SPANISH CHURCH AND STATE 1565-1615/1850-1900: FACTORS IN THE PROCESS OF PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM

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INTRODUCTION

It has been said and proven, time and again, that history repeats itself. A microcosm of sorts of the 333 years of Spanish rule and their eventual expulsion from the Philippines seems to have repeated itself in the last 30 years of the country's history. After being in power for more than 20 years, more than half of that tenure of office, questionable, with respect to its juridical legality, a Philippine leader was thrown out of the country in February of 1986 by the sheer will of the masses in what was later to be known as «People Power».

The catalyst that brought the people together for this historical event was the Catholic Church, the only group that possessed the courage to effectively denounce the abuses of that government. What is interesting about those unforgettable days at EDSA¹ is that not a single protester among the hundreds of thousands that filled the avenue displayed the Philippine flag. Instead, television news coverage and the international press portrayed people bearing crucifixes, statues of our Lady, and «Santo Niños». Thousands were seen praying their rosaries or in procession with their images, seeking divine intervention for a peaceful outcome of the crisis that the country was facing. Curiously, nobody was seen displaying the Philippine flag.

Much has been said about the various uprisings and revolts that eventually paved the way to the last and final revolution in 1896. It is not even sure if we have really won the revolution since the time Spain had entered and lost her war against the United States which eventually rendered her completely helpless and desolate.

The present study aims to take a look at the Philippine nationalism regardless of the outcome of the revolution of 1896. By nationalism in its 19th century context in colonial Philippines, we refer to the emerging traits of a nation; that each nation can and should form an independent state; that tendency and aspiration of a people who occupy a determined territory to organize themselves into a state due to their having felt as an impulse the diffused sentiment of being a
nation with all the characteristics of being such. These were the nationalist sentiments that were stirring up the Filipinos during the 19th century. It was a growing aspiration of a people who wanted to have a government of their own, a truly Filipino politics run by Filipinos in a state of their own, which they could claim as rightfully and legitimately theirs.

It is, therefore, the intention of this thesis to look into the various factors that contributed towards the emergence of these sentiments, tendencies and aspirations. We want to see how these came to be formed and developed. We focus on three elements namely: the State, the Church and the Filipino native.

In this study, a special focus will be given on the obvious effects that the colonial government, recently arrived in the archipelago, had on the native people. In comparison with the church which was more favored by the natives, one may deduce from the local native reaction that they regarded the State as oppressive and the church as their protectors. With respect to separating the functions of the church and the state, there was very little to separate during those first fifty years because there was hardly any well established government to speak about. We are also aware of the various problems that the government had had during the time. We try to go into the purely governmental administrative problems and reforms in order to get a well-balanced picture of the situation of the State. We see that the government in many occasions have tread the wrong path and was at times helpless in effecting the good intentions it had. We see a complex situation ranging from the native mentality to the Spanish problems in the peninsula. Did the state directly or indirectly promote this process of national unity and identity? Did she do this knowingly or unknowingly? If ever, how was this done and why did it happen in spite of her efforts to prevent, at whatever cost, an emancipation process from developing?

In this thesis, the researcher also endeavors to examine whether and how the church, and for this matter, religion, contributed as an instrument in the nationalism process of the Filipinos. This seems to be highly probable and we would like to go into seeing at close range how this developed. During those first fifty years, the church was not involved in much political activities. This was so, because the few
regulars that were around at the time were well spread out all over the archipelago and were busy evangelizing if not surviving. We however see, much later, a transformed church in those last fifty years from that which we first encountered in the last decades of the 16th century. We realize that the church had evolved as it is natural for it to do so with the passage of time and circumstances. We therefore intend to peer into the life of the church during those last fifty years, and on how in the end she had contributed to the nationalist sentiments of the people.

We intend, as well, to study the church in her relations with the rest of the country. We will try to analyze the church-state and the church-native relations. In doing this, we want to focus where and on whose side was the church on a variety of issues, and what relations she experienced as a consequence of these. The «friar-land issue» will be one of the topics to be treated due to the many accusations leveled on the church by the revolutionary government and by the Masonic loudspeakers. We then see the last years of the revolution to present the treatment given the friars during those bitter weeks of war if only to show the native's attitude towards the friar in comparison with the revolutionarian's rhetoric.

We also set our sights on the native clergy and study church politics, particularly the government prerogatives and policies related to the church. In as much as many present-day historians have pointed the finger on the friars due to their indifference towards the development of this section of the church, we need to understand why this happened and how it had caused to evolve into a nationalist issue.

We magnify the role that the church had played in politics to know how much influence and power she really had in the provincial, city, and town levels of government. We also see the importance of this section in answering questions as to why the church was different and indifferent on many issues, and to show us even more clearly the transformation she had undergone from two centuries ago. We want to see how she made enemies and friends, and what influences these had on the natives. The role that the friars had played in the promotion of the nationalistic sense of unity among the Filipinos will be one of the topics to be treated under this section. One last topic to be treated here, will be the Masons. We would also like to
study what was their role in the revolution, and where they stood with respect to the church and state. We would like to see if present-day accusations against them are true and up to what extent they had intervened in the emancipation movement.
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1. NATIONALIST AWARENESS: CONDITIONS AND FACTORS

1.1 Country Development

In looking into the beginnings and causes of a nationalist awareness, one certainly must look into the internal development of the country and the natives' response towards development especially with respect to government policy and action. There was a tremendous change since the 16th century. The Filipino continued to be subjected to Spanish control during the last 300 years, and from his point of view in the 19th century, this was his way of life. He was born into Spanish colonial dominion which for him seemed to be that way since time immemorial. But all throughout these centuries, much effort has been done by both the church and the state for the attainment of unity in the country. A Filipino in the 19th century definitely saw himself more as a citizen of a country than as a simple member of a small town or village.

The Filipino in 1850 was taught about the Philippines, its provinces and islands; its government, Spain etc. By and large, he had an identity, that of belonging to the Malay race, and confined to the limits of a territory which the archipelago was made up of. The situation just described must be taken into account when one begins to consider nationalism with its conditions and factors. In the 1850's, the boundaries of the country were already well delineated. The provinces, towns and cities already had their respective perimeters with their respective government representatives in the persons of the Alcalde Mayor and the Gobernadorcillo. The period covering 1840-1870 was an important period of advancement with respect to the unification of the all the islands. Travels between islands became frequent and the advent of the steamship in 1848 played an important role in bridging the islands. Roads and bridges were constructed which
eventually connected provinces. The telegraph system covered practically all of Luzon and was even extended to the Visayas region; so much so, that telegraphic regulations came out in Manila in 1869. The first Spanish-Filipino bank opened on August 1, 1851. Also in existence during this period were 30 newspapers in circulation. There was a mature political system in place, thanks in part to the many reforms effected to improve it like the Maura law.

Much of these events and improvements were actual ingredients in making the people think as one and act resolutely as one heart and one mind, as a Filipino. We see communications and provinces linked by a road network as vital in linking the bonds between provinces, and in the forging of trade relations and social exchange between cities and towns in the archipelago. It brought about recognition of boundaries while pertinent regional languages and dialects became settled and known. With special significance was the request for printing of more maps. In particular, there was a request for topographical maps due to the increasing interest on internal trade and the opening up of the country to more external trade. Of special interest and relevance to the forming of national pride and unity was the coinage of special money for use in the Philippines. Another was the representation of the Philippines and its products in the London’s world fair of 1851 and 1862. With the printing press in the country quite advanced, books about the country were being printed for use in schools. With communications being fluid, many ideas and trends were reaching the provinces and barrios with regularity. In fact, one of the major concerns of both the church and the state in the second half of the 19th century was the influx of news and ideas filtering into the country which were detrimental and even dangerous for the Filipinos. The reason behind the suppression of the teaching of the Spanish language in schools in the mid 19th century (on the other hand, there were many other attempts to get Spanish seriously taught) was precisely to avoid dangerous literature not only from getting into the hands of the cailians or the townspeople, but even if it did so, they would not be able to understand its contents. This suppression was one of the several charges levelled upon the government by the revolutionary forces (and as well by many historians with ideological slants) charging the Spanish government with
repression of higher levels of learning and culture by the suppression of the teaching of the Spanish language and the censor of foreign books in the archipelago.

Nevertheless, everything points to show that the country was well-defined. The use of the vernacular was one of the more potent tools for national unity and identity. The provinces were termed as follows: Ilokos province, whose inhabitants are the *Ilokano* and speak *Ilokano* language; the Pampanga province, the *Kapampangans* whose dialect is known as *Kapampangan*, and many other provinces. Regional identity was therefore well-formed and preserved, thanks in no small part to the conservation of the provincial languages. This was partly due, let us not forget, to the insistence of the friars in the 16th century of spreading the faith and teaching the natives in the vernacular. Latin American countries have lost to some extent the native languages once used by their ancestors due to the teaching and implementation of Spanish as the official language to the detriment and great patrimonial loss of their original native languages. Not so, however, is the case in the Philippines. We have pointed out the printing of catechism books and dictionaries in several native languages. In these, we see positive advances towards binding the people together and even fomenting regional identity.

1.2 Trade, Agriculture, Migration

We have briefly mentioned earlier about the economic upswing in the beginnings of the 19th century with the industrial revolution which took place in Europe and its subsequent repercussions in the Philippines especially during the second half of the century. This period coincided as well with the upbeat conditions experienced by other Asian countries and their colonizers. Especially true was the increase in trade between Europe and the United States with the Philippines. Surprising as it may seem, Spain was doing very little trading with the Philippines during that time. European hunger for raw materials in the 19th century was patently due to the expansion of the industrial revolution. Spain, with her many internal problems in this century, was slow in picking up into the heels of her neighbor's advances towards
industrialization. In fact, this was partly the reason for the flurry of diplomatic and foreign intervention in the Asian theater of colonialism. Everyone wanted to have a South East Asian base in order not to be left out on the lucrative raw material trade that was flourishing⁶. There really was a great hunger for raw materials to feed the mushrooming industrial revolution in Europe. This brought trade and traders to Asia and attracted many foreigners to migrate. It also caused internal migration in the Philippines due to the amount of business it generated. It instilled the important lesson of what a well-planned agricultural program could produce which consequently led the Filipinos to realize the value of possessing tracts of agricultural land for cultivation. All of these spelled economic opportunities for the foreigners. Spain's decision of finally opening up the Philippines into world commerce had partly caused the economic improvement in the archipelago. Also to be partly credited was the abolition of the Royal Company of the Philippines which was getting to prove itself more of an economic liability especially with the exclusive privileges granted to her at its onset. This overall increase in country development brought J. Montero y Vidal to report that:

The development of agriculture, industry and commerce in the Philippines; the security of the seas; the growth of navigation; the cessation of ridiculous obstacles that limited the traffic and impeded the relations with other countries; the progress which, though slow, is presenting itself in the country; the increase of industries; the immigration of Europeans, fewer for sure with respect to our compatriots that in no other country in the world would they find better advantages. And it is not useless but worthwhile to repeat that the government propagates and stimulates instead of consenting to the abuse of the commissioners who, with tricks, brought so many to perish in the ungrateful (trading) climates of America and Africa. All this is done that the Philippines prospers and becomes great, arriving to attain in the aggregation of its towns the level of wealth and prosperity to which she has a right⁷.
But the economic upsurge in the Philippines also had other effects. It is of interest for us to see how this had a direct and indirect influence in unifying the country towards nationalism. The economic increase for one thing brought about the increase in agricultural interest and activity which was never before experienced in the country. Secondarily, it brought about a wave of migration all over the archipelago—from the northern Ilokos regions to the southern Visayas.

With the thirst for raw materials, foreign traders ended up discovering Manila and its provinces. This was further achieved, as mentioned earlier, through the various measures employed by the government. The ports of Cebu, Iloilo, Negros, Pangasinan and most especially Manila, were seen as export points for the shipment of raw materials. These cities served as bargain centers for trading products such as sugar, abaca, coffee and tobacco principally. Other items like the case of cotton, were of lesser interest but were nevertheless among the many items bartered from these ports. This eventually led to the opening of commercial houses, banks, and all the other economic structures that were eventually sought necessary. Where there was money and demand on one hand, on the other were eager local traders and entrepreneurs (who could easily have been other Spaniards, mestizos and leading Filipinos and principals) who procured and supplied the raw materials for trade. These locals set up their own buying stations to buy from the farmers and other planters in the cities and towns the sugar, tobacco and other commodities on demand.

These products were, however, not exactly new for the farmer and planter in the countryside. Actual escalation of the economy vis-a-vis demand began early in the 19th century. There was rural movement in the sense of agricultural technology transfer among farmers to increase the yield. A concrete example of this is what happened in the Ilocos region, where tobacco farmers from its northern provinces extended their planting techniques to the farmers in Abra and the northern ends of the mountain province. Aside from this, when the increase in demand was more felt, there was a mad rush to cultivate all available agricultural lands. This further brought about the clearing-up of large tracts of forest lands all over the country. Forests and jungles were cleared up and lands were prepared and tilled. Foremost in agricultural escalation were the provinces of Pampanga and the
Tagalog region. In this way, many millions of hectares of new agricultural lands were developed. A good number of new towns and villages also sprouted out of nowhere. The hungry demand in the world market elicited feverish growth over a sustained period. Foremost in demand was tobacco, cultivated in the northern Luzon provinces as well as in the Cagayan valley region. Abacca, grown in the Albay and Camarines regions, was another much-sought after merchandise in the world market. As a result of increased trading, Manila and the other provincial ports became well known all over the world for oriental merchandise and raw materials.

