

sailors, armed men and their respective families. For over a decade, the Chinese imperial government could not suppress much less capture Limahong who harassed not only southern Chinese coastal towns but threatened the Spanish colonies in Manila, Ilocos and Pangasinan. In the latter case, Limahong was able to set up a fortified settlement and resist Spanish siege for over three months in 1575 before he and his fleet were able to escape to some remote island somewhere in southern China. *Blair and Robertson* VI:95-106.

3. Sual as a port languished in the late 1880s due to closure of the custom house as a result of the flooding of cheap rice from Saigon and with the completion of the railway between Manila and Dagupan in 1891. See Gregorio Flormata, Sr. *Memoria sobre La Provincia de Pangasinan* (Manila: La Democracia, 1901).
4. Saw milling and lumber business expanded in the 1920s and became one of the largest single business of Dagupan. See Norbert Danhaeuser, *Commercial Units Marketing Channels, and Trade Networks in a Central Luzon Town Setting* (Berkeley: University of California, Ph.D. dissertation, 1973).
5. Alfred Marche, *Luzon and Palawan* (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970).
6. The US Census of 1903 showed that there were 420 "foreign born yellow" with six women residents in Dagupan (*United States Bureau of Census 1905*: Table 4).
7. Daniel Doepfers, *Ethnicity and Class in the Structure of Philippine Cities* (New York: Syracuse University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1971).
8. Although by mid-nineteenth century, the Spaniards modified their monopoly policies on agriculture initiated 70 years earlier and allowed Chinese to reenter their traditional activities outside the confines of Manila.
9. Dagupan is topographically level. Its northern part is made of beach sand and river sediments while the south is mainly silt loam and clayey subsoil. It was in the nineteenth century when the basic road network was constructed. See Robert Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State* (Berkeley: University of California, M.A. thesis, 1966).
10. Although official documents of the Chinese Communist Party after 1944 showed that the party prohibited the conduct of political activities outside of China, many of the partisans in the Philippines joined the Communist Party through the International Comintern.

THE URBANIZATION OF MALOLOS, BULACAN 1762-1872

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The urbanization of Malolos during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries may illustrate complex political, social and economic developments occurring in the Philippine countryside prior to the Revolution of 1896. Whereas we read that it was in Malolos where the Philippine Republic was proclaimed, there has not been a serious attempt in the past to explain why this particular place was chosen for that purpose. By looking into the dynamics of urbanization, this paper hopes to provide part of the answer to the problem.

Urbanization is a concept borrowed from social geographers. It is manifested by the concentration of a large number of people, big buildings and other infrastructures and a complex way of life. From the social geographers' point of view, such infrastructural forms as buildings, parks, places of worship and governance, etc. are positioned in such a manner as would manifest underlying social and political relationships in a given geographic setting. This may be seen in the development of Malolos as an urban center, characterized as it was by big "Antillian" houses and beautiful churches.

The main thesis of this paper is that the material progress of Malolos was linked to the concentration of the Chinese and the Chinese mestizos in a place known as *Parian*, located near the Church and the plaza complex. As a center of commerce, the *Parian* soon absorbed the productive

surplus of the community and the adjacent town. The differences in economic status between the Chinese and the native *principales* were soon transformed into political contests. Yet these political contests served as a wedge in which radical political ideas entered the community. In the age of the propaganda, these political and social differences were ironed out by progressive politicians such as Marcelo del Pilar and Pedro Serrano Laktaw and were redirected against their conservative friar enemies.

The Regional Historical Milieu

The Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, which depended on the consumption of Chinese and Indian fabrics in Mexico, was the fragile foundation upon which the Spanish colonial economy was built. The Spanish settlers depended on that trade to secure easy fortune since with practically no capital, they profited from the sale of their allocation of space in the ship. Others benefited from their lending operations to those who, despite their allocation, could not make use of their privilege because of the lack of exportable goods.

