

# LA MADRE DE LOS LADRONES: TULISANISMO IN CAVITE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*Tulisan* in contemporary Philippine context refers to a “high-way robber” or “brigand.”<sup>1</sup> It is also synonymous to *bandido* or *bandidu* in the major Philippine languages such as Tagalog,<sup>2</sup> Kapampangan,<sup>3</sup> Bikol,<sup>4</sup> Pangasinan,<sup>5</sup> Visaya,<sup>6</sup> Waray,<sup>7</sup> Aklanon,<sup>8</sup> and Hiligaynon.<sup>9</sup> It would seem that the term first appeared earlier during the 18th century, and that as far as its role in Cavite is concerned, the word was found in an 1827 document<sup>10</sup> as *tulisan* or *tulizan*, although the earliest appearance in a printed Tagalog dictionary was in the third edition (1890) of Fathers Juan Jose Noceda (1681-1747), S.J. and Pedro de San Lucar (b. 1707), S.J., *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala (1754)*.<sup>11</sup> In the 1870s, *tulisan* was defined as *malhechor*, *bandido*, or *ladron en cuadrilla* (malefactor, bandit or robber in band).<sup>12</sup>

Banditry was lumped together in the pre-19th and 19th century documents under the terms *bandolero/vandolero*, *bandido/vandido*, *malhechor/malechor*, *malebolo/malevolo*, *ladron*, *contraviodor*, *gente de mal vivir*, *ratero*, *fucineroso*, *foragido*, *salteador*, *saqueador*, *partida*, and *cuadrilla*, among others.

*Manhaharang* (i.e., *manghaharang* or *vandolero*, in Spanish), seemed to have been among the earliest Tagalog (i.e., Bataan Tagalog) forms for “highwayman.” It appeared in a manuscript dictionary of the 17th century.<sup>13</sup> The Laguna<sup>14</sup> and Tayabas Tagalog<sup>15</sup> forms were *lingo/maglilingo* and *mangangayao*<sup>16</sup> /*mangayao/mangharang*, meaning “to ambush,” “ambusher” or “highwayman.” Up to about 1872, a highwayman (*salteador*, in Spanish) was also known in Bulacan as *tulisan* or *maglilingo*.<sup>17</sup>

The word *tulisan*, however, was not registered in any of the dictionaries or vocabularies other than the Tagalog dictionary mentioned above, published during the 19th century, except in

the Visayan by Fr. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion (1806-1879), O.R.S.A., in his *Diccionario bisaya-español* (Manila, 1851). Here it had the exact connotation of the Spanish *bandolero* or the Tagalog *manghaharang*. In this connection, the author suspects that the Visayan term *tolisan* or *tulisan* was a direct loan from the Tagalog. It must be noted that Fr. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion took his vows as a Recollect in Spain in 1828, the year that the word *tulisan* was already in circulation in the circum-Manila area, coinciding with the appearance of the Cavite agrarian leader, Luis de los Santos alias "Luis Para" or "Luis Parang." He was also called "El Tulisan" of Imus, and branded as a "bandit," with other aggrieved farmers who were described as a "reunion de malhechores" by Spanish authorities. In fact, because of *tulisan* activities, the province of Cavite, during the Spanish period, became known as "La Madre de los Ladrones."<sup>18</sup> Most likely, Fr. Encarnacion entered the word in his dictionary in 1851 when *tulisanismo* had already become a byword in Luzon. The word was retained by Fr. Jose Sanchez del Carmen (1843-1902), O.R.S.A., who revised and added 3,000 more words to the third edition of Fr. Encarnacion's work which was published in Manila in 1885.<sup>19</sup> Incidentally, *tulisanismo* was also very rampant in the neighboring towns of Manila, Central Luzon, and even in the Visayas, at the time of Fr. Sanchez del Carmen's arrival from Spain in 1864.

The original Tagalog word *tulisan* (from *tulis*,<sup>20</sup> "pointed," descriptive of the weapon used) is now accepted in major contemporary lowland Christian languages such as Ilokano,<sup>21</sup> Kapampangan,<sup>22</sup> Pangasinan,<sup>23</sup> Bikol,<sup>24</sup> Visaya,<sup>25</sup> Waray,<sup>26</sup> Aklanon,<sup>27</sup> and Hiligaynon.<sup>28</sup> Corollary to the word *tulisan* are *malhechor* and *bandido* which necessitate further clarification. At the turn of the 19th century, *malhechor*, according to the Spanish penal code, was "one who commits a transgression of law . . . whether by habit . . . , [or] one who is accustomed to crime or dedicated to robbery [and] one who forms part of a gang of robbers or vicious men who by their instincts for the offense carries with it desolation and fear."<sup>29</sup> The legal concept was undoubtedly derived from Book XII, Title XVII, Law 7, of the *Novisima Recopilacion* in which reference was made to "habitual offenders" and "highwaymen." Other connotations for *malhechor* during the latter part of the 19th century were "one who commits any transgression of law, and especially one who commits an offense habitual-

ly”<sup>30</sup> and “a highwayman or thief who forms part of a gang”<sup>31</sup> *Bandido* or *bandolero*, during the 1880s in Spain, meant “bandit, known thief and highway robber.”<sup>32</sup> Thus, *bandolerismo* was a “kind of crime characterized by a group in a state of rebelliousness.”<sup>33</sup> Historically, the words *bandido* and *banido* assumed specific meanings. At the turn of the 19th century in Spain, *bandido* meant “bandit, robber in woods and forests, highwayman, thief in gang and a criminal rebel in an uninhabited place summoned by *bando* [decree or proclamation] and appearing before a judge.”<sup>34</sup> *Banido*, on the other hand, came from the Latin *bannitus*, the criminal proclaimed in public places for justice and sentenced for rebellion. It was equivalent to “banished” (*relegado*) or “deported” (*deportado*). In time, the summons or proclamation was called *bando* and from this word, *banido* and *bandido* were derived, the former, i.e., *banido*, eventually falling into disuse.

Four views on banditry surfaced during the preliminary research made as a background for the study of the *tulisan* activity in Cavite during the 19th century. Which view is the most feasible and adaptable to the Philippine situation was the initial problem that confronted this researcher. The first view is that banditry is a form of self-help. As may be observed elsewhere in this study, crimes against property and persons, including banditry, flowered during the 19th century in the Philippines. Petty theft and pilfering of the landlord’s harvest and property near or in the friar haciendas were common. As early as in the 18th century, carabao, cattle and horse rustling were already common occurrences. The colonial laws only considered “pilfering” as a form of crime. But the “Little Tradition” regarded it otherwise. It was the right of the poor to subsist and petty thievery was tolerated. Pitt-Rivers<sup>35</sup> observed that

For a poor man, when in need, the pilfer from the property of the rich . . . is not considered immoral. It is a far greater wrong that some should go short when others have abundance.

The second view, as expressed by Hobsbawm, regards social banditry as “little more than peasant protest against oppression

and poverty; a cry for vengeance on the rich and the oppressors, a vague dream of some curb upon them, a righting of individual wrongs."<sup>36</sup> As Cushner said, "One other response to Spanish rule in general and to the Spanish land control in particular which has not yet been studied is the significant increase in brigands (*tulisanes*) in the late 18th century,"<sup>37</sup> He further commented that

It may well be that the organized bands of highwaymen that roamed Laguna and Central Luzon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were composed of those who refused to accept the rigid class structure imposed by colonial rule. In turning to brigandage they were indirectly seeking redress against social wrongs.

Another view of banditry regards it as a revolt against the policy of the *reduccion*. The term *reduccion* assumed two meanings. The earlier meaning referred to the religious and civil aspects of friar missionary work. Later, it assumed a second meaning to describe the process of resettling or consolidating a community, thereby making a newly-founded colonial town or barrio a *reduccion*.<sup>38</sup>

It is this author's view that the resettlement of the Filipino "under the bells," making them "little brown Spaniards," was vehemently resisted by Filipinos who did not recognize Spanish authority and laws, and therefore, refused to become part of the *reduccion*. They fled to the hills and were called *ladrones monteses* ("mountain thieves"), *tulisanes* or *taga-labas* (literally, "outsiders," i.e., outside of the established *reduccion*).

With the supplanting of the gridiron pattern of towns by a decentralized grouping of houses, "many spiritual and temporal wrongs" were caused by the "Indians" and it was "impossible to learn the sins [they] committed, or the exact number of those who should pay tribute."<sup>39</sup>

Among the earliest available information on the *reduccion* in Cavite is that which comes from Luis de la Concha's report (1809) on the transfer of the residents in *sitio* Bacao (San Francisco de Malabon, now Gen. Trias) who were forced to regroup their

houses near the main street (*se obligue a los Yndios a traer sus Casas a la inmediacion del Camino*). The rationale of the relocation was to avoid exposure to the "thieves" and to facilitate spiritual administration. It was alleged that fields located at great distances from homes were "robbed" of palay during harvest as well as of carabaos and other farm animals. Concha ordered the burning of houses whose owners disobeyed instructions as was done with the *reduccion* of the new parish of Imus in 1795. The local response to this forced settlement was typified by the residents of Kawit who complained in 1803 that the *teniente de justicia* and collector of royal tributes forced them to reside in Imus "against their will . . . and to abandon their homes, family and work . . . at nighttime." In fact, *reduccion* was the persistent problem that plagued the Spanish authorities some twenty years later, during the height of the agrarian uprising led by Parang and Upay. This motivated Rafael Ripoll, then politico-military governor of Cavite, to suggest the uprooting of houses in Imus and to relocate them near the main highways. Imus, at the time served as the hideout and shelter of *tulisanes*. Ripoll even commented that Imus "would always be the rogues' den." Thus, homes were consolidated into a town in accordance with his order the following year, and repairs of dilapidated houses were prohibited as it might delay the full implementation of his order.

The view that the *reduccion* gave birth to the *tulisanes* and *tulisanismo* in Cavite is adopted in this study. The apparent dearth, if not utter lack, of primary sources on the Cavite *tulisanes* creates a problem in historical construction unlike in the case of Hobsbawn who had data on western and southern European bandits, particularly Italian and Spanish. The view of Pitt-Rivers cannot be adopted, nor can any of the western theoretical models which are not applicable to Philippine situations. In the same manner, Cushner's view is disregarded on account of insufficient first-hand documents.

Another problem encountered while undertaking this study was the lack of scholarly studies on banditry in the Philippines by both Filipino and foreign scholars, except, perhaps, that of Edilberto de Jesus on banditry and smuggling connected with the tobacco monopoly,<sup>40</sup> and that of Theodore Grossman on the *guardia civil*<sup>41</sup> which mentions banditry in passing.

Due to the lack of biodata and the trial records of captured Cavite *tulisanes*, it was difficult, if not impossible, to determine the duration of a bandit's career, the average number of gang members, or the statistics on the exact number of crimes committed. What happened in an actual assault (*asalto* or *salakay*) was only cited in passing in many *consultas* (reports of *gobernadorcillos* to the politico-military governor) which included the names of victims, personal effects robbed, and the like.

Another limitation was the insufficiency of reliable biographical sources which made it difficult to determine whether one was a true *tulisan*, a *bandido*, a patriot or a peasant rebel like Juan Silvestre alias "Juan Opay" (Upay), Baldomero de los Santos, Juan Balat, Juan de Santa Maria or Casimiro Camerino, who were unjustly labeled by based Spanish authorities as *tulisanes* or *malhechores*.

The so-called *Yrterrogatorios* dated 1880 provided some initial hints on the background of the Cavite *tulisanes* of the late 19th century, e.g., occupation, residence, and even marital status and age. For instance, in the case of the sixteen-member gang who burned two rice granaries and two houses in barrio Amaya in Santa Cruz de Malabon (Tanza), four of them were listed as farmers, ranging from twenty-three to forty-five years of age residing in various towns in Cavite. One *tulisan* from Imus was recorded as having a previous prison record in Batangas in 1877 on suspicion of complicity in robbery in band.

The *tulisanes* of Cavite could have been properly identified from the service records or *hojas de servicios*, but there were very few of these data in the Philippine National Archives. Sometimes, these records were incorporated along with the petition for promotions or expected rewards for hunting *tulisan* gangs. This was the case of Gregorio Closas Vicente, an ex-*gobernadorcillo* (1846-1847) of San Francisco de Malabon and *cuadrillero* officer, and Felix Ylagan, another former *gobernadorcillo* (of Indang, 1852-1854) and *capitan cuadrillero*. The service record of Closas Vicente mentioned two battles he fought against two *tulisan* gangs, one led by Pedro ("Munti") on 9 and 13 May 1844, when he was then a lieutenant of the municipal police. Ylagan's record showed that he

fought as captain of the municipal police against an unnamed *tulisan* band in Indang.

### The Development of "Tulisanismo"

From the various fragmentary sources the genesis of *tulisanismo* in Cavite may probably be traced to as early as the 17th century, when a great number of "slaves"<sup>42</sup> from Manila escaped to Cavite, hiding as fugitives from justice in its dense mountain ranges, "running like wild deer."<sup>43</sup> In fact, during one raid, more than twenty of them were captured and forced to work in the galley-ships in Cavite Puerto. In 1598, Antonio de Morga, chronicler-justice, reported on a great number of Filipino men and women with no fixed residences in the walled city of Manila, "vagabonds of evil life," who were already giving headaches to the Spanish authorities. Some of them lived in houses of Spaniards, while others who lived on their own used them as places for items stolen by the servants who supplied them, too, with liquor. Morga suggested that they be expelled from the city and forced to return to their own towns and parishes to work, as they not only consumed the primate city's food supply, purchased articles at lower prices and sold them at high prices, hoarded useful commodities, but also committed "other sins and did much harm."<sup>44</sup>

Adding to this breakdown in law and order were the black slaves and *cafres*,<sup>45</sup> young and old, who were brought over by the Portuguese. They were "doing a great deal of harm and breaking the law" and, as Morga predicted, would cause "the ruin of this city [Manila] and country," for they rebelled at least every year, seized vessels took flight, and committed many "outrages and thefts." For instance, in 1638, thirteen Macassar and Easilas slaves fled in a small boat furnished with arms allegedly by the Lascars, though a few days previously six of them were arrested and brought to Cavite Puerto by natives from Maragondon.<sup>46</sup>

Outside of the coastal town of Maragondon was the *visita* of Palicpican, a wasteland, where in the 17th century, gangs and criminals sought asylum and refuge: Visayans, Negroes, Mandicas, and even, Spanish deserters. They were accused of various crimes, including kidnapping of women of all nationalities.<sup>47</sup> Baccor had also been notoriously known before the British occupation as the

"Nest of Thieves." In 1763, Cavite itself was infested with "bandits" led by one or two deserters and some Mexican soldiers from the Spanish army known as *guachinangos*.<sup>48</sup> They killed the town's *gobernadorcillo* and sought sanctuary in the convent of Bacoor.<sup>49</sup> so that Brereton ordered the town destroyed. Earlier, in January 1763, the "bandits" destroyed the haciendas and cattle ranches owned by the Dominicans and Jesuits in the province.<sup>50</sup> There were official reports coming from the British that the "bandits" were active in the town of San Roque and the Hacienda of Estanzuela (now Caridad) where "a few straggling Banditite [sic] were infesting . . . and destroying the repose of our [Filipino] Friends that reside there, who furnish us with Fish and other refreshments."<sup>51</sup>

The phenomenon took significant form in the 19th century, particularly in Cavite. For instance, a Caviteño, Luis de los Santos ("Parang") or Luis Parang, was referred to as "El Tulisan." He was a *natural residente* of Kawit where he lived as a farmer. He was tall for a Filipino, of regular build, with a narrow forehead, black eyebrows, and brown eyes. Probably of *mestizo* stock, he was described as having an aquiline nose, thinly-grown beard, with several little moles above his right jawbone, and four other little ones on his right breast.<sup>52</sup> He received the *bansag* (nickname) "Para" allegedly for waiting for his enemies to shoot first. He timed his attack amidst gunsmoke (as breech and flint locks were used at that time) and as close as possible to his quarry, and then stopped, with his body as straight as possible. What usually happened was that when the smoke cleared, he was already very near his adversary, i.e., standing still (*nakapara*) and allowing himself to be shot. But he usually evaded death and thus instilled terror in his enemies. Parang was believed to have a very potent *anting-anting*.<sup>53</sup> *Tulisan cabecilla* (*tulisan* leader), as he was referred to in the Spanish sources, actually led a three-year peasant uprising in 1822 in Tagalog provinces close to Manila.<sup>54</sup> This coincided with the resurgence of peasant unrest in the Philippines when forty-eight farmers, tagged as the *reunion de malhechores*,<sup>55</sup> spread blood through the rice and sugar-producing provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Laguna, Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga, and Bataan. Interestingly, the provinces affected were all sites of vast friar haciendas. The farmers committed "robberies, cruelties, violence and assassinations." From Santa Ana, Manila, the newly-arrived governor, Mariano Ricafort, or-



dered, on 23 April 1828, the repression of *tulisanismo* because of the assassination of Lt. Estanislao Contreras.<sup>56</sup> The peasant movement was a continuation of a former struggle which originated more than eighty-years back in the agrarian revolt of 1745 in Silang, Indang, Kawit, Bacoor, and other Tagalog towns near Manila.

Thus, the so-called *tulisanes* were in fact, the troubled peasants whose survival depended solely on the lands the friars had taken. The majority of them, for lack of material resources, approached the lay-administrators of the hacienda requesting for funds with which to pay the farm expenses, and in exchange for this amount they pledged to give one-half of their harvest. However, this agreement was not implemented, and as time went on, another contract was made. By this new arrangement, the payment of the amount was advanced, whether the harvest was good or bad. Because of this stipulation, some Filipinos who could not pay back the amount advanced for the harvest were dispossessed of their lands.<sup>57</sup>

Most of the so-called *malhechores* or *tulisanes* in Cavite were, in reality, dissatisfied peasants who came from the hacienda towns owned by the religious orders such as Imus, Bacoor, San Francisco de Malabon, Santa Cruz de Malabon and Silang. The Imus peasants labeled as *tulisanes* in the Ricafort decree of 1828 included Luis de los Santos, alias "Luis Parang," who surrendered on 21 May 1828 to the Cavite Viejo *gobernadorcillo*, with Fr. Mariano Gomes de los Angeles, then parish priest of Bacoor, acting as mediator. He was granted amnesty by Ricafort and was given the privilege of going to his home as he wished but with the knowledge and permission of the provincial head. On presentation of a safe-conduct pass and the *gobernadorcillo's* authorized passport he could travel as freely as he desired. With him was Juan Silvestre ("Juan Upay") and the other hacienda peasants: Mariano Juanco, Juan de los Santos, Norberto, Casimiro, Vicente Macaan, Silverio Matanda sa Nayon, Macario de los Santos, Manuel Vicul, Felipe Vicul, Anacleto de la Cruz, Nicolas Benito, and one named Miguel. From Bacoor, actually an adjunct of the same Imus hacienda, were Silvestre ("Vitingas") and another Silvestre ("Alima").

From the other hacienda towns came the discontented peasants: Victoriano Guevara, Juan Francisco ("Canso"), Mariano

Patri, Jose ("Cumpito") of San Francisco de Malabon, Aniceto de los Santos, Mateo Corpus, Atanasio Fernandez, one Faustino, Agustin de los Santos, another named Aniceto de los Santos and Victor Barongo (Berdugo) of Kawit; Pedro Pinquit of Santa Cruz de Malabon (a Dominican-owned hacienda), Santiago, Florentino Montoya, and Pedro Galiac of Silang. They figured highly in the violent land troubles in 1745 brought about by the controversial *terrenos comunales* of Latag (later Carmona).