With the clearing-up of forests and the preparation of new lands, much labor was created. Still more was needed especially during the labor intensive periods of planting and harvesting. There was the need then to transport products from farms to markets or buying stations. In these market sites, middle men bought the goods and sold them later to the leading trading and commercial houses located in the more prosperous cities. There was business, therefore, for money lenders and banks. Expansion was felt and increased as the years went by.

With this economic growth being experienced in the archipelago, migration became rampant in the country. The people began to move from one province to the other in practically all parts of the archipelago. There were six more settled areas that were most affected in terms of migration movements. These areas were naturally the earliest settled provinces and more developed as well: the greater Manila area, Cebu, Pangasinan, Panay and the Ilokos, north and south, coastal regions. Migration was on one hand caused by the rush in search for agricultural lands in the different parts of the archipelago. It was also due to the abundant need for labor in many areas where much needed raw materials were being produced. Everyone was clamoring for a private land to till and wanting to get rich. The greater Manila area farmers extended themselves to the northern, eastern, and southern directions. The farmers in the Tagalog region ended up occupying the territory of Bicol (Camarines Norte, Sur, and Albay ). Many areas in the southern and eastern part of Pangasinan were quickly gobbled up by land-hungry farmers. The Kapampangans, joined by the Tagalogs, migrated northwards populating Tarlac. The residents of Cebu City spread all over the island where, prior to 1840, most parts were not
yet populated nor cleared for cultivation. The *Ilonggos* of Panay overran the entire island and even jumped next door to the northwestern part of the island of Negros. Thus, such towns as Silay, Bacolod (today, the capital of Negros), and Pulupandan came to be. This was the trend all over the country such that by the end of the 19th century, a great part of the archipelago that used to be jungle areas, became crop producing cultivated lands.

One can, therefore, conclude that with such movements in the country, the amount of corollary and related industries and services as well as infrastructure to support the industrial-agricultural growth, were also expanding at the same time. Banks and farm-credit institutions, formal or informal, opened up in the provinces. Roads became extended, irrigation systems were either expanded or built, and some other developments that had previously been considered in this thesis.

But what is most important for us at this point is the developing native culture and awareness that was taking place in the Philippine society. Its culture was continuing to form itself due to the internal movements within the country. It was a situation of getting-to-know oneself by discovering the rest of the country and its people. There was the exchange of ideas; the learning of new languages; the realization that many people had the same manner of thinking and had the same dreams, whispering aspirations for freedom and emancipation.

Together with the economic improvement, also came the improvement in the standards of living of the people. This brought about different levels of affluence in towns and cities in these 40 or 50 years of economic growth. The resultant economic well-being was well understood by the common people. They were very different from the «slash and burn, hunt and survive» natives that we have seen in the first century of Spanish occupation. These new breed had more aspirations and dreams. They longed for a better education for their children; better and more comfortable homes; new clothes; their own land to till; and perhaps a country they could really call their own. More and more, this last aspiration sank into their minds and hearts. As the distinction between the Filipino and the Spaniard became clearer; as the forming of classes became obvious, as the former became more conscious of the value of the land and its possibilities; the Filipino was restless to be governed by fellow Filipinos. The forces of nationalism was therefore taking its toll.
2. GOVERNMENT: FIGHTING WITH ONESELF

2.1 Spanish Political Difficulties (19th Century)

In any government, periods of political turmoil or instability are bound to happen and do happen. They are as common and even regular as there are political party problems and elections. Many go through these periods and may emerge defeated or even stronger in government or as a new political party. Political ramifications, however, have their long-term effects and may only be consequential after a long period of time.

In the case of the Philippines, the political difficulties on the local scene had began as early as the 16th century. There was much uncertainty in the government as to whether the Philippines was to be colonized or not during this period. Everything was temporary. There was little interest in staying in the first place. They had their eyes fixed further north, towards China. Such uncertainty also had the friars who could not decide whether to remain or not, to start their missions or to wait. Little interest was also shown in the pursuit of a more lively development of trade and commerce within the Asian sphere during both the 16th and 17th century. But the Philippines, despite of its being a losing proposition for Spain, was however held tight by her against the other European colonizer's aim of occupying the archipelago.

The other problem with political uncertainties is the after-effect on the short term and on the long term basis, typical with political institutions. This, to some extent, is what happened to the Spanish liberal party's ascent to power in 19th century Spain. It did its own auto-propagation of liberal sentiments. The problem arose when it turned against itself in due time with respect to the Philippine scenario. With this development, what seemed to appear obvious was the apparent lack of coordination and common understanding of goals between the peninsular government and the government of Manila. The various measures taken by the peninsular government to understand the local situation better, if only to have more coherent measures of action, can be seen seen in their setting up of administrative offices -both local with its foreign counterpart- in order to receive
better briefing and to help the peninsular government enact laws and decrees relevant to the country. This lack of coordination produced much conflict between the administrations of the peninsular and colonial government in Manila.

It must also be brought to light that there were many civil servants occupying administrative positions who were not suitably trained for such public functions. Many provincial governors, for example, were military officers experts only for naval or army warfare and tactics. Dealing with taxes, justice and running an administrative staff was quite another discipline. There were a lot of political savvy that these military men did not possess. Theirs was discipline and obedience.

Also present were the political compromises which is common in any political party. This is aggravated, however, when one has to toe the party line of peninsular politics all the way to the Philippines. One needs to understand this as a case of two different societies utilizing one political party ideology. This was the cause of much misunderstandings and breakdowns in the government administrative efficiency. In the period between 1869-1871 (three years), there were 6 different Overseas Ministers, one after the other. This means that there were 6 changes in this office in just within the period of three years namely: Abelardo López de Ayala (8-X-1868 to 21-V-1869); Manuel Becerra (13-VII-1869 to 30-III-1870); Segismundo Moret (1-IV-1870 to 3-I-1871); Adelardo López de Ayala (4-I-1871 to 23-VII-1871); Tomás Mosquera (24-VII-1871 to 5-XI-1871); and Victor Balaguer (5-XI-1871 to 21-XII-1871). And in between both colonial and peninsular government, the Overseas Ministry was caught in the middle, obliged to serve both ends. This further complicated the relations between the Governor General and the Overseas Ministry. These problems are clearly reflected in an intervention made in a session of the Spanish Senate on March 11, 1878 by Gen. Riquelme saying:

«...If we do not insist on the Overseas Ministry (who in general confides in men who in their lives have taken cared of overseas matters but who don’t know anything of what takes place over there); if we insist, I repeat, in that this Overseas Ministry has to direct from Madrid
the destinies...; if we have to continue with the antagonism that exists between the Overseas Ministry and the governor generals; if we have to have in them the highest confidence of government such as is necessary to be invested; if the information of an ignorant official of the Overseas Ministry has to be sufficient motive in order to bring about daily ridiculous, repugnant, truly unjustifiable warnings to those authorities who should be authorized in order to govern in those countries, the distance they are from Spain, of all the authority of sovereign powers of those places...., therefore, Mr. Senators, I am afraid that all our sacrifices and efforts are sterile»

On the local scene, the governor generals did what they could do. They were, in the first place, reluctant to accept the position of governor general in the Philippines considering its distance from Spain, the climate it offered, and its lack of a favorable economic and financial infrastructure. Many were hesitant to accept the assignment and if ever accepted, they were always in a hurry to finish their term or look for excuses to be recalled to Spain. This has been manifested, for example, in the rapid change of governor generals in the Philippines: from 1830-1885, there were 27 governor generals in all, i.e., one for every 2 years.

Part of the problem was due to the situation Spain was in during this epoch of her history. The 19th century saw this country governing the Philippines for more than 300 years with much experience on her favor to rule efficiently. But this time, Spain and her people were very much engrossed with the on-goings in Europe. On the other hand, she manifested little enthusiasm for her colonial affairs to the extent that she was completely swept away by occidental factors affecting both the Church and the State. This has been repeated many times in her history. Various periods of serious changes have taken place in her government during the 19th century. She had a virulent anti-clerical campaign rivaling any of those ever seen in the occidental front. She was looking inwards more at herself as a country, giving little interest to her colonies at the time: Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. She seemed to have her hands filled with Spanish and European
politics, very crucial in several stages of this century. It was, indeed, one of her most troublesome moments where she seemed to have been in a permanent state of disorder.

With respect to armed conflicts, Spain seemed to be putting off one war after the other while getting involved in another. This was repeated all throughout the century. She also seemed to be in a perpetual civil war, domestically. It is therefore of little wonder that with her overseas interests in the Americas and in Asia, she had too much to handle. It was also for Spain to pass through this century's «crisis doing the most she could in the midst of an economic downturn which saw poverty at close hand partly due to her slow conversion into the industrial revolution that was taking place in her neighboring countries. This century saw Spain losing a lot especially with her disastrous war with the United States costing all her overseas possessions on top of her not having entered into the industrial revolution early enough».

2.2 Consequences of Political Liberalism

Among the many aftershocks felt in the Philippines from the turbulent and revolutionary situation in Spain was that of Liberalism as we have earlier seen. Spanish liberalism originated from French liberalism, a consequence of the influx of French ideas and the changes in Spain's dynasties. It was at the same time (French liberalism) anti-clerical due to the influence given to it by the French Encyclopedists who were anti-church and anti-monarchy. This system, brought over to the Philippines, was to be like cheese in a den of rats. Political liberalism postulates freedom of individual democratic institutions; upholds the rights of man and is individualistic in outlook. Aside from this, the added anti-clerical stance fitted perfectly in the Philippine scenario as the right ingredients to add fuel to the increasing nationalistic spark in the country.

When King Fernando VII got back to the throne, he sought towards the complete control of both the Church and the State. The Spanish church, which had suffered under the French Napoleon and his brother Joseph, gladly welcomed the return of monarchical rule under King
Fernando VII and his absolutist policy. This, to a certain extent, aligned the Spanish church with the conservatives pitting the liberals against them. To anyone who knew the situation in the Philippines, if there was anyone keeping the country together, it was the friars. It was therefore erroneous to be anti-clerical. It was a better politics to conserve and care for them for political ends.

The effects of peninsular government in the Philippines were therefore disastrous. Liberal ideas circulated in the Philippines in spite of the efforts to avoid them. Many liberals in Spain were exported to the Philippines in the persons of many officials who came over beginning with governor generals. Overseas assignments were given as rewards to political friends who, in one way or the other, supported the party line. There were many liberals who came over, each one venting their liberal and anti-clerical ideas. This was a bad example coming from the most disreputable class of Spaniards. Sinebaldo de Mas himself, a liberal, after an official mission to the Philippines in 1842 reported to Spain the following observations:

"If we admit the usefulness of protecting the religious spirit, the Spaniards in the provinces, who in general give an example of the contrary by not fulfilling their church duties, do great harm. This is so much the more harmful as they are in the sight of the whole village, which knows quite well the actions of their most private lives. Finding myself in the feast of Corpus Christi at a place where a great procession and church function were being held, not a single Spaniard of the several who were there, including the governor of the province, went to Mass. For an alcalde not to go to Mass becomes so much more scandalous as it is the custom for the gobernadorcillo with all the community and the past captains to go to get him at the casa real, inorder to accompany him to the church in a kind of ceremony.

On account of this, it happens that it is enough for the parish priest to get word that a Spaniard is calling for him to have it said that he is not at home - something which contributes to destroy the prestige of our name and
dominion. Surely this, together with other motives, has contributed to diminish the spirit of devotion, especially for the last fifteen or twenty years. This decline is not imaginary. I have assured myself of it through several channels, among them through a commercial house that formerly did business in books of religion and prints. From this I deduce that our foundations are becoming weaker. If they are not strengthened, though there may be more or less delay, the edifice will fall. I believe then, that if the colony is to be conserved, it is absolutely necessary to take positive measures to check the exterior manifestations of irreligion, to cause the priests to appear under the most respectable point of view possible, and to endeavor to have their influence over the masses powerful...»

This was the situation in many cities in the Philippines during that time. In Spain, the Church was then suffering to a great extent. Mobs burned religious houses in various cities and murdered many priests. The Liberal government of Mendizabal (1836-1837) eventually dissolved all religious orders in Spain. The Spanish clergy in the Philippines, therefore, was in a very precarious condition. To some extent, they were unsure of their continued existence in the archipelago for the same policy could be applied to them. They were aware that they were under the mercy of the Spanish government in Manila and were in a far worse condition than at any time in their history in the Philippines.

The other problem was the many political appointees that entered into the Philippine bureaucratic structure. Ill-suited for administrative jobs, many, as mentioned earlier, were there in «payment» for party contribution. Much corruption was brought about by this system. One can easily imagine the situation at hand. As Luis Prudencio Alvarez writes in 1840 about the Philippine situation:

«If one takes the trouble to compare the roster of government employees serving in the Philippines in 1820 with this year’s roster, he will immediately perceive that the number of employees has doubled, perhaps tripled,
although the flow of business has not for that reason become more expeditious and regular. This suggests that the number of employees needs to be reduced to what is strictly necessary, and that we should abolish the prolific hatchery of employees, namely, the policy of sending over there, in order to await employment, pensionistas with a salary of 300 pesos a year. They should be going to school to fit themselves for employment; instead of which they go out there in expectation of imaginary jobs, and become a useless burden to the public treasury for the long period that must intervene before they - or some of them - can be utilized.

Add to this the fact that as soon as a position becomes vacant someone in Spain is immediately appointed to fill it without regard to precedence, merits or seniority, and anyone can see what dissatisfaction is produced by this state of affairs, and how badly these jobs are done until time and experience shall have taught these beneficiaries (of patronage) what they did not know when they got there.

