arable land of Ilocos is limited and mainly confined to the narrow coastal plain on the west and the wide tracts of lowland fed by three major river systems: the Abra and Amburayan Rivers in Ilocos Sur and the Laoag River in Ilocos Norte.

Aside from topography, climate also affects agricultural production in Ilocos since it further constricted the kind and amount of crops which can be grown. Ilocos has a short wet season with the rest of the year characterized by a dry season with limited rainfall. This weather pattern is due to the presence of the Cordillera Central which acts as a massive block of wall. The Cordillera Central shields Ilocos in the east, thus creating a rain shadow effect over the Ilocos region. During the Northeast Monsoon, oftentimes called Northern, which blows from November to February in the northern hemisphere, there is heavy rainfall on the eastern part of the archipelago. But this rain-bearing northeast winds coming from the Pacific Ocean are blocked by the broad Cordillera range from reaching the leeward Ilocos lowlands. As a result most of the Northeast Monsoon rains fall on the eastern side of the Cordilleras in the province of Cagayan. The rain shadow effect also creates a vacuum which draws in wind coming around Cape Bojeador in the north thereby causing further drying in Ilocos Norte. Although the Cordillera shields Ilocos from the Northeast Monsoon, the region is exposed to the cyclonic storms and the Southwest Monsoon winds which blow from May to October causing disturbed weather patterns during this period.

What this climatic pattern means is that Ilocos has the shortest but one of the harshest rainy seasons in the country. This rainy season coincides with the Southwest Monsoon and usually lasts from June to September. In this period, typhoons abound,
Map 1. Philippine Map, ca. 1900
Jose S. Algue, *Atlas of the Philippines*
Map 2. Philippine Islands, ca. 1749
Source: Pedro Murillo Velarde,
Geographia, historica de las Islas Philippinas, del Africa y de sus Adyacentes.
rainfall is excessive and floods are frequent. While there are no available statistics to indicate the frequency of typhoons in the sixteenth century and the exact amount of rainfall, twentieth century statistics can illuminate possible conditions at that time since climactic changes do not drastically change over a few centuries. Among all Philippine provinces, Ilocos Norte has the third highest average rainfall much of which occurs during the rainy months of June to September. Ilocos Sur and La Union have the fourth and fifth highest, respectively. On the average, the Ilocos provinces have a 32% typhoon exposure which means one of every three typhoons that hit the country passes through the region, particularly in Ilocos Sur. Data from the mid 1980s indicate that around 19 typhoons hit the country each year. These destructive typhoons have throughout history wreaked havoc on the towns of Ilocos.\textsuperscript{11}

After a short wet season, Ilocos is characterized by a dry season with limited rainfall for the rest of the year. The dry season, which coincides with the Northeast Monsoon, are from the months of November to February. The transition period from the Northeast Monsoon to the Southwest Monsoon also brings warm temperatures in the months of March to May. This long dry spell oftentimes results in periods of droughts which become severe during the months of January, February and March. Destructive typhoons followed by pronounced droughts have resulted in crop failures which have repeatedly marked the history of Ilocos.

\textbf{Ilocano Indigenous Beliefs}

The topography and climate of Ilocos influenced the daily life and religious practices of the precolonial Ilocanos. It is only possible, however, to begin a

\textsuperscript{11} Manuel Buzeta, O.S.A. and Felipe P. Bravo, O.S.A., \textit{Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de las Islas Filipinas} (Madrid: Imprenta de Jose C. de la Pena, 1851), 2: 152.
reconstruction of Ilocos’ past in the beginning of the sixteenth century because of the very limited Spanish and indigenous sources. The earliest Spanish sources come from the accounts of the conquistadors and Augustinian friars who explored and pacified Ilocos and the rest of northwestern Luzon starting in 1572. To balance the colonial accounts, indigenous myths and oral traditions have also been consulted. The latter form part of the oral literature that serves as a window to the soul of Ilocano culture. The strength of this tradition can be surmised by the absence of widespread literacy among Ilocanos during this period. A barometer of the literacy level of the Ilocanos in the sixteenth century is a May 1591 affidavit signed by eight Ilocano chiefs, with only one, Juan Zamora of Narvacan, able to sign his name.12 The literacy level among Ilocano chieftains was low and was most likely even lower among ordinary Ilocanos.

The Ilocanos relied on oral tradition to preserve and transmit their culture to succeeding generations. Their cosmogony, for instance, is embodied in the Angalo myth, the origins of which cannot clearly be established. Nineteenth century sources note its prehispanic origins that were popularized in contemporary times.13 The Angalo myth is crucial for two reasons. It provides us with, first, an account of how early Ilocos society

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12 Scott, Barangay, 210. Similarly, of the eleven chiefs in Pampanga, only one, Nicolas Ramos of Lubao, could sign his name.
13 See Leopoldo L. Yabes, A Brief Study of Iloko Literature (Manila: Published by the author, 1936); Isabelo de los Reyes, “The Legend of Angalo,” The Ilocos Review 1:1 (January-June 1969): 37-39; Isabelo de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2 vols. (Manila: Establecimiento tipografico la opinion, 1890), 1: 63-64; Isabelo de los Reyes, El Folk-lore Filipino, trans. Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora P. Imson (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 87-93; and F. Landa Jocano, The Ilocanos: An Ethnography of Family and Community Life in the Ilocos Region (Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines, 1982), 10-12. The old Ilocanos interviewed related this legend with minimal variations. In Folk-lore Filipino, de los Reyes emphasized that Angalo which he spelled as Angngalo, and Aran were the local Adam and Eve or man’s first parents. Jocano, on the other hand, claims that another in another version Angalo and Aran were a huge couple who fought over the pearls they have found inside the clams they collected. The fight - stamping of feet and hurling of pieces of land - resulted in the formation of the Philippine islands.
must have been and, second, an inkling of how the Ilocanos distinguished themselves from other ethnic groups.

The plot of the Angalo myth echoes a theme common among Southeast Asian mythology. The world, it is said, was ruled by Angalo and his wife, Aran. Angalo was a great king by virtue of his intelligence, righteousness and bravery against neighboring enemy tribes. Angalo and Aran had three daughters who represented the three races: the Negritos or Aetas\(^{14}\), the Igorots, and the Malayans on the coast. The Malayans, presumably Ilocanos, were depicted as "civilized". They wore fine silk, possessed firearms, had a system of writing, engaged in regular contacts with foreigners, ate on porcelain plates from China and Japan, and lived in towns. Prior to the coming of the Spaniards, these were markers of "civilization" distinguishing the Ilocanos from the upland Negritos and Igorots.

In the legend Angalo created the world which was initially flat, but he dug the earth with his fingers and formed the mountains and hills. His urine became the salty seas, his G-string or bahag the rainbow, his voice the thunder, his breath the wind, and his shaking the earthquake. The account further describes Angalo as a great, powerful king unable to unify the various tribes because of his rash and abusive acts which led to his assassination by a slave or by some rival. After his death, he acquired divine qualities and became the king of the spirits. He ruled the celestial realm as he had the terrestrial one. The Ilocanos later established a cult to Angalo and depicted him as the

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\(^{14}\) According to Peter Bellwood, the short-statured Negritos of the Philippines are Australoids who inhabit both coastal and inland localities of the Philippines. They are the true aborigines of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago. The Spaniards referred to them as little black - negros or negrillos. See Peter Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 91-92; and William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 6-7 and 252-258.
creator of the universe. He was believed to be a giant because he put a roof over the heavens, and his huge footsteps were found all over Ilocos and the Cordillera, including the mountain in Santa, Ilocos Sur, near the Banaoang Gap.

Using the Angalo myth as a model, the Ilocanos chose as leaders the wisest, most righteous and bravest individual of the community. That he was later accused of being rash and abusive may be the work of his rivals for clearly he was highly esteemed by his people that upon his death he was elevated as a god. This is similar to other Austronesian societies whose leaders were chosen because they were “men of prowess” or individuals imbued with exceptional leadership traits which attracted many followers. At his death Angalo became a revered ancestor and part of the pantheon of gods, and he ruled in the supernatural realm as he did in the terrestrial world during his lifetime. The Ilocanos in the distant past invoked his name for guidance.

The worship of Angalo was a major component of the indigenous beliefs of the Ilocanos. In this system of beliefs, ancestors and spirits played an integral role in the daily life of the Ilocanos. There were nature spirits known as apo which inhabited the various objects in the landscape. In light of Ilocos’ harsh topographical and climatic conditions, the Ilocanos must have constantly propitiated these spirits to assure the well-being and prosperity of the land. Early Spanish accounts noted that Ilocos had “very

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16 Apo is a broad term used by the Ilocanos to refer to any of the following: an esteemed, older, or high status person, their ancestors, spirits in nature, and even the Christian God.
The importance of agriculture in the life of the early Ilocanos is indicated by the number of agriculture-related gods whom they worshipped. Among them was Apo Daga or God Earth who nurtured the crops and housed their dead ancestors. Other significant gods were Apo Pagay who was the God of Palay or Pagay meaning unhusked rice; Apo Tudo or God Rain; and Apo Init or God Sun and his wife, Apo Bulan or God Moon. But the most powerful in these pantheon of spirits was a supreme god, called Boni, who presided over the supernatural realm. These gods had to be wooed for favors and mollified when offended to assure continuous blessing and harmony.

**Ilocano Society**

For a glimpse of what Ilocos must have been like in the sixteenth century, we have to rely on the observations of the earliest conquistadors and friars. Ilocos is first mentioned in the Spanish records in 1572 by an anonymous participant in the conquest of Luzon. He writes:

Towards the south [sic] is a province called Yloquia which is said to be rich in gold mines; but the Spaniards have not seen it yet. The natives have not been able to say how far this island extends in longitude. I have already said that all of it is thickly populated, and that it has great abundance of rice, fowls and swine, as well as great number of buffaloes, deer, wild boars and goats; it also produces wax and honey and date palms abound. In conclusion, it is very well supplied with all the things above mentioned, and many others which I shall not enumerate...It is well populated and very rich in gold mines. There is much trade with China.  

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Another account noted that “the province is densely populated and contains larger settlement than the other provinces.”20 A more detailed and reliable description is from a conquistador who was part of Captain Juan de Salcedo’s pacification campaign of Ilocos. This is what he had to say of Ilocos:

The population there was large and that there were many good settlements close to one another and that they were better ordered and governed than in the other parts [emphasis mine]. They said that there were villages with 300 or 400 houses together, some more and some less, and that there was among them one village that seemed to contain more than three thousand houses, and another with 800....21

The settlements referred to were the puroks or communities, much similar to the barangay of the Tagalogs. In their accounts, Miguel Loarca and Pedro Chirino describe the barangay as comprising 30 to 100 families under the leadership of a chieftain called datu. Ilocos was equally fragmented into puroks which consisted of many households and varied in size. It was ruled by a chieftain called agturay (ruler) who, judging from the above Spanish account, ruled effectively since Ilocos was “better governed and administered.” Based on the Angalo model, an agturay was chosen because he exemplified virtues of bravery, wisdom, and righteousness. Although puroks were independent of each other, the agturay probably entered into alliances with neighboring puroks. As discussed in the next chapter, alliances between puroks were common in the effort to resist the Spanish pacification campaigns, but the Ilocanos were ordinarily “very simple, domestic and peaceful people.”22

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20 [Unsigned] “Relation of the Philippinas Islands” BR 34: 382. Blair and Robertson dates the document as most probably 1586 since the Governor-General and events the rest of the document mentioned are contemporaneous to this time period.


22 Ibid., 383.
While early Spanish accounts speak extensively of social stratification among the Tagalogs, Bisayans, and Pampangans, none of the sources deals with Ilocano society. Sixteenth century Ilocos must have been stratified into classes similar to those described by Miguel Loarca and Plasencia in the other regions in Luzon. Karl Hutterer claims on the basis of pre-Spanish trading patterns and early Filipino societies that a system of social ranking developed in coastal communities. Individuals in the upper echelon of society usually controlled the flow of goods and services through intricate commercial and personal ties, which they then transformed into political influence and power. These individuals and families linked themselves to a leader through a system of reciprocal social and economic obligations. While economic differentiation may lead to stratification, linguistic evidence indicates the presence of words denoting status among Austronesian societies prior to the advent of Indian ideas.

That ranking and social stratification existed in sixteenth century Ilocos is attested by Spanish accounts of the pacification of Ilocos. Captain Juan de Salcedo, the conquistador of Ilocos, had encounters with Ilocos chieftains. One of these was Silata, described as recalcitrant who engaged Salcedo in a duel. Likewise, a 1591 report by fourteen friars tending the parishes from Laoag to Tagudin contains an incident of a

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23 Among the Tagalog societies, the privileged class was the maginoo where the datu belonged. Next to the maginoo were the freemen made up of the timawa and maharlika. The timawa paid his feudal dues in the form of agricultural labor while the maharlika rendered military service. The lowest class was the alipin or slaves who were either sugui guiliid or namamahay. A sugui guiliid was theoretically entirely dependent on the master while the namamahay owned a house, had possessions and could have restricted ownership of land. See William Henry Scott, “Filipino Class Structure in the 16th Century,” in Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History, 96-126.


lowland chieftain and his freemen, whom Scott referred to as *timaguas*, killing and robbing other natives. Scott suggests that the social stratification during the Spanish period must have dated back to pre-Spanish times since the Spaniards simply used the existing chieftain class to govern the society. Throughout the Spanish period, the Ilocanos were divided into wealthy and influential men called *babaknang* and commoners called *kailianes*. *Babaknang* is the plural of “*baknang*”, meaning rich, while *kailianes* refers to townspeople, the word “*ili*” meaning town or *bayan*. The term *bayan* may mean a community, a state or a nation.

Social stratification also included slaves or *adipen*. Early Spanish accounts note the widespread prevalence of slavery throughout the islands in the sixteenth century. Ilocos was no exception since the evidence indicates its presence in the society. In the myth, Angalo was murdered possibly by a slave. An Augustinian report in 1591 reports efforts to curb the pre-Spanish practice of slavery in Ilocos. A marriage entry in a parish book in Ilocos mentions the continued existence of enslaved Ilocanos even as late as the eighteenth century.

As previously mentioned, the earliest colonial accounts described Ilocos as “thickly populated.” The first *encomienda* or tribute reports of Ilocos indicate that Vigan, Batac and Laoag possessed huge populations among the *puroks*. Economic exigencies encouraged Ilocanos to settle near coasts or along major river banks. Vigan used to be drained by the Abra River while Laoag and Batac are sustained by the Laoag River and

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29 *Casamientos de esta partida de Vigan desde 1 de Noviembre 1645 anos hasta 9 de Febrero de 1659 anos.*
its tributaries. They were favorable settlement sites since the major rivers serve as their lifeline, supplying the people with food, transport and, more importantly, fertile soil. Access to water also satisfied the Ilocanos’ predilection for bathing three or four times a day.30

The apparent high population in Laoag, Batac and Vigan may have been a result of wet-rice cultivation providing multiple harvests. While early Spanish chroniclers do not mention how rice was grown in Ilocos, rice cultivation would most likely have been similar to that practiced in neighboring Pangasinan in the south. There rice was cultivated in both swidden and pond fields where it was sown by broadcasting or by transplanting seedlings from a seedbed.31 A 1576 general description of rice cultivation in the islands can also provide a sense of how rice was possibly grown in Ilocos. The process is described as follows:

“They put a basketful of it into the river to soak. After a few days they take it from the water; what is bad and has not sprouted is thrown away. The rest is put on a bamboo mat and covered with earth, and placed where it is kept moist by the water. After the sprouting grains have germinated sufficiently, they are transplanted one by one...In this way they have abundance of rice in a short time.”32

That Ilocos was producing a surplus of rice is attested by its annual exports to Manila during the dry season when the northeast winds were favorable for sea travel between Ilocos and Manila.33 The fact that Ilocos exported rice in the sixteenth century was an impressive achievement since Ilocos is not suitable for large scale rice production. As later chapters would discuss this may have something to do with the irrigation system

30 Ibid., 383.
31 Scott, Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society, 248.
32 Francisco de Sande, “Relation of the Filipinas Islands” (Manila: June 5, 1576) BR 4: 67.
33 [Unsigned], “Description of the Philippine Islands,” (Manila: 1618) BR 18: 99-100.
developed by Ilocanos which allowed them to maximize the full potentials of their limited land. Another possibility is that Ilocos may have acquired rice supplies from other groups of people it traded with.

It is not rice but cotton which is the crop most suited for cultivation in Ilocos. The germination and early growth of cotton requires a lot of sunlight and a temperature ranging from 16°C to 39°C. It grows in areas with a long dry season, does not exhaust the soil, and requires slightly less nutrients than those of corn and rice. While sources are silent on how it was grown during this period, it was an indigenous crop cultivated fairly extensively in the Ilocos as attested by early Spanish sources. But the same sources are silent on the kind or variety of cotton grown in Ilocos.

Agricultural production apparently could sustain the heavy population of Ilocos in the sixteenth century, but the population figures may have been exaggerated. As has been mentioned, the topography of Ilocos limited arable lands to the coasts and a few riverine deltas.

**Ilocos as Regional Entrepot**

Agricultural production in Ilocos was complemented by an extensive trading network designed to export the region’s agricultural products of rice and cotton to other provinces or regions of Luzon. A late sixteenth century testimony of a principalia from Lubao, Pampanga, claims that the people of his province like those of the Tagalog areas wove their own cotton clothes. But he admitted that cotton was not grown at all from Cavite province to Pampanga, and that they relied on the importation of cotton from other areas. He noted that Pampangans simply did not know how to grow any crop except

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rice. Due to its cotton surplus, Ilocos would have been the logical source of cotton for the markets of northern and central Luzon, such as Pangasinan, Pampanga and the Tagalog provinces.

Pangasinan is a producer of salt and in fact the etymology of the province comes from the word “asin” meaning salt. This salt they traded for the Igorot’s gold. Pangasinan with its large tracts of alluvial soil is likewise a rice producer. With its proximity to Ilocos, the Pangasinenses may have exchanged this rice for the cotton of the Ilocanos which they then spun and wove into textiles.36

But the Ilocos trade network was not confined to the island of Luzon. International trade was a significant component of the Ilocano economy during this time. A 1574 estimate claims that thirty to forty Chinese sampans came to the country annually and during prosperous years even as many as fifty. Although most of the Chinese junks came to Manila, quite a number sailed to other places in the islands. Ilocos was a regular port of call, particularly when weather conditions prevented Chinese traders from reaching Manila.

Weather patterns determined the trading season of the Chinese which usually lasted from November to the end of May. Many usually came in May or June with the southwest winds but they had to leave by July to avail themselves of the reverse monsoon winds to take them home again.37 Since the Southwest Monsoon made maritime traveling hazardous, especially from Ilocos to Manila, many Chinese ships which came

35 “Ordinance Forbidding the Indians to Wear Chinese Stuffs” (Manila: 1591) BR 8: 84.
36 Cortes, Pangasinan, 1572-1800, 139.
late in the trading season opted to unload their goods in Ilocos. Writing in the early 1600s, Juan de Medina, an Augustinian friar, claims that Ilocos had “a great advantage over others; for when the Chinese arrive late, and cannot anchor or go to Manila, they enter some port or river of Ilocos.” This also explains why Manila traders were reported to be going to Ilocos to make their purchases especially after the arrival of a Chinese junk.

Tagalog traders from Manila were equipped with boats capable of long distance sailing, and Ilocos may have been part of a trade route which reached as far as Melaka. Tagalog was most probably the common language of trade negotiations and must have been comprehensible to many Ilocanos. Included as part of Salcedo’s exploratory expedition to Ilocos in 1572 was a Tagalog-speaking interpreter from Manila who was asked to negotiate peace with the Ilocanos. Moreover, an anonymous Spanish account from 1618 notes that “the Tagala dialect, that of Manila and the surrounding country, is a common language. It is spoken and understood everywhere, not only the above-mentioned natives of the island of Luzon [Camarines, Camintanes, Pampangas, Zambales, Ilocos, Cagayanes] but by the natives of all islands.”

While regular visits of Tagalog traders to Ilocos seemed to be the norm, one wonders whether the Ilocanos traveled and traded outside their region. In the Angalo myth, his wife Aran was said to have traveled to Manila many times with their three daughters. The reason for the trips is unclear but one version of the story mentions they

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were carrying salt which overturned and thus made the seas salty. What this myth implies is that the Ilocanos had contact with Manila and was already trading in salt.

Tome Pires, a Portuguese apothecary writing from Melaka between 1512 and 1515, noted the presence in that city of about 500 Lucoes or those from Luzon. These Lucoes traveled to Brunei and Melaka every year with two or three junks and also sailed directly to China to trade. In China they traded foodstuff, wax, and honey for Chinese goods, such as brass armlets, Indian cloth, colored glass beads, and pearl and red beads. The place of origin of these Lucoes merchants remains uncertain. Scott suggests they could possibly have included Pampangans since this ethnic group was knowledgeable and skilled in shipbuilding and maritime trading.41 Since the adventurous spirit of the Ilocanos are legendary, maybe they constituted some of these Lucoes. However, this is rather tenuous since there is really no evidence of Ilocanos venturing into long distance trade.

In addition to the Chinese and Tagalog, there was a strong presence of Japanese traders in Ilocos. When the first Spaniards came to Ilocos they noted the presence of several Japanese ships anchored in the port of Agoo. This prompted them to call Agoo “El Puerto de Japan” (“Port of Japan”).42 Agoo was a favored port because it offered excellent shelter to foreign vessels coming into the Lingayen Gulf. Moreover, Agoo earned a reputation in the sixteenth century as a gold emporium because of the amount of gold being traded at its port.43

41 Scott’s theory is based on the presence of a fairly strong Macabebe (a town in Pampanga) fleet of forty karakoas which challenged the early Spaniards in Luzon. Scott, Barangay, 244.
43 Scott, Barangay, 248.
A third group of traders must have been those coming from the neighboring islands of Southeast Asia, whom Medina mistakenly believed to be Indian merchants. There is no record of Indian traders reaching the Philippines, and what Medina believed to be Indian traders were most likely merchants from Indianized Southeast Asian polities. Like the Chinese, they frequented Ilocos ports to unload their goods when the winds were unfavorable for continuing travel to Manila. Unfortunately, other than Medina’s statements, there are no accounts which can help to determine the origin of these traders, the products they traded, or the system of exchange. Only very infrequently does one get a glimpse of trade from the sources. Fr. Francisco Antolin explains that the highly prized carnelian stones among the Igorots were obtained by the Ilocanos, who in turn may have purchased them from Bornean traders.44

Geography favored Ilocos as a site for a trading entrepot. Its location in the far north meant that it was the gateway to the Philippines for traders from eastern Asia. Its coastline is one of the longest in the country and is gentle and regular with sandy beaches sloping to the sea. In addition, the irregular coastline of Ilocos Sur and La Union with its occasional coves formed fine harbors. Ilocos Sur boasts a number of good ports such as Agoo, Balaoan, and Dumaguake (present day Santa Lucia). It is not surprising then that it became the center of a regional and international trading network in the sixteenth century. In contrast, Ilocos Norte’s shorelines are shallow and reefy with few good harbors. Currimao was the only viable port in Ilocos Norte but was not developed until the nineteenth century. It appears that while topography favored northern Ilocos as an

agricultural region, the good coastline of southern Ilocos made it an excellent maritime trading center during the precolonial period.

Ilocos was not merely an ideal safe haven, but it also offered products in demand by Chinese and Japanese traders. Gold was a much sought-after item by the Japanese, who helped Agoo earn a reputation as a gold exchange center. According to Antonio Morga, the Japanese also sought ancient brown earthenware jars. These jars, which later writers called tibores, were said to be plentiful in Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ilocos. They came in small and medium sizes and had marks inscribed on them. These were very much sought after and highly regarded in Japan for preserving the leaves of cha or tea which the Japanese drank as refreshment and medicine. A jar of this kind fetched as much as two thousand taels with each tael worth eleven reales. Morga claimed that the natives could not verify how and where they acquired these jars. At the time of his writing in the early 1600s, they were no longer locally made nor were they brought to the Islands as trade items. Since Morga was based in Manila, he was unaware that the tibor, a small and cylindrical stoneware, was a kind of Vigan burnay or stoneware jar. Burnay is used in storing vinegar, fermenting basi, the wine derived from sugarcane, and in preserving the bagoong, the traditional condiment in Ilocos made of tiny shrimp fermented in salt and normally eaten with rice. The burnay industry still thrives in Vigan up to this day.

46 The value of tael varies depending on the writer or possibly the varying rate of exchange at that time. Generally, in the sixteenth century, eight reales was equivalent to a peso.
47 Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 262.
Sources for the period do not have any reference to the items traded by the Ilocanos to the Chinese. However, we can speculate on what these could possibly have been based on what products the Chinese sought from the Islands and what was available in Ilocos. They probably supplied the Chinese with raw deerskin, wild boars, goats, ducks, wax, honey, and varying native fruits. Since Ilocos was predominantly mountainous and forested, there were excellent rattan, brazilwood and other types of forest products. Brazilwood in particular was sought by the Chinese since they extracted ink and dye from it. But the most valuable trading commodities would have been cotton and gold. The Chinese wove raw cotton into fine textiles, which they later brought back to Manila as export. Gold was also highly desired by the Chinese since they made trinkets, jewelry, and ornaments from it. In exchange for raw cotton, gold and forest products, the Chinese and to a lesser extent the Japanese traded porcelain, pottery, silk, and carnelian beads.

Gold and forest products were not obtained in the lowland, but through trade with the Igorots. The Ilocanos served as middlemen, buying gold from the Igorots and selling it to foreign traders. For the gold and forest products of the Igorots, the Ilocanos bartered rice, cotton, livestock, and salt. There are no figures to indicate the volume of trade between these two groups, but their commercial relations appear to be significant since trade became the focal point of Ilocano-Igorot relations.

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48 Morga provides a detailed description of the goods brought by the Chinese to the Islands and the local products they received in return. He does not, however, provide a specific list for Ilocos. See Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 305-306.

49 Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 281.
Ilocano-Igorot Relations

Despite their contrasting geographical terrains, Ilocos and the Cordillera are geographically and ecologically linked. The three largest and most important rivers in the Ilocos region - the Amburayan, Abra, and Laoag Rivers - serve as the vital link between the lowland Ilocanos and the upland Igorots since these rivers crisscross the Cordillera and Ilocos (see map 3). They originate in the Cordillera and irrigate the Ilocos flatlands. The Amburayan River springs from the vicinity of La Trinidad in Benguet province and drains in the South China Sea between Tagudin and Bangar in Ilocos Sur.  

But it is the Abra River which has traditionally been the major highway linking Ilocos Sur and the Cordillera. It boasts an overall length of fifty-five miles from Lepanto on the thickly forested western slope of the Cordillera to the coast. From Lepanto it flows along a northerly course via Agnet River near Langangilang then moves to a southerly direction. Numerous tributaries flow into the Abra so that by the time it reaches the Abra valley, which is the only wide and fertile flatland in the province, it becomes a river of notable size. It eventually empties into the South China Sea through the Banaoang Gap, a V-shaped gorge near Santa, Ilocos Sur.  

50 Buzeta y Bravo, Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico, 1: 77.
51 It is said that in olden times prior to the opening of the gorge, the limy-salty water of the Abra River formed a reservoir-like lake. Eventually, the confined water slowly cut its way through the least resistant side of the Ilocos Range. A deep narrow gap was carved at last and the opening was christened Banaoang Gap which means "drained off lake". The word Abra itself means "gorge" or "gap" in Spanish and thus the area was originally called Abra de Vigan. See Scott, Ilocano Responses to American Aggression, 1; Manuel C. Alzate, "History of Abra" Local Government Review 1: 8 (August 1949): 416; Nid Anima, Death of a Culture: Tinguian (Quezon City: Omar Publications, 1982), 4; Fay Cooper Cole, The Tinguian: Social, Religious and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe (Chicago: Field Museum of National History, Anthropological Series, vol. xiv, no. 2, publication 208, 1922), 240; and Josef Schmitz, S.V.D., The Abra Mission in Northern Luzon, Philippines (Cebu City: Series D: Occasional Monographs, no. 2, University of San Carlos, 1971), 15.
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Map 3. Major Rivers in Ilocos
Source: William Henry Scott,
*Ilocano Response to American Aggression*, 2
The Laoag River, or Cauit River as it was known during the Spanish period, originates on the slope of the Cordillera. It runs in a southwest direction and is fed by the different tributaries along the way. Upon entering the valley of Dingras, it joins the Burnay, Pagsan and Nagsabararan rivers. It then flows into San Miguel and passes between San Nicolas and Laoag before emptying into the South China Sea.

The Abra, Amburayan and Laoag rivers are mostly narrow and rapid-flowing, and they vary in size according to season. During the rainy months they swell and overflow but in the dry season they run dry except for waterholes at the bends. Both the Amburayan and the Abra rivers were considered dangerous to cross during the rainy season and there was always the threat of flooding. In fact, it was a matter of concern to colonial officials because of its threat of flooding during the rainy season. The Alcalde Mayor (provincial governor) of Ilocos Sur in 1842 warned that the Abra could eventually wash away the whole town of Santa since it was only a few brazas away from the center of the poblacion or town proper and was threatening the Casa Real or town hall and the Church. But despite repeated attempts the people of Santa failed to change the course of the river.

Despite the dangers and difficulties posed by the rivers, the Igorots traversed them regularly since they were the only available route to carry out their trade with the Ilocanos. During the rainy season, the Igorots loaded their cargoes on rafts or boats and went down the Abra and Amburayan Rivers to trade with the Ilocanos. Travel

52 F. Landa Jocano, The Ilocanos: An Ethnography of Family and Community Life in the Ilocos Region (Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines, 1982), 2.
53 The braza was a Spanish measure of length or a cubic measure. A braza is equivalent to 16.718 decimeters or 1.82636 yards.
downstream was dangerous during this time because the rivers become swollen by the rain and difficult to manage. Moreover, there were rips and huge rocks which posed an ever present danger. In the dry season the water level was too low for reverse travel, and so everything had to be transported overland by foot.

Of the three major rivers, the Abra River appears to be the most traversed route by the Igorots judging from the amount of references to it. It could also be because the Abra River descends to Vigan, the capital of Ilocos. It appears to be the chief avenue of trade and communication prior to the construction of the Abra-Ilocos Sur highway in the twentieth century. Despite being narrow and rapid-flowing, it could apparently accommodate freightage by bamboo rafts as far as forty-eight kilometers between the coast to the interior. In 1819, the bishop of Vigan, Francisco Alban, O.P., traveled on the Abra River from Vigan to Bangued, Abra Valley, on a bamboo balsa or raft. At certain points, the raft had to be dragged upstream by the locals with ropes while walking along the banks of the river, wading through shallow water and clinging to rocks or swimming and pushing the raft. It took fourteen hours to go upstream from Vigan to the Abra Valley, but only five hours going downriver. Tributary streams - Tineg to the northeast and the Binongan, Malanas, Ba-ay, Bucloc, and Ikmin to the east and southeast - together with a series of pathways and horse trails linked the eastern flank of the Abra Valley to the interior Cordillera settlements of Lepanto, Kalinga, and Apayao. Besides the Abra River, trails also crossed westward from the Abra Valley to the Narvacan coast and other coastal points. Similarly, trails descended from north Abra into Ilocos Norte. Rivers and trails were the routes used by Igorot traders in carrying their goods to Ilocos.

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The Angalo origin myth illuminates the special ties between the Ilocanos and the Igorots. In this myth they are siblings of Angalo and Aran who were separated because of geography. The etymology of their names reflects this difference. The word “Ilocos” in Ilocano comes from the prefix “l” meaning “inhabitant of” or “people of” and the root word “loco” meaning “low” or “lowland.” The name was coined as a result of the numerous rivers and rivulets originating from the Cordillera and flowing to the Ilocos en route to the South China Sea. These rivers formed numerous vales, inlets, river valleys, and river beds in the coastal plains as well as numerous coves which are called “loco” or “looc.” Land depression in Ilocano is called “locong” or “losong.” Ilocos therefore means “people of the lowland.”

Another explanation for the name Ilocos was posited by nineteenth century Spanish writers Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, and echoed by Isabelo de los Reyes at the turn of the century. They argue that the name Ilocos arose because of the numerous rivers in the province, and that the Spaniards pronounced the Tagalog word for river which is “ilog” as “iloc” since the Spaniards were not used to the letter g at the end of a word. This explanation assumes that the name Ilocos was given by the Spaniards. But early Spanish sources already note the existence of Ilocos even before Salcedo explored the region. This nineteenth century explanation applies more appropriately to the origin of the word Tagalog which comes from the root word “taga” meaning “comes from” and

57 Ibid, 145; Isabelo de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 1: 2.
“alog” which means “river.” Ilocos as “people of the lowland” is a more logical explanation.

The term Igorot, on the other hand, comes from the prefix “I” meaning “inhabitant of” or “people of” and the root word “golot” meaning “mountain chain”. William Henry Scott, the foremost scholar of Igorot studies, claims that “golot” is similar to “golod”, an archaic Tagalog word, meaning “mountain range.” The word Igolot, like Ilocos, is indigenous in origin. But many Northern Luzon dialects have no “r” and assigns “l” in its place. The “l” in Igolot was eventually replaced with “r” although this spelling did not become popular until conventionalized in 18th century literature.

As a specific ethno-linguistic group, Igorot does not exist; the term is a generic word for all inhabitants of the Cordillera. The present-day Cordillera is made up of the provinces of Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province, Kalinga, and Apayao. Their current inhabitants prefer to call themselves by their ethno-linguistic groupings: Itneg (Abra); Kankanay and Ibaloy (Benguet); Ifugao; Bontoc (Mt. Province); Kalinga; and Isneg (Apayao). This is a conscious effort to assert their ethnicity and distinctiveness and by extension to rectify terms such as Igorot which was what they were generically and collectively referred to in history.

The Spanish accounts collectively called the peoples of the southern Cordillera Central - in the provinces of Benguet, Mountain Province, and parts of Nueva Vizcaya - Igorots. Other smaller ethnic groups were called by other terms. For instance, the

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58 Alvarez, “How the Ilocos Region Got Its Name,” 144.
60 Ibid.
Spaniards referred to the inhabitants of eastern Cordillera, particularly those in present-day Ifugao Province as Ifugao. The name evolved from the word ‘fugaw’ meaning “the people of the hill”. The inhabitants of the foothills and plains of Abra and the upper Laoag River in western Cordillera were referred to as Tinguians from the word “tingue,” meaning “high” or “elevated.” The peoples of Apayao in northeastern Cordillera bordering the province of Cagayan were called by the Spaniards “Mandayas” which means “those up above.”

Clearly, the identification and ethnic names given to the inhabitants of the Cordillera - be it Igorot, Ifugao, Tinguian, or Mandaya - evolved from their geographical location. But whether these terms were in usage prior to the coming of the Spaniards is unknown because of the absence of any written record prior to the sixteenth century. We can only speculate on the origin of these terms. For example, Scott points out that there is no record of the Igorots ever referring to themselves by that name. He also claims the word “Igolot” or “Igorot” was not in use prior to the Spanish conquest of Ilocos in 1572. This assertion is based on the early colonial accounts of the region where the Spaniards did not refer yet to the inhabitants of the Cordillera as Igorots but simply as mountain people. Scott contends that by the 1590s, various Spanish expeditions to the Cordilleras referred to its inhabitants as Igorots.

The Ilocanos, Igorots, Ifugaos, and Tinguians belong to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian speakers. In his synthesis of linguistic and archaeological evidence, Peter Bellwood dates the initial Austronesian expansion from Southern China to Taiwan at about 4000-3500 B.C.E. By 3000 B.C.E. there was further migration of the Austronesians from Taiwan to the northern Philippines, and on to Borneo and Sulawesi by 2000 B.C.E. The Philippines was geographically fragmented and settlements of remote areas like the Cordillera may have persisted untouched over a long period of time.

William Henry Scott adds that the migrating populations of Austronesians were not physically homogenous. There were significant differences in stature, skin pigmentation and facial features. Settlement and adaptation to varying environment coupled with intermarriage within that community naturally highlighted physical and cultural differences despite their having come from the same stock. For instance, the Igorots were physically described as similar to the Ilocanos except that they have lighter complexion compared to the darker skinned Ilocanos. This difference is attributable to environmental conditions since the Igorots lived on cloud-covered mountains while the Ilocanos were exposed to the piercing heat of the sun.

Since the Ilocanos, Igorots, Ifugaos, and Tinguians descended from the same Austronesian lineage, they share common cultural features with their Austronesian

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62 B.C.E. ("Before the Common Era") refers to the same epoch as B.C. ("Before Christ"). Likewise, C.E. ("Common Era") refers to the same epoch as A.D. (*Anno Domini* meaning "In the year of our Lord"). Increasingly, scholars use B.C.E. and C.E. since, unlike B.C. and A.D., they do not apply to merely the Christian standards but is cognizant of other cultures and religions.


64 The lighter complexion of the Igorots must have been the reason why early studies of the Igorots theorized that they were descendants of shipwrecked Chinese or Japanese merchants. Fr. Francisco Antolin, O.P., writing in the mid 18th century claimed that the Igorots "if well dressed, would pass in Manila for mestizos."
kinfolk in Southeast Asia. The migrating Austronesian-speakers had an agricultural economy based initially on cereal and rice, and later added tubers and tree crops in their adaptation to differing environments. But they were not solely agriculturists and had varied economic activities including trading, foraging, hunting and fishing. Agriculture intensified in regions where population outstripped plant species. This demographic pressure on resources may be the logical explanation why Ilocos eventually developed an intensive agricultural economy anchored on wet rice cultivation. It could also be the other way around where rice surplus as a result of efficient wet rice cultivation enabled the growth of population. The Igorots, Ifugaos and Tinguians, on the other hand, practiced a mixed economy of hunting and gathering and swidden agriculture. As a result of external demand, they also came to specialize in the collection of forest products for trade to the lowlands. They grew rice, camotes, gabi, ubi, squash, beans, onions, sugarcane, and vegetables for their own consumption and not for trade with the lowlanders.

Some uplanders were engaged in more intensive farming than others. The Ifugaos, for example, developed extensive and elaborate rice terracing in the Banaue region. The Cordillera terrain is uneven with only certain valleys and slopes favorable for farming. Nevertheless, they saw their soil as far more suitable for agriculture than that of the lowlands. They commented that in the lowlands the soil “is packed down with the pressure of the rains, the tread of the population and the vibration of carts...[and

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is worn out and baked by the lowland sun'; whereas, their lands were "fertile, soft and porous, and can easily be worked with some wooden shovel without needing animals to plow it."\(^{66}\)

The lowland Ilocano-upland Igorot linkage is replicated in many societies throughout Southeast Asia. The upland-lowland dichotomy is referred to by various terms such as upstream-downstream, hinterland-coastal, and *ilir-ulu*.\(^{67}\) The distinction and identity of both upstream and downstream communities are often attributable to their contrasting physical and economic environments. But the contrast was often beneficial because they formed an economic complementarity which proved mutually advantageous. The upstream or hinterland communities had access to valuable forest products which they furnished to the downstream or coastal societies, and the latter provided them with their basic provisions obtainable from the lowlands and the coasts.

Sixteenth century Ilocano-Igorot relations exhibited this pattern. The topographical differences between the Cordillera and the Ilocos lowlands were reflected in the distinct nature of their complementary economies. It was a specialized exchange of goods - mainly the Igorot gold for the Ilocano cotton. Since the Igorots knew the Cordillera terrain very well, they controlled the mining of its gold by utilizing the lode.


\(^{67}\) Two excellent studies which explores the upstream-downstream theme in Southeast Asia are Barbara Watson-Andaya, *To Live As Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993) and Jane Drakard, *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1990). Andaya examined the *ilir* (upstream)-*ulu* (downstream) trading partnership and the dissolution of such unity in Palembang and Jambi in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Drakard, on the other hand, analyzed the issue of duality and hinterland-coastal relations in Barus by employing a close textual reading of the two royal chronicles of the Barus.
and placer mining techniques. Lode mining entails digging through a lode or vein that has cropped up in a surface rock. Using an iron-pointed stick and stone or wooden hammer and shovel, tunnels are dug through the mountain to follow the lode or vein. Lumber was propped up to prevent the tunnel from collapsing. Placer mining, on the other hand, was seasonal work since it involves panning the gold from the streams after the heavy rains using wooden sluice-boxes or stone-walled sluice. Once the ore was collected, Igorot women took over the process of retrieving the gold by crushing the ore or roasting it before grinding. Sometimes the extracted gold was melted and purified. Apparently, with these simple mining techniques, the Igorots managed to supply the lowlands with gold. Apart from gold, the Igorots also exchanged forest products, specifically honey and beeswax. They also made popular trading items such as rough sleeping mats, net knapsacks, hunting bags, and sieves for cleaning rice.

With their gold and forest products the Igorots would trek via land trails and waterways to Ilocos and Pangasinan to the west and Cagayan to the east. In exchange for their goods, they obtained cotton G-strings and blankets fashioned out by the Ilocano weavers. The Igorots did not cultivate cotton and instead relied on the Ilocanos who grew it. They did not buy raw cotton either since they did not know how to spin and weave it. In contrast, the Ilocanos had mastered the art of weaving blankets and clothes from their own cotton harvests. It was a prosperous local industry that supplied the clothing needs of the Ilocanos as well as the Igorots. Weaving was not a major organized

70 Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 182.
71 Antolin, Notices of Pagan Igorots, 35.
industry, but a household activity. It was common to have weavers in every family and, judging from Spanish accounts, this task was exclusive to the women.

Cotton blankets were especially valued by the Igorots because of the cold temperatures in the Cordillera. They also used the cloth to wrap their dead during the mourning period. Although the Igorots practice crude embalming by removing then preserving the intestines through a salting and drying process, the odor remained. It was therefore a common practice to wrap the dead in as many as twenty blankets during the mourning period that could last for weeks and months.⁷²

The Ilocanos wove specialized blankets to suit Igorot needs. Blankets and G-strings were decorated with sequins and there were different kinds depending on the wearer and its usage. The Igorot chieftains had little tubes of gold, an indication of their status, woven as designs; they, together with other prominent people, wore blue and black G-strings. In contrast, the slave and the poor Igorots used bark G-strings and short white cotton blankets.⁷³ Certain occasions also required specific blankets. Intricately designed special blankets were woven for funerals. Although the cost of the blankets naturally varied depending on the make, on the whole it was a profitable business.

Although cotton blankets and G-strings were products highly desired and valued by the Igorots, some of them grew a flax-like shrub similar to a ramie, called aramay, which they made into blankets and G-strings.⁷⁴ The thread of the aramay is very strong and suitable for making fishline and nets, and the Igorots strung these thick threads together to make their G-strings and blankets. While these aramay blankets served their

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⁷² "Journey of Governor Basco" (1785), cited in Antolin, Notices of Pagan Igorots, 303.
⁷³ Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 181.
⁷⁴ Ibid.
purpose, they were nonetheless considered of inferior quality to the more expensive cotton blankets of the Ilocanos.

Besides cotton blankets and G-strings, the Igorots also sought from the lowlands herds of domesticated animals, mainly pigs. A seventeenth century estimate claims that the Igorots acquired about 600 animals each year. These animals, particularly the pigs, formed not only part of their daily diet but also religious sacrifices for feasts and funerals. The Igorots also bought from the lowlands their supplies of *basi*, a fermented wine made from sugarcane, and salt, both of which were Ilocano home industries. Although there are no sixteenth century reference to how salt was made, the Ilocanos had salt for their domestic use. A popular salt by-product was *bagoong*, a traditional condiment in Ilocos made up of tiny shrimp fermented in salt and usually eaten with rice. Salt production may also have been stimulated by the demand among the Igorots. But Pangasinan appears to be the primary source of salt, since it eventually earned the reputation as the premier salt producer. Pangasinenses supplied most of the needs of the Igorots who used salt to flavor and preserve meat. Salt was also used in the Igorot embalming practice.

Other Ilocano commodities desired by the Igorots included dried fish; iron pots and vats and steel weapons; bracelets, precious stones and beads; and Chinese porcelain plates and jars. As previously stated, rice, corn, and *camotes* did not figure in the

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77 Cortes, *Pangasinan*, 137. Cortes states that the name Pangasinan means "land of the salt" or "place where salt is made."
78 Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, 192.
economic exchange between the Ilocanos and the Igorots since the latter grew them in
the valley or on the slopes of the Cordillera.

There were clearly two kinds of goods that were traded between the Ilocanos and
Igorots. One involved items of necessity for the Igorots such as cotton, salt, pigs and
iron. The other kind of goods was more luxury items and it included Igorot gold and
forest products as well as bracelets, precious stones, beads and Chinese porcelain plates
and jars.

The Ilocanos rarely traveled to the mountains to trade due to their unfamiliarity
with the terrain and perhaps also as a result of their fear of the Igorots. The uplands were
regarded as a domain of danger largely because of the reputation of the Igorots as
headhunters. Scott claims that the Igorots went down to the lowlands for two reasons: to
trade and to hunt heads. Furthermore, the Cordillera was fairly inaccessible since travel
upstream either by raft or foot was extremely difficult and time-consuming. In most
instances it was the Igorots who descended to the lowlands to conduct business. The
Igorots may have preferred it that way since they were wary of the lowlanders and were
fearful that the latter would locate and control the gold mines.

The Igorots who made this journey to the lowlands were regarded as “men of
substance and consequence in their own villages”. They were apparently prominent
men in their communities judging on the “number of their economic dependents and
[their] reputation for good judgment and physical prowess.” That the Igorots were
represented by selected men in their community suggest that they knew the importance of

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80 Ibid.
these trade transactions and at the same time the danger involved in trading with the lowlands.

Scott speculates that the trade relations between the lowlands and the Igorots were not always ethical. He claims that the “Igorot ability to mix gold with baser metals was so sophisticated that commerce in Ilocos was a veritable contest of wits, and the less experienced customers of Nueva Vizcaya [a province south of the Cordillera] simply refused to accept it, demanding ironware or hard cash instead.”81 The few sources we have on Ilocos do not suggest anything like this in the Ilocano-Igorot trade exchange. Nothing indicates that such relations were not conducted on equal and fair basis. Overall, it appeared to be a mutually beneficial arrangement.

The profitable Ilocano-Igorot trade, particularly of luxurious items, was also linked to Ilocos’ commercial exchange with the Chinese and Japanese. Gold and forest products traded by the Igorots were in turn exchanged by the Ilocanos for Chinese and Japanese products. In effect, the Ilocanos functioned as intermediaries between the interior Ilocano populace and the Igorots on one hand, and the foreigners on the other. They distributed exotic imports throughout the region and collected forest and interior products for export. A primitive market economy developed with the Ilocos coast serving as an entrepot.

In his study of pre-colonial trade patterns, Karl Hutterer believed that the coast developed the manufacture of native pottery and metal implements, thus suggesting the coastal economy was based not merely on international exchange but on the production

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81 Ibid., 183. Nueva Vizcaya is a lowland province south of the Cordillera.
and distribution of manufactured goods as well. This pattern was true for Ilocos in the sixteenth century, where textile and salt were examples of locally produced goods for domestic or intra-island trade. In addition, the Ilocanos were known for their skills in smelting and metalwork, after all the Igorots traded unrefined gold. One of the early Spanish officials, Antonio Morga, noted that "... with the gold still unrefined and unpurified, they [the Igorots] go down to trade...and the Ilocanos finish its refining and purify it perfectly and it passes through the whole land through their hands." Through their knowledge of metalwork, the Ilocanos were able to fashion various types of jewelry for local consumption and for exchange with the Chinese and Japanese traders. The early Spaniards in the Islands commented on how gold was widely used throughout the Islands for, in addition to personal adornment, it was also believed to be a form of talisman or amulet which protected its wearer from dangers and evil spirits.

Conclusion

Ilocos in the sixteenth century was an international and regional entrepot. Chinese and Japanese merchants called on a regular basis, as did the traders from Manila. The appeal of Ilocos as a trading center was as much a result of its surplus rice and cotton textiles, as it was for the gold and forest products obtained from the upland Igorots. For the Chinese and Japanese, it was gold and forest products which were the most sought after commodities from Ilocos. To acquire these products from the Igorots, the Ilocanos offered woven cotton blankets and G-string, pigs, and salt. In addition to their profitable trading with the Chinese and Japanese, on one hand, and the Igorots, on the other, the

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83 Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 182.
Ilocanos likewise sold some of their cotton and rice to other provinces. Tagalog traders regularly visited Ilocos, but whether the Ilocanos traveled outside of their homeland to trade remains speculative in the absence of any direct reference.

Ilocos’ geography limited settlements to the coasts and the interior flatlands. A complementary dual economy developed. Rice and cotton were cultivated in the interior flatlands, while the coastal communities were involved in mercantile trading with various ethnic groups. Local industries in weaving, salt making, and metallurgy also developed along the coasts in response to commercial demands. Economic distinction had also developed within Ilocos. Whereas the northern section was entirely agricultural due to the availability of interior flatlands, the south had good ports that earned the reputation as trade centers.

The ports along the southern coast and the fertile plains of the north became the nucleus of the early communities, each consisting of four hundred to as many as eight hundred houses. Economic specialization stimulated the development of social ranking, particularly among trading communities. The need to regulate the flow of goods and services may have been one of the functions of the chieftain. Although politically ordered, socially stratified, and economically organized, Ilocos, like the rest of the archipelago in the sixteenth century, lacked regional consolidation.

Since the Ilocanos had trade relations with many ethnic groups such as the Chinese, Japanese and Tagalogs, it is likely that they developed a sense of who they were vis-à-vis these groups. Their unique language was clearly an identifying mark, and perhaps their reputation as producers of good quality cotton textiles and suppliers of gold further contributed to their distinctive identity. Compared with their neighbor upland
groups, to be Ilocano in the sixteenth century was to live in the lowlands; to engage in wet-rice cultivation, cotton-growing, weaving, pottery, and smelting; and to trade with foreign and local merchants. In contrast, an Igorot was a forager, a dry rice cultivator, a collector of forest products and a gold producer. Economic distinctions became the essence of their identity. But a symbiotic, equal relationship existed between the Ilocanos and the Igorots, anchored on the exchange of valuable commodities. How the appearance of a white colonizer resulted in the introduction and creation of new ethnic groups in Ilocano society, in intensifying Ilocano identity, and in reconfiguring lowland-upland relations are the concerns of the rest of this thesis.
CHAPTER 3

THE COLONIAL ENCOUNTER: THE SPANIARDS AND THE ILOCANOS

...an encomendero took an Indian woman, stripped her, tied her naked to the post, and flogged her with willow stitches in a petulant fury at some imagined failure in compliance, until she died; of how the same man gave the chief of one of his villages a great blow with his cudgel...of how the Indian, streaming with blood from his wound, defecating helplessly with terror, fled to the friar for protection, who took him in his arms; and “the Indian thus clinging to me and I to him, running with blood, filthy and stinking, the [encomendero] tore him away from me, dragging him by his hair from my arms, who could not help him, in front of all the people and of a Spaniard who was standing there....”1

- a sixteenth century friar report on the conquest of the Americas.

In the sixteenth century the goal of Spain was to extend its territorial and administrative control to the rest of the islands. A colonial state in place would mean power to expropriate human and material resources necessary to ensure the economic survival of the Spanish conquistadors. Military, political and religious pacification thus became the colonial discourse while for the natives it was to keep their independence and retain the pre-colonial status quo.

Conquest of Ilocos

The initial encounter between the Ilocanos and the Spaniards foreshadowed the structural and revolutionary changes which were to descend on the Ilocanos as a result of colonial contact. Like the rest of the archipelago, the Spanish conquest of Ilocos followed specific stages. The initial step was the entrada or the raid of villages by conquistadors. Next was reduccion or the resettlement of the dispersed Ilocanos into compact settlements. Through enticement and coercion, the Ilocanos were resettled

1 Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 53.
“bajo de campana” or “within the sound of the church bells.” They were divided into *encomiendas* which were awarded to conquistadors turned *encomenderos* for the purpose of exacting tribute or taxes. Theoretically, tribute was a symbol of the natives’ recognition of the Spanish Crown and their allegiance to their *encomendero*, who in return pledged temporal and spiritual services meaning military protection, administrative justice, and religious conversion.

The Spanish annexation of Ilocos is credited to the efforts of Captain Juan de Salcedo, the grandson of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the first Spanish governor-general in the Philippines. Salcedo had earlier earned fame for his exploration of the gold mines of Camarines, a province in southern Luzon. In 1572, the Spaniards settled in Manila from Cebu. A few months later, Salcedo was ordered to extend Spanish rule to northern Luzon and to explore the region for a shorter return route to Mexico. His expedition came on the heels of unverified reports of the existence of extensive gold mines in northern Luzon, particularly Ilocos. Dreams of replicating the gold haul in the Americas stimulated the imagination of the Spaniards. At this time, they were unaware that gold was mined in the Cordillera and was only brought down to Ilocos by the Igorots.

Fortunately, we have a detailed description of Salcedo’s expedition as seen through the eyes of the conquistadors. It began on May 21, 1572 when Salcedo sailed for northern Luzon with a contingent of eight boats and forty-five soldiers. Included in the expedition was an undetermined number of Tagalogs many of whom were Muslims and who, because of their existing trade ties with the Ilocanos, navigated the fleet, manned
the boats, and served as auxiliary soldiers and interpreters. ² They traveled the coasts of Pampanga, Zambales and Pangasinan en route to Ilocos. In Agoo, they attacked three Japanese vessels which eventually fled after sustaining casualties. The presence of the Japanese, who for years had frequented the port to trade, prompted the Spaniards to christen the place “El Puerto de Japon” or “Port of Japan.” From the coast they ascended the river and reached an interior settlement which was described as already “reduced to ashes.” Although the locals were accustomed to the presence of Japanese traders, the sighting or news from the coasts of the arrival of the Spaniards, a new foreign group, and their encounter with the Japanese drove the people to abandon their settlement.

From Agoo, the Spaniards proceeded to the coastal settlement of Atuley, or present-day Bauang, a community situated on a steep, rough, hilly ground, which appeared impregnable. Unable to penetrate from the coast, Salcedo ordered his men to explore the base of the hill and ascend from different points. With the Spaniards inching their way to the top, the defenders fled, leaving behind traces of an organized community with planned and well-arranged streets and houses. The Spaniards captured two locals who informed them of the existence of other interior settlements. The two were set free and instructed to relay to the other chieftains the Spanish invitation for a peace treaty. Some of the chieftains and their followers heeded the invitation and came to confer with the white visitors. The Tagalog interpreters whom Salcedo brought along mediated the peace negotiation and the Ilocanos somehow understood them since a pattern of Tagalog-

² Gaspar de San Agustin wrote an account of Salcedo’s exploration and conquest of Ilocos. This became the basis of Isabelo de los Reyes’ recount in his Historia de Ilocos. San Agustin called the Tagalogs “Moors from Manila.” By the time the Spanish reached Manila in 1572, Islam was gradually taking root and, in fact, the rajahs of Manila, Lakandula and Soliman, were both Muslim converts. See San Agustin, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 386-394 and de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 10-21.
Ilocano trading was in place even prior to the appearance of the Spaniards. The Ilocano chieftains left after the negotiations and promised to return the following day with the other chieftains to sign a treaty. None of them returned which was perhaps indicative of the unacceptable terms offered by the Spaniards. That they failed to return despite promising that they would even bring along other chieftains may appear to indicate the existence of a supra-purok unity although this would remain a supposition in the absence of any specific reference to it in any other sources.

Salcedo for the time being opted not to compel Ilocano acceptance and compliance with the proposed treaty; instead, he continued his exploration of the northern coast and proceeded with the expedition. They entered the mouth of the Purao River and reached the settlement of Purao or present-day Balaoan. The locals knew in advance of the presence of the white invaders and thus were prepared to defend themselves. They pretended to welcome the Spaniards, but it was apparently a ruse since the settlement was devoid of women and children. Not long after, they attacked the Spanish boats and attempted to seize the enemy vessels once the Spaniards had disembarked. A battle ensued and the overwhelmed locals fled to the hills, leaving their dead and wounded behind.

From Purao, the Spaniards continued their expedition and reached the settlement of Dumaguake or present-day Santa Lucia. Since this was a port often visited by Chinese and Japanese traders, it was a substantial settlement accustomed to foreign visitors. Unlike the Ilocanos of Agoo, the inhabitants of Dumaguake received the Spaniards calmly. Salcedo ordered some soldiers under the command of his alferez or ensign,
Antonio de Hurtado, to explore the interior settlements. Hurtado conducted a vicious campaign against the interior populace where he pillaged the villages. Enraged by these acts, the Ilocanos planned to ambush Hurtado and his troops on their way back to the coast, but the Spaniards with their superior weaponry were able to repulse the attack and capture the local chieftain named Silata. In an apparent show of goodwill, Salcedo released the chieftain, gave him presents which were reciprocated by local gifts of provisions and about 100 ounces of gold. Salcedo, however, was said to have declined the gift, a euphemistic term for what was likely offered as a ransom, to prove Spain’s good intentions, although demonstrated otherwise through their pillaging.

On June 12, 1572, Salcedo and his troops left Dumaguake and arrived at Caoayan near the Abra River. They traveled upriver towards Vigan where they met two little boats which fled upon seeing them. The Spaniards pursued them until reaching the entrance to Vigan, where many locals surrounded them brandishing spears and shouting insults. With both sides poised for battle, Salcedo was said to have offered peace which was rejected. The Spaniards then attacked the defenders with arquebuses\(^3\) [arpabuceria] prompting the latter to retreat. After overcoming resistance, the Spaniards victoriously entered Vigan which they described as a beautiful town with over 1,500 houses. The men of Vigan had abandoned the town and escaped to the neighboring settlement of Bantay, which at the time was separated from Vigan by the Abra River. This indicates some form of cooperation between the two puroks, the basis of which is unknown due to the lack of sources. While the men sought refuge in Bantay, the women and children

\(^3\) The Oxford English dictionary defines arquebus or harquebus as an “early type of portable gun, supported on tripod by hook or on forked rest.”
were left in Vigan. Although the women and children were unharmed, the Spaniards confiscated local provisions and set up a garrison. Realizing that the white intruders had no intention of leaving, the men returned and agreed to a peace with the enemy.

