PEASANTS, SERVANTS, AND SOJOURNERS: ITINERANT ASIANS IN COLONIAL NEW SPAIN, 1571-1720

by

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Dedication

For Isabelle Carey.

And for those who have traveled all over the world seeking a better life for themselves, their families, and their descendants.

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Abstract:

This dissertation charts the social interactions, work experiences, and routes traveled by Asian workers within and between the colonial Philippines and Mexico between 1571 and 1720. Residents of early colonial Mexico called these workers *chinos*. Most free chinos were Filipinos, but enslaved chinos had origins all over Asia. Chinos crossed the Pacific on the Manila galleons, which sailed between the Philippines and Mexico. These ships facilitated the exchange of American products, mostly silver, for Asian products, primarily textiles. This study explores the social and spatial mobility of chinos to show how trade between and within the Americas and Asia opened a new chapter in the social history of the early modern world.

This project expands the study of Latin American history in three ways. First, it analyzes the ways in which chinos, especially Filipinos, created and sustained colonial Mexico as part of a Pacific world, advancing scholarship that already celebrates Mexico as part of an Atlantic world. Next, this work develops the study of economic history by comparing the ways that chinos shaped and connected different regions of colonial Mexico by employing Southeast Asian labor organization and technology. Thirdly, this dissertation refines studies of ethnicity by considering the ways that chinos, especially free laborers, represented themselves as members of a new corporate group in colonial Mexico, and appropriated the ethnic category of "indio," originally established for indigenous people in the Americas. They used these categories to claim resources from the colonial state, to form social networks, and to create bases for collective action.

This work advances the field of early modern global and world history. It analyzes the Philippines and Pacific New Spain as arenas of cross-cultural interaction, labor, migration, and production in their own right, rather than as mere commercial intermediaries mediating

between East Asia and the Americas. Finally, this work considers the ways that the long history of interactions between Island Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia shaped the mobility of chinos, while also situating their trans-Pacific interactions within the institutions of the global tributary empire of the Spanish Habsburgs.

INTRODUCTION:

Don Nicolás de Ángeles arrived in the city of Mexico in 1599. As a Kapampangan, or descendant of natives of the province of Pampanga in the Philippines, Ángeles claimed privileges due indigenous nobility, including the right to ride a horse, and to bear arms. He married and resided in Mexico for several years. In 1605, he returned to the Philippines, where he, like many male residents of his province, served in the standing army of the archipelago defending Iberian possessions from the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Islamic polities like the Sultanate of Jolo. In 1628, Ángeles returned to Mexico, where he embarked on a series of petitions for a pension, confirming his qualifications through the creation of a military service dossier (*méritos y servicios*). In the process, Ángeles solicited testimony from a variety of witnesses about his loyalty and experience on battlefields of Iberian Asia; many of his witnesses resided in the city of Mexico. After compiling his dossier, Ángeles personally undertook a trip to the Spanish court to plead his case, a practice followed by other indigenous élites in the Spanish Empire. He was successful in obtaining a pension.[1]

Asian migrants like don Nicolás de Ángeles were called chinos by the residents of colonial Mexico. This dissertation examines their social history in the viceroyalty of New Spain, a region that spanned the Pacific to include Mexico, Central America and the Philippines. In it, I chart routes of spatial and social mobility of chinos, analyze the ways that various labor regimes and political economies shaped their lives, and trace their interactions with the colonial state, and other residents of colonial Mexico. Both enslaved and putatively free chinos traveled to Mexico and other parts of the Americas. Most had their origins as peasants, farmers with access to land, reliant on family labor to cultivate rice and pay surpluses in goods and services to chiefs, sultans,

[1] For don Nicolás de Ángeles, see Archivo General de Indias (Henceforth, AGI), Filipinas, 40, N. 11, fs. 2v-4v, 6v, 8v-12v (1628).

and other groups. Most of the free chinos were Filipino, while most chino slaves had more diverse origins. They hailed from South Asia, especially Bengal, the Southeastern or Coromandel Coast of India, and Southeast Asia, particularly the islands of eastern Indonesia and Java. A smaller number came from East Asia, especially Japan, Fujian, and the Cantonese coast, and even East Africa, particularly southern Mozambique. This work explores the way regional political economies and legal regimes shaped and often constrained the ability of chinos to make decisions about their own lives. Yet, I also demonstrate that chinos, especially Filipinos, were able to create social networks and to take advantage of corporate privileges, efforts that made them integral to the construction of a larger Pacific world.[2]

This study prioritizes the ways that chinos used ethnicity when interacting with the colonial state, and enacted it in every day social interactions. Like the terms "indio," "negro," and other ethnic terms such as Nagô, used to refer to Yoruba slaves from the Oyo Empire, chino was not an identifying category chosen or initially used by Asian migrants to New Spain. Nor

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[2] The word "Filipino" as a reference to the indigenous people of the Philippines is often explained to be an anachronism by historians of the late-colonial Philippines. I follow William Henry Scott in noting that a few early chroniclers used the word to designate indigenous people. Such a use grouped indigenous people together solely on their status as subjects of the Habsburg kings. See William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City, Philippines: Phoenix Press, 1994), 6-7. See Archivo General de la Nación de México (Henceforth, AGN), Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, f. 13v (1585); and Pedro Chirino, *Historia de la las Islas Filipinas i do lo que en Ellas An Trabaiado Los Padres dœ la Compañía de Iesvs* (Roma: Estevan Paulino, 1604), 38, 52, 69, 75, 78, 102, 123, 188. Further, some residents in both New Spain and the Philippines, used the words "indios Filipinos," to refer to indigenous people from the Philippines and to the chino communities and chinos in New Spain, indicating some sort of informal term in use. This seemed tied to the use of use of "natives of the Philippines" (naturales de las Islas Filipinas). See AGI, Filipinas, 341, L. 8, fs. 151r-51v (1699); and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, fs. 2v (1757) See Chapters 4 through 6 for these usages and distinctions used by the inhabitants of New Spain to refer to different regions, jurisdictions, ethnicities, and polities of Asia.

"Peasants," too, is anachronistic, but in this case emphasizes the roles of chinos in Southeast Asia as somewhat independent family farmers who nonetheless paid varieties of tributes, and were connected to polities that interacted within a wider South China Sea and Indian Ocean. I derive my understanding of the term from the primary sources and the interpretations of the writings of Alexander Chayanov made by Teodor Shanin and Daniel Thorner. See Teodor Shanin, *Defining Peasants: Essays concerning Rural Societies, Expolary Economies, and Learning from them in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Teodor Shanin, "Chayanov's Message: Illuminations, Miscomprehensions, and the Contemporary 'Development Theory,'" in Alexander V. Chayanov, *Theory of Peasant Economy,* eds. Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay, and R. E. F. Smith, 1-24 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); and Daniel Thorner, "Chayanov's Concept of Peasant Economy," in the same volume, xi-xxiii.

did the term initially convey any sort of common cultural tradition or language shared by chinos in New Spain. Nonetheless, chinos strategically appropriated this category for interacting with the colonial state, and formed social networks, imbuing this category with their own meaning.[3]

This study begins in 1571, when the conquest of Manila helped establish the first sustained modern trans-Pacific maritime commercial route, plied by ships known as the Manila galleons. They opened a new chapter in the social, economic, and cultural history of the world. Administrators, soldiers, sailors, missionaries, and slaves, including chinos, sailed in these vessels and created new centers of intercontinental commercial exchange between and within the Americas and Asia. They also founded and maintained the first sustained modern cultural and social connections between the Americas and Asia. This exchange was inter-imperial and intra-imperial, as the Philippines represented the furthest western extension of the viceroyalty of New Spain, a jurisdiction that primarily encompassed present-day Mexico and the present-day American Southwest as well as parts of the Caribbean. The Manila galleons connected Manila in the Philippines to Acapulco, on the western coast of Mexico. Coastal trade and intra-American trade in turn tied Acapulco to Peru, Central America, and northwestern Mexico.[4]

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[3] For ethnogenesis, see Karen V. Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 3; and *passim*; Amitava Chowdhury, "Horizons of Memory: A Global Processual Study of Cultural Memory and Identity of the South Asian Indentured Labor Diaspora in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean" (PhD Diss., Washington State University, 2008), 107-109, 127, 142, 153-159; João José Reis and Beatriz Galotti Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004*),* 77-110; and Stuart Schwartz, "*Brazilian* Ethnogenesis: Mestizos, Mamelucos and Pardos," in *Le Nouveau Monde, Mondes Nouveaus. L'expérience Américaine*, eds. Serge Gruzinski and Nathan Wachtel (Paris: Édition, 1996), 7-27. I am indebted to B. J. Barickman for these insights.