Besides being a burden to the public treasury, this needless superfluity of civil servants is harmful in other equally important ways. For one thing, it multiplies the number of idlers, to the endangering of public tranquility. Then, with every office crowded with excedentes, agregados and supernumerarios, you have one hundred on the waiting-list fighting for a single vacancy. Precedence goes by the board, and worthy young men of Spanish descent in the colonies18, whose ability and merits and the services rendered by their parents give them a claim to consideration, are pushed aside»19.

We see not only the bad example but the preference for positions in administrative functions as being discriminatory to the locals who were competent for such positions. But aside from the positions being given to newly arrived party-hangers-on, there was also the case of nepotism. These were those administrative chiefs, beginning with the governor general down to the last appointed gobernadorcillo, who
placed relatives and friends in lucrative positions instead of better deserving locals. Such, is made evident in this complaint on December 15, 1843 from Consul Fabre to the Minister of Foreign Affairs citing that:

«The new governor of the Philippines, General Alcalá, is a relative of Espartero and his loyal partisan. The new lieutenant governor, General Crespo, is a relative of General Alcalá. The new director of the Tobacco Revenue is a relative of General Alcalá. One of the new oidores is a relative of General Alcalá. The successor designate of Señor de la Matta as Intendant of Finances of the Islands, Señor Valero, is a brother of an aide-de-camp of Espartero. Every key position has been given to Espartero’s men».

Much was to be desired from those who were sent to the Philippines. It became obvious to the Filipinos the impression that they were being taken advantage of by the Spaniards especially when government officials were suspected of being engaged in corrupt practices. Since everyone knew everyone, it was not difficult to discover irregularities in business or government. The bad quality of those being sent to fill-up positions in the government is once again brought to light in this request to the President of the Council of Ministers by the Marqués de Novaliches on November 9, 1853:

«It is a sad fact, but a true one, that we send to those distant lands, for the most part, neither the most intelligent nor the most solicitous for their own good name and reputation. I need not even suggest to you what evils have been consequent upon this procedure. We should send to the Philippines, particularly to the key positions there, civil servants who are known in Spain to be honest and intelligent; not individuals who take with them nothing more, perhaps, than the eagerness to amass a fortune».

In the political circles in Manila, the high and the powerful with their respective followers were either aligned towards the Carlists or towards the Liberals. The Carlist faction in Manila was, to a certain
extent, supported by the religious clergy. The Carlist faction did everything possible to make life difficult for the liberal appointees who came to the Philippines from Spain. One can just imagine the division that was in Manila and in the provinces. This further made the task of the government already much confused, more difficult, unbearable and unproductive. When Governor General Salazar (a Carlist) was replaced, for example, by the liberal Governor General Camba (August, 1837), there was much opposition not only from the regular clergy but mainly from the many Carlist left-overs in government. This opposition came from the audiencia and other high government officials. Such was the difficulty and the many intrigues encountered by Governor General Camba that he found his tenure of government unbearable and resigned on December, 1838.

After the suppression of the Tayabas-Batangas military insurrection in 1840-1841, this report sent by Manuel de la Matta (Intendant of the Army and Treasury) to the governor general shows the general trend at the time:

«In general there is to be seen considerable indifference and even dissatisfaction, to peninsular interests. Ideas of emancipation are sheltered in many bosoms. Discontent swarms in all places....A multitude of jealous, complaining, and evil-intentioned men foment the discontent, to which also pusillanimous persons contribute by their indiscreet and excessive fear....There is a manifest tendency to constantly discredit the dispositions of the government, to attack maliciously the authorities who represent it, and to foment rivalry and discord among them, to which both the complexity of the legislation and the burning climate lend themselves....The malcontents have the necessary time to gather new proselytes, to consolidate the faction against the mother country, to prepare the will of the masses; and they await the time and opportunity for the realization of their desires. This plan is not in writing, but is engraved in the hearts of those who direct it, shows itself by its works, and is the result of the tendency of the
Thanks to the tide of liberalism and the complications she brought along in terms of people and ideology, nationalism was surely taking shape. There was an evident drift taking place. The Filipinos were getting more united, leaving behind all the more their colonial masters to become masters only of themselves.

2.3 Taxation

We have seen this problem in the 16th century with respect to the paying of tributes. We also have seen the problems and the revolts brought about by the vándala and the polo system of forced labor. Needless to say, in the mind of the native, these were always points of contention for taxation for them clearly demonstrated the reality of what colonized and subjection, in their way of understanding it, meant. In the 19th century, the country has reached a very high level of development to an extent incomparable to that of the 17th century when to the natives, paying tribute had been more understandable. But the new «twists and turns» in the types of taxation made common grounds for complaints and threats of rebellion as well. There was the system of forced labor then which was known «prestación personal» or statute labor. It was not as bad as the polo or the vándala in the sense that it was a fixed period of time -40 days in all per year. In the second half of the 19th century, it was modified to some extent. But still, there were many complaints and misunderstandings about the system from the majority of the natives. System of tribute-paying lasted up to 1883. From then onwards, the personal cédula was put into effect23. But on the part of the government there was the usual request for more taxes which was passed from the governor-general down to the provincial governor, and finally, to the gobernadorcillo and the cabeza de barangay for implementation. A proposal was later forwarded to base taxation or tribute paying on the personal income or wealth of the citizen. Such proposals however never easily materialized. It became a matured idea only in 1879-1880 when some modern form of income-related taxations were effected24.
But then the situation also called for improvements to streamline the collection of taxes. What calls one’s attention at this point is the collection machinery that was the hacienda ministry. Bloated with personnel down to the last barangay official, it was one of the most cumbersome and labor-intensive ministries (not to mention the corruption) that existed. And before the system of taxation was improved, there was always the inequality in the taxation of the people whereby the rich never paid as much as the poor. To give us an overall idea of the increase in the tribute contributions in the archipelago, we present the total amounts collected in 1840 and that in 1848 on the various types of tributes existing at the time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1848</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native tribute</td>
<td>739,557</td>
<td>1,629,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizo tribute</td>
<td>72,517</td>
<td>158,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tithes</td>
<td>12,863</td>
<td>184,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donativo de Zamboanga</td>
<td>32,137</td>
<td>40,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vintas</td>
<td>6,119</td>
<td>14,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassalage fee</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>9,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese head-tax</td>
<td>93,012</td>
<td>201,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockpit</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>67,459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see for ourselves the tremendous increase that transpired in just a matter of 8 years. And these were not even the best years, economically speaking, for the country. We also see that these taxes were all on the level of the farmer and the village people. This shows that what were most affected were the towns and barrios.

To further give us a picture of the financial situation of the archipelago, in 1851 overall total revenues collected amounted to 5,592,640 pesos. Of this amount, almost a half (2,775,487) was spent to pay the Hacienda offices alone which included salaries to administration officials and the expenses incurred by the ministry in the collection of taxes. The War Department received a half of what was left (that is 1/2 of 2,817,153); while an amount of 1,136,530 was sent to Spain under Remittances and Obligations. All in all there was a deficit of 1,230,997.3 pesos.
In another example, in 1859, the expenditures were as follows:\(^{27}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINISTRY</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church and Justice(^{28})</td>
<td>679,519.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War (Army)</td>
<td>221,669.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>904,331.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (State, Government + Fomento)</td>
<td>272,528.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (Administration + tax collection )</td>
<td>5,367,829.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittance to Spain</td>
<td>1,011,850.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>8,457,728.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based in the data presented, it is very clear that the military and church expenses were given more importance during the time. This we understand for obvious reasons. For Spain, the best way to keep the colony was to have a strong military force and the use of the church in keeping the people under control. The other aspect noticed is the immense outlay for financial expenses. This reflects the huge network of collectors maintained all over the country. It shows (as seen through the figures) that there were a lot of people employed for the collection system. This is especially relevant on the *pueblo* or village level. There was, for example, a single section where the *hacienda* department figures in the provincial government set-up. In this set-up, there was a body called *Cuerpo de Resguardo* which was extended from the provincial to the town and village levels. The payroll for these employees therefore drew a lot from the national budget as expenditures. Little, however, do we see in the allocation that it directly benefitted the farmer and the village people.

In another example showing that nothing had changed even after close to 50 years and after many reforms were placed into effect, we demonstrate the 1894-1895 figures. The insular budget for 1894-1895 shows the expenditures as follows:\(^{29}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINISTRY</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army / Navy</td>
<td>6,495,237.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Administration</td>
<td>2,220,120.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>1,045,540.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiencia</td>
<td>460,315.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomatic Expenses</td>
<td>60,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Ministry (Madrid)</td>
<td>118,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions (Spanish Officials + heirs)</td>
<td>718,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penal Colony (Fernando Po, Africa)</td>
<td>70,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration (Fiscal)</td>
<td>823,261.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can therefore say that if there were changes in the central structure of government, the changes affected especially the lower sections of government down to the provincial level. In the ministry of hacienda we notice this bureaucratic complexity which developed in the last 50 years as a result of simply imposing checks and balances, and of efforts to insure a more coherent and complete collection scheme. This eventually bloated the hacienda ministry and its budget. The department of rents and property taxes had the responsibility of collecting taxes only on the following items:

«(1) opium, (2) stamped paper and registered goods, (3) Bulas, (4) cockfighting fees, (5) rents and sales of products from Crown lands, (6) rent and sale of public buildings, (7) forestal products, (8) mesadas ecclesiasticas, (9) media anata, (10) renunciable and saleable offices, (11) ten and twenty percent respectively of Arbitrios and Propios from local government, (12) abandoned goods, (13) earnings of penal establishments, (14) sale of printed matters, (15) fees from the Cavite arsenal, (16) postal fees, (17) sale of surplus property, (18) indeterminate revenues, and (19) five to ten percent of sobresueldos (tax on extra wages)\[30\].

From the aforementioned, it is understandable why there was a good number of employees in this ministry. But with the Maura law in effect (1893), the municipal government system was changed dramatically (again). Part of that change was the division of powers of the municipio into two: the council and the tribunal. The tribunal’s main function was to collect taxes and had the right to impose local taxes for its own maintenance. It had its own list of taxes (some 17 items in all) which were dutifully collected from the barrios and towns. It was the cabeza de barangay and the gobernadorcillos who were basically the point men in the collection of taxes. It can be said that the entire financial system of the province rested on these town heads. There was much pressure from the Spanish civil governor on the Filipino town gobernadorcillo and the cabeza de barangay to collect and achieve their respective quotas\[31\]. The problem with this collection scheme was the
growing responsibility and difficulty that the cabeza de barangay was experiencing with respect to his relationships with the village people, as has already been mentioned. The cabeza de barangay not only faced unpopularity from the village people but also the greater risk of his personal financial ruin and imprisonment by the alcalde mayor if quotas were not reached. And as reforms and new tax schemes were introduced, not only was the implementation and explanation of new taxes to the pueblo or village people difficult, but exacting payments was even a more continuous, laborious and unpopular job. The entire taxation system therefore eventually rested on the performance of the lowly cabezas de barangay - the lowest office in the entire Spanish government in the Philippines. A comment by Ahuja, councilor for the Philippines in the Overseas Ministry (1871), clearly asserts that:

«the multiple and complicated formulas.... augmented the wearisome and oppressive responsibility of the cabeza de barangay resulting in a monstrous entity with a feeble body and a gigantic head so great and heavy that it could not see its own legs, nor could it march with the ease or liberty it used to have»

There were more changes in the system of taxation not only to streamline but to augment the tax collection to cope up with the increasing expenses that the governments in the Philippines and Spain were facing. In 1880, two new types of taxes were implemented: the urbana tax and the industrial commercial tax. The urbana tax, later known as the cédula personal, was no more than a declaration of the personal wealth of every tax payer. On the basis of this filled-up declaration form, the cédula, the amount of tax payable, was deduced.

There were a total of 13 classes, each representing a tax bracket corresponding to the amount the person had to pay. This system was implemented in order to remove abuses and to have a more uniform taxation for the rich and the poor. It was also implemented to remove, once and for all, the paying of tribute; the paying of tithes (diezmos); the taxes imposed on the expenses for cult called the «sanctorum»; and the contribution to the community chest (caja de comunidad).
In the preceding elaboration of the taxation system and its implementation, we notice that the implementors were all Filipinos. The **gobernadorcillo** and the **cabeza de barangay** were both Filipinos. The **alcalde mayor** was however a Spaniard. This was the set-up throughout the country for decades during the Spanish occupation.

It was the Filipino pitted against the Filipino who was under the control of the **alcalde mayor** at all times. If the village did not function economically well, it was the **cabeza de barangay** to be blamed. The **alcalde mayor** never received any blame for there was no one to blame him anyway. The only resort left for them was to revolt which was done many times.

2.4 Indio vs. Indio

As we have been seeing, the country has left behind its days of tribal warfare and was all the more forming itself into a society, feeling the effects of solidarity amongst themselves. But then there was danger in this as the colonial government certainly foresaw. We however see remnants of the old tribal leading men, the **datus**, who were none other than the more prestigious. In the beginning, the **principalia** were the leading men in the towns. They were not politically aligned to politics, nor did they figure in the political structures of government.