With Luis Parang's surrender, Ricafort, with an air of assurance, proudly reported to the Secretary of State, Grace and Justice on 10 November 1828 that in Cavite, "the confidence of the travelers has been reestablished in the vicinities."<sup>58</sup> He also reported the country's continuous public health "in its most perfect state; the great abundance of rice, the extinction of a bandit gang, and the isolation of another bandit from this province." On 13 November of the same year, he cited fifteen "fugitive criminals" still at large in Cavite who attacked in gang. He likewise strengthened and promulgated laws for the security of travelers and of the small and undefended towns.<sup>59</sup> In a letter to the Archbishop of Manila on 31 January 1829, he enjoined the parish priests to "redouble their zealous efforts to inculcate into their parishioners the proper obedience to the King and to the Authorities."<sup>60</sup>

In this connection, Fr. Nicolas de Becerra, Imus parish priest (1825-1837), was the greatest enemy of the *tulisanes*. His most outstanding achievement, according to his confrere in the Recollect order, Sadaba del Carmen, was the reduction of the *tulisanes* in Cavite.<sup>61</sup> It was he who advised the Imus *gobernadorcillo* to elect Luis Parang and Juan Upay as captain and lieutenant of the municipal police in 1832,<sup>62</sup> and the former as the town's head in 1834.<sup>63</sup> Fr. Becerra was also credited with proposing to Mundo, *cabecilla* Juan Balat's next in command, to deliver the latter dead or alive, promising him pardon for his past crimes.<sup>64</sup>

The *tulisan* problem was also related to colonial abuses. The *talacsan* (firewood pile used in manufacturing bricks and lime) and forced labor aggravated the already tense situation in Imus. For instance, to speed up the construction of the town church and convent, Fr. Nicolas de Becerra ordered that all males over twelve years old form a labor pool to be rotated weekly, according to the number and type of work agreed on. They were led by their

respective *cabezas de barangay*.<sup>65</sup> All landowners (i.e., renters) were required to donate a *talacsan* of wood for each cavan of seed, plus payment for water used in irrigation. However, this forced "donation" could be waived if paid in cash, i.e., ₱1.00 per *talacsan* and if the fee for the use of water was increased to five cavans of palay for every cavan of seed. This requirement was started in August 1826, and a total of ₱515 and four *reales* was collected by the Recollects.<sup>66</sup> By December of the same year, the *talacsanes* and manpower amounted to ₱608 and six *reales*. The collection increased in December 1827 to ₱1,725, six *reales* (75 centavos) and six *granos*. However, it decreased with the outbreak of agrarian unrest to only ₱1,187, three *reales* (37 ½ centavos) and six *granos*. This imposed contribution was suspended by the Recollect *definitorio* (Chapter) on 26 April 1829, until the arrival of their Provincial, Fr. Miguel de Jesus, so that no "donations" in wood, money, or labor were registered that year. The official Recollect reports from 1831-1833 are silent on the amount of *talacsanes* or labor force received from the Imus residents, although for December 1833, there is a statement that wood worth ₱2,500 was purchased from Manila by the Recollect Chapter on 4 January 1833.

Despite the completion of the church and convent after a period of about two years, the Imus residents were still levied the *talacsan*. The *cabezas de barangay* requested that they be exempted from the payment, but were intimidated instead by threats of penalty. Fed up with this repression, the headmen, in a clandestine meeting, appointed six of them to file a complaint against Fr. Becerra with the Court of First Instance of Cavite. Nothing came out of this legal action as some of them were either incarcerated and the others harassed and threatened by the parish priest. Some of the *cabezas* involved in the case went into hiding, while the more courageous among them proceeded with the court case, allegedly aided by an influential lady in Manila. After some years of legal battle, the Royal Audiencia of Manila decided in favor of the indio peasants. Those involved in the case remained outside of Imus until Fr. Becerra's death on 2 September 1840, which was said to have been caused by poisoning.<sup>67</sup>

At least two laws affecting the peasants were passed to redress grievances. On 30 October 1827, a circular declared that peasants

would be dispossessed of their lands if these were not cultivated and no houses were built on them.<sup>68</sup> A *bando* issued on the same day banned the imposition of monetary penalties or imprisonment for non-payment of debts but delinquents were taken and their families (owning a *quinon*, or 5.76 hectares of cultivated lands) were subjected to forced labor.<sup>69</sup> The same legislation imposed severe penalties on carabao rustling and ordered farmers to give more importance to export crops like cacao and indigo.<sup>70</sup>

As mentioned elsewhere, Luis Parang reappeared in the lime-light in the 1830s with Fr. Becerra's offer that he would be named *capitan de cuadrilleros*, with Juan Upay as lieutenant, to free Imus of the *tulisanes*.<sup>71</sup> By March 1835, Luis Parang was noticed leading a *tulisan* band once more. The gang included Juan de Santa Maria from Imus, Parang's sons, Mariano and Jacinto, his brother Carlos, and nephew, Fabian, who were all surnamed De los Santos. Mariano and Quinto Bautista were captured by the lieutenant of the municipal police, who accused them of being accomplices in the Baluarte robbery in Laguna in 1835 led by Juan Balat. Luis Parang learned about his son's imprisonment in the Imus jail, with two other companions and immediately, "like a furious lion" (*como un leon furioso*), attacked the municipal police's armory in a bodega of the Imus church, took some of the town's para-military unit as hostages, and brought them to his house located not far from Calle Real (main road).<sup>72</sup> He ordered the municipal policemen and Carlos, Fabian and Jacinto, to bring arms and ammunition which he had with his gang, and at the top of his voice shouted: "If you do not free the three prisoners, we would liberate them by attacking the *Casa Real* (municipal building)!" Then he started to set his house on fire. The two hostages (municipal policemen) who escaped from Parang's house informed the *gobnadorcillo* of Parang's serious threat. The *gobnadorcillo*, in turn, ordered his assistant (*teniente mayor*) to meet with Luis Parang or he would be held responsible for the damage, losses and bloodshed. Parang, notwithstanding the overtures, ignored all charges and insisted that if he did not take the three prisoner's with him, he would destroy the town of Imus. The *gobnadorcillo*, seeing that Parang had captured all the municipal police's weaponry, yielded and surrendered the three prisoners.<sup>73</sup>

The honor of the colonial government was at stake and the

hunt for Luis Parang began. The politico-military governor, who promised to capture and lock him up in a "prison cell in fetters," requested the Governor General to banish him from Luzon and to detain him for life in a place where escape was impossible so that he could no longer be the "atrocious and sanguinary bandit that he was in the years 1826 and 1827, spreading terror in all parts."<sup>74</sup> Luis Parang was captured in April 1835 in his hometown, where he used the Sambong forest as hideout. After a court trial, he received the death penalty from Judge Julio de Guevarra of the *Juzgado Principal* on 4 August 1835.<sup>75</sup>

With Luis Parang's capture, another *tulisan* gang numbering seven (later said to be ten, but finally proved to be only five) appeared from an uninhabited site in the upland Silang area. Upon receipt of the news, the politico-military governor mobilized the municipal police of San Francisco de Malabon, Santa Cruz de Malabon, Kawit, Imus, and Silang. For three consecutive days and nights, without returning to their respective area commands, they pursued the band.<sup>76</sup>

By 15 April 1835, it was still possible to find out with certainty the direction taken by the seven *tulisanes* who appeared after Luis Parang's imprisonment. Some claimed that they had dispersed and were killed. However, what was certain was that the terror they had instilled among the municipal police of Imus, Kawit, San Francisco de Malabon, Santa Cruz de Malabon, Indang and Silang had not vanished. The politico-military governor repeated his orders to the respective *gobernadorcillos* of the six towns to be always on "red alert" during the Lenten season, particularly on Easter Sunday, as the *tulisanes* might attack.<sup>77</sup>

By 10 April 1835, Juan Balat had emerged as the recognized leader after Parang's capture.<sup>78</sup> The other members of his gang included Mariano ("Pacio," Parang's son); Quinto Bautista, who participated in the Santa Cruz de Malabon attack; the Mendoza brothers (Hilario and Domingo); Pedro Dionicio ("Gago"), who was an accomplice of Bautista in the Tanza attack; and Macario, a defector from the *Cuerpo de la Reina* or *El Principe* in 1833.<sup>79</sup> In April 1835, Mariano was captured with two other gang members.

Meantime, Juan Balat, the leader who succeeded Luis Parang, was killed on 30 April 1835,<sup>80</sup> and three of his men, Dionicio, and the Mendoza brothers were also captured. Juan de Santa Maria, another notorious *tulisan* leader from Imus,<sup>81</sup> succeeded Balat. He had an arsenal which was accidentally discovered by two small boys in a house owned by Doña Ana Escalante in Tierra Alta (now Noveleta).<sup>82</sup>

By May 1835, the Imus municipal police, with their incessant pursuits, had diffused the *tulisan* band in the town. The capture and imprisonment of Luis Parang and three members of the Balat gang contributed substantially to the improved peace and order condition, according to the Spaniards.<sup>83</sup> On 28 August 1835, Santa Maria was reported to be in Estanzuela (then a barrio of San Roque, later Caridad) with seven men. For two years, this new leader was a notorious figure in Cavite.<sup>84</sup> In January 1837, Don Florentino Cirilo, first commissioner (*comisario*) of the Santa Cruz de Malabon municipal police was reprimanded for not offering resistance to Santa Maria's gang during an encounter in Naic. The *tulisanes*, who landed from a barca at the mouth of the Timalan river hotly pursued by the *felucca* from Corregidor Island, did not meet any armed opposition from Cirilo who was busy eating in one of the small native restaurants (*carinderias*). The latter admitted having heard two consecutive cannon shots from the bay but did nothing about it.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless, Juan de Santa Maria was finally killed in Pulang-lupa, Las Piñas, on 30 September 1837, with a shot through his temple fired by Inocente de los Santos, a municipal policeman from Pateros who served in a combined para-military operations (from Malibay, Parañaque, Pateros and Imus) against the *tulisanes*.<sup>86</sup>

"Brigandage still exists in Luzon to a considerable extent," according to Ellis in the late 1850s. Armed bands of *tulisanes* roamed the country, exacted contributions from the people and plundered property owners, with no effective intervention from the authorities, "carrying [their] depredations in quite an organized form into the suburbs of Manila itself."<sup>87</sup> In fact, out of 1,421 cases tried in 1856, 661 were cases of robbery, theft and estafa; ten of harboring bandits; four of vagrancy and bad con-

duct; nineteen of capture and use of illegal arms. Of these, 1,025 cases were committed in populated areas and 396 in isolated ones.<sup>88</sup> Earlier, in 1851-1855, out of 1,238 cases, 314 were murder cases; 390 robberies; 120 robberies with violence; and thirty-six, other offenses. In addition, there were seven cases of illegal possession of arms; twenty-one cases of horse and cattle rustling, and thirty-five vagrancy cases.<sup>89</sup>

In the 1860s, the provinces most afflicted by the *tulisanes* were still Cavite, Manila, Laguna, Batangas, and Pampanga, numbering more than thirty encounters between the government and the *tulisanes*. During this time, there were reports of three fires, sixteen attacks, and seventy-seven armed robberies, not counting animal rustling and other cases associated with the bands, although the residents were initially not physically molested. Later the residents were affected. At least thirteen of both sexes were kidnapped for ransom. As of July 1865, the injuries to Filipino residents had increased to nine deaths and thirty-four wounded; to the Spanish military, five deaths and nine wounded, and more than double that number to the para-military units such as the *tercios* (regiments), municipal police, and town militia. On the side of the *tulisanes*, there were twenty deaths, twenty-seven wounded, and an increased number of prisoners, the majority of whom were caught without any weapons in their possession.<sup>90</sup>

The frequent *tulisanes* raids in Cavite in the 1860s moved the Governor General, on 27 October 1860, to order the reorganization of the troops in the province as a separate command.<sup>91</sup> One gang preying on rich victims was posing a challenge to the new military structure, kidnapping affluent sugar merchants and releasing them after paying ransom. The base of the *tulisanes* was Laguna. In 1865<sup>92</sup> the leaders were Ciriaco Jeda and Domingo Malinis ("Tapias") of Cavite, in association with Juancho and Sabino of Cabuyao, Laguna.

The following table gives the number of *tulisanes* captured, killed in combat, and executed by the *garrote vil*, from 31 August to 23 October 1865:

Provinces & Districts	Captured bandits	Bandits killed in encounters	Bandits executed by garrote	Total
Manila . . . . .	25	4	5	34
Cavite . . . . .	5	2	—	7
Laguna . . . . .	9	1	—	10
Bulacan . . . . .	47	4	8	59
Pampanga . . . . .	25	3	—	28
Batangas . . . . .	4	2	—	6
Morong . . . . .	1	—	—	1
Nueva Ecija . . . . .	9	—	—	9
Tarlac . . . . .	14	—	—	14
Tayabas . . . . .	5	1	1	7
Grand total . . .	144	17	14	175

SOURCE: *Medidas extraordinarias contra malhechores y ladrones en cuadrilla*. AHN Ultramar 5203

Topping the list was Bulacan with fifty-nine *tulisanes*, forty-seven of whom were captured, four killed in battle and eight executed by means of strangulation by using an iron collar (*garrote*). Manila followed with thirty-four *tulisanes*, twenty-five of whom were captured, four killed in encounters, and five executed by the *garrote*. Interestingly enough, Cavite ranked among the lowest in the number of *tulisanes* for the three-month period, with only seven *tulisanes* either captured (five) or killed in the encounter (two).<sup>93</sup>

When Carlos Maria de la Torre arrived in the Philippines in 1868 as Governor General, he learned that the *tulisanes* had been robbing residents in the provinces surrounding Manila as well as in the capital and suburbs. The peaceful and loyal residents who were terrorized by the frequent raids of the *tulisanes*<sup>94</sup> looked up to the central government for help.

So frequent were the assaults at the time that Fr. Mariano Gomes de los Angeles, concurrent vicar forane of Cavite and parish



priest of Bacoor, requested for a room at the San Telmo convent of the Dominicans in Cavite Puerto to deposit the funds collected in his parish. He feared that the *tulisanes* might rob the church. This actually happened in April 1867 in Calapan (Mindoro) where the parish money was taken by "pirates."<sup>95</sup> As there were no banking institutions yet in the province, rich Caviteños hid their money under the ground in *gusi* or *tibors* (Chinese jars). Silver was occasionally kept in *bumbong* (bamboo internodes) or inserted in an unknown place in the roof.<sup>96</sup> In 1863, the Rosario convent was sacked by the *tulisanes* who carted away money and goods worth about P500.00, distributed as follows: P300, three *reales* (37 ½ centavos) and two *granos* of church funds; sixteen silver spoons; eight silver teaspoons; a silver dipper; a small silver ladle for sugar; a *nito salakot* with silver trappings worth P28.00; a pair of shaving razor worth P10.00 and ordinary street clothes (*ropa de uso*) valued at P50.00.<sup>97</sup>

The alarming drought of 1864, which endangered the palay harvest for that year, added immeasurably to the miseries of farmers who composed the majority in the hacienda towns. In fact, on 15 June 1864, the vicar forane of Cavite petitioned the Archbishop of Manila to order all the parish priests of the province to hold public prayers to induce rain in view of the extraordinary dryness that jeopardized the harvest.<sup>98</sup> The lack of rain had afflicted all the towns of Cavite as well as areas close to the primate city. Farmers cultivated their farms in an already late period and their plight was aggravated by the expected rise of prices of commodities, especially rice both polished and unhusked, and the outbreak of diseases. From the late 1820s to the early 1830s, rice per cavan was sold from ten to eleven *reales* (P1.25 to P1.37 ½) and palay from four to five *reales* (50 to 62 ½ centavos). In 1830, it was only from six to seven *reales* (75 to 87 ½ centavos) and three *reales* (37 ½ centavos) per cavan, respectively. In the late 1830s, rice per cavan cost from eight to ten *reales* (P1.00 to P1.25), while palay cost from four to five *reales* (50 to 62 ½ centavos) in the province.<sup>99</sup> A hen cost one *real* (12 ½ centavos) in the coastal towns of Cavite and from eight to ten *cuartos* (5 to 6-1/4 centavos) in the upland towns.<sup>100</sup> Rice was however, paid in accordance with the current palay prices.<sup>101</sup> However, the prices skyrocketed in the mid-1840s, when rice sold at fourteen *reales* (P2.75) per cavan and

palay at six *reales* (75 centavos).<sup>102</sup> In 1869, rice prices in Cavite varied from fifty to sixty *reales*, and palay from ten *reales* and seventy-five *granos* (P2.00) per cavan in July, going up to thirty *reales* (P3.00) in Silang, Indang, Alfonso and Maragondon.<sup>103</sup>

The Asiatic cholera epidemic proved to be an added burden to the Caviteños as it had spread in Naic before June 1864 and taken a heavy toll, including the famous Tagalog priest and author, Fr. Modesto de Castro. By July, the pestilence had hit all the coastal towns: Naic, Cavite Puerto and Bacoor. It was first noted from November 1863, to the first half of June 1864.<sup>104</sup> Fr. Gomes believed that this "terrible scourge" was, in reality, a just punishment "for or many and serious sins." As late as October 1864, he was still requesting Fr. Esteban del Rosario, coadjutor of Santa Cruz de Malabon, to pray publicly for rain for it had not yet fallen on the dry palay fields of Cavite. Otherwise, he said, the precious harvest would be lost and the poor Caviteños would suffer very much from rising prices.<sup>105</sup>

Rafael Izquierdo reported with pride in December 1872 that the numerous *tulisan* gangs "had disappeared completely."<sup>106</sup> He claimed that upon his arrival in the Philippines (to take over from Carlos Maria de la Torre) he found Manila, Cavite, Batangas, Laguna and Bulacan in *estado escepcional*, with more than 140 court cases pending on *tulisanismo*. In his time, there were only thirteen cases being tried in the Council of War in Cavite, totalling twenty cases. He attributed the critical condition before his time to his predecessor's lenient policy toward the *tulisanes*, granting them pardon and safe-conduct. The result, in his opinion, was contrary to expectation because the pardoned individuals committed new crimes, as clearly illustrated by Casimiro Camerino who was granted amnesty in 1869 but later became the head of the *Compañía de Guías de la Provincia de Cavite* which was implicated in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872.

Casimiro Camerino was a peasant leader in Imus, unjustly labeled *tulisan* by the Spanish authorities. The agrarian unrest against land abuses had resurged in the mid-1860s and Camerino, as the recognized head of the peasants, went with his dissatisfied followers (tagged as "gang" by the Spaniards) to the hills. He was supported by the Caviteños who knew the reasons for his defiance.

In fact, he was granted amnesty on 15 August 1869 at the Inus hacienda, in the presence of the then Governor General Carlos Maria de la Torre.<sup>107</sup>

De la Torre justified his action on Camerino's pardon and wrote:

I meditated very well on such an important case. I consulted the background of the *tulisanes* who already went in numerous bands. Impartial and honest persons advised me not only officially but also privately. Some of the bands inspired serious conflicts and whose seriousness added to the special circumstances in which the country was responsible . . . brought forward by the already numerous bands commended by a European officer. By the decree of 25 September 1869, I pardoned all the *tulisanes* for their past crimes who presented themselves to me.<sup>108</sup>

Camerino surrendered with his followers (dubbed "accomplices" and "harborers" in Spanish records). They were all assured of total immunity and security and were given safe-conduct.<sup>109</sup> Camerino and a number of his men were integrated into the state force and given salaries. Camerino, then colonel of the *Compañía de Guías de la Provincia*, was executed by the *garrote vil* for complicity in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872.<sup>110</sup> The Permanent Council of War which sentenced him on 8 February 1872 also meted out ten years of imprisonment to Cayetano Rufido, Carlos de Guzman, Juan Algar, Gervasio Camagio, Basilio Lucai, Elias Sallon, Juan Saico, Narciso Cabrera, Antonio Sotero, Nicolas Paras and Guillermo Marquez. Acquitted during the trial were Tranquilino Cancino, Solomon Barco, Maximino Jason, Anastacio Purificacion, Paulino Medina, Baldomero Narvaez, Casimiro Ramirez, Julian Sagalayan [Saqilayan or Sakilayan - IRM], Mariano Medina, Bernardino Masancay, Clemente Leyco, Claro Faustino, Teodoro de los Reyes, Tiburcio Mariano, Macario Naval and Enrique Saulog, all members of the *Compañía de Guías de la Provincia de Cavite*. Camerino was executed publicly at Bagumbayan (now Luneta)<sup>111</sup> in Manila, the same place where Rizal would, later on, meet his martyrdom in 1896.