By the middle of the eighteenth century however, the trade was already declining because of the growing difficulty of selling Chinese products in the fairs (*ferias*) of Acapulco in Mexico. The growth in the participation of government officials in the trade likewise jacked up the overhead costs in the export of the goods. Furthermore, despite the supposedly limited nature of the trade, foreign merchants gradually participated under the very noses of Spanish administrators. In that century, the flow of "piece goods" from the East to the West was being reversed by the aggressive British merchants. In Spain itself, cloth of almost the same quality as Chinese silk was being produced in Cadiz and Seville and exported to Latin America.¹ The impoverishment of the Philippine-based Spaniards was enough cause for them to look inwardly—that is, they now attempted to make the Philippine colony as economically productive as possible through the exploitation of its land resources. Among the steps taken was the expansion of *haciendas* devoted to export products such as tobacco, indigo and sugar. Under the administration of Governor Basco y Vargas, various economic reforms were likewise instituted including the establishment of a "Society of Friends of the Country."

The stimulus created by world capitalistic developments had tremendous impact not only in the christianized areas but throughout Southeast Asia especially the Sulu zone. The commercial competition among European powers would partly explain too the appearance of English corsairs who launched an attack on and occupied the Spanish colonial domain in the Philippines. The advent of European trade further encouraged the slave trade in the southern Philippines and became the basis for the rise of the Sulu sultanate in the late eighteenth century. As James Warren notes:²

The establishment of European and Asiatic enterprise and capital of Jolo on a hitherto unprecedented scale stimulated the production of *tripang** and other strand commodities and male labor became the chief source of wealth. Slave labor in the *tripang* and pearl fisheries helped to provide the products introduced into the external trade. The expansion of slavery in Sulu occurs then as a direct consequence of developments similar to those in the Abron kingdom of Gyaman (in Africa).

An abundant supply of labour was of considerable significance in producing power and wealth among the *Taosug* aristocracy. A *datu* who could acquire large numbers of slaves could engage more people in procurement activities and trade, and with the surplus wealth they produced, attract others to him. The efforts of the ambitious Sulu *datu*s to participate in this burgeoning international trade, with its extraordinary profits, forced the demand for additional labour up and swelled the flow of external trade.

Already hidden from the collective memory, the raiding by Moro pirates is suggested by the *moro-moro* games that young boys and girls still play in the coastal barrios. The games involve capture and pursuit and eventual liberation of one group by the other. Among the older members of the community, the anti-Moro consciousness was enhanced by drama presentations known as *Moro-moro* in which in the struggle between Christians and Muslims, the former always emerge the winner. These practices in the realm of culture became popular devices of the Spaniards to heighten religious fanaticism among the people specially as they were confronted

* *Tripang* means sea slugs resembling a large pudding with which the Chinese are very fond of mixing with fowl and vegetables. It is also called *balate*.

by actual threats of attacks from the Moros.

Bruce Cruinkshank and James Warren note in their studies that a large number of those kidnapped by Moros came from Luzon.³ In some places, the Moro pirates even established permanent bases of operations such that after a period of collecting enslaved coastal inhabitants, a bigger boat transported them to the South and peddled to as far as Java and Sumatra. A place in the shoreline boundary of Paombong and Malolos known as "Taguang Moro River" was probably so named from that time when such slaving activity was still common in the place.

That this raiding activity was prevalent in the shoreland area may be gleaned from the report of the *Alcalde Mayor* of Bulacan, Domingo Hurtado de Sancho, who on December 18, 1766, spoke of the loss of seven men taken by eight Moros in the vicinity of Barra de Dapdap ("*que los otros siete hombres fueron cogidos por ocho moros en tres cascos...*"). Later, one cadaver, that of a certain Diego de la Cruz of Baybay, was also found floating in the bay.⁴

In response to the threats, patrols were organized and fortifications known as *baluartes* were built. One such *baluarte* was built near Binoanga River in Bulacan. In 1783, under the administration of the Malolos *gobernadorcillo* Pedro Pulumbarit, a *baluarte* was built at Pamarawan at the coastal area of Malolos "*dahil sa manakanakang pagsalakay ng mga mandarambong moro na nagbubuhay sa Timog* (because of sporadic raids by Moros from the south)." Furthermore, beginning 1781, a special tribute called "*vinta*" was collected from the people of Bulacan and Pampanga amounting to one-half real or one ganta of rice per full tribute to be used for patrolling the coasts against Moro raiders.⁶

