

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
STRUCTURES IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MANILA:
PADRE PEDRO NÚÑEZ AND HIS
“MANUAL FOR THE USE OF FRIARS
SERVING AS PROCURADORES IN THE
CONVENT” (1744-1747)

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BY THE MIDDLE of the eighteenth century, Manila had grown from a small port to a bustling trading city of the Spanish colonial empire. Although it was a part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the city's remote location resulted in isolation from the politics of both Mexico and Spain, and allowed the ruling elites to immerse themselves in commerce.

Spain's mercantilist policy restricted legitimate trade with Manila to the town of Acapulco on Mexico's south-western coast, and it was to Acapulco that the legendary Manila galleons, built in the Philippines, carried cargos of Chinese silks and porcelains for the insatiable markets of Spanish America. Manila's merchant princes, who dominated the social and economic life of the colony, collected goods from the Far East,¹ and then risked their entire investment on the annual sailings of the great galleons. The crossing took from six to eight months as a rule so that

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within a year the galleons conveyed back to Manila either stupendous profits of 200 per cent or news of financial disaster.

The social structure and organization of mid-eighteenth-century Manila reflected the world view, prejudices, and ambitions of these traders; but as men absorbed in the complications and speculations of a commercial society, they rarely had the time or the inclination to indulge in introspective examinations of their lives and times. This task fell instead to churchmen, such as the exceptional Spanish cleric, Padre Pedro Núñez, whose extensive and penetrating analysis of Manila's society and economic structure is the basis of this paper.

All we know about the early life of Padre Pedro Núñez is that he was born in Salazar, Burgos, Spain. Sometime before 1724 he journeyed from Spain to Vera Cruz, then across México to Acapulco, where he sailed on a galleon for Manila. His official career in the service of the Church began with his ordination into the Augustinian order in the Convent of San Pablo in Manila in 1724. Apparently he rose quickly in the order, for within four years he had become Procurador, an office which provided Padre Pedro with the experience and perspective so evident in his history of Manila written some sixteen years later. Although Padre Pedro went on to serve as Prior of the Augustinian convent of Guadalupe in the Province of Ilocos, he returned in the end to San Pablo where he died on September 28, 1761.²

Padre Pedro's literary talents distinguished him from the other bright, ambitious, and capable clergymen in Manila. Proud of his accomplishments as Procurador,³ and unwilling to allow his knowledge to die with him, Padre Pedro composed a record of his work as a guide for his successors. The 214-leaf volume, bound in wooden covers,

is written in a clear concise hand and bears the descriptive title, "Manual for the Use of Friars serving as Procuradores in the Convent."⁴ This unpublished manuscript, which left Manila with the huge quantity of books and manuscripts removed by the English when they sacked the Convent of San Pablo in 1763,⁵ has survived the vicissitudes of war, weather, and time to come to rest in the care of the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

In discursive fashion the *Manual* reflects the day-to-day responsibilities of the Procurador, and Padre Pedro in his open, direct, and simple style, made every effort to include anything that might help his successor in the management of the Convent. But the manuscript also served Padre Pedro as a diary, where he recorded impressions of and judgements on Manila society with characteristic wit and charm.

The *Manual* reflects Padre Pedro's inability to separate his administrative duties as Procurador in the Convent from his role as a social leader of Manila. Although the work clearly explains the administrative duties of the Procurador, Padre Pedro spent much more energy discussing his social role as the representative of the Augustinian order. Because he felt this role to be important, one of his primary concerns was to avoid any action which might hurt his reputation and reflect badly on the order. To illustrate the proper conduct of a man in his position, he presented many situations in which he believed he had solved questions of social protocol in a manner befitting a man of his stature. His observations revealed his attitudes, prejudices, and opinions concerning the *manileños*, and thus also provided a unique perspective on many of the economic and social aspects of eighteenth-century Manila.