Before his pardon, Camerino and his "gang" of more than fifty men used the Tampus and Salitran forests in Perez Dasmariñas as

hideouts. They scattered bamboo traps on the ground, as shown by baskets filled with offensive spiny materials and an empty jar of gunpowder which were discovered by the authorities.<sup>112</sup>

The truth of the matter was that the *tulisanes* still harassed the Spanish authorities in the 1870s despite the elimination of the Camerino band. In 1876, Governor Jose Malcampo reported that in the eight provinces comprising the circum-Manila areas including Cavite, the *tulisanes* in band committed two fires; thirty-six raids; thirty-eight robberies and eighteen assassinations; wounded twenty-nine others; and kidnapped several people. These injuries and losses did not include the cases in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija.<sup>113</sup>

In this connection, it should be noted that the major *tulisan* attacks in Cavite and the circum-Manila areas coincided with the 19th century's worst crises in Spain. The years 1827, 1847, 1866, 1876, 1886 and 1892 were marked with socioeconomic disorders.<sup>114</sup> The same was true of the years 1816, 1825, 1836, 1846, 1854, 1866, 1879, 1886 and 1894.<sup>115</sup> However, the periods 1810-1817, 1870-1875 and 1914-1920 were relative breathing spells in world economy and might have affected the fluid situation in the Philippines.<sup>116</sup>

According to the economic analysis of Vicens Vives and Oller, the War of Independence brought destruction to Spain, as this was a time when world prices plummeted rapidly, caused by factors such as the suspension of Mexican and Peruvian silver shipments, the political unrest in the New World, and the divided economic policies of ruling political parties in Spain.<sup>117</sup> The start of the Industrial Revolution in Spain increased cotton production as well as ironworks but this ended in 1843 in a crisis caused by the lowest drop in the price levels of cotton exports abroad. Leading exports were reduced by social unrest in Spanish cities precipitated by unemployed workers. The Civil War in the United States reduced considerably cotton imports from Spain and unrest erupted in the Catalan textile factories, followed by similar out-

breaks in the iron, steel, and railway industries. The world crisis became acute in 1866 and affected quite a number of credit institutions in Madrid and Barcelona. During the brief boom in 1864, precious metals entered into the public mints of Spain at the rate of 116 million *pesetas*, but suddenly plunged to a low of 57 million in 1866-1867.

"These economic circumstances," said Vicens Vives, "explain the success of the *pronunciamento* against Isabela II in 1868." Spain needed a new ministry to disentangle herself from the economic dilemma, and this came with the provisional government of 1868.<sup>118</sup> The Revolution of 1868, which coincided with the business cycle of 1866-1876, was a period when Spain was in turmoil and uncertainty. In the Philippines, this was reflected in the liberal regime of Carlos Maria de la Torre, followed by the reactionary rule of Rafael Izquierdo during which time the Cavite meeting took place. The birth of Filipino nationalism reckons with the consequent execution of Fathers Jose Burgos, Jacinto Zamora and Mariano Gomes de los Angeles on 17 February 1872 on charges of complicity in the mutiny.

The economic crisis continued with the devaluation of the Mexican silver peso in 1874, from one peso to \$1.005 (U.S.). It was devalued to \$0.976 in 1875, to \$0.776 in 1891, to \$0.685 in 1892, to \$0.499 in 1894, and to \$0.475 in 1897. The Great Depression of the 1880s coincided with the Asiatic cholera epidemic and the worst typhoons and earthquakes in the Philippines. In 1892, the prosperity of Spain collapsed as a result of the fall of Spanish wines and iron in the foreign market. The further devaluation of the Spanish *peseta* became more serious in 1892, when the pound sterling increased in value to 29.62 *pesetas* and then rose again in the Spanish-American War of 1898 to 39.24 *pesetas*.<sup>119</sup>

From the data on the pre-19th century development, it appears that the *tulisan* problem during the earlier colonial period in Cavite consisted of sporadic, unorganized and nondescript activities by all kinds of disoriented elements in society. In other words, there was simply no social rationale behind this phenomenon. However, by the 19th century, the *tulisanes* activities had become more sophisticated in the sense that they were better

planned, organized and coordinated. They were led by men who were not merely "primitive rebels" but were also from the ranks of the upper levels of native society. Moreover, the activities became more and more focused on peasant grievances and unrest. Usually, they were associated with the various hacienda economies established in the province. In effect, *tulisanismo* in the 19th century assumed the character of an indigenous social movement.

### The Extent of the Tulisanes Activities

A British writer who resided for some time in the Philippines categorically claimed that there were two kinds of *tulisan*: the ordinary one known as *dugong-aso* (dog's blood) and the *tulisan pulpul* (blunt brigand), "who robs, uses no unnecessary violence, but runs away if he can, and only fights when he must."<sup>120</sup> To these may be mentioned another kind of *tulisan* who preyed mainly on animals like carabaos, cattle or horses, either for sale or for food or both. Cattle rustlers were gangs with their respective chiefs, usually former *cuadrilleros* or *cabezas de barangay* who broke off relations with the government and were in cahoots with some clerks of the municipal building.<sup>121</sup> These gangs fabricated documents of the animals they robbed, forging the *gobernadorcillo* and the *juez de sementera's* (inspector of the fields) signatures and imitating the town's seal in clay, wood, or metal. They were in constant touch with other similar gangs in far-off places with whom they exchanged the pilfered animals, pretending that they were being transported to their destination. Their activities deprived the towns of the much-needed draft animals for farming.

As far as could be determined, the earliest available document on animal rustling in the Philippines can be traced back to the court trial, on 7 November 1739, of Joseph de Leon ("Manhabol"), and Joseph de la Rossa ("Amani Guzman") of Tabuco (now Cabuyao, Laguna), Balthazar de los Reyes of Parañaque, and Pedro Avela of Biñan — all carabao, cattle and horse rustlers who transacted the illegal sale and slaughter of cows and carabaos in the Dominican ranches of Biñan, Laguna.<sup>122</sup> In fact, the same hacienda suffered the loss of more than six thousand head of cattle over a span of twenty-five years (1724-1749).<sup>123</sup>

The British occupation of Manila in 1762-63 aggravated the serious shortage of draft animals when

the limited cattle ranching that was practiced in the eighteenth century was dealt a final blow. The region around Manila and Cavite provinces was the scene of numerous devastating battles in which rice fields were destroyed and carabao and cattle slaughtered.<sup>124</sup>

McHale not only noted the lack of supply due to large-scale butchering of animals during the British invasion but also the "subsequent decimation by outbreaks of rinderpest disease."<sup>125</sup> To put a stop to the further paralyzation of agriculture brought about by rampant thievery and needless deaths, Governor Jose Basco y Vargas issued a Superior Decree on 29 October 1782,<sup>126</sup> consisting of twenty-five articles, to protect the dwindling supply of work animals. It was decreed that nobody could sell or purchase carabao of any size or sex without the previous knowledge and intercession of the town's *alcaldes de naturales* (*gobernadorcillos*). The seller, whether or not from another town, could not transact without drawing up a contract signed before the town clerk, in the presence of two respectable residents and the town *alcalde*. The buyer was provided with a certificate duly authenticated by the clerk affirming the date of sale, name of the buyer, the brand of the animal, and the selling price, which were entered in the town's registry book. Anybody who stole from one to three carabaos for the first time or on many occasions received 200 lashes publicly, plus ten years' imprisonment at hard labor in Manila. The same penalties were meted out to those confirmed to have butchered from one to three carabaos and sold them in the form of salted meat, dried or jerked beef in large or small quantities without evidence of ownership. He who killed his own carabao, whether male or female, without any reliable written authority from the town's *alcalde de naturales* was meted out four years of hard labor in chains, with ration but without pay. The penalty included also punishment for recipients of some portions of the carabao's meat, whether salted, dried or jerked. The severest punishment, which was death, was imposed on those who robbed four carabaos or more. As an incentive, denouncers or spies who gave information on carabao rustlers or places where carabao meat was salted, dried or made into jerked beef received a reward

of P6.00.<sup>127</sup>

McHale theorized on the importance of this ban:

The 1782 ban is of significance since it indicates a concern on the part of the local Spanish authorities for a domestic production, even before the organization of the *Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais*. This interest, however, might be an historical carry-over from earlier Spanish concern with the technique of draft-animal plow agriculture. While a categorical statement cannot be made in this regard, it appears highly likely that the early Spanish arrivals were responsible for the widespread domestication of the water buffalo and its specialized use as a draft animal for plowing and, perhaps, plow agriculture itself. Support for this theory is available in the fact that no historical records indicate the existence of draft-animal plow agriculture when the Spanish first arrived and no artifacts exist to establish substantial budget of evidence from both the historical and linguistic point of view which indicates that domestication of the carabao for specialized agricultural uses and plow agriculture is post-Spanish. *It also might be noted that the Spanish were responsible for the introduction of the plow and the draft ox into Mexico.* (Underscoring mine - IFM)<sup>128</sup>

Not only were the carabaos important for their meat but also for their hide which, in 1769, was already noted by an American who observed that

Great numbers of Buffaloes are in the country both tame & wild ones whose hides are sold at the moderate price of three rials (37½ cents) & when tanned at about 7 rials (or 87½ cents). I have not yet seen any of their hides but are informed they are of a good quality. They preserve them with ashes but would salt them if any person applied therefore. Only one slaughter house is at Manila in which about 100 head of cattle are killed per day. Not buffaloes but cows or oxen there being a fine of 500 dolars for killing there a buffalo. At Cavite 10 or 12 per day so that a person applying might soon procure a large quantity of salted kind of bark. On examining they appear to be of good quality & well tanned. They have also a root of a poisonous quality which they procure from China to tan them with. The Chinese take large quantities of them to China . . .<sup>129</sup>

Subsequent Spanish governors general, realizing the significance of the carabao ban of 1782, which was approved by the royal cedula of 16 November 1805, took follow-up steps. On 30 May 1807, Governor Mariano Fernandez Folgueras called upon all the provincial heads, particularly of Cavite, Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga, Bataan, Batangas, and Laguna, to comply with the original decree.<sup>130</sup> This was re-echoed by Governor Juan Martinez on 3 March 1821 to protect the carabaos "that serve the farmers of these Islands on the difficult farm work"



and urging that the abuses on these animals be stopped as they were "the feet and hands of the farmers" and the backbone of agriculture.<sup>131</sup>

But two years after the imposition of the carabao ban, animal rustling was still very much a problem in Manila and many towns in the surrounding provinces. The first director of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country, Ciriaco Gonzales, observed with keen perception that

It is horrible to see, as we are seeing and feeling all days, such deaths, assassinations, robberies, and other crimes that are committed in the vicinities and nearby provinces. Stealing of animals have come to such a point that no farmer is secure of their carabaos, because at the slightest carelessness they are stolen and killed.<sup>132</sup>

Cavite was not spared from animal thievery. Her vast friar-owned estates were a rich source of work animals. The Dominican-run hacienda of Santa Cruz de Malabon, for instance, had 500 head of cattle of various sizes and sexes, which came from the *estancias* of the same order in Biñan and Santa Rosa, Laguna. The animals suffered from untimely death caused by typhoons and *ladrones monteses* (mountain thieves). Only 50 head of calves were left in 1784.<sup>133</sup> In 1816, carabao rustling was still the leading concern of this hacienda town, according to its parish priest, Fr. Narciso Manas, and had been as difficult to eradicate as usury, gambling and concubinage since 1780.<sup>134</sup>

There were instances when, in 1814, stolen carabaos from as far as Pateros were illegally transported to Inus, their brands deliberately defaced, altered, and then sold for an extremely low price by using a falsified certificate of ownership.<sup>135</sup> Carabaos and cows which were stolen from far-off Maragondon were discovered in the Malitlit and Camachele Passes by the river bank in Santa Cruz de Malabon.<sup>136</sup>

Notorious among the Cavite animal rustlers in the 1830s were Fruto de los Santos ("Bela"), Juan Legaspi ("Calabao" or "Carabao"), and Eusevio de los Santos. Fruto de los Santos, who was deeply involved in the attack on several Parañaque residents along

the Zapote Road, was eventually apprehended by the Kawit *cuadrilleros* along the Binakayan River.<sup>137</sup> He was officially charged with cattle rustling on 3 August 1835.<sup>138</sup> Legaspi was an escapee from the Cavite provincial jail in December 1830 and a much "wanted man" for cattle rustling in Batangas where a warrant of arrest for his capture was issued by the provincial governor. He was finally arrested by the Imus municipal police, also in Binakayan, for participation in the Zapote raid.<sup>139</sup> De los Santos was officially accused in the Manila fiscal's office of carabao theft on 12 May 1835.<sup>140</sup>

The places most frequently attacked in Cavite by the carabao rustlers were Tabon in Maragondon, widely-known in the province for animal breeding, and isolated spots on the main highway from Imus (i.e., the present Dasmariñas) to Silang, peopled principally by farmers and stockbreeders.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, Imus, encircled by other hacienda towns and farmlands of Bacoor, Cavite Viejo, San Francisco de Malabon, Biñan, San Pedro de Tunasan, and Muntinglupa, was not only an excellent place for livestock breeding but also an ideal place where there was relative freedom and ease in the illegal conveyance and disposal of all kinds of stolen animals in the province and thereabouts.<sup>142</sup>

Up until the First Phase of the Philippine Revolution (1896-1897), the widespread practice of cattle rustling continued to be the irritating problem that faced the local authorities in the upland as well as the lowland towns.<sup>143</sup> Most of these were stray animals left by their owners during the confusion. For instance, during the battle of Pasong Santol in Perez Dasmariñas in March 1897, a great number of carabaos and horses left by their masters (mistaken for Filipino soldiers by the Spaniards) were killed as they wandered among the trenches during the height of the encounter.<sup>144</sup>

A good many of the so-called *tulisanes* were former soldiers, but after committing some peccadillo and fearing discovery and punishment they went "to the wilds [i.e., jungles - IRM] . . . joined or organized a troop from among the bad characters in the neighborhood of their hiding place."<sup>145</sup> A perceptive foreigner corroborates this observation in these words:

Most of the *Tulisanies* (sic) are deserters from the native regiments, and it is said that the system at present in force of obliging (with a few exceptions) all the Indian men of the district to serve eight years in the Army, [i.e., *quinto* - IRM] discharging them with neither a pension, nor the knowledge of any peaceable calling, nor perhaps much inclination to work, adds not a little to their number. As a general rule, however, they do not interfere much with Europeans.<sup>146</sup>

Bandit gangs with a fixed organization of men who made banditry and its dangers their only permanent job did not exist, but in each province, four or six deserters or former criminals found themselves "at home" with the most immoral of every town, a "confused crowd of miserables"<sup>147</sup> who worked together and divided the booty among themselves. The rest returned to their hideouts or to their homes without the knowledge of the local authorities.

Others claimed that these *tulisanes* were the alienated group "fleeing from justice."<sup>148</sup> Fr. Ruiz was certain that the cattle rustlers as mentioned elsewhere in this paper were *ex-cabezas de barangay* or members of the municipal police.<sup>149</sup> For example, Macario of the Juan Balat band in 1835 was a defector from the *Cuerpo de la Reina* (or *El Principe*) where he served as a military conscript (*quinto*) in 1833.<sup>150</sup> Mariano Santos, an associate of Baldomero de los Santos was a deserter from one of the Spanish army units.<sup>151</sup>

One of the enduring features linked with the *tulisanes* of Cavite was the widespread folk belief in the *anting-anting* and the *manoso*. *Anting-anting* is most probably derived from the reduplicated Malay word *anting* meaning "pendent; hanging and swaying (of long objects)"<sup>152</sup> and not from the popular folk etymology which claims that it is derived from the Latin word *anti*, "against," i.e., "against dangers."<sup>153</sup>

This ancient folk belief had presumably gained wide acceptance in the early 18th century so that a respected Spanish priest took notice of this practice:

It is very usual for the Indians to carry about them various things in order that they might obtain marvelous effects: for example, *written formulas, prayers, vitiated or interspersed with words arranged for their evil*

intent, herb roots, bark, hairs, skin, bones, stones, etc., so that they may not be killed, or apprehended by justice, or to obtain wealth, women, or other things. (Under-scoring mine - IRM)<sup>154</sup>

Ronquillo<sup>155</sup> mentions at least eight kinds of *agimat* or *abubot* (amulets) used by the *tulisanes* of Cavite. These were the *kuwintas ng abad* (abbott's necklace),<sup>156</sup> which was believed to have beads as large as the *kalumbibit* (*Caesalpinia crista* L.) seeds. The largest was similar to the *bayugo* (*Ertada phaseoloides* [Linn.] Merr.) fruit, which assured one of safety from all dangers. Placed in any part of the body these served as "anti-bullet" charms: *baro ng tiyoyoy*<sup>157</sup> (Christ's shroud), *Agnus dei* (lamb of God), *Santisima Trinidad* (Holy Trinity), and *sinag ng kalis* (chalice rays). The *Libro ng Hesuita* (Jesuit book)<sup>158</sup> was given the same value as the *sa-panyo* (power of the handkerchief) whose owner could be transported easily from any place by merely placing it on the ground. Stepping on it brought the possessor to any place he wished. The *sa-gabe* (taro power) made the owner water-proof even in the heaviest of rains or while under water.

As to efficacy (*bisa*), the following were utilized as counter-*anting-antings*: *tigalpo* or *tagalpo* which stunned the wearer's foe and kept him motionless just by shouting the formula;<sup>159</sup> *tagibulag* or *tagabulag*<sup>160</sup> made one invisible; *gayuma*, a love potion; and *pangpalamig-loob* dispelled anger and threats of danger.