The Formation of the Malolos *Parian*

Aside from the intensification of moro raiding activities, the British entry into the Philippine trade had other effects. Their "piece goods" (cloth, jewelry, etc.) downgraded the galleon trade and rechanneled into the countrysides the investment and distribution activities of local merchants. At the same time that Sulu sultans were engaged in slave raids and trade to strengthen their manpower resources, the traditional merchants, the Chinese, were fanning out to the Luzon countrysides to exchange piece goods

with local products. A Chinese mestizo sector in native provincial society gradually took shape as a result of Chinese intermarriage with the natives and became the leaders in "creating the Filipinized Hispanic culture." They became the model of behavior for the well-to-do *Indios* particularly in the way they built savings into fortunes only to be spent in sumptuous banquets for the town administrators and the curates during feast days.⁷ Although aping the mestizo behavior, the displaced native *principales* were jealous of this new, emerging elite; hence, they created issues that made this first generation of mestizos unpopular.

The changing economic patterns toward the middle of the eighteenth century caused by the increased connection of the Philippine colony to world commerce merely aggravated the incipient mestizo-native *principalia* contradictions. Several frontier areas of Bulacan were developed into hacienda plantations. There was also increased demand for palay secured by the government but paid for in the form of promissory notes. With a gross production of 60,000 to 70,000 cavans of palay, Malolos itself was committed to supply the government stockpile with 1,250 to 2,500 cavans of palay (or the equivalent of from 1.8 to 4.2 percent of the annual harvest).⁸ These abusive measures known as *vandalas* precipitated a series of revolts in the adjoining hacienda towns of Buenavista (San Rafael and present San Ildefonso) and Bocaue. In the Bocaue unrest of 1745, the grant of special privileges to Chinese mestizos which led to *Indios* losing landholdings to them was the main issue.⁹ And following these leads, the Malolos *principales* filed an *expediente* with the *Abogado Fiscal* against the mestizo *Sangleys* (the name given to the Chinese by the Spaniards) on September 2, 1747 on the issue of unusual increase in mestizo landowners.¹⁰ Nor was this an isolated case. In Meycawayan, the *gremio* or group of *principales* would object to the favorable treatment given to the Chinese mestizos "*contra el comando mestizo que se hallan en el citado Pueblo sobre pretender cada dos años la alternativa enel (ineligible) de gobernador de naturales...*" in the governance of the community.¹¹

Despite the native *principalia* resentment against the mestizos, there were officials in the government who saw in their presence many advantages to the provincial community. Fray Manuel de la Concepcion and Justice Pedro Calderon Henriquez who investigated the 1745 unrest in the

province of Bulacan argued in favor of the Chinese and the Chinese mestizos by observing that: ¹²

...those towns which were inhabited by Chinese were more prosperous, for through their purchases, they stimulated the cultivation of Philippine products.

Unfortunately, the alienation of the Chinese and the Chinese mestizos would be aggravated by incidents during the British occupation. ¹³ Governor Simon de Anda initially retreated to Bulacan and made use of the important sources of iron and gunpowder at Angat and San Miguel before he made it to Bacolor, Pampanga. The Malolos' native support for the Spaniards was shown in their participation in the ambush of the British at a place now known as the barrio *Pinagbakahan* (place of combat) in January 1763 which although unsuccessful, was characterized by the Filipinos' remarkable courage. The tragic occasion was used to fan the anti-Chinese feeling which was not in any case limited to Bulacan alone. While in reality, the Miranda, Manahan and Victoria clans were identified as the ones who provisioned the British troops, the Chinese were pictured as collaborators of the British by their Indio enemies. ¹⁴ As a consequence, under a Royal Cedula promulgated in Aranjuez on April 17, 1766 and received in the Philippines in July, 1767, many Chinese were ordered expelled from the Philippines while those "in nearby towns and in the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Laguna and Balayan were concentrated." ¹⁵ The *Parian* (which literally meant "organization or federation" from the Amoy Chinese word *palien*¹⁶) was organized for purposes of control. A number of their residents was initially conscripted to work in the fields, but their preference for trade and artisanship eventually made the *Parian* a center of commercial activity. ¹⁷