[4] For the 1571 conquest of Manila by Legazpi, and the series of alliances and actions that preceded it, including the 1565 alliances between Visayan chieftains and Miguel López de Legazpi, the foundation of Cebu, and the movement to Panay in 1570, see Chapter 1 and the following: Nicolas P. Cushner, "Legazpi 1564-1572," *Philippine Studies* 13, no. 2 (1965): 163-206, especially 198-199; and William Henry Scott, "Why did Tupas Betray Dagami?," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 14, no. 1 (1986): 12-31. Chinos traveled and were brought as slaves to other locales in the Americas via intra-colonial maritime and overland commercial routes. For example, Andrés Tacotan, an "indio from China," and "native of Penaqui" sailed in 1607 to Peru from Acapulco in the vessel *San Francisco*. Penaqui probably referred to the pueblo of Parañaque, near Manila. He settled in Lima, where he was recorded as a stoneworker in a 1613 census of the Lima. See Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua*

The crews and officers of the Manila galleons brought Asian goods consigned to colonial Mexico such as silks, porcelain, and spices to colonial New Spain and returned with silver. The volume of the trade expanded as merchants from Manila, as well as Bantam, Batavia, Macau and Makassar, took advantage of the consolidation of early modern tribute-based states throughout Asia during the sixteenth century. The remoteness of Manila from Europe and its proximity to Asia enabled Spanish, Portuguese, Malay, Tamil, and Hokkien (southeastern Chinese) merchants to transform Manila into an important hub of trade and travel between South, East, and Southeast Asia, and Latin America. Sailors, merchants, clerics, administrators, and slaves traveling between Asia and the Americas foreshadowed modern migrations of workers across the Pacific. Such migrations, like their trans-Atlantic counterparts, involved the movement of millions of Africans, South Asians, Chinese, and Southeast Asians across the basins of the Caribbean Sea, Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, and Pacific Ocean.[5]

Pampanga en Romance (Manila: Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860 [1732]), 233. Melchor Chino, an "indio" from Portuguese India, was a slave of Captain Sebastián de Zentina in Lima. Other Asian slaves and migrants and slaves lived in the city. See Déborah Oropeza Keresey, la inmigración de la nao de China, 1565-1700" (PhD Diss., Colegio de México, 2007), Appendix C, 224; Miguel de Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1968), 527, 537. For all of the chinos counted in Lima, see *Ibid*., 524-547. Chinos worked as slaves and free workers in Central America, and Quito, as well. See AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 10a pieza, fs. 102r-103v (1658); Personal Communication, Kris Lane, 6/31/2008; Archivo General de Centro América (Henceforth AGCA), A.1.56, leg. 5357, exp. 45259; and AGCA, A.1.20, leg. 585, *Protocolo de Pedro de Caviedes* fs. 107r-111v (1627).

For connected histories, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735-762; and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[5] For modern trans-Pacific and trans-Indian Ocean immigration, see Grace Delgado Peña, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the US-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Adam McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842-1949*," Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (1990): 306-337; Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Cornell: Ithaca University Press, 1994); Wang Gungwu, "Merchants without empire: the Hokkien sojourning communities," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World*, *1350-1750*," ed. James D. Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 400-421; Fernando de Trazegnies Granda, *En el país de las colinas de arena: Reflexiones sobre la inmigración china en el Perú del siglo XIX desde la perpectiva del Derecho. 2 Volumes* (Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1994); Arlina Rocha Nogueira, *A imigração japonesa para a lavoura cafeeira paulista (1908-1922)* (São Paulo: Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidad de São Paulo, 1973);

Chinos were important to colonial Mexico for several reasons. First, chinos were crucial parts of the population and work forces of several Pacific provinces of colonial Mexico. Next, they were the subject of colonial legislation drafted at the municipal, provincial, and viceregal level. Finally, Spanish and indigenous residents, as well as foreign travelers found their presence remarkable and worthy of comment. From seven to nine thousand chinos, and possibly more, were brought as slaves or traveled as mariners to New Spain, though they were not as numerous as the indigenous population or population of African descent in Mexico during the period I examine. It is likely that at least several hundred more were born in the Americas as creole chinos (*chinos criollos*) in unions between Asian-born chinos, and people of various ethnicities in colonial Mexico.[6]

My project contributes to the field of Latin American history in three ways. First, this work advances the study of regional history in colonial Mexico and Latin America by showing the ways that Asian migrant labor helped constitute and connect these regions to each other and the colonial cores. Chinos helped construct these regions by employing Southeast Asian

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Richard B. Allen, "European Slave Trading, Abolitionism, and 'New Systems of Slavery' in the Indian Ocean," *PORTAL* 9, no. 1 (2012): 1-21; Kale Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino Crosscurrents: Oceanographies of Seafaring, Masculinities, and Globalization* (Minneapolois: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); and Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). I thank Laura Tabili for introducing me to this vast literature.

[6] Déborah Oropeza Keresey estimates that over seven thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven chinos traveled through, migrated through, or were brought to, New Spain, in the years 1565-1700, of which twenty percent were women. Three thousand, three hundred and sixty were crew members of the Manila galleons, and at least three thousand, six hundred were slaves. Oropeza argues that about five thousand chinos stayed in New Spain. Of these individuals, she found over sixteen hundred to have traveled to the city of Mexico. Oropeza generally omits chino creoles from her count. Oropeza also shows that at least several hundred chinos returned to the Philippines. See Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*' en la Nueva España," 78, 107, 188, and 204-252 Appendix C. In her own study of chinos, Tatiana Seijas estimated that eight thousand, four hundred chinos arrived in New Spain during the same period. She found eight hundred and nineteen chinos in the city of Mexico, her primary region of analysis. Her estimates of the percentage of women in this population generally match that of Oropeza Keresey. See Tatiana Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580-1700" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2008), 72, 149-151. For the proportion of Filipinos to other workers in Cavite, and proportion of creoles from the Philippines compared to other origins within the city of Mexico, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 18-19, 59, 119. I argue that these are both overly conservative estimates. See Chapters 3 and 6.

traditions of debt servitude, importing distillation technology from insular Southeast Asia, and enacting their identity as indigenous people of the Philippines. Next, this project analyzes the ways that the labor and social interactions of migrant Asian individuals created and sustained colonial Mexico as a site for trans-Pacific connections. Scholars studying the colonial history of the Americas and New Spain have devoted most of their attention to the links between Americas and a broader Atlantic world. This work examines the ways that the labor and social interaction of chinos, particularly Filipinos, created the Pacific Rim of New Spain, complementing a modest, but growing body of scholarship studying the cultural connections between colonial New Spain's Pacific Rim and the rest of the world. Finally, my dissertation considers the ways that chinos represented themselves as chinos and as indios, members of a new indigenous and foreign, corporate group in colonial Mexico. I show how Filipino commoners and nobility quickly appropriated this ethnic category, originally established for indigenous people in the Americas, as foreigners in New Spain.[7]

From the early seventeenth century onward, many free chinos claimed to simultaneously be indigenous and foreign, a tradition that began in the last decades of the sixteenth century, and

[7] See below, and Antonio Picazo Muntaner, "Distribución de Productos Asiáticos en América en el siglo XVII: una aproximación," *Temas Americanistas* 30 (2013): 87-109; Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres/ Cultura material de origen asiático en Colima, siglos xvi-xvii." *Relaciones* 131 (2012): 77-134; Cornelius Conover, "Saintly Biography and the Cult of San Felipe de Jesús in Mexico City, 1597-1697," *Americas* 67, no. 4 (2011): 441-466; and José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army during the Dutch Wars (1600-1648)," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Manila: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 79-87.