Father Ruiz, who made a study of the Filipinos in the 1880s observed that

It is not rare for malefactors and *tulisanes* to carry in a little pocket at the neck, but hidden, a small stone which they say is from the sacred stone of an altar, holy cloth, . . . from the church . . . or some mysterious prayers with symbols, whose completely unintelligible meanings they ignored.<sup>161</sup>

It was common knowledge that famous *tulisanes* of Cavite owned several varieties of *anting-antings*. These included the 19th century *tulisanes* of Imus: Luis Parang, Juan de Santa Maria, Casimiro Camerino, and Baldomero de los Santos of Silang.<sup>162</sup> Likewise, *Capitan Yl* (Yldefonso Tirona, four-time Imus *governadorcillo*, 1859-1865, father of Guillermo Tirona, first public

school teacher of the same town), possessed unusual powers against the *tulisanes*. *Capitan Yl*

... wielded his *anting-anting* most efficaciously, it was believed, so that robbers and bandits living in nearby forests never dared to molest the townspeople during his terms of office. . . . It is said that he could cross any body of water, a river . . . by spreading out his handkerchief, and thus surprise robbers out of their wits. Cattle rustlers became thunderstruck upon sight, or they could just move the animals in circles and get nowhere when within shouting distance. So cattle, hogs, and chickens remained secure. Captain Yl was reputed to go out in any hour of the night in pursuit of bandits and malefactors. . . .<sup>163</sup>

Miguel Peleo, *teniente comisario* from Banaba, Indang, who died of a gunshot wound during the attacks of Baldomero de los Santos in *sitio* Palomlom, Alfonso, was believed to have several *anting-anting*, among them the *sintas ng abad* (abbott's lace).<sup>164</sup>

*Manoso*, probably from the Spanish *manosear*, "to rumple clothes" or simply from *mano*, "hand," was another folk belief in Cavite which contributed to the making of strong and powerful *tulisanes*. After dressing the infant, his hands were crossed over on the abdomen by means of a cloth band wound around the waist. The left end of the abdominal band was tied to the right fist, the left fist to the right end, and then both ends were very tightly fastened together (*suman*-fashion) with a big cloth wrapper. The baby's real strength was shown when it struggled while being tied in a sort of straitjacket way. It was alleged that some infants' *manoso* did not last long as the infants were able to extricate themselves earlier than expected.<sup>165</sup>

Strategy, like the charms, contributed to the making of a *tulisan*. From the extant documents can be deduced certain *modus operandi* employed by the Cavite *tulisanes* when attacking a place. It appears that they had rudimentary knowledge of intelligence work, probably derived from survival experiences acquired through the years. Apparently, not only did they have profound knowledge of the sanctuary, escape routes, safe places, and terrain, but also the presence or absence of weapons in the *poblacion* before staging an assault. This was the Maragondon experience during the attack of Goyong Mangajan, Agustin Munic, and their bands in the 1820s.<sup>166</sup> The *tulisanes* also had Manila contacts

who gave them the much-needed details of planning before any raid, e.g., information regarding details of houses, rich Filipinos or mestizos in the circum-Manila area. MacMicking noted that

These robbers plunder the country in bands perfectly organized, and bodies of them are generally existing within a few miles of Manila – the wilds and forests of the Laguna being favourite hunts, as well as the shores of the Bay of Manilla, from which they can come by night without leaving a trace of the direction they have taken, in bodies of ten and twenty men at a time in a large banca. *They have apparently some friends in Manila, who plan out their enterprises, send them intelligence, and direct their attacks; so that every now and then they are heard of as having gutted some rich native or mestizo's house in the suburbs of Manila, after which they generally manage to get away clear before the alguacils come up.* (Underscoring mine – IRM)<sup>167</sup>

Both *tulisanes* and their adversaries (the government troops) always moved at night<sup>168</sup> and staged continuous sallies under cover of darkness<sup>169</sup> using disguises or strategies to advantage. Not surprisingly, however, the 19th century Cavite *tulisanes* already knew the value of sporting disguises. In one raid, fifteen *tulisanes* donned military uniforms and ambushed a Batangueño *cabeza de barangay*. They took away his money, horses, and weapons.<sup>170</sup> Another Cavite *tulisan*, Ysidoro Cayetano, led an attack on Imus attired in ordinary common folk clothes to hide his *tulisan* identity.<sup>171</sup>

Planned attacks were synchronized with religious fiestas, particularly during Holy Week or town festivals. On one occasion, during the Lenten season, fire was even employed as a diversionary tactic to add confusion during the attack. An unknown *tulisan* was allegedly seen burning houses in Silang during the evening procession on a Palm Sunday in 1833. Hotly pursued, he was nevertheless able to escape. The conflagration started between ten and eleven o'clock in the evening and fifteen houses were gutted and some pieces of valuable furniture and jewelry taken.<sup>172</sup>

Thus, the Spanish authorities were not remiss in giving constant admonition and warning regarding possible *tulisan* raid during the Lenten season. For instance, the politico-military governor of Cavite at the time, Rafael Ripoll, issued a stern warning to the province's municipal police to return to their respective towns

during the Holy Week, lest the *tulisanes* who ambushed several individuals in San Francisco de Malabon "give some surprise attack."<sup>173</sup> In fact, during the height of Luis Parang's raids, the same provincial governor emphasized to the town *gobernadorcillos* that they "redouble their vigilance and pursuit" during the pre-Lenten season.<sup>174</sup>

During Good Friday in 1890, San Roque was threatened by a fifty-member *tulisan* band coming from Salitran, Imus (now in Dasmariñas), under Jose Espiritu ("Joseng Kastila") who was secretly bribed by Fr. Jose Maria Learte, Imus parish priest, to create trouble for the *principalia* of Cavite Puerto. This information reached the *ilustrados*, who included Esteban Jose, who immediately sent his son, Marcos, to Imus to see Licerio Topacio and Ventura Gavino, both influential in the town, to persuade "Joseng Kastila" not to pursue the attack on San Roque. Through the efforts of Topacio and Gavino and the payment of ₱2,500, which was five times greater than the Imus priest's offer, the *tulisanes* cancelled the planned attack even as the procession of the Holy Sepulchre was suspended by the then *gobernadorcillo*, Raymundo Samonte (1889-1890) of Cavite Puerto.<sup>175</sup>

As a precautionary step, the authorities, realizing that the *tulisanes* directed their raids during holidays and fiestas when towns usually were abandoned, ordered that two-thirds of the municipal police of towns should guard their respective municipal buildings.<sup>176</sup> From actual records, the troubled peasants of Cavite who were involved in the *tulisanes* activities actually preyed on their traditional enemies -- the friars,<sup>177</sup> private hacienda owners,<sup>178</sup> ambulant Chinese merchants,<sup>179</sup> and, in the process, also on the town's men of wealth and prestige, law enforcer former and incumbent *gobernadorcillos*, *cabezas de barangay*, *jueces de policia*, and foreigners.<sup>180</sup> The number composing a typical *tulisan* band ranged from four to fifteen.<sup>181</sup> An exception was the fifty-men gang of Camerino. After Luis Parang's imprisonment, one reported that a *tulisan* band consisted usually of five, seven, or ten.<sup>182</sup>

But the *tulisanes* did not always attack within the boundaries of Cavite. In fact, there were cases when some of them reached as far as the provinces of Manila, Laguna, Batangas, and Morong.

Florentino Santos ("Pontino Culipay") and his band of five attacked Parañaque;<sup>183</sup> Juan de Santa Maria of Imus was killed by the Pateros municipal police in 1837.<sup>184</sup> The latter, in fact, moved from place to place and resided in Malibay,<sup>185</sup> Pateros, Taguig, Bagongbayan (Taguig), and Pulang-lupa (Las Piñas).<sup>186</sup> Both Santa Maria and Alima hid in barrio Barranca in Mandaluyong,<sup>187</sup> then known as San Felipe Neri; the former frequently leading a *tulisan* band, and the latter, killing a number of persons. Kidnapping sugar merchants and prominent local officials in Laguna were committed by Cavite *tulisanes* Ciriaco Jeda, Domingo Malinis ("Tapias") in conspiracy with Juancho and Sabino of Cabuyao in 1865.<sup>188</sup> Early the same year the Domingo Malinis gang kidnapped a San Pedro resident for a ransom of ₱6,000.00.<sup>189</sup> Prominent residents of Biñan (Laguna) like *Captain* Mariano Potenciano, *cabeza* Cecilio Salandanan, Lt. Lucio de Arinda, and Rufino of Ybayo were all kidnapped and ransomed for money, probably by the same gang in 1865,<sup>190</sup> while Ciriaco Gana, another Biñan *principalia* member, was kidnapped by Espiridion of Silang for a ransom of ₱900.00 on 8 April 1892.<sup>191</sup> The nearby province of Batangas was not spared by the Cavite *tulisanes*. Juan Legaspi ("Calabao") rustled carabao as far as Batangas and was "wanted" by the local authorities."<sup>192</sup> In 1849, Sto. Tomas, Batangas was raided by the *tulisanes* led by Fortunato de la Cruz of Silang, Cavite and Mariano Cuping of Lian, Batangas (the latter also raiding as far as Indang, Cavite). In addition, the duo captured the *gobernadorcillo* and other prominent residents.<sup>193</sup>

Felix Ylagan of Indang, commissioned by the Cavite governor in 1855, successfully captured four *tulisanes* in Mt. Matipoc in Batangas.<sup>194</sup> On 15 April 1865, two unarmed members of the Jeda gang were jailed by the government troops after discovering that they received a sufficient amount of money as booty in the two robberies committed as far as Lipa in Batangas and Biñan in Laguna.<sup>195</sup> Maximo Saranlao, farmer-turned-*tulisan* from Imus, was imprisoned in the Batangas public jail for complicity in a robbery committed in the province in 1877.<sup>196</sup>

Cavite had always been considered by the Spanish authorities as the lair and sanctuary of undesirable men since the beginning of colonial rule. Imus, particularly during the Parang and Cernino years, was known as the "den of *tulisanes*." In August 1827,



Fr. Nicolas Becerra de la Virgen de la Montaña (1780-1840) wrote Mariano Ricafort, then governor of the Philippines, about the need for resettling all the Imus residents who lived in the countryside and farms.<sup>197</sup> Because of its distance from the authorities, some of them, according to him, had joined the "gangs and bandits and assassins," and others, because of fear, harbored them. Thus, he proposed the destruction of their homes to force them to live in the town proper. This proposal was, however, disapproved by the provincial governor of Cavite. Hence, instead of using force, Fr. Becerra made it a point, through the hacienda overseas, to dispossess the *inquilinos* of lands for non-payment of land rents, or other causes and to give the lands to new tenants on condition that they build their houses in the assigned lots which were designed as part of a "reconcentration" or "zoning" system to separate the rebels from the non-rebels.<sup>198</sup>

The terrain aided the numerous *tulisan* gangs in their activities. They could actually terrorize the residents and compel them to provide resources as well as cover from the authorities.<sup>199</sup> This was earlier noted in 1828 in a letter mentioning "the craggy mountains where they [*tulisanes*] took refuge which could not be reconnoitered or penetrated, located by the water stations; to which are collected in one mass this kind of people." They need not enter the *poblacion* for food for rootcrops and rice were always available for food. They were also protected and aided by spies and the townspeople.<sup>200</sup>

By the beginning of the 20th century, the situation had substantially remained as expressed by a source:

The province of Cavite for generations past has been notorious for the ladron bands that have preyed upon its people. The terrain of the province had much to do with the difficulty of stamping out the past. Its numerous jungles and ravines make it difficult of stamping (*sic*) out troops to move quickly from one point to another, while they offer numerous hiding places for the robber bands.<sup>201</sup>

In effect, the river networks and thick forested areas in the uplands and lowlands acted as natural hideouts, passageways, stopovers, and escape routes. The coastal towns of Binakayan in Kawit, adjacent to the Zapote and Banalo Rivers in Bacoor, and the bay

served as convenient exit points. These were camouflaged by thick forests in Talaba, Bacoor, and on the fringes of Zapote River, where numerous ambushes were made, especially along the area to Muntinglupa. Tampus in Imus served as an impenetrable hideout for all the *tulisanes*, including Luis Parang. Paso Ladron in San Francisco de Malabon by the sea and in front of cultivated farms were scenes of many *tulisan* attacks and the barrios of Amaya and Bunga served as passageways from the bay and San Francisco de Malabon, respectively.<sup>202</sup> So did Naic in numerous encounters.<sup>203</sup>

The Spanish authorities experienced extreme difficulty in solving *tulisanismo* in Cavite because of the forested terrain. It was "very difficult to reach because of its location," like, for instance, those found in the lower reaches of Salitran. In the 1830s immense forests covered some lakeshore towns in Laguna. Another natural hideout was the forested area below San Francisco de Malabon as far as Indang, and from Santa Cruz de Malabon through the length of Naic, Indang, Maragondon, and Looc Hacienda (Nasugbu) up to Batangas. The presence of a complex network of twelve rivers encircling Cavite, aptly called *Los Doce Apostoles*,<sup>204</sup> with banks camouflaged by thick vegetation, contributed greatly to the growth of *tulisanismo*. In fact, most of the houses in Imus, a favorite hideout, were located near ravines and *esteros* which were ideal habitation of *tulisanes*.<sup>205</sup> The thick mangrove swamps in the coastal towns likewise provided a natural haven for fleeing *tulisanes*.<sup>206</sup> For example, when the animal rustler, Juan Legaspi ("Calabao"), was pursued by the authorities from his house in Binakayan, he hid among the mangrove swamps in front of the *Polvorista* (powder magazine) of Bacoor and was not discovered.

In the same way, the thick bamboo clumps, in addition to the thick vegetation screening the rain forests, also gave natural protection to the *tulisanes*. Thus, in the first decade of the 19th century, cutting of bamboo groves along the Zapote River bank was part of the resettlement plan of the government because the left bank of the river served as hideout for the *malhechores*.<sup>207</sup> The provincial head of Cavite ordered the deliberate destruction and cutting of the thick bamboo groves, allegedly "for the use of *Indios*."<sup>208</sup>

The total destruction of bamboo groves along the roads from the Zapote River up to the new stone bridge (built in 1817) and Talaba paved the way for the construction of houses in the same area. To prevent the repetition of countless crimes committed against persons and properties, mostly on travelers, a checkpoint was set up.

Besides the mangrove swamps and bamboo groves, the thick cogons also gave natural cover, just as the depth of the rivers, which were of considerable distance from the *poblacion*, created difficulties for the pursuing forces.<sup>209</sup>

In the upland areas, especially in Indang and Maragondon, both bustling and progressive towns engaged in the abaca, coffee, and lumbang oil business in the 19th century, the rivers and forested areas served equally the same purpose for the *tulisanes* as the lowland towns. The Cañasola (Ulilang Kawayan) River, with its forested areas, had always been the stopover point for *tulisanes* after the raids. So were the Caycuit forest in Indang, and the Parian River in Goyong-goyong, Maragondon, which were favorite scenes of *tulisan* surprise attacks. The Maragondon and Batas Rivers were natural avenues of communication, and *sitio* Uugong (Capantayan) provided the dual role of entrance and exit to Manila Bay. Sapang (later, part of Ternate) by the sea served as protective cover and passageway in and out of the province, while Caputatan, contiguous to the Naic hacienda, served as an attack area especially during *tianguis* days. Masilao (later Amadeo) and Embarcadero (later, part of Carmona) were used as hideouts. The uninhabited areas between Silang and Imus, where farmers and animal raisers lived, were common points of frequent ambushes by rustlers and robbers.<sup>210</sup>

The first means adopted to protect the towns included the establishment of certain security agencies. The *Alcaldes de Hermandad* (brotherhood judges) were put up pursuant to King Philip II's royal cedula for the Indies, which appointed respectable residents as judges, providing them with weapons to fight off the bandits when they appeared in the districts.<sup>211</sup> During Philip IV's reign in the first half of the 17th century, some honorable residents called *alcaldes de barrio* (barrio judges) appointed the *cuadrilleros* (municipal police) and provided them with arms,

e.g., lances and arquebuses.<sup>212</sup> In some districts of Luzon a kind of armed municipal police was appointed by the respective *ayuntamientos* (town councils). They were provided with lances or carbines and given modest compensations. They were stationed in the barrios for the protection of properties and harvests and were exempted from personal services and community duties.

As Spain was extending her territory and authority, and new provinces were being formed in the Philippines, regular troops were judged insufficient so that the creation of some local forces and militias became imperative. The new agency was called the *Compañías de Dotacion* (Endowed Companies), composed of enlisted civilians, armed in every possible way, but paid meagerly. It was commanded by sergeants of the veteran regiments and subject to the provincial governors (*alcaldes mayores*).

But the first public para-military unit organized in the Philippines to deal with the *tulisanes* was the *Cuerpo de Seguridad Publica* (Public Security Corps). It was created by virtue of a decree issued by the Superior Civil Government on 16 September 1847. It was composed of six brigades (later eight). This decree was to complement the Royal Order of 14 June 1846 of the Ministry of the Navy, Commerce and Overseas Government authorizing the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines to establish a police force in Manila and suburbs. Approved by the Royal Order of 30 April 1848, the *Cuerpo de Carabineros de Seguridad Publica* (Carabineers of Public Security Corps) had three main objectives: prosecution of the *tulisanes* and delinquents; maintenance of peace, order and security; and vigilance in the implementation of laws, ordinances and circulars of good government and policies.<sup>213</sup>

In many towns, a municipal force charged with guarding the municipal building, the custody of prisoners, vigilance and police service, and prosecution of *tulisanes* had been established earlier although its organization did not follow a standard plan. In fact, companies of *cuadrilleros* were created in Cavite on 30 May 1807.<sup>214</sup> Then the Royal Order of 8 January 1836 was charged with the formation of regulations for the troops of municipal

police, but the order was not implemented. Later, a Royal Order of 12 October 1850 was issued ordering that the first measure be implemented. On 16 April 1855, the Superior Civil Government's decree was issued reorganizing the municipal police.<sup>215</sup>

The municipal police was divided into squads composed of a corporal and six members; each squad was commanded by a lieutenant. In the towns in which the force exceeded this number of squads, a captain was appointed. In those where it did not, there was always a lieutenant to command it. In others, there was a sergeant to carry on the shift. In some towns, the municipal police theoretically maintained a mounted service, but only for captains and lieutenants who could provide horses. The provincial heads provided the most economical means of arming and giving munitions to the municipal police. One-third was given firearms and the rest, lances, sabers, or long daggers (*talibong*). The arms and ammunition were guarded in the municipal building under the responsibility of the *gobernadorcillo* who distributed only what was necessary for the service.

The carabineers (*carabineros*), on the other hand, were composed of a *comandante* (class of infantry chiefs), an adjutant, and a brigade sergeant. The Corps was divided into six brigades commanded by army officers (sub-altern class) under the general sub-inspector of the Army.<sup>216</sup>

As early as 23 October 1853, a Royal Order was issued instructing the Governor General to create a *Cuerpo de Guardias Civiles* (Civil Guards Corps). On 9 October 1855, the Governor General proposed the establishment of the *Guardia Civil* but the economic situation delayed its creation by several years until a big number of *tulisanes* which infested Luzon forced the replacement of the *Partidas de Seguridad Publica* (Public Security Units) and the *Tercios de Policia* by a more effective force. In 1867, a commission to edit a plan of regulation based on Spain's *Guardia Civil* was created. The revisions were finally submitted to the Spanish Ministry of War on 15 June 1867 and was approved by the Royal Order of 24 March 1868.<sup>217</sup>

In 1868, the first regiment (*tercio*) of civil guards was established for the provinces of Luzon. The second regiment for the

rest of the provinces was created in 1872. For Manila and suburbs, a *Seccion de Guardia Civil Veterana* consisting of six subdivisions under the command of lieutenants, was formed in the same year.<sup>218</sup> The third regiment, however, was organized for the Visayan Islands only in 1880.

#### According to Grossman:

Each post consisted of a small guard (six to ten men) headed by a *teniente*. The post was responsible to the provincial *commandante* who took his orders from both the provincial governor (either a Political and Military Governor or an *Alcalde Mayor*, depending on the classification of the province) and the *corone* of the *tercio*. The last named was directly responsible to the governor-general. The Guardia Civil replaced both the *Tercios de Policia* and the *Partidas de Seguridad* and became the sole military unit designed to maintain law and order in the countryside. With few exceptions, only Spaniards, mestizos, and *indios* could be found among the non-commissioned officers; while the guards were almost entirely *indios*.<sup>219</sup>

One of the serious problems which confronted the Spanish authorities in combatting *tulisanismo* was the control of loose firearms in Cavite and in the circum-Manila area. Several laws were repeatedly passed against illegal possession of firearms.<sup>220</sup> Sizes of both firearms and bladed weapons were specified. Shotguns less than one *vara* (33 inches), blunderbusses, short carbines, pistols, knives, daggers and other sharp and pointed weapons were banned.<sup>221</sup> Even gunsmiths or storekeepers were restricted in the manufacture of similar weapons, such as knives called *flamencos* (Flemish knives) or others in 1826.<sup>222</sup> The proclamation of 21 May 1844 banned the Filipinos and mestizos from carrying all kinds of weapons by the municipal police who were authorized to carry guns, sabers, and lances by the provincial governor or the politico-military governor.<sup>223</sup> The arms license was granted only to persons duly authorized by the provincial governor. The law applied also to the use of shotguns, spears, swords and long daggers. However, no special permit was necessary for the use of spears five *varas* with bamboo shafts which were utilized in hurting animals. The same applied to blunted bolos and pick-axes. Penalty for carrying arms without license was six months at hard labor.<sup>224</sup>

Rewards were granted to the captors of people with loose firearms. For the capture of every useful firearm found in the posses-

sion of a captured *tulisan*, a sum of ₱5.00 was given.<sup>225</sup> Spies reporting the existence of firearms received ₱2.50 or half of the sum paid to the captor. In addition to the prohibition against illegal firearms, laws were passed on pyro-technics, firecrackers and artificial rockets because of the confusion they created among the residents and the possibility of fire they could cause on nipa houses.<sup>226</sup>

From actual captured weapons or those abandoned by fleeing *tulisanes* the following assortment of weapons would show the extent to which the raids had become a cause of fear: pistols, shotguns (*escopetas*), short and long guns (*retacos*), carbines, daggers, knives, small swords (*españes*), *talibongs*, *krises*, swords, sabers, and lances. Other paraphernalia included cartridge belts (*cananas*), swordbelts (*biricu*), short and loose jacket worn over other clothes (*casaca* or *casaguin*), frock coat (*levita*), *salakot*, buri hat, gunpowder, ammunition, and even bamboo spines used as caltrops.<sup>227</sup> The list, of course, did not include the numerous illegal weapons and arms hidden underground — in deep wells, rivers, among cogon grasses, bamboo clumps, and banana plants.<sup>228</sup> From the same source, we get the impression that useless firearms and bladed weapons,<sup>229</sup> which could be easily duplicated by the blacksmiths of Cavite, were the ones surrendered.