The term **principalia** came to be coined (it is a Spanish word meaning the principal or leading) by the Spaniards in reference to the leading persons in a **barangay**, barrio or village. During the 19th century, there were four levels in the Philippine society: the Spanish; the island-born Spanish who grew up in the Philippines and spoke the language well; the **mestizos** (Spanish or Chinese); and the native Filipino. In the government, higher positions were occupied by the Spaniards. The **alcalde mayor** had to be a Spaniard. The heads of military units had to be Spaniards. The native Filipino could only occupy the position of **gobernadorcillo** downwards. The indio was however split into two further levels: the **principalia** and the **cailianes**. The **principalia** were the landlords or the wealthy, while the **cailianes** were the ordinary townspeople, farmers or workers.
The *principalía* therefore came to be known by mid-19th century as those who occupied positions of government in the town level namely: *gobernadorcillo* and *cabeza de barangay*. It was the actualization of classes in society that the Spaniards were more familiar with. The *principalía*, due to the positions they occupied in government then, eventually converted into political persons. They seemed to have lost their air of being the noble men in the barrios. The *gobernadorcillos* and the *cabezas de barangay* became more transformed as tools in Spanish bureaucratic aristocracy. It was Spain's way of social control in the country utilizing the *principalía* as willing instruments in the name of efficiency and honesty. Generally, the government's aim was to maintain the *principalía* who became richer still and more beholden to their masters but who on the other hand, had to contain the masses. We are not speaking here of top city dwellers in relation to the governor general. We are referring to the grassroots level of society: the *cailian* and the *cabezas de barangay*.

As the *principalía* became more involved in government, the more they were embroiled in the political world of favors and special treatments. In this situation, the towns were seen not to have developed as prosperously as possible. We therefore should not be surprised to see the pathetic situation in many provinces. As J. A. Larkin says:

> «these native *principales* acted as intermediaries between indios and their colonial overlords- collecting taxes; directing labor gangs (statute labor), and leading native troop contingents. In exchange, the native elite received rewards: labor and tax exemptions, titles, badges of office; seats of prominence at social functions and church celebrations; and among many others, the privilege of exploiting indio labor for their own purposes»\(^{37}\).

An example of exploiting indio labor by the *principalía* is this simple account of Manuel Azcárraga y Palmero:

> «quietly to exempt one or two in each barangay from the mandatory forty days of statute labor each year, and
to charge three pesos for each exemption, the proceeds go into the fund for unbudgeted expenses. A simple method is employed to provide the directorcillo with a salary. Two statute laborers are assigned to him each week. If he has a farm, he sends them to work on it. If not, he exempts them from service upon payment of one or two pesos, and this the cailian gladly pays because it allows him to attend to his own affairs. The proceeds from this arrangement make up a salary of 8, 12 or 10 pesos a month, depending on the statute laborers involved.\(^{38}\)

Another form of harassment that the principalias used in the abuse of their position and access to money was the system of debt peonage applied to the farmers in their villages. This was, in a way, to the Spanish-outlawed debt slavery. But part of the debt was normally connected to land payment. It was a practice that was rampant at the time. It was the tendency of the farmer to borrow money to resolve the poverty he was in. The attraction was there but the rates were at usury levels. And when debts were not paid due to difficulty on the farmer's end, the land owed by the farmer was passed on to the principalia as a partial or full payment depending on the debt incurred. The principalia could not, however, just drive away the farmer from the land. He therefore hired the same farmer to work for him by tilling the same land he once owned, this time paying back the principalia with the produce as well as with his labor. Thus the Filipino indio usurped his fellow indio in a type of landlord-tenant relationship which was a complete abuse to a poor farmer. Was this not what Marcelo H. de Pilar complained about in 1894 when he wrote:

«It is true that the aims of a peaceful propaganda campaign are the same as those of a separatist insurrection, namely, the rule of law and the elimination of social inequality. But it is also true that if propaganda is effective, then a war of independence becomes unnecessary; and because unnecessary, unlikely. If legal propaganda is able to convince those who govern to perform their duties in the Philippines with honor; if it succeeds in persuading...»
the central government to relieve the colony of a regime destructive of liberty; if public opinion gives it a hearing and statesmen their attention, and if it secures for the archipelago a political system which will guarantee the security of the individual, the inviolability of his home, freedom of conscience, the respect of civil and religious bodies for the laws of the state and the prescriptions of morality; if it is able to bring about measures to prevent arbitrary government and harmonize the principle of authority with the rights of the subject, is it likely that the cry of revolt will awaken an answering echo in the Philippines? Who will want to gamble on the uncertain issue of a war of independence if under Spanish rule he can live freely, peacefully and with dignity»?

But if the system was rotten, it was never corrected in spite of all the reforms effected. Behind the system was Spain’s intention of letting the indio control the indio while she supervised. And this situation was seen all over the country. In his assessment of the on-going abuses of the principalia, Fr. Tomas Ortiz listed some of the abuses as follows:

«1) Buying ahead of time and at very low prices the rice that is still to be harvested; 2) lend at very high interest rates as in lending a cavan of rice at the time for planting with the obligation of repaying two or three cavans at harvest time; 3) utilize lands and even persons as guarantees to money leased; 4) lend out cash as well at very elevated interest rates [one real per month for each peso]; 5) without much difficulty do they enslave debtors who cannot pay; 6) don’t allow anyone to talk to the priest without their permission; 7) in the exacting of tribute, they commit a lot of abuses; 8) impede free trade and commerce of the indio; 9) practice illegal redemption of personal services [statute labor]; 10) convert the payments owed by the indio in different concepts [boat rowers, haulers, etc.]; 11) some principalias have the cailianes work in their homes or fields during the entire
year with the excuse of the *principalia* paying the tribute of the cailian, converting the latter into authentic slaves of their masters»

We therefore come to the conclusion that the system initiated, that of appointing the *principalia* to positions of government, proved to be harmful and negative to the cause of ensuring peace and harmony in the grassroots level. Reforms could have been effected with respect to those who were placed to govern. Reports of the abuses were publicly known. But since this was a local affair or problem in the eyes and ears of the Spanish authorities, they could wash their hands free. After all, if there were to be a rebellion of the masses it would be against themselves and the *principalia*. A concrete example of this type of rebellion took place in Northern Ilocos. It started in the town of Sarrat by the *cailianes* against the *principalia* whom they considered as their oppressors. The common feeling all over the region was that:

«In almost all the towns of Ilocos Norte, the common people threw over the reins of government, tearing down the town houses and setting prisoners at liberty. There were serious riots in Batac and San Nicolás...What they were chiefly interested in was the abolition of statute labor, that is, the obligation of rendering personal service in public works such as road and bridge building, etc. The *principales* were exempted from this obligation, a fact which seemed to them to contradict the principle that all men are equal.

The ring leader of the rebellion was a certain Domingo of the town of Sarrat... At Sarrat, more than anywhere else, conditions were ripe for an outbreak of the *cailianes* or common people against the *principales*...Then they made for the town house, where they wounded and beat up the officials they found there. They smashed and scattered the town records with their sabers, and took to pounding the drums, a signal which was answered in all the houses of the *cailianes* by the raising of a white flag. More men came running up and swelled the rebel ranks of fifteen hundred strong. They divided into three groups
and advanced towards the first of the houses of the principales that stood on the square.\textsuperscript{41}

In the end, the cailianes went after the gobernadorcillo and the cabezas de barangay who were the authority for they represented the repressive regime of Spain. They were therefore regarded as the new converts or perpetuators of colonial abuse. But the desires for emancipation from Spain was even greater due to the transformation of the principalia into perpetuators of local slavery.

3. Church in Power

3.1 Church - Native Relations

Many historians claim with certainty that the evangelization process in the Philippines was over before the turn of the 16th century. By 1600, all the natives within reach were already converted. The job left for the church was to form the natives more in the Christian faith. Aside from this however, they still had to reach the tribes that were in the most inaccessible parts of the archipelago: the mountainous regions and the muslim-influenced regions of Mindanao in the southernmost part of the country. But the main task ahead was forming the natives. Thus, the community set-up essentially involved the erection of the town school which was usually tied with the parish church. In a sense, these were all parochial schools. It should come therefore as no surprise that the life in the village revolved around the church. This system continued up to the 19th century. In fact, the procedure of establishing a new town during the 19th century partly involved the capacity to put-up and maintain a town church, the convent house of the priest, and the parish-run school.\textsuperscript{42}

We therefore realize from a standpoint one form of influence that the church had (especially in this case the parish priest) in the 1850 Spanish occupation setting. We must also consider the extent of her influence: it covered all the towns and villages where there was a parish church. The Catholic faith was very much in the lives of the townspeople even up to the last barrio. At the height of the 19th
century, the customs and religious traditions carried over by Spain had practically settled as part of Philippine custom and tradition. The traditional town fiestas were actually the feasts in the liturgical calendar as depicted in this description in 1857 by Lawrence Oliphant saying that:

«A general explosion of rockets, and the martial stirrings of a military band, announced the start of the procession....Through a lane in the crowd passed first the band, then a gentleman in black with a white tie who looked like the master of ceremonies, and superintended the distribution of tapers to such of the crowd as were disposed to form part of the procession. These amateur taper bearers formed two rows, and between them, in double file, toddled rather than walked a number of miniature nuns and monks in full religious costume, the oldest of whom might have attained the age of five or six. The shaved crowns and sandalled feet of the tiny monks, as they led by the hand with great dignity and solemnity their still smaller sisters, produced a very grotesque effect, which was heightened, if possible, by the miscellaneous costume of a crowd of children that followed, in the most extravagant fancy dresses. Then came the Virgin, carried by men screened by drapery, on a wooden stage, a perfect mass of tinsel and wax lights, followed by priests, while two or three regiments, with fixed bayonets, brought up the rear»43.

The traditional feasts in May have their origins from the many towns that were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; thus, making their fiestas coincide with the traditional month of our Lady in May. The «Flores de Mayo», for example, was a deeply rooted tradition in the entire archipelago44. By 1898, the area of Manila alone had 259 parishes; the diocese of Cebu with 213 parishes; diocese of Jaro with 200 parishes; diocese of Nueva Segovia with 171 parishes, and the diocese of Nueva Caceres with 124 parishes, giving a total of 967 parishes all over the archipelago during that year.45
This brings us to understand the bond brought about by religion which continues to be so today in a country where there used to be neither of both. The forming of a society, of a unity, of an entity by means of a common religion is patent not only in the Philippines but in many countries that have passed through similar processes. But then, this bond is not only felt geographically but also horizontally between provinces. The faith bridges the people vertically from different levels of life as well. It bridges the rich and the poor with the middle class. This was one of the more important aspects in the role that the church had played in Philippine history. Going back to Sir John Bowring in his report with respect to his Philippine visit, this time he comments that:

«Generally speaking, I found a kind and generous urbanity prevailing; friendly intercourse where that intercourse has been sought; the lines of demarcation and separation between ranks and classes less marked and impassable than in most Oriental countries. I have seen at the same table Spaniards, mestizo and Indian - priest, civilian and soldier. No doubt a common religion forms a common bond; but to him who has observed the alienations and repulsions of caste in many parts of the Eastern world - caste, the great social curse - the blending and free intercourse of man with man in the Philippines is a contrast well-admiring»\(^46\).

In relation to this, the friar was generally well respected in the cities and towns. Though the Filipinos had some grievances, they were matured enough to understand that the faith was beyond any person and was something transcendental and supernatural: that priests were subject to the same defects and errors as any man. To stress this point, the revolt in the Ilocos against the *principalias* portrays the position of the parish priest vis-a-vis the rebellious mob. Sinebaldo de Mas informs us that:

«On the third of March (1815), between three and four in the afternoon an outcry was raised in the town
which soon spread in all directions and a mob armed with sabres, bows and arrows and pikes burst into the town square.... The parish priest tried to address the multitude, but they greeted him with shouts, pressing in on him from all sides and brandishing their weapons. Most of them kissed his hands and besought him to give them his blessing, for they were resolved to kill all the *principales* and their wives and children...»\(^{47}\).

In this section it is important for us to shed light to the change of attitude in the general sense of the church and, more particularly, the clergy. This change of attitude refers to that of the 1850's in comparison to the 1580's. We recall that in the 1580's, there was nothing else to do but convert the natives. The zeal of the religious was beyond question and doubt. This was the church- eager for the conversion of souls. The church then had nothing but practically the shirt on their back and a few other things. Aside from this, the only other thing but perhaps the greatest gift they had was their faith and the burning conviction of spreading it and converting the natives.

In the 19th century, the panorama has changed; Spain has also changed; and after 300 years, King Fernando and Isabela the Catholic were long gone. After 300 years, the religious friar was in every facet of Filipino society and culture. They had settled into their territories which were founded centuries earlier. They had acquired wealth and properties, and possessed a lot of influence and power. They had their flock which by then were not recent converts but born into the faith. The only task left for the clergy was to maintain that faith within the flock. They also had the never ending help of the native clergy. This was the situation in practically the entire archipelago which had negative consequences on the friar. Beginning with this letter in 1872 by the Dominican bishop of Jaro to Governor Izquierdo (who by the way was a confessed Mason), calling the later's attention, we understand more of the church's situation at the time. In part, the letter reads:

«May God grant that with a renewal of spirit in the religious orders they may produce a sufficient abundance
of religious who fear God, who are instructed in their duties, faithful to their vows, observant of their rules, detached from the world, disinterested, and compassionate. For then it will come about that the parish priests coming from the religious orders will be true fathers of the people of their towns. But in this matter, your Excellency, I believe you and I can do very little if the orders do not themselves try to reform themselves, banishing abuses and toleration of them, which are not in harmony with their state of life. Inasmuch as I am a religious, I have had occasion to read documents in which the laxity of many individuals of the regular clergy is attributed in large part to canonical collation. For because of that there remains no apt means to correct a bad parish priest except an expediente (the assembling of testimonies and documentation for a judicial process) which never or only rarely results in giving evidence of the excesses of a parish priest...»48.