The economic history of the Iberian Pacific still requires much more study. Some of the more influential works are: Pierre Chaunú, *Las Filipinas y el Pacífico de los ibéricos: siglos XVI-XVII-XVIII: estadísticas y atlas* (México, D.F.: Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior, 1976); John TePaske, "New World Silver, Castile and the Philippines, 1590-1800," in *Precious Metals in the Late Medieval and Early Modern World*, ed. John F. Richards. (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 425-445; Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia (INAH), Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1984); Dennis O. Flynn, and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," in *Metals and Monies in an Emerging Global Economy*, eds. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 259-280; and William Schell Jr., "Silver Symbiosis: ReOrienting Mexican Economic History," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 1 (2001): 89-133.

intensified after the manumission of chino slaves in the 1680s. Chinos claimed an indigenous heritage in part because, as they and other observers argued, they and their parents were indigenous and natives (*naturales*) of the Philippine Islands, or even more specifically, of Luzon, or Manila. As such, they occupied the juridical position of "indio" which had first been invented in the Americas. Like don Nicolás de Ángeles, chinos forming corporate groups claimed to be foreigners of a different kingdom, yet they were also natives and subjects of the Habsburg king, deserving the juridical privileges accorded to the indigenous of his American kingdom.[8]

Chinos within this group demonstrated social differentiation and stratification, even as they constituted and identified themselves as members of the same corporate group. Free chinos, for example, faced fewer constraints than enslaved chinos. Chino slaves, though, followed social and spatial itineraries similar to free chinos. Large numbers of non-Filipino chinos adopted Filipino strategies and behavior patterns as they settled, passed through, or resided in central Luzon. Many chinos connected the Atlantic and Pacific worlds with their mobility and labor. Many settled in New Spain, though large numbers of chinos circulated, traveling between both sides of the Pacific. The mobility exercised by chinos created an axis which connected the ports and working spaces of Spain's Pacific possessions, especially Colima and Acapulco, with the Gulf port of Veracruz, the city of Mexico, and the city of Puebla.

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[8] For chino manumission, see Virginia González Claverán, "Un documento colonial sobre esclavos asiáticos," *Historia Mexicana* 38, no. 3 (1989): 524, 526-527; and Tatiana Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580-1700" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2008), 16, 74, 210-231. For claims of corporate identity based on Filipino nativity, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5257, exp. 14, fs. 1r-4r (1610); AGN, Indios, v. 13, exp. 112, f. 92r (1631); Adolfo Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," *1er Foro de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia de Colima*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes G. (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2005), 9, http://www.culturacolima.gob.mx/imagenes/foroscolima/1/10.pdf ; Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII* (Zamora, México: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1993), 439-440; AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1028, exp. 28 (1694); AGI, Filipinas, 341, L. 8, fs. 15r-151v (1699); *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743, Volume 1*, ed. Francisco de Solano (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), 23, 25-26; and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, f. 2v (1757).

Gender also shaped the labor regimes, mobility, and social interactions of Ángeles and other chinos. Many chino settlers and itinerants were men. Chinos, that is, Asian men, represented the vast majority of free chino migrants in part due to the gendered nature of maritime work, and gender ideals of labor in both the Spanish colonies and the Island (insular) Southeast Asian world. By contrast, the chino slave population included more *chinas*, Asian women, as did the American-born (*criollo*) chino population. Most of the chinos whom I examine in this project were men, albeit subaltern ones, in a Spanish colonial world. This gender identity proved highly influential in the choices that they were able to make, the interactions that they had with other people across the Pacific, and also shaped their visibility in the colonial records. This project centers on the mobility exercised by men, in occupations mostly held by men, and it was primarily as men that chinos embarked in their social and spatial mobility.[9]

In the realm of social interaction, chinos proved gregarious and interacted extensively with non-chinos. Most free chinos acquired knowledge of the Spanish language and of Spanish colonial institutions during their residence in the Philippines and they arrived in New Spain with this knowledge. Even slaves brought over the Pacific demonstrated considerable acquaintance with Iberian customs and institutions.[10]

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[9] For the influence of gender on migration and adjustment to colonial social hierarchies and labor regimes, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 6, 45-47, 214-216; Karen Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); and *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, eds. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[10] For marriage and compadrazgo as strategies of affinity, collateral alliance, and ethnogenesis in the colonial Philippines and Mexico, see Mark Dizon, "Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century Missions on the Caraballo Mountains," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3 (2011): 367-398; and Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

I argue that pre-Hispanic patterns of interaction and colonial political economies alike led to the prominence of indigenous people of central Luzon in forming and maintaining chino corporate groups, and colonially-sanctioned hierarchies that mediated chino experience with the colonial state. Treasury records corroborate the importance of central Luzon origins among mariners and other free Asians traveling from the Philippines to New Spain. Indigenous Filipinos brought to colonial Mexico their own histories of the formation of interaction. These included the formation of ethnic groups or ethnogenesis, negotiation using colonial institutions, and social interaction with free and enslaved non-Filipino individuals. They also brought from Asia technologies and labor arrangements that they employed in New Spain. To cope with trans-Pacific labor demands and social conditions in New Spain, they drew from both pre-colonial insular Southeast Asian practices and cultural repertoires developed during the initial colonization of the archipelago.[11]

Regional and intra-imperial variety in work routines and political economy likewise shaped the interactions of Ángeles and other chinos. They helped develop the large estates on the Pacific coast of Mexico, where demand for labor resulted in comparative autonomy for many workers and relief for chinos from labor drafts to man the galleons. Other chinos, like the

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[11] It may well be that the large numbers of Asian slaves reared in the Estado da Índia exhibited general social patterns of Luso-Asian criollos that later influenced New Spain. I have not found conclusive evidence of this. For the prominence of Portuguese slavers and commercial routes for enslaved chinos, see Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580-1640," *Itinerario* 32, no. 1 (2008): 19-38; and María de Deus Beites Manso and Lúcio de Sousa, "Os Portugueses e o Comércio de Escravos nas Filipinas (1580-1600)," in *Portugal e o Sueste Asiático 500 Anos/ Portugal and Southeast Asia: 500 years*, edited by Maria Leonor Garcia da Cruz e María de Deus Beites Manso (Lisbon: Núcleo de Investigação em Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais, Universidade do Minho, Centro de História da Facultade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2013), 4-15.