Officials and prominent residents of the town, who had to protect not only their lives but also their properties, were the first ones to react vehemently to the order of 24 January 1834 to disarm every resident of any offensive weapons in Cavite. Indang merchants complained that those bringing clothes, fruits, and cattle to the town were constantly exposed to dangers as they had to cross wide wastelands which actually took them two or more hours.<sup>230</sup> Those of nearby Maragondon claimed that they needed the weapons to defend themselves from the *tulisanes* who committed atrocities. They cited the attacks of Goyong Mangajan and Agustin Munic and their bands.<sup>231</sup> The persons granted official licenses to carry firearms by the Spanish authorities in the 1860s during the resurgence of *tulisan* raids were incumbent and former *gobnadorcillos*, officers of the para-military units, and prominent residents.

Meanwhile, in the lowland towns of Cavite Puerto, San Roque Bacoor and others, the politico-military governor himself and two

aides conducted the confiscation of weapons and arms and ordered the *gobernadorcillos* to implement the order. In a surprise raid, he succeeded only in collecting useless firearms and bladed weapons, which included a single saber in Cavite Puerto.<sup>232</sup>

To control the people's movement from one place to another, two measures were instituted. A proper identification system was initiated to isolate the legal residents from illegal ones in a *barangay*, that is, those officially registered in a *padron* (census) properly authenticated by the town priest. This was expected to control the vagrants and the non-residents. Then a system of passport (*papeleta de permiso*) was imposed on all to check the *tulisanes*. In fact, as early as 1784, residents of Manila, whether Spaniard, Filipino or Chinese mestizo, were already prohibited from transferring from his residence or from one *barrio* to another without authorization from the *alcalde (gobernadorcillo)*.<sup>233</sup> Cavite merely witnessed a tightening of the measures used for checking banditry.

Inland travel was limited to the extent that a system of passport (*pasaporte, licencia* or *credencial*) was instituted when traveling from the Southern Tagalog areas to Central Luzon.<sup>234</sup> Traveling by foot or on horseback with or without merchandise was disallowed without the necessary passport or license duly issued by the *gobernadorcillo* with the parish priest's approval (*visto bueno*). Offenders were detained and turned over to the district judge (*justicia territorial*).

Chinese mestizos were also required to present the same credentials in inter-provincial and inter-town travel in accordance with the provision of Book VI, Title I, Law 12, of the *Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias*. A fine of ₱5.00 or imprisonment for ten days was imposed on any violator, including the *gobernadorcillo*, who received the fines.<sup>235</sup> Movement of people using water transportation was likewise controlled. Captains or shipmasters bringing in passengers of whatever status or sex, without proper licenses from the Superior Government, were fined ₱40.00 each.<sup>236</sup> Later, the original fine was reduced to ₱10.00 per passenger brought in.<sup>237</sup>

In Cavite, during the peak of the *tulisan* raids, the Circular of 6 September 1834 ordering the Filipinos to carry passports while



travelling was instrumental in checking *tulisanismo* in the province. However, the passport was not required when going to the markets or during *tianguí* days in Cavite and surrounding towns. But because of the brisk business between Cavite Puerto and San Roque and the circum-Manila provinces, the presentation of the necessary passport was required when selling *panochas* (cakes of brown sugar moulded in half coconut shells), dried fish, *bagoong*, and other items from Cavite. To further check the entry of questionable characters, a daily registry of all the incoming and outgoing passengers on board the *guilalos*<sup>238</sup> was initiated. As it was then, people went daily to Cavite from Manila and back unnoticed on board the *guilalos* and fishing boats freely docked in San Roque and Estanzuela.<sup>239</sup> With the new regulation, incoming and outgoing passengers without passports were penalized by a fine of four *reales* (50 centavos) or one day in jail.<sup>240</sup>

With the rise of *tulisanismo* in the provinces of Cavite, Tondo, Bulacan, Laguna and Pampanga in the 1850s, the government issued the *cartas de radio* (safe-conduct passes) to augment the passport laws.<sup>241</sup> Equivalent to passports but with a time limit, these safe-conduct passes were provisionally issued and required in the critical areas mentioned above. These special passes were good only for a minimum of one month or a maximum of two months. The graduated fees ranged from one-half *real* (6¼ centavos) to as much as three *reales* (37½ centavos). Any person found without the safe-conduct pass was arrested and placed at the disposition of the nearest town *gobernadorcillo*. Captains, shipmasters, or pilots who violated the law were fined ₱10.00 for every person without a pass allowed on board for the first offense and ₱20.00 for the second.

Seemingly, it was the *vagos* or *vagamundos*<sup>242</sup> who caused the most headaches to the Spanish authorities. The following officially constituted the *vago* or *vagamundo*: those found outside of their legal residence without proper identification papers; gamblers; children who made gambling their sole occupation, disobeyed their parents, and spent their days in idleness, bad company and corruption; old and weak beggars; minors who carried illegal weapons; those with jobs but who left without justifiable reason; day workers (*jornaleros*) who abandoned their work for days in order to engage in cockfighting, gambling, con-

cubinage, or drunkenness; those found sleeping on the streets, plazas, porches or roads very late at night; and those picked up from 10:00 o'clock in the evening in taverns, gambling dens, or brothels. All first offenders were sent to jail by their respective provincial governors for six months at hard labor.<sup>243</sup>

Even as early as 1802, a decree was already issued to apprehend vagrants and bandits.<sup>244</sup> Another decree was circulated the following year to list those without fixed residence in order to check tribute evasion. The authorities could not as yet find the solutions to the persistent problem and repeatedly enacted laws in 1826, 1838, 1846, 1850 and 1857 to solve the problem.<sup>245</sup>

On 14 April 1825, Governor General Mariano Ricafort created a *Comision de Policia* (police commission) "to guard constantly over the public interest and to protect them" and "to uproot the propensity to gambling, vagrancy, and robbery." Headed by a chief of police with the necessary subordinate officers, it was directed by no less than the Governor General himself. Apart from vigilance, it kept an exact list of residents of Manila and suburbs. The commission's jurisdiction extended up to the province of Tondo and the *partido* of Cavite.<sup>246</sup> In 1850, for instance, all individuals who were not registered in the tribute list or did not have any means of livelihood were declared vagrants in the towns of Cavite, Tondo, Batangas, Bulacan and Laguna. As punishment, they were relocated to the outlying and thinly-populated provinces of Nueva Guipuzcoa (Davao), Nueva Vizcaya or Burias. Earlier, in 1836 and 1837, many of them were exiled to Burias and Mindoro.<sup>247</sup> The provincial heads were held responsible for their surveillance and were fined ₱15.00 for every individual apprehended in their respective towns, and, if proved to have stayed in their own jurisdiction for three months, half of the penalty fee was imposed on the *gobernadorcillos*. As an incentive, a reward of ₱3.00 was offered to one who captured a vagrant, and ₱5.00, if a bandit.<sup>248</sup>

Control of the movement of people, especially at night, was found to be one of the solutions that minimized the intensity of *tulisan* raids in the towns and provinces affected. Thus, curfew hours, nightwatch service, and public lighting were in-

roduced to minimize or check *tulisanes* activities. The much-dreaded *Guardia Civil* was also established by royal order of 24 March 1868 as discussed in the section on para-military units, specifically to combat the *tulisanes* who raided the towns "generally from twilight until midnight."

In Manila alone, laws on curfew existed as early as 1763, when no person was allowed to walk the streets starting at 9:00 o'clock in the evening.<sup>249</sup> During the peak of the agrarian uprising in Cavite led by Luis Parang and Juan Upay, nobody was allowed to roam the streets late in the evening, from 10:00 o'clock on.<sup>250</sup> Three years before, Governor Ricafort issued a decree prohibiting anybody to go out in the streets at the stroke of midnight, except on very urgent matters. However, they were specifically instructed to carry a lighted lamp for distinction, or else, were treated outright as suspects by the night patrols making the rounds of the city and towns, and a ₱4.00 fine or imprisonment for eight days was imposed.<sup>251</sup>

At the peak of the Baldomero de los Santos and other raids in Cavite, men on duty took turns (*hombres de turno*) every week to observe the night watch (*vigilancia nocturna*) found so indispensable in a town where residents of separate households had grouped themselves together.<sup>252</sup> According to the duties of the *guardia civil*, patrols of four to six men, especially at night, must reconnoiter houses, huts, and other points which looked suspicious, always verifying with proper precaution. The *tulisanes* committed most of their crimes from two or three o'clock in the morning to sunrise, and from six in the evening onward, attacking the distant towns and barrios. Thus during these hours, the *guardia civil* had to keep careful watch on all points of entry.<sup>253</sup>

In 1838 it was discovered that in Imus the five divisions or *rondas*, composed of five men each, could not possibly make the day-and-night rounds efficiently because of the "notorious dispersal of this town" which was divided into six parcels (*lomas*) of cultivated lands. It took about one hour and forty-five minutes to conduct the rounds because the houses were located in tidal inlets and rivers far from each other. In fact, it took five months on horseback and seven months on foot to make the necessary rounds of the areas because of frequent flooding.<sup>254</sup>

On 10 December 1850, a decree was circulated to futher reduce the number of *tulisan* raids in Cavite and neighboring provinces.<sup>255</sup> Article 18 provided for day-and-night watches in the sentry-box (*bantayan*<sup>256</sup> or *garita*) and sentries on check-points in all the much-frequented *sitios*. Reports every eight days on any unusual movements were required. In the 1870s, Cavite was the only province with the night patrol composed of six men called *serenos* who took charge of the towns' security at night.<sup>257</sup>

But it should be noted that earlier, in 1839, Cavite Puerto already spent quite a sum for lamplighters (*faroleros*) under a *cabo de luces* (head of lamplighters) as well as for vegetable wick (*tinsim*),<sup>258</sup> small tin coconut oil-lamps, from the Visayas and Laguna, and lampstands. For instance on 30 April 1839, 192 *gantas*<sup>259</sup> of coconut oil were purchased from Laguna at ₱54.00 and on 30 June, 192 *gantas* from the same source at ₱51.00. On 30 September 1839, 924 *gantas* of Visayan coconut oil were bought for ₱214.00 and four *reales* (50 centavos). Cavite also spent ₱19.00 for a *cabo de luces* and the five lamplighters. It was found out that the Visayan (Samar) coconut oil used for public lighting in Cavite was much cheaper than the Laguna oil.<sup>260</sup> One-half *chupa*<sup>261</sup> was needed for each of the 120 jars lighting the streets in the province.

The following figures for January-August 1838, will give an insight into how much coconut oil was purchased to light the streets of Cavite Puerto<sup>262</sup>

No. of Jars		Gantas	Prices	Ps.	Rs.	Cent.	
18	Jan. 21	of 16 gantas	336	₱4.00/jar	₱86.	5	Laguna
1	Mar. 14	of 14 gantas	196	3.00	42.	—	Visayan
3	Mar. 12	of 14 gantas	168	2.00/4	30.	—	
30	June 10	of 14 gantas	140	3.00	30.	—	
30	June 13	of 14 gantas	182	2.00/7	37.	3	
5	July 15	of 14 gantas	210	3.00	45.	—	
15	July 12	of 14 gantas	168	3.00	37.	4	5
12	Aug. 3024	of 14 gantas	422	4.00-3.00	90.	4	5
			12724	1,822	₱399.	—	5

The home government issued some measures to provide financial support for local efforts to cut down the *tulisan* raids in the 1860s. The Royal Order of 22 July 1864 directed the collection of two *reales fuertes* (25 centavos) for public lighting facilities to minimize the *tulisan* raids at night.<sup>263</sup> On 21 June 1865, the streets of the provincial capital (Cavite Puerto) were cleaned and lighted by young prisoners from the Cavite provincial jail. The ₱500.00 fund set aside for the maintenance of four carts and carabaos was used for the purpose.<sup>264</sup> In the 1870s, houses in the towns of Cavite were required to have lighted lamps in front of their homes. Anybody found without lighted lamps by the Guardia Civil, who made surprise rounds, was fined two *reales* (25 centavos).<sup>265</sup>

The use of spies in the Philippines had also been resorted to by both Filipinos and Spaniards to achieve their objectives. As early as 1571, the chiefs of Maynila, led by Lakan Dula, Maguino, Madlang-away (Marlanavay) and Sablan used spies to ascertain the movement of the Spanish troops.<sup>266</sup> The Spaniards also used spies in apprising Limahong's movements in Pangasinan.<sup>267</sup> The Borneans also used spies in Cebu and other strategic places.<sup>268</sup> In fact, early Filipino revolts were discovered through the Spanish undercover system. The first Kapampangan revolt (1585) was betrayed by a Filipina married to a Spanish soldier.<sup>269</sup> Likewise, the "conspiracy of the *maharlika*" of 1587-1588, led by Magat Salamat, was betrayed by Antonio Susabau of Calamianes and Amarlangui of Bai Laguna.<sup>270</sup>

The earliest known term for "spy" in Tagalog was *batyaw* (*batiao*), as recorded in the first printed vocabulary in the Philippines — Fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Pila, 1613).<sup>271</sup> The contemporary *tiktik*, meaning "spy," seems to have appeared only in the 19th century, notably in Fathers Juan Noceda and Pedro San Lucar's *Vocabulario* (Manila, 1860).<sup>272</sup> It was derived from the night-jar, a bird species, although the word *tictic* was already registered in San Buenaventura with two meanings: *encallar* "to run around" and *hincar*, "to kneel down," and in Fr. Domingo de los Santos' *Vocabulario* (Sampaloc, 1835).<sup>273</sup> with the second meaning. Noceda and San Lucar (1860)<sup>274</sup> noted that the term for spy

took after the *tictic* because the bird announces itself when the *aswang* passes by.<sup>275</sup>

Certain measures to neutralize native espionage were initiated by the authorities. Funds for espionage were taken from the Chinese head-tax (*cavezillazgo de chinos*) in accordance with Rule 10 of the circular passed by Governor Jose Martinez on 14 November 1823 which stipulated that the commander of the *Partidas de los espías* (spy units) should be employed and paid from such funds.<sup>276</sup>

Governor Mariano Ricafort's decree of 23 April 1828 also provided that all persons of whatever social class, status and rank were enjoined not to admit into their homes, hacienda or country estate, any of the persons blacklisted or to offer them food, clothing, gunpowder, bullets, and weapons of all kinds or to serve as spies for them.<sup>277</sup>

Even as Ricafort's decree was being implemented, Aniceto Mariano of Imus was cruelly assassinated as a spy for the Spanish troops in 1827 by the *tulisan* gang led by the *cabecilla* Agustin Munic, Luis Parang, and Juan Upay. Serving for three years as a municipal policeman, Mariano did not receive any extra compensation other than his basic pay. He scouted for Jose Ferreros and his troops of municipal policemen in the operation to kill Goyo Mangajan, leader of Munic's gang in Santa Cruz de Malabon. He was responsible for the death of two other *tulisanes* in Culiculi and the liquidation of Pablo Bay and Vator Bardugo (Victor Berdugo) of the Munic band in Kawit and Imus. He was also pinpointed as responsible for the capture and hanging of Pablo Espiritu by the Military Commission and personally delivering to the authorities five members belonging to the Munic gang (two of whom were captured, while three escaped). Mariano was finally killed by the *tulisanes* on 12 November 1827, leaving a widow, Abdona de la Rosa, also of Imus, and four sons. The widow requested that a life pension be granted her, and upon her death, to her children until the youngest reached age twenty. She also requested that she and her children be exempted from paying tribute for life. The request was granted and espionage for the authorities was strengthened.<sup>278</sup>

The government campaigns against the *malhechores* resulted in the death or capture of several *tulisanes* of Cavite. Florentino de los Santos ("Pontino Culipay") was captured in San Francisco de Malabon by the town police with the help of an unnamed and paid spy on April 1831. "Culipay" was among the ambushers in Zapote some three months before.<sup>279</sup> Honorio Jorge, an escapee from the Tondo jail in January 1840, was found dead with other *tulisanes* in Salitran and close to the Sambong forest on 12 May of the same year during an armed encounter with the combined municipal police of San Francisco de Malabon and Imus.<sup>280</sup> Helping the government was a spy who led the para-military units to their hideout. Juan de Castro and a certain Ferrer, both *tulisanes*, were also captured through a spy who denounced the composition of the gang and identified the weapons possessed.<sup>281</sup> Santiago Moxica Espineli, a notorious *tulisan* leader and his mistress, Damiana Varias (whose husband was kidnapped by him,) met death during an encounter with Agapito Moxica, captain of the Indang municipal police on 13 August 1864. Guided by a spy to barrio Guyam, about five kilometers away from the town proper, the local troops traced the *tulisan* hideout. Darniana died from a gunshot wound in the breast. A small dagger she always carried was found beside her body. At Santiago's side were found a pistol loaded with an ounce bullet, a double-edged spear, and a *kris*.<sup>282</sup> The liquidation of the *tulisan* leaders Mariano ("Munti"), Ysidoro Taglinao and Juan Morales ("Bayacan") was successfully done with the assistance of Ysidro Tapauan, lieutenant of the Imus municipal police. Tapauan later fell into *tulisanes'* hands. In revenge for his spying activities which caused a lot of trouble to the *tulisanes*, he was killed and his corpse was found in his home at barrio Malagasang, Imus in the evening of 13 January 1868.<sup>283</sup>

During the height of *tulisanismo*, a sum of ₱10.00 was paid for the capture of a *tulisan*. And a *tulisan* who captured or killed another was pardoned. Also any one who captured, killed, or facilitated the capture of a *tulisan* leader was exempted from military conscription. The spy who furnished information leading to the capture of one or more *tulisanes* received ₱5.00 and his name was kept in anonymity. One who captured or killed a *tulisan* and surrendered himself to the authorities was pardoned of crimes he committed, except those accused of *lese majeste* and counter-

feiting of money, as stipulated in the 1828 decree. If he were a *tulisan* leader who did not commit any crime, he could obtain freedom for another offender. On 14 January 1869, 2,000 *escudos* were set aside for espionage or intelligence work in Cavite. An additional 1,000 *escudos* were likewise appropriated for Batangas, Laguna, Bulacan and Manila.<sup>284</sup>

The old strategy of using *tulisan* to catch another, which was used during Governor Pedro Manuel de Arandia's (1754-1759) time, was equally applied in the 19th century. For instance, Mundo, a *tulisan* next in command to Juar. Balat, the terror in Cavite, approached Fr. Nicolas de Becerra, Imus parish priest, offering to bring Balat dead or alive, or to deliver his head personally to the town troops and police in return for total pardon.<sup>285</sup> Likewise, it was mainly through Miguel Ramos, a *tulisan* turned spy, that Baldomero de los Santos, another *tulisan* leader of Cavite, was captured with Mariano Santos on 11 August 1852. Marcelino Cord Cruz, Imus *gobernadorcillo* who realized the value of the spy system, was successful in maintaining secret arrangements in the operations against Baldomero, whose presence was verified by Ramos about 7:00 a.m. on 11 August 1852 in a forest near Silang. The *gobernadorcillo*, aided by Eduardo Bautista, Patricio Bautista, Clemente Bautista, Alejo Monson, Sebastian Ramirez, and Zacarias Tagle went in pursuit of the duo and captured thirteen firearms and some bladed weapons. The ₱150.00 reward was divided among the six who went with Cruz.<sup>286</sup>

As a whole, this activity was initially localized only in the barrio, but by the 19th century, the improvement of infrastructure and telecommunications had contributed greatly to the spread of the activity to the other provinces. Thus, the problem had to be dealt with by the colonial power more realistically.