After several days, the Spaniards left Vigan and continued their coastal exploration until they reached the mouth of the Laoag River where they were greeted by a “cloud of spears.” Spanish arquebuses once again overwhelmed the resistance and forced the locals to sue for peace. Laoag was similar to Vigan in many ways since both had large settlements, though the former was more densely populated with 4,000 houses. From Laoag, the Spaniards explored other nearby settlements before traveling downstream to the coast. It was June by this time, and the rainy season had already brought a typhoon which battered the Ilocos coast. The Spaniards sought refuge south of the Laoag River in the port of Currimao. Stranded in Currimao, Salcedo decided to explore the interior settlements. They arrived in Paoay and were again met with hostility. As in prior encounters, the locals proved no match to the superior strength of the Spanish weaponry. From Paoay the Spaniards headed back to the coast where they met more inhabitants who allegedly challenged Salcedo to a duel. Salcedo went ashore and dueled a local chieftain who lured him back to a hill. Laying in wait was a force of three hundred men who ambushed Salcedo, but he somehow managed to escape with the help of his soldiers.

From the coast, Salcedo moved inland, about six miles from Currimao, to the settlement of Barol, which could be either present day Batac to the east or Badoc to the south. The men of Barol provided stiff resistance against the Spaniards while the women
and children went into hiding. The skirmish resulted in the death of twelve natives thus forcing the others to flee to the mountains. The Spaniards then sacked the village and confiscated provisions. The punitive measure forced the locals to sue for peace, hoping to avert further loss of life and property by paying ransom. Peace was bought at a cost of 120 ounces of gold.

Salcedo left his sergeant, Francisco de Saavedra, and a company of soldiers in charge of Laoag and its vicinity. He and his remaining crew remained in Barol and continued to reduce the surrounding area. He later returned to Vigan with six ships and most of his men. In Vigan the natives once again resisted the presence of the Spaniards but they soon quieted after it became apparent that the white invaders had the superior force. They were forced to provide provisions and haul timber in the mountains to assist Salcedo in building a fort and several houses. The settlement located in a high area near the Abra River and the coast was slightly apart from Vigan. He eventually named it Villa Fernandina in honor of Fernando, the son of King Philip II. Since Villa Fernandina was an elevated area, probably a hill, he could keep watch over the natives and at the same time note the approach of ships. On July 24, 1572 Salcedo ordered Hurtado and twenty-seven soldiers to remain in Vigan while he and the rest proceeded north to complete his exploration of the coast. They reached the northernmost tip and rounded the Cape of Bojeador en route to Cagayan. From Cagayan he traveled via the eastern coast until he reached Manila.
The Spaniards hailed the three-month expedition as a success. Salcedo presented the Crown with 400 gold *maes*, half of the total tribute collected. The other half he distributed to his men as reward. A report from a member of that exploration claims that Ilocos was well-populated, "better ordered and governed than in other parts [of the archipelago] with huge settlements of 300 to 400 houses, although one had 800 and another as many as 4,000 houses."

Encouraged by Salcedo's success and his report of an abundance of gold in Ilocos, Governor-General Guido de Lavesares ordered a second expedition. It was led by *Maestro de Campo* (Field Marshal or Master-of-Camp or Commander) Martin de Goiti, who was responsible for the pacification of the province of Pampanga in Central Luzon months before. This second expedition, which sailed for Ilocos on December 28, 1572 was much larger and included twenty-three boats, 130 Spanish soldiers, and 800 local rowers. Its duration was unclear but when Goiti returned to Manila, he presented another 1,200 *maes* of gold tribute from Ilocos.

Although there was no mention of the Augustinians in the Salcedo campaigns, they participated in the second expedition. It was common for missionaries to accompany expeditions, since these campaigns promoted the Spanish twin mission of pacification and spiritual conquest. The Augustinians wrote extensively on what transpired in Ilocos during the second expedition, denouncing the widespread abuses.

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4 A *mae* is a gold coin. One *mae* is about a little more than one ounce of gold. Each *mae* is equivalent to 2.5 *reales* and eight *reales* make a *peso.
5 "Letter from Francisco de Ortega to the Viceroy of New Spain," *BR* 34: 257-258.
6 De los Reyes claims that the second expedition was not led by Salcedo because Lavesares had grounded him in Manila pending an investigation of his alleged designs on Lavesares' post. The accusations came from Salcedo's men but the charges were later proved unfounded.
committed by the conquistadors in Ilocos. From the accounts of both expeditions, it appears that the pacification campaign was viciously conducted and resulted in massive death and exploitation. Fr. Martin de Rada and Fr. Francisco de Ortega were the most vocal in criticizing the Crown soldiers. In 1573, Fr. Ortega wrote:

The first thing they [the Spaniards] do when they reach any village or province is to send them an interpreter or two, not with gifts or presents, not to preach to them or to speak to them of the things of God, but to order them to bring tribute immediately and to be friendly to the Castillians. Since this is so new and a strange thing for them, as being something to which they have not been accustomed, as they have not been either subjects or vassals of any native king or lord...all this is confusion to them and causes them much evil by forcing them to give as tributes the necklaces which they wear about their necks and the bracelets which they and their women wear on their arms. For few or none of them have any other property but what they wear on their persons. When these so evil abuses are inflicted upon them, some of them refuse to give the tribute or do not give as liberally as those who ask it desire. Others, on account of having to give this and of their fear at seeing a strange and new race of armed people, abandon their houses and flee to the tingues [hills] and mountains. When the Spaniards see this, they follow them, discharging their arbuques [arquebuses] at them and mercilessly killing as many as they can. Then they go back to the village and kill all the fowl and swine there and carry off all the rice which the poor wretches had for support. After this and after they have robbed them of everything they have in their miserable houses, they set fire to them. In this way they burned and destroyed more than four thousand houses in this expedition to Ylocos, and killed more than five hundred Indians [emphasis mine], they themselves confessing that they committed that exploit. Your Excellency may infer how desolate and ruined this will make the country, for those who have done the mischief say that it will not reach its former state within six years and others say not in a lifetime [emphasis mine].

For his part, Fr. Rada wrote to the Viceroy of Mexico in 1574 in which he substantiated Ortega’s accusations. In assessing the two years of pacification in Ilocos, he stated that:

Although we have declared here how unjust has been the affair of the Ylocos, as is so evident a thing...for they have done nothing there for two years back but make raids to tell the people that they should be friends and pay tribute immediately. Accordingly, a portion of the people gave it through fear, and a portion because they are not very warlike; and they did the same lately for the second year. They even pillaged the people in the place where they fled and wasted their village. They have now gone to collect tribute for the third time. They have done them no other benefit or kindness and have had no other communication or contact with them than the above said.8

The above testimonies by the Augustinian friars negate the view that the Christian motive was the goal of pacification. The five hundred casualty figure is by any standard excessive, even if we have no available statistics on the population of precolonial Ilocos to use as a basis for judging the magnitude of the depopulation in this initial colonial encounter.9 Furthermore, the statements of those involved in the massacre that Ilocos “will not reach its state in six years and others say not in a lifetime” is indicative of the extent of damage and loss inflicted on the populace and the province. As the Augustinian friars reported, there was massive dislocation of Ilocanos, with many fleeing and seeking refuge among the Igorots in the Cordillera. Many abandoned their villages which were then looted by the Spaniards. Spanish confiscation and plundering, usually capped by burning entire villages, undoubtedly resulted in the destruction of land and crops.

The wanton killing in Ilocos was not an isolated incident in the history of Spanish “pacification.” The events in Ilocos were repeated elsewhere in the islands. For instance,

9 Actually there are no reliable statistics on the pre-1572 population of the Philippines. Estimates vary from as low as half a million to as high as two million. Onofre D. Corpuz claims that the lack of population statistics was a result of the fragmented nature of the archipelago, the lack of political unity and central authority and the infancy of the indigenous writing system. See “Appendix: The Population of the Archipelago,” Roots of the Filipino Nation, 1: 515-570.
Rada accused Salcedo and another captain, Pedro de Chaves, of committing untold abuses in the pacification campaign in Camarines, ironically another province suspected by the Spaniards of possessing gold mines. He claimed that:

all those villages were entered in the same way, by first summoning them to submit peacefully, and to pay tribute immediately unless they wished war. They replied that they would first prove those to whom they were to pay tribute, and consequently, the Spaniards attacking them, an entrance was made among them by force of arms, and the village was overthrown and whatever was found pillaged. Then the Spaniards sent to have the natives summoned to submit peacefully. When the natives came, they asked them to immediately give them tribute in gold and to an excessive amount, for which they promised to give them writs of peace. Therefore, since all the people defended themselves, more have perished in that land than in any other yet conquered.  

Compared to other regions of the Islands, the conquest of Ilocos was more violent as indicated by the persistent reference to this province in the Augustinian reports. Perhaps the initial perception of the conquistadors that Ilocos had an abundance of gold may have triggered this destructive campaign. The reports of tributes acquired by both Salcedo and Goiti noted the great quantity of gold accumulated.

Due to the systematic plunder and carnage committed by the conquistadors, particularly in Ilocos, the Augustinians condemned the soldiers as worthless and unnecessary in the pacification of the country. Rada pointed out that the "soldiers are not needed to conquer this land for they do not consider the welfare of the land, but only

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10 "Letter from Martin de Rada to Viceroy Martin Enriquez," BR 34: 286-287. Similarly, in Panay, the Augustinian friar Diego de Herrera complained of the Spanish policy which "consists in robbing them, burning their villages and enslaving them." See "Diego Herrera to Felipe II" (1570), BR 34: 231.
how to amass wealth quickly in order to return home. When they are unable to attain their desire, they destroy and lay waste the country.\textsuperscript{11}

Writing a century after Salcedo's expedition, Martinez de Zuniga assessed the initial encounter between the Ilocanos and the Spaniards. He stated that "most of the towns on the [Ilocos] coast received him [Salcedo] in a very friendly manner, and supplied him with provisions which he stood in need of; but on entering the rivers and creeks, he found great resistance from the inhabitants of the districts bordering on them."\textsuperscript{12} This observation is consistent with the accounts of the pacification of Ilocos which illustrated the contrasting response of the coastal and interior settlements. The Ilocanos who fiercely resisted the Spaniards were usually those living near the rivers or in the interior, while those on the coast either received the white intruders or abandoned their settlement to avoid them.

The relatively less violent reaction of the coastal people may be attributed to their being accustomed to dealing with foreign groups, and therefore more open and accepting of strangers. In contrast, the interior settlements were suspicious of outsiders, and so their reaction was either resistance or withdrawal further inland to the hills. Before challenging the white intruders, the women and children were moved away to safety. Those villages which opted to avoid bloodshed arranged the withdrawal of the men while leaving behind their women and children. Obviously it was not a practice to hurt the women and children in Ilocano warfare, so long as no resistance was offered.

\textsuperscript{11} "Letter from Martin de Rada to the Marquis de Falces," \textit{BR} 34: 225-226.

Like many colonial encounters, the Ilocanos engaged the Spaniards in skirmishes, resulting in many casualties. Unfortunately, our sources are silent on the behavior of the Tagalog soldiers conscripted in the Spanish army during these encounters. We know that the Spaniards were outnumbered, but their relatively superior armaments proved decisive. The Ilocanos defended themselves with spears, bows and arrows, and bolo knives that were met by the Spaniards with guns and cannons. These weapons were apparently foreign to the Ilocanos, and they were unaware of their potency. For instance, in the battle of Laoag, the sound of the Spanish guns was enough to cause panic and flight and produce an eventual negotiated peace. With each purok, an autonomous unit under a local chieftain, and in the absence of a larger political or military alliance, resistance was localized. This absence of regional unity, save for a few inter-purok alliances, was as much a factor in the success of the Spaniards as the superiority of the latter's weapons. Once resistance was overcome, it was customary for the conquistadors to ransack houses and cart away gold and other provisions. The terms tribute and gift were euphemistically used to veil the actual practice of plunder. Fleeing to the Cordillera was the only avenue of escape from Spanish violence.

Many who survived the abusive hand of the conquistadors may have succumbed to disease. In 1574, Rada wrote that a smallpox epidemic had struck the islands and victimized both the young and the old resulting in many deaths.\(^\text{13}\) The geographical extent of the epidemic was unclear. Although none of the few sources on sixteenth century Ilocos mentions any incidence of an outbreak of smallpox in the province, this does not mean that Ilocos totally escaped the epidemic. In the occasional surviving 17th

\(^{13}\) "Letter from Rada to Enriquez," \textit{BR} 34: 292.
century *entierro* or burial entries are references to deaths attributed to smallpox in Ilocos. In fact, some Ilocanos fled to the mountains to escape smallpox. This is attested by reports of Igorots occasionally closing mountain passes to block fleeing lowlanders and thus containing the spread of the epidemic. Despite incidents of smallpox epidemic, John Leddy Phelan claims that it did not have as devastating an impact on the Filipinos as on the American Indians on first contact with the Spaniards.\(^\text{14}\) The Filipino contacts with the Chinese, Japanese, and peoples of neighboring islands of Southeast Asia, had exposed them to outside pathogens which enabled them to cope with the disease better. Likewise, in cases where smallpox struck, the geographical make-up of the archipelago limited its outbreak to a specific locality or region. Thus when smallpox arrived in Ilocos in the sixteenth century, its effects were not as disastrous as in the Americas.

**Encomienda and Tribute Collection**

From the colonial standpoint, the Spanish arrival in Ilocos ended political decentralization and resulted in regional consolidation under the Spanish. From the Ilocano perspective, life was turned upside down. The people now had to contend with colonial exactions in the form of tribute and forced labor. Their mobility was constrained since they were forced to resettle in colonially-ordered administrative units. The Spaniards exploited the human and material resources of the province in order to sustain their colonial establishment. Tribute collection became the foremost source of revenue, and the responsibility was entrusted to conquistadors who viewed such privilege as a reward for their services in extending the Spanish empire.

Rewarding conquistadors who had rendered distinguished service in the pacification of a territory was an old practice dating back to the conquest of the Americas. It was institutionalized in the Spanish colonial law through the repartimiento, a term which comes from the Spanish word “repartir” meaning to allocate, allot or distribute. Consequently, the first colonial act in Ilocos was to apportion the province into encomiendas which were then assigned to private conquistadors turned encomenderos. An encomienda was a right granted to its holder to collect tribute from the people living in the locality. The encomiendas could be inherited by two successive heirs, and after 1636 by three, before they reverted to the Crown for redistribution. In a sense, it served as a source of pension for the encomendero.

In January 1574 Salcedo returned to Ilocos as the first encomendero, with Vigan as his encomienda. He was also appointed lieutenant-governor of Ilocos and placed in charge of administering the newly pacified province. He lived in Villa Fernandina where he built a fort and a casa real or town hall. For two years he exacted tribute in his jurisdiction but his encomienda reverted to the crown on March 11, 1576 upon his death at the young age of 27. The Spanish chronicler Gaspar San Agustin wrote that Salcedo died of a fever which he contracted when he drank contaminated water from a gully. Another version contradicting San Agustin claims that Salcedo was actually beheaded by the Tinguians when he ventured into the mountains in search for gold. The arrival of Salcedo’s headless body lends credence to this claim. But San Agustin contends that

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15 Onofre D. Corpuz, The Roots of the Filipino Nation, 1: 79-80.
16 An Augustinian friar, Fr. Martin de Rada, questioned the granting of encomienda solely to Salcedo, arguing that Governor-General Lavesares favored Salcedo at the expense of other conquistadors. See “Letter from Martin de Rada to Viceroy Martin Enriquez,” BR 34:286-303.
upon Salcedo's death his head was pilfered by the Ilocanos who saw it as a trophy or an object of veneration and remembrance.\textsuperscript{17}

Officers of the Spanish militia also received \textit{encomiendas} in Ilocos. An example was Captain Gabriel de Ribera who attempted to pacify portions of Mindanao and later became one of Salcedo's assistants when he battled Limahong, a Chinese pirate, in Lingayen, Pangasinan. He was awarded an \textit{encomienda} in Nabucan, Ilocos. Widows or orphaned children of Spanish officers also received \textit{encomiendas} in Ilocos. Some \textit{encomiendas} were reserved for institutions such as hospitals in Manila. A hospital administered by the Order of St. Francis, for instance, was awarded an \textit{encomienda} in Ilocos from which it collected cotton blankets for hospital use.\textsuperscript{18} A few \textit{babaknangs}, or Ilocanos of means and influence, who earned distinction for service to the crown also received \textit{encomienda}. In 1648, Don Juan Magsanop, a \textit{principalia} from Bangui in the northernmost Ilocos, was awarded an \textit{encomienda} of seven \textit{rancherias}\textsuperscript{19} in Palan, Abra, for his meritorious service against the Dutch along the coasts of Ilocos and for having extended the Abra River further upland.\textsuperscript{20} Although most of Ilocos was apportioned into

\textsuperscript{17} Gaspar de San Agustin, \textit{Conquistas de las islas Philipinas}, 324-325; de los Reyes, \textit{Historia de Ilocos}, 2: 33-34; Fay L. Dumagat, “Itneg (Tingguian) Resistance to Spanish Colonial Rule and the Role of Vigan as Center of Spanish Colonialism”; and Carlos Quirino, “Juan de Salcedo: The Last Conquistador,” in \textit{Beginnings of Christianity in the Philippines} (Manila: Philippine Historical Committee, 1965), 141-142. Dumagat claims that reports on Salcedo’s beheading are in one of the bundles of the \textit{Erecciones Pueblos} but he lost his notes bearing the bundle and page number. I searched the \textit{Erecciones Pueblos} thoroughly but could not find the said document.

\textsuperscript{18} “Letter from the Archbishop of Manila to the King” (Manila: 1621-1622), \textit{BR} 20: 238.

\textsuperscript{19} A \textit{rancheria} was the smallest settlement unit during the early Spanish period. The term would evolve into a \textit{sitio} in the later Spanish period, and into hamlet in contemporary times. Several \textit{rancherias} made up a \textit{barangay}.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Cedulario}, expediente 1643-1649, pagina 245b - 246b.
private encomiendas, those that were not became Crown encomiendas and the tribute collected by local officials were remitted to the Governor-General in Manila.\(^ {21} \)

In theory, by receiving tribute the encomendero was expected to fulfill two important functions for his subjects. First, he bore the cost of Christian conversion. It was his duty to protect his wards as well as to prepare them for baptism.\(^ {22} \) As part of his spiritual obligation, the encomendero was expected to construct the church in his jurisdiction. He was also expected to provide shelter and an allowance for the friar assigned in his encomienda and the supplies that may be needed by the friar and the church. His second function was to establish administrative and judicial services. A portion of the tribute he collected from the people was to be channeled back for their spiritual and temporal needs.

The Augustinians were critical of the practice of tribute collection.\(^ {23} \) They felt responsible for protecting the interests of the peoples of the newly conquered territories because of their obligation under the patronato real or royal patronage. An uneasy alliance rooted in the concept of patronato real bound the Church and the Crown. In return for the right to choose the ecclesiastical personnel, the Crown financed Church missions abroad. Consequently, missionaries accompanied conquistadors in their

\(^ {21} \) Domingo de Salazar, “Affairs in the Philipinas Islands,” (1583), BR 5: 222.
colonial expeditions, since it was recognized that pacification and religious conversion were twin, inseparable goals. Because of this arrangement the missionaries unwittingly served as de facto fiscalizers who scrutinized and criticized the actions of the crown officials, as was the case of the Augustinians in Ilocos.

The Ilocanos were oblivious to the complexities of the Spanish arrangement but were aware of the struggle for power between the state and the conquistador cum encomendero on the one hand, and the church and friar on the other. It simply meant that they had two colonial masters, represented by the Crown officials and the friars, who competed against each other in demanding their labor and material resources. Both received their claims at the expense of the impoverished Ilocano. Regardless of who emerged victorious in this power struggle, life for the Ilocanos remained a veritable tale of abuse and exploitation.

The friars objected to tribute collection for a number of reasons. It was excessive since the natives had no previous concept of tribute, and they were poor and could not bear such an imposition. The encomendero generally collected from every native male aged eighteen to sixty an annual tribute amounting to two fanegas\(^{24}\) of unwinnowed rice and a piece of colored cloth two yards long and one yard wide, or its monetary equivalent, which was three maes. Furthermore, collection of tribute was contingent on receiving spiritual and temporal services, neither of which was received by the natives prior to the exaction of tribute. Since tribute implied services already provided, the friars questioned the right of the encomenderos to collect tribute before dispensing religious instruction and judicial administration. But for the friars the most abusive feature of the

\(^{24}\) A fanega is a Spanish measure of grain which was equivalent to 1.6 bushel or eight gallons.
encomienda was the failure to specify what form the tribute was to take. The encomenderos usually insisted on collecting tribute not in species but in valuable and scarce commodities. In Ilocos this usually meant tribute in gold and cotton.

In defense of the encomenderos, Governor-General Lavesares argued that wealth differences among the local populations was considered in assigning tribute. Not only was the collection necessary for the maintenance of the Spaniards, but the “natives are not considered friends, nor do they have any security, without first having paid the tribute.”\(^{25}\) He refuted claims that the natives fled to the hills because of their “lack of means” to pay the tribute. This occurred, he asserted, because “the natives are spirited [and] like to be compelled” to honor the tribute.\(^{26}\) In defending Spanish deeds in Ilocos, Lavesares claimed that:

> If gold has been collected from the Ylocos...it is because the land is very rich in mines, and because they have great quantities of gold. Cloth and provisions are worth more to them than in other districts, and so the natives would rather give the tribute in gold, of which they have an abundance, than in cloth and provisions which they lack.\(^{27}\)

The first explorers to the region had already discounted Lavesares’ mistaken belief in the abundance of gold in Ilocos. Accounts stress the abundance not of gold but of cotton cloth, rice, and other provisions which the Ilocanos used to exchange for gold from the Igorots. Thus, the Ilocanos would have preferred paying their tribute in cloth or provisions rather than in gold.


\(^{26}\) Ibid., 270.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., 265-266.
But Ilocano objection to tribute was not based on the timing, amount or nature of tribute payment, but on the fact that such an imposition had never before been experienced. The precolonial agturay did not impose taxes and certainly did not use religion and justice as pretexts for extracting resources. Consequently, the Ilocanos resisted the whole notion of tribute payment. They viewed the encomienda as restrictive and exploitative, since it forced them to maintain a fixed residence and to register in a tribute roll for the purposes of collection and labor. Tribute registers would fit James Scott’s characterization of a state’s attempt “to make a society legible, to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion.”

One form of Ilocano resistance against this form of state control was to escape from the encomienda and flee to the Cordillera. The Spaniards coined the term remontados or renegades to refer to these escapees to the mountains. Remontado is a Spanish term meaning “to mount again” or “to take to the woods”. During this period, a remontado referred to someone who had initially accepted Christianity and had undergone baptism but eventually rejected the religion and left the encomienda. They fled to the mountains to escape the Church, Spanish law and colonial impositions such as tribute. From the Spanish perspective the remontados were the worst type of native because they had initially accepted Christianity and reduccion. By “deserting the Christian settlements, they were guilty of both apostasy against the Church and treason against the State,” and by seeking refuge in the mountains, they were “responsible for

prejudicing unconverted pagan communities against Christianity. Over time, the Spaniards used the term remontados interchangeably with ladrones monteses or mountain thieves because they were viewed as outlaws who refused to comply with Spanish policies. We have no precise numbers of Ilocanos who became remontados, but the colonial authorities continuously complained that the Cordillera had conveniently served as a refuge. As will be discussed in later chapters, their flight was a source of inspiration for Ilocano folk stories. A more confrontational response against encomienda and tribute collection was resistance. In 1589, the residents of Dingras and Batac rebelled against tribute exactions and killed six Spaniards from Villa Fernandina who were sent to collect tribute. Governor-General Santiago de Vera then ordered Captain Pedro Chaves to quell the uprising.

But tribute collection did not cease despite local opposition, though abuses tapered off slightly in the aftermath of the 1591 ruling of the Royal Audiencia in Manila, the highest court of the land, that tribute was to be paid both in specie and in kind, and in the goods most bountiful in each province. The friars were instrumental in this ruling since they favored monetary tribute to prevent the extralegal exactions by the encomenderos, who as previously mentioned, oftentimes demanded tribute in the most expensive commodity. In the seventeenth century, the Ilocanos were required to pay

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their tribute in rice and cotton, and a 1653 document stipulated that a fourth of the tribute demanded from Batac town folks should be in rice.\textsuperscript{33}

Since the \textit{encomienda} existed to provide a source of income for the Crown and the conquistadors, naturally the areas apportioned and allotted as \textit{encomienda} were the population centers. A survey of the \textit{encomiendas} established in Ilocos in the sixteenth century indicates that they were mostly coastal settlements with few interior ones at the river mouths (see map 4). The Ilocos coast was studded with \textit{encomiendas}: Alinguey (present-day Aringay), Baratao (somewhere between present-day Agoo-Bauang area), Tagudin, Dumaquaque (present-day Santa Lucia), Candon, Narvacan, Vigan, Bantay-Batanguey (present-day Bantay), Panay (present-day Magsingal), Cabugao, Sinait, Barao (present-day Badoc), Bacarra, and Ballecillo (possibly Bangui). Located along river valleys were Purao (present-day Balaoan), Vintar, Dingras, Ylagua (present-day Laoag), Bonsan (present-day San Nicolas), and Cacabayan (present-day Paoay-Batac area).\textsuperscript{34} In all likelihood the \textit{encomiendas} established in Ilocos were centered in existing, pre-colonial settlements since \textit{encomiendas} were designed to provide the conquistadors and their heirs a material base of wealth.

The size of the population can be estimated on the basis on the three Ilocos \textit{encomienda} reports in the late sixteenth century. These statistics are also instructive in establishing population patterns. In the absence of census statistics, a population estimate can be extrapolated from the total tribute listed in the \textit{encomienda} reports. The Spanish

\textsuperscript{33} Cedulario, exp. 1653 a 1656, pag. 10-10b.
\textsuperscript{34} I derived the present-day names of these places from the article of Marcelino Foronda, “The Establishment of the First Missionary Centers in Ilocos, 1572-1612,” \textit{The Ilocos Review} 3: 1 (January-December, 1971): 1-75.
authorities usually adjudged a tribute paid as equivalent to a household of two parents plus two children. A half tribute implied that it was paid by a single individual. The population estimate, therefore, was derived by multiplying the number of tribute by four.

The first encomienda report was by Miguel de Loarca in 1582 where he listed the following figures.\(^{35}\)

Table 1. Loarca's 1582 Encomienda Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encomienda</th>
<th>Population (?) or Tributes</th>
<th>Encomendero (Crown/Private)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agoo</td>
<td>unindicated</td>
<td>unindicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alinguey and Baratao</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>crown; previously one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purao</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamaquaque or Dumaquaque</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>half-royal; half-encomienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candon</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>two encomenderos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maluacan</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigan</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>royal encomienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantay</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinay</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>same encomendero as Bantay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vavos</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynglas</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>one encomender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacaguayan (present-day Batac or Paoay?)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>two encomenderos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicagua</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>two encomenderos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loarca's account is problematic. If his figures were indeed the population of the *encomienda*, then his total of 22,100 seems too small a population for Ilocos at this time. Maybe Loarca erred and the figure was not the total population but was actually the total tribute-payers. If this was the case, then the population of Ilocos at this time was at least 88,400, which was the total tribute multiplied by four, or possibly a few thousand more since we do not have the figure for Agoo.

The second source, Bishop Domingo de Salazar, noted in 1588 that Ilocos had 27,000 tribute-payers of whom 6,000 belonged to the royal *encomienda* while 21,000 were spread out in fourteen private *encomiendas*. Based on his figures, Ilocos' population was somewhere around 108,000. A 20,000 increase in population in six years does not seem possible. Salazar's figure cannot be checked since he did not furnish a detailed survey or breakdown of the *encomiendas* in Ilocos.

The final source is Gomez Perez de Dasmariñas, who submitted an account of the *encomiendas* in the Philippines in 1591. His survey of the *encomiendas* in Ilocos was detailed, compared to those of Loarca and Salazar, since it was an official report on the state of the Philippines to the King of Spain in his capacity as governor-general (see table 2). Dasmariñas' statistics indicate a total tribute collection of 17,230 which meant a population of 68,920, much lower than the figures of Loarca and Salazar. But the population of Vigan, described previously as one of the larger settlements in Ilocos, was incomplete since inexplicably there were no statistics for the royal *encomienda* of Villa Fernandina. A complete population of Vigan would have certainly raised Dasmariñas' figures to a few thousands more. Still, based on Loarca and Dasmariñas' figures, it is difficult to explain how Ilocos could lose such a substantial population within a matter of a few years, unless there was a demographic disaster, which none of our sources really indicate. An ethnohistorian, Felix Keesing, writing in the early 1960s, suggests that the population fluctuated during this period because many Ilocanos either succumbed to

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36 Domingo de Salazar, "Relation of the Philippine Islands," *BR* 17: 197.
Table 2. Dasmariñas’ 1591 Encomienda Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encomienda</th>
<th>Total Tribute</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Encomendero</th>
<th>Religious Instruction</th>
<th>With Justice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vigan - Villa Fernandina</td>
<td>no figure</td>
<td>no figure</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baratao</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Capt. Don Bernardino de Sandi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purao</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Don Christopher Guiral</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumaqua-que</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>Crown and Don Alonso Maldonado</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candon</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>Juan el de Aregue and Ribas de Mendoza</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabucan</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>5,960</td>
<td>Gabriel de Ribera</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narandan</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>Hospital for Spaniards</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigan</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batay y Batanguey</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panay [Paoay]</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>Don Pedro de Aguirre (minor)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinay [Sinait] and Cabugao</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barao</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>Don Juan de la Pena</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacabayan [Batac/Paoay]</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>Crown and Gaspar Perez</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boncan</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>Capt. Hernan Gutierrez</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ylagua</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ballecillo</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Andres Picarro</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abra de Vigan</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Dona Maria Ron</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bacarra</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Capt Castillo and Andres de Hermosa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinglas</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>Crown and Maria Bermudez</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</table>
diseases or fled to the mountains to escape colonial impositions.\textsuperscript{38} He goes even further by arguing that, with the exception of the Benguet gold miners, the entire Cordillera was populated by lowlanders who fled upon colonial consolidation and hispanization.\textsuperscript{39} In effect, he claims that the mountain populations were derived from coastal people. His theory has, of course, been discredited since we know that the Igorots have existed in the Cordillera even before colonial conquest.

Going back then to the discrepancy in population figures, available sources do not speak of a widespread epidemic nor of a massive exodus of Ilocanos into the mountains. Although there were many Ilocanos who became \textit{remontados}, the question is whether their number was large enough to reduce Ilocos’ population substantially. A more plausible explanation is that Loarca’s list was incomplete. Loarca, a conquistador and \textit{encomendero} in Panay Island, Visayas, was writing based on second hand, unverified data. In contrast, Dasmariñas, a Governor-General, based his on official, submitted figures. His account is very likely more reliable since it was extensive in its coverage of the province, although it had incomplete listing for Vigan and excluded the southern towns of Agoo and Alinguey or Aringay which by this time were already considered part of Pangasinan. Note that in Loarca’s time, the Crown had yet to delineate the boundaries of Ilocos and Pangasinan. Dasmariñas’ list of 17,230 tributes or 68,920 people may be a better reflection of the actual population in Ilocos in 1591.

Caution, however, must be employed in accepting this figure as Ilocos’ actual population. Tribute rolls were at best only an approximation of the population. There

\textsuperscript{38} Keesing, \textit{The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon}, 124.
were many cases of those who were not factored into the tribute data. Those who were uprooted from their puroks but had yet to relocate into new resettlements were naturally left out of the tribute data. It has been argued that newly conquered puroks were exempt from tribute or encomienda rolls for one to ten years, but this seems unlikely since the purpose of conquest was to organize the people into encomiendas for purposes of extracting labor and resources. Tribute registers also did not reflect the pockets of interior Ilocanos who remained unvisited either by the Spanish soldiers or missionaries and thus remained outside the purview of the Spanish law even as late as the sixteenth century. In 1585, Bishop Salazar admitted to the existence of “a considerable population of mountaineers who recognize no master.” While these “mountaineers” most probably referred to the Igorots, they could also have been Ilocanos who withdrew further into the interior, along the slopes of the Cordillera, in reaction to colonial presence.

The tribute rolls would have excluded the non-conformist groups who purposely avoided tribute payment. There were, for instance, people who moved away whenever tribute collectors arrived. Moreover, there were many local people who did not have a fixed residence and who simply moved from town to town as a floating population. They were called vagamundos in colonial accounts. Their number in Ilocos was substantial as attested by royal orders mandating that their services be assigned to Spaniards and babaknangs who were awarded rights to cattle ranching in the non-

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40 Corpuz, Roots of the Filipino Nation, 1: 524 and 527.
42 Nicholas Cushner, Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 108 and 110.
forested interior of Ilocos. _Vagamundos_ were common and frequent throughout the islands during the Spanish period.

To become a _vagamundo_ or vagabond was to abandon the civil and religious community organized and governed by the Spaniards, to live like the pagans...this style of life, untrammeled by the restraints of church and state, was inherently attractive to the _Indios_...and, already they were numerous enough to form whole new towns. 43

Apart from the _vagamundos_, there were also the _remontados_, who constituted another non-conformist group. They remained unaccounted for in the tribute registers.

In addition, there were those exempted from paying tribute and thus not counted. Among these were the chieftains and their first-born sons, adults over sixty years of age, and the infirm and handicapped. 44 In return for serving the crown, the chieftains and their first-born sons were exempted from tribute and forced labor. In some provinces those who suffered crop failures were temporarily exempted from tribute payment, and a similar provision would have applied to Ilocos. Church labor, called _reservas_ because they were reserved for the church and exempted from _polo_ or forced labor, constituted another exempt group. They included the _sacristan_ or those who assisted at mass, _cantores_ or singers, and church servants. 45

No matter how imprecise they may be, _encomienda_ reports are valuable indicators of population concentration. Vigan, Laoag, Batac and Paoay were the largest _encomiendas_ since these places could support a large population base. Laoag, Batac, and Paoay could support a large population because of the rice surpluses from their fertile

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43 de Jesus, _The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines_, 65.
44 _Cedulario_, 1690-1712, exp. 28, pag. 50-51.
45 Cushner, _Spain in the Philippines_, 124.
ricelands. As a traditional center for commercial exchange, Vigan was able to feed its people through the wealth generated from trade.

Dasmarñas’ statistics provide a useful comparison of the population of Ilocos with that of the rest of the country. The total tribute roll and population for Ilocos was 17,230 and 68,920, respectively, while the total for the entire Philippines was 166,903 tributes and 667,612 people. Ilocanos thus constituted 10.3% of the total Philippine population in 1591, a clear proof that Ilocos was definitely one of the most heavily populated regions in the Islands even as early as the sixteenth century. This high population density, coupled with limited resources and an exploitative colonial rule, would eventually contribute to an outmigration of people, particularly in the nineteenth century.

Reduccion, Conversion and Piratical Attacks

The temporal spatial organization of the encomienda was matched by a similar spiritual reorganization under the reduccion or resettlement. Reduccion was aimed at gathering the Filipinos in the most practical location for the purpose of instructing them in the tenets of Christianity, thus facilitating faster conversion. Since conversion relied on controlling the population, the encomiendas served as missionary centers as well. Areas identified as cabeceras, meaning capital or center, were those with a dense population dependent on the patronage of the encomendero. Normally consisting of several resettled pre-Spanish puroks, the cabecera hosted the church and became the center of religious activities. Since the Filipinos generally resisted resettlement, those in the outlying areas of the cabecera became visitas, or surrounding villages, where a chapel

46 Dasmarñas, “Account of the Encomiendas,” 140.
called visita was built. Beyond the visitas were the mountain slopes which served as a buffer zone that eventually separated the “Christianized” lowlands and the “heathen” uplands. In the seventeenth century, these buffer zones were called misiones vivas or active missions since the friars were in the process of Christianizing them. Over time, the misiones vivas in Ilocos comprised the rancherias or hamlets of resettled Igorots and Tinguians along the slopes of the Cordillera.

The cabecera-visita complex was a practical solution to the geographical fragmentation, dispersed population, and inadequate missionary presence in the islands which marked the early period of Christianization. Filipinos in general resisted resettlement mainly because of sentimental ties to their land and the economic exigency of residing close to their rice fields or sources of income. The friars introduced fiestas in order to create a sense of a Christian community where each cabecera was given a patron saint. For instance, Batac’s patron saint was St. Augustine and thus the town’s official name was San Agustin de Batac. The feast day of the patron saint became an occasion for celebration when all the natives gathered in the cabecera to hear mass and participate in church-related activities.

Since geography delimited settlement areas of Ilocanos along the narrow coastal lands and the few riverine deltas, these same areas became the sites of reduccion. Thus, resettlement into cabeceras and visitas was not a radical departure from their pre-Spanish settlement patterns, unlike in the Tagalog areas. The existing large puroks were simply converted into encomiendas and cabeceras. After Vigan became the first cabecera in

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47 Phelan, Hispanization of the Philippines 44: 47-48. Phelan notes that early cabecera and visita later on became the poblacion and barrio after a shift from an ecclesiastical to a civil nomenclature. 48 Phelan, Hispanization of the Philippines, 45.
1575, other missionary centers were soon founded. In the late sixteenth century, the following emerged as *cabeceras* or missionary centers: Santa and Sta. Lucia in 1576; Tagudin and Laoag in 1586; Balaoan, Narvacan and Batac in 1587; Bauan and Bacarra in 1590; Bantay, Sinait and Candon in 1591; Paoay in 1593; Agoo and Dingras in 1598; and Bagnotan in 1599. Attached to these *cabeceras* were a number of outlying *visitas*. Due to the shortage of missionaries, a *cabecera* sometimes reverted to a *visita* when a friar could not be permanently stationed in that center. Similarly, an increase in the population of *visitas* led to their emergence as new *cabeceras*.49 The friar or parish priest took up residence in the *cabecera* but made sure that he also regularly attended to his flock in the *visita*.

The *cabecera* layout originated in the Americas and was transplanted by the Spaniards to the Philippines. A comparative study made of the six oldest *cabeceras* - Laoag, Dingras, Bacarra, Paoay, Batac, and San Nicolas - in Ilocos Norte made for the purpose of analyzing Spanish town planning is instrumental in explaining how the Spaniards conceptualized the *cabeceras*. These *cabeceras* shared common features in their configuration. They were immediately adjacent to a river which served as a source of fresh water for domestic consumption. All six were also at least five kilometers away from each other so as not to compete for similar population and resource bases. Moreover, the *cabeceras* were established in farming populations usually adjacent to

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farmlands so that the potential converts were not relocated away from their economic livelihood. The *cabeceras* also had to be situated on flat land on the high bank of a river as a safeguard against flooding.\textsuperscript{50} In Ilocos Norte during the rainy season, the Laoag River normally triggered flooding in the nearby settlements.

None of the *cabeceras* was located right on the sea coast but rather at least 2.5 to 3 miles inland as a precaution against Moro raids, which had been so destructive in the Visayas, and attacks from Chinese and Japanese pirates and even from the Dutch. The presence of the Spanish made Luzon and Visayas more attractive to piratical attacks than before. A colonial settlement was a magnet for attack since it was believed to host an assortment of wealth extracted from the natives. The impact of these raids was strongly felt by the people. From time to time, the coastal provinces of Northern Luzon - Ilocos, Pangasinan, and Cagayan - were subjected to Moro depredations. As late as the nineteenth century, the military commander of Ilocos reported Moro attacks on the coastal Ilocano towns of Candon, Santiago, Namacpacan, and Caoayan.\textsuperscript{51} In the early centuries, however, the Spaniards were more wary of the Chinese and Japanese pirates. The Chinese pirate Limahong passed by the Ilocos coast in 1574 on his way to the nearly successful invasion of Manila. While sailing by Ilocos, he spotted a Spanish galley commanded by Saavedra, who had been sent by Salcedo to Sinait to collect tribute. Limahong seized the galley and all its contents, burned it, and killed twenty-four soldiers along with an undetermined number of Ilocano rowers. His forces reportedly killed the inhabitants along the Sinait coast, sacked and burned their houses, and carted off all


available provisions. In his 1582 account, Loarca claimed that Limahong pillaged Villa Fernandina and reduced it to such a sad state that the *alcalde mayor* and twenty to thirty Spaniards were said to be dwelling there “as if in banishment.” Salcedo disputed this, however, and other witnesses deny that Limahong pillaged Villa Fernandina. They contend that Villa Fernandina had been fortified since they expected Limahong to attack the Spanish settlement, but the Chinese corsair skipped Vigan altogether and went straight to Manila. Limahong was only one of the many Chinese pirates who visited Ilocos. In 1593, Ilocanos killed twenty of the eighty Chinese pirates who disembarked in Sinait.

The Japanese corsairs also regularly made an appearance in the Ilocos coast and harassed the coastal settlements. This prompted suggestions to move the settlements inland and to even store food and supplies in the hills or mountains to keep them beyond

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52 Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, “History of the Great Kingdom of China (extracts relating to the Philippines),” *BR* 6: 96; and de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, 2: 26-27. Limahong with a fleet consisting of 62 well-armed junks, 2,000 soldiers, 2,000 crew, and 1,500 other passengers including women, children, and skilled men wanted to take Manila and establish his kingdom. His forces were eventually repulsed when Salcedo and his troops consisting of Spanish soldiers and Ilocanos arrived in Manila to reinforce the defense of the city. Limahong’s invasion resulted in heavy casualties on both sides including prominent Spanish officials. His troops sacked and burned the city. Because of his losses, Limahong was forced to abandon the siege of Manila, and he retreated to Lingayen, Pangasinan. Meanwhile, the Governor-General commissioned Salcedo as the new master of camp to replace Goiti who was killed during the siege. Salcedo with a combined force of 250 Spanish soldiers and 500 natives battled Limahong’s fleet in Lingayen for three months until Limahong and his remaining troops were able to elude the blockade and escape. Mendoza provides a contemporary, detailed account of Limahong’s foray in the islands. A recent work on this topic is Cesar V. Callanta, *The Limahong Invasion* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1989).


the reach of piratical raids. In 1581, a combined force of forty Spaniards and Ilocanos sailed to Cagayan via Cape Bojeador to defend the coasts against a Japanese pirate named Taysufu. By the time Taysufu and his troops were driven out of the archipelago, nine Ilocanos were injured and taken to Vigan for treatment where two expired. In 1592, there were two incidents of Japanese pirates harassing frigates coming from Ilocos. In the first, it was a cargo of rice which was intercepted; and in the second Japanese pirates swooped on a vessel carrying crown goods, including 400 fanegas of milled rice and 600 pieces of cotton cloth. These and other similar incidents forced the cabildo (town council) of Manila to emphasize the need to protect the native population by giving adequate warning of any impending piratical raids to Spanish officials serving the coastal towns in Luzon, including Ilocos. Governor-General Dasmariñas was instructed by royal orders to check foreign incursions by consolidating and strengthening the defense of the islands, and by constructing another fort.

The Dutch were another major concern, particularly because of the Spanish-Dutch War in the first half of the seventeenth century. Since the Dutch wanted to wrest control of the Moluccas from Spain, part of their strategy was to weaken the Spanish foothold

57 De los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 45-46.
58 "Letter of the Governor of Filipinas Gomez Perez de Dasmariñas to His Majesty," The Philippines Under Spain, 5: 328.
60 "Instructions to Gomez Perez Dasmariñas," BR 7: 164.
61 After the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in 1580, the Portuguese possessions in the East came nominally under Spanish control. In 1606 a Spanish-led expedition to the Moluccas resulted in the seizure of Ternate, one of the most powerful kingdoms in the Moluccas. The Spanish then established a permanent presence on that island. Leonard Y. Andaya, World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 151-2.
in Manila. They were not interested in seizing the Philippines because they were aware that the islands were “more of a burden than a profit to the Castillian king.”

They were more concerned with capturing Spanish ships returning from the Moluccas with their rich cargo of spices and the Spanish galleon ships bearing silver from Acapulco. They also wanted to disrupt the Chinese trade with the Islands in the hope that these traders could be diverted to Taiwan where the Dutch East India Company had a major post. Between 1600 and 1625, Dutch fleets entered the Philippines a total of sixteen times. In 1618, two Dutch ships, the Leon Rojo and Frelingas, became separated from the main fleet sailing past Ilocos on their way to China. They landed in Ilocos and plundered and burned a coastal town. A contemporary Spanish account reported that the Dutch “committed a thousand sacrileges, particularly that of cutting off the nose of a figure of Christ.”

Clearly, the Dutch attacks were new to the Ilocanos, highlighting the danger they were exposed to as a result of Spanish presence. Chinese and Japanese piracy may have also been attracted by the perception that the Spaniards were responsible for an accumulation of wealth in the islands.

The cabecera-visita set-up laid the groundwork for the Christianization of the Ilocanos. To facilitate conversion, the Real Consejo de Indias or Royal Council of the Indies instructed the Governor-General and the Bishop of Manila in 1594 to partition the country into contiguous areas under the supervision of the Jesuits, Dominicans,

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63 Laarhoven and Wittermans, “From Blockade to Trade,” 489.
64 “Events in the Filipinas Islands, 1617-1618” BR 18: 232.
It also decided that the conversion process would be more effective by using the indigenous language, which meant that the missionaries had to learn local languages. Those who had acquired a firm grasp of the language wrote grammars and dictionaries for the benefit of other friars. Together with Pampanga and some Tagalog provinces, the Augustinians acquired sole jurisdiction in Ilocos. The Augustinian friar, Fr. Francisco Lopez, eventually mastered Ilocano and wrote his *Arte de la Lengua Ilocana* to guide other friars working in Ilocos.

There is very little information on the actual conversion process in Ilocos, and almost all the accounts are written from the perspective of the missionary. In 1575, there was a total of 46 Augustinians in the whole of the Philippines, of which eight were assigned to Ilocos. Fr. Pedro G. Galende, a historian of the Augustinians in the Philippines, points out that Ilocos was particularly favored. Though it had only been “completely pacified” in 1574, it had more Augustinians than Cebu, a much older and more established settlement. We can only surmise that the excessive violence that accompanied the annexation of Ilocos when compared to other regions may have been a reason for Augustinian attention to this province.

In 1577 the Franciscans assumed the Augustinian missionary work in Ilocos until 1591, although the Augustinians began drifting back from about 1586. De los Reyes claims that the temporary withdrawal of the Augustinians may have been due to a shortage of personnel which convinced their superiors to concentrate on the provinces close to Manila. But another of his explanations appears more plausible. He believes

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that the Augustinians gave up Ilocos as part of their protest over the decision to put a 
secular clergy in charge of the Apostolic See, the highest ecclesiastical post in the 
country, in the absence of a bishopric at that time.\textsuperscript{67} A secular was a friar not affiliated 
with any religious corporation, and his function was to tend parishes. On the other hand, 
clergies of the religious orders - Augustinian, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and later 
Recollects - were entrusted with missionary work. Since most of the friars who initially 
arrived in the Philippines were religious, the role of parish priest was temporarily 
assigned to them until there were enough seculars to take over the parishes.\textsuperscript{68} In Ilocos, 
the seculars gained a foothold when the Franciscans transferred Vigan and Santa Catalina 
to their jurisdiction, before returning the rest of the province to the Augustinians. 
Ultimately, Vigan emerged as the seat of the Nueva Segovia diocese that included Ilocos, 
Pangasinan, Cagayan, and the Cordillera. With the seculars in control of Vigan, there 
were strained relationship between them, as represented by the Archbishop of Nueva 
Segovia, and the Augustinians, whose religious convent was in Bantay, across from the 
Abra River of Vigan. The relationship would further sour in the eighteenth century over 
the issue of secularization and the entry of \textit{indios}, the Spanish term for natives of lower 
classes, and Chinese \textit{mestizos} as secular priests.

While religious politicking may have slowed the pace of Christianization, 
conversion depended on how the Ilocanos perceived the new faith. The Ilocanos 
distrusted the Spaniards and, consequently, were reluctant to convert to the new religion.

\textsuperscript{67} De los Reyes, \textit{Historia de Ilocos}, 2: 39-40. 
\textsuperscript{68} It was the transfer of parishes from regular to secular control which became a volatile issue in the 
nineteenth century culminating into a major racial conflict. The seculars were usually wealthy principalia 
and Chinese and Spanish \textit{mestizo} while the regulars were Spaniards.
They had to be convinced that the white God was superior to their Boni. But after reports of incidents of death of newly baptized infants, Catholicism lost favor and the Ilocanos were convinced that the new faith was to be blamed. The Augustinians sought to reverse this perception by performing extraordinary feats to demonstrate superior spiritual powers. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Fr. Pedro de la Cruz of Bagnidan became well-known for allegedly performing miracles. He was said to have restored the eyesight of a blind girl by the sprinkling of holy water during her baptism. incidents such as this changed Ilocano perception of Christianity and convinced many that holy water not only wiped away the sins of the soul as claimed by the friars, but also ills of the body. As a result of stories about the miracle performed by Fr. de la Cruz, Ilocanos believed that water became more potent with the new religion, where strange prayers and rituals accompanied its usage in baptism. Indeed the friars introduced a baptismal ceremony where the sick person repudiated his pagan practices and made the sign of the cross, while the friar blessed the patient with holy water and murmured prayers asking God for his recovery.

To understand the extent of the Christianization of the Ilocanos in the late sixteenth century, we must examine a 1591 report that boasts of the achievements of the Augustinians in Ilocos. The account is a collection of sixteen testimonies of Augustinian friars and *babaknangs* of Vigan, Bacarra, Bantay, Dumaquaque (later renamed Sta.


70 Studies on the conversion of the Tagalogs claim that they were able to identify with the symbolism of water since it had been an important feature of the Filipinos’ indigenous religion. See Phelan, “Prebaptismal Instruction and the Administration of Baptism in the Philippines,” in *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 37.

71 Ibid., 38 and Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, 55.
Lucia), and Tagudin. All sixteen sworn testimonies followed a formula which basically denounced the pre-Spanish conditions in Ilocos; attested to the existence of peace, justice, and religious instruction since the Spaniards came; and confirmed the Ilocanos’ enthusiastic acceptance of Catholicism. We must be cognizant, however, of the motive behind this report. The testimonies had to be glowing because they were compiled and sent to the King of Spain and the Real Consejo de Indias, which was the supreme policy-making body of the Spanish colonies. Furthermore, among the sixteen testimonies were those of the Augustinian friars, who naturally praised their Order’s achievements. These friars included Gabriel Pizarro of the Augustinian convent of Bantay, Martin de Vargas of Bantay, Alonso Mercado of Narvacan, Matias de Molina of Dumaquaque, and Matias Manrique of Tagudin. Fr. Pizarro related how in the absence of a parish priest in Vigan, the people traveled as far as Laoag to make their confession during the Lenten season. Corroborating Fr. Pizarro’s statement, Fr. Molina claimed having witnessed the people of Vigan trekking to Laoag valley, a distance of sixteen leagues or eighty kilometers, for confession when there was no friar in Vigan. The report indirectly criticized the seculars who were in charge of Vigan, while praising the efficiency and dedication of the Augustinians in successfully converting the Ilocanos. Fr. Vargas narrated his experiences in Batac where he “observed the natives...to be earnest about instruction and that they accept very willingly everything the friars impose on or teach them.” Another priest, Fr. Manrique, claimed that because of religious

instruction, the Ilocanos of Tagudin were “orderly and suffer less abuses than in the places where there is not.”

Apart from the friars, several babaknangs filed sworn testimonies attesting to how their life had changed under the administration of the encomenderos and the friars. Don Esteban Palinac of Bantay claimed that they now “live quietly and in peace, and there is justice” as a result of Spanish presence. He added that before the Spaniards came “they could not sleep in their fields nor go from one place to another...because they were afraid they would be killed and robbed.” Another babaknang, Don Agustin Layac of Tagudin, attested to how life had changed with the advent of Spanish justice and religious instruction so that “among themselves they do not resort to slavery as they used to, nor are they afraid of going to their fields or to their business trips, carrying their goods which can be taken freely from one place to another without fear of being robbed and killed, as it used to happen in these provinces before they had instruction and justice.” A prominent Christian catechumen, or someone in the process of religious indoctrination, from Dumaquaque, Biaro, claimed that since they received instruction, “they are very happy, [and] the men, the women and the children all take to the doctrine very well.”

Despite the intent of the testimonies to convince those in Spain of the success of the conversion process among the Ilocanos, the pace was obviously much slower than depicted. The sixteen who testified came from the towns of Vigan, Bantay, Narvacan, Candon, Dumaquaque (Santa Lucia), Tagudin, Purao (Balaoan), and Ylagua (Laoag). Since the testimonies were all culled from the friars and babaknangs of these towns, it appears that these were the only pacified and Christianized areas in Ilocos in the late

73 Ibid., 144.
sixteenth century. Several testimonies recounted how, in the absence of a friar, the residents of Vigan traveled as far as Laoag just to confess to Fr. Esteban Marin who was the curate of Laoag. We can conclude then that the friars were very few and far between and that there were none between Vigan and Laoag. Furthermore, religious conversion seems to have been concentrated in southern Ilocos, with almost no progress made in northern Ilocos except for Laoag, the only town in northern Ilocos mentioned in the report.

As this report revealed, the Christianization of Ilocos was hampered by lack of missionaries. In 1588, Bishop Salazar wrote that Ilocos needed fifty more missionaries to assist the three Augustinians and two seculars who had to deal with 14 encomiendas and 27,000 tribute-payers. In Dasmariñas’ encomienda account of 1591, he noted the presence of twenty missionaries in Ilocos and the need for eleven more.74 Once again, Salazar’s and Dasmariñas’ figures do not agree. It is hard to imagine an increase of fifteen missionaries in Ilocos in a three year period from 1588 to 1591. But the 1591 Augustinian report implying a scarcity of missionaries also contradicts Dasmariñas’ claims. In 1594, another Augustinian, Fr. Ortega, confirmed the slow conversion of the Ilocanos when he claimed that there were some 70,000 souls in the different encomiendas in Ilocos and Pangasinan, but only 8,000 had been baptized.75

The problem of a dearth of missionaries was compounded by the poor quality of those undertaking the conversion in Ilocos. Phelan claims that the “Augustinian parishes in Ilocos and the Bisayas...were probably the worst instructed in the islands, for in

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75 Cited by Keesing, Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon, 26.
addition to the mediocre quality of the clergy there was widespread rural
decentralization."76 Being the first religious congregation in the Philippines, the
Augustinians had naturally entrenched themselves in the most fertile and populous
regions. They secured a good part of the Tagalog region, together with Pampanga and
Ilocos, when the Islands were apportioned among the various religious orders. Phelan
argues that they may have spread themselves too thinly considering the vast extent of
their domain. He suggests that Ilocos may have ended up with the least competent friars,
since the better ones would have naturally preferred to stay in the more desirable Tagalog
and Pampanga provinces, which were also closer to Manila. The remoteness of Ilocos
from Manila and the geographical decentralization of the region itself may have made the
province unappealing to many Augustinians.

Another factor that hampered conversion was the failure of the encomenderos to
fully live up to the terms of the patronato real. The encomendero was usually remiss in
fulfilling his obligations as attested by Dasmariñas’ encomienda report of Ilocos which
showed a number of encomiendas without the benefit of any religious instruction. Due to
their inadequate support of the Christianization efforts, the encomenderos and the Crown
were condemned by Bishop Salazar. They were criticized for collecting tribute but
refusing to part with the share of the money that should have been used to subsidize the
indoctrination of the people. Many encomenderos tried to deflect criticism by blaming
the Ilocanos for failing to abide by their tribute obligation.

Since the speed of conversion was dependent on the extent of pacification, the
slow pacification campaign resulted in a gradual conversion process. The 1591

76 Phelan, Hispanization of the Philippines, 60.
Augustinian report reveals the extent of the pacification in the late sixteenth century. It praised the *encomenderos* and the friars for curbing robbery and killings on the roads, for eliminating slavery, for establishing peace and order, and for instituting justice. Fr. Esteban Marin, the Laoag friar who came to Ilocos six years before and was assigned first to Batac, testified that peace had finally come to the provinces of Bacarra, Passoquin (present-day Pasuquin) and Vintar "where in years past the natives were rebellious and turbulent" but were "now subdued and peaceful and pay taxes." Based on this report, it can be deduced that many parts of Ilocos, except for the towns mentioned, remained unpacified and unsafe to travel, a sharp contrast from the pre-colonial conditions where the early Spanish accounts speak of the Ilocanos as "peaceful and orderly." It could indicate that Ilocano resistance to colonial control may have been widespread, although there is no direct reference to this in any of the sources. Thus, it was more likely that there were simply too few Spaniards to undertake the pacification campaigns. The 1591 assessment may have been intended to serve as a pretext for further expansion.

Contrary to claims by Salcedo, Goiti, and other conquistadors that they had pacified Ilocos, resistance was still fairly widespread by the late sixteenth century and, perhaps, even during the seventeenth century. As proof that many Ilocanos resisted *reducccion* and tribute collection, in 1649, the *encomendero* of Candon, Field Marshal Manuel Estacio de Venegas, was ordered to seek out, subdue, and force the many *kailianes* in his *encomienda* who had not paid tribute (some as long as ten years), to begin fulfilling their obligations. In 1650, a royal order from the Governor-General instructed

78 Cedulario, 1649-1652, pag. 41-41b.
the *encomendero* of Bacarra, Capitan Juan Faillo Ferreira, to do the same, and to also compel his subjects to render *polo* or forced labor.\(^7^9\) While many refused to pay tribute, others manifested their refusal to recognize Spanish authority by avoiding colonial impositions. They fled to the hills and became *remontados* while others roamed the highways and became *vagamundos*. Such a situation is implied in the 1591 Augustinian report which denounces the existence of highway robbers. Although there were undoubtedly some who engaged in criminal behavior, all of the “non-conformist” *remontados* and *vagamundos* were branded as outlaws. Those who resisted Spanish jurisdiction were collectively branded as *ladrones monteses* (“mountain thieves”), *tulisanes* (bandits), or *taong labas* (outsiders, i.e., outside the Spanish established areas reduccion). In explaining their presence in the annals of history, some historians suggest that banditry originated as a form of rejection of the Spanish reduccion.\(^8^0\) As will be discussed in later chapters, banditry was a mode of resistance in Ilocos throughout Spanish colonial rule.