By 1791, based upon existing baptismal, marriage, and death records of the parish of Malolos, the *Parian* was already recognized as a separate barangay. The inhabitants were described as belonging to the *gremios de Mestizos Sangley* and included in their ranks the Villanueva, Lopez, Camaclang, de Robles, Ingco, Jozon, Yniquez, and Caparaz families aside from the Chinese-sounding names of Tiongson, Cojuangco, Tantoco and Tanchangco families. ¹⁸

The capital accumulated from their galleon trade activities, the "country trade" with the British, and the development of various local crafts was soon funneled by the *Parian* residents to the *principalia* residents of adjoining *pueblos* such as Calumpit and Bulacan through money lending enterprises. Two extant documents at the National Archives are illustrative of the ongoing socio-economic process: ¹⁹

TITLE: D. FRANCISCO LOPEZ RECEIVES PAYMENT OF THE DEBT FROM D. LEANDRO LIBOROS MANLAPIG

Acuy si D. Francisco Lopez, maguino dito sa Bayan ng Malolos, Cahucuman ng Bulacan, tunai na tinanggap co ang sandaan at anim na pong piso, sa camai ni D. Leandro Liboros Manlapig, asawang casing ysang catuan ni Da. Augustina de los Reyes, manga maguino sa Bayan ng Calumpit na catubusan sa manga buquid na sinasabi sa escriturang nasa cabila nito na sanla nang nasabing Manlapig con D. Andres Moctoc, ang pagcatotoo nito sacing caharap si D. Clemente de Thores, D. Reymundo de Lacmus at si D. Clemente de Thores (sic.) at acoi nagpirma ngayong yca dalawang po at ysa ng Agosto sa taong mil ochosientos y sais ocho (?)

(Signed) Francisco Lopez

TITLE: D. RAYMUNDO TALAMPAS IN FAVOR OF DON PABLO SANTIAGO TIONGSON

Ipinaalam sa sinomang pinopong caharap at macakita nito, akong Capn D. Raymundo Talampas at asawang casing isang catuan ni Da. Dorotea Manlapig mga taut maguino sa vicacop coming mag-asawa ng Vng (aming?) utang ng tatlong ponong po na salaping tunay cay Pablo Santiago Tiongson mestisong Sangley na taong matahran (mauliran?) sa bayan nang Malolos dito din sa nasabing hocoman na ang aming pangaco sa may salapi ay bobouisan namin sa caniya ng labin limang cabang palay sa taong haharapin (1) 782 na walang pagsala sa paano mang bagay at sa buan ng Mayo ay tatalalan namin sa caniya nang balitang (shortened form of cavallita, a measurement) mal Baguid sa tapat ng aming bahay (ineligible) ng calzada mapiliyan nang may salapi ang (ineligible) tingin niya at siya cong ysusucat sa caniya na бага (ineligible) y toy simple at extrajudicial ay pinaquiquitulad (ineligible) sa yari sa mataas na tribunal ng mga juez compantes yani ngayong ycalawang arao ng Julio

*isang libo pitong daan walong po at isang taon na sa catunayan nito'y
acyo magfirma ng aquing ngalan sampo sa sing (ineligible) harap—*

(Signed) Raymundo Talampas

These documents give early evidence of the transition taking place in the economic and social structure: the traditional *principales* based in the old towns of Calumpit and Bulacan were now looking to the Malolos Chinese community for money loans. Citing Martinez de Zuniga's 1800 account, McLennan says: "The *principalia* of Malolos also were reported to have purchased much land in the nearby townships of Hagonoy and Calumpit by means of the retrovendendi contract." According to Martinez de Zuniga: "The land of Calumpit is extensive, but the mestizos of Malolos and Apalit have been taking possession of it bit by bit, and so the town has not grown in proportion to its lands."²⁰

The *Pariancillo* was thus becoming the center of commerce and services needed not only by the Spaniards but by the native elites as well. Indeed, at this point, it can be said that the Malolos plaza complex was a town built by the Chinese mestizos.

The "Market Rings" and the Road Systems

The urbanization of Malolos was facilitated by its terrain, which allowed the development of a complex system of roads and waterways that were then important to trade.