For an argument that places African creoles in the center of the formation of African colonial culture in the Americas, see Linda Heywood, and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

For the predominance of places of origin fin Luzon or chino sailors, see Chapters 3 through 6; and Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" Appendix C, 205-252. Oropeza primarily examines the ships that sailed before 1660. I have begun to examine crew lists galleons sailing after 1660, and though more sailors on these galleons can be found from Northern Luzon, Kabikolan, and the Visayas, most sailors appeared to have hailed from Luzon. Later sailors most often were natives of the port town of Cavite. See Chapters 3 and 4.

natives of central Luzon, resided in rural communities dominated by more coercive labor systems, and these chinos often worked in a narrower set of occupations. Still other chinos inhabited cities and worked in industries characterized by widespread ethnic diversity, where production and interaction substantially intensified over the course of the early modern era.[12]

Global Perspectives on the Early Modern World

This work also draws on and contributes to the field of early modern global and world history. First, this dissertation charts the movement and employment of Filipino labor, considering insular Southeast Asian influences on the formation of an Iberian Pacific. It expands upon recent histories of the early modern Pacific which focus on the interactions between of Asian and European "merchant empires." At the same time, this dissertation situates the trans-Pacific and intra-Asian interactions of chinos within an imperial context, that of the global tributary empire of the Spanish Habsburgs. In particular, I show the way that this context shaped the emergence of chinos as a group in the archipelago of the Philippines. The Philippines was not merely an entrepôt that mediated between East Asia and the Americas. Instead, the role of the archipelago in a larger global empire helps explain how it served as an arena of interaction, labor, migration, and agrarian production. The formation of a chino corporate category constituted only one of several transformations in the Spanish Habsburg Empire, the Philippines archipelago, and the greater South China Sea area of interaction.

This study investigates the effects of social transformations associated with early modern Iberian colonization in Asia and the Americas, as well as the ways such processes intersected with changes in the global administration of tribute and commerce, the patterns and intensity of

[12] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, 2a pte., f. 282r. For more examination of the relationships between ethnic identification, power, and gender, see Laura A. Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); and Richard Boyer, "Honor Among Plebians: *Mala Sangre* and Social Reputation," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Honor in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 152-178.

commercial exchange, and the dynamics of increasing cross-cultural interaction. Chinos participated in and shaped changes in the social systems that followed one hundred and fifty years after the conquest of the central and northern Philippines. They also interacted and shaped similar processes and institutions in mainland New Spain.

The subjects and administrators of the Spanish Habsburg Empire, including, later, the Kingdom of Portugal, built upon Asian connections and transformations forged in the fifteenth century. The voyages of Zheng He, the expansion of polities such as the Bahmanid Sultanate and Vijayanagara in the Deccan plateau, and the adoption of Islam by insular Southeast Asian courts in Melaka and Pasai increased the connectivity and commercial vitality of Asia. Meanwhile, the Single-Whip tax reforms promulgated in late fifteenth-century China greatly increased the velocity of silver-based transactions in East Asia, quickening demand from mineral production first, in Japan, and later, in Peru and Mexico.[13]

Changes in early modern East Asia were immensely important in setting the stage for the emergence of chinos, attracting Spanish colonization and trans-Pacific merchant capital. These changes also altered demography and cross-cultural social interactions in the Philippines. Shortly before the conquest of Manila, the Ming emperor licensed already existing trade channeled through its southeastern region of Fujian. Hokkien traders, farmers, agents, artisans, and fisherman filled the port-states of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, the Philippines, Thailand,

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[13] See Chapters 1, 2, and 3. I draw on this overview from Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 1: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 2: Expansion and* Crisis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Also see Najeeb Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), 58-71; Ruurdje Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the Seventeenth Century* (Quezon City: New Day, 1989); M. A. P. Meilink-Roefolsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1650* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962); Roderick Ptak, "The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea – Sulu Zone – North Moluccas (14th to early 16th century)," *Archipel* 43 (1992): 39-44; Kenneth R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 308-330; and E. P. Patanñe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries* (San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines: LSA Press, 1996).

and the states of present-day Vietnam. The influx of silver and heightened economic activity encouraged regional economic specialization, as well as the expansion of production to frontier areas like Taiwan, especially after the Manchu conquest. State-builders in Japan worked to unify warring élites, and expanded trade to Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, for a time. Perhaps more importantly, they later thwarted the extension of Iberian missionization to their kingdoms, prompting the exodus of hundreds of Japanese Catholics who settled in the Philippines.[14]

Changes in early modern South Asia, too, led to opportunities for Portuguese, Spanish, Middle Eastern, and Southeast Asian merchants. This history shaped the demography of the population of the Philippines and that of chino migrants. Turco-Mongol expansion, and later, Telugu migration into South India, helped spur tighter commercial and itinerant connections within South Asia, as well as between South Asia and Southeast Asia. The expansion of the Mughal Empire into Gujarat, a region tied to commerce with Southeast Asia, and later, in the Deccan, spurred commercial connections between the heartland of northern India and Southeast Asia, laying the template for routes followed by Portuguese and Spanish merchants. The Mughal Empire, the Deccan sultanates succeeding Vijayanagara, and the Telugu Nāyaka kingdoms ruling the Tamil South funded the expansion of cultivation and production in the new boom area, especially in eastern Bengal, and the southeast Indian Coast known as Coromandel. This process accelerated the growth of ports like Masulipatnam and their hinterlands. Governors and tax-

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[14] See James Chin, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas: 1570-1760" (PhD Diss., Hong Kong University, 1998); Dahpon David Ho, "Sealords Live in Vain: Fujian and the Making of a Maritime Frontier in Seventeenth-Century China" (PhD Diss., University of California, San Diego, 2011); Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830. Volume 2, Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia and the Islands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 409-413; Haruko Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549-1650* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009); and Robert Leroy Innes, "The Door Ajar: Japan's Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century" (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1980) and *infra.*

farmers administering Coromandel forged and reconfigured commercial and military alliances with Southeast Asian rulers, Portuguese and *mestiço* (Luso-Asian) merchants, and the new trading companies of Northern Europe. Portuguese and Asian slavers exchanged Spanish silver for the victims of famines and political instability on new frontiers of South Asian agrarian expansion. The *Estado da Índia*, the official Portuguese-ruled Asian empire, lost ground against the Dutch in South Asia and Island Southeast Asia, but itinerant Portuguese merchant, and soldiers acting in an unofficial capacity worked with the Dutch, British, local sultanates, and indigenous officials and merchants across the Bay of Bengal.[15]

In Southeast Asia, the Portuguese conquest of Melaka in 1511 encouraged a realignment of commercial routes, markets, and political allegiances. Such shifts altered the relationships of Filipinos and by extension, chinos, with other Southeast Asian peoples. Brunei, Makassar, Aceh, and Johor, Banten in insular Southeast Asia; and Ayutthaya, Hoi Ann, and Patani, on the mainland, emerged as sites for alternative marketing and entrepôts used by Portuguese, Marakkayar, Javanese, Japanese, Malay, Persian, Arab, and Hokkien merchants. With its access to American silver, so, too, did the Philippines, newly conquered in 1565. Meanwhile,

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[15] For South Asia, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Richard M. Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105-128; Gautum Sengupta, "The Portuguese in Bengal," in *India & Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, eds. José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2001), 27-28, 30-31; George Winius, "Embassies from Malacca and the 'Shadow Empire'" in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Portuguese and the Pacific: University of California, Santa Barbara, October, 1993,* eds. A Dutra and João Camilo dos Santos (Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies, 1995), 170-173; and Kenneth McPherson "Enemies or Friends: The Portuguese, the British and the Survival of Portuguese Commerce in the Bay of Bengal from the Late Seventeenth to the Late Nineteenth Century," same volume, 215-217; Velchuru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal 1500-1700* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1740* (Wiesbaden Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979); J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* (New York: AMS, 1975); and John F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

Portuguese entry into the traditional political competition between the Maluku principalities of Ternate and Tidore brought them into competition with the northern port-states of (*pasisir*) of Java such as Japara and Tuban. This vacuum in what is now eastern Indonesia drew the newly Islamized state of Makassar; the Dutch VOC, anchored by Kelapa/Jakarta, which it conquered and re-founded as Batavia in 1603; and the Spanish Habsburgs, which sent voyages from New Spain to Maluku from the 1520s onward.[16]