Though the Spanish crown forbid his order to trade on the galleons, Padre Pedro was familiar with the contemporary commercial practices of the trade which had begun in 1565, even before the founding of the Spanish town of Manila.⁶ In the early days, the crown owned the ships, and each citizen of Manila received a certain amount of the lading space aboard. The law regulated and measured this space into allotments, called *piezas* which were divided into *boletas*. Ambitious merchants bought extra boletas from citizens who had no interest or no money to buy merchandise and filled them with trading goods. The money derived from such sales supported many citizens during the year between galleons. The merchants who actually participated in the trade could make huge fortunes on one ship and lose everything on the next, all depending on the state of the weather, the prevalence of pirates, and the uncertainties of the market.⁷

Chinese silks and porcelains were the major trade goods exported in response to an insatiable demand in Latin America and Spain. The Manila merchants continually worked to open new outside trade routes, but this external focus led them to neglect the development of local resources. Always in search of capital to expand their share of the trade, they borrowed money from the religious orders who had separate funds called *Obras Pias*, drawn from charitable bequests and endowments established for this purpose. Merchants willing to borrow money from the orders paid 40 to 50 per cent in interest.⁸ With these funds they then purchased and stored the Chinese goods until they acquired enough lading space to ship them. If the galleon returned with Mexican silver pesos and Spanish wine, the merchant had no trouble paying off his debts, but if the galleon failed to return, he was ruined.

LAND

While the galleon trade captured most of the attention of the citizens of Manila, surrounding land provided the city with food. This land, owned by Filipinos and Spaniards, produced sugar, salt, green vegetables, and dairy products needed in the city. Every day scores of small boats transported the native produce from the surrounding islands where native Filipinos owned and cultivated the bulk of the land. There were a few estates owned by religious orders and absentee manileño landlords, who allowed the native chiefs to collect rents. No large *latifundias* developed as in Mexico but native chiefs quickly filed titles for communal lands.⁹

The Augustinians owned land which they rented in order to support themselves. Padre Pedro mentioned a hacienda at Pasay which produced sugar for the Convent. Rice, cheese, and other products were collected by rural priests and sent on to the Convent, especially around chapter meeting time.¹⁰ By law the religious orders could not buy land directly from the natives. The crown did not want the orders to acquire great wealth in land, but there were ways around the law. Often a trusted layman would buy the land with the order's money, and one year later, give the title of the land to the order. This process involved very elaborate precautions of measuring the land, notarizing the documents, and acquiring the official approval of the government.

Padre Pedro related one incident to show the procedures necessary for this transfer. The Filipinos who owned the land first proved to the crown attorney, the *fiscal*, that they needed the money from the sale of the land more than they needed the land.¹¹ After the *fiscal* had agreed to the

sale, the approval of the governor and the assessor was secured. Then four public announcements of the sale were made every nine days in public places at holiday times, with the consent of the *alcalde* in the province in which the land was to be sold.¹² These announcements were also made in churches and Indian towns of the area so that everyone affected heard the news. All these precautions were scrupulously employed because in 1746, the royal *audiencia* or high court had declared a land title void because the order had not followed these procedures.¹³ With all the formalities of the law obeyed, the land could be officially sold to a Spaniard. A surveyor measured the land and set up the landmarks¹⁴ in the presence of many witnesses, after which the results were notarized. With a completed bill of sale the new owner visited the land to inform the Filipinos working on it that they would pay rent to him. One year later, he presented all the maps and papers to the *alcade ordinario* asking this official to transfer the land title to the Augustinians.¹⁵

The competition between the religious orders for economic wealth, prestige, and acquisition of land led to a native rebellion in 1744, when the Dominicans and Augustinians won a land case against some Jesuit-administered Indian towns. The Indians living under the Jesuits started a rebellion which spread to other groups of natives who rebelled in Cavite de Viejo, in Sinán, the hacienda of Binán, Paraque, Faguig, San Mateo, and Macyayan; however the natives around Manila in the province of Pampanga remained quiet. After the Spaniards crushed the revolt, the pacification judge, don Pedro Calderon Enríquez, went into the troubled areas with the Jesuits and distributed to the Filipinos the land won by the Augustinians and Dominicans in the law suit, as well as the land acquired by the natives

during the revolt. Of course the prelates of the religious orders protested to the high court and appealed later to the Council of the Indies but they never received compensation.¹⁶

CITY REAL ESTATE

Urban land also brought economic benefits to the Augustinian convent which built houses around the city and rented these to tenants on a monthly or yearly basis. These houses needed rebuilding every six years due to the corrosive aspects of Manila's extreme humidity. Consequently Padre Pedro carefully supervised the labor, the materials, and the form of the houses. In the *Manual* he discussed the urban properties, people whom he considered proper tenants, and the problems of rent collection.

Padre Pedro always signed agreements with tenants, and thereby had legal proof for the courts if rent was in arrears.¹⁷ Rent from poorer tenants was collected monthly to insure payment. Rent collected annually from the rich tenants after the arrival of a galleon enabled the Convent to pay operating expenses. But many times rent collection proved difficult. Threats sometimes worked, because a person expelled from a house would lose his social reputation. On one occasion Padre Pedro recalled that he had shown his pants under his cassock in order to prove to refractory tenants that he was a man and was not to be challenged.