Unlike Pampanga, southern Bulacan early enjoyed usable road system, and so considerable commerce moved overland during the dry season. In the mid-eighteenth century the poblacion of Bulacan, the provincial seat, was connected to Manila with a military road.²¹

The map issued by the *Deposito Topografico de Manila* in 1818 indicates the intricate road network that linked the various trading towns whose principal beneficiaries were the merchants. Furthermore, because of the impossibility of developing road networks along the Candaba swamps in the western flank of the Quingwa (Angat) River, "there was a tendency for commerce to move overland" in the eastern side of the Pampanga

River. Up to the nineteenth century, the trade towards Pangasinan was through the rivers and the sea. This advantage in transportation and communication helped in the development within the province of Bulacan of a *market ring* in which a market day was set in each major township in a periodic cycle: Monday, *Bulacan*; Tuesday, *Calumpit*; Wednesday, *Polo*; Thursday, *Malolos*; Friday, *Bocaue* and Saturday, *Baliwag*. This *market ring* may have been peculiar to Bulacan province since Martinez de Zuniga had suggested that this system should be adopted in the other provinces as well.

The periodic markets were then called *tiangués* and operated this way:²²

This day there was *tiangué* in Malolos and we went to see it. Since this is the major town of the province [Bulacan] and is at the center of it, we assumed that its market would be larger than that of Baliwag, but we found nothing greatly different. There were more people in attendance and more merchants, but each one, as in Baliwag, carried only a small amount of merchandise, and once these were sold, the owners made other purchases to bring home. In these markets almost all are at the same time buyers and sellers. They dispose of some things so as to buy others and all transactions are reduced to haggling which is governed by means of a small supply of money which passes through all hands.

Important in the movement of trade and the encouragement of production for surplus, the observation on the *tiangué* failed to take into account the bigger commerce whose goods were destined for export overseas. This was the trade controlled by the *alcalde-mayor* through a network of Chinese and Chinese mestizos through an arrangement known then as the *cabecilla* system. Around 1810, Comyn estimated that the Chinese mestizo population was 20,000 in various towns of Bulacan. Justice Calderon Henriquez, cited earlier, observed that the Chinese mestizos who acted as the *cabecilla* for the interprovincial trade:²³

...possess the necessary patience to enable them to go one by one to the houses of the *Indios* in the fields; buying a chicken in one house, a fryer in another and a pound of cocoa in a third, for there are no wholesale buyers for these products... The Chinese were said to accept a small profit and were agreeable to reinvesting in the business the monies thus obtained. Even the ordinary *Indios* felt that their presence 'were conve-

nient to them and that they supplied them with all their needs in exchange for rice, chickens, and the lumber that they cut and hauled from the forest. In this way, the natives were able to live without money, for the Chinese accepted payment in kind and their products given as payment were later sent by them to their fellow Chinese living in the *Parian* of Manila, for sale in that city.

In Malolos itself, the important products for the interprovincial trade were lime, thatched nipa, woven cotton, nipa wine, mangrove wood (for charcoal and tannic acid), and other products which it shared with neighboring towns of Hagonoy and Paombong. The products were put into *bodegas* managed by the *cabecilla* agents. The people were likewise engaged in the manufacture of salt, distillation of nipa juice, refining sugar, and drying of fish in establishments which were called *farderias*. One author also writes that:²⁴

...their first sugar-mills were Chinese and had granite rollers, and from them they learnt the trick that many a moulder might not know, of casting their sugar-pans in a red hot mould and cooling slowly and so getting the metal extremely thin yet free from defects.

Thatched nipa, which at this time was the main housing material, was a major industry of Malolos. Through a system of government regulations and restrictions, permits for which had to be secured from the *Inspeccion General de Montes*, the weaving of thatched nipa became an exclusive industry of Malolos traders.²⁵

The increasing demand for specialized products either to be sold in the *tiangues* or inter-provincial trade, made lands important and created impetus for the movement of manpower to undeveloped frontier areas. While the towns remained as the special domains of civil officials for the collection of the annual tributes, new *sitios* were formed ostensibly to transform them into plantations. One example of these was the formation of Caliligawan, Malolos by *Alcalde Mayor* Jose Maria Rea for a plantation devoted to "*palmas bravas*" ("wild palms" or probably, betel nuts). Purchased from similar plantations in Gapan and Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija,²⁶ betel nuts were monopolized by the *Alcaldes Mayores* at this time and

gave them added revenues from a chewing habit of the Tagalogs, *nganga*. On the other hand, the industrial sector was represented by cloth, silk, and *sinamay* weaving in hundreds of home-based looms.