It is no surprise either that in the 19th century, the spiritual fervor of the Filipinos was on the decline. We remember the declarations of the Jesuits upon their return to Manila in 1859 on the state of Christian formation of the natives. Such, to a certain extent, gives us an idea as to why at the onset, the Aglipay Philippine Independent Church was successful (which shall be discussed later). We also see the return of fanaticism and superstition as another effect of the cooling of spiritual fervor among the religious. There were towns which had thirty to forty thousand inhabitants with only one parish priest. This hesitancy of dividing the parish was due to the considerable amount of income received from the tributes collected in these large towns49.

The decline in religious fervor had its reasons and this fall on one hand to the anti-friar atmosphere that was growing which was orchestrated by the liberals and later by the Masons. The other aspect was the lack of priestly zeal among the clergy due to a multitude of reasons plus their conflicting attention with respect to their double role as politicians and pastors of their flock.

The effects of declining spiritual fervor took place in a graduated
level. This tendency however escalated both in intensity and by geography especially in the last quarter of the 19th century. Yet in spite of it, the relationship between clergy and native was cordial and respectful. This was especially true in areas where there was a more oppressive government (which was more often the case than not) on the provincial and town levels and where the parish priest often had to intervene for the native. When there was more corruption by government officials, the parish priest was more appreciated by the native for his intervention on their behalf.

But in general, the level of relationship was high. Certainly, there were always some who were disgruntled by the performance of their parish priest but this cannot always be avoided. Aside from this, one also has to know the Filipino mentality to understand that they are a patient and respectful people as we have seen in the first part of this thesis. In this Englishman’s account of the Philippines, he reports that:

«The degree of respect in which the «padre» is held by the Indian, is truly astonishing. It approaches to adoration, and must be seen to be credited. In the most distant provinces, with no other safeguard than the respect with which he has inspired the Indians, he exercises the most unlimited authority, and administers the whole of the civil and ecclesiastical government, not only of a parish but often of a whole province»

The conflict was normally between the alcaldes and the gobernadorcillos against the clergy. Let us not forget that whether he likes like it or not, the friar exercised a lot of control and influence in towns and cities. He protected his interests and it was precisely in his interest to maintain his power and his best relations with the natives. Many times too, the friar even had to intervene for the gobernadorcillo against the alcalde mayor who was Spanish. Often, the cabeza de barangay was accused by the alcalde mayor and it was the friar who came to the former’s assistance.

That the relationship between the friar and the cailian and principala remained good for it was in the friar’s interests that it remained that way. In many aspects especially related to money for the needs of
the church or be it for the need of work, the *principalia* was the friar's main resource. But on other matters, the friar also defended the *principalia*, who, more often than not, was at odds with the *alcalde mayor*. Differences were often due to the paying of tributes, quotas not attained, and the compliance of statute labor among the *cailianes*. It was, therefore, in the interest of the latter to always remain in the good graces of the friar for it was he who could defend him against the usual harsh treatment of the provincial governor. With respect to the famous accusations on the friar being the reason behind the deportations of natives, this response of Bishop Campomanes to the Taft Commission can shed light to the question when asked about the role the priests played in the deportation of citizens:

«The *guardia civil*, which was a body known during the Spanish rule, would often report to the civil governor that certain persons were a disturbing element in the neighborhood. The civil governor would then report to the governor general who would ask for a report; and on the ante-report of the civil governor and the parish priest, the governor general would act, but not one was ever expelled upon the exclusive report of the parish priest. Very often, the parish priest would intercede on behalf of some persons accused by the *guardia civil* upon groundless charges, and would succeed by appealing to the governor general in preventing him from being deported. The archbishop here in Manila, who was right on the ground, succeeded in preventing a great many men from being unjustly expelled»\(^51\).

Thus the parish priest was the vital link between *cailianes* and the government both for and against them. In one more way, he wielded much influence. It was therefore in the interest of all to be in best relations with the friar. But then there was rough sailing especially when there was a not so holy parish priest. There are recorded cases of corruption between the gobernadorcillos and the friars. And the *cailian*, in this case being the aggrieved party, went to the *alcalde mayor* for help\(^52\). But this was more the exception than the rule.
But in the end, one cannot deny the immense work that the religious, in their totality, were giving to the Filipinos. We remember that at this time, in the last decade of the 19th century, there were still missionaries penetrating the jungles and converting tribes in the mountainous regions of northern Luzon and in the lowlands as in the case of Abra. In the memoirs of Governor General de La Torre, he mentions that:

«To deny the influence and the service that the religious institutions have lent to religion and the country in these islands will be the height of injustice and the most punishable ingratitude. To deny that at this very moment they exercise legitimate influence and lend great services especially the religious orders of St. Dominic, St. Agustin, Recollects and St. Francis, all eminently Spanish with their patriotism that shines, if necessary outside, in the sublime and in the heroic, would be to deny what can be seen and observed. To deny that those religious orders, collectively less but individually more, have great defects and very great vices would be not to know what all institutions made up of men, are like».

It would be sufficient to conclude that the relations between the regular clergy dispersed all over the archipelago were, in general, well-maintained. There surely were critical and difficult areas but these were already expected by them. On the whole, they were still the defenders of the indio.

3.2 The Native Clergy: Problematic Beginnings

One of the saddest episodes in the history of the church in the Philippines was the development of the native secular clergy. In the same vein, we must say in our assessment that the native clergy was, as a consequence, one of the main reasons behind the nationalism movement in the country.

But the history of the native secular clergy started with a sour note which began with the experience received by the church in America.
It was noted that the Mexicans were not willing to be priests; or, if they did, they lacked enough serious interest in studies especially those required such as theology and philosophy. Aside from this, the second council of Lima (1567) thought it best to resolve the situation by prohibiting any ordination of American natives. And with the continuous arrival of Spanish missionary priests in the Philippines, perhaps the idea of setting up the seminary for natives was unrealistic.

Faced with the entire evangelical panorama the idea of the seminary was shelved, but not for long. In 1621, Agustin Tabuyo, a native of Cagayan, was ordained. In 1653, a Pampango, Miguel Jeronimo was also ordained. And due to the interventions earlier made by Bishop Francois Pallu, the Apostolic Vicar on August 2, 1677, a cédula real was issued by King Charles II ordering the resumption towards the eventual ordination of natives. Nothing transpired until twenty years later in 1697 when another cédula real was issued. Still, nothing transpired with this cédula either and King Philip V on April 28, 1702 issued another cédula real for the opening of a seminary for the natives which went unheeded as well. The initial problems were that they could not physically put up a seminary for natives and that they encountered from them the lack of iniciative towards higher studies leading to the priesthood. But very early at the outset, the religious were already seen to be disinterested and foot-dragged, thereby becoming, in the final analysis the major stumbling block.

Continuing with the development of the native clergy, the first two colleges where natives could begin their formation for the priesthood were the colleges of San Juan de Letrán and San Jose. After some time, Sto. Tomas dropped its exclusivity for Spanish-born students and admitted natives as well.

When Cardinal Thomas Maillard de Tournon arrived in Manila, he was with the Italian priest Juan Bautista Sidoti. While awaiting the trip to Japan, Fr. Sidoti found out about the seminary project, and together with Archbishop Camacho, put their efforts to get the seminary going. In 1705, the seminary was put up and was called San Clemente. It opened with an occupancy rate for 80 seminarians, eight being reserved for native Filipinos. But King Philip V, after receiving word of this from the Nuncio in Madrid, went into a fit of jealousy because the seminary came into being only, due to the interference of
the Holy See while his *cédula real* went unheeded. The other contention of the King was that the seminary was to be under the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda Fidei* and was to be an international seminary for Asian candidates. The king had the seminary literally destroyed and the project stopped.

In 1712, a new seminary opened bearing this time the name of St. Philip (seminario de San Felipe) in honor of King Philip V. It was only then that the country really began in earnest the training of Filipino priests. By the middle of the 18th century, there were already a good number of ordained native priests. All throughout these years however, the cases of the diocesan visits were getting more and more problematic. Since the parishes were in the hands of religious, something which was abnormal, the bishops, who didn't have the jurisdiction over the religious could not conduct their regular visits. It is not that the bishops were insisting on these visits. The case was quite on the contrary. It was rather the religious who threatened to abandon their parishes if diocesan visits were to be imposed by the bishops. Since there were no other priests (secular) to take over the parishes, the bishops had no other choice but to accede. The religious had their way. This, in essence, is part of the reason why there was a lack of initiative in putting up the seminary. On the other hand, there was a dire need for secular priests in the eyes of the bishops. This was the situation, as there were not enough seminaries and secular vocations to replace the religious. And this lasted throughout the whole of the 19th century. We have to take note that this practice of diocesan visits by bishops was, time and again, insisted on by the various papal instructions such as the bull of Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) - «Firmandis» of 6-XI-1744; «Quamvis» of 24-II-1745; and «Cum Nuper» of 8-XI-1751. This practice was also being insisted on the bishops by the King.

When Archbishop Basilio Sancho y Rufino arrived in Manila (1767-1789), he immediately went into the task of bringing the diocesan visits into effect. Meeting the usual resistance especially from the Augustinians and Franciscans, Bishop Sancho decided to secularize the parishes and ordain many native seminarians as there were few secular priests for the takeover and the Jesuits had already received their deportation orders (1768) to leave the country for the Papal
estates. Opening the San Carlos seminary named after King Carlos III of Spain, bishop Sancho proceeded with his plan to ordain many natives in this seminary. He planned to accelerate the formation in the seminary to attain his objective in the least time possible. The bishop was not alone in the implementation of these drastic measures. Government officials, beginning with the governor general, were also under orders from the king to effect the secularization of the parishes so that the diocesan visits could be implemented by the bishops. This was the reason for the secularization plan mentioned earlier.

In this situation, what was bad was the division it caused in the country. This affected especially the religious on one hand and the secular clergy on the other. Even the government was affected on the division. It was here that the breach of misunderstanding and trust between the religious and the native clergy had taken root. This account by a Franciscan in December of 1771 demonstrates the seriousness of the division that was then taking place:

«In this council it furthermore was decreed that Bishop de Luna should be wrested from his See, and all the Augustinian Fathers driven from their parishes. Accordingly, on 22 and 28 October 1771, a large body of soldiers, sent for this purpose from the City of Manila by the governor, gave to 31 Indio secular priests the parishes of the Augustinian Fathers, whom they led away as prisoners, after having pillaged their homes in the name of the King and substituted the Indio clerics in their place....They rejoiced that they had driven very many religious away from their ministries; but it is greatly to be feared that their joy will soon be turned into mourning.»

Little by little however, reports began reaching back to Manila to the attention of Bishop Sancho that priests could not be manufactured overnight and «en masse» to fill in the vacated parishes. These were reports of scandalous deeds and unexemplary way of living of the new native parish priests. More and more, the delay of over a century in putting up the seminaries was being felt. Once again, the conflicting
interests of the religious orders were made evident and were taking their toll. These were serious problems that would later come to affect the very survival of the Spanish clergy in the country. In the end, bishop Sancho was to bitterly regret this erroneous move of his upon seeing the catastrophic effects of the badly-formed native secular clergy. As a result, the Spanish friar ended up becoming more solidly entrenched in his position as parish priest, and it was to last this way for the remaining decades even up to the revolution of 1896.

But the ordinations did not stop. There still continued to be native ordinations especially due to the disastrous situation Spain was getting into in the first half of the 19th century. Aside from this, many of the religious who had to leave Spain were hesitant in going to the Philippines due to their continuing threats of pastoral visits by the bishops.

Instead of improving, instead of the religious correcting the situation and of setting things right, the situation worsened. It seems unthinkable but the badly-formed priests were allowed to continue by being the «formadores» in the seminaries which were badly in need of personnel to run them. What Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez did in 1862 was to place the Vincentians in charge of the seminaries. This move stopped to a great extent the inadequate formation being imparted on the native seminarians. What was amazing was the intransigence by the religious up to this time. Certainly there were other reasons behind this lack of initiative and altruism on their part. Indeed as we have mentioned earlier, the religious of the 19th century was no the same as those who came at the first hour. And the native clergy was not blind to this either.

3.3 Diocesan Seminaries

We have seen the entire project of starting the seminary; and, for that matter, the entire native clergy program which began unconvincingly and hesitatingly without much enthusiasm on the part of practically everyone except for one or two bishops. And in this climate, the seminary, or what could hardly be classified as one began, in a very lamentable and haphazard state.

Those mentioned earlier: San Jose, San Juan de Letrán, and Sto.
Tomas were seminaries run by the Jesuits and Dominicans, but which were only for Spaniards and Creoles\textsuperscript{64}. From 1707 up to mid 19th century, these doubled as diocesan seminaries in the sense that they imparted theology subjects to the native secular students who were allowed to «cross-enroll» in the theology subjects. There were very few of them though. Aside from this, there was very little doctrine imparted as shall be seen. They were in such dire straits that even discipline in the seminary was much to be desired.

When the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1768, the San Jose seminary buildings were shared as barracks for soldiers and as a seminary for the Manila diocese. The seminary was called San Carlos; and in 1862, it was eventually passed on to the Vincentian fathers.

We may ask ourselves: what had transpired during the entire 18th century? There were three existing college-seminaries but these accepted only Spaniards as already mentioned. There were two known natives who were ordained in this period. But other than that, we see this dilemma remained unsolved, and nothing was done up to the time the Jesuits were expelled. And only then did the San Carlos seminary begin. We realize that there was this haphazard manner present in the clerical formation of the students due to the state the dioceses were in and the problem of episcopal visits.