**Polo Y Servicios**

Both *encomienda* and *reduccion* were aimed at securing the population for the purpose of exacting tribute and religious conversion, respectively. Access to labor was more valuable than land acquisition during this initial phase, since manpower was in itself a source of revenue in the form of tribute. *Polo y servicios* or forced labor originated in the first half of the seventeenth century when the government needed an unlimited and cheap supply of labor in the war against the Dutch. It required all males,

\(^7^9\) Cedulario, 1649-1659, pag. 128-128b.
except the chieftains and their eldest sons, from age sixteen to sixty, to periodically render Crown service, by cutting and hauling timber, working in the Cavite shipyard, and serving as rowers or crewmen on Spanish ships. Although safeguards were instituted such as providing token wages, restricting service to military-related work, disallowing forced labor during harvest and planting seasons, and prohibiting the transportation of *polistas* to long distances or to different climates, in reality the system was fraught with abuses. Working and living conditions were extremely harsh. *Polistas* worked from four in the morning till eight at night without sufficient food and rest for a paltry sum of thirteen *reales* for the thirty day work required of them, although in many cases *polo* dragged on for as long as six months. Often they were exposed to harsh conditions in felling trees in mountainous areas. The burden of *polo* fell on the poor because the wealthy could afford to buy substitutes for five pesos and six *reales*, the prescribed salary for a *polista*.

Due to the forested terrain of Ilocos and the Cordillera, the Ilocano *polistas* were employed in cutting timber which was then transported to Manila for building ships. In the eighteenth century, Ilocos supplied Manila with timber such as molave, narra, tindalo and banaba which were ferried aboard *pontines* and *pancos* (coasting vessels). Even public works projects of a non-military nature, such as the construction of the *casa real* (town hall), employed *polistas*. An added burden for the Ilocanos was military

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81 Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, 99. The demand for *polo*, which was based on the Spanish *repartimiento*, intensified during the Spanish-Dutch War which forced the government to fully maximize the human and material resources of the Islands to sustain the naval war.
83 Ildefonso de Aragon, *Partidos del Norte y Sur de Ylocos en la ysla de Luzon* (Manila: M. Memije, 1821), 5.
conscription to recruit men to accompany Spanish expeditions to the Igorot gold mines. In January 1624, a military contingent bound for the Cordillera and led by Commandant Alfonso Martin Quirante departed from Aringay, Pangasinan, with 1,903 men including 47 Chinese carpenters, smiths and sawyers, 855 Pangasinense, and 893 Ilocanos, presumably all *polistas*. They were exposed to the cold climate and harsh environment of the Cordillera in clear violation of the provisions for forced labor. Conditions were in fact so unbearable that the master-of-camp or field commander of Ilocos reported deserters among the troops. To replace these escapees and continue the campaign, an additional 760 Ilocano were conscripted “in order to exchange them after a month with those who had gone out before, [and] who...were already beginning to desert in part.” By mid-May, another 400 Pangasinense and 100 Ilocanos, bringing ammunitions and provisions, were again dispatched. Desertions in these military campaigns were common, indicating the dangers of this specific form of *polo*. Colonial reports attest to many *polistas* who ran away and hid in the mountains to become *remontados* or *ladrones monteses*. Little else can be discovered of the fate of these deserters because of the lack of sources.

Forced labor obviously imposed a great toll not only on the *polistas* but on the Ilocano towns as well. Provisions, such as food and cotton blankets, were taken from the people in the form of tribute. Furthermore, the one- to six-month duration of the forced labor and the constant manpower replenishment system disrupted the economic activities of the communities. Although rice cultivation begins with the onset of the rainy season,

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84 Alfonso Martin Quirante, “Expedition to the Mines of the Iggorotes,” (1624), BR 20: 263.
85 Ibid., 265.
its preparation normally starts a month or so before, or around April. The absence of
men in the first half of the year must have affected rice production and other agricultural
activities such as vegetable growing and cotton cultivation. Families were forced to till
the fields, adding another burden on those remaining behind. Because of the
unreasonableness and harshness of polo, many Ilocanos attempted to avoid it by
becoming reservas de polo or exempt labor. In lieu of polo, the local inhabitants could
render service to the Church as sacristan, cantores, or servants. Another way of gaining
exemption was by becoming a casa de reserva, exempt household. It was the Crown
who assigned households of labor to the Church as part of its obligation under patronato
real or to lands awarded to deserving natives. Many were assigned to work in the
estancia de ganado mayor or cattle ranch.

**Reserva de Polo and Estancia de Ganado Mayor**

Cattle was introduced to the Islands primarily for Spanish consumption. Together
with the horse, the first cattle came from Mexico aboard the Manila Galleon sometime in
the 1580s. But they did not acclimatize to local conditions as well as the smaller and
easier to breed variety of cattle and horses from northern China and Japan.86 Cattle­
raising then spread to Ilocos, though little is known when and how this occurred.
Ranches soon flourished in the northern section of the province due to an abundance of
excellent pastureland.

Cattle ranches were land grants awarded to deserving Spanish and natives by the
King of Spain who, upon the conquest of the Islands, theoretically became the sole owner

86 Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, 255.
and dispenser of all lands. These land grants were usually a combination of grazing land for cattle and horses and cultivable farmland. In the beginning, almost all of the land grants were in the surrounding provinces of Manila - Cavite, Laguna, Tondo, Bulacan, and Batangas - since they were the most agriculturally fertile regions. Moreover, they were closest to Manila where most of the beneficiaries resided. Like the encomiendas, land grants were primarily intended to provide a fixed income for the beneficiaries and their offspring. In addition, cattle ranching furnished the Spaniards with a steady supply of meat and diary products. Owning a land estate was consistent with Spanish ideas that linked social status with the size of lands owned. The native population quickly adopted this standard of social success and prestige. They followed the western concept that landownership was a source of wealth. In the pre-colonial period there was no concept of land ownership but rather land use or usufruct. But when the Spanish introduced the idea of land ownership many pre-colonial chieftains assumed ownership of the lands that were previously communally cultivated. According to Phelan, this “adoption on the part of the Filipinos of the European principle of individual ownership of land is clearly one enduring consequence of economic Hispanization.”

Although the concentration of landed estates was in the Tagalog provinces, numerous land grants were also awarded in Ilocos. These, however, differed from the Tagalog ones since many of their beneficiaries were Ilocano babaknangs. The distance of Ilocos from Manila, the presence of a very small Spanish community in the province, [References]

87 Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 395.
88 Cushner, Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines (New Haven: Monograph Series No. 20, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1976), 23.
89 Phelan, Hispanization of the Philippines, 117.
and the poor quality of lands in this region may account for this difference. Most of
the Spaniards resided in Manila and consequently acquired lands which were easily
accessible to the capital. Over time, most of the lands in the Tagalog provinces fell into
the hands of religious orders either through purchase, donation, auction or outright
usurpation. By the seventeenth century, ownership of these lands was concentrated
among a few religious orders and came to be known as haciendas or large agricultural
land estates.90 The Augustinians accumulated haciendas in the rich agricultural lands of
Tondo, Cavite, Laguna and Bulacan, and were not attracted, therefore, to Ilocos with its
generally poor quality soil.

For this reason most of the land grants in Ilocos were bestowed on the
babaknangs as a reward for their service and loyalty to the Crown. But the number of
grants in Ilocos was fewer than in the Tagalog region due to the nature of terrain that
limited the size of landholdings. The case of Ilocos supports the general assumption that
the further a region was from Manila the less was the disruption to the pre-Spanish land-
tenure patterns. This was at least the case up till the late eighteenth century since it was
the Manila Galleon Trade, the trade between Acapulco and Manila, which was the
foremost source of wealth for the Spaniards in the country during this earlier period.91

Land grants in Ilocos made a late appearance unlike in the Tagalog provinces.
While land grants in Tagalog were awarded immediately upon conquest, royal orders
awarding land grants in Ilocos can only be traced to the second half of the seventeenth
century. At first there were very few awarded in Ilocos, but the number increased

90 Roth, _The Friar Estates of the Philippines_, 147.
91 Cushner, _Landed Estates in Colonial Philippines_, 67.
substantially in the eighteenth century. There may be a direct correlation between the rise of land grants in Ilocos and the decline in cattle ranching in the Tagalog provinces, specifically Tondo. Ranching was replaced by large-scale farming by the end of the seventeenth century, and it had practically disappeared in the Tagalog region after the middle of the eighteenth century. When this change occurred, the cattle market became increasingly concentrated in Ilocos. Cattle became a new item in the Ilocano-Igorot trade and was used by the latter as sacrificial animals during religious festivities.

Royal orders awarding land grants in Ilocos were mostly for *estancia para ganado mayor* or for cattle ranching, although some included provisions for raising *cavallar* or horses as well.\(^92\) In many instances, the grants also included the cultivation of farmlands (*tierras de labor*) within the *estancia*. A survey of the royal orders awarding land grants in Ilocos shows that the awards were mostly for Ilocos Norte, mainly in the towns of Batac,\(^93\) Sarrat,\(^94\) Paoay,\(^95\) Dingras,\(^96\) Vintar,\(^97\) Bacarra,\(^98\) Sinait,\(^99\) and Laoag,\(^100\) where there were sizable amounts of grasslands nestling near the Cordillera. There were quite a few land grants in Ilocos Sur as well and they tended to be

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\(^92\)Cushner claims that ordinary land grants in the Philippines were the *estancia para ganado mayor* for horned cattle, the *estancia para ganado menor* for sheep, or the *caballeria* for farmland. In Ilocos, it was exclusively *estancia para ganado mayor* although the text of the grant included the cultivation of available farm lands within the *estancia*. See Ibid, 117.

\(^93\) *Cedulario*, 1672-1677, pag. 4-5; *Cedulario*, 1726-1728, exp. 122, pag. 411-412; *Cedulario*, 1760-1768, exp. 91. pag. 228-229; *Cedulario*, 1760-1768, exp. 93, pag. 230-232b; *Cedulario*, 1760-1768, exp. 94, pag. 232b-234.

\(^94\) *Cedulario*, 1661-1664, pag. 194b-196b.

\(^95\) *Cedulario*, 1746-1749, exp. 51, fol. 138b-142b; *Cedulario*, 1771-1775, exp. 72, pag. 185-187b.

\(^96\) *Cedulario*, 1760-1768, exp. 92, pag. 228-230; *Cedulario*, 1766-1771, exp. 91, pag. 276b-278

\(^97\) *Cedulario*, 1755-1777, exp. 68, pag. 108-109b.

\(^98\) *Cedulario*, 1755-1777, exp. 54, pag. 84-85.

\(^99\) *Cedulario*, 1722-1727, exp. 216, pag. 618-641

\(^100\) *Cedulario*, 1718-1719, exp. 65, pag. 138b-143; *Cedulario*, 1760-1773, exp. 68, pag. 132-133.
in the Bantay and the vicinity of Vigan. Only one other Ilocos Sur town, Sta. Maria, had an estancia in the eighteenth century.

In his study of the friar estates in the Tagalog provinces, Dennis Roth claims that in the sixteenth and seventeenth century an estancia para ganado mayor was about 5,144 acres or about eight square miles. But he also notes that there was really no attention paid to measuring the land involved. Such was the case for the land grants in Ilocos where boundaries were usually delineated by topography, that is, a stream, river, mountain or the boundary of the next town. Sizes varied and in some cases an estancia was the equivalent to two leagues or roughly about 6.2 miles.

Since the rationale behind land grants was to harness idle land and in some cases to open up new frontiers, ranches in Ilocos were sometimes revoked or transferred to different locations if they encroached on neighboring fields. In May 1768, Andres Joseph, Esteban Ynnocente, Theodoro Bernardo, and other parties, all babaknangs of Batac and Paoay, were awarded a cattle ranch in the sitios of Cubul, Paniqui, and Carmay in Batac. A month later their cattle ranch was ordered transferred to the sitios of Nagandan and Nanucacan in Dingras. By the nineteenth century most of the cattle ranches were already along the slopes of the mountains and yet they were still being criticized for hindering the growth of new towns.

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101 Cedulario, 1718-1719, exp. 27, pag. 144b-146b; Cedulario, 1722-1727, exp. 216, pag. 642-648; Cedulario, 1726-1728, exp. 210, pag. 59-613.
102 Cedulario, 1718-1719, exp. 66, pag. 143-144b.
103 Roth, Friar Estates in the Philippines, 73.
104 Arzadun, quoted in Roth, Friar Estates of the Philippines, 181.
105 Cedulario, 1760-1768, exp. 91, pag. 227-228.
106 Cedulario, 1760-1768, exp. 92, pag. 228-230.
Aside from reconfiguring land use, land grants paved the way for new labor arrangements, since these grants were normally accompanied by labor provisions. In the case of *estancias*, labor was provided by *reserva de polo* or *casa de reserva*. Depending on the size of the *ganado mayor*, households of exempt labor accompanied the land grant. It meant all available labor in these households was to work in the *estancia* either to raise cattle and horses, to cultivate the land, or both. Apprehended *vagamundos* were sometimes assigned to work in the *estancias*. This was a way in which the Crown could reclaim land and productively use the *vagamundos*, since by working in the *estancia* they would now have a fixed residence and thus could now be enlisted in the tribute register.

Though it is difficult to determine actual sizes of the land grants, the required labor for an *estancia* could actually provide some measure. For instance, in 1662, Dona Maria Daponan, a *principalia* of Sarrat, inherited the *ganado mayor* of her dead father, Don Nicolas Manganes. Daponan’s *estancia* had 200 head of cattle for which she received twelve households of reserved labor to clear the ranch and to cultivate the land.\(^{108}\) Other *estancias* awarded in Ilocos came with as many as twenty and as few as six households of reserved labor, with most grants normally accompanied by twelve households. Each household would mean the services of a married couple. Writing in 1800, Zuñiga claims that *estancias* normally had 24 assistants to take care of the cattle.\(^{109}\)

By awarding *casas de reservas* to *estancias* the Crown was not really losing labor without compensation. The recipient of the land grant had to pay the crown four pesos for each *reserva* assigned to him. Moreover, he paid twenty pesos as processing fee for

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\(^{108}\) *Cedulario*, 1661-1664, pag. 194b-196b.  
the land grant. Consequently, land grants and exempting labor for these estancias did not harm the Crown, and instead was a source of higher revenue. Also, the reserva was exempted from polo but not from tribute payment. In fact, part of the arrangement between the Crown and the land grant recipient was to allow tribute collectors in the estate though Zuniga claims it was actually the estancia grantee that paid the tribute of his workers.\textsuperscript{110} By also assigning vagamundos to work in the estates, the Crown was incorporating them in the colonial order, and transforming them into tribute payers.

Becoming a reserva or private labor was preferred by the kailianes, since it was a lesser burden than the long and harsh working conditions involved in polo.\textsuperscript{111} Kailianes consigned as reservas were usually those already residing in area near the estancia. If additional labor was still required, becoming a reserva was in itself an enticement which attracted new tenants or laborers.\textsuperscript{112} In Ilocos, kailianes who became reservas worked for four days a week for a real each day and they had the option of resting, farming their own fields, or doing extra work for the remaining three days.\textsuperscript{113}

Working in the estancia became a pattern of life for many kailianes as cattle raising became a fixture in the economy of northern Ilocos. Overall, cattle raising in the Philippines had only limited success since the islands had coarse grass and lacked the succulent fodder which was conducive to cattle breeding. In addition, there was only a limited market for cattle in the country.\textsuperscript{114} The Filipinos traditionally derived their protein from fish, chicken and pork. Beef, a more expensive protein source, was a

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid and Cushner, Landed Estate in Colonial Philippines, 53.
\textsuperscript{111} Roth, Friar Estates in the Philippines, 69.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{113} Cushner, Landed Estates in the Philippines, 52.
\textsuperscript{114} Phelan, Hispanization of the Philippines, 112.
relatively late introduction into their diet. Consequently, the market for cattle was mainly the Spanish community in Manila, and so the cattle grown in Ilocos was shipped to the capital. The buying and selling of cattle to Manila was a risky business since disease could wipe out entire herds, transporting cattle was difficult, and there were rustlers or highwaymen along the way. But this did not deter cattle traders. Apparently, men from Binalatongan, Pangasinan, traveled to the provinces of Zambales, Ilocos, and Cagayan to buy cattle to sell in Manila.115

The cattle industry exemplified the emergence of a new concept of land ownership. With the conquest of the Islands, all lands were now owned by the Spanish Crown, with the conquistadors and babaknangs receiving land grants. A study on the evolution of land ownership in the islands claimed that the pueblo land or the lands within each town was apportioned among the inhabitants, each one receiving the right to till a parcel of field and to occupy a house lot.116 But the individual held the land not as compensation for the pre-conquest barangay land he cultivated, but as a benevolence of the King who expected him to continue holding the right to the land so long as he tilled it. From the perspective of the Crown, keeping and individual and his family in the encomienda and “within church bells” meant that they had to be provided with a source of income. Since the land remained a property of the King, he did not receive any land title nor was he taxed for its use.

115 Cortes, Pangasinan, 136.
116 O.D. Corpuz, Economic History of the Philippines, 26-27. Corpuz notes that there was other restrictions for holding the land such as it could not be sold or alienated to other natives or Spaniards, and land rights will be rescinded due to failure to occupy the house lot or to till the field.
Vandala

In addition to polo, vandala or the compulsory sale of goods to the government, also traces its roots to the Spanish-Dutch War. As a result of shortages arising from this war, the Crown required peasants to sell a portion of their produce to the Crown at a set price. This policy was called vandala or the compulsory sale of goods to the government. It was designed to require everyone to contribute material resources to support the war. The Crown set quotas for each province which in turn was apportioned to the different towns and then divided among the households. The encomendero and the native cabeza de barangay or village chief were responsible for insuring a prompt and complete collection. Like polo and tribute collection, the system was replete with abuses and in many instances it was the encomendero who benefited from the system. When the people could not meet the quota due to a variety of reasons, such as poor harvest or neglect of fields as a result of the demands of polo, they were forced to buy the goods from the encomendero’s stock. The latter then sold goods back to him as vandala at the normally low price set by the government. Arbitrary pricing and faulty weights and measures worked against the local inhabitants. When the Crown became bankrupt and could not pay the goods, promissory notes were issued which were difficult to redeem.

In 1767, an Augustinian, Fr. Isidro Rodriguez, addressed the Real Audiencia and denounced the labor and resources extorted by the Crown, particularly in Pampanga and Ilocos, where for the past twenty-four years the Crown had paid neither for the rice it had taken under vandala nor the polo services the people had rendered in cutting lumber and

\[\text{Ibid., 33-34.}\]
building ships. Already burdened by *polo*, the people had to bear the added burden of the *vandala* as it evolved into an extralegal form of taxation.

In Ilocos, the *vandala* quota came in the form of rice and cotton cloth. In many instances the quotas were so great that they could often not be filled by the people, particularly during times of crop failures. Due to the failure of Ilocos to honor its *vandala* obligations from 1645 to 1662, the province owed the Crown 6,716 baskets of rice; 3,803 *mantas*, a heavy cotton cloth used for sailcloth and blankets; 1,584 *terlingas* or cotton blankets; 30 *quintales*; and 604 *catos de hilo algodon* or cotton thread. In 1663, Batac and Laoag were forced to meet their rice quota despite a series of bad weather which led to a poor harvest. But there were incidents where quotas were reduced. For instance, in 1650, the Crown reduced the rice quota of Vigan and Bantay by half, from 1,000 to 500 baskets of rice, in recognition of the *servicios polo* and material contributions of their residents in the public works projects of the province. Similarly, in the aftermath of a province-wide locust pestilence in 1664, the *babaknangs* petitioned the colonial government for a reduced quota. The Crown granted the request and the amount of rice to be delivered by Ilocos was reduced from 11,000 to 5,000 baskets.

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118 "A la Audiencia de Manila informe sobre lo que contiene la Relacion que la con esta, tocante a los agravios que reciben los Indios de aquellas Islas, fecha en Madrid a 18 de Octubre de 1767," in *Historia de la Provinciana Agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, ed. Isacio Rodriguez, Vol. II: Bibliografia Agustiniana [Islas Filipinas], 314.
119 Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, 100. According to Phelan, between 1610 and 1616, the Crown owed the Filipinos 300,000 pesos which include payments to *polistas* and to goods taken as a result of *vandala*.
120 *Cedulario*, 1661-1664, pag. 142-143.
121 *Cedulario*, 1653-1656, pag. 10-10b.
122 *Cedulario*, 1649-1652, pag. 68b-69b.
123 *Cedulario*, 1661-1664, pag. 346b-347.
The harshness of colonial impositions becomes evident when all the impositions were tallied. Apart from paying an annual tribute, the Ilocanos were required to sell yearly to the government at below market price a portion of their rice produce or woven textile. If they were lucky they received outright payment, which unfortunately was a rarity; more often they were issued promissory notes. The time devoted to raising crops and doing other economic activities were constricted by demands on their valuable labor. Men were forcibly conscripted for polo or were required to work for the Church or for a privately-owned estancia. To compound matters, periodic flooding or droughts, due to vagaries of Ilocos' weather, coupled with pestilence, could ruin their already neglected crops. Such was the vicious cycle imposed on the Ilocanos as a result of colonial contact.

**Conclusion**

Tragedy marred the initial encounter between the Spaniards and the Ilocanos in 1572. This was repeated again by succeeding colonial expeditions aimed at pacifying the province. Compared to the rest of the Islands, the pacification of Ilocos was violent, resulting in death, destruction and dislocation. Colonial greed, exemplified by the desire for gold and the mistaken belief that Ilocos possessed gold mines, triggered Spanish plunder and wastage. Unlike the itinerant Chinese and Japanese with whom the local inhabitants had extensive and friendly dealings, the Spaniards were ruthless and remained permanently in the land. From the outset the superior position of the Spaniards was manifest in the latter's superior weaponry and their victories on the battlefield.
Due to the inadequacy of missionaries and the Ilocano resistance to colonial incorporation, the pacification and religious conversion of Ilocos was slow. The *encomiendas* and *cabeceras*, aimed at exploiting resources and facilitating Christianization, were established near existing coastal settlements which were the traditional economic centers prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Vigan and Laoag, the foremost economic and population sites, were transformed into colonial and missionary centers.

The rationalized colonial order was for the purpose of efficiently extracting labor and material resources. The colonial state introduced the harsh *polo* or forced labor where Ilocano conscripts usually aided in the building of ships by cutting and hauling timber or served in the colonial army in the numerous expeditions to the Cordillera. Material resources, on the other hand, were collected through tribute and *vandala*, which proved burdensome. Escape from *polo*, *tribute* and *vandala* was only possible if one became a *remontado* or *vagamundo*. Getting assigned to work in cattle ranches was one avenue in escaping from *polo* but not from the payment of tribute.

When the Spanish imposed their authority and demanded material and labor resources, not only did it make the life of the Ilocanos miserable. State control and the entry of the Spanish in Ilocano society also introduced racial animosity, as will be discussed in the next chapter. With the large population of the Ilocos competing over limited resources and subject to harsh colonial impositions, ethnic relations became strained and introduced a new element of tension in the province.
CHAPTER 4

LOCAL POLITICS AND ECONOMY:

THE CHINESE MESTIZOS, BABAKNANGS AND KAILIANES

Both class differences and ethnic differences can be pervasive features of societies, but they are not one and the same thing and must be distinguished from one another analytically.¹

- Thomas Hylland Eriksen

**Chinese Immigration**

Prior to the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, Chinese settlement in the islands was very small. The Chinese regularly came to the islands to exchange goods with the natives and they departed at the end of the trading season. With the arrival of the Spaniards and the founding of Spanish colonies in Cebu and Manila, new economic opportunities arose. The varied occupations required to run these colonial cities were filled by the Chinese, who migrated in large numbers to the islands. Many were skilled artisans offering a variety of services, such as tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and many more, while others engaged in retail trading and peddling. They came and settled permanently in the islands. Almost all of them were men who had left their families back in China and eventually began new families in their adopted homeland. Coming at the heels of the Spanish conquest of the Islands, their arrival further reconfigured Philippine economy and society already undergoing transformation as a result of colonialism.

While there have been many studies on the Chinese community in Manila and the significant role they played in the local economy and society, there has yet to be an

historical study of the Chinese in Ilocos. Yet their presence and impact on the province was so pronounced that at the end of the Spanish period, Vigan had one of the largest Chinese mestizo communities outside Manila. Today, many of the powerful politicians and influential families in the province, such as the Singsons, Pinsons and Syquias, trace their ancestry to early Chinese settlers in Vigan.

Various explanations could account for the origins of the Chinese in Ilocos. One possibility is that they settled in Manila first and over time spread to the rest of Luzon. Because of a law that prohibited civilian Spaniards from settling in the provinces, most of the Spaniards settled in Manila and developed it into a bustling cosmopolitan center. Manila, therefore, became a magnet for the Chinese, not only because of the new economic opportunities that the city provided, but also because they were legally barred from settling in the provinces for fear that being heretics they might “contaminate” the Christian Filipinos. The unrelenting flow of Chinese migrants eventually led to a scarcity of jobs, forcing many to move to the provinces around Manila, particularly in southern and central Luzon. They were able to circumvent the ban by embracing Christianity. A decree by King Philip II in 1620 allowed Chinese who have converted and married natives to live outside Manila. They were to be given lands that “they may settle and establish a town of farmers to till the soil so that they may be useful to the country.” In 1686, all non-Christian Chinese were ordered deported from the islands unless they

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became Christians after which they were allowed to settle freely wherever they wish provided they were farmers or artisans.\textsuperscript{5}

Notwithstanding the distance of Ilocos to Manila and the relatively lesser economic appeal of the province compared to the rich agricultural plains of Central Luzon, many newly-converted Christian Chinese may have reached Ilocos and settled in Vigan. A small Spanish community taking shape in Vigan would have attracted these Chinese. Vigan as a colonial city offered similar types of occupational opportunities as Manila.

Chinese in Ilocos could also have come from Lingayen, the capital of Pangasinan, where a Chinese community developed from the deserters of Limahong’s forces. After an unsuccessful attempt to invade Manila in 1572, Limahong’s fleet sought refuge in the Lingayen coast where they stayed for months until the Spanish forces under Juan de Salcedo drove them off the Islands. Many of Limahong’s troops deserted him and opted to remain in Lingayen where they intermarried with native women. Lingayen emerged as the only town of Pangasinan with a sufficiently large community of Chinese mestizos to be able to form their own local organization.\textsuperscript{6} In 1787, the Chinese mestizos in Lingayen numbered about 700 families or a population of 2,743, which was equivalent to about 28% of the town’s population. Recent studies indicate that many of Limahong’s troops also fled to the mountains of the Cordillera where they intermarried with the Igorot and


Tinguian women. Some scholars have credited the lighter complexion, physical appearance, and Chinese surnames of some of the Igorots to this Chinese infusion.\textsuperscript{7}

It is likely that some of these Chinese deserters or their Chinese mestizo offspring migrated to other places in northwestern Luzon, such as Vigan. In fact, the parish records of Vigan in the seventeenth century reveal that quite a number of the local Chinese families originally came from Pangasinan.\textsuperscript{8} This continuous movement of the Chinese mestizos from Lingayen seems to be corroborated by \textit{babaknangs} of Vigan at the turn of the nineteenth century. The \textit{babaknangs} claimed that some of the Chinese mestizos in the city were recent arrivals, yet they were already influential in local affairs. This statement may reflect the fact that the new Chinese arrivals benefited from their links with Chinese mestizo secular priests originally from Pangasinan, who were in charge of Vigan and its adjoining districts.\textsuperscript{9}

A third source of the Chinese in Vigan may have been the traders who frequented the Ilocos ports in earlier centuries. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Chinese merchants tended to arrive in May or June, which was late in the trading season. This left them little time to transact their business before they had to catch the monsoon winds back to China. With the establishment of a Spanish community in Vigan in 1572, the Chinese began to leave some of their people behind to conduct trade in a more leisurely and ultimately


\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Casamientos de esta partida de Vigan desde 1 de Noviembre 1645 anos hasta 9 de Febrero de 1659 anos.}

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Patronatos}, exp. 23, fol. 1.
more profitable manner. In fact, the parish records of Vigan in the seventeenth century list the occupation of many of the Chinese settlers as *champanero* or one who trades in a *sampan*, the term for the Chinese junks. These *champanero* were boat-owning merchants from Fujian who traveled to the Philippines to trade Chinese goods. Other Chinese who settled in Vigan were artisans and performed similar services for the Spaniards as their counterparts in Manila.¹⁰

The reputation and skill of the Chinese artisans enabled them to move with ease throughout the country. In 1588, there were about 300 fishermen, ironsmiths, carpenters, and manufacturers of tiles, lime and brick in the islands.¹¹ Despite strict regulations, by 1606 about 5,000 Chinese were listed as residing in the provinces.¹² Some of them were in Vigan as attested by the 47 Chinese craftsmen who were drafted as *polistas* in the 1624 Quirante expedition to the Cordillera.¹³

Ilocos became a popular destination for Chinese traders in the early decades of colonial rule due to trade policies that unwittingly encouraged the diversion of Chinese trade to ports outside Manila. As early as 1591, the Spaniards imposed an *almojarifazgo* or the 10% tariff duties on all Chinese ships anchoring in Manila. Consequently, until 1620, many Chinese *sampan* that came to trade in the Islands docked in various parts of Luzon to avoid the required payment of customs duties in Manila for a legal entry.¹⁴

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¹¹ Ibid., 177.
¹² Ibid., 186. Trechuelo claims that there were 21,000 Chinese in the Philippines at this time. 
Greed drove colonial authorities into continuously accepting Chinese migrants despite their already huge number. Each Chinese paid eight pesos for a residence permit.
Starting in 1620, however, restrictions tightened and the Chinese junks were all required
to sail to Manila first for payment of customs duties.\textsuperscript{15} It was intended to increase the
revenues by ensuring that all Chinese paid the required tariff duties. It appears that this
ordinance was later on amended and the Chinese were once again allowed in other ports
in the islands so long as they paid customs duties. In 1736, a Chinese \textit{sampan} unloaded
goods in Ilocos and was assessed the 10\% tariff duty.\textsuperscript{16} There was another reference to
custom duties assessed on two Chinese \textit{sampans} that docked in Ilocos in 1749.\textsuperscript{17}

Of all the towns in Ilocos, Vigan was most appealing to the Spaniards and the
Chinese. Its precolonial economic and strategic importance convinced the Spaniards to
settle here, and the economic opportunities they offered in turn attracted Chinese
migrants. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, Vigan had been a bustling trading port
second in size only to Laoag. It served merchants from China, Japan, lowland Ilocos, the
Cordillera, and other regions in the islands. When the conquistadors seized Vigan, they
recognized its importance and made it a provincial capital. They built a fort, founded the
Spanish settlement of Villa Fernandina, and transformed Vigan into a beautiful Spanish
colonial city bounded by the China Sea on the west and south and by the Abra River on
the east and south.

Church officials also came to prefer Vigan as the de facto capital of the Bishopric
of Nueva Segovia, the diocese of northern Luzon. From the time of its pacification
Vigan and its adjacent \textit{barangays} - Sto. Domingo, San Vicente, Sta. Catalina, and

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Cedulario}, 1733-1737, exp. 83, pag. 5.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Cedulario}, 1746-1749, exp. 25-26, pag. 58-59.
Caoayan - came under the control of the secular clergy affiliated with Nueva Segovia. The Abra parishes of Bangued and Tayum were also entrusted to the seculars, while the rest of Ilocos was assigned to the Augustinians. It is unclear how Vigan came permanently into the hands of the secular clergy, but it must have been through an agreement between the Augustinians and the diocesan clergy. 

Although initially based in Lallo, Cagayan, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia unofficially relocated the seat of the diocese to Vigan in 1602. Sometime in 1683, the parish priest of Vigan, Diego de Maranon, and his alcalde mayor friend feuded with the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Sebastian Arqueros de Robles. They questioned his extended presence in Vigan considering that the Episcopal capital was in Lallo. Arqueros explained that he was in charge of converting the Tinguians in Bangued, Abra, who had been neglected in the past. Because of Vigan’s proximity to Abra, it was logical and convenient for him to discharge his religious functions from Vigan.

His excuse was not really credible in the light of another accusation that he had maintained his brothers and relatives in Vigan as well. The case was elevated to the Real Audiencia (Royal Audiencia), the court of justice, which then commanded Arqueros to appoint another cleric to take charge of Bangued and for him to return to Lallo. Armed with an order from the Archbishop allowing him to reside in Vigan, Arqueros refused to heed the order of the Audiencia. Consequently, he remained in Vigan and it became the de facto capital of Nueva Segovia. The formal transfer of the Episcopal seat to Vigan did

not take place until 1758 when Bishop Juan de la Fuente Yepes filed a petition that was concurred by the Augustinians in Ilocos, Dominicans in Pangasinan, and the *alcalde mayores* of Cagayan, Ilocos, and Pangasinan. A royal decree granted the request and at the same time elevated Vigan into a city. The transfer decree noted its good location, large population, the healthy climate, abundant provisions, good highway and convenient accessibility of Vigan, making it a better site as a diocesan capital.\(^\text{20}\)

Since Vigan was under secular authority, the Augustinians chose Bantay, an adjacent town of Vigan separated only by the Abra River, as the site of their convent. From Bantay the Augustinians also somehow gained access to Vigan and its amenities. Colonial presence rendered a new status to Vigan. It had risen as the political and religious capital of the province, which then reinforced its traditional commercial importance as a trading hub. The presence of colonial and church officials in Vigan attracted Chinese to the city, and they were welcomed by the Spaniards who recognized their valuable economic services to Manila. In the nineteenth century, their Chinese mestizo offsprings dominated the secular clergy that run the affairs of Vigan. The secular clergy do not belong to any religious order but fall under the jurisdiction of the bishop or archbishop in charge of their diocese. The Chinese mestizo seculars fought bitterly with the Augustinians who belong to a religious order and were thus called regulars. The Augustinians accused the Chinese mestizo seculars of favoring their ethnic group at the expense of the *babakanangs*.

\(^{20}\) *Cedulario*, 1748-1764, exp. 160, pag. 248b-250.
Accommodation and Assimilation

Early data on the Chinese community of Vigan are limited, and the only available source is extant parish records that list the Chinese who were baptized, married, and interred. They reveal their names, occupation, origins, amount of fees paid and, in the case of matrimony, the contracting parties. Although the material is scanty, more can be deduced through an examination of the more fully documented lives of the Chinese in Manila. Colonial policies toward the Chinese were intended for all the islands under Spanish control, and so one would expect the Chinese populations everywhere to have been subject to similar rules.

The sources depict the Chinese as a group discriminated against because of their race, religious orientation, and economic acumen. Their loyalty to the Crown was questioned, and the Spaniards feared the Chinese as a fifth column for a China eager to conquer the islands. Because they were not Christians, association with them was deemed harmful, particularly for the natives who were still undergoing Christianization. Yet, they were much admired for their entrepreneurial skills that stimulated the economy. Thus, they were viewed as a necessary evil that should be tolerated, even accommodated, but restricted and kept under close surveillance.

In the Galleon Trade it was the Chinese who dominated the trade of goods from China. Chinese wares were shipped on Chinese vessels to Manila, where they were loaded onto Spanish galleons bound for Acapulco, Mexico. These galleons then brought back Mexican silver to Manila that was used to purchase more Chinese goods. Because the Chinese were perceived to be draining Manila of its precious silver, the colonial
authorities instituted a policy that imposed on the Chinese a tax eight times more than that levied on natives. Spanish fiscal policy was to tax heaviest those groups able to pay with the Spaniards always exempted. While native men paid 10 reales or slightly more than a peso, the Chinese were taxed 81 reales or over ten pesos, which included an eight peso residence permit, five reales of head tax, and a contribution to the caja de comunidad or community fund worth 12 reales. In addition, even native women married to Chinese were taxed, undoubtedly an indirect way of extracting more from their Chinese husbands. A 1638 decree by the Governor-General ordered the Alcalde Mayor of Ilocos to desist from a practice dating to 1633 of collecting tribute from Ilocano women married to Christian Chinese.

Apart from stiffer fiscal obligations, the Chinese paid more for the religious services they received as attested by parish records. Baptism, marriage, and funeral were ceremonial rites the Chinese readily adopted to gain acceptance and legitimacy in society and to receive better treatment from colonial officials. Because religious services varied depending on the fees paid, entries in parish records were indicative of the economic and social status of the parties involved in the religious service. Expensive funerals with elaborate rituals and services cost over ten pesos. Normally these services

22 Ibid. A peso was equivalent to eight reales.
24 Entries in parish records follow a common format. Baptismal records indicate the date, name and age of the baptized; his/her parents; the barangay they came from; the godfather or godmother; the ethnicity or social status, such as Spaniard, Chinese, principalia, etc; the amount paid; and the officiating priest. Funeral entries indicate the date and the name of the deceased; the parents of the deceased; their barangay; the alms or fees paid; and the officiating priest. Sometimes it lists the cause of death, particularly if the deceased was a casualty of an epidemic. Matrimonial records, on the other hand, identify the couple and their ethnicity; name of their parents; their barangay or place of origin, in the case of the Chinese; the fees paid; and the officiating priest.
were the *missa cantada* (with prayers chanted), *misas vezadas* (with prayers read), *missas para las animas del purgatorio* (masses for the souls in purgatory), and masses with vigil and *posas* (where the proceedings stop for prayers). The parish records of Vigan noted that a number of Chinese traders availed themselves of elaborate rituals and ceremonies during funerals, indicating their relative wealth compared to the natives. In contrast, it was common to find the *kailianes* paying only a few *reales* or nothing at all because they were too poor to pay the fees or voluntary offerings ("no dió limosna por ser pobre"). But not all the Chinese were wealthy. There were also a few entries of poor Chinese, perhaps artisans, who were unable to pay the fees or who paid minimally for the services.

While funeral rites guaranteed the passage of the departed Chinese into the Christian paradise, baptism and marriage facilitated Chinese acceptance in Ilocano society. Religious conversion through baptism was the initial step toward assimilation. It is difficult to ascertain how many Chinese embraced Christianity out of religious conviction or mere pragmatism. To avoid persecution and lessen discrimination were major reasons why many Chinese immediately recognized the practical importance of becoming Christians. The Crown granted privileges to Christian Chinese that was denied to non-Christians. For instance, they paid lower taxes, could own land, and could freely reside in the provinces, particularly if they were farmers or artisans.\(^\text{25}\)

The desire to marry Ilocano women was another reason why the Chinese in Vigan converted to Christianity. The *Libro de Casamiento* (Marriage Book) of Vigan for the period 1645-1659 contains over 30 marriages solemnized between *Sangley Christiano* or

Christian Chinese and the *naturales* or native women.\(^{26}\) At least eight of the entries described the grooms as “*naturales del Reyno de China*” or “natives of the Kingdom of China” and the listed occupation of most of them was “*champanero*.” In the absence of further references it is not clear if all resided permanently in Vigan after the wedding or some remained itinerant traders. Another *Libro de Casamiento* for the period 1694-1704 lists the wedding of about twenty Chinese men to Ilocano women.\(^{27}\) Many more Chinese men, either trader or artisan, were listed in the parish records of the early eighteenth century as having contracted marriages with local women. Most of the Chinese appeared to have married *kailian* women, whereas unions with *babaknang* women seem to have been uncommon. If the Chinese married a *babaknang*, the parish records would have listed her name prefixed by “Doña”, a title bestowed by the Crown on the *principalia*. Marrying a poor Chinese, who already had the disadvantage of belonging to a discriminated group in society, was definitely not an appealing prospect for a *babaknang* woman. As for the economically well-off Chinese, their wealth certainly made them acceptable to *babaknang* families, but an examination of the lists of *babaknangs* in the tribute registers of the different towns of Ilocos indicate that they tended to marry among their own kind for reasons that will be discussed later.

In addition to better treatment, the Christian Chinese married to a native woman had a greater chance of avoiding the periodical massacres and expulsions conducted by authorities as a way of containing the Chinese population. Ilocos seemed to have

\(^{26}\) *Casamientos de esta partida de Vigan desde 1 de Noviembre 1645 anos hasta 9 de Febrero de 1659 anos.*

\(^{27}\) *Casamientos de esta partida de Vigan desde 10 de Noviembre 1693 anos hasta 11 Mayo de 1705 anos.*
followed Manila’s example whenever the Chinese were persecuted, and so the Chinese in Ilocos did not escape the fate of their compatriots in Manila. In the aftermath of the Chinese rebellion and their subsequent massacre in Manila in 1639, all alcalde mayores of the Islands were instructed to punish the Chinese in their jurisdiction. The alcalde mayor of Ilocos, Pedro de Tursis, ordered the beheading of about 100 Chinese in Vigan.28

Massacres and expulsions were the harshest of the Spaniards’ anti-Chinese policies. A more common and moderate policy was close surveillance. As early as the seventeenth century, colonial authorities ordered the Chinese and their progeny to reside in the Pariancillo of Vigan, a ghetto Chinese settlement that was a smaller version of the Parian in Manila. Confining the Chinese to a specific area or district was a deliberate Spanish policy to monitor their political and economic activities and to minimize their contact with the Christian native population. Despite their conversion to Christianity and intermarriage with native women, the Chinese and their mestizo children continued to live in the segregated district. Vigan was eventually split into two districts: the Chinese on the eastern side along the Abra River and the babaknang on the western section. As a result of the division, Vigan’s eastern side of the Abra River came to be called El Mestizo because it was the district of the Chinese mestizos.29

28 Isabelo de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 88-89.
29 Damaso King, “Parish Church and Cathedral of St. Paul - Vigan,” The Ilocos Review 23 (1991): 3. In Manila, the Chinese resided in Parian, the Chinatown, while the Christian Chinese and those married to Christians were allowed to live outside the Parian in the huertas of Binondo and Tondo. Binondo was across from the walled city of Manila, Intramuros, and was separated by the Pasig River.
Emergence of Chinese Mestizo and Babaknang Gremios

The union of the Chinese and Ilocano women produced a new ethnic group, the Chinese mestizos, who came to occupy a significant position in Ilocano society. The parish sources in Ilocos do not appear to make any distinction between the pure Chinese who underwent religious conversion and the second generation Chinese mestizos or those born locally to Chinese fathers and Ilocano mothers. Both were collectively called Sangley Christiano or Christian Chinese.

There are no existing pre-eighteenth century padrones or tribute registers for Ilocos. The earliest available padron was for 1743, which contained an entry listing the total tribute collected from the Chinese mestizos but none from the pure Chinese. Ilocos was unlike Manila and its neighboring provinces that had more economic opportunities and therefore attracted a steady stream of Chinese migrants. By the nineteenth century, and possibly earlier, Ilocos was overpopulated and offered fewer economic opportunities for new Chinese migrants. Moreover, the periodic colonial policy of Chinese expulsions, particularly in 1755 and 1766, drained the provinces of pure Chinese.30 Because the Chinese actively sided with the British when the latter briefly occupied Manila from 1762-1765, many Chinese were expelled, including about 30 from Ilocos.31 Those who remained in the islands were restricted to Manila and its adjacent provinces. When in 1778 the Spaniards once again allowed the Chinese to return to the country, less than three hundred Christian Chinese responded, of whom three went to Ilocos. The following

31 Maria Diaz Trechuelo, “The Economic Background,” 2: 22. Trechuelo writes that a total of 2,180 Chinese were expelled from the islands.
year, another 898 came but only four of them moved to Ilocos. In 1817, there were only 15 Christian Chinese listed in Ilocos, all residing in Vigan. The number declined to 14 the following year. It appears that a strong, pure Chinese community did not develop in Ilocos after the first generation of migrants. Meanwhile, the early Chinese migrants had converted and intermarried and produced a distinct Chinese mestizo population.

The experiences of the Chinese mestizos in Ilocos differed from their more populous counterparts in the districts of Sta. Cruz and Binondo in Manila. There the continued influx of Chinese resulted in the formation of initially two distinct groups: the indios, the Spanish term for the natives, and the Chinese. Each formed its own guild or gremio, which was a “combined municipal governing corporation and religious sodality.” It was established primarily to organize the group for the purpose of collecting taxes, keeping order, and making representations to the colonial authorities. With the increase in the Chinese mestizo population, a new legal status for the group had to be determined. Thus, in 1741 the Crown reclassified the population for purposes of tribute or tax payment into three groups: indios, Chinese mestizos, and Chinese. In terms of taxation, except for the Spaniards and the Spanish mestizos who were exempt, the amount levied differed. The taxes for both Chinese and indios remained at ten pesos

32 Ibid., 26-29. The Chinese preferred to live in the province of Tondo which was just outside the walled city of Intramuros, Manila, or in the agriculturally-rich provinces adjacent to Manila such as Laguna, Cavite, Bulacan and Pampanga.
34 Buzeta and Bravo, Diccionario Geografico-Estadistico-Histortico de las Islas Filipinas, fold #1.
36 Ibid., 37-38.
or 81 reales, respectively, while the Chinese mestizos were assessed three pesos or twenty-four reales. Since the Chinese mestizos constituted a legally distinct class, by mid-eighteenth century they were allowed to form their own *Gremio de Mestizo Sangleyes* (Guild of Chinese Mestizos) and they had a separate tribute register. Moreover, in areas where there were over 30 tribute-paying Chinese mestizos, they formed their own *barangay* and elected their own *gobernadorcillo*.38

The *gremio* set-up was replicated in the different parts of the islands where a substantial Chinese mestizo group existed. But the absence of a substantially pure Chinese population outside of Manila due to colonial policies already discussed meant that there were only two competing *gremios* - *indios* and Chinese mestizos - outside the capital. In 1743, there were 196 Chinese mestizos tribute-payers in the Pariancillo of Vigan under their own leader, Don Sebastian Tengco.39 In subsequent years their number increased and some of them moved to the other towns of Ilocos. By 1809, there were 738 Chinese mestizo tribute-payers throughout the province.40 This huge surge of Chinese mestizos in a span of sixty-six years tend to support the claim of the *babaknangs* that, besides those born in Vigan, there were many newly arrived Chinese mestizos from Pangasinan, presumably from Lingayen.41

As early as 1756, the Chinese mestizo community of Vigan was sufficiently large to form its own *gremio*.42 Patterned after their counterparts in Manila, the Chinese

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37 Ibid., 31.
38 Ibid., 30-31 and BR 12: 22 and 324; BR 52: 58.
39 *Cedulario*, 1739-1744, exp. 44, pag. 55b - 60b.
41 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 1.
mestizo gremio in the Pariancillo of Vigan had its own barangay headed by a Chinese mestizo gobernadorcillo, and it formed a separate tribute register. Similarly, they were entrusted with significant functions in the religious affairs of Vigan. The naturales (natives) gremio made up of prominent babaknang families of Vigan also had their own gobernadorcillos and cabeza de barangay. The local officials of both gremio were called “Don” and their spouses “Doña”, regardless of whether they were past or incumbent officials.

Unfortunately, as in Manila and elsewhere in the islands where there was a sizable Chinese mestizo community, the presence of two gremios in a colonial society meant that there was a struggle over status. In Vigan, the rivalry between the gremio de naturales and the gremio de mestizo was manifested in their competition for precedence in religious affairs and social activities. Each guild maneuvered against the other since precedence in ceremonial affairs was an indication of social prestige and ascendancy in local leadership.

The babaknangs who comprised the native guild were the precolonial agturay. They were enlisted for colonial service as lowly officials in charge of collecting tribute, enlisting men for polo, implementing other colonial policies, and generally serving as an intermediary between the Spaniards and the natives. They were given titles such as cabeza de barangay or village headman and gobernadorcillo or petty governor in charge of towns. These co-opted local officials, collectively called principales, affixed before their names the title “Don” for themselves and “Dona” for their spouses, and carried the symbolic cane-of-office.
In addition to those occupying political positions, many of nominal importance, the babaknangs were landowners in Ilocos. Some were recipients of estancias, particularly in central and northern Ilocos, while others received encomiendas in recognition of their valor or service to the Crown. Still others were engaged in the cotton weaving industry where they employed the kailianes as wageworkers.

Because of a limited supply of arable land in Ilocos, farmland was expensive and landownership automatically translated into status and prestige. Large landed estates were uncommon in Ilocos and most holdings consisted of small, non-contiguous parcels of land. The landowning class sought to consolidate their influence and status through strategic marriages and acquiring of more land through foreclosures. Among the Ilocanos, particularly the babaknangs, marriage alliance fulfilled two goals. It extended family ties and kinship relations, and it preserved or extended landholdings. Consequently, those families with land tended to have paired-sibling and cross-cousin marriages that preserved and enhanced family wealth and status. This explains why intermarriage among prominent babaknangs in Ilocos was the norm during the colonial period. As the records of casamientos and tribute rolls indicate, it was common to find politically and economically prominent families of one town marrying into an equally high profile babaknang clan of another town. In Vigan, the influential babaknangs bore surnames such as Lazo, Gervasio, Organo, Espejo, de Peralta, Jaramillo, Venegas, Clemente, Gallardo and Purruganan. The Purruganans had ties with the Tinguians while

43 William Henry Scott, Ilocano Responses to American Aggression, 6.
44 Lewis, Ilocano Rice Farmers, 90.
45 See Tribute List in Padrones de Ilocos, 1793-1794.
several Lazos married into the Espejo clan of Bantay and the Jaramillos of Santa Catalina. Another Jaramillo married an Enriquez, who was the babaknang of Santa Cathalina de Baba. Apparently there were also unions between the Chinese mestizos and babaknangs, as in the case of del Rosario of the Pariancillo marrying a Lazo and a Tolentino of Magsingal. Such marriages between these two groups, however, were infrequent.

This marriage pattern was prevalent throughout the province. In Laoag, the babaknangs were the families of Guerrero, Lampitoc, Ponce, Palting and Herice. Some Guerreros married into the Quiaoits of Batac, Passions of both Batac and Sarrat, and de los Santos of Cabugao. At least one Cardenas of Candon married a Resurreccion of Namacpacan. But the babaknangs who were town mates also married each other as was the case of the Tolentino and Cortes of Magsingal; Leañio and de Borja of Vintar; Sunca and Inocencio of Narvacan; Dacio, Abaya, Cascino, and Madarang of Candon; and Guerrero, Lampitoc and Palting of Laoag.

**Competition between Babaknangs and Chinese Mestizos**

The dissension between the two guilds culminated with the 1804 petition of the babaknangs to the Spanish alcalde mayor, Don Alonso Corrales. The petition sought protection and redress for the insults and anguish suffered by the native guild as a result of the alleged arrogance and audacity of the Chinese mestizos during the Holy Week celebration of 1804.46 Their letter also denounced the treatment they received at the hands of the patrons of the gremio de mestizos, the Chinese mestizo secular priests of

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46 The text referred to the petitioners as “apoderado del comun de indios naturales del pueblo de Vigan.” For the full text, see Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 1-75.
Vigan. This petition bore the signatures of thirty-nine *babaknangs* headed by their leaders, *Gobernadorcillo* Agathon Vicente Gallardo and *Cabezas* Narciso Clemente de Organo, Custodio Navarro, Lucas *Arze* de Purrugganan, and Rafael de Tugade. Signatories also included other equally prominent *babaknang* surnames as Briones, Venegas, Feliciano, Castaneda, Clemente, Espejo, and Arze.

The petition described the Chinese mestizos as “small in number but prolific in ideas that disturb the peace and quietude” of the province.\(^47\) It accused the Chinese mestizos of being arrogant, vain, and conceited ever since they arrived in the province.\(^48\) They allegedly thrived because of the patronage of the Chinese mestizo secular priests who were equally hostile and abusive toward the *babaknangs*. Their actions favored and promoted their own ethnic group at the expense of the *babaknang*, blatantly disregarding in the process the time-held traditions of the city. The parish priest of Vigan, Fr. Eustaquio Benson, was accused of cultivating Chinese mestizo protégés who, like him, were recent arrivals in Vigan from Pangasinan. His assistant priest or *coadjutor*, Fr. Juan Victoriano Angco, was also denounced for favoring the mestizo guild whose *gobernadorcillo* was his brother, Francisco Zales de Angco. Fr. Angco allegedly displayed no respect for the position and person of *Gobernadorcillo* Gallardo. A third clergy, Fr. Lazaro Teaño, another Chinese mestizo, was accused by the *babaknangs* of hurling invectives and defamatory statements against them.\(^49\) They were collectively accused of having “little regard and displaying a lot of indifference” towards the

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\(^{47}\) Ibid., pag. 51.
\(^{48}\) Ibid., pag. 49.
\(^{49}\) Ibid., pag. 7-8.
babaknang, as “they preferred only the Chinese mestizos since they belong to that nation.”

The petition of the babaknangs stemmed from the treatment they received from the three Chinese mestizo seculars during the Lenten celebration of 1804. Lent, or more popularly called Holy Week, is an annual week-long series of religious activities, usually in the month of March or April, commemorating the suffering and death of Jesus Christ. Next to Christmas, Holy Week is the most significant religious event for Filipinos. The highlight of the celebration is the Pabasa and Senakulo, the singing and reenactment of the life of Jesus Christ, respectively, as contained in the Pasyon, the story of Christ. Town processions parading religious images are customarily held during the Holy Week. Although these are primarily religious events, their staging becomes an opportunity for social recognition. Today, as in the past, the wealthiest and most influential people are given the financial burden and, at the same time, the honor of sponsoring these religious events. It becomes an avenue for the old elite to validate, and for the emerging ones to establish, their societal status.

Before Benson’s tenure as parish priest of Vigan, the Chinese mestizos petitioned Fr. Agustin Pedro Blaquier, the bishop of Nueva Segovia from 1799 to 1803, for

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50 Ibid., pag. 9.
51 Ibid., pag. 1-2 and 50-52. Holy Week is a religious event usually held in the months of March or April to commemorate the suffering and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The week-long affair commences with Palm Sunday and ends seven days later with Easter Sunday. The entire week is packed with religious activities including processions, Pabasa or reading of the Pasyon, and Church services.
permission to sponsor a separate procession for their gremio during the Holy Week. Blaquier rejected the petition and Vigan continued to have a single procession where the babaknangs traditionally played the crucial and leading role. Part of the function of the babaknang was for their gobernadorcillo and cabezas to carry the religious guion (emblem), estandarte (banner), and vandera (flag) during religious processions.

In the 1804 Holy Week celebration, the babaknangs contended in their petition that this tradition was arbitrarily ignored and set aside by the secular clergies of Vigan, who coincidentally were also Chinese mestizo. They claimed that shortly before the Holy Thursday procession, the gobernadorcillo of the mestizos, Francisco Zales de Angco, entered the church and took the banner, emblem, and flag. In the ensuing argument over who should carry the symbols, Fr. Juan Victoriano Angco, sided with his brother and the mestizos. He insulted and berated the babaknang Gobernadorcillo, Agathon Vicente Gallardo, who should have been accorded respect because of his position. Even the women of the two guilds were involved in the controversy. The babaknang women had been all set to carry the image of the Virgin Mary (Nuestra Senora) when the Chinese mestizas entered the presbytery to “irritate and scandalize” the babaknang women.53 Amidst all this commotion Fr. Eustaquio Benson came out, castigated everyone, suspended the veneration and procession, and ordered everyone to go home. He closed the doors of the church and extinguished the lights in the altar even before the daily oracion, or 6 p.m. evening prayers. According to the babaknangs, in their desire not to deprive the people of Vigan of their Holy Week rituals, they went to the residence of Fr.

53 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 3.
Benson intending to humble themselves and plead for the resumption of the procession. But Fr. Teaño confronted them, defamed them and addressed them as “muchachos” (boys).54

Although Benson finally allowed the procession to proceed the following day, Good Friday, the banner, emblem, and flags were not paraded, an act that the babaknangs took as an insult since it deprived them of their traditional right to carry the symbols. In the past the alcalde mayor carried the flag and, whenever he declined, the honor was bestowed on the gobernadorcillo of the native guild. The babaknangs claimed that they were shocked and the parishioners scandalized when the task was assigned to the mestizo gobernadorcillo in the aborted Holy Thursday procession, and when the flag was not taken out in the Good Friday procession. Moreover, the babaknangs claimed that, traditionally, they headed the procession. But this was also ignored in the Good Friday procession when Francisco Angco and the other mestizos replaced them at the front leading the devotees.55

The wrangling of the babaknangs and mestizos continued in the Easter Sunday early morning procession when the babaknangs were once again snubbed and humiliated. The Easter Sunday procession called salubong or welcome celebrated the encounter of the Virgin Mary with the resurrected Christ. In this particular procession, Fr. Angco handed the flag to Toribio Vidal dela Cruz, a Chinese mestizo. Likewise, it was customary for the daughters of the babaknang to carry the image of the Virgin Mary, but in this particular Easter Sunday celebration, the friars did not allow the image of the

54 Ibid., pag. 7 and 50.
55 Ibid., pag. 11.
Virgin Mary to be taken out of the cathedral. Furthermore, the *babaknangs* alleged that they were excluded from lighting the procession since only the Spaniards and Chinese mestizos were given candles.

In their petitions, the *babaknangs* noted how custom and practice were disregarded by the Chinese mestizo seculars to benefit their ethnic group. The statues of the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the saints were normally dressed for the procession in the Church, but this time the seculars entrusted the preparation of the religious images to the Chinese mestizos who brought them home. It was also the practice for processions to commence at the west door leading to the district of the natives and to conclude at the mestizo district. But the Chinese mestizo priests reversed the flow of the procession, starting it at the east door leading to the mestizo district and ending at the native district.

The petition denounced Fr. Benson in particular for appropriating the right to choose the *hermano* and *mayordomo*, the two most important positions in the Holy Cofradia, a religious confraternity or brotherhood. The Cofradia was composed of *hermanos* (brothers) and *hermanas* (sisters), usually fifty selected men and women in big parishes and twelve men and twelve women in small parishes. They promoted pious work through religious instruction and substituted for priests, in case of the latter’s unavailability, in the recitation of prayers, such as the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity. In return, they enjoyed privileges such as preference in church activities, receiving indulgence for two hundred days, and free burial with corresponding three free masses.

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56 Ibid., pag. 10.
57 Ibid., pag. 11 and 51.
59 Ibid., pag. 12.
for the repose of their soul. As a result of the dissension between the two gremios and the subsequent election impasse, Benson decided to appoint the hermano mayor and mayordomo.

Apart from discrimination and rejection of their traditional role during the Holy Week celebrations, the babaknangs also accused Benson of withdrawing the privilege of the cabesas de barangay and their eldest sons to be exempted from paying the sepulturas or burial fees. They had been exempted from paying burial fees since Bishop Manuel Garcia authorized it under the Synod of Calasiao of 1771.