Post-Conquest Spanish America

Spanish Habsburgs in the Americas altered agrarian social relations and commercial exchange in the new areas which it administered, shaping chino history in both the Philippines and the Americas**.** In Mexico, the composition of the Mesoamerican nobility and the settlement patterns of communities changed in response to the demographic devastation brought on by epidemics and overwork brought by the conquistadors. These new configurations of surplus extraction initially rested on plunder and enslavement, but later shifted to tribute economies and freer markets in labor. Colonial administration and Roman Catholic missionization also shaped configurations of space, production, and social hierarchies. The Spanish Crown and colonial administrators worked to separate Spanish colonists and indigenous colonial subjects through legislation. This model of social organization sought to spatially separate Castilians from the indigenous subjects of the crown, and also set up separate civic and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as different statuses as participants in the colonial legal system and as Christians within the Catholic Church. The needs of colonists for labor largely thwarted attempts to spatially and socially separate the república de indios and república of Spaniards. Nonetheless, indigenous people and Spaniards deployed the fiction of separation of the republics to engage in

[16] See note 13, *supra*.

ethnogenesis, forming new ethnic groups, demarcating cultural boundaries, and defending claims to material resources.[17]

In the one hundred and fifty years after the conquest and early settlement, indigenous people, people of African descent, and Iberians helped create new markets, produce new commodities, and establish new labor regimes. Their staffing of these new industries altered the demography of mainland New Spain, the Andes, and the Philippines, and created new connections to an emerging global market. Some indigenous leaders in the Americas and the Philippines maintained their authority, as well as kin-ordered and tribute-ordered production in pueblos de indios, even though they could never fully separate from Spanish rule due to changed market and political relationships.[18]

Meanwhile, numerous members of the indigenous élite, fortunately-placed commoners, and a few Afro-Mexicans, often allied with Spaniards, invested in new enterprises, initiating or expanding cultivation of cacao, wheat, corn, and raising cattle, mules, and sheep for new markets in the mines and new cities. Still others invested in manufacturing enterprises, primarily textiles in small textile mills (*obrajes*). Freed and enslaved people of African descent, migrant and resident indigenous people and Spaniards worked alongside each other in these new rural establishments, forming informal relationships and intermarrying. Afro-Mexicans refounded depopulated indigenous villages, often joining with indigenous migrants fleeing corvée drafts and those moving towards the incentives offered by Spanish employers trying to attract scarce labor. Spanish administrators, too, illicitly began enterprises exploiting the labor of the people they were supposed to protect. They used the power of their office to force the inhabitants of the

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[17] For a discussion of the repúblicas, see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions:* Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 91-112, 120-122.

[18] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997 [1982]), 79-100, and *passim*.

pueblos into new social relationships shaped by the market, often collaborating with metropolitan merchants eager to obtain commodities for internal market and exchanged with the societies of the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean.[19]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, after the era covered by this study, the interaction of colonial subjects and their rulers produced new forms of religiosity, colonial administration, and gendered, racial and class identities in the Americas and Asia. These new methods changed the conduct of war, taxation, administration, and ethnography practiced in South and East Asia. In the Americas, such changes coincided with population recoveries of indigenous populations, the reinvigoration of indigenous identities, the emergence of new ways of understanding colonial sovereignty, and reorganization of ethno-racial (*casta*) hierarchies. These changes were complemented by new forms of governmentality as metropolitan governments sought to extract more resources from the colonies and change their populations with new forms of surveillance, administration, education, religiosity, and jurisprudence. Chinos

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[19] For discussions of changes in colonial economies and regional economic, see Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Reshaping New Spain: Government and Private Interests in the Colonial Bureaucracy, 1535-1550,* trans. Julia Constantino and Pauline Marmasse (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012); Frank T. Proctor III, *"Damned Notions of Liberty": Slavery, Culture, and Power in Colonial Mexico, 1640-1769* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998 [1988]); Karen M. Powers, "Resilient Lord and Indian Vagabonds: Wealth, Migration, and the Reproductive Transformation of Quito's Chiefdoms, 1500-1700," *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 3 (1991): 225-249; Steve J. Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," in *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World-System in Africa and Latin America*, eds. Frederick Cooper, Florencia E. Mallon, Allen Isaacman, Steve J. Stern, and William Roseberry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 23-82; Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991); Bernardo García Martínez, "Pueblos de Indios, Pueblos de Castas: New Settlements and Traditional Corporate Organization in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," in *The Indian Community of Colonial Mexico: Fifteen Essays on Land Tenure, Corporate Organizations, Ideology and Village Politics*, eds. Arij Ouweneel and Simon Miller (Amsterdam: Center for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1990), 103-116; and Murdo J. MacLeod, *Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); and John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972). Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: Mercado interno, regions y espacio económico* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); and Robert W. Slenes, "Os múltiplos dos porcos e diamantes: A economia escravista de Minas Gerais no século XIX," *Estudos econômicos* 18, no. 3 (1988): 449-495.

entered into New Spain, interacted with its inhabitants, and transformed the viceroyalty. Like the indigenous people of colonial Mexico, they also moved around this world.[20]

Historiographies of Migration and Colonialism

Indigenous peasants inhabited corporate communities which held cultural, economic, and social importance in the colonial Americas, but like other groups in the early modern world, indigenous people of the Americas also moved around during the colonial period, as they had before the arrival of the Spanish. Migration was equally important to pre-Hispanic and colonial Filipinos, but it was in the Americas that chino migration traditions converged with those of the indigenous people of the Americas. Scholars have persuasively demonstrated that indigenous migration in the early colonial period shaped the cultural, social, political and economic histories of Mexico, the Andes, and the Philippines. Indigenous migrants made new colonial cities such as Lima, Puebla, and Arévalo, but they also helped transform pre-Hispanic urban conglomerations like Manila, Cuzco, Pátzcuaro and Tenochtitlán into new colonial societies. The settlement of putatively free indigenous migrants, as well as indigenous, African, and Asian slaves in the ports, new rural estates, and mines of the colonial Spanish Empire, enabled these settlements to prosper. Migrants often were closely tied to Spanish employers and patrons. Nonetheless, many migrants also settled in the pueblos de indios provided for in Spanish colonial legislation. Even as some migrants maintained ties to the pueblos and provinces of their origins,

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[20] Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico, 1749-1857* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Hal Langfur, *The Forbidden Lands: Colonial Identity , Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil's Eastern Indians, 1750-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Jordana Dym, *From Sovereign Villages to National States: City, State, and Federation in Central America, 1759-1839* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); and Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

still other indigenous migrants helped form new colonial cultures as they shared spaces, social networks, and familial relationships with other subaltern colonial subjects.[21]

This work shows that the subjects of the Spanish Empire in Asia interacted with powerful polities, states, and persistent cultural traditions in the Philippines, the South China Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It places a spotlight on the labor of Filipinos and other Asians who built and maintained Iberian empires in Asia, and who are often neglected by historians. The colonial history of spatial and social mobility of Filipinos and other Asians in Iberian Asia structured patterns of chino activity in New Spain. Filipino colonial responses themselves derived from a broader heritage of cross-cultural interactions with people from other societies in Asia. This work analyzes the ways that commercial interaction of itinerant merchants, servants, soldiers, sailors, and slaves moving between these societies led to the settlement of new populations in Luzon, the island upon which Manila was sited. In colonial Mexico, this legacy of multi-cultural