The *tulisan* activity in Cavite had similarities with the activities in other provinces in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. The activity, resulting from oppression, became an anti-colonial, especially anti-friar, reaction, and therefore, became a part of the national pattern of resistance which culminated in the Revolution of 1896.

#### Rewards and Punishment

When the peasant uprising started by Luis Parang and Juan Upay in the hacienda towns of Imus, Bacoor, Kawit, San Fran-



cisco de Malabon, Santa Cruz de Malabon and Silang spread to other provinces where friar estates were largely concentrated, as in Batangas, Laguna, Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga and Bataan, the farmers were unfairly branded as *tuhisanes*. To counteract this agrarian movement the authorities created military commissions which imposed heavy penalties on offenders. Using the *Recopilacion* of Castile (Book VIII, Title 13, Law 2), an Executive Military Commission was set up on 13 April 1826 to try and sentence all who were considered "bandits." This was complemented by the *Novisima Recopilacion* (Book XII, Title 17, Law I) which treated the restless peasants as "public bandits, guilty of contempt of court, and rebels."<sup>287</sup>

Earlier, on 14 November 1823, Governor Jose Martinez issued a circular establishing an Ordinary Council of War to try and punish the "bandits."<sup>288</sup> The Council could try any highwaymen and thieves *in situ*. Even those captured individually or in bands of less than four members were brought before the court for punishment. Ricafort also used a two-pronged strategy in a determined effort to stop banditry, robbery and illegal gambling, which he believed contributed to unrest and disorder. On 13 April 1826, he created an Executive Military Commission, mentioned earlier, believing that since his arrival "armed bands have gathered together committing scandalously endless robberies, deaths and other crimes." Established in Manila, it was composed of a colonel, three lieutenant colonels, three captains, three secretaries, six fiscals, and a lawyer. Under its jurisdiction were trial for robbery, death, ambushes, and other crimes committed in deserted spots and in band.

Showing more severity in punishments, the decree issued by Governor Mariano Ricafort on 23 April 1828 was meant to end more decisively the widespread agrarian unrest. "Bandits" who voluntarily surrendered after thirty days were pardoned. A "bandit" who delivered another "bandit," dead or alive, was pardoned from capital punishment, aside from all the crimes charged against him. Pardons were granted to crimes other than heresy, *lese majeste*, and counterfeiting. In addition, individuals who delivered a "bandit," dead or alive, were rewarded ₱100.00 if a dead "bandit" were surrendered. The reward was immediately

paid by the provincial head upon proof of identification of the captured "bandit."

"Bandits" captured were hanged without trial. The paramilitary units of the town composed of armed civilians and municipal police who killed or delivered any "bandit" received rewards amounting to ₱50.00 to ₱100.00 as stipulated in Article 6, in addition to a special reward of either a medal of distinction or exemption from forced labor. The commander who led in the capture of the "bandits" would be employed or promoted commensurate with his status or would be rewarded accordingly. The authorities saw to it that persons who did not present official passports and identifying credentials were seized. Article 32 provided, however, for total acquittal from all punishment and reward for individuals who participated in any band or illegal society but who surrendered their own leaders and who acted as spies for the Spaniards, thus contributing to the offenders' capture.<sup>289</sup>

The resurgence of *tulisanismo* in Cavite, as well as in Tondo, Bulacan, Batangas, and Laguna, was noted in 1850<sup>290</sup> so that a Permanent Council of War was established in Cavite to try the *tulisanes* and their supporters.<sup>291</sup> Created by the decree of 10 December 1850 in Cavite Puerto and presided over by the provincial head and assisted by the assessor, it

tried all the highwaymen, malefactors, accomplices, spies and receivers of stolen goods captured by the troops and municipal police in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas and Laguna.<sup>292</sup>

The politico-military governor of Cavite acted as chief of all military operations in the above-mentioned three provinces. All forces, including the municipal police and provincial governors of Batangas and Laguna, were under his sole responsibility when in pursuit of the *tulisanes*.

Martial law was extended to the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Manila, Batangas, and Bulacan at the height of the *tulisan* attacks, and an Ordinary Council of War (established in 1823 to try cases *in situ*) was reestablished in Cavite, with jurisdictional authority

extending to the rest of the provinces mentioned by the decree of Jose de la Gandara on 14 January 1869. This was instituted in accordance with the law of 17 April 1821 and royal order of 23 January 1866. Article 3 of this decree punished "the author of robbery, violence or other excesses committed in band, whether in populated or unpopulated areas, with or without resistance to public force," and included "the thieves or highwaymen, whether in band or individually, the accomplices, harborers and others, who aided them."<sup>293</sup> By the decree of 28 January 1876, Cavite, Manila, Batangas, Laguna, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Bataan, Zambales and Pangasinan, were placed in "a state of emergency," with the laws of 1821 and 1866 taking effect to try and punish the leaders, accomplices and supporters.<sup>294</sup>

Captured *tulisanes* were shot and quartered at the very scene of the crime, that is, in the same barrio or town where the crime was committed. The offender's mutilated body was also placed on the very site or road where he committed the crime.<sup>295</sup>

The Spanish authorities, in spite of determined military operations, espionage networks, legislation to reward captors and victims, public lighting, and day-and-night patrols, still found it difficult to suppress the *tulisanismo* in Cavite. It appears that the *tulisanes* learned to use the ordinary *tao* as "base" from which they moved and circulated. In other words, the people, by their "conspiracy of silence," protected and harbored the *tulisanes* from the oppressive para-military units, and later, the civil guards. It was obvious that the ceaseless persecutions of the *tulisan* gangs had only focused attention on the weakness of colonial rule. The bands were still seen from time to time moving freely in various places of Cavite, not only because they were well-protected by the natural environment of forests and caves, but also by the "silent majority" among the troubled peasantry. This keen observation was expressed by a British traveler who wrote that

... from what I saw and heard during my stay there, [*i.e.*, Luzon] I am inclined to think that they [*i.e.*, the *tulisan* bands] knew where and whom among the peasantry they could call or to join them in any undertaking of importance, and whose protection or concealment they could claim.<sup>296</sup>

Fr. Manuel Zubiri de la Ascension, Imus parish priest (1842-1848), confirmed the perception that there would not have been *tulisanes* if there were no individual protectors and concealers of their deeds.<sup>297</sup> It was not difficult and impossible for the townspeople to denounce the *tulisanes* but the disenchantment with Spanish rule made even the elite indifferent to or even clandestinely supportive of the *tulisanes*. For instance, the "bandits" were allegedly protected by the people in the towns of Imus, Perez Dasmariñas, Santa Cruz de Malabon, and San Francisco de Malabon.<sup>298</sup>

Foreman observed that one reason why banditry persisted was the existence of corrupt enforcers. He said:

Up to the end of Spanish rule, brigandage, pilage, and murder were treated with leniency by the judges that there was little hope for the extinction of such crimes . . . as soon as the villains were handed over [by the Civil guards] to the legal functionaries, society lost hope. Instead of the convicted criminals being garrotted according to law, as the public had a right to demand, they were 'protected'; some were let loose on the world again, whilst others were sent to prison and allowed to escape, or they were transported to a penal settlement to work without fetters, where they were just as comfortable as if they were working for a private employer.<sup>299</sup>

Luckily, there are some extant documents which describe the punishment meted out to some Cavite *tulisanes*. One of the earliest on record was the case of Juan Francisco ("Canso") of San Francisco de Malabon. For killing Ciriaco Canasa, warden of the Cavite provincial jail in November, 1833, he and his co-accused, Melencio Trias, received the Royal Audiencia's sentence on the 27th of the same month and year. The former received ten years of imprisonment, while "Canso," apart from the 100 lashes, was subsequently hanged and then quartered. After his corpse was mutilated, "Canso's" right hand was placed inside the premises of the provincial jail in Cavite Puerto, his head in Rosario, and the rest of his remains in the sites where his activities occurred.<sup>300</sup>

One of the earliest public executions witnessed in Imus was held in the town plaza on 14 April 1845 at 10 o'clock in the morning. The *tulisanes* were Camilo de los Santos, Florentino Bernabe, and Damaso Francisco. Both de los Santos and Bernabe

were from San Francisco de Malabon and Francisco ("Balasungan"), a bachelor, was a native of Imus, but, at the time, also a resident of San Francisco de Malabon. Camilo de los Santos was physically assisted in going to the scaffold installed in the midst of the square fronting the municipal building, parallel to the parish church. Three other accomplices witnessed the execution – the two Imus non-residents and Justo Lacson, barely a teen-ager, from the same town. The first two attestors received a lighter penalty of ten years' imprisonment with detention (*con retencion*) and the boy (Lacson) only two years. All three, De los Santos, Bernabe and Francisco, were decapitated. Francisco's head was placed in a cage and displayed at the center of the Imus plaza, while the heads of the other two were exhibited at various sites. Two priests of the Imus parish responsible for mutilating the *tulisanes'* heads and feet interred the remains in the town cemetery.<sup>301</sup>

Baldomero de los Santos, a *tulisan* leader in the 1850s, who was also known as "Baldomero Silang," was executed by *garrote vil* on 21 August 1852. After quartering his body, his head was displayed in barrio Masilao (future town of Amadeo), which was the scene of his principal activities.<sup>302</sup>

The law of "a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" was applied by the *tulisanes* on the spies who were initially tortured before being put to a painful death through the insertion of bamboo thorns into their skin and flesh. Other forms of terror inflicted were the cutting of the tongue, resulting in profuse bleeding and death, or hanging from a tree to serve as entertainment.<sup>303</sup>

*Gobernadorcillos* who effected the capture of *tulisanes* were justly rewarded either by conferring on them honorary titles or giving them medals of merit and financial grants.<sup>304</sup> The municipal police, being the military arm of the *gobernadorcillos*, suffered the greatest loss during the attacks. They were either killed or maimed for life.<sup>305</sup> However, their surviving widows<sup>306</sup> and children<sup>307</sup> were duly rewarded by the Spanish government. The mothers of unmarried municipal policemen<sup>308</sup> received life pensions. Besides monetary grants, honorary decorations were also bestowed on them. Widows or orphans of first sergeants of

the army and police regiments killed in action, or from wounds received while on duty, were granted monthly pensions from ₱9.00 to ₱11.00. Corporals and soldiers received ₱7.00 and ₱6.00, respectively. Widows and orphans of civilians killed in action by the non-Christians or "bandits" received a monthly pension of ₱6.00.<sup>309</sup>

The memories of the *tulisan* "phenomenon" have survived in the cultural traditions of the people. *Caviteño fanfarron, / ruba cuarta / na cajon,*<sup>310</sup> (Caviteño a bully, robs money in the cash-box) was the usual joke attached to the Caviteños then because of the *tulisanes* who instilled fear and instability from the 1820s to the beginning of the 20th century. The image of the province was so tarnished that people usually referred to Cavite as *La madre de los ladrones* (Mother of Bandits),<sup>311</sup> Imus as the *madriguera de gente maleante* (Hoodlum's Den)<sup>312</sup> and Bacoor as "the nest of thieves."<sup>313</sup> Proofs of ambushes and raids had survived in the toponyms BINAKAYAN (Kawit)<sup>314</sup> from *bakay* "lie in ambush for," or the place of ambush. ALIMA (Bacoor) was named after a man whose body was quartered.<sup>315</sup> It means "the fourth forefront of the animal." Although there was a *tulisan* known as Silvestre alias "Alimra" who belonged to the Luis Parang and Juan Upay's revolt in the 1820s, the barrio's name was already one of the fourteen listed in the census of Bacoor as early as 1778. *Sitio PASO LADRON*<sup>316</sup> (Pinagtipunan, General Trias) is from the Spanish, meaning "thief's pass," since it served as a *tulisan* hideout during the Spanish regime just as CAY LADRON<sup>317</sup> refers to one of the three rivers in the same town frequently used by the *tulisanes*. *Sitio HUMAYAW* (Langkaan, Dasmariñas),<sup>318</sup> from *hiyaw*, "shout," was said to have been derived from the numerous *tulisanes* who hid in the forests in this area whose victims shouted as they were being put to death. *Sitio PINAGPATAYANAN* (formerly Tatlong Bating, Naic), meaning "place of killing" was named after a gang of sleeping *tulisanes* who were killed and wounded during the surprise attack by Juan Merlan, captain of the Naic municipal police, who was slain in the encounter.<sup>319</sup> SAMPOG (Silang)<sup>320</sup> an *estero*, which comes from an archaic Tagalog signifying "taking some animal without the knowledge of its owner,"<sup>321</sup> is a mute reminder of the uncontrollable carabao, cattle and horse rustling in Cavite during the earlier days.

One of the means employed by the Spanish authorities to exterminate *tulisanismo* in Cavite was the sentry box guarded by municipal police, civil guards or civilians on rotation. It served as a checkpoint and was called *bantayan* or *tanuran* in Tagalog, or *garita* in Spanish. This para-military institution has been toponymically preserved in names like BANTAYAN (Rosario<sup>322</sup> and Binakayan, Kawit)<sup>323</sup> and GARITA (Cavite City,<sup>324</sup> and Caputatan, Maragondon).<sup>325</sup>

*Tulisan* activity, which began in the early centuries as a localized activity of dissatisfied and disoriented people from all walks of life, became more and more a peasant movement by the nineteenth century. In effect, it assumed the character of the pre-colonial institution of the warrior or men who served as the protectors or defenders of the people whose common weapons were sharpened sticks, bamboos, and instruments.<sup>326</sup> Thus, Cavite, which was the center of activities became known, as earlier mentioned, as *La madre de los ladrones*, from the colonizers' viewpoint.

Consequently, the attention of Spanish policy and repressive programs was on Cavite as seen through the kinds of reward and punishment utilized by the Spanish authorities. Cavite, became the model for all the other provinces with similar problems.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Jose Villa Pangaritan, *Diksyunaryo-tesauro pilipino-ingles* (Lungsod Quezon, 1972), 993.

<sup>2</sup>Leo J. English, *English-Tagalog Dictionary* (Australia, 1965), 77, says "a highwayman, hold-upper" is "manghaharang."

<sup>3</sup>Bienvenido M. Manalili and J.P. Tamayo, *Pocket Dictionary; English-Tagalog-Pampango Vocabulary* (Quezon City, 1964), 26. See also Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga* (Manila, 1860), 204, lists *samsam*, defined as *rapiñar, robar con violencia* ("to plunder, rob with violence") as the Kapampangan equivalent for "bandit" or "highwayman" during the 19th century.

<sup>4</sup>Lamberto C. Maruzon and Fredesvinda P. Flordeliza, *Tagalog-Bikol Cognate Words with Identical and Different Meanings* (Manila, 1972), 70. Marcos de Lisboa, *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol* (2nd ed., Manila, 1865), 240 gives *maghat as salteadores, que subian de noche a las casas, y mataban la gente* ("highwaymen who climbed houses at night and killed people") for "bandit" and *libon* or *paralibon* for "highwayman" defined as *matar salteando por los caminos, o hurtar gallinas, or puercos* ("to kill by robbing by the highways, or to steal chickens or pigs").

<sup>5</sup>Ernesto Constantino, comp., "An English-Pangasinan Dictionary" (Quezon City, 1975), b-2. See also Adela M. Quizon, *Tagalog-Pangasinan Cognate Words with Identical and Different Meanings* (Manila, 1972), 51.

<sup>6</sup>Tomas V. Hermosisima, *Bisayan-English-Tagalog Dictionary* (Manila, 1966), 606.

<sup>7</sup>Constantino, "An English-Waray Dictionary" (Quezon City, 1975), b-2.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, "An English-Aklanon Dictionary?" (Quezon City, 1975), b-2.

<sup>9</sup>Cecile Motus, *Hiligaynon Dictionary* (Honolulu, 1971), 289.

<sup>10</sup>"Espediente a solicitud de Abdona de la Rosa, viuda del espia de las partidas, Aniceto Mariano, asesinado por los malhechores, sobre q. se le conceda algun pension y reserva de tributos," Manila, 17 August 1827. PNA, VPC.

<sup>11</sup>The second edition (Valladolid, Spain) is the rarest, as almost all the copies reserved for the Philippines got lost in a shipwreck, leaving only some copies in Europe.

<sup>12</sup>Venancio M. Abella, *Vade-mecum filipino, manual de la conversacion familiar español-tagalog* (9th ed., Binondo, 1873), 112.

<sup>13</sup>SJBN (See Abbreviation list).

<sup>14</sup>Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Villa de Pila, 1613).

<sup>15</sup>Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (2d ed., Manila, 1794), 746; (3rd ed., Manila, 1835) 652.



<sup>16</sup>The root word is *kayaw*, "head hunting; warrior; robber; prisoner-of-war; draw profits, gains from abroad (*in die Fremde auf Gewinn ziehen*); tear away," in H. Costenoble, "Dictionary of Proto-Philippine," tr. by Cecilio Lopez, *The Archive* 6 (February, 1979), 131. *Tulis* means "rob; robbery with murder." (p. 303). Otto Dempwolff, "Comparative Phonology of Austronesian Word Lists" (Q.C., 1971) 78, says *kajaw* means "head-hunting" in Indonesian, Malay, and Ngadju-Dayak; *kayao*, "to practice head-hunting." The original German gives "Kopfjag1." See Dempwolff, *Austronesisches Wortverzeichnis* (Berlin, 1938), III. 72. In Iloko, *kayaw*, *mangayaw*, means "to practice headhunting; *kayawan*, "to capture, to take prisoner; to captivate, to fascinate." See Andres Carro, *Iloko-English Dictionary*, tr. augmented and rev. by Morice Vanoverbergh (Manila, 1956), 140.

<sup>17</sup>Rosalio Serrano, *Nuevo diccionario manual español-tagalog* (2d ed., Manila, 1872), 365. The author registers *malhechor* as *Ang gumagawa ng saui sa catouiran* (one who does wrong acts") (p. 242); *bandolero es mangaharang* (p. 58); *ladron* as *Magnanacao* (p. 216); *asaltur* as *lumooob o sumalacay nang big-la sa alin mang cuta, mangharang, Manulisan sa manga daan* (to make surprise attacks on forts, to hold up people by the highway) (p. 44) and *saltear* as *magliño* or *mangharang*. (p. 365).

<sup>18</sup>U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fifth Annual Report, 1904*, I, 454.

<sup>19</sup>Felix de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario bisaya-español* (Manila, 1851), 28, equates *bandolero* to *czoatan, tulisan, magsoogat sa mga cidalanar sa mga tauo nga nanaigui sa pagpatay canila*. No entry, however, is found either under *tolis/an* or *tulis/an*. The word *tulisan* also appears in (3d. ed., Manila, 1885), 18, under *bandolero*, while p. 283 also gives under *salteador* the equivalents *manganguyao* and *ang magagahat*; under *saltear*, *pagpampangayao, paggahat, pagpangaoat*, which are very similar to the 1613 and 1794 Tagalog entries *mangargayao* and the 1865 Bikol word *maghat*.

<sup>20</sup>It is interesting to note that the word *tulis* or *tuliz* means *ladron, asaltante de caminos* (thief, highwayman) used in the northern and central part of Mexico. Santamaria, *Diccionario de mejicanismos* (1st ed., Mexico, 1959), 1093. The word seems to have first appeared in Felix Ramos y Duarte, *Diccionario de mejicanismos* (Mexico, 1898), 497. According to the *Diccionario Porrua de historia, biografia y geografia de Mexico* (2d ed., Mexico 1964), 1631, this bandit gang from the State of Durango, received its name for having escaped from the jail of San Andres del Teul, State of Zacatecas. Among its famous gang leaders were Eutimio Serrato, Mucio Aquino and Francisco Valdez ("El Cucuracho").

<sup>21</sup>Carro-Vanoverbergh, *op. cit.*, 358, gives *tulisan* the meanings of "robber, thief," but not in his original *Vocabulario de la lengua ilocana* (1st ed., Manila, 1849 and 2d ed., Manila, 1888).

<sup>22</sup>Manalili and Tamayo, *op. cit.*, 26.