Prior to the beginnings of Archbishop Sancho (1767-1787), there were only around 32 known ordained natives with other 13 Chinese mestizos and 6 Spanish mestizos out of the 111 secular priests who were in the Philippines at this time. And these 32 seemed to have been very well prepared and were talented priests as well. One of several accounts as to the quality of these is presented by Fr. Juan Delgado (1754) who, after enumerating several young native priests, adds that:

«Besides these, the natives who are being educated in any of the four colleges in Manila which are devoted to the formation of the clergy are all sons of the better class, looked up to by the Indios themselves....These boys are being educated by the Reverend Fathers of Saint Dominic or of the Society (of Jesus); they instruct them in virtue
and letters, and if any of the bad habits of the Indio cling to them, these are corrected and removed by the teaching and conversation of the Fathers.\textsuperscript{65}

San Carlos, the seminary that was established for the native secular clergy in 1773, was described by P. Campo in his «El Seminario Conciliar de Manila» as:

«a republic where Cathedral choir boys, Latin students, tonsured clerics, priests who had no appointment or benefice, or who were being punished, or were retired, were all mixed together.»\textsuperscript{66}

In its first ten years of operation (1768-1778), the San Carlos Seminary received 140 seminarians out of whom 77 were ordained. In other words, some 7 or 8 Filipinos were ordained per year. But already, the formation of these 77 was gaining notice. The King eventually ordered an inspection of the seminary itself. A result of this inspection was the sending of the seminarians to study in Sto. Tomas instead. But studying is only a small part of clerical formation. Good habits and piety are nurtured at home. This lamentable state continued up to 1852 when Queen Isabela, taking note of a possible solution for the sorry state the seminary was in, ordered the transfer of the administration of the seminary to the Vincentians. In her letter to the governor of the Philippines the Queen explains that:

«It is absolutely indispensable to improve the education given in the conciliar seminaries, which due to lack of professors and resources cannot achieve properly what the Council of Trent had in mind in establishing them. For this purpose I have arranged to have a house of the Fathers of St. Vincent de Paul be established in Manila. They will take charge of the teaching and running of conciliar seminaries on terms agreed upon between you and the Archbishop and the Bishops of the dioceses.»\textsuperscript{67}

Finally, a stop was to be placed on the problems that the Manila seminary was going through. In this new period, from 1863-1886,
there was a total of 971 seminarians enrolled at San Carlos during the administration of the Vincentian fathers.

The seminary in Cebu began quite similarly (and as late) as that of San Carlos. When the Jesuits left, the «Real Seminario de San Carlos» was opened on August 23, 1783 using the building vacated by them. This seminary served as a college for secondary education as well. Again, the seminary was set up inspite of inadequate personnel as well as faculty and staff. The seminarians once again suffered the same fate as those in the early Manila seminary. It was highly probable that these priests who were in charge of the seminary in Cebu were graduates of the Manila seminary. In 1783 there was only a handful of diocesan priests. In 1825, the Dominican bishop Francisco Genovés, wanting to improve the situation, appointed a new Rector and vice Rector. But bishop Genovés died two years later, and the seminary eventually returned to its sorry state. Again, it was only in 1852, when the Dominicans had taken over the running of the seminary that it improved; and in 1866, the seminary was passed over to the Vincentians.

In 1793 the seminary in the diocese of Cáceres opened its doors to seminarians. It is interesting to note that the faculty of the seminary at the outset consisted only of a Rector, a vice-Rector, and a professor of moral theology and liturgy. Later on, laymen were hired to teach the humanities subjects. In December of 1802, the seminary had 35 major and 47 minor seminarians. The seminary went through rough times and was later closed for several years after it got burned. It was finally rebuilt in 1865 and was then subsequently handed over to the Vincentians who began to run it. And in this setting, this remark in an 1804 memorial of the City Council of Manila states that:

«In the three capitals of provinces graced with Episcopal Sees, there are seminaries where a young priest may develop himself in discipline and wisdom, but they merely consist in their fabric or material building with the name of the seminary. In them very bad Latin and a little of morals by Larraga are hardly ever taught by one or two native clerics.»

Some of the classes in the seminaries were conducted in houses of
lay professors which shows how much improvisation was made. This situation lasted from 1793 to 1862 until bishop Gainza took over.

The situation in the seminary of Vigan was not any better either. It had transferred hands so many times that it ended up being closed twice for lack of students. It had finally began in 1821 after two initial attempts, once in 1782 and another in 1799. It was bishop Ablan (1818-1842) who was successful in starting the seminary. It however ran into financial and administrative problems which eventually led to its closing down in 1848. It seems that it also had problems on recruiting students. During this period, the seminary was operating with only two or three professors at the most. This commentary on the seminary confirms the lack of zeal and discipline in it:

«Life in the seminary languished. A few seminarians studied a little moral theology. The whole administrative staff consisted of a rector and a manager. Little by little the seminary died of lack of nourishment so that in 1848, the seminaries name did not appear in official documents for the missions of Asia».

The seminary reopened in 1852 at the hands of badly-formed secular clergy who eventually appointed lay teachers who were not any better. In 1871, it was finally passed on to the Vincentians who, after 5 years, passed it on to the Augustinians who in turn after six years passed it on to the Recollects who took care of it for 13 years. In 1895, it returned to the Augustinians once again.

After having glanced briefly at the situation of these seminaries in the Philippines, we now have a better understanding as to why the native clergy was such. There simply was no interest from those who were in a position to begin and support such undertakings. It is true that there was some support given. This however was sufficient only to a certain extent. Much more was necessary.
4. THE CHURCH IN POLITICS

4.1 The Church in Government Structure

In the previous section, we have seen how the policy of government had shifted with respect to the native secular clergy. This change in policy, which in the 19th century went from suspicion to outward declaration of mistrust had its opposite effect with regard to the Spanish clergy. The government, in its long-term efforts to consolidate control over the provinces, turned more towards the Spanish friar. After the Mexican uprising, the Spanish friar in the Philippines was the only loyal ally of the colonial government in the country. With this change of policy, the church was placed more in the structure of government so as to insure her being loyal towards protecting and preserving the cailianes for Spain.

We had earlier looked into this era of transition by government with respect to the various waves of reform that befell the country. Along with these waves of reforms came the gradual de-secularization by the government of the provincial parishes, as well as the insertion of the church into government structure.

In the provincial level, the provincial vicar, if any, was always part of the consultative council of the alcalde mayor. This means that the alcalde mayor could call the friar at any moment for consultation. This was also true for the parish priest who aided the gobernadorcillo or who, together, aided the provincial governor in the absence of a provincial vicar. On a wide variety of issues for example, the parish priest was required by fiscal administrative rules in the provincial and town levels to certify as true and correct procurement lists and disbursement statements of local administration.

By mid 19th century, the government was in its fullest of efforts to centralize authority in its quest to hold as tightly as possible the reins of government. She therefore was in constant reorganization and had basically departmentalized the government into five branches: 1) Gobernación and Fomento; 2) Hacienda; 3) Judiciary; 4) War and navy; and 5) the Church. The department pertaining to the church was called «Grace». Head of this department was the governor general in his capacity as vice-royal patron (see chart 9). In the government
organization previous to 1800, this same position was occupied by
the governor general and was sustained in the second half of the 19th
century as well.

But even the government's re-structuring departmentalized the
church, in reality, the influence and the power of the church in
government was always strong and continually increasing. Though
there was a momentary decline due to government policy in the late
18th century, the influence of the friars in the town and provincial
levels was always quite notable. The secularization drive of the 18th
century took off some pressure from the religious although it was
only temporary. During the first quarter of the 19th century, liberalism
and other problems which plagued the peninsula, once again pressured
the religious orders in the archipelago. The friar had to continually
assert himself to colonial government.

When the secularization efforts were on the reverse, the friars once
again felt secure. This was further strengthened by their increased role
in government and with the rash of reforms in the archipelago, the
friars were more than ever needed in the countryside inorder to see to
it that the changes and improvements were implemented and correctly
followed. In departmentalizing the church in government structure,
she was placed more under government control and direction.

And with all the changes, the church friar found himself in-charge of
many things from collecting government fees up to attending numerous
meetings and forming part of councils and electoral judges. This influence
in practice was already partly ingrained in the Filipino way of knowing
the friar that it did not call that much the attention of the cailian.

Other areas where the church was involved in the provincial
government was in her role with respect to the social services she
conducted since the beginning. We refer to the schools and hospitals
as well as the other charitable institutions she administered. As can be
seen on chart 10 of the provincial and municipal governments, the
vicar priest and local priest had direct links with the commissions on
Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, as well as with the council on
Health. This earned for her a representation in the provincial board.
She was also involved in statistics. Almost all statistical records were
obtained from the parish priest.

But then we have to mention on the other hand, that if the church
was involved in the provincial government, it was because there was also much corruption and inefficiency. Aside from this, the parish priest, on the town level was practically one of only two or three who knew enough Spanish to interpret the laws and the mountain of reforms and instructions that had to be implemented. And the friar also ended up very well being the implementing agent of these instructions and reforms.

4.2 Church Influence

It would be quite easy to deduce at this point that by the second half of the 19th century, and especially after the 1872 Cavite mutiny, the regular clergy was once again at the very peak of her influence all over the country. This was evident on a collective scale on the provincial as well as town-village levels. Her role in government structure already gives us an idea of the influence she had in the aspect of decision-making and criteria-forming functions. This influence was most important not only for government needs, but for the clergy as well. The government, as we have seen, had realized the important role that the Spanish clergy played so that by the third quarter of the 19th century the government further augmented and sustained church influence in the countryside. This was done inspite of the many anti-church and liberalist advocates in the country. For the friar, it well served their many needs and concerns. They were aware of their having to play with the government's desires knowing that their very survival lay on the line. They were functioning «more like Spaniards than like missionaries»78.

As we had pointed out earlier, partly the reason for the friar's vast influence was because he often was the only Spanish-speaking resident in the town or villages. More often than not, with all the education he received, the friar outside of pastoral duties was sought for consultations and meetings on a wide number of issues- from education to taxation. It was this type of situation which led the parish priest to have much influence. But this also had its negative drawbacks, especially because it took time from their work and attention of the natives.
In the local government, the friar was very much part of the committees on Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Health, Education, Statistics, etc. These committees were normally headed by the *gobernadorcillo*. But since the later had many other «assignments» (such as looking after the businesses of the *alcalde mayor* or of his own), the parish priest normally headed these committees and commissions. His influence was incalculable. The word of the parish priest was valued not only from the pulpit, but from the political meetings on various levels of government as well.

With respect to such mundane things as taxes, the many tax reforms that had to be implemented by government (as seen in the section on taxes) were approved by the parish priest. There was the tax board and the friar on the municipal level was «president» of this board. Aside from this, they also had to assess taxes on urban property such as buildings and houses and in some cases commercial and industrial fees.

When the royal decree of 1890 -establishing the office of justice of the peace- was enforced in each town, the election for this post was done in consultation by the parish priest who took charge of drawing the list and passed this on to the *alcalde mayor*. When it came to interpreting the law, this automatically fell upon the parish priest to do so due to his knowledge to understand the changes and the language. And this very interpretation always left open the tempting door for abuses and corruption. It further identified the friar as part of government. It also made possible the slanting of provisions which would favor the spiritual good of the people rather than the material good. His personal point of view was also suspect on certain issues. This situation also brought the friar on occasions to be at odds with the *gobernadorcillo* or the *alcalde mayor*. And frequently, this was the reason for the indifference that existed between them. It should not come as a surprise for us, therefore, if church fervor dropped considerably during these periods. The friar's attention was so divided that the demands of pastoral work was greatly impeded. This went on for years and years.

The Maura law, ushered into the country in May of 1893, brought about some order (on top of the already voluminous number of reforms to be implemented) in the municipal offices and their functions. The manner of elections and the drawing of candidates which had always been rife with corruption and abuse and was a frequent complaint of
many cailianes was streamlined. The new law also improved the drawing and the election of candidates by the so-called electoral council. This electoral council was formed by six ex-cabezas de barangay, three ex-captain of barangays; and three of the leading tax payers. The members of the electoral council on the other hand were chosen by the principalia, the parish priest and the out-going gobernadorcillo. All the prominent people therefore on the government municipal level had to see to it that they were on good terms with the friar.

In the new Maura law, the municipal powers were vested between the electoral council and the newly created municipal tribunal which accordingly «shall represent the legal association of all persons residing within the jurisdiction of the municipality and administer communal interests»80. General supervision of the proper functioning of these two bodies was the responsibility and job of the local town friar. To a large extent therefore, the friar was acting much like the alcalde mayor. It was also stipulated that almost all municipal projects (except the most mundane) had to have the approval as well of the friar.

The law went on to the extent of codifying the powers and duties of the local priest in local administration. Therefore by law, the friar had the right to intervene in the following:

«1) Establishment of «arbitros» or imposts; 2) election of the municipal officials, including that of the cabezas de barangay; 3) drawing of lots in staging the election of officials; 4) division of the towns into barangays; 5) formation of association with other towns; 6) carrying out of public works; 7) formation of the municipal budget; 8) determination of conditions in the farming out of taxes; 9) editing of municipal ordinances; 10) discussion of any matter pertaining to the treasury; 11) fixing the hours of tribunal meetings; and 12) in all other cases determined by laws and regulations»81.