He also found that using a bondsman solved problems with dubious tenants.¹⁸ Padre Pedro advised against bachelors as tenants since they often used only certain rooms and the remaining rooms became very dirty. Furthermore, if there was no supervision, young servant boys would use the roofs of these rooms for flying kites, destroying the roof tiles. Military officers with unsteady salaries often paid

late. Relatives of the judges of the high court sometimes could use their family prestige to avoid paying.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A reading of the *Manual* gives an idea of Padre Pedro's conception of his role in the society of Manila and makes it possible to see how each social group interacted with the others. The social structure consisted of three main racial types: the Filipinos, the Chinese, and the Spaniards. The three groups held interlocking economic roles in a society based on a hierarchy in which the Filipinos were the labor force; the Chinese functioned as middlemen; and the Spaniards held government positions and traded on the galleons.

The Filipinos

The native Filipinos, called *indios* by the Spanish, served as the major work force of Manila, performing the menial tasks of the city and the rural areas. As paid laborers, the Filipinos worked on construction projects or in special jobs. The construction work described by Padre Pedro involved the building of the houses from which the Convent derived income. Padre Pedro hired the Filipinos as stone cutters, well diggers, and plasterers, and because they were clever with their hands, they also made good wood carvers. The entire ship building trade depended on their carpentry skill and ingenuity. Specialized jobs also attracted the Filipinos, who became tailors, chocolate manufacturers, cooks, and performed the service jobs for the Spanish and the Chinese. A few became traders, though the Chinese usually held these positions.¹⁹

Padre Pedro found the paid Filipino labor to be untrustworthy and lazy. He repeatedly cautioned that they would not continue working without an overseer, and they

could not be given money for it served as an incentive to steal. Often Padre Pedro bribed the laborers, offering tobacco and a local alcoholic drink called *nipa* because he doubted that without these bribes, they would finish the work.²⁰

Padre Pedro treated the Filipinos from the provinces differently. Many of these were traders and traveled long distances to reach Manila. Dealing directly with these natives instead of going through middlemen, he purchased exactly what he wanted at a cheaper price. At one point when money was short in the Convent, Padre Pedro offered a pair of dogs in payment for a certain kind of wood.²¹ This delighted the specific Filipino so much that he reduced his selling price.

Many times parish priests and convents demanded tribute labor or unpaid labor when they had no legal right to ask for it. Labor often consisted of constructing churches and parish houses.²² Work on the haciendas might have been unpaid, but Padre Pedro does not clarify this point.

Certainly the *criados*, boys from the provinces who lived at the Convent of San Pablo, were unpaid. They assisted the priests, acting as servants, and in return, the Convent fed, clothed, and educated them. According to the *Manual* their clothes were very simple and made of cotton because silk was forbidden to them as it was to the priests.²³ Interestingly, the *criados* followed a custom practiced everywhere in Manila, namely that the last Filipino to enter the service of a priest or a brother would do all the work required, no matter how many had been hired previously. If a priest had five *criados* assigned to him, only one, the last assigned, would do any work. Padre Pedro warned against this practice and suggested ways around the custom.²⁴

Padre Pedro revealed a paternalistic attitude towards unpaid Filipino labor. He considered the natives as children no matter what their age. These Filipinos were to be taught, guided, and protected from corrupting outside influences. Padre Pedro especially liked the workers from the Laguna Region,²⁵ because it was far enough away from Manila to prevent frequent visits to their relatives, but he disliked having natives with families in Manila serve him, for they would often visit their homes, and neglect their work at the Convent. He even disliked allowing the criados to go alone on the streets and chaperoned them to the river for swimming.

Along with this paternalistic attitude, Padre Pedro believed the natives should be kept in their place and punished if they exceeded his standards of acceptable behavior. He appreciated the services they performed but did not appreciate any infringement or threat to his social status. He classified six lashes as a just punishment. If a Filipino received too harsh a punishment, he fled to the mountains, after spreading the word among his friends concerning his cruel treatment.²⁶

The Convent once had difficulty finding workers for its kitchen when a cook became too harsh with one of the native workers. Padre Pedro recognized that the Convent, and hence the Spaniards, needed the work of the Filipinos more than the Filipinos needed the Spanish.