Their pride wounded, the babaknangs sought to justify their grievance by presenting the incident as a racial issue between the Chinese mestizos on one hand, and the natives on the other. Thus, they spoke as if the kailianes also shared their sentiments. They argued that they, the natives, deserved better treatment since they had been good subjects and parishioners for years. While the Chinese mestizos collectively paid only 51 pesos and two reales, their tribute totaled two hundred ninety-five pesos and six reales. Apart from their financial contribution, they argued that the natives did not object when the friars obliged them to provide regular services to the Church nor when they were forced to supply the clergy with provisions such as fish, eggs, chicken, and rice at below market prices or even without payment. They contributed in various ways in the

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61 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 14
62 Ibid., 48.
64 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 10.
65 Ibid., pag. 50-51.
construction of the St. Paul Cathedral of Vigan including giving donation of building materials such as wood, stone, sand, reef, and lime, and providing free labor in the actual construction. Even their wives and daughters assisted by hauling sand and water.\textsuperscript{66}

Apparently the construction of St. Paul Cathedral was the major preoccupation of the residents of Vigan in the late eighteenth century. After the Bishopric of Nueva Segovia was transferred to Vigan in 1758, there was a need to build a Vigan cathedral and an Episcopal palace. A progress report on the costly construction of the cathedral decried the pitiful alms solicited from the natives and Chinese mestizos. But it also acknowledged the valuable labor extended by the natives and Chinese mestizos in the actual construction, particularly Don Alejandro de Leon, Don Juan Mariano, Don Marcelo Pichay, Don Vicente Anastacio, Don Melecio Gallardo, and Don Justo Angco who loaned their boats for transportation.\textsuperscript{67} Except for Angco, all the rest were \textit{babaknang}.

Due to the petition of the \textit{babaknangs}, the \textit{Alcalde Mayor} of Ilocos, Alonso de Corrales, conducted an inquiry and solicited the opinion of four church workers: two \textit{fiscal mayores}, Don Miguel Sebastian and Diego Martin, and two \textit{sacristans}, Francisco Millan and Domingo Martines.\textsuperscript{68} For the most part their statements were similar. All confirmed that the \textit{babaknang} extended valuable monetary and labor contributions in the construction of St. Paul Cathedral. They also acknowledged that the religious processions always started at the \textit{babaknang} district and ended at the mestizo side. All

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., pag. 12-13 and 48-49.
\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Patronatos}, exp. 23, pag. 35-38.
agreed too that the provisor and priest solely held the task of choosing the hermano mayor. They also denied knowing the reasons for the suspension of the procession on Holy Thursday and the absence of the banner, emblem, and flag in the Good Friday procession, but agreed it was very unusual. Their statements differed only on the issue of who should carry these emblems. Both Millan and Martinez claimed that the honor of carrying the emblem (guion), flag (bandera) and standard (estandarte) was always bestowed on the babaknang. Sebastian claimed that although the emblem was at all times carried by the babaknang, the flag and standard were carried alternately by the two guilds. For his part, Martin stated that the babaknangs and mestizos carried the emblem, flag and standard alternately.

Corrales likewise sought the opinion of the three Augustinian priests in charge of the parishes adjacent to Vigan. Fr. Ambrosio Corrales of Santa Cathalina and Fr. Francisco Abella and Fr. Andres Rodrigues Castaño of Bantay affirmed every contention of the babaknangs. They claimed that whenever they participated in the religious affairs of Vigan they noticed that the babaknangs enjoyed preeminence in public, both religious and non-sectarian, affairs without any opposition or objection from the Chinese mestizos. These included the honor of carrying insignias and of receiving exemption from burial fees. The Augustinians also paid tribute to the generosity, devotion, and perseverance of the natives in contributing their labor and resources for the construction of the cathedral.

69 According to Routledge, the Provisor was concerned with the “exercise of what is called the jurisdiction-in-ordinary of a bishop (broadly speaking, the legal aspects of Episcopal authority).” See David Routledge, Diego Silang and the Origins of Philippine Nationalism, 13.

70 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 40-47.
Fr. Corrales, a brother of the *alcalde mayor*, claimed that he attended the feast day processions in Vigan when he was the curate of Bantay from 1787-1790. He attested that in his first two years the *alcalde mayor* carried the emblem, but on the last year it was entrusted to the *babaknang gobernadorcillo* without any objection from the *mestizos*. In all instances, Corrales claimed that the *babaknang gobernadorcillo* had preeminence in all public acts, including seating arrangements.

Fr. Castaño supported the claims of his fellow Augustinians. Although his attendance in the religious functions of Vigan was confined to the feast of Corpus Christi, he noted that in this celebration the *alcalde mayor* and the *babaknang gobernadorcillo* carried the emblem in the procession. In his opinion the *babaknangs* had enjoyed ascendancy in these functions until the arrival of Benson who granted all the requests for privileges of the Chinese *mestizos*.

For his part, Fr. Abella, the curate of Bantay from 1794-1801, noted that processions always started at the native district and ended at the mestizos’ section. He also claimed that in previous years voters summoned by the ringing of the church bells voted for the *hermano mayor*. But Benson changed the procedure and prescribed an equal number of *babaknang* and mestizo voters, and the position now alternated between a *babakanang* and a mestizo. He also made certain that if a *babaknang* were elected *hermano mayor*, then the *mayordomo* should be a mestizo, and vice versa.

In addition to supporting the petition of the *babaknangs*, the Augustinians even went a step further by providing a justification to what they call the “rightful” claims of the *babaknang*. In defending the privileges of the *babaknang*, they invoked biblical and
Crown laws. For instance, Fr. Corrales argued that God and King ordained that the natives or sons of the land must be given preference over strangers and relatives of foreigners, a clear reference to the Chinese and their mestizo offspring.\textsuperscript{71} The Augustinians viewed the Chinese mestizos as similar to their pure Chinese fathers whose loyalty and allegiance was suspect, notwithstanding the fact that they were locally born Christians and reared by native mothers. It would be interesting to compare whether Augustinians in other provinces shared this perception. It appears that the resentment of the Augustinians against the Chinese mestizo stems from the fact that their religious rivals in Ilocos, the seculars, comprised mostly of Chinese mestizos.

This Spanish distrust of the Chinese and their mestizo descendants was largely a result of the 1662 and 1688 Chinese rebellions in Manila that was reinforced by Chinese behavior during the British occupation of Manila in 1762-1764. Although initially neutral, the Chinese later sided with the British. Close to a thousand Chinese living in Guagua, Pampanga, revolted against Governor-General Anda, the leader of the Spanish forces resisting the British. Around six hundred Chinese aided the British in their attack on Manila in June 1763.\textsuperscript{72} In Ilocos, many Chinese mestizos joined the Diego and Gabriela Silang-led rebellion that openly sought an alliance with the British. In the aftermath of this rebellion seventy-four rebels, including many Chinese mestizos, were hanged. It is understandable why the Chinese threw their support behind the British. The Spaniards had antagonized the Chinese through their continuing anti-Chinese policies and ordinances and their periodic massacres.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., pag. 45.
\textsuperscript{72} Rafael Bernal, “The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1770,” 1: 57.
Fifty years after the British invasion, Chinese “betrayal” had not been forgotten and the babaknangs continued to refer to the Chinese in their 1804 petition as traitors to the religion and the Catholic monarchy (“traydores ala religion y de nuestro Catholico Monarcha”). Ironically, the babaknang conveniently overlooked the fact that the Silang rebellion was led and involved their own kind, and that prominent babaknang in the uprising met similar a fate as the Chinese mestizos.

Secularization and the Race Issue

The statements of the Augustinians reveal their anti-Chinese stance, as well as the estranged relationship they had with the secular clergy to which the Chinese mestizo priests belonged. This deep-seated animosity was an offshoot of the conflict between the religious and secular clergy in the islands. The religious clergy, or those who belong to a religious order, include the Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit and Augustinian Recollect. In principle, regulars are entrusted with missionary work while the function of the seculars, also called diocesan clergy, is to administer parishes.

This delineation of roles was spelled out as early as the 16th century by the Council of Trent which stipulated that parishes had to be administered by the secular clergy. Parishes constituted a diocese which is under a bishop who was then required to conduct Episcopal visitation, i.e., to visit each parish yearly to check on the condition of the parish and the performance of the parish priest. Since there were no secular priests in the newly discovered colonies and there was an immediate need to attend to the needs of the new converts, the religious friars were temporarily entrusted with parish duties. The

73 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 12.
religious friars invoked exemption from Episcopal visitation, since they were under the authority of their own religious superiors and not of the bishop.

Until the seventeenth century, bishops failed to enforce visitation because of the threat of the religious to abandon their parishes. However, Bishop Sancho de Santa Justa imposed visitation based on the 1774 royal order of the King, and he expelled the recalcitrant religious parish priests. A swift training and mass ordination of secular priests was conducted to tend to the vacant parishes. But many of these seculars were accused of being unfit due to lack of sufficient training and preparation. In Ilocos, the objection of the Augustinians also stemmed from their perception that the seculars were ineffective and offered weak guidance. They were even blamed for the disorder in Vigan during the Silang rebellion. Undoubtedly, these accusations against the seculars had obvious racial connotations since most of the newly ordained seculars were natives belonging to the principia class and Chinese mestizos. Compared to the regulars, the seculars had low status, presumably because they earned their priesthood in the Philippines and not in Spain and they were non-Spanish. The Spaniards in the Philippines were not inclined to the priesthood and if they were they preferred joining the regular orders.

In view of Bishop Camacho's insistence to impose Episcopal visitation in 1700, the five religious orders presented to the King their objections to it. They argued that submission to the archbishop would destroy the autonomy of the religious orders and unnecessarily subject them to the wills of the archbishop and governor. In addition, it could create conflict of authority between their religious superiors and ecclesiastical authorities. See “The Camacho Controversy,” BR 42: 25-116.

Because of the rush of training and ordaining Filipino priests, the joke was there was a shortage of rowers in the Pasig River since most have gone to priesthood. On the Episcopal visitation and secularization controversies, see John N. Schumacher, S. J., Readings in Philippine Church History (Quezon City: Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), 114-140; and Horacio de la Costa, “Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Philippines during the Spanish Regime,” and “The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines,” both in Studies in Philippine Church History.
In Ilocos, Episcopal visitation was enforced against the wishes and amidst the protests of the Augustinians. During the term of Bishop Garcia (1768-1778), he insisted on his right to Episcopal visitation despite the adamant refusal of the Augustinians. A bitter fight ensued and the Augustinians lost to the seculars the Ilocos towns of Cabugao, Lapog, Sinait, Bantay, where the Augustinian convent was located; San Ildefonso, one of the visitas of Vigan; and the Pangasinan towns of Agoo, Aringay, Bauan, San Fernando, and Bacnotan.76

Visitation continued during the term of Bishop Blaquier (1802-1803), who reported that many of the big parishes were poorly administered because of their size and decrepit friars. Ironically, Blaquier was himself an Augustinian and he was the first from their religious order to become the Bishop of Nueva Segovia in over a hundred and fifty years. His report resulted in the transfer of some Augustinian parishes to diocesan clergies. Due to secularization or the process of transferring parishes from the hands of regulars to seculars, the number of diocesan clergies in Ilocos increased from nine to twenty.77

By the nineteenth century, the seculars were eventually called the Filipino clergy, regardless of whether they were *principales*, Chinese mestizos, or Spanish mestizos, and the secularization issue also came to be known as the Filipinization of churches. The squabble between regulars and seculars over control of parishes was due to the political power and material benefits that were attached to the position of parish priest. A parish

77 Ibid., p. 103.
priest or *cura paro-co* exercised influence and power in the community. He was a key player in the local politics, and he was able to acquire material resources from his parishioners.

The entry of the Chinese mestizos in the priestly profession as seculars added a racial component to the conflict. The religious institutions became embroiled in racial politics starting in the second half of the eighteenth century when seminaries were opened to the natives. Since education was a privilege, naturally many of those who studied for the priesthood and were eventually admitted as secular clergies were wealthy Chinese mestizos. Racial conflict then exacerbated the existing discord between the regulars and seculars over the issue of secularization. Ilocos, which had many Chinese *mestizo* seculars in Vigan, such as Benson, Angco, and Teaño, also experienced this tense religious atmosphere. Fr. Benson was at the center of the anti-Chinese mestizo fury. He epitomized the achievements of the Chinese mestizos in the economic and religious realm. His family was wealthy enough to afford the cost of his higher education. His position in the church hierarchy attested to the extent to which Chinese mestizos had assimilated and prospered in society. Benson’s actions were immediately interpreted as advancing the interests of his ethnic group.

Benson was born to a prominent Chinese mestizo couple in Lingayen. He was one of the first twelve non-Spanish priests who received his doctorate in Theology, Canon Law, and Philosophy from the University of Santo Tomas. In their petition, the *babaknangs* noted Benson’s parentage and geographical origin and the fact that he was a recent arrival in the city. His parents actually moved to Vigan in 1765, but Benson
stayed in Manila for schooling. In 1791, he was assigned to Ilocos and served in Santo Domingo, an adjunct parish of Vigan, as official visitador. Four years later, with the death of Fr. Manuel Baza, he assumed the post of parish priest of Santo Domingo. He was also the vicar general, and juez provisor and he served two bishops, Fr. Juan Ruiz de San Agustin Pedro Blaquier. Upon Bishop Blaquier’s death, Benson became the interim bishop (vicar capitular sede vacante) of Nueva Segovia from 1804-1806.

In the aftermath of the 1804 Holy Week controversy, the Augustinians concluded that the grievance of the babaknang was rooted in Benson’s insolence. Benson defended himself and refuted all accusations against him. He claimed that even at the time of his predecessor Manuel Baza, the mestizos were always in charge of the procession of the Holy Thursday without any objection from the babaknang since it was not their function. This was also the practice he observed when he was the secretary of Fr. Juan Ruiz de San Agustin for five years. He pointed out that in one particular incident, Fr. Pedro de Leon, then coadjutor or assistant priest of Vigan, had slapped the babaknang gobernadorcillo at the time, Melencio Gallardo, for interfering in the procession, just as happened in the 1804 Holy Thursday affair. Although Gallardo explained his side to Bishop Ruiz and the then Alcalde Mayor, Jose Sanchez, no action

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78 The highest religious post that an indio or mestizo can attain was that of “Provisor, Vicario General y Juez Eclesiastico.” For brevity’s sake, he was simply addressed Provisor. Rank wise, he was preceded only by the bishop and in the event that the position of bishop was vacant, the Provisor exercised the function of a vicar capitular sede vacante or interim bishop. See Luciano P.R. Santiago and Frederick Scharpf, “The Filipino Vicars General of Nueva Segovia in the Eighteenth Century,” The Ilocos Review 15 (1983): 73.


80 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 47.

81 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 59.
was taken against de Leon. It was adjudged that the said procession was not the concern of the natives but was a function of the mestizos. Benson further noted that Church insignias were traditionally carried by the babaknang except on two processions, Holy Thursday and Octava del Rosario, where the honor was given to the mestizos. The privilege of heading the Octava del Rosario procession was actually gained through a petition by the Chinese mestizos.\(^{82}\)

Benson also claimed that the mestizos and babaknangs alternated in the position of hermano mayor. If in a given year the hermano mayor was a babaknang, then the mestizos determined among themselves who would become the mayordomo. In the last three years the babaknang and the mestizos chose Spaniards to be hermano mayor, in effect depriving the mestizos twice and the babaknang once of the position. Benson also dismissed the other complaints of the babaknang. On the construction of the Cathedral, he argued that the royal ordinance mandated forced labor for all natives, and when they worked during Holy Week they were fed and paid a real. In contrast, he claimed the babaknang demanded silver for polo thus contravening the ordinance. Finally, he denied asking for food supplies from the people and in fact “not a scale of fish nor an egg was asked for [his] expense.”\(^{83}\)

Since the documents on the 1804 conflict between the babaknang and the Chinese mestizos do not include any statement from the alcalde mayor, it is not known how the issue was resolved, if at all. But this complaint was simply one of the many issues raised

\(^{82}\)The Octava del Rosario was the Holy Rosary month, celebrated on the month of October. October 8 is regarded as the feast day of the Immaculate Concepcion. Benson claimed that the procession on Octava del Rosario was a result of the petition of the Chinese mestizos to imitate a similar procession in Lingayen. 

\(^{83}\) Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 60.
against Benson that eventually led to his downfall. A year after the Holy Week episode of 1804, Benson came into conflict with the Augustinians, particularly with Fr. Castaño of Bantay. The discord stemmed from the failure of Castaño to participate in the procession of Corpus Christi in Vigan.⁸⁴ Traditionally, the parish priest of Bantay discharged his ceremonial role of carrying the Holy Cross during this feast. Interpreting Castaño’s non-appearance as an act of defiance against his person and position, Benson rebuked and threatened Castaño with further action if it happened again. This was not unusual since a similar incident occurred three years earlier when the Chinese mestizo priests of the nearby parishes missed the celebration and were reprimanded by then Bishop Blaquier.

But Castaño was not willing to admit his fault. He claimed he was not notified of the need for his presence at the celebration. Meanwhile, Benson sought the intercession of the archbishop of Manila in his conflict with Castaño, who called him “proud, malicious, [and a] revengeful person [who]...in reality acts out of wounded ambition and for racial reasons.”⁸⁵ Castaño continued his attack on Benson, accusing him of targeting Spanish religious and the natives, and overly favoring his racial group by appointing fellow Chinese mestizos and relatives from Pangasinan to choice positions in clear violation of royal decrees and to the detriment of aggrieved babaknangs. On his absence during the feast of Corpus Christi, Castaño pointed out that his presence was not really obligatory since it was merely a parochial feast. In the absence of a regular bishop, he

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⁸⁴ The feast of Corpus Christi is the celebration of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, highlighting its redemptive effects. It is held a week after the Trinity Sunday and it normally falls in June. Since its inception, a prominent feature of the celebration is the Eucharistic procession after the mass.
argued, Vigan was only a parish and thus neither he nor the other parish priests were obligated to attend. He also noted that the feast of *Corpus Christi* coincided with the rainy season, hence it was difficult to cross the Abra River that separated Vigan from Bantay.

Castaño received the support of fellow Augustinians, such as Abella, and of *Alcalde Mayor* Corrales, a fellow Spaniard. Abella claimed that Benson himself broke protocol when he placed his fellow Pangasinan clerics, obviously referring to both Teano and Angco, in good posts. This constituted a breach of tradition and a snub to the Augustinians. Abella agreed that, since 1776, the parish priest of Vigan and Bantay normally graced the celebrations in each other’s parish during two feasts, the *Corpus Christi* and the town’s feast day. He noted, however, an incident in the past when Benson, in his capacity as assistant priest of Santo Domingo, refused to attend a feast in Bantay in place of the ill Fr. Manuel Baza, the parish priest of Santo Domingo.  

Castaño’s failure to appear in Vigan, therefore, was not unprecedented.

In his letter of reply Benson refuted Castaño’s claims. Vigan, he said, was the seat of the archbishopric of Nueva Segovia thus making the *Corpus Christi* celebration a cathedral, not simply a parish, affair. As for Castaño’s excuse that it was a rainy season and thus the distance between Vigan and Bantay was difficult to traverse, Benson argued that the distance was not formidable at all and, in fact, Castaño was often observed to have crossed the river late at night during rainy season after attending parties of his friends in Vigan. Benson also defended his fellow Chinese mestizo Pangasinan clerics,

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86 Ibid.
whom he said were qualified for their position and were exemplars of moral conduct. He also denied being vindictive and insolent despite the insult and abuse he received from the Augustinians. He noted how newly arrived Augustinians went to Vigan to pay homage to the alcalde mayor, but refused to accord the same respect to his position despite the proximity of his Episcopal residence to the town hall. In exasperation, Benson begged the archbishop to grant Castaño’s request for the exemption of the Augustinians from the vicar’s authority, since they were a burden that he no longer wished to bear. The archbishop ultimately sided with Benson.

Unfortunately, the orchestrated moves against Benson persisted. Not long after his feud with Castaño, Alcalde Mayor Corrales filed a case against him with the Royal Audiencia. The plaintiff was a certain Vicente Maravella, who alleged that he was imprisoned and punished with twelve lashes a week by Benson for refusing to comply with a betrothal. The Royal Audiencia summoned Benson to Manila to answer the accusations. Meanwhile, under pressure from the Audiencia, the Archbishop of Manila finally relieved Benson of his duties in Vigan. Documents do not reveal the eventual fate of Benson. Suffice it to say, the Augustinians had succeeded in their campaign to remove him from a position of authority.

In Ilocos the rivalry between the religious and secular clergies in the province was intertwined with the issue of status and primacy between the babaknangs and Chinese mestizos. Since the secular clergy in Ilocos were mostly Chinese mestizos, ethnicity played an important role in their conflict with the regulars who were Spanish friars. The regulars supported, and perhaps even encouraged, the babaknangs against the Chinese
mestizos. There appears to have been racist overtones in the attacks, which criticized not only the religious and social positions attained by the Chinese mestizos, but also the latter's influential role in the economic life of Ilocos.

**Economic Role of the Chinese Mestizos**

The Spaniards from the start were strongly anti-Chinese, an attitude which came to be shared by the *babaknangs*, who envied and even resented the mercantile success of the Chinese. The Chinese mestizos translated their economic gains into a newly found social status and an increasing prominence in provincial affairs, thus arousing envy and criticisms against the group. Although most of the Chinese mestizos were located in Vigan, a number of them had spread to the rest of Ilocos. Statistics from 1817 lists a sprinkling of tribute-paying Chinese mestizos in the various towns of Ilocos (see table 3). Note that a half tribute imply an unmarried Chinese mestizo.

The letter of Don Juan Pio Purruganan, Don Mariano Merced Tugade and Don Pedro Ignacio de Briones, all *babaknangs* of Vigan, to *Alcalde Mayor* Corrales, provides us with a picture of the economic role of the Chinese mestizos in the province. Written in support of the 1804 grievance petition by the *gremio de naturales* over the Holy Week incident, the letter assailed the economic practices of the Chinese mestizos. The letter contained stereotypical accusations against the Chinese mestizos during this time. They were called exploitative, greedy, and shrewd businessmen who have no compunction in employing unethical methods to acquire goods and to manipulate the economy.\(^{87}\) They were perceived to be crafty capitalists and astute moneylenders who do not plow the

\(^{87}\) *Patronatos*, exp. 23, pag. 50-51
fields and therefore not involved in agriculture, yet would use their money as an instrument to control it. During the planting season, they provided the seeds and other capital to the kailianes who, because of their desperate need for loans, enter into disadvantageous arrangements with the Chinese mestizos. These cash advances bound the kailianes to a written contract which stipulated the terms and interests of payment. Come harvest season, the Chinese mestizos immediately insisted on recouping their investments by collecting the rice or cotton harvest with a one hundred percent profit over the principal amount. Cash advances at usurious rates were a profitable venture for the Chinese mestizo. For a one-peso investment, the Chinese mestizo collected two pesos. In some cases a loan of one cavan worth two reales was paid at two cavans even if each cavan was now worth four reales. The babaknangs decried how the two reales of the Chinese mestizo had instantly become eight reales in such a short time. The Chinese mestizos were accused of usury, thus “impeding the circulation of silver and emptying the pockets of the indios.”

The complaints of the babaknangs were nothing new and reflected the stereotypical image of the Chinese as economic exploiters. In the letter of the babaknangs, the Chinese mestizos were described as being very enterprising but conniving. Upon collecting the harvests due them, they hoarded the goods in warehouses to create artificial shortages. When such commodities became scarce and prices began to

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88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., exp. 23, pag. 53.
rise, they then traded their hoarded supplies at exorbitant profits. Such practices were also recounted of the Chinese mestizos in Pampanga and Bulacan, who traveled to the northern provinces to buy products and sell them in Manila.

Table 3. Number of Chinese Mestizo Tribute-Payers by Towns in 1818:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Number of Chinese Mestizo Tribute-Payers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cavecera de Vigan</td>
<td>509.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Cathalina</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narvacan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Cruz</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangar</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namacpacan</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantay</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Yldefonso</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sto. Domingo</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magsingal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapog</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabugao</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinait</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batac</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laoag</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dingras</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangued</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tayum</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>687.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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91 Ibid., pag. 52.
93 “Sumario general de los tributos, naturales, y mestizos de esta Provincia de Ilocos, con el importe de su cobranza en reales y gantas de donativo de arros limpio que contribuyen cada tributo entero, correspondiente ala cobranza del año inmediato pasado de ochocientos deiz y siete,” *Ereccion de Pueblos, Ilocos Norte e Ilocos Sur*, 1807-1897, exp. 224-225.
The babaknang decried the other ways in which the Chinese mestizos had used money as an instrument of power and in the process enriched themselves at the expense of the natives. One was by offering outrageous prices to corner the market. For instance, if the natives offered to pay one peso or eight reales for a textile, the mestizos offered ten reales, and if the natives paid six reales for a cavan of rice, the mestizos offered eight. Chinese traders in Manila apparently conducted their business in the same manner. They also were said to lower their prices to unprofitable levels so as to bankrupt their competitors. Because of their ingenious ways and oftentimes questionable methods, the Chinese mestizos controlled the economy, prompting the babaknang to call them “executioner of the life of the unfortunate ones” (verdugos de la vida de estos infelices) and “stepmother of the miserable conditions of the indios” (madrasta de la miserable situacion de los indios). The solution proposed by the babaknang was to have the Chinese mestizos transferred to another area separate from Vigan to rectify the conditions and to prevent them from infecting the natives with their impieties (impiedades). The racial slurs hurled against the Chinese by the babaknangs were part of the struggle for status and power between the two classes.

In addition to money lending and retailing, the Chinese mestizos were skilled artisans. In Vigan, they monopolized the production of the highly regarded burnay stoneware jars. Its technology was apparently a well-guarded secret, and until the

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94 Patronatos, exp. 23, pag. 51.
95 Trechuelo, “Economic Background,” 2: 35.
96 Ibid.
nineteenth century, non-Chinese mestizos were not allowed to learn the craft. ⁹⁷ A present-day account describes its technology:

...the burnay is vitrified or fused like ceramics by means of high temperature. Moreover, the clay for the burnay is mixed with a little amount of sand which tempers the medium while it is fired to make it non-porous and hard as a rock. When buried in soil, this vitrified quality makes the burnay resist corrosion and the chemical changes that the basi or bagoong undergo. Since this stoneware is resistant to the action of salt and fermentation, it was often used in the Spanish galleons for water storage and as chemical containers. ⁹⁸

The livelihood of the Chinese mestizos in Ilocos was consistent with the economic roles their group played throughout the country from the mid-18th century and 19th century. In other areas, notably in the Tagalog region, the Chinese mestizos also directly ventured into agriculture as inquilinos, or lessees of lands owned by religious corporations, which they in turn sublet to indio tenants. But this was not the pattern in Ilocos where arable land was limited and small farm size was the norm, thus precluding the emergence of agricultural estates and tenancy patterns involving an inquilino. The closest to an agricultural estate that Ilocos had was the estancia de ganado mayor, a cattle ranch which was a combination of grazing land to raise cattle and horses and a cultivable farm lot. The estancia employed casa de reservas or exempt households from polo which were instead assigned to work either in the Church or in a cattle ranch. For most of Ilocos, however, peasants retained ownership of their small plots for generations.

The financial assistance of the Chinese mestizos, although burdensome to the inhabitants, was nevertheless invaluable. Despite the accusations of the babaknang, the

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⁹⁸ Ibid.
sources do not indicate any antagonistic relationship between the Chinese mestizos and the *kailianes*. The feud between the *babaknang* and Chinese mestizos may not have affected the *kailianes*, since social recognition and acquiring a modicum of political influence were not their concern. Also, contrary to popular perception that the Chinese and their mestizo offspring were a hated class this was not the case in Ilocos or anywhere else. The Chinese mestizos supplied the *kailianes* with the only available source of credit, notwithstanding its usurious rates. What the *babaknangs* claimed as outright exploitation by the Chinese mestizos could have been interpreted by the *kailianes* as valuable assistance. Furthermore, agricultural crops were a high risk investment because of their vulnerability to pests, disease, drought, and storms. Consequently, the Chinese *mestizo* businessmen demanded high interest rates commensurate with the risks involved. The absence of racial conflicts in Ilocos in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during a period of constant upheavals in the province, reflects a peaceful if not amicable *modus vivendi* between the Chinese mestizos and the *kailianes*. In his study of nineteenth century conditions in the southern Tagalog region, Ileto has likewise arrived at the same conclusion that the Chinese mestizos apparently did not make life miserable for the *indios*. As proof, the local Chinese mestizos were able to mobilize the peasants to the revolutionary cause, something that would not have been possible if the masses really resented and perceived them as outright exploiters.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) Ileto made this comment in the transcript of the panel discussion and forum after the presentation of Antonio S. Tan's paper entitled "Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of Filipino Nationality". For the article and subsequent proceedings, see Theresa Carino, ed., *Chinese in the Philippines*. Ileto's comment is on p. 72.
To better understand the significance of the Chinese mestizo, agricultural production in the province must be examined since it was the primary economic activity and source of livelihood of the Ilocanos. The Chinese mestizos extended cash advances and loans to finance rice production during the critical planting season. The Ilocanos used the money to develop irrigation and generate sufficient water to drain the fields and water the crops. They pooled their labor and resources and formed irrigation cooperative societies, or zangjeras, which constructed viable irrigation systems. While the need for irrigation is preeminent in the whole region, it was only in Ilocos Norte that zangjeras became common. The reason may have been because rice farming was more extensive here due to the presence of more cultivable land and surplus labor because of larger populations, particularly in Laoag, Paoay and Batac.

It is difficult to ascertain when irrigation was introduced to Ilocos, but the evidence indicates that it predated the arrival of the Spanish. In a study of cooperative irrigation in Ilocos, Lewis notes that although zangjera is a Spanish word derived from zanja, meaning an irrigation ditch or conduit, it has an Ilocano counterpart, pasayak. Also, none of its technical or operational terms is of Spanish derivation. Instead, all are local terms such as puttot, a dam; padul, a diversion dam across a large stream or river; kali, a main canal; aripit, a small ditch; sayugan, a flume; bingai, a share or membership; gunglo, working sections of land; kamarin, a meeting place for people. That knowledge of irrigation existed prior to Spanish conquest is not far-fetched, considering

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100 Lewis, Ilocano Rice Farmers, 128 and 144.
that in the sixteenth century Ilocos was already producing and trading surplus rice as far as Manila. Rice cultivation required a fairly sophisticated understanding of water control, which the Ilocanos had obviously mastered judging from the local terms mentioned above.

The Spanish friars may have simply improved an already existing technology and helped mobilize the community and their resources to construct these irrigation systems. The earliest Spanish source that mentions irrigation credits its existence in Laoag and Bacarra to the efforts of the Franciscan friars between 1578 and 1586. Early Spanish reports, dated around 1630, claim that the Augustinians were introducing irrigation techniques at “mission-created settlements.” The prominent role played by the friars in the development of irrigation was again echoed in Balaoan, Ilocos Sur, where the Augustinians spared no efforts to assist the people in building two dikes measuring twelve meters long, eight meters high, and three meters thick. In Batac, irrigation was already in existence by the early eighteenth century. The canal and irrigation works in Batac were tapped from the Quiaoit River, named after Don Andres Quiaoit, a babaknang and gobernadorcillo, in recognition of his efforts to redirect the river to irrigate the fields. A late nineteenth century friar likewise commented that “the greater number of the Ilocan [o] plains are crossed by the irrigation canals, brought to completion

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by the initiative of the fathers [friars], and preserved until now by the watchfulness of the same people."\textsuperscript{105}

Unfortunately, except for passing references, there are no extensive data on the technology of this early irrigation system. There are detailed nineteenth and twentieth century descriptions of such a system, but nothing prior to that time. According to the later accounts, the construction of the irrigation system was a community affair. Those who owned land or had access to land banded together and formed a zangjera to ensure the availability of an adequate water supply to irrigate their fields. Landowners, tenants, and sometimes invited outsiders provided the necessary labor. It was a common practice for neighbors to help, and their compensation was in the form of food and basi.\textsuperscript{106}

A second type of zanjeras was formed by those who were landless and undertook irrigation work for hire or to gain access to valuable land. Christie, who was one of the first to undertake a study of zangjeras, noted the existence of at least one irrigation society, consisting of thirty men who owned little or no land, and who provided irrigation services in exchange for a share of the crop.\textsuperscript{107} There were also zangjeras whose members did not own land, and who offered irrigation services in return for use of part of the land. In this case, landowners whose lands were not irrigated transferred some of their lands to the zanjera. Members of the zanjera acquired user-rights to the zanjera land, which they could pass down to their offspring almost like an inheritance. Zangjera members benefited further from irrigation by gaining access to newly “surfaced” lands

\textsuperscript{105} This was a footnote by Fr. Coco who edited the 1630 account of the Augustinian friar Juan de Medina. See Medina “The Augustinians in the Philippines,” \textit{BR} 23: 276.

\textsuperscript{106} Christie, “Irrigation in Ilocos Norte,” 104

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 109.
along banks of rivers that came about as a result of a shift in the course of a river or stream.\(^\text{108}\)

*Zangjera* members who acquired usufruct rights to lands normally signed a written agreement called *biang ti daga*, meaning a “sharing of the land.” It prescribed the organization and functions of the society, the duties of each member, and the sanctions for failure to live up to the agreement. Each *zangjera* member received an *atar*, or a share, equivalent to a fixed parcel of land that could then be cultivated. An *atar* also meant that a person had an obligation to contribute labor and resources for the upkeep of the irrigation system. Generally, members who were negligent of their labor obligation were either fined, whipped, or had user-rights revoked.\(^\text{109}\)

The members of the *zangjera* elected officials to manage the association, such as the *cabecilla* or chief; the *maestro* (master) who served as a superintendent of construction; the *segunda maestro* or vice superintendent; the *mandador*, a foreman or work supervisor; the *papelista* who acted as a secretary; the *tesorero* or treasurer; the *cocinero* or cook; and the *panglakayen* or unit work leader. In smaller *zangjeras*, duties were consolidated and one person held the positions of secretary and treasurer. Also, the *cabecilla*, *maestro*, and *panglakayen* sometimes were combined and held by one person, since they could be interchangeable titles signifying authority and leadership within the *zangjera*.\(^\text{110}\) Of the many positions within the *zangjera*, only the *panglayen* appears to

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be an indigenous term possibly of pre-Hispanic origin. It had important functions since as unit leader he was in charge of the actual work.

The construction of irrigation works was mostly improvised, employing crude engineering skills and utilizing local materials such as bamboo and rocks. Knowledge of masonry was useful in building dams and weirs. Since the irrigation systems were not usually first class engineering feats, every year they needed to be either repaired or rebuilt especially if the previous season was marked by destructive typhoons. This meant that repairing or rebuilding irrigation was a yearly affair. The expenses for the irrigation were drawn from the fines of its members from the previous year and the yearly contribution of each member of the zangjera. There is no indication that contribution was based on the size of each member's field. Likewise, the sources do not indicate if water supply was equal for all fields or proportionally divided as well. But among zangjeras where the society owns the land, irrigated land was divided equally among all members except for the officers of the society who enjoyed a larger share.

Major rivers, such as the Laoag River, were not used for irrigation since they were too large and often uncontrollable during the rainy season. Irrigation water was more easily tapped from a stream or a tributary of a river, with canals dug leading to the rice fields. Water then flowed from the streams through these canals to rice fields stretching for several kilometers. Among these streams and tributaries was the Gisit River, a tributary of the Laoag River. It supplied water to much of Piddig. Another was the Quiaoit River that provided water to the rice fields of Batac, and the Bacarra or Bubuisan
River which irrigated the fields of Laoag, Bacarra, and Vintar. Some of the canals were long, such as the six kilometer Kamungao canal which watered the Laoag plains; the Bisaya ditch which tapped water from the Bacarra River and debouched in the fields of Vintar; and the Paratong canal and its laterals, considered the longest and most extensive at twenty kilometers, which emptied into the fields of Bacarra and Pasuquin.

Rituals preceded the actual construction of dams and canals. Initially, pigs, dogs, or other animals were offered to the *sangkabagi*, the ancestral spirits who previously owned the land and dwelled mostly in trees. They could either bestow favors or inflict harm on the people, since their powers included the ability to destroy rice, corn, and other plants. To get an indication of the *sangkabagi*’s will and to assure the canal’s success, the blood of an animal was offered. A pig or carabao was butchered on the spot where digging was to commence and if the blood flowed straight and heavily, then it was believed that water would also flow straight and abundantly in the canal. Blood was an appropriate symbolic representation of water since both serve as life-givers. Blood sustains the individual in the same manner that water nurtures the subsistence of an agricultural society.

Sometimes, a meter-high cross was also erected on the spot where the canal was to be dug. *Basi* was then poured onto the ground. The community waited for a few days, and any unfavorable event was interpreted as a bad omen. When this occurred, the

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111 See Ibid., 99-103.
114 This section is taken from Christie, “Irrigation in Ilocos Norte,” 111-112.
spirit had to be appeased or another site for the canal chosen. The following is an account of the ritual of courting the spirits:

If a spirit was against beginning the work, an attempt is made to learn what sort of propitiation it wants. In case a sacrifice is requested, a chicken, for example, the society must learn whether the animal is to be set free at the spot or is to be killed and cooked. In a society with numerous members there is usually at least one who is supposed to know more about the spirits, omens, etc. than the other members, and his observations and advice are acted on. Various unfavorable omens are watched for, perhaps the commonest being the falling down or removal of the cross. If nothing occurs during the wait to contradict the digging of the ditch, the work is begun, offerings being first put on the platform or altar. These offerings ordinarily consist of rice cooked with coconut, chicken, betel nut for chewing, tobacco, and basi.\textsuperscript{115}

If a part of the canal collapsed after completion, the entire ceremony was repeated to appease and propitiate the spirits. A canal’s completion was celebrated by a further round of religious ritual and festivities, where another animal was slaughtered on the edge of the canal so its blood would fall into the canal. The rest of the canal was sprinkled with more blood by dragging the dead animal along the canal up to the land to be irrigated.\textsuperscript{116}

These irrigation rituals were part and parcel of the annual agricultural rites.

Before the start of the planting season, a festival was held to please the ancestral spirits and to assure a bountiful harvest.\textsuperscript{117} The landowners in a district contributed money to a general fund for the festival which usually lasted from one to three days and featured an array of food including pigs, chicken, carabao, fish, cavans of rice, and jars of basi.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} The succeeding discussion of the religious rites in agriculture is culled from Indalecio Madamba, “Ceremonies Connected with Agriculture in Ilocos Norte,” in Ethnography of Iloko People: A Collection of Original Sources, 1-4.
Before the merrymaking, *basi* and a sampling of each kind of food was placed on small plates and in jars and suspended from the branches of a large tree or left in an empty house to serve as propitiatory offerings to the spirits of the land. Women served as spirit mediums and they recited prayers and invited the spirits to partake of the offering.\(^\text{118}\)

While waiting for favorable signs, continuous eating, dancing, and drinking marked the three-day celebration. After two or three days, the community would then check the food. It was believed that by this time the spirits had already extracted the substance of the food. If the food lacked taste of any sort, it meant that the spirits were pleased with the offering and would extend their manifold blessings on the land. But if the food still tasted good, then the spirits were not delighted with the community's offerings and a better communal effort was needed.

Meanwhile, ritual ceremonies were also conducted in the sphere of the formal religion. Catholic rites presided over by the town friar was also undertaken in Church.\(^\text{119}\)

He was paid and provided food to hold a mass for the souls of the departed landowners and members of the society and to ask for divine blessings. This practice was done three times, the first prior to the planting season, the second just before rice was harvested and, the third and grandest was to thank God as well as the ancestral spirits for the bountiful harvest. To assure constant blessings, it was also customary for irrigation societies to be dedicated under the patronage of a particular saint, such as San Isidro Labrador who was

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\(^{118}\) Christie, “Irrigation in Ilocos Norte, 110.

\(^{119}\) Christie notes that in some cases the members of the society belonged to the Philippine Independent Church and as such a service was held in this church on top of the Catholic mass. The Philippine Independent Church was a product of the Philippine Revolution in the late nineteenth century. It was founded by Gregorio Aglipay, an Ilocano, as a protest against the abuses and corruption of the Catholic Church and the Spanish friars.
the patron of the farmers. So important was rice cultivation that the entire planting season was closely monitored with religious rituals. During periods of drought, the community came together and discussed ways of seeking divine intervention. One way was to hold processions for nine consecutive days, with the entire community participating by joining the procession and lighting candles or carrying images of the saints.

The success of the Ilocanos in maximizing the full potentials of their limited land was noticeable during the Spanish period. Despite the relatively poor soil quality and unpredictability of weather, the rice yields were high enough to feed its large population and meet its rice quota under the *vandala*. There were also reports that Ilocos rice was also exported to Manila annually in the months of February and March when favorable winds allowed the journey from Ilocos to Manila and back again. Undoubtedly, Ilocos success in rice production was attributable to the credit and cash advances extended by the Chinese mestizos and the efficiency of irrigation. In fact, their significance was echoed by the *babaknang* who noted that irrigation made it possible for Chinese cash advances to multiply over a short period of time. In the nineteenth century, the Ilocos region boasted the highest proportion of irrigated fields in the islands, with *zangjeras* constructing several kilometers of canals that supplied water to thousands of hectares of land. Unfortunately, there are no available data on the size of cultivable land in Ilocos

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120 Ibid., 109.
123 Patronatos, *exp.* 23, pag. 52.
124 Scott, *Ilocano Responses to American Aggression*, 5. According to the 1903 Philippine Census, Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur were fifth and eight in terms of rice production per province, respectively. See
due to the failure of the colonial bureaucracy to document agricultural reports. But colonial sources do report the existence of extensive irrigation systems throughout the province, particularly in the north. In the 1900s, the towns with the most number of irrigated lands were Bangui and Nagpartian, the two northernmost towns, with over 1,500 hectares; Pasuquin with over 1,000 hectares; Piddig with 2,000 hectares; Badoc with 4,000 hectares; and Bacarra and Vintar with a combined 7,000 hectares. In many ways, these developments in Ilocos can be compared with the agricultural “involution” that went on in Java during the colonial period. Among the similarities were rapid population growth, increasing population densities, dwindling average farm size, and dependence on “labor-absorbing irrigated rice production to sustain a labor-surplus area.”

In contrast to northern Ilocos, the southern Ilocos towns did not seem to have developed zangjeras, though irrigation was also fairly common. A report in 1842 notes that the lack of rain had made water canals for irrigation imperative throughout Ilocos Sur. The canals in Santa Lucia and Santa Maria proved adequate to guarantee the towns’ rice harvests despite the droughts. On the other hand, those of Balaoan, Namacpacan, Bangar, Candon, and Tagudin were only able to fill the water needs of a few fields.

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Cotton Cultivation and Textile Weaving

Irrigation was necessary mainly for the cultivation of rice. To supplement this staple crop, vegetables and corn were grown all year round in the marginal farm lots. *Camote* or sweet potato, tomatoes, garlic and onion were also grown. Meanwhile, cash crops, mainly tobacco and cotton, were cultivated after the harvest of rice. Sugarcane was also grown and later fermented for vinegar and wine called *basi*. Other farms grew indigo, a produce that was only grown in the nineteenth century. But cotton cultivation and weaving, next to rice growing, were the principal occupations of the Ilocanos since precolonial times. Because cotton thrived in prolonged dry weather, it was a suitable crop for Ilocos. In fact, it was one of the commodities traded by the early Filipinos to the Chinese. \(^{128}\) Ilocos in the sixteenth century had earned the reputation of having extensive fields of cotton and of weaving enough cotton textiles to supply not only their needs, but also those of the Igorots and adjoining provinces in Luzon.

Soon after the Spaniards had settled in the Islands, colonial reports reported with alarm the decline of cotton production and the threat of its extinction. The cause was the arrival of thousand of Chinese traders who flooded the market with Chinese silk, cotton, and other cloths. Previously, Chinese trading was substantial, but with the arrival of the Spaniards in the archipelago, the volume of trading multiplied a hundred fold. \(^{129}\) This was due to the sudden increase in demand for Chinese goods from the Spanish

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\(^{128}\) Cebu and Ilocos were the two foremost cotton-producing provinces in the sixteenth century. See Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 263. On cotton production in early Cebu, see Pedro Chirino, S.J. *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 240.

\(^{129}\) Serafin Quiason called 1570-1670 the great period of Chinese junk or sampan trade. The period also saw an influx of Chinese settlers in the Islands, particularly Manila, who became artisans and supplied the Spaniards with invaluable services and skills. See Quiason, “The Sampan Trade, 1570-1770,” in *The Chinese in the Philippines*, 1: 160-174.
community and, later on, for transshipment to Mexico via the Manila Galleon Trade. Chinese silk, cotton, and other cloths comprised the bulk of these goods. For many years the Chinese had been purchasing the local cotton yarn, which was woven with Chinese designs and then sold to the islands. Initially, the Chinese textiles were of inferior quality, but over time they greatly improved and even employed Spanish designs.

The massive entry of Chinese silk and cotton resulted in a decline in local cotton production and manufacture. In 1591, two principales from Pampanga testified that with the entry of Chinese cloths, the natives refused to weave their own fabrics and had discarded native cotton. The natives only needed two or three changes of clothing each year and with the availability of Chinese silk and cotton, they preferred to buy their clothing rather than weave it. Moreover, they had become accustomed to offering their skills and services to the Spaniards for a specified amount. Subsequently, it was convenient to purchase their cloths from the Chinese and to pay their tribute in reales rather than in produce. The Spaniards, alarmed by this development, passed a 1591 ordinance that forbade the natives from weaving Chinese fabrics. The prohibition was intended to force the natives to weave their own clothing from their own cultivated cotton as they used to do prior to the influx of Chinese clothing.

Because the natives had developed a preference for Chinese clothing, and artisanry had become the favored economic livelihood among many of them, they were
said to have “abandoned work and the cultivation of their lands, and become vagabonds, both men and women.”\textsuperscript{134} In 1593, Governor-General Dasmariñas noted that the natives had become accustomed to paying their tribute in 10 \textit{reales} “which he makes in one day’s gain [and] all the rest of the year he makes money and spends his time in idleness and leisure.”\textsuperscript{135} Six years later, the practice of paying tribute in \textit{reales} rather than produce was continually being criticized as “demoralizing” since the natives had “ceased to cultivate the land, make linen fabrics, raise fowls and cattle, or obtain gold....”\textsuperscript{136}

With the decline in cotton cultivation, supplies of that commodity became scarce causing prices of cotton and particularly cotton clothing to soar. A piece of cloth that previously cost three or four \textit{reales} now sold for 10 \textit{reales}. To halt inflation, the royal officials in 1593 started collecting tribute in produce again.\textsuperscript{137} But this of course opened up new avenues for exploitation and abuse of the natives since the \textit{encomenderos} now demanded tribute in cotton, which had become a scarce commodity.

While the impact of Chinese cotton on the general economy of the Islands has been established, its effect on Ilocano cotton production and weaving is hard to determine. The decline in local cotton cultivation and manufacture was described in broad terms with no specific reference to Ilocos. But the Pampangan \textit{principales} admitted that cotton was not cultivated in any of the provinces from Cavite to Pampanga including Manila, that they acquired it by bartering their rice or gold, and that they

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[134] Ibid., 81.
\item[135] “Dasmarinas to Felipe II”, (Manila: 1593), \textit{BR} 9: 64.
\item[136] “Letters from the Royal Fiscal to the King,” (Manila: 1599), \textit{BR} 11: 94.
\item[137] “Dasmarinas to Felipe II,” \textit{BR} 9: 63.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
procured cotton to weave their clothing. Pangasinan also did not grow cotton and its women simply spun and wove textiles from the cotton the province purchased from Ilocos. Therefore, Ilocos appears to have been the main source of raw cotton of many people from Manila to northwestern Luzon. The decline in the demand for local cotton, however, did not have a deleterious effect on the economy of Ilocos. The Ilocanos continued to farm and weave, while Chinese migrants with specialized skills came to serve the needs of the small Spanish community in Vigan. Furthermore, cotton cloth had an assured, stable market among the Ilocanos and Igorots.

Despite the late sixteenth century decline, cotton cultivation and textile weaving continued to be the principal livelihood of Ilocanos throughout the Spanish period. A Spanish report written in 1810 by Tomas de Comyn praised the provinces of Ilocos and Batangas for cultivating cotton with a good degree of zeal and care. A Frenchman visiting the Islands at about the same period offered a good description of cotton cultivation

The cultivation of cotton, which is carried on to a great extent, and especially in the province of Ilocos, is, of all the products of the Philippines, that which requires the least labour and expense, it generally follows a crop of mountain rice. As soon as the rice crop is carried off, the ground receives a light ploughing, and in the tracks made afterwards by the plough, at a distance of a yard from each other, some cotton seeds are laid, and covered in the earth. In about two months afterwards the cotton plants begin to flower, and to produce fruits which are gathered in every day during the hottest hours. The gathering of this crop lasts until the first rains, which destroy the shrubs, and stain all the cotton that they can produce.\footnote{Paul P. de la Gironiere, \textit{Adventures of a Frenchman in the Philippines} (Paris: 1853; Manila: Burke-Mailhe Publication, 1972), 220.}
Comyn further adds that:

The culture of the plant is besides extremely easy, as it requires no other labour than clearing the grounds from brush-wood, and lightly turning up the earth with a plough, before the seeds are scattered, which being done, the planter leaves the crop to its own chance, and in five months gathers abundant fruit if, at the time the bud opens, it is not burnt by the north winds, or rotten with unseasonable showers. 142

Although it was much easier than rice growing, religious rituals also accompanied the cultivation of cotton. 143 Just before the cotton plants bore pods, large cotton flowers were set in poles amidst solemn prayers. In this way the Ilocanos hoped that their cotton plants would also bear large pods. When it was time to harvest the crop, prayers to the spirits were also recited to insure good harvests. Women were barred in the initial harvest since it was believed that they could cause the fruits to be small and rotten. 144

In general, Ilocos cotton was praised for its quality. Comyn claimed that “its whiteness and fine staple give to it such a superiority over the rest of Asia, and possibly the world, that the Chinese anxiously seek it in order preferably to employ it in their most perfect textures, and purchase it thirty per cent dearer than the best from Hindustan.” 145

But Ilocano weavers also transformed the raw cotton into fine textiles. While the men engaged in agriculture and raising cattle and horses, weaving was generally entrusted to women. 146 In every household, women wove the family’s clothing needs. On the other hand, weaving fabric for the domestic market was conducted in the houses of the

142 Ibid.
144 Ibid.
145 Comyn, State of the Philippines in 1810, 5.
146 Buzeta and Bravo, Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico de las Islas Filipinas, 2: 20.
babakanangs under the supervision of expert weavers. For every three feet length and 2 1/2 feet width of plain fabric workers were paid half a real.\textsuperscript{147} These textiles were admired for their “excellent quality and enormous quantities.”\textsuperscript{148} But Joaquin de Zuniga, who was writing at about the same period as Comyn, was less enthusiastic about the quality of the cotton fabrics of Ilocos. He noted that they were coarse compared to those coming from the Visayans and other countries.\textsuperscript{149}

The lack of machinery was blamed for the poor quality. Comyn noted the need for “good machinery to free the cotton from the multitude of seeds with which it is encumbered, so as to perform the operation with ease and quickness.”\textsuperscript{150} On the other hand, Zuniga blamed the roughness of Ilocos’ cotton fabrics on the method of spinning where “the spinners hold the cotton in one hand and a spindle in the other. The spindle is spun and rubbed around the thigh and the resultant thread is much twisted and too rough.”\textsuperscript{151} To ensure better quality, Zuniga and other crown officials urged the introduction of the spinning wheel to produce better and finer thread.\textsuperscript{152}

In addition to lack of machinery, the textile industry in Ilocos was also criticized for its traditional management. There was no division of labor which could have simplified, quickened, and shortened the process.\textsuperscript{153} What was needed, according to

\textsuperscript{147} Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, O.S.A. \textit{Status of the Philippines in 1800} (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 396.
\textsuperscript{148} Francisco Leandro de Viana, “Viana’s Memorial of 1765,” \textit{BR} 48: 197.
\textsuperscript{149} Martinez de Zuniga, \textit{Status of the Philippines in 1800}, 396.
\textsuperscript{150} Comyn, \textit{State of the Philippines in 1810}, 30.
\textsuperscript{151} Martinez de Zuniga, \textit{Status of the Philippines in 1800}, 396.
\textsuperscript{153} Comyn, \textit{State of the Philippines in 1800}, 29.
Spanish economic observers, was to establish factories with good master-workmen. It was suggested that instructors from Madras, India, be imported to share their expertise on weaving, dyeing, and even the cultivation of dyes.

But the colonial government lacked foresight and imposed debilitating economic policies that were extractive in nature. Ilocos supplied the cotton needs of the Crown through *vandala* quotas and the yearly tribute. In 1621, a hospital for the natives administered by the Order of St. Francis was a recipient of 200 *mantas* (blankets), 1,500 *fanegas* of unhusked rice, and 1,500 fowls from Ilocos. Ilocos woven textiles also provisioned Spanish ships, particularly at the height of the Spanish-Dutch War. Three hundred cotton blankets were regularly sent with the Spanish expedition to Ternate. Also, in 1601, three hundred pieces of cotton cloths, mostly blankets and canvases serving as sails, were sent to the Portuguese expedition against the Dutch in the Moluccas. Ilocos also produced fine handkerchiefs, towels, coverlets, velvets, and table linen, which were exported to Mexico via the Galleon Trade where they commanded high prices.

In the eighteenth century, economic reforms were vigorously introduced to transform the islands into a paying colony. This included the extensive cultivation of cotton and the creation of a large scale manufacturing industry. In the early eighteenth century, Francisco Salgado, a commissioner for the *Casa de los Gremios Mayores de

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155 Bernaldez, “Reforms Needed in Filipinas,” 255.
156 “Letter from the Archbishop of Manila to the King,” (Manila: 1621-1622), *BR* 20: 238.
Madrid, established a factory in Manila for the manufacture of cotton cloth. The factory with its twenty-one looms wove more than 70,000 yards of cotton cloth primarily for the sails of the royal fleet and the uniforms of the Crown soldiers. The textiles were of such high quality that they were exported to Batavia. Unfortunately, the factory ran out of cotton yarn and the efforts by the government to encourage the people to turn in raw cotton payable in cash and at a good price failed. Ilocanos in particular were promised that they would receive for their cotton yarn the price of a *manta*, which was a blanket they regularly provided the Crown as tribute. Despite these promises, Spanish requirements for cotton were not met. The Ilocanos may not have produced sufficient amounts of that commodity, and/or they were reluctant to sell to the Spaniards because of the fear that the previous experience of being paid with unredeemable promissory notes would be repeated. The factory was eventually closed due to the scarcity of cotton yarn, and it was later destroyed during the British invasion of Manila in 1762.

This experience convinced the *Real Compania de Filipinas* or Royal Philippine Company to concentrate its efforts in encouraging wide-scale cotton cultivation. The Company, whose primary purpose was to increase trade between Spain and her colonies, also promoted agricultural development within the Philippines. Incentives to encourage the Filipinos to grow cotton included capital advances, fixed purchase price, and the guarantee that the Company would purchase the harvests. The residents of the

towns around Manila and the provinces of Iloilo, Bulacan, Batangas and Bataan were encouraged to raise cotton. Meanwhile, cotton cultivation in northern Ilocos was intensified, with even lands close to the Cordillera slopes brought under cultivation. There was also an added recognition that Ilocos’ geographical location favored not only the production of cotton but also its export to China. While the experiment failed in other places, Ilocos proved to be the only region where favorable topography and climate assured the success of cotton cultivation. Thus, in the eighteenth century, Ilocos was the major producer of cotton and cotton textiles.

In Ilocos the local industry absorbed practically the entire cotton production, the scale of output increased from 25,000 pieces of blankets (before the establishment of the Company) to 50,000 or 60,000 annually by 1795. Besides blankets, the products included tablecloths, napkins, towels, *terlingas* for petticoats, and blue *guingon* for trouser; the latter were also made of the coyote cotton, a fabric of light coffee-color. Weaves for bed coverlets were also made, *rayadillos* or stripped blue-and-white cotton, sometimes interwoven with silk.\(^{162}\)

Despite the intensification of cotton production in Ilocos, the Philippines failed to take advantage of the high demand for fabrics in Manila and the international market. The weaknesses of the local textile industry were blamed for its failure to be competitive. Local cotton was not enough to supply Manila’s needs in the eighteenth century, and the city continuously relied on imported fine woven fabrics. In the early 1800s, the annual Philippine exports of cotton amounted to only 5,000 *arobas* compared to, say, British

\(^{162}\) Ibid., 118. Trechuelo claims that the other places where cotton cultivation was experimented failed and it showed that Ilocos was the only suitable place for its large-scale cultivation.
imports into China that totaled 1,200,000 arobas. In terms of volume, Philippine cotton could not compete with cotton coming from China and Hindustan.

The Crown's vigorous campaign to intensify cotton cultivation and to encourage the textile industry in Ilocos had a major impact on the province. There were suggestions on how to increase the cultivated land. First, northern towns enjoying huge population, such as Laoag, Batac and Paoay, should be split to reduce the number of people in each town. The excess population should be encouraged to move to new towns that would be established in the interior or even as far north as Bangui close to the Cagayan border. Around 500 tribute-payers living in the different estancias of Dingras were also identified as prospective settlers in the new towns. As incentive for populating new frontiers, the resettled inhabitants would be exempted from paying tributes for four years. Meanwhile, provision would be made to assign friars to new towns and to grant them a stipend. A second suggestion was to relocate the estancias along the slopes of the Cordillera where the cattle and horses would not harm the fields. It was also proposed that these estancias revert to the Crown after two or three lifetimes.