There were two other boards created of which the friar was a member and these were to: a) supervise the administration of the finances of the towns and to advise the civil governor in matters concerning the municipalities; and b) the disciplinary jurisdiction of
the civil governor and the governor general over municipal tribunals.
These boards included the vicar forane, if any, aside from the friar.
These were very powerful bodies as it had complete control over
finances and the treasury. The boards' approval, consent and advice
were necessary, for example, in the following matters:

«1) elections, including the selection of delegates to
the Council of Administration in Manila; 2) adoption of
new imposts; 3) remonstrances by owners of land or ru-
ral property for taxes levied on them; 4) public works
over 400 pesos in cost, or any measure authorizing public
works; 5) treasury accounts; 6) suspension of any member
of the municipal tribunal; 7) nominations of officials; 8)
territorial adjustments; 9) inter-town associations; and
10) all cases in which the civil governor would deem it
wise to consult with»^{82}.

These are just some of the many assignments the friar had and
which, by law, he had to exercise. These would be more than sufficient
to explain why there was little time left for pastoral work; why the
influence of the friar was at its all-high level; why there was animosity
towards the friar from certain sectors of society; and to what extent
the friar went to please government and to play politics in the country.
These were the products of the reforms and the policy changes which
the Spanish government in the second half of the 19th century
implemented in the country.

4.3 Conflicting Interests

As we have seen earlier in the section on state, the problem of the
church with respect to the state had its roots on the Spanish peninsula.
The persecutions as well as the influences of European thought
including the anti-church climate in Spain eventually reached the
Philippines. Thus the Spanish church in Manila had to prove itself
politically useful and indispensable to the Spanish government. And
this was, by and large, the cause of conflicting interests of the church
in government. But in fairness to the church, one has to consider her
situation in its totality and not by piece-meal. As any other institution,
she had every reason to survive and guard her interests and seek the necessary guarantees for her continued and permanent stay in the archipelago. Among these conflicting interests, one must distinguish between the interest of Spain and the interest of the church. On one hand, one sees Spain as Church and State. In the final years, the nationalist struggle sought to rid the country of Spain and of the friars who were Spaniards while keeping the church intact. The church was beyond doubt there to stay even if the Spaniards including the friars left. Practically the whole country was Catholic. But then the problem precisely was in this: that the church was also Spanish and it was, in the end, the tool that government was using to remain in the country. The church was running to a great extent the affairs of local government; and with this, the nationalists had found even more reason to expel Spain, including the friar, from the country. This was the conflicting interest of the Spanish church in the Philippines.

The position or situation the church occupied at times made decision making difficult as one can imagine. As we had seen in the previous section, what at times might have been good spiritually was probably not the best for the town. But then the position and influence of the friar was to such an extent that his decision was held over a wide range of issues. And many times, when there was conflict, it was always safest to stay on the friar’s side. As a consequence the parish was often at odds with the alcalde mayor or other government officials precisely because of other interests.

We have, for example, the case of the Dominican priests in Cagayan between 1873-1874 wherein alcalde mayor Emilio Martin Bolaños reported that the parish priests together with the principalias were utilizing abusively the statute labor exemptions. The friar was accused because in payment for favors granted, certain cailianes were «forced» to work for him without just remuneration. And besides, the assignments given by the alcalde were more often neglected but not that of the friar. After complaints and denunciations were made, it was the alcalde mayor who was eventually retired on February of 1874.

Another example of conflicting interests is frequently encountered in the creation of new towns. The general reasons given for the erection of a new town was when the number of inhabitants in a certain barrio had reached more than the 2000 mark (or 500 tributes); the other
reason was the extensive distance between the barrio and the nearest church. One can very well imagine that the principalías and the gobernadorcillos would always maintain unity with the friar. The final decision therefore, eventually ended up being left in the hands of the parish priest. The gobernadorcillo and the principalías normally approved or denied whatever decision the friar had. And at times these requests were denied inspite of the fulfillment of prerequisites and the factors for the erection of the barrio. This was because there were other factors or interests of the government. Many times, when the creation of a new town prejudiced (as it always did) the amount of tribute collected; when this creation was to affect the agriculture produce of the existing town; or when the division would cut into a property owned by the friar or of a town official; or if it placed the number of laborers for the existing town in jeopardy, there would be an unanimous disapproval for the proposed creation.

These difficulties lasting months and years often created some sort of animosity between the whole barrios and their officials. It would not be uncommon for the cailianes to confront the friar or to bring their case to the alcalde mayor. This was, in fact, done. But then, we must not lose sight of the fact that the friar was also the church representative in the town. The people had to have certain respect and trust for the friar. And with the friar's involvement in politics, there were many who had lost religious fervor because of these cases. This was, in the final analysis, one more cause for the creation of a common consensus against Spain among the cailianes. They saw the government's manipulation and corruption of the friar.

4.4 The Masons

The role of the Masons in the final decades of Spanish occupation in the Philippines did not necessarily contribute towards the forming of nationalism in its beginning and formative stages. This was simply because there were no lodges in Manila until the third quarter of the 19th century. But in the final stages of the battle for recognition and emancipation which was the end goal of the Philippine nationalism efforts, the Masons did play their silent and secretive role.

Basically, the Masons promoted their anti-friar and anti-church program in their cause in the Philippines. There can be no doubt that
the great temptation (and the fruit was ripe) that the Spanish Masons succumbed to was the eradication of the friars in the Philippines so as to eventually collapse the Catholic church. As to the repercussions and effects of such an endeavor on the colonial government, their intention was never to render harm to the state nor to Spain. In fact they wished exactly the opposite. And this they stated time and again. But in the end this is not what had transpired.

In terms of nationalism, the Masons were effective in the final stretch of the Filipino efforts at uniting the country. What they supplied was the vehicle needed to get the nationalist leaders going, and to make themselves heard and seen. The nationalists in return used the Masons and their connections towards this end. This is the reason why in the end the anti-friar and anti-church movement became the battlecry. The Masons were simply one reason why things came to be this way.

Amongst the prominent Masons at that historic time were Mariano Ponce, Galicano Apacible, Juan Luna, Graciano López Jaena, Marcelo H. Del Pilar, Jose M. Panganiban, and Jose Rizal to name a few. It was only in 1884 that Filipinos were admitted to Masonic lodges even though the first lodge in the Philippines was founded in 1834 by Mariano Martí. This first lodge did not however last for long. Another lodge was put up in 1860 in Cavite called the «Primera Luz Filipina» which, according to its author, was under the auspices of the «Gran Oriente Lusitano». In this way, there was some sort of union arrived at between the lodges existing at the time in HongKong, Singapore, Java, Macao, and in some Chinese ports open to international trade.

Later, another lodge was formed in Zamboanga (Mindanao) for those foreigners who were destined in that area. Another Masonic lodge was put up by the German Consul in Manila to which belonged all foreign residents who were Masons. The secretary of this lodge was a German-Filipino by the name of Jacobo Zobel Zangronis.

But the Masons, as we had mentioned earlier, were after the religious orders and the Church in the Philippines. And as the number of Masons grew, the anti-friar rhetoric was also increasing. The Masons were trying to organize as many groups as possible in order to form an effective campaign against the church and the friars. They opened more and more lodges in Manila and eventually in all the provinces. They
organized the forming of lodges in Spain for the Filipinos studying there especially in Barcelona and Madrid. The were behind the famous anti-friar manifestation which took place in 1888. This manifestation demanded the ouster and exile of the Dominican Archbishop Payo; the expulsion of all the friars; the secularization of all the parishes; and the confiscation of all the friars’ lands. They were critical towards archbishop Payo who, on many occasions, demanded the closure and expulsion of the Masons in the Philippines reminding the government that there was a ban on Masonry in the country. But then the Masons were well-connected. Let us not forget that there were many Masons - as well as sympathizers- in high government positions.

In Barcelona, there opened in 1889 the first masonic lodge for Filipinos residing there founded by Del Pilar and López Jaena. Before arriving in Barcelona, these two were implicated in the forming of the Propaganda Movement which had links to the La Liga Filipina to which Bonifacio and Jose Rizal were both involved. Not all of them were Masons but Masonry was present in these organizations. So much so, that when Del Pilar and López Jaena emigrated for fear of the Manila Spanish authorities, Manila Masons saw to it that their Barcelona friends would take care of them. Since the overall plan of the Masons was to strengthen Spanish ties, improve the government system, and get rid of the friars and eventually the church, they saw the Filipinos as their perfect representatives in Spain. So keen was their intention that the founding of the lodge and the accelerated promotion in rank by these new Filipino Masons was unheard of and unprecedented in Masonic circles.

This move was also supported by many Spanish Masons especially M. Morayta who was even accused by his fellow Masons of aspiring to be the leader of the Filipinos. They developed their newspaper - Propaganda - in Spain and sought the help of high-placed Spanish Masons at the time. With López Jaena as head, they could count on the help of none other than the president of government, Sagasta (33° Mason) and M. Becerra (33° Mason) who was Overseas Minister.

But in all these, the Masons were, through their growing Filipino recruits, forming a political front which in the end was to form itself into the revolutionary government. Though not all the initiative and brains came from the Masons, they contributed a good part of it.
Their manifesto in opening new lodges in the country was to make known to new Filipino recruits that:

«No, Spain is not made up of friars. Hate them but love Spain and the liberals and the Spanish Masons who also detest the monastic institutions as has been proven in the year 1836 with the general killing of the friars in the peninsula. Your complaints will one day be heard and remedied by the mother country if you join the Spanish Masons and not use it to recover your rights but your legality, founding newspapers in Spain, educating your children there, asking for parliamentarian representation and agitating opinion in this sense.»

This became somewhat the pledge of allegiance of the new comers in their admission to the masonic lodges. But in effect what was to happen was that not only were the Masons against the friar but she was debilitating the very government she wanted to preserve. In 1896, the «Heraldo de Madrid», though too late, said, in attacking masonic lodges, that «they are taking in their nets many Filipinos who have begun emancipating themselves from the church and end up rebelling against the state. And again, but too late, «El Liberal» in September of the same year said «In the Philippines, no one has been more far-sighted that the poor friars, who have come, since years, warning of danger.»

But such was the Masonic interest in Spain for the Filipino cause that the divided lodges in Barcelona were united for once in a common resolve. And the Spanish Masonic network set themselves towards the pressing for the abolition of the friars, the secularization of the parishes and the representation in the «Cortes» for the Philippines. In a speech given in Barcelona in 1890 by López Jaena before Masons he said:

«Spaniards, it is time to look at our disgraced Philippines and to free her from monasticism, the dominant oppressor of her people...Let us change the colonizing system...Japan did not need monks to teach her and to erect her constitutionally...England, Holland,
Portugal, France establishing modern principles of government in their colonies with freedom of conscience, with freedom of the press, with freedom of commerce, conserve better the order, peace, and prosperity in her colonies than all the friars in the world» 96.

This was the type of rhetoric used in all the Masonic lodges that were set-up abroad and in the Philippines. It is easy to see therefore how the Masons used the anti-friar movement and how it easily caught fire and provoked many. But we see indirectly the ouster of Spain from the islands in the anti-friar rhetoric. And many Filipinos saw it, not as ousting the friars but ousting colonial rule. In the end this is what the natives wanted. And this was the mistake of the Masons.

When the Katipunan and the revolutionary movement was formed, their foremost plan was emancipation from Spain. But to do so, they knew full well that the vehicle was Masonry and their network to go against the friars. But in the final outcome, there was little friar blood shed. The revolutionaries in fact even protected the friars. Nor did they wish to rid the country of the church for they even called for more prayer and for divine assistance for the favorable outcome of the revolutionary war.

The aim of the Katipunan was to have the its own government. The revolutionists saw in Masonry and its connections the way to rid the country of Spain. In the organization of lodges, they saw the perfect way of establishing, on top of the growing nationalism fervor, the network they so needed to unite forces for a national revolutionary uprising. In fact, of the 21st of August, 1896, a telegram sent to Madrid by governor general Blanco says that:

«a vast organization of secret societies with anti-national tendencies has been discovered» 97.

It also mentioned that they had detained 22 persons, among them the «Gran Oriente de Filipinas». A second telegram dated 29 August notified that:

«consequently we have discovered a conspiracy, with premature launching of armed groups of more than a
thousand men...those stirring up the revolt are Tagalog natives fanaticized by those secret societies»98.

By the close of the 19th century (in a very short period of time) there were a lot of Masons in the Philippines, active and dormant, natives and foreigners combined. And it is calculated that two thirds of these depended on the Gran Oriente de España with M. Morayta as head. In Manila alone, there existed 16 lodges and there were, in each province, at least a Masonic lodge99.

But then things began turning sour and the tide fell on the Spanish Masons. They were being called traitors in their country by the Spaniards. Morayta eventually had published in a leading Madrid newspaper an explanation saying in effect that:

«Never did they do politics in the Philippines»100.

Everyone related to the «Gran Oriente de España» was now desperately trying to prove himself a loyal Spanish national. And as Ferré has placed it very well in his book:

«Can we believe that rightfully, Spanish Masonry and Morayta himself were not tricked throughout 8 or more years»101?

In a letter sent to his good friend J. Bondervijnse, a Dutch Mason, Morayta explains, among other things:

«my desire had always been to see a Philippines without friars, without fanaticism...but always Spanish»102.

It therefore becomes clear why there had been, behind the actions of the Katipunan army, those who opted for the violent dismantling of anything religious which, of course, included the friars. We also see why, in the end, many of those Filipinos who were Masons, before their deaths, re-converted back to Christianity. One such example is the national hero, Jose Rizal.
5. CONCLUSIONS

In the process of looking for, and identifying the causes which had led the natives to feel and think as one people, we found several main factors and other smaller and even indirect contributors on the road to national unity. We have seen on one hand the comparison of the church in these two 50-year periods, and also the performance of the government during these periods. We have covered the reaction of the natives to these two entities as well. It is through their reaction towards the church and the state that we have been able to come across and identify these factors.