Por que hade estar advertido el P. Procurador que mas necesitamos nosotros a los Indios, que ellos a nosotros: por que los Indios con su trabajo en todas partes hallan a quien servir; pero si nuestra cocina logra mala fama en el trato, desde luego no havra quien servir, aunque se lo quieran pagar bien.²⁷

The Chinese

The Chinese in Manila were called *sangleys*. This name came from the Chinese word, Seng-li, allegedly meaning itinerant trader. Famine drove many Chinese to Manila, but more came as workers and traders, jumping ship when their sampans reached the harbor.

William Schurz estimated that over 40,000 Chinese lived in Manila in 1749. Most of these people lived in the commercial heart of the city, the Parián, built by Governor González Ronquillo.²⁸ Many of these people quickly became nominal Christians, thereby avoiding payment of tribute. But they still maintained the Chinese holidays and their own closed society. It was perhaps because the Spaniards knew so little about them and rarely interacted with the Chinese socially that they came to fear them. The tremendous growth in the Chinese population also contributed to the Spanish fear of a Chinese revolt. Consequently when rumors spread about any Chinese organization, the Spaniards reacted violently, and massacred great numbers of Chinese, as happened in 1603, 1639, 1662, and again in 1782.²⁹ Padre Pedro failed to mention these massacres, probably because eighty years had passed since the last one and the writing of the *Manual* in 1744. He dealt with the Chinese on a commercial basis only.

The Chinese held tremendous economic power in the city. Through their shops in the Parián, they controlled almost all the trade with China, and thus very quickly collected the Mexican silver pesos brought by the galleons once a year. The sampans and junks from China arrived between February and May laden with goods destined for Mexico and Spain, or for the wealthy Spanish in Manila.³⁰ The crown in the sixteenth century had tried unsuccessfully to

regulate this commerce through official fairs, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the residents dealt directly with the traders, in the *Parián* or in their homes.³¹

The Chinese worked at other specialized occupations besides trading in the diverse shops of the *Parián*, including those of bakers, candlemakers, silversmiths, and green-grocers.³² They also worked at annual tasks like house construction. Padre Pedro often contracted with Chinese master builders for the construction of a house in the *Parián*. The Convent put up the money and the Chinese did all the construction work, ordered all the materials, and when the house was completed, paid the Convent a monthly rent.³³

Obligado Chinese (tradesmen) served as regular help to some of the Spaniards. For example, the Convent contracted for a fisherman *obligado* who supplied fish when the Augustinians wanted it and collected rent from other fishermen who lived in the houses owned by the Convent. From this rent money the *obligador* subtracted what was owed for the fish. This policy helped the Procurador by freeing him from the collection of the rent of the fishermen who were often late in paying.³⁴

The Chinese also handled the packing and storage of cargos in the galleons, unloaded ships, and hauled sand. They even cleaned outhouses and pig pens from vacated houses with pay being determined by the distance of the house from the river. They did just about anything for money and their wage-scale was higher than that of the *Filipinos*.³⁵

In spite of all these different skills, Padre Pedro did not trust them. He repeatedly called them sneaky, and warned against their cheating, though he thought that they were good workers and reliable in staying on the job without an overseer. This industriousness he attributed to the fear

that the Chinese had of the Spanish courts, so he insured completion of his work by making them sign a legal contract with witnesses before beginning any job.³⁶ Padre Pedro's attitude toward the Chinese however was in no way paternal. He was cautious and kept his dealings on a strict commercial basis.

The Spanish

People with Spanish ancestry, like Padre Pedro, composed the ruling class of Manila. Laymen and clergy both fit this description. The non-clerical *peninsulares*, *criollos*, and people from New Spain (Mexico) competed with each other for money and prestige. They were highly individualistic; each man looked out for his own fortune before giving attention to any other responsibility. Manila lacked city leaders because everyone spent their energies building their own fortunes and had no time for civic attention.

The *peninsulares* stood at the top of the social hierarchy. Most of these Spaniards came from Vizcaya (Biscay) in the Basque region of Spain and from Galicia, the Spanish province north of Portugal. Though small in number they held a great deal of power. In 1779 there were only 348 Spaniards in all Manila, and most of these held important positions.³⁷ The Governor and the court judges were all crown appointees. The *encomenderos* and major merchants were from Spain. The clergy, who we will discuss later, came from all over Spain to serve their God and their King.

Padre Pedro divided the Manila *peninsulares* into three categories. Those who came to Manila on an invitation from their family or friends he considered to be honest if they became successful businessmen. The second group, fortune seekers, needed to make money before they received any social status in his eyes. The third group, the boasters,

claimed titles of count or *marqués*, but Padre Pedro cast grave doubts concerning the validity of these assertions. All Spaniards claimed to be *hidalgos* when they arrived.