Undoubtedly the preoccupation with splitting up big towns and founding new ones was a result not only of bringing new areas into cultivation but also of the tremendous population density in the province. In the early nineteenth century, Ilocos was the most populated province with 366,067 people, more than twice that of Iloilo, the second most populated province, and equal to 14% of the total Philippine population of

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163 An arroba was a measure of capacity. One arroba was equivalent to twenty-five lbs. or four gallons. Comyn, *State of the Philippines in 1810*, p. 5.
164 *Descripción de la Provincia de Ilocos*, (1794), 3-4 and 8-9.
Comparing this figure with the 1591 Dasmariñas’ survey, the province’s share of population had increased three percent in a span of two centuries. The increase was actually greater since many of the inhabitants of Pangasinan, the third most populous province, were Ilocanos relocated to the northern towns who by the eighteenth century spoke Ilocano rather than Pangasinense.166

Because of the greater demand for cotton and textiles from Ilocos, the value of land had increased and the colonial government was swamped with boundary disputes among contiguous towns. Also, more than ever the Ilocanos now desired to own even a small plot of land. Consequently, reports in the late eighteenth century indicated that this desire for land, particularly near the towns, had resulted in a considerable number of lawsuits.167 Although sources do not reveal the causes of these lawsuits, one was very likely possession of land by the Chinese mestizo money-lender as a result of default of a loan.

Whereas in the sixteenth century labor rather than land was more valued, two centuries later the situation had been reversed. With its continuous growth in population, Ilocos had excess labor, more than the local economy could absorb. Their expansion to the northern towns of Pangasinan was the initial step towards a large-scale outmigration in the next two centuries. Meanwhile, land acquisition had become the yardstick of wealth and status in the province, particularly since cultivable land was becoming scarce.

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165 Comyn, State of the Philippines in 1810, 145.
166 Descripcion de la Provincia de Ilocos, 3.
167 Descripcion de la Provincia de Ilocos, 2.
Conclusion

Although located a long distance from the colonial capital, Manila, and despite an unfavorable geography, Ilocos continued to remain an important province as it supplied the Crown with rice, cotton, and valuable labor. By the eighteenth century, its enormous growth in population had resulted in the development of cooperative irrigation works aimed at increasing rice yields using its abundant labor. Rice cultivation, coupled with increasing demand for cotton and textiles, put severe pressure on the limited arable land of Ilocos and exacerbated the human-land ratio. Consequently, societal stress manifested itself in many ways: outmigration, calls to open up new frontiers and new towns, and rebellion and resistance.

The ethnic dispute between the babaknangs and Chinese mestizos was another manifestation. Born in Ilocos to Ilocano mothers, the Chinese mestizos were nonetheless still perceived by the babaknang as a foreign race who had attained economic prominence and political clout primarily through the gremio establishment and their entry as secular clergies. They were regarded as a threat to the traditionally high and honored social status of the babaknang.

Relatively new in the province, the Chinese mestizos soon controlled the local economy thus contributing to the hostility of the babaknangs. But the rancor appears to be exclusive to the babaknang and not shared by the kailianes. The kailianes may have in fact appreciated the presence of the Chinese mestizos who provided them financial assistance in the form of loans.
This ethnic conflict between the Chinese mestizos and babaknang was a result of the divisiveness instituted by the Spaniards through colonial policies such as discriminatory taxation and ethnic segregation. What stands out in the sources of this period is the lack of mention of the ordinary Ilocano people by the Spaniards, babaknangs and Chinese mestizos. Instead, each group was identified by its own ethnic designation - Spaniards, Chinese mestizos, and indios or naturales, the latter further distinguished by class, babaknangs and kailianes.

This ethnic mix would be further compounded by the entry of the Christianized, now lowland-resettled Igorots and Tinguianes. Their presence would add another dimension to the ethnic conflict in Ilocos. While the babaknang-Chinese mestizo struggle was elitist and concerned only the upper strata of society, tensions in the Ilocano-Igorot relations permeated all classes. Spanish policies of utilizing Ilocanos as colonial army and later as catechists or ministers of doctrine to the Igorots created a rift in the once harmonious relations between the two groups. But despite ethnic tensions, a mutually beneficial trade arrangement ensured the persistence of the bond that existed between them.
CHAPTER 5
RECONFIGURING OLD RELATIONS:
THE ILOCANOS, IGOROTS AND TINGUIANS UNDER COLONIAL RULE

By the end of the Spanish regime, divergence created a Filipino majority. A cultural minority was created where none had existed.¹

-William Henry Scott

Search for the Igorot Gold Mines and the Ilocano Involvement

From the start the Spaniards adjudged the occupation of the Cordillera and the subjugation of the Igorots as an essential and paramount objective. The conquest of the archipelago had to be total and complete, including the Muslims who controlled Mindanao and the pagan, upland inhabitants of the Cordillera. This in their eyes would ensure the Christianization of the entire Islands, one of the twin goals of Spanish overseas expansion. Notwithstanding noble proclamations, the initial impetus for colonial expansion into this region was the presence of gold. The desire to replicate the impressive gold haul netted by the Spanish empire following its conquest of the Americas preoccupied the colonial officials in the Philippines in the first one hundred years of their rule. Since early reports identified Ilocos as teeming with gold, Salcedo embarked on his northern Luzon exploration primarily to verify these reports. The impressive gold haul obtained by the Salcedo and Goiti expeditions, accomplished as a result of raids of villages under the guise of tribute collection, initially lulled the Spaniards into believing that Ilocos yielded this precious metal. An earlier report falsely claimed that:

There are many mines likewise in the province of Ylocos, in the neighborhood of Balatao, Turrey, Alingay, and Dinglas. There are very rich mines from which, it is said, much gold is extracted and there are many metals and rivers which have not been examined.²

In actuality, whatever gold the Spaniards confiscated was merely accumulated by the Ilocanos over many years of trading with the Igorots. After the initial excitement, it did not take long for the Spaniards to realize that the Ilocanos were mere intermediaries in the gold trade, with the gold reserve lying somewhere in the Cordillera guarded by the Igorots. Unknown to the Spaniards, the mines were specifically located in present day Baguio and Benguet in southern Cordillera. The realization that gold could be found in the Cordillera and not in Ilocos surfaced after the initial attempt in 1576 to scale this mountain range. Governor-General Francisco de Sande wrote:

> Because it is reported that the best mines are those in the province of Ylocos, I sent the sargeant-major from this camp with forty arquebusiers. He reached those mines and reports that they are located in a very rough country, twenty leagues [62 miles] inland; that the country is very cold, and has great pine forests...as it is necessary to march afoot and to carry their food, and the country is hostile and the soldier poor, it seems a pity to send them to lose what they have in a district where they can obtain no profit; for the operation of mines requires tranquility among the people, the service of many men, and abundant supplies.³

On the basis of this account, which recommended the need to secure the region from the hostile Igorots and for adequate labor and provisions to work the mines, the fate of the Igorots in the Cordillera and those in the surrounding lowland provinces was sealed. For the next century the Spaniards made various attempts from the different flanks of the Cordillera to subdue the Igorots and gain access to the gold mines. In every Spanish

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² "Letter from Andres de Mirandaola to Felipe II," (Manila: 1574), BR 3: 224. Turrey was probably Atuley which is present day Bauang; Alingay is Aringay in Pangasinan; Baratao is somewhere between Agoo-Bauang; Dinglas is present-day Dingras in Ilocos Norte
³ Francisco de Sande, "Relation of the Filipinas Island," (1576), BR 4: 88.
campaign, the burden on the lowlands intensified since they provided the men, the labor, and the provisions for these expeditions. One of the consequences of these requisitions was the neglect of rice cultivation in Ilocos.

As attested by royal orders and colonial reports, the primary motivation in searching for the gold mines was to duplicate the impressive gold booty acquired in the Americas and in the process fill the bankrupt national coffers. But greed had to be tempered, particularly in the aftermath of accounts of massive abuses committed against the American natives who toiled in the mines. Furthermore, the actions against the Igorots had to be rationalized and legitimized, and the justification came with the 1619 resolution by eight Jesuits. It explained the need to wage what it called a “just war” against the Igorots and identified the subsequent advantages that would accrue from such action. It referred to the Igorots collectively as “highwaymen,” “bandits,” “robbers,” and “murderers,” who impede the safe travel and passage to Pangasinan and Ilocos and pose a menace to lowland life and property. Condemned as uncivilized and barbaric, they were accused of roaming the highways and preying on defenseless travelers. A deserted sandy and gravelly area called Beach of Murcia in Namacpacan, the first town of Ilocos after Pangasinan, was singled out as particularly dangerous for unescorted travelers since many were beheaded in this area. Several wayfarers, including friars, also reported having been attacked in Narvacan, a town south of Vigan, this time by the Tinguians. These incidents, greatly magnified by colonial reports, naturally shaped the


5 Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 110-111.
initial Spanish image of the Igorots as headhunters who, for no apparent reason, would behead unsuspecting and oftentimes defenseless lowlanders and Spaniards. Furthermore, they were accused of attacking the Christian towns of Ilocos and Pangasinan at the slightest provocation, and of demanding salt, carabao and other goods from the lowlanders. The colonial discourse portrayed the heathen uplanders as belligerent, and it provided the Spaniards with the necessary excuse to wage a “moral” war to subdue them and thereby guarantee the peace and security of the lowlanders. It was called a “just war” that would compel the Igorots to recognize the Crown. But more than the “moral” issue, the economic rewards and political ramifications arising from these pacification wars justified the righteousness of their cause. With pragmatic and material considerations shaping the earliest colonial policies towards the Igorots, the noble, spiritual mission of “saving heathen souls” and converting them into Christians took secondary importance.

The Jesuit resolution identified the specific benefits of waging a “just war.” First, the Igorot gold mines would rescue a badly indebted Royal Treasury saddled with colonial expenses that exceeded revenues and royal assets. In addition, the costly Spanish-Dutch Wars further depleted the royal reserves and impeded the Islands’ only profitable source of revenue - the junk trade with China and the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade. Second, with the conquest of the Cordillera, the Islands would become famous and Spaniards would arrive in droves and settle in the country because of gold, a “magnet to men’s hearts.” It was necessary to provide some incentive to attract

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6 “Whether it is Possible to Make a Just War Against the Igorots,” in Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 130-131.
Spaniards to the Islands. Due to the vast distance, hot and humid climate and bleak economic prospects, the Philippines was not a favored colonial outpost. An injection of Spanish colonists would revive a moribund economy. Third, the projected gold that could be extracted from these mines would exceed expectations and convince the Crown to retain possession of the colony. Fourth, upon conquest, the Igorots themselves would be “domesticated,” since working the mines would entail occupying the land, building forts, bringing in lowland Christian indios, and eventually their own religious conversion. The Spaniards viewed the Igorots as wild and restless but a people who could be pacified and live in peace if provided with an adequate economic motivation. Fifth, with the pacification of the Igorots, the lowland highways would be safe and there would be free and open communications. The cost of traveling would also be less expensive since the use of soldiers as escorts would no longer be needed. Sixth, since the Cordillera had been the refuge of what the Crown called “delinquent” lowlanders, its conquest would remove this “den of thieves.” It would also end the Igorot practice of abducting lowlanders, particularly children, to work their mines and be raised as heathens. Seventh, with the Crown in control of the mines, their operation would be beneficial to all, including the natives who would reap the rewards from this enterprise.

Apart from exploiting the gold mines to resuscitate the royal treasury and neutralize the Igorot threat, the Jesuit resolution had the further objective of removing the Cordillera as a place of sanctuary for recalcitrant and erring lowlanders. This was a serious concern since the lowland remontados who fled to the Cordillera did so to avoid reduccion and to evade tribute and forced labor, in effect depriving the Crown of
valuable manpower and resources. Although there are no statistics on the number of Ilocanos and Pangasinenses who escaped to the Cordillera, colonial accounts refer frequently to this practice. This is reaffirmed by Ilocano and Igorot folk stories that refer to lowland remontados who sought refuge among their brethren Igorots. For example, the oral accounts of the beginning of the town of Patoc, now Penarrubia, in Abra identify the original founders as lowland migrants from Tamag, the hill south of Vigan, who abandoned their homes and fled to Abra to escape Spanish conquest. A variant explanation contends that these Tamag migrants were actually Itnegs, who prior to colonial contact had settled in this hill close to the mouth of the Abra River to serve as trade intermediaries between their Cordillera kin and the Ilocano or foreign traders in Vigan. In Ilocos Norte, the folk legend on the Paoay Lake relates that the Tinguians were the original dwellers around the lake. When the lake waters rose as a result of typhoons and floods, they threatened to submerge the surrounding community. At about the same time, the Spaniards were forcibly baptizing the inhabitants. To escape flooding and baptism, which the legend ranked as major disasters of equal magnitude, many fled to the mountains.

It was partly to eliminate this haven for “errant” lowlanders and mainly to exploit the gold mines that the Crown waged a war of conquest against the Igorots. There were eight military expeditions (1576, 1583, 1596, 1608, 1620, 1623, 1624, and 1668) launched from the various flanks of the Cordillera. Ilocos and Pangasinan on the west,

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Nueva Viscaya, Nueva Ecija and Pampanga on the south, and Cagayan on the east served as bases for the attacks. Ilocos and Pangasinan bore the brunt of these campaigns since they provided the major part of the militia and provisions for the expeditions. The Ilocos section of the Cordillera runs along the coast and slopes gently at several towns of the province, thus making upland-lowland movements much easier.

The campaigns of the sixteenth century were on a small scale and short in duration. After the initial 1576 expedition reported by Sande, a second one was made in 1583 using Pampangan polistas brought to Ilocos. It proceeded via the southern slopes of the Cordillera and along the Caraballo Sur Mountain in the current province of Nueva Vizcaya. As in the previous campaign, the search for gold was unsuccessful. A third expedition in 1596, using the southeastern approach along the upper Magat River in the area of Aritao, Dupax and Bayombong, also returned without success after some serious encounters with the Igorots.

With the Crown in dire need of revenue to sustain its naval war with the Dutch, the efforts to locate the gold mines intensified starting in 1620. More than ever, the colonial authorities pinned their hopes for financial redemption on the operation of the gold mines in Igorot territory. By this time the legal bases, such as the 1619 Jesuit resolution, had already been drawn up to justify the aggression against the Igorots and to assuage the misgivings of some. The zeal of the conquistadors was further strengthened by the promise of material compensation. Only a fifth of the revenues derived from the gold mines was to go to the Crown, and the remainder was to be awarded to the conquistadors. In the event of failure, they would still be granted encomiendas in
recognition of their services. This was the case in 1640 when Captain Don Alonso Soliguan received as his *encomienda* the resettled Tinguians and Igorots in the outskirts of Ilocos.\textsuperscript{10}

Royal directives, the pursuit of personal glory, and the hope for financial rewards motivated the Governor of Pangasinan, Captain Garcia de Aldana, to plan an invasion of the Cordillera in February, 1620, with 900 recruited Pangasinense and Ilocano soldiers and an almost equal number of porters and artisans. The porters were required in order to carry the food, supplies and other provisions, while the artisans were to be used later to build shafts for the gold mines. The 1,700 strong command, including some Dominican friars, left Aringay in March and a few days later reached the gold mines of Boa and Antamoc, in present-day Benguet. Along the route Aldana conferred with Igorot chieftains who rejected his demand for their religious conversion and vassalage to the Crown. Although Aldana appeared in control of the area, several of his native troops were beheaded by the Igorots after they wandered into the river one morning. He responded with a punitive campaign that forced the Igorots to ransom their lives for 130 pesos of gold. By this time, Aldana had become preoccupied with using his troops to enforce submission of the Igorots, rather than to explore the mines. But with dwindling provisions and the onset of the rainy season, Aldana ended the expedition. Once again the expenditures were far greater than the small profits obtained from the gold mines. Compared to the earlier attempts, the Aldana expedition made some headway since it had actually reached the mines, creating an expectation of future success.

\textsuperscript{10} Cedulario, 1636-1649, pag. 256b-257b. The award recognized the efforts of Capt Alonso Soliguen and his grandfather and father, both in the Crown service, in pacifying the Tinguianes and Igorots.
RECEIVED AS FOLLOWS
Map 4: Northern Luzon
Source: Jose P. Algue, S.J.
*Atlas of the Philippines*, ca. 1900
Aldana’s successor, Sergeant Major Antonio Carreno de Valdez, spearheaded another expedition in 1623 consisting of conscripted Ilocanos and Pangasinenses. It was a larger and better provisioned army that departed during the rainy month of July. Following the path of Aldana, Carreno’s expedition pitched camp in the Antamoc-Itogon minefields and the artisans and miners started exploring the area. Carreno, brimming with enthusiasm, prematurely reported that they had taken over the mines, unaware that the Igorots were merely biding their time and waiting for the right moment to launch an attack. The opportunity came in November when the invaders had already used up much of their provisions and the constant rains had rendered their guns inoperative. The Igorots struck and a wounded Carreno was forced to withdraw his men from the mines to avoid further casualties.

Despite these setbacks, the colonial government was not about to give up. Alonso Martin Quirante replaced Carreno and he was ordered to return to the mines and secure the area. An astute military officer, Quirante believed that timing and preparation was the essence of success and so he waited for the dry season the following year. Meanwhile, he collected provisions and drafted Ilocanos and Pangasinenses as troops, artisans and porters. By February 14 he had raised a force of 1,903, consisting of seventy Spanish officers and soldiers; fourteen hired soldiers (extravagantes), possibly Europeans; two sailors one of whom was a miner; two Japanese miners; an armorer, clerk and notary; eleven Aeta slaves; nine indio convicts; forty-seven Chinese carpenters, smiths and sawyers; and 1,748 troops consisting of 893 Ilocanos in twelve companies and
855 Pangasinenses in ten companies. The expedition began on the 17th of the month when, as part of his military strategy, he ordered advance troops to clear the paths for the main force. Following the same path as the previous campaigns, they hiked trails, crossed streams and climbed one mountain after another. On the 26th, they reached the Galan mines, which they reported to have more substantial gold deposits than those at Boa and Antamoc. He made his camp and reconnoitered a thirty-kilometer radius encompassing four mines, while his artisans and miners started examining the ground for ore samples. Although he sent feelers to the Igorots seeking their surrender, Quirante did not waste his resources pursuing and fighting them. For the next month his artisans and laborers dug and extracted gold ores and panned gold from the gravel of the streambeds. To replenish his provisions and acquire fresh troops, Quirante sent home on March 24 all but 120 of his troops with orders for a reinforcement of another 400 Pangasinenses and 100 Ilocanos by mid May. On May 27, 760 Ilocanos arrived as replacement for the deserters and those already sent home, but it was for naught. Three days after their arrival, the mines were closed due to disappointing results. The expedition then headed back to Ilocos with only 4,600 kilograms of gold ore in 400 baskets.

After this last attempt the consensus in Manila was to end these campaigns that had so far proved extraordinarily costly and bore unimpressive results. In addition, there was increasing pressure to terminate the expeditions and end the continuous conscription of Ilocanos and Pangasinenses. The campaigns proved disastrous, not only in terms of desertions and casualties but because agricultural production of the two provinces

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declined enormously due to neglected fields resulting in food shortages. While the Spaniards believed there were insufficient gold deposits to operate the mines profitably, Igorots in Ilocos and Pangasinan continued their trade in gold. Only in the twentieth century did Baguio and Benguet mines prove their worth when large-scale and more advanced mining techniques allowed mining at far greater depth than was possible under the Spaniards.\textsuperscript{12}

On the whole the expeditions had a major impact on the life of the Ilocanos and their relations with the Igorots. Except for a few dozen Spanish officers and soldiers, the bulk of the colonial army and the support group of guides, miners, artisans, and porters were Ilocanos and Pangasinenses. Because of the nature of the expeditions, enmities were created between them and the Igorots. The Igorots fiercely defended their territory and inflicted large casualties among the Spaniards and lowlanders. Seasoned, fearless and skilled warriors, the Igorots used hit and run tactics and innovative battle techniques to outwit and defeat their enemies. They set up traps of sharp-pointed bamboo along the paths, blockaded mountain passes and defended their positions by hurling down huge logs and rocks. They also launched surprise attacks using pointed bamboo spears, large knives and wooden shields. With their reputation as headhunters, they were greatly feared among their enemies, prompting a Spaniard to comment that “whenever they kill anyone, scarcely has he fallen before his head is cut off.”\textsuperscript{13} Oftentimes, the Igorots feigned friendship by initially welcoming the colonial troops only to swoop on them later once fatigue had set in and supplies depleted. The expeditions required steady

\textsuperscript{12} Scott, \textit{The Discovery of the Igorots}, 37.
\textsuperscript{13} Quirante, “Expedition to the Mines of the Igorrotes,” 273.
reinforcements, which resulted in hundreds of Ilocanos and Pangasinenses being drafted. In addition to replacing the numerous casualties, fresh troops were also needed to counterbalance the high incidence of desertion due to the harsh living and working conditions in the Cordillera.

Even if one survived the Igorot attacks, there was a further danger in working in the gold mines. The miners and artisans had to explore the abandoned mines of the Igorots that usually consisted of tunnels with multiple shafts. Because of the temporary, improvised nature of the structures, cave-ins were frequent and often cost the lives of miners. Moreover, mining was a tedious process which involved extracting ores from the veins for sampling and assaying using quite primitive techniques. An expedition could last for months, subjecting the lowlanders to prolonged exposure to the harsh environment of the Cordillera with its bitter cold climate, violent thunderstorms in the rainy season, and attacks by ferocious animals.

It was to avoid military draft through polo that Ilocanos welcomed other labor arrangements, primarily to be reserva for the church or estancias. But it was the Church that chose its own personnel, such as sacristan (acolyte), cantores (choir) and servants. Moreover, the Church and the estancias could only absorb limited reservas. In some cases labor assigned to estancias even included vagamundos in order to ensure that they were productive and were enlisted in the tribute registers. In short most of the kailianes could not escape conscription either as colonial soldiers, artisans or porters. For those unfortunate enough to be conscripted for service in the Cordillera, the only realistic option was desertion. Military conscription had become a sad fact of life for the kailianes.
as attested by the folk song entitled "The Ballad of the Lost Brother"\textsuperscript{14}. It originated in the Spanish period and was passed down through generations as part of Ilocano and Igorot tradition. The Igorots apparently also sing it but with a more brisk tempo. This ballad captures the sentiments of the families of soldiers left behind:

\begin{quote}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Marba koma diay bantay} & Would that the mountains crumble \\
\textit{Ta magaboran dediay baybay} & So as to cover the sea \\
\textit{Bareng makitak pay} & That I may walk over it \\
\textit{Ni manongko ni dipay natay} & To find my brother if he's not yet dead \\
\textit{Kaasi pay ni manongko} & Pitiful fate befell my brother \\
\textit{Ta naayaban nga agsoldado} & Since he was conscripted \\
\textit{Napang nagehersisio} & And gone for military drills \\
\textit{Diay parangan ti palasio} & In the front yard of the palace
\end{tabular}
\end{quote}

The Cordillera was regarded as a major obstacle which divided the Ilocos region and separated brother from brother. The first stanza suggests that the brother had either perished in the war against the Igorots or had deserted and had now made the formidable mountains his refuge. The second stanza captures the wretched fate of a brother and many other Ilocanos who were forcibly drafted for military service.

The wars against the Igorots also imposed a heavy burden not only on the \textit{polistas} and their families but also on the Ilocano and Pangasinan communities. They had to supply provisions, particularly cotton blankets and rice, for which they probably received little or no compensation. Whenever men were drafted for \textit{polo}, fields were neglected causing hardship in the community. In the 1583 expedition, Pampangan \textit{polistas} were transported to Ilocos, and then to the Cordillera at the onset of the planting season. Because only part of the fields had been sowed, the harvest was small and caused a

famine in the following year. In the town of Lubao alone there were a thousand deaths. The conscription of *kailianes* in Ilocos hampered rice and cotton production resulting in scarcity within the province.

An unfortunate consequence of the wars against the Igorots was the undermining of a previously relatively harmonious relationship between the lowlands and the uplands. As siblings descended from a common ancestor, Angalo, the Igorots and the Christian lowlanders or Ilocanos were regarded as only being separated by geography. The coming of the Spaniards and their colonial policies pitted the Ilocanos against previously friendly communities. With the Ilocanos actively supporting and participating alongside the Spaniards in these wars, the Igorots came to view them as enemies threatening their independence and territorial integrity. Thus, while the colonial authorities justified the wars against the Igorots as necessary to maintain peace and security in the Ilocos against Igorot attacks, they alienated and angered the Igorots, who sought vengeance by intensifying their lowland raids. Between 1600 and 1620, twenty-five Christian lowlanders from Mangaldan, Pangasinan, were killed, and another sixteen from Agoo suffered the same fate in retaliation for the death of an Igorot tribesman. Writing a century later the Augustinian historian Antonio Mozo described a badly deteriorated situation in which Ilocano farmers “sowed and reaped with the sickle in one hand and weapon in the other”, while others served as armed guards and watchmen using drums to

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15 Domingo de Salazar, “Affairs in the Philippine Islands,” 212.
signal danger. The role of the Ilocanos as conscripted soldiers, porters, and miners in the Spanish expeditions had led to the destruction of the goodwill established in earlier centuries between the Ilocanos and the Igorots. A major factor preventing an amelioration of the relationship was religion.

Search for Igorot and Tinguian Souls and the Ilocano Involvement

Due to mounting expenditures and disappointing results, the Crown gave up its objective of exploiting the Igorot gold mines to prop up the royal treasury. But the friars, unrelenting in their desire to convert the upland infidels, continued to pressure the Crown to live up to its spiritual obligation instead of focusing on material motives. This was the context behind the 1667-1668 military campaign. It differed from the previous ones in being the first to explicitly state that its mission was to attract the Igorots into the colonial fold and to facilitate their conversion to Christianity. In denying that it was once again after the gold mines, the royal instruction stated that “even if they should find the mines of gold they should give no evidence of valuing them nor look for them because it should not appear that they came with any other goal than that of reducing [the Igorot] souls to God....” This military campaign differed from the others in that the Ilocanos and other lowlanders were now to assist in the conversion of the mountaineers. It was a role that was in contravention of the provisions of polo that required conscription only for projects of military nature.

18 Antonio Mozo, Misiones de Philippinas de las Orden de nuestro Padre San Agustin: Noticia historico-natural de los gloriosos Triunfos y felices Adelantamientos conseguidos en el presente Siglo por los Religiosos del Orden de N.P.S. Agustin en las Misiones que tienen a su Cargo en las Islas Philipinas, y en el Grande Imperio de la China (Madrid, 1763), 63.
19 Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 191.
The decision to launch this expedition came when an Igorot chieftain involved in feuds with the other chieftains, offered to guide the colonial troops to the mines. A contingent of 2,000 Ilocano, Pangasinense and Pampangan troops was quickly drafted to join about 100 Spanish soldiers under the command of Pedro Duran de Monforte, a veteran conquistador of Mindanao. It departed in early 1667 from Tagudin, Ilocos Sur, and headed toward the Tagudin-Kayan trade route that had not been previously explored by the Spaniards. Its initial stop was the Igorot settlements of Kayan and Lubon, in present-day Mountain Province, where the lowland troops were instructed to build a camp. Monforte immediately proceeded to convince the Igorots, many of whom had hidden themselves upon the arrival of the Spaniards, to recognize the Crown and pay tribute, a practice reminiscent of the raids conducted on the lowlands almost a century before. Meanwhile, the three Augustinian friars from Ilocos started enticing the Igorots to the new faith. After several months of missionary work, the Igorots appeared to have accepted Spanish presence. By this time Monforte had his troops spread out to search for mines to the south of Kayan, in the direction of Baguio and Benguet. Upon locating seven mines in the Mankayan-Suyoc region, the original purpose of the mission was conveniently forgotten. Despite the royal disclaimer, the greed for gold had resurfaced and the expedition had become a search for gold mines. By June of 1667, Monforte sent word to Ilocos for more provisions and an expert surveyor. The investigation of the mines, which dragged on until the next rainy season of 1668, was disappointing, with the

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20 The Duran de Monforte expedition is discussed in Casimiro Diaz, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: la Temporal por las Armas de Nuestros catholicos Reyes e España y la Espiritual por los Religiosos e N.G.P.S. Agustin, 2 vols. (MS Manila, 1718; Valladolid, 1890), 2: 70-72; de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 128. A contemporary account is Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 60-62.
assays collected yielding negative results, due to the incompetence of the assayers and the ineffectiveness of the mining tools and techniques. Two years into the expedition the resources were exhausted, and many of the lowland troops succumbed to various diseases and from the cold, bitter climate and lack of adequate food and other provisions. The Igorots, who had been waiting for an opportune time to strike, finally attacked and encountered no resistance since the severely decimated and weakened troops willingly abandoned the mines to head back to Ilocos.  

It took another one hundred years after Monforte before an organized, large-scale, military expedition returned again to the Cordillera. Despite its failure to exploit the gold mines, the Monforte expedition was partly successful in introducing Christianity to the Igorots, some of whom were persuaded to resettle in the lowlands when the campaign ended. The lowland recruits were also enlisted in spreading the Christian message, either as interpreters or as models of religious converts. This was a new role forced upon the Ilocanos, which created a greater gulf between them and the Igorots. Instead of the Crown, it was now the Church led by the aggressive Augustinians and Dominicans that took up the challenge of converting the Igorots. Their efforts were individual, modest in scale, and with only limited success. They received minimal assistance from the Crown, despite its obligations under the patronato real or royal patronage where the Crown financed missionary activities in return for the right of the King to choose the ecclesiastical personnel in the colony. At best, the friars received an annual stipend of one hundred pesos each, one hundred cavan of husked rice and a six-man escort, each of

\[21\] Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 61.
whom was given a one peso monthly wage and a food allowance of one cavan of rice. Many Augustinian friars assigned to Ilocos trekked the rugged terrain to set up temporary mission camps among the Tinguians and Igorots. From the other side of the mountain range, Dominicans based in Cagayan also climbed the more uneven and hazardous slopes in search of Igorot souls. Since the friars traveled with only a handful of barely-armed lowland escorts, the Igorots did not regard them as a threat to their well-being or their mines. In most cases the Igorots accepted the friars and allowed them to proselytize. In these missions the Ilocano escorts were guides, escorts, Christian examples, and even catechists or assistants in the religious instruction of the Igorots.

The earliest religious mission among the Igorots was in Tonglo, which in the mid-eighteenth century was a wealthy community of around 300 Igorots located in the mountain slopes of the present Benguet town of Tuba. Its wealth was derived from gold bought from the Igorots of the Benguet mines, which they refined slightly and exchanged in Ilocos for herds of cattle, cotton textiles, and silver currency. In March, 1755, Fr. Francisco Xavier de Cordoba arrived in Tonglo and started missionary work among the residents and the other Igorot villages in Benguet and Baguio. A few months later he was replaced by another Augustinian, Fr. Pedro de Vivar, who built a chapel and learned the local language since only five Tonglo residents knew Ilocano. With the onset of the rainy season the Ilocanos who had earlier agreed to come and serve as godfathers

22 Cedulario, 1755-1758, exp. 24, pag. 42-43; Cedulario, 1748-1764, exp. 108, pag. 170b-171.
23 Manuel Carrillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes Called Igorots, Tinguianes, Apayaos and Adanes, recently established in the Philippine Islands, in the mountains of the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasian, by the Fathers of our Patron Saint Augustine, of the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, by the Reverend Fray Manuel Carrillo, Provincial of the said Province and Founder of the said Missions,” (Madrid: Council of the Indies, 1756), in Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 241.
to the new Christians delayed their journey to await favorable weather. They finally came in September and Vivar started baptizing the Tonglo children. By the end of the year, Vivar claimed to have saved about seventy souls. Most were children afflicted with a skin disease who probably believed baptism had curative power. In October 1756, Vivar returned to Tonglo, eighteen months after the mission was founded, and sadly reported that not a single Christian convert had been made. The previously baptized adults may have become apostates, although some of them may have also gone to the lowlands in the outskirts of Ilocos to live as new Christians.

In these missions, the Igorots tolerated the presence of the friars and even listened to their preaching, but most refused the invitation to move to the lowlands and be regularly instructed on the Christian faith. Various reasons were provided for their rejection of lowland life: the hot weather, the presence of smallpox and other diseases, the absence of peace due to robberies and other crimes, and government demands such as tribute and forced labor. The memories of previous wars with the Spaniards and the lowlanders had also contributed to their distrust of the lowlands. Even trade was not much of an incentive to resettle in the Christian towns. Their commercial relations with the lowlands, despite the difficulties in dealing with corrupt colonial officials, had been for the most part profitable. Most Igorots saw little reason for moving to the lowlands since trade had already provided them with the only things they desired from that area: cotton textiles and domesticated animals.

25 Scott claims the skin disease was Red Blight. See Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 120; Scott, “Birth and Death of a Mission,” 811.
26 Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 31.
In contrast, the friars established a strong foothold among the Tinguians of Abra and the mountains of Ilocos Norte. The absence of gold deposits in the Abra Valley and the mountains bordering Ilocos Norte spared the Tinguians from the military campaigns and bloody wars that the Igorots of Baguio and Benguet had undergone. Colonial contact among the Tinguians was less violent and not as catastrophic. To protect the Christianized Ilocanos as well as to facilitate the conversion of the Tinguians, Spanish troops entered the valley of Abra in 1598 and established a garrison in Bangued. Meanwhile Augustinian friars led by Fr. Esteban Marin declared Bangued a cabecera while its neighboring village of Tayum, a half an hour walk from Bangued, became a visita.²⁷ Despite an intense spiritual campaign that saw a succession of Augustinians and later diocesan friars arriving among the Tinguians, fifty years later the Tinguians continued to adhere to their own religious ideas and refused to move to the lowlands.²⁸ There is a story that is told to underscore the Tinguians’ resistance to Christianity. A Tinguian man who was abandoned by his wife, begs her to return but to no avail. He therefore seeks the intercession of the friars. Every measure fails and so he finally decides to become a Christian and to give his sons a religious education. Getting word of her husband’s drastic intentions, the woman immediately returns to him simply to prevent her sons from being baptized.²⁹

Throughout the seventeenth century, diocesan priests based in Vigan maintained a visible presence in the Abra Valley despite its isolation. To reach it required a 14-hour trip upriver on the difficult and rocky Abra River using a bamboo raft that had to be

²⁷ Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 1: 67 and 75-77.
²⁹ Martinez de Zuniga, Status of the Filipinies in 1800, 401.
pulled and dragged by Ilocano polistas. Along this riverine route were Tinguians who lived in the broad floodplains along the banks of the river and regularly traveled to Vigan to sell firewood, rattan, wax, and an assortment of lumber. Although they recognized the Crown and in fact paid tribute and had state-appointed capitanes in their midst, they refused baptism. 30 It was to redeem their souls that a new mission parish, called San Diego, was established halfway from Vigan and Bangued in 1703.31 Although San Diego, now a village in modern-day Pidigan, was eventually abandoned, Bangued and Tayum became vibrant mission centers especially after the Ilocanos gradually began moving to the Abra Valley starting in the late eighteenth century. Ilocanos, in search of living space and lands to till, migrated to Abra since this valley boasted of some of the most fertile lands in the region.

The conversion of the Tinguians who resided in the mountains of Ilocos Norte during this period was unlike that of the Tinguians in Abra. Notwithstanding the Tinguian woman anecdote cited above, many Tinguians were eventually persuaded to resettle in the outskirts of Batac and the Laoag valley, though they continued to refuse to be baptized. A mid-eighteenth century account of Fr. Manuel Carillo, an Augustinian friar who founded missions among the Igorots and Tinguians, notes this feeling of ambivalence towards baptism and Christianity.

Although in the beginning they refused to present themselves to the fathers, after seeing their affability, their good treatment and their favors, these same would seek them out when they came down to the Christian towns, and have dealings with them without fear or reticence. The fathers then would propose to them that

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they receive baptism and become Christians, to which suggestions they showed indifference, neither accepting nor rejecting it....

Since missionaries worked either with the Igorots or the Tinguians but not both, sources normally do not compare their reaction towards Christianity. Only the Spanish writer Antonio Mozo drew this distinction. Writing in 1763, he claimed that the Tinguians were “sufficiently obstinate, but they are “more tractable” than the Igorots. He wrote this of the Tinguians:

They are more gentle and industrious, and maintain a much more civilized condition, because they have much intercourse with the Christians in whose vicinity they live; and for the same reason they are more open to the teachings of the religious. And although so far as concerns the acceptance of baptism they have continued very obstinate, for many years refusing to allow a religious to live among them, yet it has always been a very satisfactory harvest which annually has been gathered and united with the Christians....

Indeed over time the diligence and commitment of the friars eventually bore fruit as many Igorots and Tinguians resettled in the outskirts of Christian towns, along the mountain slopes of Ilocos and Pangasinan, to form rancherías or active missions. A 1760 Augustinian report identified the location of these rancherías and enumerates their Igorot and Tinguian population:

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32 Carrillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes Called Igorots, Tinguianes, Apayaos and Adanes”, 217.
33 Antonio Mozo, "Later Augustinian and Dominican Missions" in BR: 48: 68 and 83. This is taken from Antonio Mozo, Misiones de Filipinas de las Orden de nuestro Padre San Agustin: Noticia historico-natural de los gloriosos Triumphos y felices adelantamientos conseguidos en el presente siglo por los el Grande Imperio de la China (Madrid, 1763).
34 Ibid., 48: 57.
Table 4: Missions of Igorots and Tinguians Belonging to the Province of Ilocos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rancheria Or Towns</th>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>New Christians Of Both Sexes</th>
<th>Catechumens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village of Santiago</td>
<td>Tinguian</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village of San Agustin de Bana</td>
<td>Tinguian</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batac</td>
<td>Tinguian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narvacan</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candon</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangar</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namacpacan</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agoo</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aringay</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauan</td>
<td>Igorot</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magsingal</td>
<td>Tinguian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacarra</td>
<td>Apayao</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>605</strong></td>
<td><strong>426</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When taken together a total of 1,031 Igorots and Tinguians had relocated to Ilocos, 58% of whom were baptized while the remaining ones were catechumens or converts undergoing religious instruction. Bacarra was listed as hosting less than ten Apayaos, since missionary work on this upland group had barely started. It was Fr. Benito de Mesa Salazar, a native of Vigan, who initiated missionary work among them. It was an unpopular task as many resisted his efforts for fear that they would die upon being baptized. To assure them, he is said to have performed miracles in 1665, including the “resurrection of a dead child who died again after baptism, and the healing of a leper”. Stories about these miracles convinced the Apayaos, including a chief, to accept the faith.  

35 de los Reyes, 2: 127.

A century earlier, the Apayaos gained importance in Ilocos history when they joined the Ilocanos in the 1660-1661 Almasan rebellion in Laoag-Bacarra. They were
then called Calanasan, but the name Apayao, which must have come because they were inhabitants along the Apayao River, was later increasingly used to refer to them.

The above figures indicate that conversion among the Tinguians was far more successful than among the Igorots in the mid-eighteenth century, thus validating Mozo’s observation. In 1756, Don Jose Ignacio de Arzadun, a judge (oidor), came to Ilocos and wrote that there were 10,000 Tinguians residing in the different rancherías, who recognized the Crown, paid tribute, and had commercial relations with the Ilocanos. He added that the infidels outnumbered the Christians, who worshipped God, venerated the Church, revered the priests, used the Doctrina Christiana, and invoked Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ when necessary, such as when they needed rains for their ricefields. They were placed under the Alcalde Mayor of Ilocos but elected their own local officials. 36

Despite the initial aversion to town life, many Igorots and Tinguians eventually moved to the Christian towns. They were probably dissatisfied with living in the mountains, envied the conveniences of the Christians, and may have wanted to experience life in the lowlands. Others may have actually been transformed into genuine believers of Christianity after receiving religious instruction. Economic and political incentives made town life appealing. First, they were still allowed to live as a separate community in a rancheria. They were given vacant lands they could live on and cultivate near the mountain slopes or in the outskirts of Ilocano towns where they frequently visited and traded. An example was Candon which, despite only being founded in 1591, had become a center of Ilocano-Igorot trading and thus a logical site for the Igorot

36 Cedulario, 1748-1764, exp. 141, pag. 220-223.
rancherias of Sto. Tomas and San Augustin. On the other hand, Batac had good cultivable land and some Tinguians settled on the outskirts.

The available lands in Ilocos Norte became the site of Tinguian missions. The largest were San Agustin de Bana and Santiago founded in 1760 and 1762, respectively, and which later evolved into the new towns of Banna and Salsona, respectively.37 Situated near Dingras, Santiago hosted 352 newly-baptized Christians and another 200 catechumens organized in several rancherias under the spiritual supervision of the Augustinian friar Antonio Navarro. On the other hand, San Agustin de Bana, at least fifteen miles away from Santiago, had no resident missionary friar and was unfavorably located along several intersecting rivers that overflow and flood the area during the rainy season. Distance, location and the lack of a resident friar often resulted in neglect. Since Santiago de Bana could only attract 85 newly-baptized and 50 catechumen Tinguians, there were calls to either provide assistance to Fr. Navarro in attending to the needs of the Tinguians in San Augustin or to simply move its residents to Santiago.38

In addition to receiving lands, another incentive for Igorots and Tinguians to convert was the assurance of the Crown that they would be free from tribute, forced labor and personal service. Initially, in the seventeenth century, the Crown collected a token tribute from the Igorots in exchange for Crown recognition of their chieftains. It was modified later and the baptized Igorots were exempted from tribute for a ten-year period.

38 Cedulario, 1755-1760, exp. 62, pag. 368-369.
It was apparently an effective strategy for many converted for “fear of tribute.”  

This privilege was also extended to the Tinguians, who later claimed that the ten-year exemption was an inadequate incentive and demanded more. In their desire to increase the number of converts, the Augustinians endorsed a lifetime exemption that was granted by a royal decree in 1758. This exemption, however, was only granted to the baptized but not to his children and descendants, or those who resisted baptism and were merely contented to being catechumens.

In addition to those who converted to avail themselves of these incentives, there were also those who used the religion for other ends, such as to extricate themselves from trouble. Fr. Carrillo at one point doubted the sincerity of the Igorots who professed willingness to convert. He thought it was a ploy intended to recover their goods confiscated by the Alcalde-Mayor of Pangasinan, Manuel Arza, and to gain the release of their imprisoned kin. Other accounts also questioned the motives of the Igorots and suspected that they were using religion to mask their personal agenda. An eighteenth century French traveler, Guillaume Le Gentile, wrote that young Igorots periodically went to the lowlands, pretended to be interested in Christianity, but soon disappeared in the mountains once they attained what they came for. Fr. Carillo likewise advised caution in dealing with the Igorots because they would agree to whatever the friars would

39 Cedulario, 1748-1764, exp. 141, pag. 220-223.
40 “Order from the King to the Governor exempting the Tinguianes, Igorots and other pagans from paying tribute if they are converted,” in Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 205; Cedulario, 1748-1764, pag. 154-155b.
41 Carillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions of the Four Tribes,” 221.
say as long as they acquired what they wanted. And in most cases, business advantage was the major factor in an Igorot’s pretense of becoming Christian.

**Illicit Trade Between Ilocanos and Igorots**

Like many Chinese, the Igorots were encouraged to become Christians, even if only nominally, to gain economic benefits. There are no figures on the volume of trade between the highlands and lowlands since the Spaniards were unable to regulate the exchange. Commerce with overseas Chinese could be regulated and taxed since they tended to be seasonal and business transactions occurred in regulated harbors or ports along the coasts. Highland-lowland trade, on the other hand, was impossible to regulate and difficult to impose tariff duties because the Igorots descended all year round through various pathways and trails to various Christian towns bordering the Cordillera. Sometimes, they employed Christianized Igorots living in the outskirts of the towns to complete their business transaction with the lowlanders. Commerce between these two groups then was untaxed and, therefore, considered illicit. It was also unlawful because association of any kind between Christians and infidels was forbidden. This was based on the 1695 ordinance of Governor-General Fausto Cruzat that banned all Christians and vassals, under penalty of one hundred lashes and two years imprisonment, from dealing with, communicating and engaging in commerce with apostates, fugitives, Negritos and Igorots. Colonial authorities believed that by curtailing highland-lowland commerce the Igorots would be reduced to economic penury that would force them to submission. But despite the ban highland-lowland trade remained uninterrupted and lucrative.

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43 Carillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions of the Four Tribes,” 232.
44 Antolin, *Noticias de los Ynfieles Igorotes*, 197.
Antolin estimated that the gold trade alone amounted to P20,000 annually, while Le Gentile speculated that the total highland-lowland commerce amounted to $200,000 a year in coined silver.\footnote{Figures cited in Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 189.}

Since the western side of the Cordillera has gentler slopes cascading to the elongated, narrow coastal Ilocos, it was easier for the Igorots and Tinguians to descend the Ilocos side of the mountain range. The Ilocanos absorbed the bulk of the highland commerce because they were the only suppliers of woven cotton blankets and G-strings. Considered major trading towns were Tagudin and Bangar, at the mouth of the Amburayan River, and Vigan and Narvacan, where the Abra River flows out to the South China Sea. Historically, both Amburayan and Abra were major trade and communication conduits. Candon was another Igorot-frequented town, but its location, halfway between Narvacan and Tagudin, and its distance from the Abra and Amburayan, would appear to have been disincentives for traders. But Candon, which was created in 1591, had a long history of intimate ties with the Igorots of Bontoc (in present-day Mountain Province), that were established by the intermarriage of a scion of its most prominent \textit{babaknang} family, the Abayas, with the daughter of the founder of Tetepan, a village in Western Bontoc.\footnote{William Henry Scott, “The Legend of Biag, An Igorot Culture Hero” \textit{Asian Folklore Studies} 23: 1 (1964), 95.} Because of this strong link, people of Candon and Western Bontoc maintained a centuries-old trade network.

This close association between these two communities is reflected in the Igorot folk tales, where one of the characters is Biag, the seventeenth century founder and hero of Sagada, an Igorot settlement on the edge of Bontoc along the western shoulder of the
Cordillera. The legend talks of Biag and his four siblings’ trip to Candon from their homeland of Mabika, perhaps to trade and to see that their sister, Galay, was well-settled in Candon. Galay was apparently earlier baptized and became an Abaya, either by marriage to that family or by adopting his godparent’s surname, which was a common practice among Christianized Igorots. When the siblings left Galay and Candon, keepsakes were exchanged, with Galay receiving mementos such as beads and a belt, considered valuable items among the Igorots, and Biag acquiring a sawit-stone and blacksmith’s bellows. Biag, who went on and settled in Sagada, may be viewed as having introduced some lowland material culture, such as blacksmithing, although it was said that the Igorots had no use for bellows since they had their own indigenous technology for forging iron.

Writing in the second half of the eighteenth century, Antolin provides a lengthy account of Ilocano-Igorot commercial relations. Continuity seemed to be an apt characterization of highland-lowland trade ties from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The main trade item of the Igorots was gold. To determine its value, a balance or scale using weights placed in a little box was designed by the lowlands and sold to Igorots. According to Antolin, the use of this elaborate scale was clear evidence of the volume of traffic in gold. Although gold was the prime commodity, the Igorots also peddled knives, spears and iron tools that they crudely fashioned by heating the worn out plows and tools they had previously purchased from the Ilocanos. Antolin praised the

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47 Ibid., 96 and 109. Scott claims that the sawit-stone is used in wedding rituals while the bellows he described as “two upright wooden or bamboo cylinders whose pistons were ringed with chicken feathers so set as to collapse on the return stroke.”
48 Ibid., 105.
excellent workmanship of Igorots, who were good blacksmiths though they had no access to any iron mines. Minted silver functioned as a currency used by both Igorots and Ilocanos to purchase goods from each other.

In exchange for gold, the Ilocanos sold animals and cotton textiles. Pigs, followed by carabao, dogs, and horses, were the meats of choice for food and ritual feasting, called cañao. Cattle, which was a recent introduction to Ilocos, became a popular addition in the Igorot diet, and was the only new item of trade. It was customary for Igorots to buy hundreds of pigs and herds of cattle every year for personal consumption or to breed until a feast required that they be slaughtered. The Igorots also purchased cotton blankets and G-strings that were expensively priced, with the beautifully-sequined white blankets and G-strings being sold for as much as ten and five pesos, respectively. An indication of the high premium placed on Ilocano cotton goods was the reply of an Igorot woman being prodded by a Dominican friar to relocate to Cagayan. She replied that perhaps they would have been persuaded to come down and be baptized if the Ibanags made as many women’s skirts as Ilocanos.

Slaves constituted another precious commodity traded by both sides. A distinct social class in Igorot society, slaves were captured in inter-ethnic tribal wars and in periodic raids of Christian towns and forced to labor in the gold mines. Slavery persisted in Ilocano society even as late as the eighteenth century. Spain approved the enslaving of non-subjects or people of different race and religion, and so it was a legally recognized

49 Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 29.
50 Quoted in Scott, The Discovery of the Igorots, 96.
practice in the colony. The slaves in Ilocos were employed in the households of prominent babaknang and Spanish friars, and they required permission from their owners in order to marry. Intertribal warfare and raids among the Igorots themselves supplied many of the slaves to the lowlands in return for cash and other goods. But there were also lowlanders seized by Igorots. Fr. Vivar noted that while he was in Tonglo a fleeing Vigan family sought refuge in a nearby settlement. The Igorots had killed the father, the mother had been sold for twelve reales in Trinidad, Benguet, and a son had been exchanged for a few spearheads in Baguio, presumably to work in the mines. Upon learning of the presence of the friar in Tonglo, the woman had gone to Fr. Vivar to seek his assistance. After protracted negotiation with the owner, the friar was able to buy the runaway slave woman for twenty pesos, much lower than the original demand of fifty pesos. Antolin also provided evidence that Igorot women slaves were traded by other Igorots in Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya, for two carabaos. In neighboring Dupax, Isabela, he had baptized an Igorot girl sold for twenty pesos' worth of clothes and animals. These slave transactions were sanctioned by colonial authorities who justified such action because then these pagans could be baptized.

52 _Casamientos de esta partida de Vigan desde 1 de Noviembre 1645 anos hasta 9 de Febrero de 1659 anos and Cedulario, 1692-1696, pag. 28._
53 Scott, _The Discovery of the Igorots_, 139.
54 Scott, _Discovery of the Igorots_, 184.
55 Antolin, _Notices of Pagan Igorots_, 51.
The strength and persistence of highland-lowland commerce was directly correlated with the behavior of colonial authorities, which oscillated between tolerance and persecution. Colonial officials, both Spaniards and Filipinos and friars and civilians, tolerated the gold trade perhaps because they themselves were often involved either as bribe-takers or as speculators. One such example is the case of the alcalde mayor of Ilocos, Don Francisco Celdran, who was convicted of allowing infidel Chinese to engage in illegal commerce in the province.\(^57\) He was to be shipped back to Spain but it was deferred due to his advanced age and grave health. The royal decree, dated May 23, 1759, allowing Spanish provincial governors, or alcalde-mayores, to engage in commerce (indulto de comercio), tempted some officials to abuse the privilege. According to Comyn:

> Scarcely are they seated in the place of authority when they become the chief consumers, purchasers, and exporters of everything produced and manufactured within the districts under their command, thus converting their license to trade into a positive monopoly.\(^58\)

In his desire to engage in trade the alcalde oftentimes committed excesses. He seized the goods of the natives for personal gain; utilized polistas to cut trees in the forest and to build boats from the felled trees in order to transport his goods to Manila; and raised livestock in the outskirts of the towns using conscripted natives or inmates in jail to tend the animals.\(^59\)

A group that benefited from the trade with the highlands was the Ilocano officials who were recruited from the babaknang. Since traditionally the Igorots had traded with

\(^57\) Cedulario, 1748-1764, exp. 120, pag. 255-257.
\(^58\) Comyn, State o/the Philippines in 1810, 96.
\(^59\) O.D. Corpuz, An Economic History of the Philippines, 69; de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 164.
the babaknang, this relationship persisted into the colonial period. *Gobernadorcillos*, cabezas, and even friars were accused of loaning their money to babaknangs at a scandalously usurious rate in order for the latter to carry out their trade with the Igorots.\(^{60}\) Although some friars may not have been engaged in trading or money lending, they welcomed the Igorot traders since it was an opportunity to proselytize.

Colonial officials allowed and many even actively participated in the highland-lowland trade until it was stopped by the central government. But whenever the Spaniards tried to suppress this illegal trade, both Ilocanos and Igorots conducted their exchange at night, with the Igorots using alternative routes away from population centers.\(^{61}\) Meanwhile, diplomatic solutions were also pursued, with Igorot chieftains seeking the intercession of friars and writing petitions to colonial officials to request the resumption of trade relations. Despite the damage in Ilocano-Igorot relations caused by the participation of Ilocanos in Spanish raids in the Cordillera, trade persisted because exchange, particularly of basic necessities, was mutually needed and extremely profitable. Moreover, Igorots may have also realized that the Spaniards were only using the lowlands as pawns and in fact many Ilocanos would desert the army once an opportunity has presented itself.

One such incident that shows the persistence of the Igorots to engage in trade with the lowlands occurred in 1754 when the Governor of Pangasinan, Manuel de Arza, enforced a royal ordinance that prohibited commercial intercourse between the lowlands and Igorots. He confiscated the gold carried by Igorots, and prepared a military

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\(^{60}\) de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, 2: 164.

expedition of 2,000 lowland troops for the purpose of reducing the Igorots into submission.\textsuperscript{62} Several Igorot chieftains led by Lacaden presented Fr. Carrillo with a petition in Ilocano, an indication that this language was widely used in the region as the lingua franca. They requested three things in the petition: a missionary who would facilitate their conversion; the return of gold and other articles seized by the Governor; and the release of the Igorots imprisoned in Lingayen. The request for a missionary and the pledge of conversion appeared to be more of a strategy aimed at softening the heart of Carrillo and enlisting his support for their other requests. Since Carrillo recognized that it could merely be a ploy to retrieve their possessions, free their men, and halt Arza’s planned military campaign against them, he tested their sincerity by suggesting that they personally bring the petition to the attention of Governor-General Manuel de Arandia in Manila.

After twelve days of consulting with their people, the Igorot chieftains returned to Carrillo and agreed to go to Manila. Unfortunately, while passing through Lingayen, Arza seized them and ordered their return to the mountains. In their stead, he sent to Manila six Igorot catechumens, perhaps, according to Carrillo, to avoid any verbal appeal regarding the return of the confiscated gold and other goods. Upon arriving in Manila, the six Igorots appeared before Arandia and presented the petition. As a sign of goodwill and to encourage further Igorot recognition of the Crown, Arandia ordered Arza to suspend all expeditions to the Cordillera, to allow free commerce between the lowlands and the highlands, to release all Igorots being held captive, and to return all seized goods

\textsuperscript{62} Carillo, \textit{A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes}, 219.
from the Igorots. He then ordered the six Igorots to be baptized before his presence. With leading Manila citizens standing as godparents, the Igorots, who were clad in Spanish clothes, were baptized. Arandia, undoubtedly pleased with his accomplishment, kissed the hands of the new Christians. Their baptism, described by Carrillo as a grand spectacle, was intended to showcase the success of the Crown in pacifying the infidels. The entire affair was beneficial to both parties: both the Crown and Arandia were credited with the success of the Spanish enterprise in the Islands, and the Igorots were rewarded with the return of their confiscated goods and a resumption of commercial relations.

But the cordial relationship was short-lived. By 1756, there was a new royal order to reduce the pagans but by “metodos suaves y cristianos” (gentle and Christian means). Governor Arza, earlier frustrated by the successful Igorot petition to Arandia, saw this royal order as another opportunity to subdue the Igorots. Having successfully convinced Arandia of the necessity of using force against the Igorots and to assist the missionaries in their proselytizing efforts, Arza conscripted between 800 to 1,000 Pangasinenses and Ilocanos by 1758 for an expedition planned for the first half of the following year. The Pangasinan detachment under Arza departed from San Fabian on February at about the same time as the Ilocano detachment from Agoo. They were supposed to rendezvous and together invade Tonglo, the wealthy gold-trading Igorot village. But Arza encountered problems with stakes and traps laid by the Igorots along the Bued, the river which flows through Pangasinan. The Ilocano troops led by Captain

63 Ibid., 221-223. This order simply delayed Arza’s planned expedition that eventually occurred in 1759. 64 Isacio Rodriguez, Historia de la Provinciana agustiniana del Santisimo Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas, 3: 147; de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 168.
Antonio del Rosario attacked Tonglo but was repulsed by a well-planned ambuscade. An additional 1,375 Ilocanos and Pangasinenses under the command of the Arza’s nephew and namesake, Don Manuel de Arza y San Pelayo, were sent in March, 1759 and put Tonglo to the torch. The survivors of Tonglo escaped further into the Cordillera interior, and the plan to pursue them and carry the attacks deep in the recesses of Baguio and Benguet fizzled due to the high desertion rate among the lowland troops and the refusal of the Spanish officials to risk more casualties. Also, by this time the campaign had been reduced to gold exploration and the Mexican miners were busy collecting and assaying ore samples from areas that had already been subdued. 65

Although some Christianized Igorots of Tonglo accepted Arza’s offer to relocate to Guinitaban, located in the mountain slopes of the town of Agoo, and a ten year exemption from tribute in return for recognition of the Crown, most Igorots resisted the Spaniards. Those who accepted Christianity and relocated to the religious missions in the lowlands were probably motivated by the opportunity to trade freely with the Christian towns. In the eighteenth century, it was the Igorots residing in the frontiers with lowland towns or in the rancherias within the towns that conducted the most trade with the lowlands. They resented the interior Igorots who came down to trade, denied them free passage, and taxed every ounce of gold that passed through their hands. 66 Apparently, there was also some form of tacit agreement between those who remained in the mountains and those who accepted Christianity, with the latter acting as trade agents. It was not unusual then for the lowland goods to pass from person to person through as

65 Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 178-180.
66 Ibid., 184; Antolin, Notices of the Pagan Igorots, 41.
many as four middlemen before they reached the Igorots living in the innermost interior of the Cordillera. 67 Similarly, upland goods likely passed through several hands before reaching the Ilocanos. It appears that this trade arrangement evolved only during the Spanish period because in earlier times prominent Igorots themselves came down from the Cordillera to trade. The change may have occurred owing to the insistence of the Christianized Igorots or Igorot catechumens living in the rancherías in the lowlands to participate in this trade. Upland-lowland trade was largely unregulated, and so there would have been few obstacles in the way of Christianized Igorots wishing to participate as middlemen. In the absence of sources it is difficult to pinpoint any role of the Chinese in this trade. But the fact that the babaknangs denounced the many Chinese in Vigan as shrewd businessmen and moneylenders may indicate that the Chinese would have found some way of participating in this lucrative exchange network.