[21] For migration, see Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "Negros e indios en el obraje de San Ildefonso. Real Audiencia de Quito. 1665-1666," *Revista de Indias* LXXII, no. 255 (2012): 527-550; Ana María Presta, "Undressing the *Coya* and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (2010): 40-74; Dana Velasco Murillo, "Urban Indians in a Silver City, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1806" (PhD Diss., UCLA, 2009); Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "El Origen y Conformación de los barrios de indios," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 105-122; Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y Utopía, El Gobierno Indio y Español de la "Ciudad de Mechuacan," 1521-1580* (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005); Paul Charney, "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian Cofradias and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru," *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (1998): 379-407; Lyn Brandon Lowry, "Forging an Indian nation: Urban Indians under Spanish control (Lima, Peru, 1535-1765) (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991); and Ann M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1520-1720* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990). For African corporate groups and cross-cultural interaction in cities, see Vanessa dos Santos Oliveira, "Devoção e distinção na Irmandade do Homens Pretos do Rosário da Cidade de São Cristóvão-Sergipe," *Portuguese Studies Review* 20, no. 1 (2012) 79-112; María Elisa Velásquez, *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, D. F.: INAH, 2006); and Frederick P. Bowser, *African Slaves in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

interaction led to the formation of relationships between migrants from central Luzon, and people of European, indigenous, and African descent.[22]

This work focuses on Filipino migration, departing from a tendency which has tended to cast early modern Filipinos as living in Asian equivalents of closed corporate communities. I make comparisons and connections of the mobility of Filipinos during the colonial period and in their earliest historical contexts; it is from these contexts which chinos orginated. Most works on Filipino migration analyze migration in modern contexts. Works that treat trans-Pacific Filipino migration and circulation generally ignore the early colonial period and rely on secondary sources. The earliest historians of the colonial Philippines were most concerned with using primary sources to portray the ways that colonial Spanish administrators, both civil and ecclesiastical, debased an advanced Philippines civilization. By providing indigenous perspectives, these works improved upon previous works by imperial historians. Nonetheless, the declensionist perspectives of these nationalist works and their more contemporary

[22] Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "La esclavitud asiática en el virreinato de la Nueva España, 1565-1673," *Historia Mexicana* LXI, no. 1 (2011): 5-57; Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" *passim*; Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade," 19-38; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," *passim*.

These works complement histories of slave trades in the early modern South China Sea and Indian Ocean. See Richard B. Allen, "Satisfying the 'Want for Labouring People': European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (2010): 45-73; Remco Raben, "Cities and the slave trade in early-modern Southeast Asia," in *Linking Destinies: Trade, Towns and Kin in Asian History*, eds. Peter Boomgaard, Dick Kooiman, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), 119-140; and Marcus Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003): 131-177.

The institutional focus of imperial and economic histories of the Philippines have tended to obscure the role of mobile Asian individuals in the history of the Philippines, with two key exceptions: Hokkiens and Japanese. See Guotong Li, "Reopening the Fujian Coast, 1600-1800: Gender Relations, Family Strategies, and Ethnic Identities in a Maritime World" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2007); Louis Jacques Berger, "The Overseas Chinese Community in Seventeenth Century Nagasaki" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2003); *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert J. Antony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010); and Tonio Andrade, *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Great Victory over the West* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2011).

For Japanese in Manila and Southeast Asia, see Julia Haruko Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2009), 83-104; Akira Matsuura, "Japanese Interaction via Chinese Junks in the Edo Period," *Journal of Cultural Interaction in East Asia* 1 (2010): 57-70; Alexandra Curvelo, "The Artistic Circulation between Japan, China, and New Spain in the 16th-17th Centuries," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 16 (2008): 59-69; and Adam Clulow, "Like Lambs in Japan and Devils outside Their Land: Diplomacy, Violence, and Japanese Merchants in Southeast Asia," *Journal of World History* 24, no. 2 (2013): 335-358; and Chapters 2 and 3.

descendants tend to neglect the agency of Filipinos who lived after the pre-Hispanic Golden Age. Historians like Emma Blair and James Robertson joined earlier critiques of Spanish rule by compiling and translating an influential set of primary documents on the colonial history of the Philippines, seeking to justify American colonial rule by presenting Black Legend caricatures of Spanish exploitation.[23]

My work also builds on, but moves beyond, regional histories of the Philippines that began to be produced in the 1960s, and which moved the history of the colonial Philippines beyond the still influential perspectives of historians reliant on the Blair and Robertson collection. These historians focus on reconstructing provincial and municipal history as a necessary prelude to writing a national history of the Philippines. They pay close attention to local processes of colonialism, but with a few exceptions, eschew the use of comparative or connective history linking regional histories to histories of imperial and global interactions. My dissertation acknowledges the importance of regional political economy, history, and culture, but it expands on these works to show the necessity of interpreting the significance of trans-regional, trans-imperial, and trans-oceanic connections to the history of the daily life of the inhabitants of the colonial Philippines. Regional histories of colonialism parallel histories of colonial institutions by scholars who used their familiarity with Spanish colonial archives to examine colonial legislation, missionization, and the effects of early colonialism on Filipinos. Historians in the last quarter of the twentieth century, most notably William Henry Scott, suggested the

[23] Maria Gloria Cano Garcia, "The 'Spanish Colonial Past' in the Construction of Modern Philippine History: A Critical Inquiry into the (Mis)Use of Spanish Sources" (PhD Diss., National University of Singapore, 2005); Ambeth R. Ocampo, "Rizal's Morga and Views of Philippines History," *Philippine Studies* 46, no. 2 (1998): 184-214; and Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas: Crónicas y Memorias* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1997).

possibility of writing Filipino history by reading admittedly eurocentric Spanish documents against the grain in order to recover Filipino points of view.[24]

This dissertation also profits from cultural and social histories of the colonial period produced primarily in the Philippines and the United States since the 1980s. These works have fruitfully compared Philippines historical patterns with cultural shifts elsewhere in insular Southeast Asia. These cultural and social histories, though insightful, generally pay insufficient attention to the ways that mobility and global connections shaped the colonial history of the Philippines. Such histories are best read alongside works of the trans-Pacific and global studies made by economic and political historians of the early modern Pacific and New Spain. More recent histories analyze proscriptive texts produced by missionaries, sacramental registers, and royal orders, shedding light on topics such as the missteps of the cross-cultural processes of missionization, the use by Filipinos of Catholic baptism to create new social relationships, the political economy of labor drafts and peasant flight, and the political careers of Filipino socially-

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[24] See John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959); John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972); Nicolas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1976); Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 1979); and Bruce Cruikshank, *Samar: 1768-1898* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985).

For two exceptional examples of histories of the Philippines which, though they focus on periods after the temporal scope of this study, analyze local concerns in the context of global historical patterns, see James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898:The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981); and *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and local Transformations*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Ed C. de Jesus (Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1982).

The corpus of William Henry Scott is vast. For a representative sample, see William Henry Scott, *A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1968); William Henry Scott, "Filipino Class Structure in the Sixteenth Century," in William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), 96-126; William Henry Scott, "Oripun and Alipin in the Sixteenth-Century Philippines," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, eds. Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); and William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1994).

The historiographical sketch in this dissertation treats and writings in Spanish and English on the early colonial Philippines, omitting works written in the languages of the Philippines.

mobile nobility. Such analyses parallel the writings of other colonial histories which have shown imperial domination to be contingent and negotiated, though still dependent on violence and coercion. My work has consciously sought to compare and connect the analyses of processes of colonization in Asia with those of the Americas, when such comparisons are applicable.[25]

My work examines social mobility of chinos as they traveled to and within New Spain. Interpretation of these records compares the labor regimes and social interactions of chinos within the regions of western Mexico, the Costa Grande, and central Mexico, as well as their movement between regions. I employ nominal record linkage, cross-referencing individuals mentioned in different records and document repositories. Linking records enables me to piece together chino itineraries across time and space, chart the careers of chinos, and plot changing social networks. Such comparisons and connections help express the diversity of chino experience.