<sup>23</sup>Constantino, "An English-Pangasinan Dictionary," b-2.

<sup>24</sup>Manuzon and Flordeliza, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>25</sup>Hermosisima, *op. cit.*, 606.

<sup>26</sup>Constantino, "An English-Waray Dictionary," b-2.

<sup>27</sup>Constantino, "An English-Akalanon Dictionary," b-2.

<sup>28</sup>Motus, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup>Marcelo Martinez Alcubilla, *Diccionario de la administracion española* (8 v., 5th ed., Madrid, 1894), VII 908.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>Martinez Alcubilla, *op. cit.*, (8 v., 4th ed., 1886), II, 925.

<sup>33</sup>*Enciclopedia jurídica española*, by Victor Pedret y Torres [and others] (30 v., Barcelona, 1910), IV, under *bandido* and *bandolero*, and XXI, under *malhechor*.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>James Scott and Ben Kerkvliet, "The Politics of Survival: Peasant Response to 'Progress' in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, IV/2 (September, 1973), 268.

<sup>36</sup>Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (2d ed., New York, 1965), 5. See also his *Bandits* (Middlesex, England, Penguin Books, 1972).

<sup>37</sup>Nicholas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, Conn., 1976) 69.

<sup>38</sup>Robert R. Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines* (Manila, 1967), 33, footnote no. 1.

<sup>39</sup>Jose Felipe del Pan, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la administracion de Filipinas* (Manila, 1891), 102. English tr. in Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands*. 55 v., (Cleveland, A.H. Clarke, 1903-09), L, 255-56. Hereafter BR.

<sup>40</sup>Edilberto de Jesus, "The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines," (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1973), published (Quezon City, 1980).

<sup>41</sup>Theodore Grossman, "The *Guardia Civil* and Its Influence on Philippine Society," *Archiviana* (December, 1972), 2-7.

<sup>42</sup>The "slaves" (alijin) were, more accurately, dependents and not chattel slaves in the Western sense.

<sup>43</sup>Annual Letter 16.4, *ARSI Phil.* 6,39.

<sup>44</sup>Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Wenceslao E. Retara ed., (Madrid, 1909), 254-58; also in Horacio de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 195.

<sup>45</sup>Cafre is an Arabic word, from *Kafir*, native of Cafratia, region in the coast of East Africa. Antonio de Morais Silva, *Grande diccionario de lingua portuguesa* (12 v., 10th ed., Lisboa, 1948). II, 2. Linschoten's *Voyage* (Hakluyt Soc. *Trans.*, London, 1885), I, 269, 277, says "The black people or Caffares of the land of Mozambique, and all the coast of Ethiopia and within the land to the Cape de Bona Speranza . . . The Portingales (sic) do make a living by buying and selling them"

Caffer, Caffre or Coifree, is from the Arabic *Kafir*, plural *Kofra*, 'an infidel, an unbeliever in Islam.' As the Arabs applied this to Pagan negroes, among others, the Portuguese at an early date took it up in this sense, and our [British - IRM] countrymen from them. *Af. Caffres* . . . was also applied in the Philippine Islands, to the Papuas of N. Guinea and the Alfuras of the Moluccas brought into the slave-market. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson; a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*. New ed. by William Crooks (New Delhi, 1979), 140-41.

Nineteen (19) slaves from different racial origins were among the donations included by Doña Hipolita de Zarate y Osequerra, owner of the *estancia de San Nicolas* (Bacoor), 1642-1666, when it was given to the Recollects on 4 November 1666. This "gift" included Juan Cañe, Andres Cañe, Pedro Cañe, Alexo Cañe, Tomasa Cañe. APSN Leg. 71 nr. 2 (1808).

<sup>46</sup>Juan Lopez, "Events in Philippines," 1638-1639. BR, XXIX, 141.

<sup>47</sup>Annual Letter 1697-1707, ARSI *Phil.* 8, 104-5.

<sup>48</sup>*Guachinango*, *guachinanga* (probably of Aztec origin) 1. *Mesopristis campechianus*, *Lurjanus campechianus*, Poey). In Mexico and the Antilles, it is a kind of fish, the porgy. The guachinango of Veracruz, constitutes a typical dish. 2. In the east coast of Mexico, it is a nickname for the inhabitant originating from or native of the interior country (*arribeño*)." Francisco J. Santamaria, *Diccionario general de americanismos* (3 v., Mexico, 1942 [i.e., 1943]), II, 40. See also Cecilio A. Robelo, *Diccionario de aztequismos* (Mejico, 1912?), 406.

<sup>49</sup>Brereton to Drake, Cavite, 22 July 1763, in *Manilha Consultations*, VI, 57.

<sup>50</sup>Nicholas P. Cushner, *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila, 1762-63* (London, 1971), 167-8.

<sup>51</sup>Brereton to Drake, Cavite, 10 February 1764, in *Manilha Consultations*, IX-IX-a, 22.

<sup>52</sup>Information dated 25 June 1828. AHN Ultramar 2140.

<sup>53</sup>Ronquillo, "Anting-anting, abubot o agimat," *Renacimiento Filipino*, I/38 (14 April 1911), 23.

<sup>54</sup>E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (3 v., Manila, 1955, 1970, 1987), I, 197 (hereafter DBP). See also Manuel Artigas y Cuerva *Historia de Filipinas* (Manila, 1916), 343-9.

<sup>55</sup>Philippines, Gobernador General, 1824-1830 (Ricafort y Abarca), *La reunion de malhechores . . . dado en el pueblo de Santa Ana, a 23 de abril de 1828* (Samaloc, 1828).

- <sup>57</sup>Artigas y Cuerva, *Historia de Filipinas*, 349.
- <sup>58</sup>Ricafort to the Secretary of State, Grace and Justice, Manila, 10 November 1828. AHN Ultramar 2140.
- <sup>59</sup>Ricafort to the Secretary of State, Manila, 13 November 1828. AHN Ultramar 2140. See also Salvador Pons y Torres, *El clero secular filipino* (Manila, 1900), 120.
- <sup>60</sup>Ricafort to Archbishop of Manila (Hilario Diez), 31 January 1829. AAM, *Oficios de Gobierno Superior (Civil)*, 1823-1849. See also his earlier letter dated Malacañan, 29 May 1828, on the Cavite *tulisanes* in the same series.
- <sup>61</sup>Sadaba del Carmen, *op. cit.*, 385.
- <sup>62</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 30, 100-100b.
- <sup>63</sup>Becerra to Enrile, Imus, January, 1834. MN, Ms. 1669.
- <sup>64</sup>MN, Ms. 1668.
- <sup>65</sup>"Observations upon the Hacienda of Imus," in U.S., 56th Congress, 2d Session, Senate, *Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1901), 246-7.
- <sup>66</sup>APSN Leg. 71, nr. 2 (1820-1834).
- <sup>67</sup>"Observations upon the Hacienda of Imus," 246-7.
- <sup>68</sup>Antonio de Keyser y Muñoz, *Medios que el gobierno y la Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais de Filipinas pueden emplear para obtener el desarrollo de la agricultura en el pais* (Manila, 1869), 51.
- <sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>71</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 30, 100-100b.
- <sup>72</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 30 March 1835. PNA, VPC.
- <sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>75</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 86, 282. See also PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 82 and AHN Ultramar 2146.
- <sup>76</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 8 April 1835. PNA, VPC.
- <sup>77</sup>*Expediente*, Cavite, 10 April 1835. PNA, v VPC.
- <sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

- <sup>79</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 19 April 1835. PNA, VPC.
- <sup>80</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 74, 262-3.
- <sup>81</sup>Ronquillo, "Anting-anting," 23. See also PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 118, 360-60b; EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 7 and EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 4, 7-11.
- <sup>82</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 71, 258-58b.
- <sup>83</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 74, 262-3.
- <sup>84</sup>PNA, EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 7, 18-33-b.
- <sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>86</sup>PNA, EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 4, 7-11.
- <sup>87</sup>Henry Thomas Ellis, *Hongkong to Manila and the Lakes of Luzon* (London, 1859), 170.
- <sup>88</sup>Maximo Canovas del Castillo, *Noticias historicas, geograficas, estadisticas, administrativas y militares de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1859), 79.
- <sup>89</sup>Sir John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London, 1859), 189.
- <sup>90</sup>Juan de Lara, "Memoria . . . como gobernador superior civil de Filipinas," Manila, 1866. AHN Ultramar 5203.
- <sup>91</sup>*Bando*, 27 October 1860, in Joaquin Rodriguez San Pedro, *Legislacion ultramarina* (16 v., Madrid, 1865-69), X.
- <sup>92</sup>"Catalogo de los que han sido capitanes de . . . pueblo de Biñan, Laguna (1757-1905)," in Pedro Paterno, *En automovil por el primer distrito de la Laguna de Bay* (Manila, 1907). See also AHN Ultramar 5203.
- <sup>93</sup>AHN Ultramar 5203.
- <sup>94</sup>Carlos Maria de la Torre, *Manifiesto al pais sobre los sucesos de Cavite y gobierno de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1872), 40
- <sup>95</sup>Mariano Gomes de los Angeles to the juez provisor, Bacoor, 10 May 1867. AAM Vicarios foraneos de varias provincias, 1866-68, Circulares a los vicarios foraneos.
- <sup>96</sup>Manuel, "Biography of Tomas Tirona," *Diliman Review* (October, 1966), 298.
- <sup>97</sup>AAM, Estado general, on the report dated 4 February 1863.
- <sup>98</sup>Gomes de los Angeles, Bacoor, 15 June 1864. AAM, Vicarios foraneos y curas parrocos, Comunicaciones, 1704-1718.
- <sup>99</sup>AHN Ultramar 5153.

- <sup>100</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 45.
- <sup>101</sup>MN, Ms. 1774.
- <sup>102</sup>AHN Ultramar 5157.
- <sup>103</sup>*Gaceta de Manila* (19 July-November 1869).
- <sup>104</sup>AAM, Vicarios foraneos y curas parrocos, Comunicaciones, 1704-1865.
- <sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>106</sup>Rafael Izquierdo, "Memorias acerca de la gobernacion general de Filipinas," 1872. MN Ms. 913.
- <sup>107</sup>Artigas y Cuerva, *Historia de Filipinas* 485.
- <sup>108</sup>De la Torre, *Manifiesto*, 40-41.
- <sup>109</sup>Pedro Gutierrez y Salazar, *Las proscripciones de Sila* (Madrid, 1870), 15-17.
- <sup>110</sup>Izquierdo, *op. cit.*, 43.
- <sup>111</sup>*Gaceta de Manila*, XXI/41 (10 February, 1872), 289. See also Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Los sucesos de 1872* (Manila, 1913), 163-64.
- <sup>112</sup>Lara, *op. cit.*
- <sup>113</sup>Jose Malcampo, *Bando*, Manila 28 January 1876. AAM, Oficios del Superior Gobierno (Civil), 1868-1886
- <sup>114</sup>Jaime Vicens Vives and Jorge Nadal Oller, *An Economic History of Spain*; tr. by Frances M. Lopez-Morillos (Princeton, 1969), 734.
- <sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>118</sup>*Ibid.* See also John A. Crow, *Spain. the Root and the Flower* (New York, 1963), 248.
- <sup>119</sup>*Ibid.* See also M. Garcia, "Crisis monetaria en Filipinas," *PEF*, III/50 (5 May 1893), 122.
- <sup>120</sup>John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (3d ed., New York, 1906), 235-36. See also Serafin Olabe, "El tulisan," *Ilustracion filipina*, II/2 (15 January 1860), 13-14, for another classification of the *tulisan*.
- <sup>121</sup>Jose Maria Ruiz, *Pobladores aborígenes, razas existentes y sus variedades, religion, usos y costumbres de los habitantes de Filipinas* (2v., Manila, 1887), II, 257.

- <sup>122</sup>AUST, Tomo 3, Libro 10.
- <sup>123</sup>Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 42.
- <sup>124</sup>*Ibid.* See also his *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila*, 167-8.
- <sup>125</sup>Nathaniel Bowditch *Early American-Philippine Trade*, ed. by Thomas R. McHale and Mary O. McHale (New Haven, Conn., 1962), footnote 8.
- <sup>126</sup>Philippines, Gobernador General, 1778-1787 (Basco y Vargas), *Bando dando instrucciones sobre la compraventa de carabao* (Manila, 1782).
- <sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>128</sup>Bowditch, *op. cit.*, 28-29. The carabao was introduced into Mexico from the Philippines via the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade and was already mentioned in the *Gaceta de Mexico* (February, 1737). See Santamaria, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 2.
- <sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>130</sup>MN, Ms. 1774.
- <sup>131</sup>AAM, Vicarios foraneos de varias provincias, 1823-27.
- <sup>132</sup>AUST. Libros, Tomo 13.
- <sup>133</sup>APSR. Seccion Haciendas, Documentos sueltos. Tomo 4. Reel 194.
- <sup>134</sup>AAM, Sta. Vista de las Iglesias, 1815-1835.
- <sup>135</sup>Mayone, Report, 18 May 1814. PNA, VPC.
- <sup>136</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 108, 340-41.
- <sup>137</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 17, 60-61.
- <sup>138</sup>AHN Ultramar 2145.
- <sup>139</sup>PNA, VPC.
- <sup>140</sup>AHN Ultramar 2146.
- <sup>141</sup>Ripoll, "Noticia."
- <sup>142</sup>PNA, VPC.
- <sup>143</sup>Pedro S. de Achutegui and Miguel A. Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution of 1896* (Quezon City, 1972), 219-36.
- <sup>144</sup>Ronquillo, "Ilang talata tungkol sa paghihimagsik (Revolucion) nang 1896-97" (Hongkong, 1898) Ronquillo papers, U.P. Archives.

<sup>145</sup>Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines during 1848, 1849, 1850* (London, 1851), 189.

<sup>146</sup>Ellis, *op. cit.*, 172

<sup>147</sup>Lara, *op. cit.*

<sup>148</sup>PNA, EPC, 1810-1864, Exp. 1, 1-12b.

<sup>149</sup>Ruiz, *op. cit.*, I, 256.

<sup>150</sup>PNA, VPC.

<sup>151</sup>AHN Ultramar 5164.

<sup>152</sup>R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary* (2v., London, 1957), I, 39. See also Richard Windstedt, *A Practical Modern Malay-English Dictionary* (3d ed., Singapore, 1959), 13.

<sup>153</sup>Isabelo de los Reyes, *La religion antigua de los filipinos* (Manila, 1909), 181. See also Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, *El sanscrito en la lengua tagalog* (Paris, 1887), 16, and Wenceslao E. Retana y Gamboa, *Diccionario de filipinismos*, 35, for different theories on the etymology of "anting-anting."

<sup>154</sup>Tomas Ortiz, *Practica del ministerio* (Manila, 1731), 14. For English tr., see BR, XLIII, 109-10, and Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800*; English tr. by Vicente del Carmen (Manila, 1973), 148.

<sup>155</sup>Ronquillo, "Anting-anting," 23.

<sup>156</sup>Called *cintas ng abad* in Imus. Constanca Matro, "Common Beliefs and Superstitions in and around Imus," 1924. ANL, Beyer Collection of Tagalog Ethnography, Paper no. 438. Microfiche in NL.

<sup>157</sup>A corruption of *tiyooy*. "Jesus Christ's shroud," NSL 1860, 415.

<sup>158</sup>"All the anting-anting . . . are Christian prayers written in Latin, and according to . . . traditions were introduced as amulets by the Jesuits and friars." De los Reyes, *La religion antigua*, 182.

<sup>159</sup>Ronquillo, "Anting-anting," 23.

<sup>160</sup>Also called *tagaliwas*. PIR 553/12. U.P. Library MCF 3764p.

<sup>161</sup>Ruiz, *op. cit.*, 337.

<sup>162</sup>Ronquillo, "Anting-anting," 23.

<sup>163</sup>Manuel, "Tomas Tirona," 287-88.

<sup>164</sup>Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 249-50. See also Santos Gawaran *op. cit.*



<sup>165</sup>Ronquillo, "Manoso," *Renacimiento Filipino*, 1/19 (21 November 1910), 24-25-1/25 (7 January 1911), 23-14.

<sup>166</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898.

<sup>167</sup>MacMicking, *op. cit.* (1967 ed.), 119.

<sup>168</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 8 April 1835. PNA, VPC.

<sup>169</sup>AHN Ultramar 5209.

<sup>170</sup>PNA, VPC, Exp. 50, 194-5.

<sup>171</sup>PNA, VPC, 1836-1865, Exp. 24, 217-20.

<sup>172</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 54, 212-17.

<sup>173</sup>Ripoll to Enrile. Cavite, 26 March 1834 PNA, VPC.

<sup>174</sup>Ripoll to Enrile. Cavite, 19 April 1835. PNA, VPC.

<sup>175</sup>Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 123.

<sup>176</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 13 August 1834. PNA, VPC.

<sup>177</sup>For instance, Fr. Matias Mañero de San Jose (1810-1862), O.R.S.A., *compañero* of the Imus Hacienda lay-administrator, was killed during a *tulisan* raid. In fact, a *guardia rural* assigned to take care of the Hacienda . . . and to protect the interests and lives of the tenants" was authorized in 1869 to consist of 20-25 men with the license to carry firearms." See APSN Leg. 71, nr 3 (1869). See also PNA, EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 6, 15-17; EPC, 1834-1900, Exp. 4, 70-110; EPC, 1836-1865, Exp. 34, 299-305; EPC, 1823-1864, Exp. 29, 416-52b.

<sup>178</sup>See *Manilha Consultations* for *tulisan* raids on the Hacienda La Estanzuela. See also PNA, EPC, 1810-1864, Exp. 1, for the San Nicolas Hacienda (Bacoor) and EPC, 1774-1838, Exp. 10 for the San Francisco de Malabon hacienda attacks.

<sup>179</sup>For instance, Chinese merchants from the *tianguí* of San Francisco de Malabon were robbed and either killed or wounded see PNA, EPC, 1774-1838, Exp. 10. In fact, it is said that *Pasong Sanglay* in Naic was so named after the Chinese oil vendor who was assassinated by an unknown killer in this site, see Gervasio Pangilinan y Enriquez, "Historica de Cavite" (ms., Cavite City, 1926), 312. See also PNA, EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 8, 34-54, and Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 2 July 1832, PNA, VPC.

<sup>180</sup>Many cases were reported in the *consultas* or *oficios* (weekly reports of gobernadorcillos to the governor-general and the politico-military governor of Cavite). These detailed accounts enforced since 1817 gave interesting records of different gangs in various places at one time, starting from the 1830's found in PNA series, e.g. EPC, VPC, *Guardia Civil*, etc. for Cavite.

MacMicking, *op. cit.*, 188, says: "The houses of European are also occasionally attacked, although much less boldly within the last year or two. Yet, people retired to bed, even in the poblacion, in the suburbs, of Manila with pistols, swords or other

weapons within reach." Spaniards and other foreigners, without excluding the Americans and Asians, were required by Art. 14 of *Reglamento para establecer la Comision de Policia* (Sampaloc, 1826), issued by Governor Ricafort on 14 April 1826, to register their destination, origin, job and address, with the police. "As a general rule, however, they (the *tulisanes* — IRM) do not interfere much with Europeans. I know, from my own experience, that you may travel through some of the wildest parts of the country without meeting with anything but the most kindly and respectful hospitality from the Indian population . . ." Ellis *op. cit.*, 172.

<sup>181</sup>Figures were called from the *consultas* and *oficios* in the EPC and VPC, PNA; and AHN Ultramar 5203 files.

<sup>182</sup>AHN Ultramar 5203.

<sup>183</sup>Ripoll to Enrile, Cavite, 8 April 1835. PNA, VPC.

<sup>184</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 11, 47-48b.

<sup>185</sup>PNA, EPC, 1837-1861, Exp. 4, 7-11.

<sup>186</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup>Jose P. Santos, "Mandaluyong," *Silanis* (4 October 1947), 29.

<sup>188</sup>Paterno, *En automobil*, 46.

<sup>189</sup>AHN Ultramar 5203.