According to contemporary Spanish standards, a gentleman was for governing and war, not manual work. And every Spaniard no matter what he happened to be in Spain or Mexico, was transformed into a *hidalgo* the moment he stepped on the wharf at Cavite.³⁸

Each Spaniard wanted to get rich as quickly as possible and return home to Spain. Therefore they contributed little to the city which would not benefit themselves and their fortunes, and the city lacked respected leaders. Each wanted the best food, clothes, and other symbols of affluence. This was, of course, not possible, so the society degenerated into petty feuding characterized by vicious gossip.

Many Spaniards were easily slighted and allowed their tempers to rule them. Padre Pedro told of going to the house of a notary or *escribano*, to question him concerning some business of the Convent. A Spaniard who was in the house suddenly insulted the notary for no apparent reason. The two soon drew swords, but Padre Pedro intervened in time to stop them. When the argument settled down, Padre Pedro slipped away to both the Governor's house and the houses of the high court judges to explain the incident. He felt sure that the Spaniard, a hot-tempered Basque, would bring charges against the notary, who was lower in social position, and that consequently the authorities might sympathize with the Spaniard's version. His precaution was successful.³⁹ The officials later ignored the complaints lodged against the notary by the Spaniard.

Most people preferred malicious gossip to outright duels against their enemies. Padre Pedro disdained gossip and warned his successor constantly against indulging in

it. His own bitter experience of discussing a case concerning the Convent with a brother of the order, lost him a case in court. The unthinking brother gossiped with a lay friend who in turn twisted a comment into an offensive remark against the judge in the case. Later the Augustinians lost the case because of this gossip.⁴⁰

Children of the peninsulares were called *criollos*. They were of Spanish blood but were born in the Islands. Their occupations varied considerably for they held minor governmental positions, became lawyers, and some became clergymen. Most became merchants, traveling extensively, and these travels to China, Batavia (Java), and Acapulco gave them many experiences during the long voyages.⁴¹ Their alleged worldliness made Padre Pedro distrust them somewhat in social and business dealings.

Padre Pedro derogatorily referred to those who migrated to Manila from Spain as *guachinangos*. He classified them according to their reasons for migration: those with prior connections in the city, soldiers who became merchants, and exiles. The first group came at a family's or a friend's invitation to work. Some became successful merchants and others became legal or administrative officials, such as notaries or constables. The second group, the soldiers, came as such, but perhaps because their pay was so low in Manila, they soon became merchants and members of the trade guilds or *consulado*.

The membership in the *consulado* was so lucrative that officers abandoned the profession of arms to enroll themselves as merchants, until it was difficult to keep up the quota of officers needed for the command of the forces. "A purely mercantile spirit reigns in this colony," he said (Gonzalez Carbaja) "and riches are preferred to titles of honor."⁴²

Unfortunately the military became so depleted at one time that there were not enough soldiers for a proper defense when the Negro pirates from Mindanão and Jolo threatened to raid the city of Manila.⁴³ The third group included many convicts or *forzados*, banished by the Mexican courts to Manila where they often ended up begging on the streets.

Religious orders, scattered all over the Philippines in missions and parishes, held great wealth and power. Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and the shoed and unshoed Augustinians—all Spanish and around 400 in all—established missions, for missionary work was their major occupation.⁴⁴ These clergymen lived off the land and from tributes from their parishioners. Padre Pedro never related how much land or how many parishes the Augustinians controlled. He did mention that the Augustinians were too busy making money to cooperate with each other. Consequently he never believed that the Augustinians were a united order. He excused this interest in money rather than cooperation by stating that even charitable works needed money.⁴⁵

For example, a description of the Convent of San Pablo, the Augustinian convent, showed that the order had many precious objects. A Basque priest after arriving in Manila in 1759 described the Convent in 1770, after the British had sacked it. The priest, Fray Augustin María de Castro, drew a vivid picture of the Convent which Padre Pedro served as Procurador.⁴⁶ Twenty priests, four brothers, and six *donados* lived in the Convent. Castro implied that about the same number probably lived there in Padre Pedro's day ten years earlier. At least 100 paid Filipino servants, performed duties in the kitchen, sacristy, washing room, infirmary, and storage rooms. These numbers doubled during the triennial chapter meetings.