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[25] See Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785* (México, D.F.: INAH, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1984); Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); L. P. R. Santiago, "The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman (1571-1898): Genealogy and Group Identity," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 1 (March, 1990): 39-73; Isagani R Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution (1571-1896)* (Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 1994); Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas (1570-1608)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995); María Fernanda García de los Arcos, *Forzados y reclutas: los criollos novohispanos en Asia (1756-1808)* (México, D. F.: Potrerillos Editores, 1996); Danilo Madrid Gerona, "Text and Politics: Transactions of Power in the Early Provincial Philippines," *Asian Studies* 34 (1998): 15-49; Grace Estela Mateo, "Ilocos: A History of the Regionalization of Spanish Colonialism" (PhD Diss., University of Hawai'i, 2004); Luis Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del Barangay. La principalía indígena en las islas Filipinas, 1565-1789: viejas evidencias y nuevas hipótesis," in *El cacicazgo en Nueva España y Filipinas*, eds. Margarita Menegus Bornemann y Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador (México, D. F.: Plaza y Valdés, 2005), 355-406; Oona Paredes, "Converting Conflict: Lumad Identity and Warfare in Early Colonial Mindanao" (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2008); and Linda Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Colonial Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009); and Mark Dizon, "Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century Missions on the Caraballo Mountains," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3 (2011): 367-398.

Luis Dery emphasizes the mobility of colonial Filipino peasants, arguing that they fled against a totally dominant colonial state which ultimately broke the Philippines. See Luis Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines: A Social History of the Filipino People, 1570-1800* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 2006). Historians of both colonial Southeast Asia and colonial Latin America have a broader range of explanations of the motivations of peasants in migration and flight. See Michael Adas, "From Footdragging to Flight: The Evasive History of Peasant Avoidance Protest in South and South-east Asia," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986): 64-86; and above.

This study situates chino mobility in New Spain against the backdrop of a much larger movement of people within the Philippines and Asia. These groups followed routes of corveé labor drafts, commercial exchange, military displacement, and enslavement. This project attends to the ways that rural life changed under colonial rule, but also the ways that the central Luzon nobility and subaltern groups negotiated with and at times resisted colonial administrators.

Commerce, Hybridity, Mobility, and Identity

This work builds on the connective histories of the cross-cultural interactions and transformations of political economies of early modern Pacific and Atlantic. Most scholars have changed their focus from élites to the lives of women, slaves, indigenous people, mestizos, and Iberians of humble origins. They have incorporated insights from anthropologists and literary critics to try to understand how African, indigenous, and European systems of meaning influenced the course of colonial interactions. Lusophone historians have analyzed post-mortem estate inventories, census data, and Inquisition cases to interpret the scattered evidence of the social history of slaves and poor colonists in Portuguese America, as well as the influences of African culture on the formation of colonial societies there. Hispanophone historians have written fine-grained analyses of regional political economy, studies of merchant networks and relationships between political families, research on legal frameworks and institutions which undergirded colonial society, and important investigations of the cultural, architectural, and artistic histories of the colonies. Anglophone historians of colonial Spanish America have used indigenous language documentation, and "against-the-grain" readings of colonial sources to begin to understand indigenous frames of reference, the social world of mixed-race urban inhabitants, and have compared the experiences of women and men within the colonies.[26]

[26] For some of these works, see notes 19 and 21, *supra*, and; David Tavárez, "Legally Indian: Inquisitorial Readings of Indigenous Identity in New Spain," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*,

These historians, in turn, have helped to create and influence the production of history of chinos in colonial Mexico. Many scholars have noted their presence in New Spain, in passing surveys. Early scholars who analyzed chino origins did so in the context of the larger slave population of New Spain, and found many chino slaves to have hailed from Portuguese Asia. Other scholars began to quantify the chino presence in New Spain. Still others observed viceregal and municipal legislation aimed at chinos. While many early treatments of chinos focused on the copious documentation of them produced in the city of Mexico, a few scholars later noted their presence and activity in the colonial peripheries of Pacific Mexico.[27]

Though still centered in the archives of Mexico City, recent surveys have provided a view of the broader residential and occupational diversity inhabited by chinos. The work of Edward Slack gives scholars of the colonial Americas a much better understanding of the variety of occupations entered in by chinos in colonial Mexico, and the range of provinces they

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eds. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 81-99; Paulina Claudia Machuca Chávez, "El Cabildo de La Villa: Gobierno, Poder, y Una Élite Consolidada, 1600-1622," (MA Thesis, Universidad de Colima, 2006. Biblioteca Digital de Tesis de Posgrado. http://digeset.ucol.mx/tesis_posgrado/Pdf/Claudia_Paulina_Machuca_Chavez.pdf.); Guillermina de Valle Pavón, "Los mercaderes de México y la transgresión de los límites al comercio Pacífico en Nueva España, 1550-1620," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 23, supplement 1 (2005): 213-240; Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, *Los tarascos y el imperio español, 1600-1740* (México, D. F.: UNAM, 2004); Jane Landers, "The Central African Presence in Spanish Maroon Societies," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora,* ed. Linda Heywood (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 227-241; Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Margarita Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos: Mercaderes, banqueros y el estado en el Perú virreinal* (Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001); Robert W. Slenes, *Na senzala, uma flor: Esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava: Brasil Sudeste, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999); Sheila de Castro Faria, *A colônia em movimento: fortuna e família no cotidiano colonial*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1998); Laura de Mello e Souza, *O Diabo e a Terra de Santa Cruz: Feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1986); and Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e refluxo do tráfico de escravos entre o Golfo do Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos, dos séculos XVII a XIX*. Second Edition (São Paulo: Editora Corrupio, 1987).

[27] Some of the first scholars to identify Asians in New Spain, albeit incorrectly as "Chinese," were Homer Dubs and Robert Smith. See *idem*, "Chinese in Mexico City in 1635," *Far Eastern Quarterly* (1942): 387-389. This Sinocentric perspective on chino identity is still influential. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México: Estudio Etnohistórico* (Veracruz, México: Universidad Veracruzana, 1989 [1946]); Jonathan I. Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico: 1610-1670* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Virginia González Claverán, "Un documento colonial sobre esclavos asiáticos," *Historia Mexicana* 38, no. 3 (1989): 523-532; and Eichi Fuchigami, "Los indios *chinos* en Colima, siglos xvi y xvii" (MA Thesis, Colegio de México, 1995).

inhabited. Slack uses examples of chino litigation in order to show the ways that chinos maneuvered in colonial society.[28]

Déborah Oropeza uses documents from both Mexico and Spain to show the importance of chino labor in the maintenance of Spanish rule in the Pacific. Treasury records and parish registers document the overwhelming numbers of Filipinos as galleon crew members and chino residents in New Spain. Oropeza also explains the regional differences of chino experience, as well as locating chinos in legislation and litigation through her analysis of law codes and Inquisition records. She contextualizes the chino presence as part of a larger Asian presence in material goods, food, and architecture in the Americas.[29]

Tatiana Seijas concentrates her analysis of the social history of chino slaves in central Mexico. In ground-breaking work, she uncovers the importance of Portuguese commercial networks in providing Asian slaves to the Philippines and Mexico. In her dissertation, she proves the presence of chino social networks and the agency of chinos in colonial courts using notarial records and litigation records. She also shows the oppression faced by chino slaves on both sides of the Pacific.[30]

Finally, the historian, Paulina Machuca illustrates the importance of chinos in the province of Colima in western Mexico as part of a larger examination of the political economy of

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[28] Edward Slack Jr., "The *Chinos* in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image." *Journal of World History* 20, no. 1 (March 2009): 35-67.

[29] Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*.'"