With increased urbanization, more and more people were drawn into Malolos making it the most populous town of the province by 1842. In the report of Bulacan *Alcalde Mayor* Juan Versoza, made in December 1842, it was noted that of the 19 towns of the province, Malolos had 30,198 inhabitants which was 13,956 more than that of the next most populous town, Baliwag. The number of mestizo-paying tributes of 292½ was second only to Baliwag's 890½, the highest mestizo-paying town. Malolos paid the highest number of tributes (5,742½) in the province and it had 49 barrios, 21 *visitass* and 126 *cabezas de barangay* which were the highest in the whole province.²⁷

A reflection of the increased urbanization was the construction of four good bridges, one of which even had an arch and a beautiful port (*muelle*) of rubble-work masonry and located at the entrance of the town. This was considered the best in the province.²⁸

Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the construction of these bridges and other public works was secured through forced contribution from prominent individuals either in the form of cash or press-ganged labor. An example of this was the construction of the Fajardo and Nagdasig bridges in 1872 in which the prominent Don Gabino Tantoco and other individuals contributed cash, rice, and corvee labor. The contract for the works dated October 30, 1872 says:²⁹

Acong maestro contratista na si Balbino de los Reyes na cumontrata nang obra nang tulay na batong gagawin sa Sapang Fajardo, ay sa catutuhanang aquing quinontrata sa cay Dn. Roberto Fajardo na tunay na pinagutusang mag pagawa nang nasabing tulay, at na con caya naman nangiangring aming pinagratuhan sa halagang limang daang pisos - 500 p - ang buong cayarian sacop ang lahat nang materiales, ay alang sa pag sunod namin sa utos nang Sor. Alde. Mor. at sa Orden nang maguinoong Capitan sa Bayan na alinsunod sa ipinag uutos na cami ay maningil nang contribusiong walong pisos sa balang ysang cabang binhi na nasasacop nang patubig-nang nasabing sapa.

At sa catunayan nang aming manga pinag casunduan nang halagang

nasasabi sa itaas ay aming pinag firmahan ngayong a 30 de Octubre de 1872.

(Sgd.) Balbino de los Reyes

(Sgd.) Fajardo

Another contract with practically the same conditions and date had been executed by contractor Balbino de los Reyes and Dn. Sirilo Flores for Sapang Nagdasig. Those unable to pay the "contributions" asked for were required to render physical labor as shown in other documents.³⁰

There was a biological dimension to these events and the most conspicuous effects were the famines and cholera as documented by Bautista and Santos. The belief of health officials at that time was that:

...the low-lying and chronically damp and fetid region of Manila Bay (especially the coastal areas of Pampanga and Bulacan) was a breeding ground for endemic cholera, an area where the cholera vibrio could remain in homeostasis with host and environment.³¹

But the more valid explanation to the cholera pandemics of 1821-23, 1830, 1842, 1854, 1863-1883, and 1888-1889 seems to be that there were substantial changes during the nineteenth century in the susceptibility of the native population to disease. Nicholas Cushner describes these changes, thus:³²

A case can be made that the commercialization of agriculture which progressed throughout the century created major shifts in the character of the rural subsistence system, especially whenever changes in agriculture were combined with high densities and rapid increase in rural population. The new agricultural policies of the nineteenth century caused many areas to move land out of subsistence crops for local consumption into the production of commercial crops for export.

As labor shifted to the production of cash crops such as tobacco, there was greater demand for rice in such tobacco-producing areas and thus, a greater pressure was exerted to produce this commodity commercially. This was also pointed out by Historian Fr. H. de la Costa to show the interconnection between the tobacco monopoly and the commercialization of

rice production,³³

The commercialization of agriculture in turn would support the increased variety of industrial activities such that "by 1850, there were in operation throughout the province (of Bulacan), 1,500 looms for the weaving of silk, cotton, and *sinamay* fabric, and prosperity reigned."³⁴ While such prosperity probably affected the *cabeceras* and *poblaciones* rather than the peripheral areas, it nevertheless allowed the establishment of architectural and cultural manifestations around the plaza complexes.