Sometimes the highland-lowland commerce was disrupted by misunderstandings and even conflicts, but the mutual profits to be made were high enough to force each side to reach some accommodation quickly. A peace pact, or budong, was an indigenous crisis management and negotiation strategy common among the Igorots, particularly the Kalingas and Bontoks. It aimed at resolving a political standoff among various ethnic groups in the Cordillera. 68 Normally, it was invoked to avert further bloodshed, reconcile

67 Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 184.

opposing sides, and to restore old relations.\textsuperscript{69} Despite the colonial order and the predilection of the Spaniards to end conflicts through military force, peace pacts remained the only satisfactory option available to the Igorots and their lowland neighbors. Even the Spaniards eventually came to recognize these peace pacts since they also benefited from the arrangement. It allowed the missionaries to penetrate the Cordillera with relative security.\textsuperscript{70} Thus, they sanctioned peace pacts as can be gleaned from an examination of the Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820, which also sheds light on the complexity of upland-lowland relations.\textsuperscript{71}

The pact was aimed at restoring the highland-lowland trade that was disrupted three years before by the death in Tagudin of an Igorot named Lambino, and the retaliatory killing of an Ilocano from Bangar. Contrary to the explanation of those from Tagudin that Lambino had died as a result of some disease, the Igorots believed he had succumbed to wounds obtained in a fight with the lowlanders. This unfortunate incident shattered the peace between the Ilocano towns of Tagudin and Bangar, and the Igorots of Bacong, Kayan, Cagubatan and other settlements of present-day Kalinga. Trade arrangements between the two groups were suspended, and the situation deteriorated and led to fighting.

To put an end to hostile relations, a peace pact was negotiated in 1820 between the past and present cabeza\textsuperscript{s} of Bangar and Tagudin and the Kalinga chieftains of Bacong, Kayan and Cagubatan, a total of sixty signatories. Since the Igorot chieftains

\textsuperscript{69} Among the Bontoks, a budong means that "all accounts of blood vengeance are settled between the two regions and that there is mutual agreement to maintain peace henceforth." See Barton, \textit{The Kalingas}, 185.

\textsuperscript{70} Scott, "Spanish Attempts to Reduce the Igorots, 1700-1760," \textit{Solidarity} 7:10 (October 1972): 53.

paid recognition fees to the Crown, they were all considered King’s subjects. The agreement was therefore duly witnessed by the friars, Fr. Francisco Hernandez and Fr. Manuel Gonzales, and the gobernadorcillos, Don Agustin de Valencia and Don Simon de los Reyes, of Bangar and Tagudin. Five copies of the documents were drawn up, one each for the two towns, another one for the Igorots, and the final two for the friars of the two towns.

According to Scott and Flanmeygh, Kalinga peace pacts identified the names of the parties concerned, the boundaries of their jurisdictions, and a brief code of laws covering murder, wounding, theft, hospitality and sexual misconduct. All these provisions were contained in the 1820 Peace Pact except for sexual misconduct.72 Despite their denial of culpability for Lambino’s death, the Tagudinos, in their desire to insure safe and free travel and to lure the Igorots back to their town, agreed to pay his relatives fifty pesos and another thirty pesos for the cost of the goods. The restitution, all in textiles and other lowland items, was to be handed to Agustin Decdec, the Igorot chieftain and signatory who claimed jurisdiction over twenty-seven Igorot communities. With their differences settled, both sides pledged to live in peace and respect law and order.

Besides resolving a three-year conflict, the peace pact laid down certain rules and guidelines that would regulate the behavior between Ilocanos and Igorots. First, the boundary between Bangar, Tagudin and the Igorot lands was identified as the place called Sagat along the Amburayan River. The delineated boundary was an arbitrary colonial imposition deemed necessary to establish jurisdictions for crimes committed.

72 Ibid., 150.
colonial state deemed it necessary to institute control through demarcation of boundaries, from the territorial borders of the state itself down to the smallest administrative unit. In this way it was able to settle jurisdictional disputes, impose Western concepts of legalities, and systematize the collection of taxes and the organization of labor.

The pact noted that if a visitor died of wounds inflicted at a particular place, that settlement would be liable to pay fifty pesos compensation to the relatives of the deceased. Death would also automatically merit legal action to avert the outbreak of fighting. Second, the agreement also called for both sides to establish their own patrols to police their town or area and prevent thieves from transporting stolen animals and goods upstream along the Amburayan River. Third, residents of Tagudin and Bangar also agreed not to welcome undesirable visitors, or face the punishment of twenty-five lashes at the whipping post. For their part the Igorots promised that they would not receive thieves and unlicensed peddlers in their territory nor hide stolen animals and goods. The penalty for concealing stolen goods would be a fine twice the value of the goods. As a concession to colonial authorities, the Igorots also pledged not to welcome apostate Christians or fleeing lowlanders. Their failure to apprehend these remontados and to turn them over to colonial authorities would result in a fine of thirty pesos.

73 Flogging was a popular corporal punishment during the Spanish period and was conducted in the town plaza were the piccota or whipping post was located. Whipping the individual along the streets was also practiced. Scott argues that flogging was an effective instrument of control since, in addition to the friars, those who ordered flogging were the local gobernadorcillos and cabezas, thus they were also the objects of indio resentment. See William Henry Scott, "The Colonial Whip: A Filipino Response to Flogging in 1835," in Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays, 158-160.

74 The "unlicensed peddlers" was Scott and Flanneygh's translation of the Spanish word extraviadores. They contend that in the nineteenth century, the extraviadores were "shysters" or "embezzlers" who defrauded ignorant customers.
Finally, it defined the treatment that must be accorded to Igorot traders in the two towns. They were to be hosted in the houses of prominent, wealthy babaknangs to insure their well-being and the safety of their goods. This 1820 Peace Pact, like the successful 1754 Igorot petition to Carillo and Arandia, demonstrates the extent to which the Ilocanos and Igorots would go to insure the continuation of the lucrative highland-lowland commerce.

**Christianity and Evolving Identity: Antiguo Christiano and Bago Christiano**

There were other facets to highland-lowland relations besides trade. The Ilocanos played a crucial role in the acculturation of Igorots and Tinguians to lowland life. Due to the scarcity of missionary friars, religious instruction in the rancherías was oftentimes entrusted to catechists or ministers of doctrine (ministros de doctrina) who were normally old married Christian Ilocano men. They instructed the Igorot and Tinguian men and women on religious tenets, prepared them for admission to the Christian community, and later stood as sponsors or godparents at their baptism. As an incentive for working closely with their wards and performing these tasks the Ilocano catechists received a small compensation from the friars.

Many Tinguians and Igorots were content to remain catechumens and purposely avoided baptism. In fact, among the instructions given to newly assigned friars in Ilocos was to persevere and use all forms of pressure to convince the Tinguians residing in the towns to practice Christianity and accept baptism. These strategies ranged from amiable means to gain their goodwill such as regularly visiting them, to outright threats, such as

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75 *Cedulario*, 1696-1705, exp. 25a, pag. 76.

76 Carrillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes,” 239 and 241.
removing them from office, prohibiting their participation in all trade and commerce, and depriving them of their fields.\textsuperscript{77}

The reason that many were disinclined towards baptism can be gleaned from this story of an Igorot, who frequently traded in the lowlands, attended church services and in the process learned the prayers by heart. He was invited to receive baptism, but he declined and explained that it would mean abandoning his people, giving up his lifestyle and settling in the lowlands.\textsuperscript{78} Although, some eventually moved to the lowlands and became catechumens, baptism was still rejected since many believed that this was the ultimate act of accepting the new faith and thus would incur retribution from Kabunian, their almighty god. Eventually, the Igorots, like the Ilocanos, were able to reconcile their old faith with the new religion by incorporating their indigenous beliefs within Christianity. A study of the twentieth century Christianized Igorots living in Pugo, La Union, which prior to 1854 was part of Ilocos, noted that they still believed in divination, incantation, and taboos of their forefathers, and they associated God with Kabunian and Jesus Christ with Lumawig.\textsuperscript{79}

Baptism was a symbolic ritual not only to mark the passage to Christianity, but also to repudiate the past and assume a new identity. It prescribed a pattern of behavior between the godparent, the Ilocano, and the godchild, the Igorot or Tinguian. The godparents are like second parents who assume the responsibility of rearing their godchild, and part of their moral obligation is guiding, even parenting, their ward. As

\textsuperscript{77} Thomas Ortiz, Practical del Ministerio que siguen los Religiosos del Orden de N.P.C. Agustin en Filipinas (1731). Quoted in Scott, “Spanish Attempts to Reduce the Igorots: 1700-1760,” 56.
\textsuperscript{78} Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 19.
such, the role of the Ilocanos as godparents went beyond providing religious
instruction and serving as baptism sponsors; it encompassed the responsibility of
extending assistance to the Igorots as they shed their traditional, “barbaric” ways in favor
of lowland “civilized” and therefore acceptable behavior. The Ilocanos taught them how
to cultivate sugarcane and cotton. To highlight the lifestyle transformation of the Igorots,
Carillo described the Igorots in Bacnotan as “living very contentedly because of the good
water supply and the beautiful land.”

With the Ilocanos acting as parents in educating the Igorots in “civil and political life,” Carrillo noted how the Igorots in the rancherias of
Agoo, Bangar and Tagudin were doing “things like the other natives of Ilocos.”

They had come to appreciate lowland life. Even after a smallpox epidemic struck Luzon in
1756 and hit the Ilocos area particularly hard, killing an estimated 14,000 people in
Augustinian-administered provinces, the Igorots remained steadfast in their faith.

Carrillo therefore claimed that they would rather die Christians in the towns than live as
pagans in the mountains. The reason they did not flee to the mountains may also be due
to the practice of upland Igorots protecting themselves from the spread of smallpox by
preventing traffic with the lowlands at all costs.

Mobilizing the Christian lowlanders to facilitate the conversion of the Igorots was
also employed in other neighboring provinces. In Nueva Vizcaya, the friars dispatched
lowland Christians on two-week stints for eighteen months in 1777-1778 to assist the

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80 Carrillo, A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes,” 239.
81 Manuel Carrillo, “A Brief and True Account of the Progress of the Newly Founded Missions of the
Augustinian Fathers to the Igorots, Tinguianes, Apayaos and Adanes in the Mountains of Pangasinan and
Ilocos in the Philippine Islands” (Madrid, 1760), 46.
82 Ilocos registered high number of deaths in the months of April, May and June of 1756. See Libro de
Entierros de Vigan desde enero 1752 hasta junio 1756.
83 Carrillo, “A Brief and True Account of the Progress of the Newly Founded Missions of the Augustinian
Fathers,” 43-44.
Igorots in settling down. They helped the Igorots in constructing temporary houses and granaries, cultivating fields, providing them with decent clothing, and even supporting them until their first harvest. As a result of these developments, the Igorot or Tinguian rancherias entered into a relationship of dependency with the nearest Ilocano towns.

In many ways the introduction of Christianity with its various rituals strengthened the traditional bond between the Ilocanos and Igorots. But it had also created a rupture inasmuch as Christians under the Spanish colonial order were accorded a higher status than non-Christians. Moreover, the godparent-godchild relationship of the Ilocanos to the Igorots is hierarchical and implies power and dominance of the former over the latter. An Igorot or Tinguian who rejected Christianity was perceived as an infidel, as wild and “uncivilized,” and was pejoratively called infieles or pagano (pagan). Yet even if a Tinguian or Igorot embraced Christianity and settled in the lowlands, he was still viewed as backward and inferior, a second-class citizen compared to the Ilocanos, who had a better grasp of the Catholic faith and was further advanced in Spanish ways.

Although inequality due to Christianity marked Ilocano-Igorot relations, conversion and resettlement in the lowlands remained attractive to some Igorots since they received privileges such as labor and tax exemption. Some have also tasted and preferred the amenities of lowland life which they may have associated with privileges. Furthermore, Christianized Igorots assumed a new role as trade intermediaries between Ilocanos and Igorots.

84 Julian Malumbres, Historia de Nueva Vizcaya y Provincia Montanosa (Manila, 1919), 80-81.
On the other hand, despite a heightening of tensions, trade ties between Ilocanos and Igorots persisted in the eighteenth century since it had become more lucrative than ever. The imposition of the tobacco monopoly prohibited Ilocanos from growing this crop.85 Thus, they relied on the Igorots to supply them with cheaper and better tobacco which the latter learned to grow in the Cordilleras.

Colonialism had redefined the traditional markers of “civilized” life to include acceptance of Christianity, residence in pueblos or towns, membership in the colonial order, facility with Spanish or the Ilocano language, and being fully clothed, preferably in Spanish attire. Carrillo reported that in the first year in Ilocos, the Christianized Tinguian and Igorot learned Ilocano since religious instruction was conducted in this language.86 Knowledge of Ilocano was needed not only for religious purposes but, more importantly, to survive in Ilocos since this was the lingua franca in everyday life. Besides language acquisition, Igorots and Tinguians also had to shed their G-strings, cover their nakedness, and adopt the Ilocano mode of dress. A 1743 ordinance barred Igorot women without a proper skirt and blouse and men without breeches from entering Christian towns. Those ignoring the ordinance were meted a punishment of fifty lashes.87 Although still dressed in G-string when working the fields, the Igorots did not wear it in public. The men donned the camisa del chino, a collarless-long sleeved shirt introduced by the Chinese and later adopted by the indios, and the women wore cotton skirts with tapiz and blouse;

85 The tobacco monopoly is expounded in chapter 5 of this study.
86 Carrillo, “A Brief and True Account of the Progress of the Newly Founded Missions,” 42.
87 Arzadun, “Description de la provincia de Ilocos” in Visita a las Provincias de Cagayan, Ilocos, Pangasinan y Pampanga por el Don Joseph Ignacio de Arzadun y Revolledo (1794), Ayer Collection, Newberry Library (Leitz Calendar No. 75), sec. 53.
both went barefooted. But the Igorot chieftains dressed differently befitting their status. When the six Igorot chieftains baptized in Manila returned to Pangasinan, they were clothed in Spanish style and held canes signifying their new colonial titles. Although the sources do not identify their rank, it was possibly cabeza or gobernadorcillo. For the Igorot chieftains, embracing Christianity conferred upon them added stature as colonial agents to their people.

Baptism accorded the Igorot and Tinguian membership in the “civilized” Christian community. This was reaffirmed by learning Ilocano, shedding their G-string in favor of cotton clothes, and living within the “sound of the church bells.” Still, it was a qualified acceptance, and they remained distinct and “inferior.” Ilocanos began calling themselves “antiguo Christiano” (old Christians) to distinguish them from Christianized Igorots and Tinguians, whom they condescending called “bago Christiano” or “nuevo Christiano” (new Christians). Bago, which means “new” in Ilocano, came to refer to these new Christian converts who, with their acceptance of Christianity, also adopted the lowland way of life. But the Tinguians and Igorots also wanted to distinguish themselves from the Ilocanos, and so the “bago” appellation may have also served their purpose. A more satisfactory solution came in the twentieth century when many of the new Christians embraced Protestantism, which ensured their acceptance and political participation, yet highlighted their cultural distinction.

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88 Basco, “Two Bago Villages,” 65.
89 Carrillo, “A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes,” 227.
90 Raul Pertierra, Religion, Politics and Rationality in a Philippine Community (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1988), 20.
The “Bago” designation given to Christianized Tinguians and Igorots was indicative of the existence of ethnic animosity between them and the Ilocanos. Not all Ilocanos welcomed and supported the relocation of the Igorots to the lowlands. As a 1760 account noted, there were old Christians who impeded the good education of the new Christians and the conversion of the infidels (“Pero porque delos Christiano antiguos hay muchos que impiden la buena educacion de los nuevos, y la combercion de los infieles”)91. Ilocano hostility towards the Christian Igorots and Tinguians may have stemmed from the “rewards” of conversion. To the dismay of the Ilocanos, the new converts now occupied Ilocano territory, cultivated Ilocano fields, and enjoyed exclusive privileges, foremost of which was a lifetime exemption from taxes, forced labor, and personal services. From the perspective of the Ilocanos their resentment was well-founded since they were the initial loyal subjects and converts who had even assisted in the pacification of their upland neighbors. Yet they were discriminated against and compelled to pay tribute and render labor services. In 1743, Tinguians complained that the Ilocano gobernadorcillo had forced them to cut wood and bamboo and to perform other services. In response the Crown ruled that they should be compensated and the official punished with one hundred lashes.92 There were also anti-Igorot sentiments on the Cagayan side of the Cordillera. For instance, the Ibanags were believed to be preventing the conversion of the Igorots so they would not lose their trade monopoly with them. Even those employed as colonial soldiers were accused of hindering the

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91 Cedulario, 1755-1760, exp. 62, pag. 369.
92 Arzadun, “Description de la provincia de Ilocos,” sec. 53.
pacification of the Igorots since it could mean their disbandment. With Ilocano regiments in the colonial army, the illicit trade between the Ilocanos and Igorots proved to be even more profitable than that between the Ibanag and Igorot. It would appear that the observation of the role of soldiers in Cagayan hindering the pacification of the Igorots may have also applied to those in the other Ilocano areas.

There was also anti-Ilocano sentiment on the part of the Tinguians and Igorots. Although Ilocano catechists facilitated their conversion, the Igorots were skeptical of the efficacy and capability of the Ilocanos as religious mediators. Some regarded the Ilocanos as incompetent and at best only poor substitutes for the Spanish missionaries. In one incident two sick Igorot children were taken to Agoo for baptism. In spite of the absence of the Spanish friar, the Igorots rejected the services of the Ilocano catechists. They argued that “the Padre knows how to talk to God, but not you [the Ilocano], and God hears the Padre and listens to him, but not to you.”

Despite ethnic animosity, the Bagos mingled with the Ilocanos in churches, markets, and social gatherings. With the Bagos learning the Ilocano language and adopting the lowland way of life, the transformation of Bago communities from a non-Ilocano to an Ilocano one was unavoidable. The frequent intermarriage between Ilocanos and Bagos further encouraged the “Ilocanization” of these Bago communities. With the

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94 “Memoria acerca de los Tinguianes, Apayaos, Calanasanes, Baliones y Cabugaones,” in Relaciones agustianas de las Razas del Norte de Luzon, 245; Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 195.
union between Ilocano men and affluent *Bago* women, uxorilocal residence patterns emerged and Ilocano men became prominent in their wives’ communities.  

Through marriage the movement of coastal Ilocanos into interior *Bago* communities became more frequent and acceptable, contributing further to the “Ilocanization” of the *Bagos*. Children born of Ilocano and *Bago* unions came to identify with Ilocanos and to speak Ilocano.  

The *Bago* mothers were instrumental in this process because they made a conscious effort to assimilate to mainstream society which was viewed as civilized and progressive. Thus, their offspring lost their upland identity and became Ilocanos. The transformation of the uplanders into Ilocanos was fated the moment they embraced Christianity. As one anthropologist who worked among the Tinguians wrote: “It is a matter of common observation that the chief barrier between the two groups is religion, and, once ... the pagan accept Christianity, he and his family are quickly absorbed by the Ilocano.”  

Clearly, the introduction of Christianity and its accompanying colonial lifestyle hardened ethnic distinctions and created animosity between the Ilocanos and Igorots. The Ilocanos may have initially liked their role as godparents to the Igorots since it implied power, no matter how limited, and superiority. But over time it gave way to resentment since the Igorots received privileges not accorded to the Ilocanos. Pejorative terms such as “*bago*” was one of the many ethnic slurs used by Ilocanos. While Bagos realized over time that they needed to be “Ilocanized” through intermarriage in order to

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be accepted into Ilocano society, some would have resisted it because of the fear of losing the privileges given to them. With the disappearance of such privileges, there would have been less resistance to assimilation. A colonial report of 1812 mentions that Igorots living in rancherías were already paying tribute. From the other perspective, however, Ilocanos may have sought intermarriage with affluent Bagos in order to benefit from certain privileges. Owning lands in rancherías and serving as trade intermediaries may would have been strong attractions for Ilocanos, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when overpopulation, scarcity of lands, and absence of economic opportunities had become more pronounced.

**Conclusion**

Due to geographic proximity and complementary ecological niches, a symbiotic economic exchange relationship developed between the Ilocanos on one hand and the Igorots and Tinguians on the other. Nevertheless, each retained a strong sense of its own identity, which was reinforced by the colonial experience.

Through the centuries the Igorots were able to repulse large-scale Spanish military expeditions intended to subjugate the Igorots and seize the gold mines, which was the basis of Igorot wealth and independence. With the failure of these armed campaigns, the Spaniards turned to the friars to accomplish through religion the goal of pacifying the Igorots. There was only limited success at first, with only a small number of Igorots persuaded to abandon the mountains and relocate to the interior of Ilocos. Religious missions within Igorot enclaves were eventually abandoned as the Spanish colonial authorities began to give precedence to the extraction of gold. In contrast, the
absence of gold in Tinguian areas resulted in the Crown allowing the Spanish missionaries to have a major say in shaping colonial policies.

The utilization of Ilocanos as lowland troops in the periodic raids in the Cordillera in search of gold created a rift in the Ilocano-Igorot relations. But what really ruptured the ties was the introduction of Christianity. Baptism and conversion accorded the Ilocanos superior status over the Igorots and even after some of the Igorots eventually embraced the new religion, they were still discriminated and viewed as second class, newly converted Christians.

Thus, the military and religious campaigns against the Igorots where the Ilocanos played a critical role weakened traditional ties between the two ethnic communities. Yet, it was not enough to destroy the ties since commercial exchange between them remained lucrative, particularly with the introduction of tobacco as an item of trade in the late eighteenth century. Thus, while pacification campaigns weakened traditional Ilocano-Igorot relations, the Spanish policy of imposing tobacco monopoly unintentionally strengthened their relations since it ensured the persistence of commercial exchange.

Religious conversion resulted in the emergence of a new group comprising Christianized Igorots and Tinguians, called Bagos. Initially they served as a bridge that linked the two communities especially since they became the trade intermediaries. But over time, their religious conversion, made possible with the assistance of the Ilocanos, led gradually to their “Ilocanization.” Unlike the Chinese mestizos who retained their distinct identity in an Ilocano society, the offspring of Ilocano-Igorot unions gradually shed their Igorot identity and increasingly became Ilocanized. Although Chinese
mestizos were objects of racial slurs by babaknangs, their class was economically well-off and had assumed a socially prominent role in local society, hence there was every incentive for them to maintain their distinct identity. In contrast, the Bagos were economically and socially marginalized in society and were openly discriminated as second class citizens by Ilocanos in general. Thus, their progeny had all the reasons to shun their Igorot roots and increasingly assume the identity of their Ilocano parent.

By the 18th century, ethnic identity in the Ilocos-Cordillera region had been negotiated. Old relations had been recontextualized by colonialism and the introduction of Christianity. A hardening of ethnic boundaries matched the physical delineation of territories and borders. But the Bagos served as the intermediary and eventually the transitional point to becoming Ilocano.

Whereas in the 16th century the lowland was exclusively inhabited by Ilocanos who were regularly visited by the Chinese and Igorots, in the 18th century Ilocos would be home not only to Ilocanos but also to Chinese mestizos and Bagos. Although numerically insignificant, the presence of the Bagos created tensions because they competed with the Ilocanos for limited land resources and the latter perceived them as receiving undue privilege status from the state. The ethnic tensions arising from the presence of Bagos and Chinese mestizos, the massive increase in the population of Ilocanos, the dwindling resources and a harsher and more exploitative state resulted in the persistence of rebellion in the region starting in the second half of the 18th century.
CHAPTER 6

RESISTANCE AND REBELLION: CLASS, RACE AND ETHNICITY

Human resistance to the more severe forms of social straightjacketing prevents monotonic schemes of centralized rationality from ever being realized.¹

- James C. Scott

The Spanish colonial rule was constantly besieged by revolts that occurred at an average of one every four or five years.² The Spaniards brutally suppressed these frequent but localized uprisings with their vaunted military and organizational superiority and with the use of an indio militia. Compared to the Tagalog provinces, revolts in Ilocos in the 16th and 17th centuries were uncommon. In fact only one incident is registered in the colonial records. This was the 1660-1661 upheaval in southern Ilocos that was triggered by the raid of the Zambals and the Pangasinenses and the belated Almazan Revolt in northern Ilocos. Things, however, changed starting in the mid-18th century. Revolts became frequent as demographic and socio-economic conditions in Ilocos worsened. In a span of sixty years there were five rebellions that alarmed the colonial state.

The pattern of revolts also changed from the earlier period to the 19th century. In the earlier centuries the waves of discontent began in the south and spread north to Ilocos. The geographical configuration of Luzon where provinces are contiguous allowed for rebellions in one locality to spread to neighboring areas particularly since the natives suffered from similar colonial abuses. This was what happened in 1660-1661 when the

unrest started in Pampanga over *polo* or forced labor and which triggered simultaneous rebellions in Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan. The pattern was replicated a century later when the Palaris Revolt in Pangasinan emboldened Diego Silang and the Ilocanos to launch their own revolt, thus plunging northwestern Luzon into turmoil.

This south to north spread of revolts changed towards the end of the 18th and the first two decades of the 19th centuries. In this later period northern Ilocos became the center of upheaval, which was marked by uprisings in 1788, 1807, 1811, and 1816. Although the rebellions were crushed, the colonial state realized that it was becoming difficult to control the province because it had become too large and unmanageable. The provincial capital of Vigan was too distant to some of the outlying districts and made pacification difficult. In the aftermath of the 1816 rebellion, the Spanish decided to split the province into Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur to facilitate control.

Revolts in Ilocos were millenarian or had millenarian aspects. The leaders declare themselves to be kings or redeemers who would liberate the people from a life of penury and suffering and usher in a golden age. Pedro Almazan and, according to Fr. Pedro Vivar, Diego Silang proclaimed themselves as Kings of Ilocos while Parras Lampitoc styled himself as a redeemer. All the leaders of the revolts promised their followers relief from colonial impositions. The Lung-ao Revolt had religious overtone and called for a return to the old faith. Nativistic in orientation, it longed for a return to the pre-hispanic times when there was no Christianity that was perceived to have brought colonial impositions and when life as a whole was better. Millenarian movements are part of a long tradition of “illicit associations” that operated outside the *pueblo* and *visita*, the traditional centers of Spanish authority. According to Reynaldo Ileto, these “illicit
associations” inhabited mountains believed to be sacred and usually revolved around kings, gods, goddesses, messiahs, and healers who promised peasants release and redemption from diseases, taxes and a life of poverty and oppression.³

The immediate cause for the individual rebellions in the Ilocos area may differ, but they all point out to abusive colonial policies instituted by the state. Moreover, their persistence suggests the legitimacy of the Ilocano grievances that the state refused to recognize and directly address. Despite ethnic tensions documented in previous chapters, ethnic unities were evident in the various rebellions with the Chinese mestizo joining the Ilocanos in the Silang Revolt. On the other hand, the strength of the Ilocano-Igorot ties was evident in how the two groups came together in the various uprisings.

**The Ilocos Rebellion, 1660-1662**

Spanish colonialism was primarily responsible for the decline of the Ilocos economy. The basic economic goal of the Spaniards was to gain as much wealth as possible from the province by encouraging further efforts to extract gold from the mines, by the levying of tribute, and by the manipulation of native corveé labor. There was no thought of a blueprint for the systematic development of the provincial economy. The first half of the seventeenth century was particularly difficult for the people since the Spanish increased their demand for resources and manpower without compensation during the ongoing conflict with the Dutch in Philippine waters. In 1661 the Spanish authorities conscripted about a thousand men who were sent to Pampanga and Bataan for months to cut timber for the Cavite shipyard. The scale of the deportation, which occurred at a time of oppressive Spanish requisitions, finally led to a violent uprising.

³ Reynaldo C. Ileto, “Outlines of a Non-Linear Emplotment of Philippine History,” 115-120.
The polistas from Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan had become restive after eight months of separation from their families and working under the most difficult conditions. Many wanted to go home and attend to their fields since it was the harvest season. Initially, riots, sabotage and non-compliance provided an outlet for this rage, but soon the polistas, under the leadership of the field commander, Francisco Maniago, resorted to violence. Maniago rallied his fellow Pampangos to rebel and succeeded in getting the neighboring provinces of northern Luzon to join the uprising.4

The Malong Revolt and the Raid of Ilocos, 1660-1661

Two months after the outbreak of Maniago’s rebellion in October 1660, the Pangasinenses under the command of Andres Malong, the field commander of the town of Binalatongan, rose up in arms and killed the chief constable (alguacil-mayor) of the town. The uprising spread throughout the province with Malong proclaiming himself a king. He sent 6,000 rebels to Pampanga to assist Maniago who was under siege from troops sent from Manila. He also sent a circular addressed to the principales of Ilocos and Cagayan where he exhorted them to kill all Spaniards for the many abuses they had committed. He threatened to send his troops to punish them should they fail to heed his call.5 To encourage the Ilocanos to join the rebellion, he dispatched to Ilocos a regiment of 3,000 Pangasinenses and Zambals, a frontier people inhabiting the western coast,

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4 On the Pampanga and Pangasinan Revolts see Diaz, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 568-590. A translation of this account is contained in “Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century,” BR 38, 139-181.
5 de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 98; “Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century,” 183. This is a translation of the many rebellions during this period as culled from various primary accounts of Spanish friars. The section on Ilocos from pp. 181-215 was translated from Casimiro Diaz, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 590-616.
including upland Negritos from the mountains of Pangasinan and Zambales. The troops were under the command of Don Pedro Gumapos, a babakanang from Agoo who married a native of Binalatongan.

Casimiro Diaz, an Augustinian friar assigned to northern Ilocos, wrote an account of the uprising in Ilocos. He portrayed the Ilocanos as victims not as rebels, and explained the entire episode as an invasion of the Pangasinenses and Zambals who had come to plunder the province. His claims that apart from a brief incident in the north, there was no Ilocano rebellion. But his own account belies this. In explaining the turmoil that swept southern and northern Luzon during these years, Diaz wrote that the natives “sought to avail themselves of so good an opportunity deeming it a suitable time for recovering their liberty, a gift of priceless value.” The “opportunity” referred to Spain’s preoccupation with its war against the Dutch.

A modern-day local history of Pangasinan, however, depicts the events as a rebellion of the Ilocanos in response to Malong’s exhortation and the involvement of Pangasinenses and Zambals. A closer reading of Diaz’s account shows that the Ilocanos were neither passive victims of the “invasion” of Pangasinenses and Zambals nor were they entirely loyalist forces that fended off the raid. Many Ilocanos in the south joined the rebellion when the Pangasinense and Zambal forces arrived in the province. The northern towns of Ilocos also took up arms, demonstrating wide-spread disaffection in Ilocos with Spanish rule.

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6 Diaz wrote that Malong sent 3,000 Zambals and Pangasinenses under Gumapos to “reduce” the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan. However, De los Reyes wrote that 4,000 Zambals and Pangasinenses were dispatched to Ilocos. See Diaz, “Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century,” 166; de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 98.
7 “Insurrections by Filipinos”, 140.
8 Cortes, Pangasinan, 155-156. This local history provides a succinct account of the Malong Rebellion.
The combined Pangasinense and Zambal troops under the command of Gumapos, who had received the title *Conde* (Count) from Malong, arrived in Bauang Church on December 18, 1660. Fr. Bernardino Marquez, the Augustinian vicar-provincial of Ilocos, was allowed to finish his mass after which Gumapos announced their intentions. Since Malong was apparently fond of the friar, Gumapos showed him every respect and even kissed his hand.\(^9\) But the parish priest of Bauang, Fr. Luis de la Fuente, was a different matter entirely. His church was looted and he was ordered arrested together with the other Spanish officials. Natives of Bauang led by its *gobernadorcillo* joined Gumapos and captured de la Fuente. He was brought back to the Church although his Spanish companion, Juan de Silva, a hated tax collector, was executed.\(^10\) De la Fuente escaped death after his wealthy parishioners paid eleven and a half pesos of gold to keep him alive. However, he and Marquez remained incarcerated without food and water for three days. Both friars were freed after the Zambals and Pangasinenses left the town and returned to Agoo.

In Vigan, Don Alonso Peralta, the *alcalde-mayor* of Ilocos, convened the provincial war council that included Fr. Juan Rodrigo de Cardenas, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, and *Alférez* (Ensign) Lorenzo Arqueros, who was the chief constable and deputy *Alcalde-Mayor*. The council ordered the immediate conscription of the natives in order to raise a militia for the defense of the province. They were to be dispatched to the southern towns under the command of Arqueros to serve as the first line of defense. Peralta followed Arqueros despite the request of the friars for him to remain in Vigan while they wait for reinforcements. A regiment of 1,500 loyalist troops led by Arqueros

\(^9\) Diaz, "Insurrections by Filipinos," 185.
\(^10\) Ibid.; Mendoza, *Pangasinan*, 185
crossed the Agoo River and met the Zambals and Pangasinenses. Despite their superior guns and the two jars of gunpowder sent by Peralta, they were overwhelmed in the ensuing battle by the 5,000 strong invading troops. The Ilocano conscripts were “overcome by fear, and they [took] flight, [with] neither the officers nor friars being able to restrain them.” Among those slain was the Ilocano field commander, Don Lorenzo Peding, who days before apprehended and hanged the father of Gumapos, Don Miguel Carreño, who himself was commanding rebel troops. Diaz described the turmoil in Agoo as follows:

The most pitiable thing was to see the children and old men in flight, and especially the women - some of whom gave birth to children, and others suffered abortion through fear, the infants being abandoned in the camp. The children were drowned, and the old people overcome by exhaustion; all were in most pitiable condition.

The Spanish defeat was blamed on the Ilocanos who either switched sides and swelled the number of invaders or deserted the colonial army. In Agoo, Bauang and Namacpacan, the Spaniards found it difficult to recruit men because of fear of the Zambals and Pangasinenses and antipathy toward the Spaniards. Many fled to the nearby hills to escape conscription. In the battle between the invading and rebel troops against the Spaniards, the latter were soundly defeated and retreated to Vigan. They stopped by Narvacan and ordered its residents together with those of Santa Catalina, a visita of Bantay, to build defenses at Agayayos, a narrow promontory, in order to halt the advance of the rebels. By this time it was already a rebellion by the Ilocanos as hundreds of them joined the Zambals and Pangasinenses and the principales among them provided

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11 Diaz, Conquistas, 190.
12 Ibid.
intelligence and communication reports.\textsuperscript{13} With the Agayayos fortified, the Spanish entrusted the defense of the pass to Don Pedro de la Peña, a \emph{principalía} of Santa Catalina. Unbeknownst to the Spaniards, de la Peña was sympathetic to the rebellion and allowed the rebels and invaders to pass without hindrance.\textsuperscript{14} The Spanish attempted to build another fort in Vigan to withstand the rebels while awaiting a relief force from Manila. But little progress was made because the Ilocanos “who worked at it were continually disappearing.”\textsuperscript{15} On January 20, the Ilocano rebels, Zambals and Pangasinense under Don Jacinto Makasiag, a Negrito, reached Vigan where they met resistance from the loyalist troops. Peralta, with all the Spanish citizens and friars, except for Bishop Rodrigo Cardenas and Arqueros, had already fled Vigan aboard a sampan heading towards Pangasinan. The invaders looted the city, particularly the church, and many perished in the ensuing chaos including eighty in Bantay alone.\textsuperscript{16} Remnants of the Spanish forces must have engaged the rebels in a battle. Diaz blamed the deaths on the Zambals who he accused of burning and plundering every town they passed.

Marching north the rebels and invaders took with them Bishop Cardenas and the remaining friars. Upon reaching Badoc they were halted by a combined Ilocano and Ibanag army under the command of Arqueros. The Ibanags, the lowland natives of Cagayan, were conscripted to assist in quelling the uprising. The rebels with their hostages retreated to Narvacan where they met loyalist Ilocanos and Tinguians who had

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 192.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 93.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 195. Writing a century later, both Fr. Murillo Velarde and Fr. Juan Concepcion placed the number of casualties in Bantay at 800. See the footnote of \emph{BR}.
planted the ground with sharp stakes. Makasiag and his invading forces suffered such heavy losses that they decided to return to Pangasinan upon receiving a letter from Malong asking for assistance. Spanish reinforcements from Manila under the command of General Francisco de Esteybar had arrived in Pangasinan and had reclaimed the province. The reinforcements included two hundred natives and other groups, including Merdicas and Japanese residing in Manila. With Pangasinan restored to Spanish control, Esteybar and his army proceeded to Ilocos. It was in Santa Lucia where they met the returning rebels who had pillaged and scorched the towns they passed including Santa Maria, San Esteban, Santiago, Candon and Santa Cruz. In the battle the superior forces of the Spaniards overwhelmed the rebels, killing some four hundred and causing others to seek safety in the mountains. Many were also brought back to Vigan as prisoners. After more than two months of chaos the Spanish regained control of Ilocos.

The Almasan Uprising, 1662

Although the uprising in the south had been suppressed the unrest in the province was far from over. Before Esteybar could return to Manila, a new uprising erupted in February 1662 in northern Ilocos centered in Laoag and Bacarra. Diaz claimed that it was a belated response to Malong’s earlier exhortation to the babaknangs of the north. One of the babaknangs who answered Malong’s call was Don Juan Magsanop, a principalia from Bangi, a visita of Bacarra. Magsanop was earlier recognized and

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17 Ibid., 199.
18 Ibid., 167. Diaz wrote that the Merdicas were Malays under the command of their own field commander Cachil Duco, who was a Tidore prince. In the Dutch-controlled areas in the Indonesian archipelago, the Maradikas, meaning “the freed ones”, were originally slaves or descendants of slaves from India or the archipelago, who had been given their freedom and become Christian. They served the Dutch as a special militia.
19 Ibid., 204.
20 Ibid., 205.
awarded an *encomienda* in Abra for his loyal service to the Crown in repulsing Dutch attack off the Ilocos coast.\(^{21}\) The other leaders were Don Pedro Almasan of San Nicolas, then a visita of Laoag, and Don Gaspar Cristobal of Laoag. All three formed a strategic partnership forged by the marriage of Almasan’s son to Cristobal’s daughter. During the wedding Almasan proclaimed himself the King of Ilocos and placed on his head a religious crown that was taken from the church of Laoag. Their alliance was further strengthened after Magsanop prevailed upon the Calanasan, the upland western Isneg peoples of present-day Apayao, to join the uprising.

The rebels plundered the churches of Laoag and Bacarra, and beheaded an Augustinian missionary, Fr. Jose Santa Maria, who was assigned to the villages of the Calanasan. The parish priest of Bacarra, Fr. Jose Arias, suffered the same fate and his skull used as a cup from which Magsanop and the Calanasan drank *basi*.\(^{22}\) Days later his head was ransomed and reunited with his body. But the Almasan uprising was short-lived. A thousand troops of Ilocanos and Ibanags led by Arqueros arrived in the north.\(^{23}\) He reached Bacarra and defeated the rebels, many of whom fled to the mountains. When the reinforcement troops of Esteybar arrived in Bacarra, Arqueros was already in control of the town. He ordered that a garrison be built and that the rebel leaders be brought to Vigan, where they were eventually executed. Gumapos was shot in the back because the Spaniards believed this to be a fitting end to a traitor. Sixteen others, including Don Cristobal Ambagan, Don Tomas Boaya and Don Pedro dela Peña, were hanged. It is uncertain what happened to Almasan. Diaz initially wrote that Almasan had died in

\(^{21}\) Cedulario, 1643-1649, pag., 245b-246b.
\(^{22}\) Diaz, “Conquistas,” 207-209.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., 209.
battle, but he later claimed that Almasan was taken back to Vigan where he was executed together with the other leaders. Similar executions were carried out in Binalatongan for the rebel leaders from Pangasinan, including Malong, Makasiag and a Chinese *mestizo*, Domingo Ison, who pleaded innocent right up to the time of his death.  

In the end about thirty were executed and five hundred condemned to slavery.

Throughout the rebellion Diaz claimed that the Ilocanos had mixed reactions. He downplayed the Ilocano support of the rebellion and estimated that only three hundred Ilocanos had joined the 3,000 invading troops of Pangasinenses and Zambals. Yet in the battle in Agoo between the Spanish troops and invading troops, the latter was estimated by Diaz to be over 5,000 troops. Thus, it appears that at least 2,000 Ilocanos have rebelled and joined the Zambals and Pangasinenses. Some Ilocanos he saw as innocent victims, others as timid and cowardly military deserters, and the rest as loyalist soldiers who fiercely resisted the invaders and valiantly fought along side the Spaniards and the reinforcements from Cagayan. But his own account is testimony to the extensive disaffection with the Spaniards and strong support for the rebels.

**Upland-Lowland Alliances against the Spanish**

Upland groups played an important role in the lowland uprisings. The Negritos joined the Pangasinenses and Zambals in the Malong Revolt, while the Tinguians provided invaluable assistance to the Narvacanos who sided with the Spanish. The Tinguains and Narvacanos were trade partners who had also forged strong kinship ties through intermarriages between their leaders. The Tinguains, who had a reputation as

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24 Ibid., 210.
26 Ibid., 199.
good military tacticians, employed tactics such as planting sharp stakes on the road to hold back the rebels. With the Narvacanos, they then ambushed and beheaded four hundred Pangasinenses and Zambals.  

The Calanasan formed a similar alliance with the people of Laoag and other northern towns of Ilocos in the Gumapos-Almazan Rebellion. Their trade relations with their lowland neighbors dated back to the pre-colonial period. In the course of the rebellion the Tinguians and the Calanasan were loyal to their trade partners and provided them military support regardless of the positions their partners took in the conflict. Thus, while it appeared that the Tinguians were aligned with the Spanish and the Calanasan were opposed, in reality they acted in support of their long time trade partners. A strong bond clearly existed between the lowlanders and the uplanders.

The babaknangs led the rebellion that was directed mainly at the Spanish authorities including the friars. The rebels looted churches and convents that housed religious relics that were funded by donations and exactions from the people. While the rebels unleashed their fury against the Augustinian friars, in Pangasinan no Dominican friar was killed in the course of the Malong Rebellion, prompting a local historian to declare that the Pangasinenses revered their religious patrons. It would seem to imply that the Augustinians were more abusive and oppressive than the Dominicans. Perhaps a comparative study between the Dominicans in Pangasinan and the Augustinians in Ilocos would be very instructive. But there were Ilocanos, such as the wealthy citizens of Bauang, who treated the clergy less harshly and agreed to the ransoming of their Augustinian parish priest.

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27 Ibid., 201.
28 Cortez, Pangasinan, 167.
The Silang Uprising, 1762-1763

No other rebellion in Ilocos, and perhaps in the entire Philippine archipelago, caused as much fear among the Spaniards during three centuries of their rule than the Silang Uprising. It was much larger in scale than both the Ilocos and Almazan rebellions a century before. Launched at a time when the Spanish foothold in the Islands was seriously challenged by Great Britain, Silang initiated a rebellion that gained prominence and legitimacy, particularly after he aligned himself with the British. Although Silang’s dealings with the British involved only an exchange of letters and gifts, they nevertheless alarmed the Spanish authorities.

When the British invaded Manila in 1762, conditions in Ilocos were ripe for a rebellion. Pestilence and famine, oftentimes exacerbated by agricultural neglect due to polo y servicios, appears to be a theme in the early history of Ilocos. The Silang rebellion was preceded by a smallpox epidemic that swept northern Luzon in 1756, causing many deaths in the first six months of that year. The entierros (parish death registers) of Vigan list a total of 710 deaths, with a peak being reached in April, May and June with 153, 200 and 189 deaths, respectively. There are no existing records to indicate how Vigan fared for the remainder of the year. Neighboring towns also registered high death rates, such as Santa where some 502 succumbed to the disease between May and August. In 1762, another smallpox epidemic swept the province, claiming hundreds of lives. In April and May of that year, Santa registered 75 and 126 deaths, respectively.

29 Libro de Entierros de Vigan desde enero 1752 hasta junio 1756.
30 Libro de Entierros de Santa desde 1737-1780.
31 Libro de Entierros de Santa desde 1737-1780.
Despite hard times there was no reprieve from the insensitivity of the colonial officials. Barely a year after the epidemic, Arza began recruiting Pangasinenses and Ilocanos for a planned expedition against the Igorots. By 1759, approximately 2,000-2,300 had been enlisted in the campaign that culminated with the burning of the Tonglo mission settlement which was discussed in chapter four. Besides the onerous demand for manpower, the annual tribute had been substantially increased. The salary of the church workers, such as the cantores (members of the church choir) and sacristan (acolyte), as well as the funds necessary to maintain the community fund (caja de comunidad), which on paper was intended for the relief of the poor, was paid for by the people. Meanwhile, the alcalde of Ilocos, Antonio Zabala, gained notoriety when he converted his right to engage in commerce (indulto de comercio) into an exclusive privilege. 32 Zabala forced the natives to sell their produce to him and buy his goods at fixed prices. It was a common abuse among the alcaldes in the Islands to enrich themselves. Because Zabala was primarily concerned with accumulating wealth through such methods, he entrusted the actual governance of the province to his clerk (escribano) who was incompetent and equally abusive. Not to be outdone the gobernadorcillo, cabeza de barangay and parish priests profited handsomely by lending money at usurious rates. 33

Following Spain’s declaration of support for France in the Seven Years War, Britain laid siege to Manila in September 1762. 34 By October, the British had

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32 Montero y Vidal, Historia de Filipinas, 2: 84.
33 de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 164.
34 Volume 49 of Blair and Robertson is devoted to the English occupation of Manila. Spanish and English correspondence and reports are also contained in Nicholas Cushner (editor), Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila, 1762-1763 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1971). For the events leading to the fall of Manila, see Horacio de la Costa, “The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British, September-October 1762,” Philippine Studies 10 (October 1962), 607-653. On the English trade interests in the
successfully occupied the city but could not extend their control beyond its boundaries because they had come with only a small force.\textsuperscript{35} The Spaniards relocated the seat of government to the town of Bacolor, Pampanga, under the leadership of Simon de Anda, the judge (oidor) of the Royal Audiencia. They were demoralized after their quick and bitter capitulation, which had eroded their authority and shattered the myth of their invincibility. Capitalizing on Spanish weakness, the provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan in northern Luzon, as well as Batangas, Laguna, Camarines, Albay, Panay, Cebu, Samar, Leyte, and Zamboanga, rose up as one in rebellion. Even the Chinese in Manila and Pampanga believed that the period of Spanish rule was coming to an end and therefore gave their support to the British.

Disturbances in northwestern Luzon began with the Palaris Rebellion in Pangasinan, named after its leader Juan de la Cruz Palaris. As in the Malong rebellion a century before, it began in Binalatongan, the most populous town in the province, when on November 3, 1762 the town folks resisted the annual collection of tribute. The rebels demanded the suspension of tribute collection and personal service; and the removal of the alcalde and several colonial officials. The strategist and brains behind the uprising was Don Andres Lopez, a principalia and relative of Diego Silang. With Pangasinan in a state of rebellion, an inspired Silang, who was in Pangasinan when the upheaval broke out, proceeded to Vigan to incite the Ilocanos.

\textsuperscript{35} Cortes, Boncan and Jose, \textit{The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change} (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), 90.
The Silangs and their Ethnic Ties

The strength of the Silang rebellion derived from support from the different ethnic groups and classes that had been oppressed by Spanish policy in eighteenth century Ilocos. Despite the assassination of its leader, the movement continued unabated under his widow. To this day the names of Diego and Gabriela Silang evoke admiration not only among Ilocanos but also from a nation that regards them as legendary heroes. Gabriela Silang in particular is seen as the epitome of the strong and independent woman who overcame personal grief to assume the leadership of a male-dominated rebellion.

The ability of the Silang couple to mobilize non-Ilocano support may be attributed to their ethnic background. Born in Vigan on December 16, 1730, Diego Baltazar Silang y Andaya’s father was a Pangasinense from Caba, a barrio in Aringay in present-day La Union, while his mother was a native of Vigan. He grew up in his father’s hometown but later moved to Vigan where he served as the personal servant of a friar. He eventually became a courier for the friars who entrusted him with delivering their letters to Manila or to Spain via the galleon trade. Due to the nature of his work as a courier and clerk to the Augustinians, he spent a considerable amount of time in Manila in the 1750s, where he stayed with the Augustinians and met influential people such as Santiago Orendain, a lawyer who served as an adviser to Governor-General Arandia. While in Manila he was exposed to the latest news and controversies in the colonial capital. He was acceptable to both the Pangasinenses and Ilocanos because of his origins, and he exercised a natural authority when he spoke of national affairs in Spanish and exhibited

36 A brief biography of Silang is contained in Pedro de Vivar, Relacion de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la Provincia de Ilocos, en los años de 1762 y 1763: compuesta por el [mismo padre] Religioso Agustino en este año de 1764 (Manila: Biblioteca Historica Filipina, 1893). The biography is summarized in Jose Montero y Vidal, Historia General de Filipino, 86-87.
his cosmopolitanism and knowledge of the world beyond Ilocos. He apparently also succeeded in maintaining good relations with the Negritos or Aetas. According to unverifiable reports, the Aetas nurtured him for six months after he was shipwrecked off the coast of Bolinao, Pangasinan, in one of his voyages to Manila.37 Although the Aetas killed the crew of the vessel, they spared him because he was small of stature like them. He lived with the Aetas and learned their culture and lifeways until he was ransomed a half year later by the friar of Bolinao. This story, probably embellished and promoted by Silang and his followers, emphasized his bond with this upland group.

In 1757 Diego Silang married Maria Josefa de Gabriela, a young wealthy widow, who was born on March 19, 1731 in Barrio Caniogan in the town of Santa, Ilocos.38 Her father, who was of Spanish ancestry, came from Santa, Ilocos Sur, while her mother was a Tinguian servant who hailed from Pidigan, Abra. At a young age she was entrusted to the care of Fr. Francisco Millan, which was apparently a Tinguian practice of offering their children to serve figures of authority.39 At age 20, she was forcibly married to a rich, old man who died three years later leaving her wealthy. With their diverse ethnic backgrounds the Silangs were able to appeal to Ilocanos, Pangasinenses, Tinguians and even Aetas, who all shared grievances against the Spaniards and their local allies, the principalia.

Nature of the Silang Uprising

Isabelo de los Reyes describes the ideology of the Silang uprising as anti-\textit{babaknang}, and the resulting conflict as a class war between the \textit{kailianes} and the \textit{babaknangs}. Silang accused the \textit{babaknangs} of usury, fraud and illegal exactions, thereby enriching themselves at the expense of the \textit{kailianes}.\footnote{de los Reyes, \textit{Historia de Ilocos}, 2: 178.} In the course of the rebellion the houses of the \textit{babaknangs} were attacked and churches ransacked. The friars were only spared if they were able to pay a ransom set initially at 100 pesos per head and later reduced to 80.\footnote{Ibid., 180.} He assured the \textit{babaknangs} that if they paid in money, rice, and cattle he would protect them from the wrath of the \textit{kailianes}. His justification for demanding provisions was to sustain his forces for the defense of the province against the British.\footnote{Ibid.}

Despite de los Reyes’ interpretation, the rebellion was not entirely a class war. Silang himself was a \textit{babaknang} of limited wealth and his trusted leaders were also \textit{babaknangs}. In fact early on he provided opportunities for the \textit{babaknang} to redeem themselves by embracing his cause and recognizing his leadership. But he made a careful distinction between the \textit{principales} and the \textit{babaknangs}, with the former depicted as abusive and corrupt local officials associated with the Spaniards who needed to be neutralized if not eliminated.

The most detailed account of the uprising comes from Pedro Vivar, an Augustinian parish priest of Batac, who was embroiled in the events. He wrote his account of the turmoil a year after it ended. He blamed the uprising on an elite group that
was not part of the *principales*. He called them indigenous petty lawyers and representatives of the common people in each town (*indios abogadillos y apoderados de la gente común de cada pueblo*). Vivar claimed that their numbers had multiplied over the years and that Laoag alone had one hundred of them. They arrogated considerable authority to themselves (*arrogado tal dominio*); sowed major confusion (*ejecutan los mayores desordenes*); and were bossy (*mandones*), garrulous and audacious (*locuales y atrevidos*). He called them petty leaders (*cavecillos*) who had the power to summon people at night and issue commands that had to be obeyed. Failure to heed their commands could result in homes being burned to the ground, water buffaloes slaughtered, and being expelled from the town. Vivar also claimed that they ordered the *principales* to step down from their official positions and people to desist from working for the church and the friars. Because of their education, i.e. the ability to read and write, they avoided forced labor and the payment of tribute. He accused this group of instigating the uprising and of inciting the Ilocanos, who by nature were innately timid and had a propensity for inaction (*innata timidez y propensión de los Ilocos a inacción*). The Ilocanos were further characterized either as *principales*, i.e., holders of public office, or as *timaoas*, a pre-colonial term for the commoners among the natives. The *timaoas* referred to by Vivar were the *kailianes*. The *abogadillos* and *apoderadillos* he regarded as not belonging to either of these two groups, although he had no name for them collectively.

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43 Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 1
44 Ibid., 7.
In all likelihood, the *abogadillos* and *apoderadillos* Vivar referred to were the *ladinos*. The *ladinos* were the natives who spoke Spanish and served as translators. They learned Spanish and were thus used by the friars to translate Spanish prayers and texts into the local language and indigenous concepts and ideas into Spanish. By the mid-eighteenth century, the *ladinos* had become part of the colonial bureaucracy serving as clerks (*escribantes*), petty lawyers (*abogadillos*) and assistants to colonial officials.\(^{46}\) Others joined the church hierarchy as secular priests. Diego Silang was a *ladino* for he spoke Spanish and was employed by the Augustinians as a clerk-courier.

The *ladinos* could also be categorized as lowly *babaknangs* because they acquired some education and hence a degree of influence in the community, but they were not wealthy. It is highly likely that the *apoderadillos* and *abogadillos* were *ladinos*, educated *babaknangs* who, like the *principales*, were “self-seeking, self-serving groups of petty functionaries.”\(^{47}\) Vivar alleged that many of the *apoderadillos* and *abogadillos* were recent arrivals in Ilocos from Pangasinan. This perception was due to Silang’s Pangasinan lineage, his connection with Lopez, and his presence in Pangasinan during the initial stages of the uprising and before he went to Vigan to gain support for the rebellion. The fact that the Pangasinenses rebelled a month earlier than the Ilocanos prompted Vivar to believe that the Ilocanos were merely duped into joining the uprising. From the start Vivar was dismissive of the Ilocanos and characterized them as lazy and feeble-minded. It was these traits, he believed, which led the Ilocanos to be swayed by the appeals of recently arrived *apoderadillos* and *abogadillos* from the south. His accusation was undoubtedly influenced by past events such as the 1660-1661 rebellion.

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\(^{47}\) Cortes, Jose and Boncan, *Filipino Saga*, 93.
which resembled the current unrest in many ways. In that rebellion the Spaniards blamed the Pangasinenses for initiating the unrest and then persuading the Ilocanos to join them.

**Phase One of the Silang Uprising**

Vivar’s personal account of the uprising is colored by the fact that he suffered as a prisoner of the rebels. With this understanding, it is possible to read through his personal judgments and extract interesting and worthwhile details of the events. The following narrative therefore relies heavily on Vivar’s first-hand account.

In the early part of December, with the English in control of Manila and with Pangasinan in a state of rebellion under Palaris, Diego Silang proceeded to Vigan with the intention of persuading the Ilocanos to join him against the Spaniards. It was not a difficult task since the Ilocanos shared similar grievances with the Pangasinenses over forced labor, tribute, and oppressive officials. The uprising started on December 13, 1762 when Silang with 2,000 troops appeared in the office of the alcalde (casa real) and presented his demands to the Dominican Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Bernardo Ustariz. Silang declared that Spain had ceased to be the colonial master since England was now in control of Manila, and therefore the people no longer needed to pay tribute and render any services to the Spaniards. He also proclaimed the liberation of Ilocos from the abuse and oppression of Alcalde-Mayor Zabala and the end of the enslavement of the kailianes by the principales. Except for Don Francisco Morales, Don Manuel Prieto, Don Esteban de los Reyes, and Don Nicolas Pio, whose activities were regarded as acceptable, all Spanish and Spanish mestizos were to be expelled from the province. In order to defend the province from the English he called for a junta to be convened and for babaknangs
and *kailianes* to unite.\(^48\) Zabala wanted to apprehend Silang but Don Tomas Millan, the Vicar-General (*Provisor*) who helped raised Gabriela and was Silang's friend, wisely intervened to avoid bloodshed that would have resulted from the arrest. Two days after Silang presented his demands to Bishop Ustariz, Zabala stepped down in favor of Millan. He evaded arrest when he secretly boarded a sampan and fled the province under the pretext of offering his services to Anda in Pampanga.\(^49\)

From Vigan, Silang retreated into the Pantoc hills, a Tinguian *rancheria* located southeast of Vigan, to consolidate his Ilocano troops and to appeal to the Tinguians for support. Rumors spread that he was waiting for Christmas Day to seize the provincial capital. Meanwhile, the Augustinian friars in northern Ilocos wanted to organize a militia in their respective towns in order to neutralize Silang, but they had difficulty in recruiting men since it was the harvest season. The people were also sympathetic to the rebellion and thus avoided being conscripted. By this time Silang had become a byword throughout the province. He had attracted supporters among the prominent *babaknangs* of the north including Jose Cristobal of Paoay, a scion of Gaspar Cristobal, one of the leaders of the Almazan rebellion; Tomas Corcuera of Laoag and Bacarra; and Antonio de la Cruz, alias Botarga, whose influence encompassed Batac, San Nicolas, Sarrat and Dingras.\(^50\)

When the friars were finally able to raise a loyalist force in the north, they marched towards the provincial capital. Both sides were poised for battle and the objective was to secure the firearms in the *casa real* of Vigan. The weapons were

\(^{48}\) Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 80.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 32-40.

\(^{50}\) Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 82; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, 88.
originally intended for the defense of the province in case of Moro attacks. On Christmas day there was a skirmish, and the numerically superior Tinguian-backed rebels gained the upper hand. The loyalist forces failed to halt the descent of the Tinguians from Abra despite fortifying the Abra Gap. Facing defeat, many loyalist soldiers abandoned the defense of the capital in what one Spanish writer referred to as “their usual unsoldier-like manner,” which suggests that flight before a superior force was a common occurrence among conscripted Ilocanos.51

The following day an estimated 6-7,000 Ilocano and Tinguian rebels set Vigan aflame, sparing only the casa real and the church. The rebels gathered in front of the church and asked Millan to conduct a mass, while others proceeded to the casa real in search of weapons and ammunitions. They massacred those who were in the casa real including three Spaniards, a principalia, two kailianes and the hated Don Miguel Pinson, a Chinese mestizo, who was hurled from the window into the lances of waiting rebels.52 In accordance with the Tinguian ritual of showcasing bravery, his body was dismembered and his heart eaten by Benito Estrada, a Tinguian half-brother of Gabriela. While this was going on some rebels also desecrated the Church. Silang did not take part in these actions, although he was said to have witnessed and allowed the affair. At one point he even joined in the victory dance around Pinson’s head which served as a trophy. He did not direct the course of actions of his troops during that day but permitted such acts because they were traditional practices in warfare among his Tinguian supporters. Moreover, he had no wish to antagonize his Tinguian followers who had supported him and accepted him as true member of the group by virtue of his marriage to Gabriela.