The order used the Convent as a home for new arrivals from Spain and Mexico, as the retirement home of elderly members, and as the place for chapter meetings. The active residents included the Provincial, the Prior, and the Procurador. Descriptions of the Convent revealed it to be smaller than the convents of Mexico and Spain. It had a fine library, a large kitchen, a small infirmary, and was infested by a large quantity of bugs of all sizes. The humidity made the Convent a very uncomfortable place to live. After consulting old record books, Castro found that the Convent needed 1000 pesos a month to support itself. Consequently Padre Pedro's constant worries concerning the collection of rent from the houses around Manila seems justified. He needed this rent money to support the operating expenses of the Convent.⁴⁷

This pressing need to balance his record books also meant that he was capable of showing some force behind his collection practices. Subsequently Padre Pedro spent many hours assessing the legal system of Manila and figuring out the best manner to handle the various litigations in which his order participated.

Padre Pedro had a practical view of Manila's complex judicial system. He knew how to maneuver to win his cases for he was an experienced and successful litigant. Convinced that the wording, timing, and presentation were all important, he and the order needed competent representatives and open channels of communication in the city. Padre Pedro spent hours each day establishing and maintaining relationships with influential people.

He selected very carefully the Convent's *escribano* or notary, and its lawyer. For the notary he wanted someone who was thorough, exacting, and conscientious in copying documents. Omitting key phrases and giving vague boundary

descriptions led to further litigation. Notaries were well paid to preclude bribery but they were not wealthy nor high on the social scale. By calculating small favors Padre Pedro assured priority in attention to the Convent's affairs among the many competitive clients of each notary. Padre Pedro once visited a notary in prison and helped arrange his release. Word spread among all the escribanos, and Padre Pedro no longer had any trouble getting his work done.⁴⁸

The selection of the lawyer was an equally, if not more, important choice: a man of integrity, irreproachable, and without compromising relations with potential litigants. The Convent's lawyer handled all the legal business of the year for an annual retainer fee of 100 pesos. Padre Pedro was careful to secure his loyalty also with frequent gifts.⁴⁹ The Augustinian order seldom lost a case during Padre Pedro's time.

Padre Pedro's order appreciated his cleverness and astuteness for he held the office of Procurador, an elected position, for a long time. Over this period he acquired insight into the workings of the economic, social, and legal order of Manila society. The acquisition of wealth in Manila was the primary goal of most of its citizens. Wealth received through the galleon trade made up a substantial portion of the livelihood of the city. But land also had its returns. The Convent of Padre Pedro acquired food and labor for its needs. Urban land also brought returns from the tenants whose rent helped support the expenses of the Convent.

Socially every person participating in the Manila society had a specific role in the hierarchy. The Filipinos made up the working class of the city and their status depended on their economic role. Padre Pedro realized that

the work of these natives allowed the social system to exist. Consequently he exhibited an ambivalence in his distrust for the laborers yet paternalistic attitudes towards those in his charge. The Chinese aided in the galleon trade with both goods and labor, and Padre Pedro's attitude toward them showed only their economic value to him and the order. The Parián held most of the coveted goods from China needed in trade and for local consumption. But the relations with the Spanish community exhibited Padre Pedro's real talents. Being Spanish by birth, he considered himself to be on top of the social hierarchy, and classified other peoples of Spanish ancestry into groups of peninsulares, criollos, and those from New Spain. His advice for his successors demonstrated an astute awareness of social roles and ways of manipulating within this Spanish society. His choice of legal representatives for the Convent showed that he was entirely aware of what was needed to be in control of his surroundings. And in his *Manual* he has demonstrated a method of how to succeed within the structures of Manila society in the eighteenth century.

NOTES

¹ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 11. Here Phelan explained the terrific dependence of Manila on the galleon trade, and shows the importance of the Chinese and their trade to the city.

² Manuel Merino, O.S.A., *Agustinos evangelizadores de Filipinas 1565-1965* (Madrid: Ediciones Archivo Agustiniiano, 1965), p. 405. See also Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez, O.S.A., *História de la Provincia Agustiniiana* del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas (Manila, 1966), vol. II, p. 221.

³ The office of Procurador can be equated to that of manager or administrator of the Convent. He handled the business of the Convent.

⁴ Padre Pedro Núñez, "Manual for the Use of Friars serving as Procuradores" #21533. Mendel Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. This manuscript is available to any student of Philippine history. Hereafter the manuscript will be referred to as *Manual* and citation made to the leaves of the manuscript with v meaning the reverse side of the numbered leaf.