Aside from concrete churches, the turn of the nineteenth century saw the popularization of hispanized cultural forms such as the *zarzuela*, the *awits* and the *corridos* as represented in Bulacan by the works of the poet laureate Francisco Baltazar. The studies of Nicanor Tiongson on the *Sinakulo* also relate the various origins of the influences that led to their peculiar practice in Malolos. Surprisingly however, the intricacies of religious practices one finds in the agricultural sector of Malolos and those of the *Poblacion* could not be found in the shoreland communities despite their more immediate experiences at the hands of Moro raiders.

Thus, despite famines and drought in the previous decades, there were social and cultural expression of relative prosperity among a certain sector of the population. It was these cultural practices that encouraged the development of cohesion among the various social classes in the community which concealed deep-seated social and political contradictions.

Consolidations and Contradictions

One consolidating step taken by the newly emerging *principalia* of Malolos was the formation of "a web of family alliances through marriages that linked to elites of several towns." This process was to accelerate in the early nineteenth century such that "by 1820 the *principalia* formed a provincial elite connected by ties of marriage, business and common interest. They hardly bore any resemblance in occupation or race to the old *datus*, but they did maintain a servant-master relationship with the peasantry that harked back to an earlier day."³⁵ The phenomenon was particularly true in the case of the then emerging Baliwag town (with the highest mestizo population in 1842) whose Chinese and mestizo elites were related to

the Malolos elites.

The social history of prominent Malolos families has been made by Arturo T. Olmos in his genealogical study of the Tantoco and Tiongson clans. The sweep of alliances that became quite evident at the turn of the nineteenth century may be observed in these genealogical studies. Concrete example of this was the Tiongson family's eventual prominence not only in Malolos but in Baliwag and other trading towns as well.³⁶ The baptismal register for these Chinese and Chinese mestizos are still preserved at the Binondo Church and the Sto. Domingo Church which were then the parishes responsible for the christianized Chinese migrants. As noted by Fr. Jesus Merino, these records reflect the social history of the Chinese mestizo community that needs to be examined more deeply. For one thing, even at this time, the Chinese and Chinese mestizo already secured influence by getting baptismal sponsors from among the highest officials of the government and the church. Some even adopted the names of their sponsors.³⁷

This growing prominence of the Chinese and mestizo families however had some social cost and implications. In 1799 for example, Don Josef Lorenzo Chingco of Malolos opposed the election of the *gobernadorcillo* which thereby created between the mestizos and *naturales* (native *principalia*), an issue that was to be resolved only upon the intervention of the Pampanga *alcalde-mayor*.³⁸ One serious issue brought against the Chinese was the supposed spread of cholera, an allegation that brings to mind the incidents of the British occupation. In other places like Cebu, similar accusations even led to the destruction of the Chinese-built church.³⁹ After the resolution of the conflict however, various mestizos were to gain their *gobernadorcillo* positions. Among them were Josef Lorenzo Chingco (1801), Don Tomas Tengco (1820), Don Evaristo Tiongson (1825), Vicente Buizon (1829 & 1837), Don Tiburcio Tiongson (1836), Don Mariano Tiongson (1848), Juan de Robles (1858), Agustin Tiongson (1871-1872), Tomas Tiongson (1874-80), Jose Tiongson (1882), Antonio Tiongson (1883-84), Mateo Buizon (1885), and Antonio Chiong (1890).

A comparative study of the *gobernadorcillo* lists with those of Bulacan and Calumpit would show the peculiar pattern in Malolos in the sense that

in the former, no such mestizo dominance in local political affairs may be gleaned from the records. Even today in the adjoining town of Paombong, not one Chinese or Chinese mestizo ever own a commercial establishment. The same may be said, to a certain extent of the other adjoining towns of Quingua, Bulacan, and Calumpit. Yet, as mentioned in the beginning, this social complexity was not at all totally negative in effect. This social complexity was a useful ingredient for making Malolos a center of revolution.