Towards these stages of unity and nationalist sentiments, we see three obvious levels in its development among the natives. First is the forming of unity at the lowest community level. This initial formation or coming together of 25 to 50 families was initially achieved at the start of the evangelization process. The second stage of national unity took place in the joining of several communities. Causes were varied but were basically due to religious factors and small scale revolts which were also contributory. This level of unity was also achieved by other factors which eventually expanded to involve larger areas. This evolution brought about the gradual formation of what is commonly known today as a province made up of several towns and cities. The third level is the further coming together of provinces cognizant of belonging to a region. This was effected by factors which affected wider swaths of the archipelago. The final outcome of regional understanding and a sense of belonging as seen in our investigation resulted in a common resolve of emancipation which was in essence the nationalist revolution of the 19th century in colonial Philippines.

A) The Church, Religion, and Nationalism: 1565-1615

In the first 50 years, we have seen the primary and delicate role played by the religious communities which we refer to as the church. The most important factor of this period towards national identity was the gathering of the natives from the jungles and the forests and the forming of communities; living in it; and in their attendance to
community life and especially the communal liturgical services. This was implemented by the friars to facilitate evangelization and formation. This initial process of forming communities was therefore caused by the evangelization of tribes which as we know took relatively a short period of time.

Simultaneously, intricately involved in this successful process was the protection given by the friars to the natives against the harshness and abuses of the state. This protection of the natives by the friars taught the native many things, especially on what church and religion were all about. Basically, the native saw in the friar a fatherly image which helped him not to be afraid of the faith. This further led towards fomenting unity and living together in a community. This made the natives form strong bonds of unity with their parish priest whom they saw as their guide and protector. It also polarized them, on the other hand, against the abuses of the Spanish military. In the native's simple analysis, he saw the state as his common adversary and the friars as his common protector. These two therefore served as catalysts towards unity.

Another point of influence was the gradual change in the customs and beliefs of the tribal people. The unifying factor of sharing a common belief, of religion, is seen in the sustained and continued practice of the faith by these early natives. Their efforts at trying to understand the Catholic religion; the building of their own village church; their assemblies at the various liturgical services; their singing and joining together at processions and feasts all had their binding effects towards uniting on a micro scale, the small communities that began to mushroom all over the archipelago, wherever the evangelization efforts of the religious orders took them.

We want to point out that the varying stages in the development of communities was a process that took years, a process towards what could honestly be called full community development. The bond between the church and the people is not only manifested in the physical arrangement of the village -where the church was always at the center - but was also manifested in the church as the center of life and activities in the town. This is still seen today.
As we enter into the second half of the 19th century, we see a totally different situation. We see a people living a faith they were born into. These were not converts. These were Filipinos who were born Catholics. This development also changed, over the decades, the role of the friar. In comparison with the first 50 years, we come to a primary conclusion that the church was not the same. It was the same religion but the church functioned differently. The church was now fully developed and formed; it was intricate and alive. It had tremendous power and influence. We however also found the church beset with serious problems, both within and outside her.

The church had her detractors and these capitalized on the problems and weaknesses of the religious orders if only to form a united front with intentions towards emancipation. What unity she previously caused was now used against her. The people were by then pretty much united but this time due to a different brand of catalysis. In this period they wanted to launch a national consensus towards all-out emancipation which identified them with their nationalistic spirit. We however have to mention that this was caused by a few. And it was precisely these few that stirred a united people towards emancipation.

One of the contributory factors therefore was the excessive role played by the church in government. This was capitalized by the nationalist movement in denouncing the church as abusive and therefore opted for change. The natives saw the need for change in the system of government and especially on the provincial level where the control and role of the parish priest and his influence were most noticed.

Another factor against the church which promoted national unity and fomented nationalist sentiment was the riches the church had. What she was criticized for and what was used to play into nationalistic sentiments was her vast friar lands. We have carefully explained the process towards the friar lands' development as well as how such a problem emerged. In the end, we see that this was a typical case of agrarian reform to benefit many Filipinos.
A third factor whereby the church promoted national union through popular sentiment was her conflicting interests with respect to her role in church conditions of the 19th century. Being aware of the need towards the development of the native clergy, the religious orders neglected and foot-dragged on this issue, thereby neglecting an important element in the life and development of the Philippine church. The religious orders, aware but hesitant to relinquish their task as missionaries in a developed 19th century Philippine church, went on to deny diocesan visits by the bishops. This developed into what ended up as a growing animosity between the two. It brought division in the church. This further resulted in a native clergy that was ill-formed and ill-prepared and which, in the end, was resentful towards the religious orders for the consequences they brought. The native clergy eventually became a factor of national sentiment which later culminated in a divided church.

All these factors contributed towards unifying not only the country, but more importantly in the 19th century Philippine scenario, they were used in the nationalist movement to rallying the people together on a national level.

C) The State and Nationalism

It is in our opinion that it was the state in the long run which contributed mostly towards the fomenting of national unity. This is one of the observations we have realized in this study. She governed not only the state’s political affairs, but also and even to a large extent, church affairs, as part of government political policy. She was the single largest contributor towards dissatisfaction and rebellion both towards herself and towards the church which eventually led towards a national revolution. We have to emphasize that dissatisfaction breeds unity for the opposition.

In the period covering 1565-1615, we conclude that the single most decisive factor of the state towards unifying a nation was her oppressive policy in the colonizing efforts of the dispersed tribes (is seen in chapters II and III of the thesis...). We would like to emphasize that almost immediately, the native felt threatened, later subjugated to the yoke of Spanish rule under which the Indio tried to shake off
but which he later had to live with. This oppression in our point of view was decisive in forming further an already unified number of tribes. It made a divided and separate tribal unit realize that they were all one under one ruler, the King of Spain. What further brought them together was also the fact that they were struggling against the same common oppression and difficulties (This is easily seen in the details of Chapter II section 4 to 6... We see the harshness which the Tribute and the Vándala systems brought upon the natives as contributory to a large extent towards unity.) As a consequence, the state brought it upon itself to face a resentful and rebellious 16th century Filipino. In fact we see on a provincial level this unity already forged as early as the first half of the 17th century when whole provinces (such as Pampanga and the Tagalog province) rose up in arms against Spanish authorities.

The role of the state in the second-half of the 19th century was different. We have seen that the vast improvement and development fomented by the government in the country, especially in the provinces, contributed to a large extent in forming national unity. This development was on the level of infrastructure. We further conclude that not only unity but also the fomenting of national identity and culture was greatly achieved. We also refer to the economic and industrial progress made by the country in the middle of the 19th century due to the growing worldwide industrial revolution as contributory. (We have detailed the finer points of this growth in chapter V, section 2) We see in the development of roads, communication and means of transportation, mail and newspaper as crucial and most important in bridging a people together and in forming and achieving unity in the country.

Another factor contributed by the state was her political and administrative errors which in part were due to the problems Spain experienced all throughout the 19th century. We have outlined these problems and have shown their consequences especially their effects on colonial government on one hand and the people on the other. We cite the many government reforms implemented; and most importantly how government used the church as a tool for her socio-political ends when the state was in need of more control over the natives in the last decades of the 19th century. The Manila government
also did not effectively keep away the anti-friar sentiments and rhetoric propagated by many liberals as well as Masons who eventually landed in the Philippines in the second-half of the XIX century. This, in the end, as we have seen, debilitated not only the church but the government as well.

D) Other Factors

Finally, we would like to add that there were many secondary and tertiary contributory factors which were consequences of the general situation. We have the financial disorder of mid-16th century which led to huge incurred debts by the government to shipyard workers who mostly came from Pampanga and which eventually led to a serious rebellion by the entire province of Pampanga. This was the first mass reunion ever of Pampangeños in their history. The same happened to the people in the Tagalog region south of Manila for similar reasons. Later in the 19th century, we see the entry of Masons in the government which indirectly led to the execution of three Filipino priests: Frs. Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, implicated in the Cavite rebellion of 1872. This event fomented suspicion between the native clergy and the government and whose collateral effect united the native clergy even more. And lastly, we see the intransigence of government towards corruption on the provincial level which led a lot towards extreme poverty.

We would like to conclude that, in the final analysis, the state had the greater role and influence in fomenting this nationalistic aspiration granting that she exercised complete control even over the church. In the end she had the sole responsibility of also protecting the people. The government was unopposed for 333 years (except for the brief war with Great Britain) and had complete and unopposed control over church and state.

The church, in the end, accomplished what she went there for in the first place. She began to introduce, instruct and convert the heathens in an unknown and unchartered archipelago. And she left a country which was united and Catholic. It was a monumental task
which should always be seen as a happy ending. In the words of Man­nel L. Quezon, president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines:

«Above all, we owe to Spain the preservation for the benefit of our own people, of the soil of our country, as well as the laying down, by means of religion and education, of the foundations of our national unity. It is thus that the Archipelago, composed of numerous and isolated islands, which in 1521 was discovered by Magellan and was but a geographical expression apparently without any common interest or aspiration, is today, a compact and solid nation, with its own history, its heroes, its martyrs and its own flag, a people uplifted by a consciousness of its own personality, feeling a deep sense of worth and inspired by a vision of its great destiny. If Spain had done nothing in the Philippines but the wielding of scattered and separate elements into the consummate structure of our nationality....has also prevented the basic and distinctive elements of our personality from being carried away by strange currents, thus bringing us to the triumph of our aspiration to be an independent nation; I repeat that if this had been the only work of Spain in the Philippines, it would in itself be sufficient, in spite of the mistakes which, in the words of the poet, were “crimes of the times and not of Spain”, to raise in every Filipino heart -if this has not already been done- a monument of undying gratitude to the memory of Spain».

In this way, to some extent we now understand the reason why at EDSA we saw not the Filipino flag but the display of religious sentiments in the people and their faith in divine intervention as has been manifested time and again in her history. This in the end is the real essence of «People Power».
NOTES

1. The term EDSA is the acronym for Epifanio De Los Santos Avenue, one of Metro Manila’s main thoroughfares which traverses the city from north to south.


5. Ibidem, Royal Decree Ordering the Teaching of Spanish in Native Schools, vol. 45, pp. 221-222. This is the (one of several) royal decree of December 22, 1792 indicating that Spanish be taught in the schools.


8. As this was taking place, the size of the famed friar lands also increased. Since they already had an on-going agricultural system in these estates, the augmentation of produce from these farms was not difficult to come by. They had the technology; all they needed was simply to increase land area and manpower which neither was a problem as manpower was abundant.


18. Referring to mestizos and creoles which later became a serious problem for the colonial government and will be dealt with later.
28. It is interesting to note that of this amount, 488,329.88 pesos went to the clergy; 39,801.83 pesos went to pious works and 25,000.00 pesos went to the Jesuit missions in Mindanao. The remaining amount went to the Audiencia (65,556.00); and to the alcaldes and gobernadorcillos went 53,332.00 pesos.
35. The term “principalía” should not be confused with the principales which is that group of twelve whose duty it was to elect the gobernadorcillo. These 12 nevertheless were the delegates of the principalía and many times, were Principalías themselves due to the qualifications required electors to be partly composed of ex-gobernadorcillos. There came a saturation point where both (electors and elected) were of the principalía. There stands though a distinct definition of the “principalía” as being the leading men in the barangays (in that unit of society) even before the coming of the Spaniards.
36. The cailianes were the ordinary townspeople as the term signifies. It comes from the root word “ili” which means town or village; the term “caili” then refers to another person coming from the same town. Then, “cailianes” are those from the town or village.
38. H. de la Costa, Readings in Philippine History, p. 185.
43. H. DE LA COSTA, Readings in Philippine History, p. 188.
45. Ibidem, p. 43.
47. Ibidem, p. 183. See also P. FERNÁNDEZ, History of the Church, p. 193.
50. Ibidem, p. 211.
52. For examples of abuses of gobernadorcillos and friars, see L. A. SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, Las Principalías Indígenas, pp. 591-592.
55. This was however changed due to the intervention of the Holy See with respect to this decision so that the third council of Mexico softened its stand on the previous decision. Cfr. P. BORGES, Historia Hispanoamérica y Filipinas, vol. 2, pp. 267-268.
57. Cfr. C. P. FERNÁNDEZ, History of the Church, p. 47.
60. Cfr. L. GUTIÉRREZ, Historia, p. 211.
61. When the Jesuits were placed under house arrest in 1768, they were in-charge of 150 towns with over 212,153 souls to their care.
62. In 1771 the bishops of the Philippines assembled in what was then called the Provincial Council of Manila.
63. J. N. SCHUMACHER, Readings, p. 203.
64. Cfr. P. FERNÁNDEZ, History of the Church, p. 46.
65. 5 J. N. SCHUMACHER, Readings, pp. 199-200.
71. P. Fernández, History of the Church, p. 52.
72. For a report on the financial support of these seminaries, see E. H. Blair & J. A. Robertson, Conciliar Seminaries, in The Philippine Islands, vol. 45, pp. 223-227.
78. L. Gutiérrez, Historia, p. 279.
84. Ibidem, p. 656.
94. F. E. Vergara, La Masonería en Filipinas, p. 20.
98. La Gran Traición, Barcelona 1899, p.74 in P. Sánchez Ferré, La Masonería Española
y el Conflicto Colonial Filipino, in La Masonería en la España del Siglo XIX, vol. II, Castilla y León 1987, p. 491.


100. Cfr. F. E. VERGARA, La Masonería en Filipinas, p. 28-29.