⁵ Charles R. Boxer, *Catalogue of Philippine Manuscripts in the Lilly Library*, Asian Studies Research Institute, Occasional Papers no. 2 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1968), p. 56. Boxer wrote a full description of this manuscript in his catalog along with the table of contents which Padre Pedro included in the *Manual*.

⁶ William Lyle Schurz, *The Manilla Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1939), p. 24. The first ship, San Pablo, under the command of Felipe de Salcedo, followed westerly winds in the northern Pacific so that it took 3½ months to go to Acapulco. The trade was carried on regularly each year from that time on. Legaspi founded Manila in 1571, amidst Muslim settlers.

⁷ For the fullest description of this trade and its specifics, see Schurz, *Galleon*, pp. 159-167. The crown vacillated between permitting and not permitting ecclesiastics to participate in the trade. The law of 1734 which was in effect during Padre Pedro's time, "prohibited the assignment of boletas under any pretext or simulation, under pain of the Royal indignation to any ecclesiastics, secular or regular."

⁸ *Manual*, l. 172-173v. and l. 50v, and Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 167 for full explanations of the *Obras Pias* and how the *Hermandad de la Misericordia* acted as a major controller or banker for Manila, but the other orders all took part in lending money.

⁹ For a good discussion of the application of individual land ownership see Phelan, *Hispanization*, pp. 117-119.

¹⁰ *Manual*, l. 92v, 148v, and 154v. For a description of the other properties of the Convent see: Augustine María de Castro, "Historia del insigne convento de San Pablo de Manila, 1770" in *Missionalia Hispanica* vol. VIII, no. 22 (1951), pp. 65-122. The hacienda of

Pasay, which lies one league south of Manila, supplies the Convent with sugar. The Granja Alanguilan in Bulacan grows rice and the estancia in Marsapaan in the Province of Tondo, grows rice and has 50 head of cattle which belong to the Convent.

¹¹ Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 118 and p. 130. The Filipinos became very adept at manipulating the slow-moving Spanish legal machinery.

¹² *Manual*, l. 186v. Padre Pedro stresses the need for preciseness in these details.

¹³ *Manual*, l. 180-180v. Padre Pedro discusses that the laws don't allow religious to buy land directly from Indians as in Mexico and so he discusses the realities of gaining possession of land.

¹⁴ *Manual*, l. 182. Padre Pedro included a recipe for these landmarks made from sand, bricks, lime, and sugar cane juice so that nothing could move the boundary.

¹⁵ *Manual*, l. 183. Padre Pedro made sure that the Spaniard would turn the papers over to him by having him sign a contract which would hold up in court.

¹⁶ Hugo Salazar, "Usurpation of Indian Lands by Friars," *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, trans. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1907), vol. 48, p. 31. He discusses the revolt in terms of being a revolt over land titles.

¹⁷ *Manual*, l. 54. Showing pant legs and speaking carefully sometimes persuaded tenants to pay their rent.

¹⁸ *Manual*, l. 50-50v, and l. 55. Often cases of back rent went to court, and so Padre Pedro was very concerned about legal contracts with his tenants, and that he kept his word about any promise he made to these tenants.

¹⁹ Juan Jose Delgado, S.J., "Historia general de Filipinas," trans. in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 40, pp. 285-286, footnote 331. Delgado on May 19, 1738 wrote a description of the way the native people were able to learn and perform skilled tasks. He lauds their handiwork but notes that they imitate rather than create. "They are good carvers, gilders, and carpenters."

²⁰ *Manual*, l. 48. El Padre Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A. "Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas," *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*,

trans. in Blair and Robertson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1907), vol. 40. Gaspar feels that if the natives are paid anything in advance, they will leave the work and keep the pay. In contrast with this view, Juan Delgado in reply says that it is the same in Spain, with cobblers, tailors, and other tricky workmen. He explains the advance payment as insurance so that the person will not go to another house and that the customer must accept the job done for he has paid for it. Padre Pedro pays a little money at first but states that it cannot be a lot or they won't finish the job, so he makes a contract. See *Manual*, l. 32. *Manual* l. 37 has *nipa* as a spiritous drink made from the roots of a palm tree.

²¹ *Manual*, l. 6. The offer of dogs insured that even if offered more than was contracted with Padre Pedro, this Filipino would not sell to anyone else.

²² Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 103. The Filipinos supported the ecclesiastical establishments on the islands. The long attacks on this oppression seemed to change nothing.

²³ *Manual*, l. 72-74v. Much of the material for these clothes came from China and was dyed in Manila into a dark blue which was used for the pants of the criados.