<sup>190</sup>Paterno, *En automobil*, 56.

<sup>191</sup>*Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>192</sup>PNA, VPC, 1786-1892, Exp. 8, 118-119.

<sup>193</sup>Teodorica M. vda de Mangaco, "Mga punong bayan ng Santo Tomas tuhat ng ito'y matatag noong 1666 hanggang 1959," Sto. Tomas Fiesta Committee, Publicity Staff (Sto. Tomas, Batangas, 1959), 24-25, 28.

<sup>194</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 133, 91.

<sup>195</sup>AHN Ultramar 5203.

<sup>196</sup>PNA, VPC.

<sup>197</sup>Rafael Garcia de la Purisima Concepcion, "Diocesis de Imus," *Boletin de San Nicolas de Tolentino, Orden de Agustinos Recoletos* LII/583 (May-June 1962), 118-20. See also PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 3, 14-15b.

<sup>198</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup>Lara, *op. cit.*

<sup>200</sup>AHN Ultramar 2140.

<sup>201</sup>D. C. Shanks, "Report," 1903, in U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report*, I, 782.

<sup>202</sup>The terrain in Santa Cruz de Malabon (Tanza, for instance), protected the armed *tulisanes* who later escaped from the Spanish dragnet during the skirmish. AHN Ultramar 5203.

<sup>203</sup>Ripoll, "Noticia."

<sup>204</sup>PNA, EPC, 1810-1864, Exp. Exp. 3. 204-6.

<sup>205</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 14, 53-54.

<sup>207</sup>PNA, EPC, 1810-1864, Exp. 2, 13-31.

<sup>208</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup>Gobernadorcillo and *principales* of Indang; to Ripoll, Indang, 17 February 1834. PNA, VPC.

<sup>210</sup>Ripoll, "Noticia."

<sup>211</sup>Miguel Gistau Ferrando, *La guardia civil* (Valdemoro, 1907), 262. APSR, tomo 3, Libro 10, mentions a *Comisario de la Santa Hermandad*, Joseph Reymundo in Biñan (Laguna) in 1739 to try animal thievery there.

<sup>212</sup>"La guardia civil en Filipinas," *Guardia Civil; revista oficial del cuerpo*, XVIII/202 (February, 1961), 24-25.

<sup>213</sup>Ignacio Salinas y Angulo, comp., *Legislacion militar* (5v. in 3, Manila, 1879), I, 174. See also *Guia oficial* 1849, 220; 1886, 34.

<sup>214</sup>PNA, VPC, 1786-1892, Exp. 8, 118-19.

<sup>215</sup>Salinas y Angulo, *op. cit.*, I, 210-11.

<sup>216</sup>*Guia de forasteros*, 1849, 219.

<sup>217</sup>Salinas y Angulo, *op. cit.*, I, 177.

<sup>218</sup>*Guia oficial*, 1886, 315.

<sup>219</sup>Grossman, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>220</sup>These *superior bandos* were issued 29 December 1763; 9 February 1764; 3 August 1765; 19 January 1771; February 1778; 27 February 1783; 10 October 1812; and 11 June 1829. MN 17'8 Ms. 1774.

<sup>221</sup>Mariano Ricafort y Abarca, *Bando de buen gobierno* (Sampaloc, 1826) MN Ms. 1664.

<sup>222</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup>*Bando*, 21 May 1844, in Joaquin Rodriguez de San Pedro, *Legislacion ultramarina*. (16 v., Madrid, 1865-69), I, 504-8. See also royal orders, 14 February 1847, I, 508, and 29 December 1852, I, 508.

<sup>224</sup>Art. 14, *Bando*, 1 August 1857, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 500.

<sup>225</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>226</sup>For example, *superior bandos* were issued in Manila on artificial pyrotechnics, on 19 June 1764; 27 October 1778; 19 December 1806; and 5 January 1813; on prevention of fires; 26 February 1760; 4 March 1780; 25 February 1791; 31 March 1792; 21 February 1806; 28 May 1810; 21 February 1811 and 3 January 1825. MN, Ms. 1774.

<sup>227</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 60, 231-33. See also VPC, Exp. 14, 53-54; Exp. 12, 347; Exp. 70, 257-57b; Exp. 71, 258-58b, and AHN Ultramar 5203.

<sup>228</sup>See footnote no. 209.

<sup>229</sup>The captured weapons (1834) included the following:

#### FIREARMS

	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Useless</i>
Guns . . . . .	4	39
Shotguns . . . . .	4	13
Carbines . . . . .	0	49
Short carbine . . . . .	1	24
Blunderbusses . . . . .	2	2
Two-barrelled blunderbusses . . . . .	1	0
Pistols . . . . .	2	21
Total . . . . .	13	148

#### BLADED WEAPONS

	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Useless</i>
Sabers . . . . .	53	27
Swords . . . . .	45	19
Talibongs . . . . .	94	5
Krises . . . . .	3	4
Lances with shafts . . . . .	306	0
Lances without shafts . . . . .	140	0
Total of bladed weapons . . . . .	641	55

See "Relacion que detalla las armas de fuego y blancas que se han recogido en el desarmamento gral," Cavite, 10 June 1834. PNA, VPC.

<sup>230</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup>The gobernadorcillo and principales of Maragondon to Ripoll, 24 February 1834. PNA, VPC.

<sup>232</sup>“Relacion que detalla las armas de fuego y blancas,” 10 June 1834. PNA, VPC.

<sup>233</sup>Royal cedula, 5 March 1784, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

<sup>234</sup>Philippines, Gobernador-General, 1822-1824 (Martinez), *Circular* (Manila, 1823).

<sup>235</sup>*Superior decreto*. 23 September 1843, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 472-3.

<sup>236</sup>Issued 25 August 1835, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 473.

<sup>237</sup>Decreto, 27 May 1846, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 473.

<sup>238</sup>The *guilalo* was a Philippine coasting trade boat of small draught, stern and tapered bow, which used outriggers and sails usually made of matted material. Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1925), 632. It was a banca used in travelling from Cavite to Manila, according to Ramon Joaquin Dominguez, *Diccionario nacional o, Gran diccionario clasico de la lengua española* (2v., 4th ed., Madrid, 1850), I, 902. See also Francesco Corazzini, *Vocabolario nautico italiano* (7v., Torino, 1900-07), III, 306, and Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (5v., Firenze, 1950-57), III, 1892.

<sup>239</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 116, 354.

<sup>240</sup>*Superior bando*, 12 April 1826.

<sup>241</sup>Previous laws were passed on 8 November 1823, 21 April 1833, 11 July 1844 and 27 May 1845. See also *Decreto*, 26 June 1854, in Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 475-76.

The following is an example of a safe conduct pass issued in 1854: (translated into English by this author)

=====

	Province of	Town of	Barangay no.
	PERSONAL MARKS	Conduct pass required in order to travel to the provinces of Tondo, Bulacan, Laguna, Cavite and Pampanga	
Age			-----
Height			-----
	INDIVIDUAL MARKS	native of -----	
Face		registered in this town, of which the Gobernadorcillo is D. -----	
Color			-----
Nose		Status	----- Occupation -----

Good only for a month of good conduct

Fee: Casa Real of the Province of Tondo on \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_

The Alcalde Mayor

Done on \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ 1854

<sup>242</sup>For examples of actual cases of *vagos y malentretenidos* in Cavite in the 1830s-1840s, see PNA, EPC, 1837-1861 under several "*expedientes*" of individuals.

<sup>243</sup>*Bando*, 1 August 1857. Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 499-501.

<sup>244</sup>MN Ms. 1774.

<sup>245</sup>Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 488-90.

<sup>246</sup>Philippines, Gobernador-General, 1824-1830 (Ricafort y Abarca), *Reglamento para establecer la Comision de policia* (Sampao, 1826).

<sup>247</sup>Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 490.

<sup>248</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 499.

<sup>249</sup>MN Ms. 1774.

<sup>250</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup>MN Ms. 1664.

<sup>252</sup>PNA, EPC, 1810-1864, Exp. 22, 391.

<sup>253</sup>Philippines, Gobernador-General, 1866-1869 (Maldonado), *Reglamento para la organizacion, regimen y servicio de la guardia civil de las Islas Filipinas* (Binondo, 1868). Also found in Philippines, Guardia Civil, *Consideracion sobre la necesidad de la guardia civil* (Manila, 1867). Issued also as *folletín* in *Gaceta de Manila*, VIII 12 (15 November 1868).

<sup>254</sup>Darwin to the gobernadorcillos and *cuadrillero* captains of towns, Cavite, 25 May 1838. PNA, EPC.

<sup>255</sup>*Bando*, 10 December 1850, in Miguel Rodriguez Berriz, *Diccionario de la administracion de Filipinas* (16v., Manila, 1887-88), XI, 421-24.

<sup>256</sup>For information on *bantay* and *bantayan*, see Manuel Buzeta y Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de las islas Filipinas* (2 v., Madrid, 1850-51), I, 106.

<sup>257</sup>Agustin de la Carada y Mendez de Vigo, *Historia, geografia, geologia y estadisticas de Filipinas* (2 v., Manila, 1876) I, 167. See also Felipe Govantes, *Lecciones de geografia descriptiva de Filipinas* (Manila, 1873), 117.

<sup>258</sup>In 1839, a *kati* (.375 lbs. or 632 grams) of vegetable wick cost from 6¼ (P1.00/10 *cuartos*) to 12½ centavos (P1.00/*real*).

<sup>259</sup>One *ganta* is equivalent to three liters.

<sup>260</sup>PNA, VPC, 1829-1897, Exp. 2, 6-7. See also Jean Mallat, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce*, tr. by Pura Santillan-Castreñe and Lina S. Castreñe (Manila, 1983), 155, 187.

<sup>261</sup>One *chupa* is 0.375 liters.

<sup>262</sup>PNA, VPC, 1785-1892.

<sup>263</sup>Artigas y Cuerva, *El municipio filipino* (2v., Manila, 1894), II, 110.

<sup>264</sup>AHN Ultramar 5202.

<sup>265</sup>PNA, VPC, 1786-1892.

<sup>266</sup>Hernando Rique and others, "Los nuevos que escriben de las Yslas del Poniente," Mexico, 11 January 1574. BR, III, 233.

<sup>267</sup>Francisco de Sanle, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands," Manila, 7 June 1576. BR, IV, 28-29.

<sup>268</sup>*Ibid.*, "Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo and Mindanao," Manila, 19 April 1578 to 10 June 1579. BR, IV, 132

<sup>269</sup>Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas* (2v., Madrid, 1698-1890), 433. See also Martinez de Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* (Sampaloc, 1803), 158.

<sup>270</sup>Santiago de Vela and others, "Conspiracy against the Spaniards," Manila, May-July, 1589. BR, VII, 102, 106-111. See also Wenceslao Emilio Retana y Gamboa, *La primera conjuracion separatista contra España* (Madrid, 1908).

<sup>271</sup>San Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, 307.

<sup>272</sup>NSL 1860, 336.

<sup>273</sup>Santos, *Vocabulario* (3d ed., Manila, 1835) 111

<sup>274</sup>NSL 1860, 415.

<sup>275</sup>This is probably the gray nightjar (*Coprimulgus griseatus* Walden), see Richard C. MacGregor and Elizabeth J. Marshall, *Philippine Birds: Their Haunts and Habits* (Chicago, John C. Winston, 1931), 16-21. According to the Philippines (Republic), Institute of National Language, *A National Language-English Vocabulary* (Manila, 1950), 162, *tiktik* means "spy; song of the bird (*Apira*) which is believed to be a sign of bad omen; the bird itself."

<sup>276</sup>"Espediente a solicitud de Abdon de la Rosa." PNA, VPC.

- <sup>277</sup>*Reunion de malhechores.*
- <sup>278</sup>“Espediente a solicitud de Abdona de la Rosa,” PNA, VPC.
- <sup>279</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 15, 55-56.
- <sup>280</sup>PNA, EPC, 1836-1865, Exp. 13, 170-6.
- <sup>281</sup>PNA, EPC, 1823-1864, Exp. 29, 424.
- <sup>282</sup>PNA, EPC, 1836-1865, Exp. 56, 426.
- <sup>283</sup>AHN Ultramar 5210.
- <sup>284</sup>AHN Ultramar 5209.
- <sup>285</sup>MN Ms. 1668.
- <sup>286</sup>AHN Ultramar 5164.
- <sup>287</sup>*Reunion de malhechores.*
- <sup>288</sup>See his *bando* (Sampaloc, 1823).
- <sup>289</sup>*Reunion de malhechores.*
- <sup>290</sup>Gomes de los Angeles to Urbiztondo, Bacoor, 18 May 1850. AAM, *Bandos edictos, oficios, 1844-1863.*
- <sup>291</sup>Lorenzo to the Governor General, Manila, 28 June 1865 AHN Ultramar 5203.
- <sup>292</sup>*Bando*, 10 December 1850, in Rodriguez Berriz, *op. cit.*, XI, 421-24.
- <sup>293</sup>*Bando*, 14 January 1869. AHN Ultramar 5210. See also *bando*, 30 August 1869 of Carlos Ma. de la Torre, in *Gaceta de Manila*, IX/241 (31 August 1869), 449.
- <sup>294</sup>*Bando*, 28 January 1876. AAM, *Oficios de Superior Gobierno (Civil), 1868-1886.*
- <sup>295</sup>Art. 7 *Bando*, 19 December 1850, in Rodriguez Berriz, *op. cit.*, XI, 421-4.
- <sup>296</sup>Ellis, *op. cit.*, 168-9.
- <sup>297</sup>Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 262.
- <sup>298</sup>AHN Ultramar 5203.
- <sup>299</sup>Foreman, *op. cit.* (3d ed., 1906), 235.
- <sup>300</sup>PNA, VPC, 1816-1898, Exp. 63, 237-39b.



<sup>301</sup>Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 259.

<sup>302</sup>AHN Ultramar 5164.

<sup>303</sup>AHN Ultramar 2147.

<sup>304</sup>Some recipients of these rewards included Marcelino Cord Cruz (governadorcillo of Imus, 1850-52), responsible for the capture of Baldomero de los Santos. For this, Cruz was appointed sub-lieutenant of the *marina sutil*, P350 in cash, and as *superintendente fiel* of tobacco and wine of the Imus district which comprised Imus, Bacoor, Silang and Cavite Viejo. AHN Ultramar 5164. Yldefonso Tirona (Imus gobernadorcillo for four times, 1859, 1860, 1864 and 1865) and Proceso Arenas (acting gobernadorcillo of Naic) were both awarded the medals of merit, on 6 September 1865, and 20 July 1866, respectively. AHN Ultramar 5202.

<sup>305</sup>Some *cuadrilleros* who received pensions according to the decree of 28 October 1811 because of physical disability included Baldomero de los Reyes, *cabo*, of Bacoor; Aguedo Bunag, *alguacil*, also of this town; and Romualdo Lozano, soldier. All received a monthly pension of P12 *escudos*. AHN Ultramar 5207, 5209 and 5210.

Examples of *cuadrillero* officers who were rewarded were: Mariano San Gabriel, lieutenant, of San Francisco de Malabon responsible for the capture of Fruto Ordoñez, *tulisan* chief (San Gabriel was granted a medal of civil merit, 20 February 1866.) AHN Ultramar 5202; Marcelino Tagle, captain, of Imus, who was granted a shield of valor medal, 6 September 1866. AHN Ultramar 5201.

<sup>306</sup>Some of those who received monthly life pensions of P2 included Rufina Barco, widow of the slain *alguacil* of Imus during an encounter with a *tulisan* gang on 8 July 1869. AHN Ultramar 5210. Another recipient was Maria Antiajo, widow of Juan Merlan, captain of the Naic *cuadrilleros*, see Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 311-12. This pension was in line with the royal order of 14 May 1858, see Rodriguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I, 501-2.

<sup>307</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>308</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup>See footnote 30.

<sup>310</sup>Claudio R. Miranda, *Costumbres populares* (Manila, 1911), 42.

<sup>311</sup>U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fifth Annual Report*, I, 454.

<sup>312</sup>Garcia de la Purisima Concepcion, "Diocesis de Imus," 118-19.

<sup>313</sup>*Manilha Consultations*, VI, 57.

<sup>314</sup>Known as *Minacaya* (1582), Loarca; *Binacayan*, (1701), Ona, ARS) *Phil. Hist.* 19, I; *Vinacayan* or *Binacayan* (1715), APSN, Leg. 71, nr. 1; *Vinicay* (1734), Murillo Velarde map; *Binacayan*, (1838), Ripoll, "Noticia." For the meaning of *bakay*, see NSL 1754, 34 and 1860, 22. See also Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 269.

<sup>315</sup>According to folk tradition, a man's leg was found hanging in a tree in this barrio. See Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 157. For definition of *alima*, see NSL 1860, 7.

- 316 Ripoll, "Noticia."
- 317 "Memoria" (1884).
- 318 HDP (Dasmariñas).
- 319 Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 311.
- 320 "Memoria" (1884).
- 321 NSL 1860, 283.
- 322 Patricio E. del Rosario, "Salinas (Rosario)" *Liwayway* III/45 (18 September 1925), 37.
- 323 HDP (Kawit).
- 324 Pangilinan, *op. cit.*, 89.
- 325 HDP (Maragondon).
- 326 According to Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel (Letter to I. R. Medina, 16 December 1984):

... I have the feeling, based on primitive practices in Mindanao, that *tulisan* means literally 'spearman' and is the term for 'warrior' in prehistoric times. It was a noble term before Spain came to conquer the archipelago. The native warrior had iron tips on his spear, or the point of the bamboo piece he carried on the warpath was just sharpened or hardened in the fire. Such weapon was light but easy to make from the various species of bamboo available in the islands. He carried such weapon even while simply traveling for defense or offense. A kind of hardwood could also be used and this could be sharpened to a point or tipped with a point. It appears to me clear that during the stone ages, spearheads of stone were fastened either to the tips of bamboo or wooden spears to make them more efficient or effective, for in the Beyer Archaeological Collection such specimens were gathered from different parts of the country.

In other words, what lexicographers during the historic period have given as meaning for *tulisan* is the pejorative one because the spearmen became the fear of Spanish law enforcers and other officials. What the native warrior did was to stick to his traditional weapon when the rifle was not available. My father, Casimiro R. Manuel, who participated during the first and second stages of the Revolution narrated to me in (sic) several occasions that the Katipunan members used sharpened bamboos as spears in many encounters with Spanish soldiery because of the lack of rifles or guns. In other words, many Katipuneros were spearmen, though at this time they were not called *tulisan*. Although before the Revolution *tulisan* had already acquired a derogatory (sic) meaning.

It is clear that in traditional native culture the *tulisan* was a spearman and was a noble person because he was a warrior in status. In traditional societies of Mindanao, he was called *mangayaw* whose role was to avenge misdeeds or wrongs committed against members of his family or kin group. He also formed the vengeance party that righted wrongs committed against any member of his village. He was never a bandit nor highwayman . . .

## ABBREVIATIONS USED

AAM	Archivo del Arzobispado de Manila (San Carlos Seminary, Guadalupe, Makati, Metro-Manila)
AHN	Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid, Spain)
APSN	Archivo de la Provincia de San Nicolas (Marcilla, Navarra, Spain)
APSR	Archivo de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario (San Juan, Metro-Manila)
ARSI Phil.	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i> (Rome, Italy) <i>Philippinarum</i> section
AUST	Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomas (Manila)
EPC	<i>Ereccion de Pueblos</i> , Cavite (PNA)
Exp.	<i>Expediente</i>
HDP	"Historical Data Papers" (NL)
MCF	Microfilm copy
MN	Archivo del Museo Naval (Madrid, Spain)
Ms.	<i>Manuscrito</i> (Manuscript)
NL	National Library (Manila)
NSL	Noceda Sanlucar <i>Vocabulario</i>
PEF	<i>La Politica de España en Filipinas</i> (periodical)
PNA	National Archives of the Philippines (Manila)
R	Rosario
SJBN	Francisco Blancas de San Joseph's "Vocabulario" (16 - -) Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris, France) copy
VPC	<i>Varias Provincias</i> , Cavite (PNA)