51 Martinez de Zuniga, An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, 205.  
52 Vivar, Relacion de los Alzamientos, 49-57.
Spurred by his initial success in Vigan, Silang wanted to create a ground swell of support for the uprising that would cut across ethnic lines and involve the entire province. De los Reyes paid tribute to Silang’s leadership in charting the course of the uprising. He called Silang “clever, prudent, imaginative, bold, ingenious, a great politician and strategist (“sagaz, prudente, de mucha imaginacion, arrojado, ingenioso, gran politico y gran estrategico”). In the hope of appealing to a broad base, Silang issued populist goals such as the removal of the abusive principales from positions of power and an end to tribute and forced labor. In order to check on the loyalty of his leaders he required them to report to Vigan to explain the state of affairs in their respective towns and to personally receive orders from him. He also wanted to institute passports that would monitor movements in the countryside and restrict communication among the friars. By this time his troops controlled the central (medio) towns of Ilocos from Cabugao to Vigan and were assured of the allegiance of the Tinguians. But he knew that he had to cultivate the support of the Ilocanos in the south (agbatan) and the north (amianan) as well as the Igorots.

As will be seen in the next chapter, northern Ilocos was critical because it was a major center of agriculture and the most heavily populated area of the province. With its resources and manpower, its support could spell the success or defeat of the rebellion. Furthermore, reinforcements from Cagayan would be able to enter unimpeded from the north once northern Ilocos joined the rebellion. Silang sent feelers to the babaknangs of the north through his emissaries, Estrada and Don Francisco Morales. He sought their assistance while sending a veiled warning of retribution against those who withheld their support.

53 De los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 173.
54 In his book, Vivar divides the province into agbatan the south, medio the center, and amianan the north.
support. Many opportunistic *babaknangs*, such as Don Francisco Domingo of Bacarra, were willing to support the rebellion provided they were promised power and official position.\(^55\) The northern towns were sharply divided with support for the rebellion strong in Paoay and Laoag, but with the parish priests of Batac, Dingras, and Piddig organizing their “pacified” inhabitants into local militias to help quell the rebellion in the south.

When the Spaniards defeated the rebels, they dealt them a summary and brutal justice. For instance, Butarga and his son were tried, hanged, dismembered and then displayed in the town square of Paoay to serve as warning against any others contemplating rebellion. But this harsh sentence caused considerable anger in the community and forced the perpetrators to flee to Cagayan to escape the wrath of the people.\(^56\)

Vivar claimed that Silang eventually lost the sympathy of the *principales* of the north as a result of the actions of Estrada and his Tinguian troops. The Tinguians were a significant component of the uprising, with several holding leadership positions. Among them were Pedro Becbec, who was from Santa but wielded influence in Abra, and Benito Estrada, Silang’s chosen Tinguian emissary. Vivar accused Estrada of instigating violence in Laoag and Bacarra by robbing the *principales* of money and jewelry, plundering and burning their houses, and violating their women. The most reprehensible act, wrote Vivar, came when the Tinguians placed a decapitated head in a jar of *basi* while they danced and chanted.\(^57\) This victory dance was a Tinguian head ritual similar to that performed with Pinson’s head in Vigan. It was customary for Tinguian warriors to

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\(^{55}\) Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 66.

\(^{56}\) Ibid., 60 and Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, 92.

\(^{57}\) Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 68-70; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, 94.
eat the brain of their enemies to symbolically appropriate the valor and other
desirable qualities of their victim.\textsuperscript{58} Non-Tinguian also participated in the ritual, such as
Don Lucas Benito of Bantay who was also reported to have danced around the
decapitated head. The Spaniards naturally condemned this practice as barbaric. Reports
of Ilocano participation in other Tinguian rituals, such as the use of oracles to determine
future actions, further convinced the Spaniards that the Ilocanos had reverted to their
animistic practices. But some of these indigenous Ilocano beliefs had never been
destroyed, and Vivar himself acknowledged that “after two hundred years of Christianity,
the pagan rites still persists and would not disappear”.\textsuperscript{59}

Silang’s actions against recalcitrant \textit{principales} of the north antagonized
prospective allies. Silang ordered Cristobal, his supporter from Paoay, to apprehend the
\textit{principales} of Ilocos Norte who withheld support and thus were considered traitors, such
as Don Juan Toribio of Laoag, Don Francisco Batibat and Don Juan Cantero of Batac,
and Tomas Corcuera of Paoay.\textsuperscript{60} Corcuera eventually came to support the uprising but
later abandoned it. These \textit{principales} were brought to Vigan where they were
incarcerated, while other \textit{principales} avoided a similar fate by paying ten pesos each. In
addition to demanding that the \textit{principales} buy their freedom, Silang also ordered that the
cattle, carabao and horses from the \textit{estancias} of the \textit{babaklangs} be confiscated and sent
to Vigan.\textsuperscript{61} The confiscation of these provisions was originally intended for the defense
of the province against the English. But Silang later changed his mind when he realized

\textsuperscript{58} Fay-Cooper Cole, \textit{The Tinguian: Social, Religious, and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe}, 374. Unlike
the Tinguians, the Igorots preserve the head as a trophy.
\textsuperscript{59} Vivar, \textit{Relacion de los Alzamientos}, 312-313.
\textsuperscript{60} Vivar, \textit{Relacion de los Alzamientos}, 91.
\textsuperscript{61} de los Reyes, \textit{Historia de Ilocos}, 2: 180; Martinez de Zuniga, \textit{An Historical View of the Philippine
Islands}, 206.
that the *principales* would have to bear the brunt of paying for the maintenance of the province since he had prohibited the collection of tribute from the *kailianes*.

From the start of the rebellion Silang controlled what Vivar designated as the central towns. He was also able to exert his authority in the south particularly since these towns were sandwiched between uprisings occurring simultaneously in Pangasinan and Vigan. He commissioned Don Fernando de la Cruz of Santa to assure the *kailianes* that under his rule they would be freed from tribute and forced labor, and he ordered the election of good corporals (*cabos*) among the Ilocanos who would swear loyalty and allegiance to him. With his self-appointed title of *Cabo Mayor de Ilocos*, he sought to portray himself as the chief of all the *cabos*. As *Cabo Mayor*, he issued statements imploring the people to continue hearing mass and for boys to be punctual in the friar-run parish schools. Since Silang had confined the friars to the Augustinian convent in Bantay to monitor their activities, he ordered *sacristans* (acolytes) to say mass and discharge other priestly duties. He apparently wanted to assure the people that, contrary to friar accusations against him, he remained a faithful Catholic.62

In David Routledge’s analysis of the uprising, Silang underestimated the influence of the friars on the people because of his friendship with the friar Millan, the guardian of his wife, Gabriela.63 The northern Ilocanos were persuaded by the friars to maintain their loyalty to the Crown by threats of spiritual damnation and by rumors that the momentum had shifted to the Spanish troops. Silang was not harsh on the friars because he had once been their courier and had many friends among them. It was also

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rumored that a friar had paid Silang's ransom when he was held prisoner by the Aetas. All Silang asked of the friars was to desist from interfering in politics and to return to their proper spiritual role as "personification of Jesus Christ on earth" (personeros de Jesu Cristo en la tierra).\(^64\) He did not curtail religious activity and even encouraged it in his directives. Although he arrested and imprisoned the friars, he did not physically harm them because he realized that they still retained considerable influence among the local inhabitants. When the friars continued their anti-Silang stance he demanded that they pay to save their lives.

According to Routledge, Silang's turnaround against the friars came when he discovered that the friars were plotting to assassinate him. He then realized that they were first and foremost agents of the Spanish empire and only second the servants of God.\(^65\) In addition to the threat from the friars, he had to contend with real or imagined dangers from the north and the south. He knew loyalist reinforcements were bound to arrive from Cagayan via the Cape of Bojeador in the north. Thus, there was a need to extend the uprising to Cagayan or at least to neutralize the province. Silang sent two emissaries to stir up unrest in the province. Meanwhile, he received a letter from Anda demanding that he proceed to Pampanga immediately and explain his actions. Anda had branded him a traitor and had threatened to send an army from his headquarters in Pampanga that would bring Ilocos to its knees through blood and fire.\(^66\)

In the face of Anda's threat, Silang had to generate support for his rebellion. Silang already had the support of the Tinguians but he had to cultivate good relations

\(^{64}\) Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos*, 105.
\(^{65}\) Routledge, *Diego Silang*, 29.
\(^{66}\) Martinez de Zuniga, *Historical View of the Philippines*, 206.
with the Igorots. He sought especially to restore the profitable trade between the 
Igorots and the Ilocanos, and therefore sent the following letter to the babaknangs of 
Balaoan:

I have learned that the Igorots come down to Balaoan to trade and they desire 
baptism, but not to become Christian, which must be a result of their lack of 
understanding. You are asked to accompany them to Vigan and to tell them not to 
be afraid, for they come as friends, their freedom will be guaranteed, and they will 
not be forced to join the war. If they obey and become Christians and my 
brothers, I will give them honors, wealth, property and whatever else they 
desire.67

Alliance Between Silang and the English

In the search for allies and legitimacy, Silang contacted the English. He had once 
been anti-England, not anti-Spain, because at least the Spaniards were Catholics. He had 
earlier offered his services to defend Ilocos against the English, believing Alcalde-Mayor 
Zabala to be weak and ready to surrender the province to the English.68 The money and 
provisions he had taken from the babaknangs were intended for the defense of the 
province against the English. He had not intended to rebel against Spain, but he became 
disillusioned and angered by the abusive and exploitative measures of the Spanish 
officials and their local assistants, the principales.

Fearing being caught between the Spanish reinforcement troops from Cagayan 
and Anda’s forces from the south converging on Vigan, Silang realized that his only 
option was to align with the English. On May 6, 1763, Silang received a general letter 
from Dawssonhe Drake, the English General in charge of Manila, which was distributed 
all over northern Luzon. In this letter addressed to the peoples of Ilocos, Pangasinan and 
Cagayan, who were in various states of rebellion, Drake offered to guarantee their rights

67 Ibid., 106.
68 de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 172.
to property, free exercise of religion, liberation from taxes and impositions, and a mutually-advantageous open and free commerce. By acknowledging the English monarch, King George III, as their sovereign, the rebels were assured English protection, friendship and assistance.\(^6^9\) Drake's letter was intended to provide the English, confined to Manila, with much needed support from the rebels. The maneuverings of Anda and his government in Pampanga was a major concern, and forging an alliance with the rebels would ensure that Anda would be confronted by enemies from various fronts.

Silang quickly saw the value of such an alliance, and in his letter pledging allegiance to King George III, he boasted that he had the support of the entire province including the people of the Cordillera. As token of his “fidelity, submission and sincere affection”, he sent two sampan loaded with gifts consisting of “12 loaves of sugar, 12 baskets of calamy [cloth], and 200 cakes or balls of chocolate.” He also listed other products that the province could deliver to the English, such as “paddy, wheat, cattle, coconut, wine, sugar, onions, garlic, fowl, horses, cotton, a kind of liquor called Bassia [Basi].”\(^7^0\) In order to get rid of his powerful enemies and to demonstrate his loyalty to the English, Silang offered to send to Manila the strongly anti-English Augustinian friars who had been confined to their monastery in Bantay.

Pleased with Silang’s offer of allegiance, the British Manila Council endorsed military aid as soon as additional men and arms arrived from British India. They also accepted Silang’s offer to ship the Augustinians to Manila and suggested that Silang should request secular priests as replacements if needed. Silang was also encouraged to


\(^{7^0}\) Ibid.
confiscate and send all the gold and wealth of the Augustinians to Manila. In recognition of his allegiance, the English appointed Silang Governor of Ilocos with the title “Alcalde Mayor y Capitan a Guerra por S.M. Britanica” [Provincial Governor and War Captain] and sent him the symbolic regalia of hat, robe and gold-tipped cane.\(^7\) He was further given the authority to appoint local leaders among his supporters and told to persuade the leaders of the Palaris Rebellion in Pangasinan to recognize the English monarch. Captain William Bereton, head of British forces in Cavite, wrote a letter to Silang whom he addressed as Alcalde-Mayor and War Captain in Ilocos of the British King. In the letter Silang was assured of “protection, and aid in the name of my master, against the common enemy, España.” and promised “troops and war supplies.” He also invited Silang to send Ilocano traders to Manila which the British would gladly welcome. As a “token of affection,” he sent Silang a small bronze canon.\(^72\) In the second week of May, the Seaford and a sampan arrived in Vigan to deliver the letter and gifts. But the vessels immediately returned to Manila for fear of being stranded since it was the onset of the southwest winds. Despite their commitment the English were unable to send any concrete assistance, and the short-lived alliance ended with Silang’s assassination on May 28, 1763.

**Assassination of Silang**

Silang’s assassination was a last ditch attempt by the friars to break the uprising. At first the Augustinians excommunicated Silang in order to alienate his supporters. It

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was an act that shook some of his devoutly Christian followers who now “looked at him with horror.” But most of his supporters were not deterred by the excommunication, and so the friars decided to take more drastic action. They believed that if he was eliminated the rebellion would collapse. In rationalizing the friar conspiracy against Silang, Vivar argued that Silang no longer planned simply to hand the friars over to the English, but was arranging their deaths at the hands of the Tinguians. Bishop Ustariz and Millan believed that Silang would only ship them to Manila, but Vivar and others were convinced that they were going to be executed. All agreed, though, that Silang had to be eliminated to remove the threat to their lives and to end the rebellion. They therefore plotted to have Silang assassinated by promising the chosen assassins with absolution, honors and rewards. Vivar claimed that Silang had proclaimed himself king, turned into a tyrant, and alienated some of his allies by failing to deliver on promises. Don Manuel Vicos, a Spanish mestizo, was the principal assassin and his accomplice was Becbec, one of Silang’s trusted leaders. On May 28, they visited Silang at home, where they and their followers were warmly welcomed. Vicos approached Silang from behind and shot him. He was then repeatedly stabbed by other \textit{principales}. As a reward for killing Silang, Becbec was given the title chief magistrate (\textit{justicia mayor}) of Ilocos. Vicos, on the other hand, fled to Cagayan since he had received death threats and feared retribution from Silang’s supporters. Although Becbec received similar death threats he did not flee since he probably saw himself as one of them, a Tinguian from Santa who was acceptable to both Ilocanos and Tinguians. In contrast

\begin{footnotes}
\item[73] de los Reyes, \textit{Historia de Ilocos}, 2: 182.
\item[74] Ibid., 2: 185.
\item[75] Vivar, \textit{Relacion de los Alzamientos}, 185-191. Vicos apparently returned to Vigan for he was listed in the entierros as a casualty of an epidemic on March 19, 1768.
\end{footnotes}
Vicos had Spanish blood and likely had weak Ilocano lineage. For having ended the Silang uprising, General Anda wrote separate letters to Bishop Ustariz and the people of Ilocos to thank them for their role in removing Silang. Since murder was a criminal offense, Anda also approved an amnesty given by Ustariz to Vicos and Becbec. He thanked the two assassins for their loyalty and promised them remuneration for their deed.

Phase Two of the Silang Uprising

With the death of Diego Silang the friars thought the rebellion had been quelled, but far from being over, the revolt entered a second phase under the leadership of his widow Gabriela and her uncle, Don Manuel Carino. They continued the struggle for another five months, an indication that there was ongoing popular support for the uprising despite the death of its charismatic leader. They regrouped after Silang’s death by retreating to the Tinguian heartland of Abra where Carino was elected to replace Silang. Believing that the Ilocano babaknangs had betrayed the cause, the uprising saw the emergence of the Tinguians as the leading supporters. They had remained steadfast allies, and now one of their chieftains, Tagabuen, offered marriage to Gabriela, though he was already married, to strengthen the alliance. But not all Tinguians supported the rebels, and the Tinguians in Abra failed to enlist the support of their brethren in the hills of northern Ilocos for an attack on the Christian towns. Other upland groups appear not to have offered any assistance to the rebels.

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Map 5. Abra and Vigan
Source: Map Section, Records, Archives and Management Office
Intense fighting resumed in June 1763. In order to avenge Silang’s death, the rebels attacked Santa, the headquarters of Becbec, the new chief magistrate, and Antonio Pimentel, the field commander. The fury of the rebels was directed at Becbec, who had not only betrayed Silang but had also become an abusive official. As magistrate, Becbec ordered the resumption of tribute, raised it to three pesos and two reales, and ordered that the new amount be retroactive to the previous year. On June 24, 1763, about two thousand Ilocano and Tinguian rebels under the command of Gabriela and Cariño overran Santa defended only by a badly-outnumbered 800 loyalist troops. Becbec fled south and the town fell into the hands of the rebels who “imagined themselves like Silang...all wanting to avenge his death.”

Vivar and the other Augustinians meanwhile raised an army from the residents of Batac and other surrounding towns of the north, and were reinforced by an Ibanag contingent sent by Manuel Arza, the Alcalde Mayor of Cagayan who previously was also the Alcalde-Mayor of Pangasinan, at Anda’s orders. They marched towards the south and defeated the rebels in a battle between Sinait and Cabugao on June 27. It was a massive setback for the rebels resulting in the death of about two hundred fighters and the capture of another six hundred. On July 9, the loyalist troops reached Magsingal and two days later entered Vigan. Clashes continued between rebel and loyalist forces, but the former were forced to withdraw and fled in various directions. Gabriela escaped to Pinget Island, about ten miles from Vigan in the area between Santo Domingo and Magsingal, and later found her way back to Abra. Although the north had fully regained Vigan, there was still chaos in the surrounding towns. In Vigan, the prisoners were forced to

77 Ibid., 215-216 and 224-225.
run from the casa real to the patio of the church while loyalist troops lined up along the sides and hacked them with bolos. Very few managed to reach the church alive. The Libro de Entieros of Vigan listed 46 dead on July 12 including members of prominent babaknang families such as the Clementes and Espejos.\textsuperscript{78}

Millan and the other diocesan priests of Vigan vainly tried to intercede and avert the murder of the captured rebels. Despite the grisly execution of numerous rebels, Vivar remained critical and condemned what he regarded as the mild treatment accorded to the rebels and sympathetic residents of Vigan due to the representations made by the diocesan clergy. He laid the blame for the rebellion on the secular priests, who he said failed to spiritually guide their parishioners to the right path. In Vivar's view the Augustinians had successfully pacified the province and made the Ilocanos devout Christians, while the seculars had failed and were therefore responsible for Vigan's opposition.\textsuperscript{79} As was discussed in chapter 3, discord between the Augustinians and the seculars masked a deeper enmity between the babaknangs and the Chinese mestizo over pre-eminence in religious affairs. It was a deep-seated religious rivalry that unfolded during the rebellion.

The rebels launched their final stand on August 24.\textsuperscript{80} The loyalist forces had failed to consolidate their victories and Abra remained a rebel's lair. After retaking Vigan many of the northern troops returned home to till their fields. Those remaining waited for the arrival of Arza from Cagayan. Meanwhile, the rebels had regrouped under the leadership of Tagabuen and Sebastian Endaya, the childhood friend of Diego Silang,

\textsuperscript{78} Libro de Entierros de Vigan, Marzo 27, 1762-Deciembre 31, 1765.
\textsuperscript{79} Vivar, Relacion de los Alzamientos, 3.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 273-277.
and planned an attack on Vigan. But rebel intentions were revealed by Christianized Tinguians living in the rancherias along Santa who had earlier pledged allegiance to the Crown. The conscripted troops from Laoag stationed in Vigan proceeded to Banaoang or the Abra Gap (La Abra Bocana – see Map 5) to intercept the rebels who were coming down the river. About twenty-three loyalist troops died in the historic Battle of Banaoang. The rebels then proceeded to Vigan but were repulsed by troops from Cabugao and Piddig who were stationed in Santa and Bantay. After suffering some eighty casualties in their abortive attack on Vigan, the rebel forces retreated to Abra.

**End of the Uprising**

After their victory in Vigan, the loyalist forces pursued the Tinguians to Abra with the hope of ending the rebellion. Reinforced by an additional one hundred Ibanag soldiers, the Spanish-led troops planned a three-pronged attack on Pidigan, a rebel stronghold in Abra. One group came via the Abra River, the second scaled the hills of Magsingal in the north, and the third approached by way of Narvacan in the south (see Map 5). They rendezvoused in the villages of San Diego and Lagiden, then proceeded to Pidigan. With the troops in pursuit the rebels led by Gabriela and Endaya fled further north to Tayum but were eventually captured when Tagabuen switched sides. The captured rebels were brought to Vigan and about ninety of them, including Gabriela, Endaya, and Manuel Flores, the cabeza of Tayum, were publicly hanged on October 17. But only seventy-four burial entries were listed for that day in the Libro de Entierros, 81

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81 Ibid., 296-302.
suggesting that perhaps some who refused to become reconciled with their Christian faith were denied a church funeral.  

The Libro de Entierros of Vigan during this period is particularly instructive since it listed the interred rebels who were hanged. The list identified their political position, e.g. cabezas, their village or town, and their social status since babaknangs bore the honorific title “Don.” At least nineteen of the 74 listed in the October 17 entry were babaknangs, the majority of whom were Tinguians from Tayum and residents of Vigan. Also in the list were two babaknangs from Magsingal and one each from Paoay, San Sebastian and Santo Domingo. The entierros also reveals an odd mixture of followers. In the list was Don Nicolas Agpalacin of sitio Bontoc who was probably an Igorot. There were at least three Spanish mestizos in the list including one named Don Gonzales de Barba. Barba had been a prominent surname in Vigan for many generations.

Although Vivar was silent on the participation of the Chinese mestizos of Vigan in the rebellion, the entierros confirmed their involvement. Eleven Chinese mestizos from the Pariancillos were hanged, including Pedro Quimson, Julian Sison, Santiago Singson, Santiago Joson, Francisco Sales, Antonio Guison and Juan Ayson. In contemporary times, families bearing surnames such as Singson, Guison, Quimson and Sison have emerged as leading politicians and economic leaders of Vigan. In the aftermath of the Silang uprising six Chinese mestizo aboard a sampan left for Lingayen from Vigan to escape punishment and to render assistance to the continuing Palaris rebellion in Pangasinan.  

82 Frederick Sharpf, SVD, “Memorial Days for Vigan,” The Ilocos Review 17 (1985), 104.  
83 Based on the letter of Olalia to Anda contained in the Archivo General de Indias and as footnoted by Routledge, Diego Silang, 114.
The involvement of the Chinese *mestizos* in the Silang rebellion was not surprising since they had been treated poorly and discriminated against by the colonial authorities. When they learned that the British had thrown their support behind Silang in a de facto alliance, they decided to join the rebellion. Some would have hoped for more freedom and greater access to trade under the English. Most if not all would certainly have objected to the restrictive Spanish system and the monopoly rights in commerce exercised by the colonial officials, particularly the *alcalde-mayor*. The activities of the Chinese *mestizos* of Vigan were consistent with the general behavior of the Chinese and Chinese *mestizos* at this time. They generally sided with the English during their three-year occupation of Manila. At the conclusion of the English occupation of Manila, Anda decreed that all Chinese traitors were to be hanged and their commerce restricted.84

That Silang’s uprising lasted ten months was indicative of Silang’s charisma and the wide support it received from various ethnic groups and social classes. In addition to Chinese support, Silang was successful in attracting the support of the Aetas and Tinguians. But his lack of any ties with the Igorots would explain his inability to gain their alliance in the rebellion.

The Silang uprising was not a class conflict between the *babaknangs* and *kailianes* despite the claim of some historians. *Babaknangs* led the rebellion directed against the Spanish and their perceived local lackeys, the *principales*, who could also be classified as *babaknangs*. It was the *babaknangs* who betrayed the rebellion as exemplified by Becbec who was one of two assassins of Diego Silang.

The Silang uprising revealed the absence of unity between the Ilocanos of the south and the north. The center of the uprising was Vigan and the south, and despite Silang’s efforts he failed to enlist the support of the north. In fact, the loyalist militia that eventually suppressed the rebellion came from the northern towns. This division between the north and the south was also a characteristic of other later revolts in the province.

**Tobacco Monopoly Uprising of 1788**

A quarter of a century after the Silang Uprising, Ilocos was once again in turmoil. The Tobacco Monopoly Uprising of 1788 marked a shift in the center of unrest. There was also a reversal of roles between the southern and northern towns of Ilocos. Unlike in the Silang Revolt where the center of rebellion was the south while the north provided the loyalist troops, in the Tobacco Monopoly Uprising the seat of unrest was the north and the south provided the militia to pacify the north. This pattern persisted in the succeeding rebellions in the province in the first two decades of the 19th century.

**Tobacco Monopoly**

The Tobacco Monopoly was first implemented in 1767. Its most serious challenge came from Ilocos, which ironically only became involved some two decades after the monopoly was first introduced. Tobacco had been grown in the Islands for a long time, “some of it better than that of Havana.”

Islands against Muslim incursions in the south. Its introduction was largely due to the efforts of Jose Basco y Vargas who was one of a very few enlightened governor-generals sent to the Philippines. Initially, Basco confined the monopoly to Manila and the nearby provinces of Tondo, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Bulacan, Pampanga and Bataan because of a shortage of enforcement personnel and the novelty of the measure. The monopoly gained support when the Church through the Archbishop of Manila, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, issued a pastoral letter informing the people of their duty to pay taxes and to abide by the monopoly.

There were three phases in the operations of the monopoly. First, was the purchase of tobacco leaves from the farmers; second, the processing of the leaves into cigars, cigarettes and snuff; and, finally, the sale of the manufactured products. To ensure success a constant supply of tobacco leaves was needed and any form of smuggling stopped. A tobacco revenue police called resguardo was created to oversee the monopoly regions and to prevent smuggling. Smugglers and those cultivating unauthorized tobacco fields were fined and the crops confiscated. Armed resistance to the monopoly and refusal to pay the fines meant corporal punishment as severe as 200 lashes and imprisonment of at least four years. In 1784, the monopoly was extended to Pangasinan and Zambales, and a year later to Mindoro and Cagayan. That same year, Basco and Ciríaco Gonzales Carvajal, the colony’s intendants in charge of the Crown’s

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87 Ibid., 30.
finances, traveled to Ilocos to lay the groundwork for implementing the monopoly in the province.  

From a financial standpoint, the monopoly brought in revenues that finally balanced the budget of the Islands and allowed the ending of the annual subsidy provided by Mexico for two centuries.  

The monopoly created more job opportunities, particularly for women, as *cigareras* or tobacco factory workers in Manila. They were preferred as cigarette workers because they “would do the work with greater care and perfection and with less risk of fraud.”  

But on the whole, the tobacco monopoly was another onerous imposition on an already burdened population. The town of Gapan in Nueva Ecija and the entire province of Cagayan bore the brunt of tobacco production. Quotas were imposed, and those families that failed to meet them were fined. The tobacco was paid for by the government in vouchers or in the issuance of credit. Because the farmers needed cash, they sold the vouchers to local officials and merchants at discounted rates. Moreover, tobacco agents purchasing the leaves from the farmers normally declared them to be low grade, but when they sold the same leaves to the government they were listed as high grade, thus assuring a handsome profit for the agents. To prevent smuggling the tobacco agents and police guarded the tobacco plants closely to ensure that the tobacco leaves that they had earlier graded based on quality would be the ones delivered upon harvest.

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88 Ibid., 50; De los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, 198.  
Because of the monopoly, production of tobacco in the other areas was banned. For hundreds of years the people had planted tobacco for their own consumption or bought it at low prices. With the imposition of the monopoly, they were prohibited from growing tobacco and were forced to buy expensive and poorly-made cigars manufactured in far-off Manila from estancos or the government-owned tobacco stores in Vigan. But as Zuniga explained:

Ready-made cigars are brought from Manila but are in such a bad shape when they reach the province that they are better thrown away than smoked. Ilocanos take this irregularity in stride and buy their tobacco from the Igorots in the mountains who have been raising it since the establishment of the monopoly. Monopoly guards in various cases have attempted to wrest this source of income from the Igorots, but there have also been instances when they have paid for their attempt with their lives.92

Tobacco from the Igorots, therefore, offered the Ilocanos a way of circumventing the monopoly. By the late eighteenth century tobacco had been added as another highly desired, but illegal, trade item between the Ilocanos and Igorots. The tobacco agents found it nearly impossible to curtail the flow of tobacco from the Igorots to the Ilocanos and Pangasinenses. Finally in 1837 the Cordillera was constituted into a special political-military command in order to curb the illicit trade between the highlands and lowlands.93 Yet there were instances where the government “encouraged the production of tobacco in the mountainous region and the authorities...purchased many thousands of pesos worth of tobacco through the intercession of priests [to] increase the supply of the government stores in different parts of the islands.”94

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92 Martinez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 396.
93 Scott, Discovery of the Igorots, 2-3.
94 Martinez de Zuniga, State of the Philippines in 1800, 396-397.
The kailianes protested the harshness of the monopoly, which had deprived them of a well-established cultural pastime in the growing and smoking of tobacco. They were now forced either to avail themselves of the poor quality, high-priced cigars from the estanco, or buy the contraband tobacco grown by the Igorots. Buying contraband tobacco was punishable offense, though they knew that the Crown purchased tobacco directly from the Igorots to replenish stocks in the estancos. In addition to the double standards adopted by the government, there was rampant corruption among those involved in the tobacco monopoly. The monopoly stores declared minimal revenues even while the tobacco agents conducted a trade in contraband tobacco confiscated in the Ilocos-Pangasinan areas. 95

**Unrest over the Tobacco Monopoly**

On November 18, 1788, the Royal Audiencia received two letters from the alcalde mayor of Ilocos, Estanislao Termeyer, and the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Juan Ruiz de San Agustin, reporting that rebels were inciting the residents of Laoag and Piddig to oppose the tobacco monopoly. 96 Rumors were rife that an uprising would occur as soon as the harvest season was over. The alleged leader was a certain Antonio del a Cruz, alias Guasing, a cabeza de barangay from Laoag. In response Termeyer ordered that a military squadron be sent to Laoag to reconnoiter and to persuade the people not to join the uprising.

Termeyer reported that the prison cells in Vigan were full with those arrested in Piddig on March 13 and in Laoag on April 12 and May 9. They had protested against the

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95 Ibid., 397.
96 “Real Acuerdo Extraordinario dela Audiencia de Manila y Noviembre diez y ocho de mil setecientos ochenta y ocho anos,” Ereccion de Pueblos, Ilocos Norte y Sur 1788-1820, exp. 20.
excesses of the monopoly store and its agents and the abuses of the tobacco police. The monopoly guards were described as “wolves in sheep’s clothing...the worst of their kind in the islands.” But the immediate cause of the unrest in 1788 was the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic and the people’s perception that the government had done nothing to warn them or prevent its spread. By November Laoag was on the verge of an open rebellion.

In response the Royal Audiencia appointed an army captain, Don Jose Sanchez, as the provisional Alcalde-Mayor of Ilocos to replace Termeyer whose term of office had ended. Sanchez was ordered to proceed to Vigan and notify Termeyer of the order of the Royal Audiencia. With an escort of twenty cavalry troops and many “volunteer” natives he was ordered to proceed to Laoag and investigate the causes and origin of the turmoil, to restore peace and order in the province, and to arrest Guasing and his allies. In the absence of sources the fate of Guasing and his rebellion is unknown. While the rebellion may have been quelled, apparently the grievances remained unaddressed since Ilocos continued to be beset by rebellions.

**Basi Revolt of 1807**

Almost two decades after the Tobacco Monopoly Uprising, a more serious revolt erupted in Ilocos. In July of 1807, a band of *polistas* conscripted to render military service escaped from Vigan and took refuge in the mountains of Piddig. The deserters rallied other natives with grievances against the government to join their cause. Led by Pedro Mateo from Piddig and his aide Ambaristo, the rebellion came to be known as the *Basi* Revolt. As the name indicates, the revolt began as a local opposition to the
Spanish-imposed monopoly on the production of *basi*, a favorite Ilocano wine made of fermented sugar cane. The rebels later expanded their demands to the abolition of the wine and the tobacco monopolies, an end to military conscription in Ilocos, and amnesty for the military deserters.

After the rebellion a judge (*oidor*) of the *Royal Audiencia*, Don Jose Ayala, arrived in Ilocos to investigate the causes and to pacify the natives of northern Ilocos. He interviewed witnesses who reported that the uprising was a result of the tobacco and *basi* monopolies and the military conscription that had not spared married men. But in Ayala’s report he downplayed the tobacco monopoly and military conscription, noting only that the Ilocanos do not really have a major complaint against them. He recommended, however, that the prohibition of *basi* production be considered.98

*Basi* Monopoly

As with the tobacco monopoly, the *basi* monopoly was intended to raise revenues. Introduced in 1786, the monopoly restricted the production of *basi*.99 Whereas in the past the natives had been free to produce and sell *basi*, the new law required that all *basi* had to be sold to the Crown at government-dictated prices. Ilocos was later barred from making *basi* and only Pangasinan allowed to produce it for the whole region. Ilocanos were forbidden to make *basi* even for their own consumption and instead were compelled

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98 Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes, Manila, 9 de Abril de 1812, *Erecciones Pueblos*, exp. 29, pag. 106-116
99 In the nineteenth century, monopolies led by tobacco and *basi* were the principal revenue source. But *basi* monopoly failed to generate the desired income. Partly it was blamed on the refusal to extend the monopoly throughout the islands thus contraband trade became popular and wine production shifted to other kinds such as brandy or rum from sugarcane or molasses. See “Reforms Needed in Filipinas,” *BR* 51: 227.
to buy it from government stores at expensive prices. Violators were imprisoned and fined.100

In addition, there was rampant corruption in the handling of the basi monopoly. When the people brought their basi to be evaluated, officials in charge of determining the percentage of alcohol or proof strength would classify first class basi as second class for the purposes of payment. But when they resold the basi to the government, they listed the second class quality as first class and retained the profit obtained through this deception. In some instances the manager of the wine monopoly worked in collusion with the alcalde-mayor. When the native brought his wine to be sold he was informed that he had to store his wine in the warehouse first and pay the rental fee for the use of jars until the government received the money to pay him. In order to collect his money and avoid further harassment, the native had no choice but to sell it to the agent of the alcalde-mayor at a low price.101 The top quality basi was brought to Manila and sold to the Spanish community leaving the poor natives with low quality basi. Even then the supply of basi in government stores was limited, and even second-class basi was expensive. To avoid paying such high prices, the natives secretly continued to produce basi both for their own consumption as well as for sale in the black market.102

The Basi Revolt

Clearly the natives had plenty of grievances over the basi monopoly and all they needed was minimal prodding for a rebellion to get underway. The presence of the military deserters in Piddig, a town close to the mountains of the Cordillera, further

102 Ramirez, “Basi Revolt,” 120.
agitated the natives and emboldened them to join the uprising. On the evening of August 31, 1807, the wine monopoly store (*camaron de la renta de vino*) in Laoag was burned to the ground. Thereafter, unauthorized movements of *kailianes* were reported first in the countryside and then in neighboring towns. News of the brewing unrest reached the *Alcalde-Mayor*, Francisco Bringas, who then sent troops to investigate. On their return to Vigan, they reported that the disgruntled inhabitants had been mollified. But as soon as the troops were gone, the unrest resurfaced. Leaders of the *kailianes* joined Mateo and the military deserters, who had come down from their mountain hideout in Piddig and planned an attack on Sarrat. But days before the planned assault the friars and local officials discovered the plan, forcing the rebels to retreat to the mountains of Piddig to await another opportune time to launch an attack.

On September 16, 1807, the insurgents entered Sarrat and gained control of the town. Local residents joined the rebellion despite attempts of the parish priest to dissuade them. The plan of the rebels was to wrest control of the entire province by taking town by town on their way to Vigan. After seizing Laoag, they marched towards San Nicolas. Without waiting till the rebels moved on his town, the parish priest of the neighboring Batac organized a local militia to resist the rebels. The loyalist militia destroyed the bridge between Laoag and San Nicolas hoping to isolate the rebels, but the insurgents used boats to cross the river and enter San Nicolas. They next attacked Batac and met little resistance despite the formation of a local militia. With Piddig, Sarrat, Laoag, San Nicolas and Batac under their control, the rebels moved towards Badoc.

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103 An account of the *Basi* uprising is contained in *Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes*, Manila, 9 de Abril de 1812, *Ereccion de Pueblos*, exp. 29, pag. 106-116.
was in Badoc that they encountered the government troops dispatched from Vigan by
Alcalde-Mayor Bringas. The loyalist troops numbered thirty-six soldiers and two
platoons of civilian guards under the command of Captain Escobar. The rebel numbers
swelled as they moved from town to town, and they outclassied the government troops in
the battle along the Badoc River. The soldiers retreated leaving behind their artillery.
With the additional firepower the rebels had further strengthened and moved towards
Vigan. Bringas ordered the southern towns to organize militias and send aid to Vigan.
All available men from Bantay, Santa, Narvacan, Sta Maria and Vigan were conscripted
and deployed on the south bank of the Bantay River on the side of San Ildefonso where
they waited for the rebels. At noon on September 28, 1807, the rebels battled a strong
contingent of government troops and native militia at the Bantay River transforming its
waters into a sea of red.104 The rebels were defeated and those who survived were
brought to Vigan to be punished. Two leaders were hanged, four others tortured and over
a hundred followers were imprisoned or exiled. Another source claims that two leaders
were hanged in Manila.105 Since the names of those executed were not mentioned, it is
not clear whether there were four leaders altogether who were hanged or merely two
leaders who were hanged either in Vigan or Manila. Over a hundred followers were
either imprisoned or exiled to Mindoro.

It was because the provincial jail in Vigan could not accommodate more than a
hundred prisoners that many were exiled to Mindoro. The jail was already full of men

104 Ibid., 124-125.
105 Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes, Manila,
9 de Abril de 1812, exp. 29, pag. 106-116; “Events in Filipinas, 1801-1840” BR 51: 31. This is taken from
Montero y Vidal, Historia de Filipinas, 2: 360-573.
who were poorly treated due to inadequate government resources.\footnote{Informe del fiscal de S.M sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes, (Manila: 9 de Abril de 1812), exp., 29, pag. 106-116} The Spanish 
*alcalde* of Mindoro at this time was actively seeking ways to repopulate the province and stimulate the local economy by encouraging migration. Governor-General Mariano Folgueras agreed to send the Ilocano insurgents into exile to Mindoro where they could cultivate land and contribute to the agricultural development of the province.\footnote{Antoon Postma, “The Ilocano Exiles in Mindoro, 1808-1815.” *The Ilocos Review* 16 (1984): 34-35.} In 1808 about 65 Ilocano men arrived in Mindoro in several batches. Soon 40 of these men requested that their wives and children be allowed to join them, while the others were either unmarried or preferred that their families remain in Ilocos.

As in other rebellions, the Augustinian friars were credited with restoring peace in the province by dissuading people from joining the rebellion and organizing local militias to fight the rebels.\footnote{“Events in Filipinas, 1801-1840” BR 51: 31. This is taken from Montero Vidal’s *Historia de Filipinas*, 2: 360-573.} Like the Tobacco Monopoly Revolt, the *Basi* Revolt was confined in northern Ilocos and southern Ilocos supplied the troops that quelled the uprising.

**Lung-ao Revolt of 1811**

In the summer of 1811, a Spanish friar alerted colonial authorities about the existence of a religious uprising in the mountains of northern Ilocos. *Babaknangs* of the north established a religion centered on the worship of a god called Lung-ao.\footnote{Between the *Basi* and Lung-ao Revolts, a colonial official, Miguel Bernaldez, made reference to an 1809 uprising in Ilocos. He wrote of how a “one tour-libra cannon, fired by a revenue-clerk, the ball of which hit a church-tower, was sufficient to curb and disconcert more than 10,000 insurgents.” Since there were no other references to an 1809 uprising in Ilocos, perhaps Bernaldez mistook the date and was probably referring either to the 1807 Basi Revolt or the 1811 Lung-ao Revolt in Ilocos Norte. See Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, “Reforms Needed in Filipinas,” 190.} It was led by a religious zealot named Parras Lampitoc\footnote{The Lampitocs were prominent *babaknangs* in Laoag with a number of them appearing in tributary and parish records as *gobernadorcillo*.}, a *babaknang* from Laoag, who styled
himself Jesus Christ, the chief apostle of the god Lung-ao or Redeemer. Lampitoc called on his followers to reject Christianity and establish a religion centered on the worship of Lung-ao. He promised the kailianes that they would be freed from tribute, tobacco and basi monopolies, and religious impositions. He was also said to have preached to the Igorots of Cagayan. When the friars and colonial authorities began to attack their religious practices, Lampitoc called on his followers to rebel. Their plans for revolt were revealed to the authorities, which led to the arrest of Lampitoc and about 70 to 80 of his followers, who were called apostles, including some Igorots. He and his followers “were seized with their gowns, letters, flags and other articles with which ‘the new god,’ [would] make himself manifest.” Many of his followers were executed but, for reasons that are unclear, Lampitoc escaped execution and eventually died from illness.

The Lung-ao Uprising was unusual for this was the only rebellion in Ilocos during this period that called for a rejection of Christianity. Nativistic in nature, it advocated for a return to the pre-hispanic old faith. This explains why it was able to secure the support of the Igorots.

**Sarrat Uprising of 1816**

Barely had northern Ilocos recovered from the series of rebellions when the region was once again in turmoil over another uprising. The event that precipitated it was

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111 In the Ilocano language, lung-ao means “to raise the head above water” or “to squeak through a difficult life.” See “Informe el Fr. Jose Latassa, ministro del pueblo de Bantay sobre la superior orden de 10 de Feb de 1819”, (Bantay: 28 de Febrero de 1819), Ereccion de Pueblos, Ilocos Norte y Ilocos Sur, 1807-1897, exp. 62, pag. 234-239b; De los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 228; Isagani L. Madamba, “The Ilocos Revolts” Ilocandia 2:1 (March 1983), 46.
113 De los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, 2: 228.
the controversial Cadiz Constitution of 1812. In 1812, the liberals who were in control of Spain passed a new constitution that guaranteed rights to Spanish citizens as well as to their colonial subjects. Two years later the liberals were out of power and King Ferdinand had reestablished absolutism. He revoked the Cadiz Constitution, but because of the distance of the Philippines to Spain, news of the passage and later abrogation of the Cadiz Constitution took a year to reach the Philippines.

As a result of the liberal government in Spain, the Philippines was allowed representation in the Cortes, Spain's principal legislative body. A Manila merchant, Ventura de los Reyes, became the first and as it turned out the last representative to the Cortes. Although other Philippines delegates were chosen they were barred from going to Spain once King Ferdinand had dissolved the liberal Cortes.

News of the demise of the Cortes and the abrogation of the Cadiz Constitution did not sit well with the Philippine inhabitants. They had earlier interpreted the Constitution as key to their liberation from tribute and polo since it guaranteed equal rights for both Spanish citizens and colonial subjects. Governor-General Gardoqui had to issue a proclamation where he explained that the people had misunderstood the controversial Constitution. He declared that the Crown needed tribute to carry out its duty of protecting the people and discharging justice and other services. But his explanation was rejected, and the people believed that the news of the abrogation of the Constitution was a mere ploy by the Governor-General to deprive them of their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. This perception was very strong among the kailianes of Ilocos who, despite the distance of Ilocos from Manila, had apparently kept abreast of news coming from the

capital. The bearers of news from Manila may have been the *kailianes* employed in Manila, who frequently moved between the capital and their home province in Ilocos. They believed that the Crown and the *principales* had conspired to deprive them of their rights to enjoy the same privileges accorded to the *principales*.

The discontent brewing in the north was initially reported in February of 1816, and so the major adjutant of the military, Don Bernave de Soto, was sent to investigate. He reported that a certain Andres Bugarin was the principal organizer of the people in Piddig, and that he had also met with others from Vintar, Bacarra, Pasuquin, Nagpartian and Bangui. In Sarrat, he talked to the *kailianes* working in the lime industry.\(^{116}\)

The uprising began between 3 and 4 in the afternoon on March 3, when a group of *kailianes* armed with sabers, machetes, picks and arrows assembled in the town plaza of Sarrat.\(^{117}\) Bugarin addressed the crowd and told them that *kailianes* from Bangui to Bacarra had taken up arms and were headed to Sarrat. The *gobernadorcillo* of Sarrat sent troops but the rebels guarding the entrance to the plaza barred their way. Soon it was the parish priest, Fr. Nieto, who arrived in the plaza and addressed the crowd. Although the rebels kissed his hand and sought his blessings, they ignored his pleas. They told him they were after the *principales*, their wives and sons and would also strip the monastery of jewelry and goods.

The rebels proceeded to the town hall, maltreated the officials and destroyed papers. They beat the drums to signal the start of the uprising, which the residents

\(^{116}\) Letter of Don Antonio Fernandez to Don Josef de Gardoqui, *Expediente sobre la sublevacion en Ilocos 1816*.

\(^{117}\) The account of the Sarrat Uprising was culled from primary documents compiled under *Expediente Sobre la Sublevacion en Ilocos 1816*. This is a bundle of documents in the RMAO archives under the heading *Reblliones y Sublevaciones*. The accounts were reports by the Alcalde-Mayor of Ilocos, Don Antonio Fernandez, to Governor-General Jose Gardoqui y Jaraveytia. The uprising is also discussed by de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, 2: 231-235.
responded to by unfurling white banners in their houses as a show of support. The rebels then proceeded to the monastery and ransacked it. They carted off 1,200 pesos in cash, cotton clothes and wine. Many became so drunk that they destroyed everything they found in the monastery, including the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints.

There were 1,500 rebels under the leadership of Andres Bugarin of Piddig and Simon Thomas, Mariano Espiritu and Vicente Santiago, all of Sarrat. They targeted the houses of the babaknangs around the plaza, and the first ones to be raided were those of Juan Bernardino Bitanga, Benito Buenaventura and Alejandro Buenaventura. Fr. Nieto, fearing for the lives of the babaknang, proceeded to Bitanga’s house and discovered the dead body of Dona Rosa Agcaoili, Eleuterio Dimaya, Dona Juana Albano and a child of three months.

Agcaoili bore the brunt of the wrath of the kailianes. She was described as a rich storeowner and businesswoman hated by the kailianes because she always claimed that cotton textiles woven by the kailianes were badly made in order to underpay them. So deeply angered were the rebels at Agcaoili that they cut her up in pieces, and cut off a “certain hidden part” (cierta parte oculta) of her body and displayed it in public.

At 9 in the evening, the rebels had calmed down and retired for the night. Sentinels were assigned to the church and plaza to guard the babaknangs. The following day the leaders of the uprising warned the people that anyone caught providing refuge or assistance to any of the babaknangs would be killed. By this time the rebels had apprehended the gobernadorcillo and two other babaknangs. They were brought to the plaza where they were questioned on why they abrogated the privileges accorded to the people by the 1812 Constitution. Still dissatisfied with their explanations, they were
ordered executed after they had received the sacrament of confession from Fr. Nieto.

The punishment, however, was deferred after Fr. Nieto convinced the rebels to wait for news from other towns regarding their demands to abolish tribute and *polo*.

By this time the rebels wanted to expand the scope of the rebellion. Tomas proceeded to San Nicolas with 200 men while Bugarin headed to Piddig with another 200 rebels. Tomas and his men arrived in San Nicolas where they sacked the town hall and the monastery. They stabbed many *babaknangs*, imprisoned others and ransacked their houses. Tomas and his troops left San Nicolas and headed to Laoag but they were barred from crossing the river that separated the two towns. They returned to Sarrat the following day and so did Bugarin who had gone to Piddig where he and his troops attacked the local *babaknangs* and raided their houses.

On March 6, three days into the rebellion, the friars and local officials were able to raise a loyalist militia of about 600 men from Vintar, Batac, Paoay, San Nicolas and Laoag. They were intended to augment the small number of soldiers assigned in the province. At the time of the uprising Ilocos had the following number of troops:\(^\text{118}\)

**Table 5. Colonial Troops in Ilocos in 1816**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Troops</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Sergeant</th>
<th>Corporal</th>
<th>Soldiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King’s Regiment (Infantry)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry or on Horseback (<em>Dragones</em>)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With an estimated population of 255,000 the ratio of people to soldiers was almost 1,500:

1. The number of troops was inadequate to maintain peace and order, and so local

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\(^{118}\) "Expediente sobre la sublevacion en Ilocos." A month after the uprising the Queen’s Regiment arrived in Ilocos to relieve the King’s regiment. The Queen’s regiment consisted of 4 officers, 4 sergeants, 10 corporal and 129 soldiers.
militias had to be organized to aid the troops in crushing the rebels. This was a common practice because the troops were concentrated in Vigan, and it took time to respond to disturbances in the north.

As a result of the distance of Vigan from the northern towns, the disturbance had become a full-blown rebellion by the time troops arrived. The local militia organized by the friars and gobernadorcillos of the nearby towns proceeded to Sarrat where they joined by about 50 infantry troops under the command of Lt. Antonio Limon. He had been sent by the alcalde-mayor to Badoc at the start of the uprising to prevent the rebels from moving south. Another contingent of 150 soldiers on foot and horses under the command of J. Bernabe de Soto who had earlier been dispatched to Paoay headed to Sarrat as well. The government troops surrounded Sarrat and they battled the rebels who threatened to kill their babaknang-prisoners. At least 200 dead bodies littered the streets and the banks of the river. By 11 in the evening, Fr. Nieto spoke to the ringleaders and convinced them of the futility of further resistance. That same evening many escaped Sarrat and proceeded to the forest and mountains. By midnight the prisoners were freed and peace was restored. It was dawn when the loyalist troops entered Sarrat without bloodshed. But while the troops from Laoag were in the plaza a house was put to the torch on the north side then another on the east then on the south. Official reports claim it was the rebels who set fire to the town in five places to sow confusion that enabled them to escape. But it was probably not the rebels who were responsible since most of them had escaped from Sarrat hours before the fires were set. It was much more likely that the loyalist troops set the town on fire as a punishment for the rebellion. The

\[119\] Report of Alcalde-Mayor, Expediente sobre la sublevacion en ilocos 1816.
distressed residents withdrew to the river bank as the fire engulfed the entire town and reduced it to ashes.

When Alcalde-Mayor Bringas and his fresh troops arrived in Sarrat shortly thereafter, he ordered food and lodging for the refugees and the building of a new town a short distance from the original site. He also ordered Lt. Limon together with 20 infantrymen and 10 cavalrymen to pursue and apprehend the rebels who had fled to the mountains. On March 14, Lt. Limon and his troops returned to Vigan with 46 prisoners including Bugarin and Simon who were later sent to exile, bringing the Sarrat Uprising to an end.

The Sarrat Revolt was different compared to previous revolts since this was led by kailianes. The records do not refer to Bugarin and the other ringleaders as babaknangs unlike in the other revolts were the leaders were identified as such. The revolt appears to be class-based since those that became objects of attacks were rich and influential Ilocanos who were perceived to have colluded with the colonial state in exploiting and oppressing the kailianes. Their residences as well as monasteries were attacked and stripped of wealth. What was ironic with the Sarrat Uprising was that, despite being kailian-led, it bore ideas of European liberalism since the major demand was the return of the Cadiz Constitution that guaranteed representation in the Spanish Cortes and equality of rights regardless of socio-economic stature.

Like previous uprisings, the Sarrat Revolt was violently suppressed. What was perhaps shocking to the state was the persistence of rebellions despite its bloody endings. The state had dealt harshly with resistance and, yet, the Ilocanos have not been cowed.
The frequent rebellions in northern Ilocos and the glaring weakness of the state to impose order became a major concern of the colonial government.

**Conclusion**

Revolts in Ilocos increased in frequency in the middle of the 18th and the early 19th centuries. Ilocos had become the most rebellion-prone province in the Islands. Unrest became constant primarily because of the persistence of excessive colonial demands on the local inhabitants as well as the demographic pressure on a province lacking of economic opportunities. As will be discussed in the next chapter, population pressure was greater in Ilocos compared to other provinces.

The distance of Ilocos from Manila was a factor in the frequency of upheavals in the province. Because colonial control was traditionally weaker in the distant provinces, the new demands - tobacco and *basi* monopolies – in the 18th century were regarded as far more oppressive in Ilocos than in provinces accustomed to colonial requisitions. Furthermore, the colonial government manifested weakness in imposing its authority in Ilocos primarily due to the inadequacy of military troops in the province to deal with upheavals.

Yet, paradoxically, while Ilocos was distant from Manila, it nonetheless remained linked to the capital. Despite its distance from Manila, Ilocos was always aware of events in the capital. It was this contact with Manila and neighboring provinces that also triggered rebellions. The Almazan Revolt was a delayed reaction to the rebellions in the southern provinces. Diego Silang started his uprising after learning of the British occupation of Manila, and the Sarrat Uprising was triggered by rumors that the Governor-General had abrogated the Cadiz Constitution.
Except for the Sarrat Uprising, the other rebellions were led by lowly babaknangs and directed against others of the same class who had become office holders under the Spaniards with their new designation of principales. As the officials responsible for collecting tribute and vandala and recruiting polistas at the local level for the colonial government, they incurred the resentment of the inhabitants. During the various uprisings, these hated babaknangs turned principales became the targets of rebel attacks.

Spanish officials bore the brunt of the anger of the rebels. In the Silang Revolt the alcalde-mayor was the most hated because he had abused his privilege to engage in commerce. Ilocos had very few Augustinian friars. A 1774 diocesan report maintained that, due to the controversy over Episcopal visitacion (see chapter 3), no new Augustinian friars had been sent for seven years to augment their small numbers in the province. Despite the limited presence of friars in Ilocos, they played significant roles in ending the upheavals either by pacifying the rebels, organizing loyal militias against the rebels or, in the case of the Silang Rebellion, ordering the assassination of its leader. But they may have also contributed to local discontent because of their perceived abuses.

In the Ilocos Revolt of 1660-1661 and the Almazan Revolt, the rebels attacked the friars. Subsequent revolts do not seem to have been directed at friars although their monasteries being repositories of wealth perceived to have been extracted from the people were ransacked. That later revolts do not seem to target friars may be because Christianity had already taken a deeper root at this time compared to the earlier century.

Ethnic alliances were an important factor in the rebellions. The Almasan and Silang Revolts were sustained by the support of the Calanasan and Tinguians, respectively. In contrast, in the 1660-1661 Pangasinenses and Zambal raid of Ilocos, the Tinguians extended assistance to the people of Narvacan who joined the loyalist troops. The participation of the upland groups in these rebellions was not so much due to shared grievances as to personal ties and commercial partnerships forged over the years. Although highland assistance appeared to be muted in the colonial records of the latter uprisings, a closer reading would show it was still present. Lampitoc preached among the Igorots and his movement counted Igorots among its supporters. It was likely that the Sarrat Uprising also involved Igorot support since the rebels later sought refuge in the mountains of Piddig, a town near the slopes of the Cordillera whose population included Igorot catechumens. That the ties between the Ilocanos, on one hand, and the Igorots and Tinguians on the other, were maintained even in times of revolts is indicative of the depth of their friendship and partnership. Even Spanish military campaigns in the Cordillera using Ilocano troops did not undermine these bonds.

A major reason for the failure of revolts in Ilocos is the lack of unity within the province. There was clearly a division between northern and southern Ilocos. The center of unrest in the 1660-1661 and the Silang Rebellion was the south. Almazan led a rebellion in the north but this came after the south has been pacified. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries revolts centered on the northern towns. In all the revolts the friars organized loyal militia from the other half of Ilocos that was not rebelling.

This division was a reflection of the contrasting economic orientation of the north and south. The north had more agricultural lands and cattle ranches while agriculture in
the south was less extensive. Vigan and the surrounding towns had earned the reputation for their **burnay** or stoneware jar industry. Vigan had also maintained its reputation as a trade port. The north would develop its own port in Currimao but its prominence came only in the 19th century. Perhaps the division of the north and the south and the opposing sides they always took can indicate competition or rivalry between them. But this is only speculative in the absence of specific reference to this rivalry in the colonial records.

Since the north had extensive agricultural lands, it encouraged the growth of a huge population. As will be discussed in the next chapter, one major factor in the upheaval in the north was its high population density that appeared more pronounced because of the lack of agricultural lands, the absence of other economic opportunities for the **kailianes**, and the new colonial impositions in the 18th century. This also explains why the center of unrest in the province shifted from the south to the north after the Silang Uprising. The north was more agitated than the south due to the population boom in many of its leading towns such as Laoag, Paoay and Batac and the absence of livelihood opportunities for many of its people. The demographic profile of Ilocos and the persistence of rebellion in the 19th century were the major reasons why the colonial government decided to partition Ilocos.
CHAPTER 7

PACIFICATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

THE CREATION OF ILOCOS NORTE AND ILOCOS SUR

Despite its different outward purposes, the *raison d'être* of the state remained the maintenance of order, thus allowing its persistence and ensuring the smooth functioning of the society which provided the state with its resources.¹

- Robert H. Taylor

Ilocos had become a major concern of the Royal Crown after successive rebellions in the province beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. After the Silang Revolt, there were four other rebellions in a span of thirty years, from 1787 to 1816, in the northern towns of Ilocos. By this time a noticeable shift in the center of unrest had occurred from the south to the north. In the aftermath of the 1816 Sarrat Uprising, Governor-General Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras ordered Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, a fiscal of the Royal Audiencia and a colonial official in the Philippines for seventeen years, to investigate the origin and causes of the discontent of the natives in order to prevent further upheavals.