²⁴ *Manual*, l. 73v. His advice is that the Procurador divide the work up equally among the boys, each of which would be held responsible for his share.

²⁵ *Manual*, l. 73. He really liked a majordomo from the Laguna area and kept him 15 years.

²⁶ *Manual*, l. 71v and Gaspar de San Agustin, "Conquistas," p. 266. Gaspar agreed with Padre Pedro that lashings must be moderate or the boys would become insolent.

²⁷ *Manual*, l. 71v. My translation: Because the Padre Procurador must notice that we need the Indians more than they need us: because the Indians, with their work, find those to serve everywhere; but if our kitchen achieves a bad reputation in the matter, from then on it would have no one to serve (it), even though one would want to pay them well.

²⁸ Schurz, *Galleon*, pp. 79-81. The Chinese were required to live in this area by law. The 1749 figure was high because many Chinese had escaped famine in China and fled to Manila.

²⁹ Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 146. Both the Filipinos and the Spanish hated the Chinese, and this common enemy allowed the Spanish to have even more firm control on the country.

³⁰ *Manual*, l. 92. Padre Pedro also discusses what the sampans contained for the Convent such as ham and other kinds of meat.

³¹ Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 77. In the arranged trade, the *pancada*, there was no way to haggle over the price so both Chinese and Spanish evaded the law.

³² *Manual*, l. 93v, l. 38, and l. 14. The Chinese sell all kinds of melon seeds, fruits, and all manner of things.

³³ *Manual*, l. 38. The Chinese liked corner lots for business purposes and Padre Pedro charged more for them. The governor had to give permission to build these stores or houses, but permission was easy to get.

³⁴ *Manual*, l. 93v and 63. Padre Pedro protests that the fishermen were very slow in paying and devious so he heartily welcomed someone else who would take the responsibility.

³⁵ *Manual*, l. 36 and 39. The very messy jobs were left to the Chinese *cargador*. Padre Pedro advised against letting them care for horses because they had little practice and often killed horses by beating them too hard.

³⁶ *Manual*, l. 29. He made the men working with the Chinese master sign the document so they also were legally bound to stay on the job.

³⁷ Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 81, and also see Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J. *Spain in the Philippines*. Institute of Philippine Culture (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1971), p. 109.

³⁸ Cushner, *Spain*, p. 117. This common generalization has been challenged by James Lockhart in "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America: Evolution and Potential," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. VII, no. 1, Spring, 1972, p. 13. Here he wants this generalization to be understood in light of the times, and Padre Pedro makes his views abundantly clear in this regard. He feels himself much superior to many of the Spaniards of Manila and is telling us that over and over again.

³⁹ *Manual*, l. 167-167v. Padre Pedro seemed to gloat over the fact that he gained a few points over the Basque.

⁴⁰ *Manual*, l. 147v. Padre Pedro when asked what he thought of his opponents in a law suit answered that he was sure they had good consciences and they would follow them. Consequently he avoided any malicious gossip.

⁴¹ *Manual*, l. 61v-62. Padre Pedro's attitude here implies that the criollos took on the attitudes and occupations of their parents without much change. If the criollo were raised by a convent or order, then the criollo might turn out all right.

⁴² Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 175. This quotation explained the temper of the times. The military greatly resented the amount of wealth of the religious orders and their control over the Filipinos.

⁴³ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*. Europeo Americana (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1958) volume 23, p. 1371, and Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 49. *Manual*, l. 60v-61v and 162v. The military were poorly paid and therefore made poor tenants as well.

⁴⁴ Phelan, *Hispanization*, 41. The number was inadequate for the amount of territory and great loss of members from fevers. Also the others did not encourage priests from New Spain because of internal dissention within the orders between peninsulares and criollos.

⁴⁵ *Manual*, l. 148v. Padre Pedro commented almost sadly that trusting people is difficult and his advice about talking only with the Prior and never with a secular gives some indication of the split between the secular and regular clergy.

⁴⁶ Castro, "Historia," p. 88-91. He gives a vivid description of the Convent's library before it was looted by the British.

⁴⁷ Castro, "Historia," p. 91. There is no indication of how this money was spent or any kind of budget.

⁴⁸ *Manual*, l. 168v. Padre Pedro even got sixteen years of service from this escribano.

⁴⁹ *Manual*, l. 154-157. Some of the ways of winning loyalty were complimentary visits to the lawyer, saying mass in his name on his birthday, giving him food from the surrounding lands of the Convent, and giving him candles.

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