Conclusion

With the arrival of progressive ideas from Europe, the traditional sectoral conflicts would give way to new demands for unity against a common foe. As it was in the nature of politics to secure alliances, temporarily as it may be, the intra-racial basis of the Chinese mestizo and Indio contradiction was resolved due to new elements in the local scene. Not the least of these factors was the contradiction among the colonizers themselves as represented by the King's representative and the town curate as well as the clergy among themselves (Regulars and Seculars). With the intensification of monastic extraction of surplus from a restive population, which included both the native and mestizo elites, the banner of the anti-friar united front was raised by the patriotic leaders of the Propaganda and the Revolution.

NOTES

1. Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1971), pp. 127-152.
2. James Warren, "Slavery and the Impact of External Trade: The Sulu Sultanate in the Nineteenth Century," in *Philippine Social History*, McCoy and De Jesus, eds. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1982), pp. 419-420.
3. Bruce Cruinkshank, "Continuity and Change in the Economic and Administrative History of the Nineteenth Century Samar," in McCoy and De Jesus, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-249.
4. *Ereccion de Pueblo 1747-1865*, book I, no. 65 [Philippine National Archives, (hereafter to be cited as PNA)].
5. Antonio Bautista and Jose P. Santos, *Ang Malolos sa Dahon ng Kasaysayan (1934)*, p. 25. Cf. Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, *Status of the Philippines in*

- 1810 (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), p. 329.
6. Eliodoro G. Robles, *The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, Inc., 1969), p. 73.
 7. Tomas de Comyo, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1819) partially translated in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands Vol. 5*, p. 90, placed the number of provincial Chinese mestizos at 20,000.
 8. *Cedulario, 1755-1777*, fol. 97-98 (PNA).
 9. John Larkin, "A Socio-Economic Framework for Philippine History," (mimeo.), p.3.
 10. *Ereccion...*, *loc. cit.*, no. 65.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. Maria Lourdes Trechuelo, "The Economic Background" in *The Chinese in the Philippines*, Alfonso Felix, Jr., ed. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969), p. 22.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 14. Antonio Bautista and Jose P. Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
 15. Trechuelo, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
 16. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York: Mentor Book, 1969, reprinted by National Bookstores, Inc., 1975), p. 48.
 17. Trechuelo, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 18. Cf. *Padrones de Chinos, 1838-1898*, Microfilm no. 4 (PNA).
 19. *Ereccion de Pueblo, 1782-1842* (Bulacan, N.A. 71), Bk. I and *Terrenos de Bulacan, 1781* (PNA).
 20. Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, *op. cit.*, Quoted in McLennan, pp. 54-55.
 21. Marshall S. McLennan, *The Central Luzon Plain* (Quezon City: Alemares Phoenix Publishing Inc., 1980), p. 69.
 22. Martinez de Zuniga, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
 23. Trechuelo, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.
 24. Frederick Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines*.
 25. *Terrenos de Bulacan*, bundle 2 (PNA).
 26. See: Exchange of letters between Rea and Alcaldes of Gapan and Cabanatuan dated 23 April 1828 regarding: "de una obrita se aumento a la preza de Calitigawan," in the National Archives, *Ereccion de Pueblos, op. cit.* (Today, 1982). Calitigawan is a barrio near Pamarawan.
 27. *Memoria de la Provincia de Bulacan* (PNA).
 28. *Mapa General De Las Almas Que Administran Los PP. Agustinos En Estas Islas Filipinas* (Manila: 1848), p. 30.
 29. *Terrenos de Bulacan*, bundle 2 (PNA).
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Peter Smith, "Demographic History: An Approach to the Study of the Filipino Past," in *Perspectives on Philippine Historiography: A Symposium*, John Larkin, ed. (Yale University South East Asian Studies Monograph Series) no. 21, 42.

32. Nicholas P. Cushner, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.
33. Horacio De la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila: Bookmark, 1965). Cf. Edilberto de Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo University Press, 1980).
34. *Census of the Philippine Islands*, vol. 1 (1903).
35. McLennan, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
36. Arturo T. Olmos, *Ancestry of the Tiongson Clan Ms.* (1980).
37. Jesus Merino, O.P., "General Considerations Regarding the Chinese Mestizo" in *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1770-1898*, Alfonso Felix, Jr., ed. vol. 2 (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969), 45.
38. Bautista and Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
39. Michael Cullinane, "The Changing Nature of the Cebu-Urban Elite in the Nineteenth Century," in McCoy and De Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 251