Typical of colonial inquiries, Bernaldez sought the opinions of the local officials and clergy but not the natives. His investigation “explained the origin of those repeated insurrections, analyzed the degree of perverseness which progressively in each of them had revealed in the purpose of the conspirators, and deduced the necessity of dividing the province of Ilocos into two, to the end that its large towns should each have a ruler closer at hand who might keep them in check.”² He concluded that the upheavals in Ilocos had

no justifiable cause and the natives had no legitimate grievance against the Crown.
Revolts had recurred because the elongated terrain of Ilocos and the tremendous increase in population had made it difficult for officials and soldiers to respond to disturbances on the other end of the province. In order to prevent further revolts he recommended that Ilocos be split into two provinces, each under an alcalde-mayor who would promptly check disturbances and ensure effective governance. By the time he made his recommendation a royal order had already been signed creating Ilocos Norte. In 1827, Bernaldez included his findings in a report he submitted to the King on the causes that endanger the security and hamper the progress of the islands.

**Reasons for the Unrest: the Colonial Standpoint**

Bernaldez claimed that the “successive revolts of [the] various towns in the province of Ilocos in the years 1810 [sic], 1812, and 1816 had no other source.” In general, he noted that revolts in the islands were due to towns with enormous, unwieldy population:

> If reports of their population be examined, it will be found that in a great number of villages it does not fall below 10,000, 11,000 or 12,000 souls; and it is impossible that so many can be well directed spiritually by one parish cura alone which each village has, or in secular matters by only one gobernadorcillo or alcalde....In these populations which do not conform to the rule there has always been recognized more or less instability, for the class of the plebians, or caylianes, is immense and out of proportion to that of the timauas, or nobles; and likewise because the unarmed authority of a gobernadorcillo must necessarily be vacillating, at the mercy of that great mass of people, who are easily set in motion by a seditious person, a few drunkards, or the superstitious tale of some old man.4

Bernaldez explained the revolts as merely an administrative problem that could be remedied by ensuring that the number of kailianes remains in proportion with the number

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid. Bernaldez erred when he referred to the nobles as timauas. The timaua is the Tagalog term similar to the kailian of the Ilocano. The nobles should have been the principales or babaknangs.
of babaknangs, and that the population remains manageable for one parish priest and gobernadorcillo. His explanation was likely shaped by the opinions of the clergy and colonial officials of Ilocos whom he summoned to shed light on the series of revolts. All exonerated the government and the church from any responsibility and placed the blame squarely on the kailianes.

Fr. Andres Rodriguez Castaño, the Augustinian missionary assigned to Vintar, wrote that the uprisings were inevitable since there was a multitude of kailianes who were prone to idleness and laziness. He claimed that although they were unemployed and had nothing to preoccupy them, they refused to be conscripted in the military to become soldiers in Manila and instead preferred to remain idle in Ilocos. On the other hand, those who were forcibly drafted often eventually deserted. They became remontados who would hide in the mountains to escape conscription or vagamundos who moved from town to town to form a floating population.

Castaño further blamed the frequency of unrest on the weak penal system. He claimed that only the leaders of the rebellions and not the kailianes were punished, thus encouraging the latter to join other uprisings. Castaño was of course incorrect since documents reveal that followers of rebellions were also executed, jailed or exiled. He was convinced that inadequate punishment was the cause of the increase in crime by the kailianes. Despite the frequency of theft of water buffaloes (carabao), cows, and horses committed by the people, it was considered a minor crime punishable by flogging or only a few days’ imprisonment. The high incidence of cattle and carabao rustling throughout the Islands alarmed Spanish authorities since the shortage of work animals hindered

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agricultural development. In order to discourage further thefts, Governor-General Jose Basco y Vargas issued a proclamation (bando) in 1782 that imposed stiffer penalties on rustling and the unauthorized slaughter of cattle and carabao. He decreed that the slaughter of one to two carabaos would be punishable by 200 lashes and 10 years of hard labor, and the rustling of three to four carabaos would merit the death penalty.6

The parish priest of Bantay, Fr. Jose Latassa, shared Castaño's opinion. He reported that the kailianes did not have any real motive to rebel, and when asked why they had participated in a rebellion, they explained that they had been misled by agitators (rascal motores). Latassa asserted that the kailianes bore no ill-will toward the government, alcalde-mayor and principales, and he exonerated the alcalde-mayor by denying any mistreatment of the kailianes.7 By extolling the virtues of the Church and describing the friars as the “true fathers and real servants in cloth”, he insisted that the people had no reason to rebel. Also absolved were the principales whom he claimed had never oppressed the kailianes. Even colonial policies, in his opinion, were not a cause for revolts, and he denied that the kailianes had legitimate grievances against the royal income (rentas reales) collected by the government. He concluded that the kailianes merely rebelled because “starving rascals” (hambrentones) among their ranks had deceived them.

Both Castaño and Latassa had a very low opinion of the kailianes, whom they called gullible for believing every rumor. They claimed the Sarrat Uprising was triggered by rumors that the Governor-General had revoked the Cadiz Constitution to deprive the

6 OD Corpuz, An Economic History of the Philippines (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), 89.
kailianes of equal rights as the Spanish and principales. Despite explanations offered to the kailianes, they continued to insist on exemption from tribute and forced labor. Latassa’s low opinion of the kailianes with overtones of racism is evident in his statement that the kailianes, although endowed with the five senses, act as if they possessed none at all. He branded them lazy and naïve, easily molded to become creatures of any rebel leader.

Despite Latassa’s obviously racist tones, his observations of the planning and implementation of local uprisings provide a rare glimpse of the thinking of the rebels. He reports that rebellions usually begin at evening meetings outside the town, or at daytime gatherings in rancherías along the mountain slopes, or at secret places. In the meetings, the leaders provide instructions on what the kailianes ought to do and set the precise time for the uprising. Days before the revolt, town folks sympathetic to the cause pledge to contribute silver, rice, chicken, pigs and other provisions which they can barely afford. At an agreed time and place, the people assemble and then begin the rebellion with loud shouts and cheers. The kailianes then proceed to the town proper, occupy the seat of government, neutralize the Spanish and the principales, and seize provisions and properties which they believe rightly belong to them.

Latassa noted that the kailianes frequently blame the principales for the uprising, even though he claimed that in reality these principales who serve as cabezas are good individuals. Like Fr. Vivar during the Silang Revolt, he attributed the rebellions to another group of educated babaknangs who did not have an official function in the
colonial administration and therefore were not *principales*. He called them “starving degree holders” (*bachiller hambrientos*), while Vivar referred to them as “ignorant or poor lawyers and men with little power” (*abogadillos y apoderados*). This group of *babaknangs* were most likely the *ladinos*. According to Latassa, they promote corruption in the town and own lands without paying tribute or performing labor duties. Yet with the wealth obtained from trade, they exercise influence over the people and frequently mislead them into rebellion. Although the *kailianes* have no one to blame but themselves, it was the *babaknangs* who stir up and redirect the anger of the *kailianes* towards the *principales* and the Spanish. In the Sarrat Uprising Latassa witnessed the *kailianes* arrest nine former *gobernadorcillos* in the town of San Nicolas.}

**Resistance: the Kailian Response**

In contrast to the accounts of the friars the Assessor-General, Manuel Suarez de Olivera, admitted that the *kailianes* had legitimate grievances against the *babaknangs* and that the rebellions were an outlet for their anger and frustration. He criticized the miserable wages paid to the *kailianes*, which amounted to being enslaved by the *babaknangs*. As a result of this widespread practice, in the Sarrat Revolt the wealthy *babaknang*-businesswoman, Rosa Agcaoili, was executed by the *kailianes*. In addition, the tobacco and wine monopolies had worsened the condition of the people. Suarez also noted that the *kailianes* of Laoag, Batac and Paoay do not own a single palm tree nor an inch of land to till. For this reason many want to move to other places in the province.

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9 Informe el Fr. Josef Latassa, ministro del pueblo de Bantay sobre la superior orden de 1 de Febrero de 1819, Bantay, 28 de Febrero de 1819. *Erreccion de Pueblos, Ilocos Norte y Ilocos Sur, 1807-1897*, exp. 62, pag. 234-239b
10 Ibid.
11 “Informe el Manuel Suarez de Olivera, *Ereccion de Pueblos*, 1807-1897, exp. 29, 117.
where they can own land which they can pass on to their sons. He admitted that the
*kailianes* are destitute, deprived and helpless, and must be protected from the
*babaknangs*. Officials were accused of being insensitive and inconsiderate to the plight
of the *kailianes*, and of sheer inability to reach out and address their needs. He concluded
that there should be an equitable distribution of land among all residents of a town so that
the people would have sufficient lands to farm and live decently. Only in this way would
further uprisings be averted.

Suarez had grasped the real causes for the recurrence of rebellions. The life of the
*kailianes* was extremely difficult. They served either as agricultural peasants or as wage
earners in cattle ranches and weaving industries owned by *babaknangs*. In addition, they
were liable to be drafted for *polo* or military duties and had to pay tributes, church fees
and other numerous extralegal forms of taxation. Even the few pleasures that they took
in tobacco and basi were now regulated by the colonial government. It has been argued
that, confronted by a variety of adverse circumstances, the people developed social values
that helped them to survive and cope the best they could:

Largely because of the extreme weather changes and scarcity of arable
land, the Ilocano have evolved an intensive system of agriculture and
social values to cope with seasonal adversities: adaptability, frugality,
industry and neighborliness.12

But even such social values were insufficient to assuage the anger at the
maltreatment at the hands of the colonial regime. Many fled the *pueblos* to the mountains
and became *remontados*. Others became *vagamundos*, moving from town to town
without a fixed residence and hoping to go unnoticed among the large urban populations.

*CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Arts CD-Rom* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1999), 6.
Those who were unsuccessful at avoiding forced labor found a way to escape, as is evident in the high desertion rate among workers conscripted for public works.

Peasants know that in any rebellion they have little to gain and a lot to lose—lives, homes and crops. Thus, according to James C. Scott, peasants tend to resort to "weapons of the weak" that are less threatening but still effective in resisting oppression.\textsuperscript{13} In the case of Ilocos, this meant avoidance through flight and desertion, and semi-confrontational protest actions such as banditry and vandalism. In Southeast Asia, flight and desertion or what is called "avoidance protests", were common and preferred patterns of peasant behavior against an oppressive system. In an avoidance protest "dissatisfied groups seek to attenuate their hardships and express their discontent through flight, sectarian withdrawal, or other activities that minimize challenges to or clashes with those whom they view as their oppressors...."\textsuperscript{14} But this only works if particular demographic, geographic, and political requirements are met. As Michael Adas explains:

Peasant migration from the lands of an unpopular lord...was both a means by which the group in flight protected itself from what it felt to be excessive exactions and a dramatic way of protesting and drawing attention to the maladministration of the noble or official in question. The option of flight was in turn dependent upon a low population density, the availability of refuge zones or unoccupied lands in which the runaways could settle, and a relatively low level of administrative and coercive capacity.\textsuperscript{15}

The Cordillera was a refuge for the \textit{kailianes}, although it was not entirely beyond the reach of the Spaniards, as they proved on occasion. Flight and desertion were also

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 219.
possible because the Spanish government was weak and unable to exercise authority
beyond the pueblos and visitas.

But by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, colonial control had
gradually extended beyond the pueblo-visita with the establishment of Igorot and
Tinguian rancherías along the slopes of the Cordillera. Furthermore, population density
and a diminishing northern frontier made avoidance protests more difficult. It was also
the time when the colonial government expanded its revenue earning capacity by
introducing monopolies that placed heavier demands on the people, particular among the
Ilocanos as the major producers of cotton for the growing domestic and international
market. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, therefore, were far more
burdensome for the local inhabitants than at any other time. In accordance with Scott’s
analysis, the succession of revolts in Ilocos in the early nineteenth century was the final
act of desperation of the kailianes after all other options had been unsuccessfully
employed. Peasants rebel as a last option when their subsistence ethics or rights to
minimal human needs have been eroded. Initially, peasants adopt a safety-first attitude
and are risk-averse, that is, they prefer to minimize the probability of economic disaster
which would threaten their subsistence security. Scott claims that peasants view economic
justice and exploitation not as a question of how much was taken but how much was left to
them, an issue therefore of the extent to which the elites and the colonial order had impinged
on the peasants' right to subsistence. The stage had been reached where the kailianes found
it difficult or impossible to meet the minimum human subsistence needs because of the
excessive colonial demands.

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Discontent Amidst Population Pressure

Ilocos in the nineteenth century had become a simmering volcano ready to erupt in open rebellion. Its population had reached alarming proportions. Despite an exodus of many Ilocanos to Manila, there was still a 50% increase in the population of the province in a span of thirty years from 1758-1788. In 1794, there were 40,761 and 499 native and Chinese mestizo tribute-payers, respectively. Six years later, the number of tribute-payers increased to 44,852.5 natives and 631 Chinese mestizos. This 1800 figure, however, is higher than the 1812 report of the alcalde-mayor of Ilocos, Antonio Zurbita, who wrote that Ilocos had become a huge province with 39 Christian towns totaling about 40,524 tributes and 27 infidel towns with 1,148 tributes excluding the rancherías of Tinguians and Igorotes who have not converted but pay tribute as a sign of their vassalage to the King of Spain. Another source estimated that the tribute-payers of Ilocos had increased from 43,572 in 1798 to 53,464 in 1810 exclusive of the many reservados or those exempted from forced labor. Using the formula where a tribute-payer represents a family of four, the population of Ilocos increased from 174,288 to 213,856 in a span of a dozen years. Compared to Loarca’s 22,100 tribute-payers in 1582, Salazar’s 27,000 in 1588, and Dasmarias’ 17,230 in 1591, the number of tribute-payers in the province doubled in a span of two centuries. In 1817, the population of Ilocos was

18 Ibid.
19 Martinez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 414.
placed at 255,000. Two years later, Governor-General Folgueras reported the population of Ilocos at 287,040 souls spread out in 35 Christian towns.

To get a sense of the magnitude of Ilocos' population compared to the rest of the archipelago, the total number of people in the islands was 2,231,000 of which 255,000 or 11.4% resided in Ilocos. This figure, however, is modest compared to the estimate provided by Tomas de Comyn in 1810. He listed Ilocos as the most populated province with 366,067 people, more than twice that of Iloilo, the second most populated province, and was equivalent to 14% of the total Philippine population of 2,515,406.

In Ilocos all the populous towns were in the north; only Vigan in the south was densely inhabited. A 1794 description of Ilocos identifies the most populated towns as Laoag with 4,344 tributes, Batac with 2,916, Paoay with 2,642, Vigan with 2,307 and Dingras with 1,627. In 1927, Bernaldez identified the fifteen towns in the islands with the largest number of population. Laoag was the largest town in the islands with 25,242. Aside from Laoag, included in the list were three other towns of Ilocos: Vigan with 17,320 population, Paoay with 14,840, and Bacarra with 13,064. Beginning in the late eighteenth century there was clearly a massive increase in the population of Ilocos and the growth of large towns.

22 Concepcion and Smith [Xenos], "Demographic Situation in the Philippines", table 3 and A1; Smith [Xenos], "Ilocos Coast Since 1800", 45.
23 Comyn, State of the Philippines in 1810, 145.
24 Arzadun, "Descripcion de la provincia de Ilocos" in Visita a las Provincias de Cagayan, Ilocos, Pangasinan y Pampanga por el Don Josep Ignacio de Arzadun y Revollo (Manila: 1794), Ayer Collection, Newberry Library (Leitz Calendar No. 75), sec. 53.
Due to scarcity of land, Ilocos had “achieved very high agrarian population densities long before most other areas of the Philippines and Southeast Asia.”\(^{26}\) Since the economy of Ilocos was agricultural and the cotton manufacturing industry remained traditional and small scale in orientation, life in the province in the early nineteenth century was difficult. The economy could not absorb the huge increase in the labor force. A large number of Ilocanos were unemployed and were probably those that the friars referred to as idle and lazy. They were also the ones whom the Spaniards referred to as prone to join revolts. But as chapter 5 has documented, revolts in Ilocos were widespread and not just by one specific population type.

The intra-ethnic conflicts between the babaknangs and Chinese mestizos in the early nineteenth century, as documented in chapter four, appear to have been confined solely to Vigan and not a concern of the kailianes. The babaknangs accused the Chinese mestizos of bleeding the economy dry and causing great hardship on the kailianes by their usury. The accusation, however, may have been a case of rivalry among the two most influential groups in Ilocos. In the Ilocos rebellions during this period the ire of the people was directed not at the Chinese mestizos but at the colonial authorities including the *principales*. The Chinese mestizos lived mainly in Vigan, with only a handful in the northern towns which were the centers of unrest. Moreover, the sources do not mention any anti-Chinese mestizo resentment among the kailianes. As is suggested in chapter four the kailianes were probably even thankful for the presence of the Chinese mestizos who was a source of credit for them. Perhaps conditions in the northern towns of Ilocos

\(^{26}\) Smith, “The Ilocos Coast Since 1800,” 39.
would have been different had there been a sizable Chinese mestizo community who could have extended credit or employment assistance to the kailianes.

**Outmigration as the Ultimate Form of Non-violent Protest**

Avoidance protest also took the form of out-migration or the "process of continuing encroachment on adjoining and less populous rural territories." A colonial official, on the other hand, claimed that outmigration due to demographic pressure and the absence of economic opportunities was the ultimate form of rebellion.

The movement of Ilocanos actually started in the eighteenth century when they spilled over in the northern towns of Pangasinan. Their numbers became so great that Ilocano came to replace Pangasinense as the most widely spoken language in the province. Many also found their way to Manila where there was a heavy demand for volunteer troops and workers. By the end of the eighteenth century the garrisons of Manila were filled with conscripted Ilocanos. There were also many Ilocanos who worked in Manila as servants and coachmen.

In June 1, 1803, the alcalde-mayor of Ilocos, Alonzo Corrales, inspected Abra and commented that the province offered economic opportunities to migrants. It had fertile, unoccupied flatland and could easily accommodate four new towns with more

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28 "Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes", Ereccion de Pueblos, exp. 32, pag. 125-126b.
29 Arzadun, "Descripción de la Provincia de Ilocos," 3.
31 Arzadun, "Descripción de la provincia de Ilocos," 3; Martínez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 424.
than a 100 tribute-payers each.\textsuperscript{32} The new residents would have an abundance of land to till and they could contribute to the pacification of the Tinguians. Corrales' predecessor, Manuel Cubells, had earlier expressed the difficulty of opening up new towns in Abra since the Ilocanos in general had a fondness and attachment to their homes and would likely refuse to move. But Corrales believed that the Ilocanos could be convinced to move to new towns provided there were adequate incentives, such as the privilege of exemption from tribute and forced labor for a few years.\textsuperscript{33} But even without the incentives, many Ilocanos found Abra appealing. The Abra valley offered farmlands suitable for cultivation. It was adjacent to Ilocos and thus became the initial safety valve for this overpopulated province. Having had close ties with the Tinguians for centuries, the Ilocanos did not regard moving to Abra in the vicinity of the Tinguians as a disincentive.

The province of Mindoro became another destination for many Ilocanos, but this time for the Ilocano prison inmates who were sentenced to six years of exile for their involvement in the Basi Revolt. Moro depredations in Mindoro had reduced the population of the province, and there were large open spaces available for cultivation. Unlike Abra, however, the distance from Ilocos and its island location were drawbacks to voluntary migration. As part of its campaign to repopulate the province as a premise to developing its economy, the provincial officials posted notices in Manila in 1802 promising attractive benefits to new settlers. It offered tracts of land; a ten-year tribute


\textsuperscript{33} "Informe el Josef de Ayala", exp. 32, pag. 125-126b
exemption; free agricultural implements such as bolo, ax and even a carabao; and in some cases a monthly ration of unhusked rice grains. \(^\text{34}\)

The Chinese were also encouraged to migrate but only two responded. Even Manila inmates were invited to migrate, and some 29 responded positively, though the government disapproved of sending women inmates of “ill repute”. \(^\text{35}\) In April of 1808, Mindoro received a boost with the arrival of 65 Ilocano insurgents who were exiled in this province for six years as punishment for their participation in the Basi Revolt. The Spanish officials were hoping that before the end of their sentence “they would have sunk their roots sufficiently to stay there for the rest of their lives.” \(^\text{36}\) It was the colonial government’s hope that by sending the families of rebels to join them in Mindoro the latter would be less lonely and be encouraged to cultivate the land with greater diligence. \(^\text{37}\) By the end of 1808, some of the families of the rebels numbering 19 wives and 35 children arrived in Calapan, the capital of Mindoro. Soon other families followed and by the end of 1814, the last year of the rebels’ six-year exile, there was a total of forty families who had joined their exiled husbands in Calapan. But there were at least twelve rebels who requested that their families remain in Ilocos. Those who made the move to Mindoro were eager to be re-united with their loved ones, but were also hopeful of a better life in this new land. As previously stated a colonial official in Ilocos likened the out-migration of Ilocanos with their families to Mindoro to an ultimate form of rebellion because it meant escaping from the harsh colonial impositions and leaving

\(^{34}\) Antoon Postma, “The Ilocano Exiles in Mindoro, 1808-1815.” The Ilocos Review 16 (1984): 28-74. That Mindoro was a province that absorbed huge number of migrants is attested even in Jose Rizal’s novel El Filibusterismo where one of the female characters, Salome, left for Mindoro to follow her family who has acquired unoccupied tracts of land.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., 35.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 39.
behind terrible socio-economic conditions. But, of course, this was not entirely
correct since anywhere the Ilocanos moved they would be subject to the same colonial
impositions such as polo, vandala and tribute.

Despite the promises and the hopes, Mindoro was marked by conflict between
Ilocanos, on one hand, and Calapeños, the residents of Calapan, and local officials of
Mindoro on the other. The Ilocano exiles and their families left Mindoro as soon as they
had served their sentence. They charged the local officials of Mindoro of persecuting
them, and they in turn were accused by officials of cattle rustling and by Calapeños of
making slanderous statements. After leaving Mindoro, it is likely that the Ilocano
families did not return to their province where life was hard but began anew in Manila
where the boat from Mindoro disembarked.

The nineteenth century also witnessed massive out-migration of Ilocanos to the
other side of the Cordillera to the northern towns of Cagayan, to the southern province of
Zambales and to the central plains of Luzon. Ilocano out-migration became frequent
after the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Marshall McLennan writes:

Large groups, sometimes consisting of whole communities and led by local
gentry, began to migrate in wagon caravans or by sea to establish new villages in
the virtually unoccupied interior of Pangasinan. By the 1840s Ilocano pioneers
were beginning to penetrate beyond Pangasinan into Nueva Ecija, both directly
from the north and circuitously by way of Tarlac.

38 In his article culled from archival materials on Mindoro, Postma explains the ethnic conflict among
Ilocanos and Calapeños and the persecution of Mindoro officials of Ilocanos. He points out that the
Ilocanos have stimulated the agricultural production and the native industries in Mindoro. But many local
residents had resented from the very start the privileges accorded to the Ilocano exiles.
1939,” in Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations, ed. Alfred S. McCoy and
Ed. C. de Jesus (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 63. See also Tomas Fonacier,
also serves as the backdrop to the Rosales novels of famous Filipino writer F. Sionel Jose.
The story of the out-migration of Ilocos in the nineteenth century and their collective experiences in their new homeland is outside the purview of this study. But the background and causes of this out-migration were the events and developments discussed in this study.

**Division of Ilocos**

In addition to examining the causes of the Ilocano uprisings, Bernaldez was instructed to solicit measures to deal with the discontented *kailianes*. Latassa recommended a heightened military visibility as a way to check future disturbances. Although there was an increase in the number of military troops in the Laoag detachment due to the Sarrat Revolt, Latassa warned that if these troops were withdrawn again it would result in further unrest.\(^\text{40}\)

In addition to increasing the military presence in the north, there were other proposals on how to restore peace and tranquility in the province. Noting that rebellions occurred in big towns, one proposal was to convince the *kailianes* of these towns to relocate to settlements with smaller populations or to form new towns that would be established in the interior or even as far north as Bangui close to the Cagayan border.\(^\text{41}\)

Around 500 tribute-payers living in the different *estancias* of Dingras were identified as prospective settlers in the new towns. A variation of this proposal was to reorganize the large towns so that some of their land would be united with adjoining smaller settlements to form new towns.\(^\text{42}\) Laoag, Batac and Paoay were specifically identified as towns that

\(^\text{40}\) "Informe el Fr. Jose Latassa", *Ereccion de Pueblos: Ilocos Norte y Ilocos Sur*, exp. 62, pag. 234-239b.
\(^\text{41}\) "Informe del fiscal sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes", *Ereccion de Pueblos*, Expediente exp. 29, pag. 106-116.
\(^\text{42}\) Ibid., pag. 117.
should be divided. Some suggested that parts of Batac and Paoay could be taken and merged with lands in the rancherías located along the slopes of the mountains in order to form new towns. In this way unused lands could be tilled, and the new settlements would have better communication with Igorot catechumens who can then be baptized and better instructed on the new religion.

These measures were not solely intended to deal with the burgeoning urban populations. They were also useful in bringing new areas along the slopes of the Cordillera into cultivation and to further religious conversion among the Igorots. Prominent babaknangs saw opportunities in this development and volunteered to transfer to the new towns provided they were given three to four years exemption from tribute. The exemption would enable them to transfer their houses, support the construction of a church and convent, and assist in improving the public works in their new towns. Those who opposed the dismemberment of big towns argued that redistributing the population of Ilocos would not really solve the problem since the population would be dispersed and there would still be too many towns to oversee.

Thus what eventually appealed to royal officials was the division of Ilocos into two provinces. The plan to split Ilocos was nothing new since it was first proposed in the aftermath of the Silang Revolt. Under this proposal, the southern province would extend from Agoo in Pangasinan to Vigan, and include the following Ilocano-speaking towns under the Augustinians: Santo Tomas, Aringay, Bauang, San Fernando and Bacnotan. As punishment for its involvement in the Silang Revolt, Vigan was deprived

43 “Descripcion de la provincia de Ilocos”, 3-4 and 8-9.
44 Martínez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 400.
45 Ibid.
46 “Descripcion de la provincia de Ilocos,” 3.
of the status as the capital of the province, and the honor was given instead to Namacpacan. The proposed northern province was to be from Bantay to Bangui with Batac as its capital. The proposal, however, was never adopted because of lack of support from royal and church officials who were more preoccupied at the time with the establishment of the tobacco monopoly and the construction of the Cathedral of Nueva Segovia in Vigan.

In 1794, Arzadun proposed anew the division of Ilocos. The first province was to be from Badoc to Balaoang, with the possibility of extension southward to the Ilocano-speaking town of Agoo in Pangasinan. Vigan was to be retained as the capital. The second province was to comprise the northern towns from Paoay to Bangui with the capital in Laoag. Although there would be fewer towns in the northern province, they had larger populations and a sizable tribute collection. Arzadun provided a list of the towns together with the total tribute-payers for each town under his proposed division.47

Table 6. Proposed List of Towns of Ilocos Norte and the Total Tributes by Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Chinese Mestizos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laoag</td>
<td>4,344.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Nicolas</td>
<td>1,394.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paoay</td>
<td>2,641.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batac</td>
<td>2,906.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dingras</td>
<td>1,626.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>461.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piddig</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarrat</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vintar</td>
<td>563.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacarra</td>
<td>1,519.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasuquin</td>
<td>530.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagpartian</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangui</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,602</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 Ibid., 8.
Table 7. Proposed List of Towns of Ilocos Sur and the Total Tributes by Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Mestizos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vigan</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta Catalina de Baba</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantay</td>
<td>581.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Ildefonso</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>1207</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magsingal</td>
<td>1028</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapog</td>
<td>715.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabugao</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinait</td>
<td>1051.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badoc</td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catalina</td>
<td>1462.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narbacan</td>
<td>1054</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Maria</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Estevan</td>
<td>277.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>357.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candon</td>
<td>1042.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Lucia</td>
<td>675.5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Cruz</td>
<td>507.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagudin</td>
<td>629.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangar</td>
<td>869.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namacpacan</td>
<td>1014.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balaoang</td>
<td>1096.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangued</td>
<td>618.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tayum</td>
<td>516.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,159</strong></td>
<td><strong>483</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arzadun’s recommendation was never adopted. In 1812, Alcalde-Mayor Antonio Zurbita reiterated the need to divide the province in light of the failure to detect and the difficulty to quell the Tobacco, Basi and Lung-ao Revolts. He admitted that it was difficult for one alcalde to discharge political and military functions in a province as vast and as populous as Ilocos.\(^{48}\) Vigan was too distant from Laoag and the other heavily populated northern towns that were the centers of the upheavals. With Laoag 49.6 miles

\(^{48}\)Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes, "Ereccion de Pueblos," exp. 29, pag. 106-116.
away from Vigan, the alcalde normally visited Laoag only once a year that usually coincided with the election of the gobernadorcillo and cabezas. 49 But Laoag had to be closely watched since it was the biggest town in the north and thus had been influential in persuading other towns to side with her during upheavals. 50 Zurbita proposed the creation of a southern province of Ilocos from Balaaoang to Lapog, including Abra, with Vigan as the capital; and a northern province from Cabugao to Bangui, with Laoag as the capital. Since there would be two provinces, each would then have its own military troops that could quell disturbances and ensure peace and the loyalty of all towns.

At the conclusion of his investigation of the Ilocos upheavals, Bernaldez offered his own recommendation for the division of Ilocos. He believed that this partition would ensure better colonial administration since each province would have an alcalde-mayor close at hand who could keep the kailianes in check. He proposed that regulations be drawn to govern the new provinces. Among the measures would be one which would restrict towns to a population not exceeding 5,000 peoples and 1,000 houses, with the exception of capitals which would be allowed to contain as many as 10,000 people and 2,000 houses. 51

In addition to more effective administration, the division would have spiritual benefits. Bernaldez pointed out that there were many big towns with over 10,000 people and thus the parish priest had difficulty tending to their spiritual needs. 52 On the other hand, there were also many small towns that could not support the presence of a regular

49 "Informe el Josef Ayala," (April 9, 1812) Erecion de Pueblos, exp. 32, pag. 125-126.
50 Martinez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 400.
52 Ibid.
parish priest. Two or three small towns had to share the services of one parish priest. In the early nineteenth century, there were only 30 friars assigned in Ilocos. Using Zuñiga’s 1800 estimation that there were 44,852.5 natives and 631 mestizo tribute-payers in 1800, the total population of the province was 181,934 or a ratio of 6,065 people per friar. The division of Ilocos would allow new parishes to be set-up thus allowing for additional friars to be assigned. Friars could then consolidate and strengthen their spiritual control over the people since each would have fewer souls to administer. With a greater number of friars, there would be safety in numbers, greater surveillance of signs of discontent, and more preventative measures taken against uprisings.

In addition to improving the ratio of friars to parishioners, the division of Ilocos would also ensure a better ratio of babaknangs to kailanes. Bernaldez noted that big towns were prone to instability because of the large number of kailianes to babaknangs. The reasoning behind this argument was that the uneducated kailianes needed guidance and supervision from the more “enlightened” babaknangs. But Bernaldez failed to point out that revolts in Ilocos were led by babaknangs and, if the Augustinians were to be believed, the kailianes were susceptible to the influence of “agitators” who were “starving degree holders” (bachiller hambrientos).

Not all Spanish officials favored the partition of Ilocos. Those who opposed it, such as the Augustinian friars argued that the division would not automatically remove the anxiety of the kailianes nor would it prevent future rebellions. The center of unrest was the big towns of Laoag, Batac and Paoay, and even if Ilocos were to be divided these

53 Martinez de Zuniga, Status of the Philippines in 1800, 400.
55 “Informe el Fr. Josef Latassa,” Eereccion de Pueblos, exp. 62, pag. 234-239b.
towns would remain contiguous to each other and under one province and thus would continue to be a source of unrest. Division and formation of new towns would only entail more expenses and might just spread the disturbance and violence to the otherwise peaceful small towns. Ilocos would have two alcaldías and it would be necessary for both to maintain veteran troops to ensure peace and order. The Crown would incur additional expenses to build a casa real and pay the salaries of officials and troops. The opposition of the Augustinians may have had something to do with their ongoing opposition to the seculars, whose position would be strengthened by the division of Ilocos. An additional province and new towns would mean new parishes and more seculars. In general, those opposed to the division argued that the only way to prevent further upheaval in the north was not through partition but by maintaining sufficiently large numbers of veteran troops to keep the peace. 56

Creation of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur

On February 2, 1818 the King of Spain signed the royal order that created the province of Ilocos Norte thereby dividing Ilocos into two alcaldías. 57 Each province would have its own alcalde-mayor, and existing military troops in Ilocos would be divided between the two provinces. Ilocos Sur would have its capital in Vigan and would comprise the towns of Namacpacan, Balaoang, Bangar, Tagudin, Santa Cruz, Santa Lucia, Candon, Santiago, Santa Maria, San Estevan, San Jose, Narvacan, Santa Cathalina de Baba, Bangued, Tayum, Bigan, Bantay, Santa Cathalina Virgen y Martir, San Vicente, Santo Domingo, Magsingal, Lapog, Cabugao and Sinait. Ilocos Norte’s capital would be

56“Informe del fiscal de S.M. sobre la propuesta para dividir la provincia de Ilocos en dos partes,” Ereccion de Pueblos, exp. 29, pag. 117.
57 “Orden superior sobre la division de la provincia de Ilocos,” Ereccion de Pueblos, exp. 29, pag. 163-166.
Sarrat and would incorporate the towns of Badoc, Paoay, Batac, San Nicolas, Laoag, Sarrat, Dingras, Piddig and its mission of Santiago, Vintar, Bacarra, Pasuquin and Nagpartian. Although Ilocos Norte had fewer towns than Ilocos Sur, its towns were heavily populated as indicated in the 1818 list of tribute-payers by towns (see table 8).  

Table 8: Total Number of Tributes of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur by Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ilocos Norte</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ilocos Sur</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Tribute</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Tribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paoay</td>
<td>3,355.5</td>
<td>Vigan</td>
<td>3,331.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batac</td>
<td>3,453</td>
<td>Sinait</td>
<td>1,295.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Nicolas</td>
<td>1,757</td>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>1,464.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarrat</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>Cabugao</td>
<td>1,823.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dingras</td>
<td>2,258.5</td>
<td>Sta. Cathalina de Baba</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laoag</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>Bantay &amp; San Ildefonso</td>
<td>1,666.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacarra</td>
<td>2,409.5</td>
<td>Magsingal</td>
<td>1,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vintar</td>
<td>1,025</td>
<td>Lapog</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagpartian</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>1,056.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangui</td>
<td>719.5</td>
<td>Tayum</td>
<td>655.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasuquin</td>
<td>783.5</td>
<td>Bangued</td>
<td>916.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piddig</td>
<td>1,352.5</td>
<td>Namacpacan</td>
<td>1,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>Balaoan</td>
<td>1,420.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25,586</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>31,587.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The royal order justified the division as necessary and intended to benefit the natives. Since Ilocos is a long narrow stretch of land, it explained, one alcalde-mayor could not effectively govern the entire province. He could not discharge good administration and justice to so many towns, maintain peace and tranquility, reform the  

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58 Ibid.
multitude of rebels and subjugate the number of infidels throughout the province. With the alcalde mayor's office in Vigan, it was extremely difficult for him to respond to disturbances in the northern towns. The division of Ilocos would provide each province with its own military detachment where veteran troops would be permanently stationed to check unrest and prevent outbreaks of rebellions.

The royal order noted that the division would benefit the people because they would no longer need to travel long distances and waste precious resources to talk to a judge to seek redress from grievances. As discussed in chapter four, land had become more valuable in the late eighteenth century as a result of the increased demand for cotton and textiles. As a result the alcalde-mayor was swamped with boundary disputes between towns and a large number of lawsuits over land ownership. The royal order also noted that with the division each province would have its own respective markets, making it easier for the natives to sell their fruits and products. In reality, however, the division did not boost local commerce because provincial markets were not a major source of revenue. Every town normally had its own tiangge or market where the locals sold their produce.

The territorial reorganization of Ilocos was the state’s response to the upheavals in the province, and was intended to bring the people under closer scrutiny of the state. From the colonial perspective an alcalde-mayor within reach of the people he administered supported by more military troops would ensure the submission of the kailianes and the restoration of order. A peaceful Ilocos would greatly facilitate the

59 Ibid.
principal justification for colonial occupation: the extraction of wealth through the
effective employment of indigenous labor.

After the partition of Ilocos no further revolts occurred, not because the Spanish plans succeeded in their intention but because of the widespread outmigration after 1820. In the nineteenth century the land-rich central plains of Luzon absorbed hundreds of thousands of Ilocano migrants. The *kailianes* had chosen outmigration over rebellion, thus rejecting the most destructive but historically least rewarding form of resistance to oppressive colonial rule.

Perhaps the string of unsuccessful and destructive rebellions from the mid 18\(^{th}\) to the early 19\(^{th}\) century may have been a factor why the Ilocanos participated late and not as widely as the Tagalog provinces in the Philippine Revolution. While the revolution began in Manila and its outlying provinces in August of 1896, Ilocos was relatively quiet until 1898 except for the arrest, torture and martyrdom of the nine secular priests of Nueva Segovia who were accused of masonry and subversion.\(^{60}\) Revolution reached Ilocos only when Candon rebelled and a short-lived Republic of Candon was established on March 24, 1898. Perhaps the bitter experiences of the Ilocanos with failed rebellions left a deep, lasting scar that may have dissuaded them from taking this deadly course of action.

**Conclusion**

The rationale for the division of Ilocos focused on the need to control the *kailianes* and to check their inclination to rebel. A divided Ilocos meant an *alcalde-*

\(^{60}\) See William Henry Scott, "The Nine Clergy of Nueva Segovia," *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History*, 178-207. It is widely believed that at the onset the revolution fervor was high among the Tagalog provinces and considerably weak outside this region.
mayor who would be more physically accessible, military troops who could suppress
disturbance at the slightest sign of disaffection, and more friars to monitor the movement
of the people. The partition of Ilocos was not made lightly and was a result of the
gradual realization of the need for some administrative change to deal with the frequent
rebellions occurring in Ilocos.

Bernaldez was tasked to identify the root causes of the upheavals, not in order that
the grievances could be addressed but to enable the colonial regime to respond better to
future crises. The tobacco and basi monopolies which had been a major source of
discontent were not even investigated, and the burden of tribute and forced labor
remained unalleviated. The colonial regime from the officials to the friars refused to
acknowledge that the kailianes had legitimate grievances. In the 1800s, the Spanish
viewed the kailianes as a multitude of idle, innately timid and indolent subjects who
lacked a mind of their own and thus were easily manipulated. Their "aberrant" behavior
reflected in their inclination to join uprisings could only be checked by close supervision.

Two centuries after Spain conquered Ilocos, the colonial discourse remained
unchanged. The kailianes continued to require pacification. Whereas in the sixteenth
century the combination of reduccion and religious conversion served as tools in the
"pacification", by the nineteenth century the state response was more intensive political
and military surveillance and hence control through administrative division.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In the introduction two reasons why historians should undertake local history were identified. The first was to contribute toward a greater understanding of the events and changes at the micro level; and the second was to make possible a comparative perspective with other regions. By fulfilling these two tasks, local history becomes essential for the reconstruction of both regional and national history.

Since there has been little written about the Philippines before the nineteenth century and none on Ilocos, this thesis is a departure in focusing on the pre-nineteenth century Ilocanos, who comprise the third largest ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines. But lest this study be misconstrued as merely subscribing to what Al McCoy calls “neo-antiquarianism,” the history of Ilocos provides another way of thinking about Philippine history.

Ilocos offers a unique perspective of the colonial experiences of the Filipinos under Spanish rule. General historical accounts attribute the Spaniards with encouraging the Chinese to establish a permanent presence in the Islands, thus ushering in a tripartite colonial relationship between the Filipinos, the Spanish and the Chinese. The Ilocos experience, however, deviates from this standard explanation. The major reason is the prominent role played in the Ilocos by the upland Igorots, who constituted the fourth side of a quadripartite relationship. The history of the Ilocos is therefore a story of the interplay of these groups in the effort by the Ilocanos to seek ways of overcoming geographical and other constraints in seeking to advance their economic interests.
The presence of the Igorots shaped Spanish policies towards the Ilocanos. In addition to the usual requisitions of polo, vandala and tribute imposed on lowlanders, the Ilocanos had the additional burden of being drafted as guides, porters, miners, artisans and soldiers in military expeditions aimed at pacifying the Igorots and extracting their gold. When colonial policy shifted towards Christianizing the Igorots, the Spanish once again relied on the Ilocanos to serve as catechists and godparents in religious campaigns in the Cordillera. These onerous demands, coupled with Ilocos’ restrictive environment, imposed a heavier toll on the Ilocanos than on any other Philippine lowland group.

Colonial rule changed the traditional, symbiotic relationship between the Ilocanos and Igorots. While the pre-hispanic relationship was punctuated by raids of the Igorots on the lowlands and periodic wars, the complementary economic niches occupied by the Ilocanos and Igorots guaranteed a certain amount of stability and amity between the two groups. This mutually beneficial relationship is reflected in the Ilocano myth where both groups are said to have descended from a common ancestral pair, Angalo and Aran. In the myth, as in real life, the “siblings” are separated by geography, which determines their different lifeways and their individual identities.

Colonial rule undermined, though not irreparably, Ilocano-Igorot ties. The presence of Ilocanos in the Spanish expeditions fractured the hitherto cordial and respectful relationship between the Ilocanos and the Igorots. As the lowlanders were used increasingly as agents and propagators of Christianity, Ilocano-Igorot relations were further undermined. But the benefits both sides derived from their commercial transactions, which became even more profitable with the introduction of tobacco in the 18th century as an item of trade, ensured the survival and persistence of these ties.
Another impact of colonial rule was the redefinition of Ilocano and Igorot ethnicities. In the 16th century identity was based on geographic distinction and economic orientation. By the 19th century it was determined by the extent to which a group had become “hispanized” in terms of its understanding of Christianity and its adoption of a Spanish lifestyle. The resettlement of Igorot converts into rancherias located in the outlying territories of cabeceras and visitas, the communities of the Ilocanos, physically separated them from Ilocanos and signaled a hardening of ethnic boundaries. While Igorots resented Ilocano condescension, the latter begrudged the conversion of the former which resulted in their receiving better colonial privileges and being resettled in the lowlands, an area traditionally belonging to the Ilocanos. The bagos, who were no longer regarded as Igorots but were also not yet accepted as Ilocanos, served as intermediaries between the two even while being marginalized by both groups. In time the bagos’ intermarriage with the antiguos paved the way for their children to become assimilated as Ilocanos.

The story of the Ilocanos and Igorots merits historical attention in its own right and deserves inclusion in the national history of the Philippines. Another value of this study of Ilocano-Igorots relations is that it provides a model for understanding other upland-lowland relations that were influenced by colonial intervention. There are nevertheless specific factors in the relationship which make each case unique. The geography and the presence of gold in the upland were important in understanding the nature of the Ilocano-Igorot relationship.

The history of the Chinese in Ilocos contributes further to an understanding of their experiences in the Philippines. They intermarried with the kailianes and became
assimilated into local society. The Chinese mestizos maintained their distinct identity, unlike the progeny of the *bagos* who assumed Ilocano identity. Maintaining their “Chinese-ness” was their way of countering the racial accusations of the *babaknangs*, who resented the perceived mestizo challenge to their privileged social status and political leadership. As in the rest of the Islands, the *babaknangs* resisted the growing economic dominance of the Chinese mestizos and accused them of unscrupulous practices.

In Ilocos the *babaknang*-Chinese mestizo conflict was complicated by the fact that it was enmeshed with the religious rivalry between the regular and secular priests. The *babaknangs* found allies among the regulars - the Augustinian friars - who opposed the increasing prominence of seculars who were mainly Chinese mestizo. The fact that Vigan, the capital of Ilocos, was the seat of Nueva Segovia and thus run mainly by Chinese mestizo seculars, was a major irritant to Augustinian regulars ensconced in their monastery in neighboring Bantay. They blamed the seculars for siding with their kin in the dispute between the Chinese mestizos and *babaknangs*, and for failing to prevent the Silang Revolt through inadequate moral guidance of the people of Vigan. Both *babaknangs* and regulars also accused the Vigan Chinese mestizos of treachery because their Chinese counterparts in Manila had rebelled and sided with the British.

Ethnic conflicts were spawned by divisive colonial policies that favored one ethnic group over another. These rivalries, however, were temporarily set aside in times of rebellions. Chinese mestizos joined the Ilocanos in the Silang uprising while Igorots and Tinguians repeatedly extended support to their traditional trade partners. Rebellions proved the vitality of ethnic ties despite colonial efforts to undermine them. Colonial life
in Ilocos was difficult and, by the late 18th and 19th centuries, became unbearable. Incessant Spanish demands for labor and goods imposed a heavy burden on the local population, particularly on the *kailianes*.

Although this study tends to support the view that ethnic unities become more evident in times of rebellion, there was never a clear-cut division between colonials and colonized. Among the Ilocanos the *babaknangs* were on opposite sides in many of the conflicts. The *ladino* and lowly *babaknang*-instigated uprisings were directed against Spanish officials as well as *principales-babaknangs*. The *antiguos*, despite playing an important role in the conversion of the *bagos*, discriminated and in many instances even persecuted the latter. Then there were the *babaknangs* and Chinese mestizos, who were continually plotting to gain advantage over the other with the colonial power. The parochial setting of Ilocos and the limited economic opportunities in the region may have been reasons for the various intra- and inter-ethnic rivalries.

By the late eighteenth century, population pressure and Spanish imposition of *tobacco* and *basi* monopolies contributed further to the hardships suffered by the populace. Even in the sixteenth century Ilocos was one of the most heavily populated areas, containing approximately 10% of the total population of the Islands. By the nineteenth century Ilocos remained the most densely populated province with 11-14% of the entire population. The population increase, unfortunately, occurred at a time of a weakening economy reliant on agriculture and a cotton industry. Confronted by this bleak economic future, the Ilocanos further strengthened their reputation for frugality, adaptability and hard work that had developed over centuries in Ilocos’ harsh environment.
One form of resistance adopted by the Ilocanos was avoidance through becoming *remontados* and *vagamundos*. By the late 18th century as life became intolerable, many chose the path of confrontation and open rebellion. The response of the colonial state was to seek more effective measures of control rather than to address the grievances. Among the measures taken were greater consolidation of resources and smaller administrative units to facilitate surveillance and more rapid deployment of troops. Such rationalization did little to end the upheavals in Ilocos. The solution was found by the local inhabitants themselves who again reverted to avoidance and initiated a massive out-migration in the 19th century. Migration became the ultimate form of non-destructive Ilocano rebellion.

While acknowledging that geography and demography were factors that contributed to the emigration of the Ilocanos, this study argues that the more significant reasons can be traced to the historical developments in Ilocos between the 16th and 19th centuries. Abusive and exploitative colonial policies, the absence of a colonial economic blueprint for the Ilocos, and the brutality with which the state dealt with the upheavals in the region convinced the Ilocanos that avoidance through emigration remained the best option. The story of such emigration renders the Ilocos experience truly unique among other ethnic groups in the Philippines.

There was one significant difference in the colonial experience of the Ilocanos compared to other lowland groups in the Islands. In the pre-nineteenth century period, the Ilocos was characterized by a vibrant relationship of diverse ethnic groups, particularly that between the Ilocanos and the Igorots. As Vigan developed into a multiethnic colonial city, Ilocano-Igorot ties also underwent a new phase. The
Augustinians viewed the Ilocanos as significant partners in the campaign to Christianize the Igorots because of their long-standing ties with the latter. In this regard the Ilocanos were given a unique role in the Christianization process that was not found elsewhere among the lowland populations of the Islands.

The history of Ilocos is also an excellent case study of provinces which, though distant from the administrative center of colonial power in Manila, were not immune to the long reach of Spanish control. The colonial state may have been weak, but the Church and the Augustinian friars were effective substitutes for state power in Ilocos. In addition to their spiritual dominance, they performed surveillance functions, planned and organized politico-military solutions in times of rebellions, and provided valuable advice to the state on policy decisions.

Finally, this study has sought to focus attention on pre-nineteenth century Ilocos for good reason. The study of Philippine history has been shaped by the experiences of the Tagalog people of central and southern Luzon, even though other ethnolinguistic groups form equally important components of this island nation. The reason is that there have been far too few detailed studies of non-Tagalog provinces to be able to provide a more balanced picture. It is hoped that this study on the Ilocos will encourage others to undertake research in non-Tagalog areas or, as the Pantayo historians would prefer it, research in other intra-ethnic relations among Filipinos. Only in this way will it be possible to present a more complete picture of the differing indigenous responses to Spanish rule in the early colonial period.
GLOSSARY

abogadillo – diminutive term for abogado; an ignorant or poor lawyer

adipen – Ilocano term for slave

alcalde-mayor – Governor or administrative head of a province with judicial powers

alcaldias – office and jurisdiction of an alcalde, which was a province

agturay – term for pre-Spanish chieftain in Ilocos; the counterpart of the datu among the Tagalogs

alferez – ensign of a town

alguacil mayor – chief constable

almojarifazgo – a duty levied on imports or exports

anito – spirit or god in the prehispanic animism

Antiguo – refers to Ilocanos who were the old Christians or the first to be Christianized;

Apo - a broad term used by the Ilocanos to refer to any of the following: an esteemed, older, or high status person, their ancestors, spirits in nature, and even the Christian God.

apoderadillos – literally “men clothed with little authority,” they reside in key towns

aramay - flax-like shrub similar to a ramie which Igorots used to make their own blankets or g-strings

arroba - a measure of capacity; one arroba was equivalent to twenty five lbs. or four gallons

bahag - also called G-string; this was a pre-Hispanic attire (underwear) of men which is still worn by Igorots

babaknang – people of means and influence in Ilocos

Bagos – newly-Christianized Igorots and Tinguians residing in the lowlands

bagoong – a traditional condiment in Ilocos made up of tiny shrimp fermented in salt and normally eaten with rice
balsa – a raft usually made of bamboo

barangay – the pre-Hispanic socio-political unit composed of 30 to 100 families. The Spaniards subsequently incorporated it as the smallest political unit and used it the basis for taxation or tribute rolls

basi – native Ilocano drink made of fermented sugarcane juice

bautismos – parish birth registers

budong – Igorot peace pact

burnay – Ilocano term for a stoneware jar made in Vigan; it is excellent for storing war, preserving vinegar, fermenting basi

braza – a Spanish measure of length or a cubic measure. A braza is equivalent to 16.718 decimeters or 1.82636 yards.

cabeceera – the center or capital of a pueblo or town

cabecilla – the position of chief in the irrigation society

Cabeza de barangay – head of the barangay, usually a former datu, whose primary duty was to collect tribute and to serve as intermediary between the natives and the Spanish

cabildo – city or town council

caja de comunidad – community fund

camaron de la renta de vino – wine monopoly store

cantores – members of the church choir

cañao – Igorot ritual feasting

carabao: the water buffalo, a draft animal used for plowing

casamientos – parish marriage registers

casa real – the official residence of an alcalde mayor

casas de reserves – exempted laborers, granted as a concession of indefinite duration, until revoked by the Crown
cavan: a unit of dry measure for palay equivalent to about twenty-five liters or quarts

champan – sampan

Coadjutor – assistant to the parish priest

cofradía – religious fraternity or brotherhood whose members were referred to as hermanos (brothers) and hermanas (sisters)

Corpus Christi - the celebration of the body and blood of Jesus Christ

Cura párroco: parish priest

Datu: title of the chieftain in pre-Hispanic Philippines

don/doña: honorific titles for a male and female member of the principalia, respectively

dondones - a pejorative term for “don” applied to the native nobility; it implies absence of real social substance

Episcopal visitación – the right of the bishop to visit every parish under his jurisdiction yearly to check on the condition of the parish and the performance of the parish priest

encomendero – a holder of an encomienda, who is normally a conquistador

encomienda – a right given to an encomendero to collect tribute or taxes in a given locality

entierros – parish death registers

entrada – a military strategy of conquistadors where they raid villages

escribano - clerk

estancia – a ranch which was combination of grazing land to raise cattle and horses and a cultivable farm lot

estanco – tobacco monopoly stores

falla: exemption fee for polos y servicios

fanega - a Spanish measure of grain which was equivalent to 1.6 bushel or eight gallons.
fiesta – a religious-cultural festivity in every town in honor of its patron saint

Gobernadorcillo – native “petty governor” or head of the town or pueblo

gremio – combined municipal governing corporation and religious sodality; a guild, society, association or corporation of natives or Chinese mestizos; the two ethnic groups had their own distinct gremio

haciendas – large agricultural land estates owned by private individuals or religious corporations

indio – Spanish term for a native of lower class

indulto de comercio – a special privilege or permission given to the alcalde mayor to engage in trade

infieles – an infidel or a pagan

inquilino – mestizos or principales who leased lands from the friars and then have them cultivated by tenants called kasama who were indios

juez provisor – religious office concerned with the exercise of what is called the jurisdiction-in-ordinary of a bishop or, broadly speaking, the legal aspects of Episcopal authority

justicia mayor – chief magistrate

Kabunian – the Igorot god associated with the sky

kailian/kailianes – Ilocano term for the townspeople or the masses

ladino – indigenous speakers of Spanish who served as translators

ladrones monteses – literally “mountain thieves”; this was a term used to refer to those who have gone up the hills to escape colonial impositions

league – equivalent to about 3.1 miles

Lumawig – Igorot god that they associated with Jesus Christ

Lungao – a god or redeemer in native Ilocano

mae – currency equivalent to 2.5 reales and eight reales make a peso
maestro - master who served as a superintendent of construction of irrigation

maestro de campo – master-of-camp or field commander

mandador – the position of foreman or work supervisor in the irrigation society

mantas- a heavy cotton cloth used for sailcloth and blankets

mestizo/mestiza – a male and female of mixed Spanish or Chinese blood, respectively

missa cantada – masses with prayers chanted

missas para las animas del purgatorio - masses for the souls in the purgatory

missas vezadas – masses with prayers read

naturales - natives who were also called indios

Octava del Rosario - the Holy Rosary month, celebrated on the month of October

oracion – 6 pm evening prayers

pacto de retrovenda or pacto de retroventa: an agreement that allowed the transfer of land between parties in exchange for a sum of money. However, it allows the seller to buy back the land (and return the money) after a certain period of time. Usually, the pacto doubles as a mortgage agreement

padrones - tribute registers

panco – coasting vessel

Pankaming Pananaw – a “We Perspective” in the writing of Philippine history; Pantayo historians argue that the Pangkami history is reactionary and caters to a dialogue with foreigners, particularly Americans; as proof they argue it is written in English and caters to topics of mutual interest to both Filipinos and the foreigners and therefore the emphasis on colonial history

Pantayong Pananaw – a recent historiographical trend in the Philippines that employs a Pantayo or “Us Perspective” in writing Philippine history; it argues that history must be a dialogue among Filipinos and thus must be written in Filipino and dealing with topics of mutual, and possibly, exclusive interest only among Filipinos
palay: Philippine nomenclature for the rice plant or its unhusked rice grains. Latin name: *Oryza sativa*

*paglakayen* – the unit work leader in the construction of irrigation

*papelista* – position of secretary in the irrigation society

*parian* – the segregated Chinese community outside of Intramuros; the Spanish “Chinatown”

*pariancillo* – a miniature Chinese community in Vigan

Pasyon – the story of the life and death of Jesus Christ; during Holy Week, Pasyon is chanted (*pabasa*) or enacted (*senakulo*)

*Patronato Real* – royal patronage; the King financed missionary activities in the newly-conquered lands and in return the monarch was given the right to appoint ecclesiastical officials in the colonies

*peso* - currency used in the Philippines. During the Spanish period, it was equivalent to 8 reales, 160 cuartos, 100 centimos, or 5 pesetas.

*polo y servicios* – forced labor

*Principalia* – the native ruling class who served as cabeza de barangay and gobernadorcillo. A member of the *principalia* was called a *principal*. Collectively, the members were termed *principales*

*Provisor, Vicario General y Juez Eclesiastico* (Provisor, Vicar General and Ecclesiastical Judge) – or simply called Provisor; this was the highest religious post that an *indio* or *mestizo* could attain. Second in rank to the bishop, the *Provisor* assumed the title *vicar capitular sede vacante* or interim bishop in the event that the position of the bishop was vacant. The Provisor was concerned with the “exercise of what is called the jurisdiction-in-ordinary of a bishop (broadly speaking, the legal aspects of Episcopal authority).”

*pueblo*: literally town, but is more appropriately translated in the Philippines as a district, municipality, or county

*purok* – pre-colonial community, similar to a barangay

*rancheria* – a hamlet in the lowland occupied by Christianized Tinguians and Igorots; also referred to as active missions
*Real Consejo de Indias* – Supreme policy-making body of the Spanish colonies

*Royal Audiencia* – a court of justice that also served as advisory body to the governor-general

*real/reales* – currency during the Spanish period used to collect tribute; 8 reales was equivalent to 1 peso

*reduccion* – resettlement of dispersed population into compact villages *bajo de la campana* or within the sound of church bells

*remontado* – from the word *remontar* or to mount; they were the natives who fled to the mountains to escape forced labor or military conscription

*repartimiento* – from the Spanish word “repartir” meaning to allocate, allot or distribute; term to refer to the practice of allocating an *encomienda* to a conquistador as reward for his distinguished service in the pacification; later on, the term referred to the quota-impositions in goods and services especially forced labor and material contributions

*reserva* – exempt labor from polo, normally labor attached to work in churches or cattle ranches

*sangkabagi* - the ancestral spirits of the land who dwell mostly in trees

*tael* – currency equivalent to eleven reales

*talismans* - amulet which protected its wearer from dangers and evil spirits

*taong labas* – literally means outsiders or those outside of the Spanish-established settlements; used interchangeably with *tulisan*

*terlingas* – cotton blankets commonly woven in Ilocos, hence the name “terlingas de Ilocos”

*tesorero* – position of treasurer in the irrigation society

*tributo* – or tribute; money annually paid as a sign of vassalage to the Spanish King; a husband and wife constituted one tribute while unmarried adults were counted as one-half tribute

*tibores* – ancient brown earthenware jar popular in Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos
timagua or timawa – literally means freemen; it refers to the pre-colonial peasants

tulisan – literally, a bandit or outlaw; a Tagalog term for those who have gone to the hills to escape the arm of law

vagamundo – a native with no fixed residence who moved from town to town to escape colonial impositions; they constitute the floating population

vandala – compulsory sale of native goods to the colonial government

visita – a small settlement with a chapel in the outskirt of the pueblos that was regularly visited by the friar assigned in the pueblo

zangjera – irrigation cooperative society common in northern Ilocos
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