[30] Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude,"; and Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade," 19-38. Seijas, as well as a handful of other scholars, has also studied the presence of Asian slaves, called "chinos" and "indios," in Spain and Portugal. See Tatiana Seijas, "Native Vassals: Indigenous Identity, and Legal Protection in Early Modern Spain," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 153-164. Also see Juan Gil, "*Chinos* in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*, same volume, 139-151. Prior to the inauguration of the Manila galleon route, sailors, administrators and missionaries rounding the Cape of Good Hope brought these slaves to Iberia. See also Caroline Menard, "'Un esclavo se llama Antonio': Venta de dos esclavos asiáticos en Galicia a inicios del siglo xvii," *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* LIX, no. 125 (2012): 222-244; and Nancy E. van Deusen, "Seeing *Indios* in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): 208-209, 217-218.

the region. She reveals the presence of officially-sanctioned chino hierarchies, Asian holders of political office. She also unveils aspects of the material culture of chinos in Colima. Building on prior works, she demonstrates the ways that chinos helped transform the economy of Colima by employing Southeast Asian technology and illustrates that local Spanish entrepreneurs rapidly gained control of this industry.[31]

This dissertation provides several original contributions to the historiography of chinos, by showing the ways that chino labor, as well as their trans-Pacific itineraries, and patterns of social interaction, linked together regional economies of colonial Mexico and Southeast Asia, and made an Iberian Pacific world. This project demonstrates that chinos derived these patterns from a set of pre-Hispanic and colonial social and spatial patterns originating in the Philippines. I use new sources derived from regional, ecclesiastical, and imperial archives to better compare the regional political economies of the Philippines and New Spain. Each region experienced different periods of economic changes which shaped the work routines, mobility patterns and modes of interaction of chinos in different ways. I evaluate the impact of hybridized colonial culture and colonial American institutions on the populations of the archipelago, as well as the way they influenced the populations of chinos resident in New Spain. The importation of colonial American categories influenced social hierarchies, production, labor arrangements, and demography in the Philippines.[32]

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[31] See Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "El Cabildo de La Villa: Gobierno, Poder, y Una Élite Consolidada, 1600-1622" (Master's Thesis, Universidad de Colima, 2006, Biblioteca Digital de Tesis de Posgrado. http://digeset.ucol.mx/tesis_posgrado/Pdf/Claudia_Paulina_Machuca_Chavez.pdf.); Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII* (Colima, México: Universidad de Colima, 2009); Claudia Paulina MachucaChávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincial de Colima durante el siglo XVII: un sistema de representación en torno a un oficio," *Letras Históricas* no. 1 (2009): 91-115; and Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos: el caso de la villa de Colima en el siglo XVII," *Anuarios de Estudios Americanos* 66, no. 1 (2009): 173-192.

[32] The neglect of the crucial role of Filipinos as producers and workers in the Iberian Pacific ironically replicates early colonial discourses on "Indian laziness" by implying that only East Asian labor and European labor

I started this project with no interest in analyzing the use by chinos of the terms "indio" and "chino," obviously artificial categories imposed on them by outsiders. Indeed, most scholars have dismissed the possibility that individuals of such disparate origins share anything in common. Nonetheless, as I read more and more sources, I saw that many chinos made strategic use of these ethnic identifiers, both in the juridical realm, to claim resources, and in the social sphere, in order to create networks. So, in addition to analyzing and comparing the changes in residence and the material circumstances of chinos over time and between regions, my study looks at the ways that chino individuals used ethnicity to maintain and shape colonial social networks, systems of meaning, social arrangements of production, and colonial juridical and administration institutions. This activity accords with more recent scholarship on ethnicity in the colonial Americas. Historians of colonial Latin America have found that colonial subjects commonly used shared languages and shared history to create community ties and to defend access to resources; these criteria are common for judging ethnicity. Yet more recently, historians have found that colonial subjects appropriated ethnic categories created by Europeans for the purpose of making claims on resources and forming social networks.[33]

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was important in the building of Iberian imperium. See the rehearsal of colonial-era allegations of dependence on the Chinese in Christine Dobbin, *Asian Entrepreneurial Minorities: Conjoint Communities in the Making of the World-Economy, 1570-1640* (Richmond, United Kingdom: RoutledgeCurzon, 1996), 22-23. Missionaries and administrators made similar, though explicit claims when frustrated with indigenous resistance to corveé labor, or seeking the resources of Hokkien merchants. For some of the depictions of supposed Filipino incompetence presented by colonial chroniclers, see Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and Its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism* (London: Frank Cass, 1977). For a great examination of the dynamics of hybridity in the colonial Philippines, see D. R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[33] See, for example, Brooke Larson, "Andean Communities, Political Cultures, and Markets: The Changing Contours of a Field," in *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History*, eds. Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris and Enrique Tandeter (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 36; Thierry Saignes, "Indian Migration and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Charcas," Same Volume, 167-193; and Rachel Sarah O'Toole, "From the Rivers of Guinea to the Valleys of Peru: Becoming a *Bran* Diaspora Within Spanish Slavery," *Social Text* 25, no. 3 (2007): 1-19.

Even colonial historians focusing on more commonly-used criteria for ethnic affiliation, such as language,

Similar interactions also shaped the early colonial creation and adaptation of the artificial legal category of "indio" and "negro" used to refer to indigenous people and people of African descent in Iberia and the Spanish colonies. These categories were not initially used by the residents of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Spaniards themselves developed these concepts of social difference in part by starting from existing vocabularies of differentiation drawn from ideas such as the social importance of color, religious affiliation, lineage, "purity of blood," residence, and birthplace.[34]

The phrase *indio*, when applied to people infantilized by missionaries and administrators seeking reasons to justify their subjection, helped laid the foundation for the idealized separation of the república de indios from república de españoles. This term, though invented and imposed by outsiders, gained a fuller meaning when indigenous people adopted it for use in juridical and administrative spheres, to defend their own interests in the colonial world. Thus, Asians and Americans imported into Iberia in the first decades of the sixteenth century were grouped by Spanish administrators under different categories of indio. Colonial administrators and other subordinates of the Crown used these terms to identify colonial subjects.[35]

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note that members of indigenous groups intensified public representation of ethnicity when competing over resources. See Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca*, 328; and Andrew B. Fisher, "Creating and Contesting Community: Indians and Afromestizos in the Late-Colonial *Tierra Caliente* of Guerrero, Mexico," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006). http://muse.jhu.edu. (Accessed 2/8/2011).

[34] Prema E. Kurien, *Kaleidoscopic Ethnicity: International Migration and the Reconstruction of Community Identities in India* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 21-23, 35. For the creation of "negro," see Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, *passim*. The term *pardo* became a common term to designate people of mixed-descent, often of African heritage, in New Spain in the eighteenth century. See Ben Vinson III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). Nancy E. van Deusen, "Seeing *Indios* in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): 205-234.

[35] For a discussion of the repúblicas, see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions:* Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 91-112, 120-122.

Like other forms of colonial ethnicity, chinos later reappropriated the terms indio and chino to claim a basis for claiming resources, and they used this ethno-juridical identifying category to create social networks. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Philippines, the terms chino or indio chino, referred to a subject of the Ming Empire and later, the Qing Empire, or a descendant of such subjects. In New Spain, non-Asian residents reinterpreted the category of chino to refer to an individual born in Asia, deriving it from the term China, which referred to Asia as a whole. Hence, a number of chroniclers and administrators, Afro-Mexicans, Nahuas, Spaniards and creoles, spoke of Manila as being in China, but they differentiated it from the Ming Empire, which they called "el Grán Reino de China," or more specifically, "el Grán China," with "sangley" referring to Chinese people. The emergence of the term as a form of self-reference was a form of creating ethnicity or ethnogenesis.[36]

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[36] For ethnogenesis, see Powers, *Andean Journeys*, 3; and *passim*; Amitava Chowdhury, "Horizons of Memory: A Global Processual Study of Cultural Memory and Identity of the South Asian Indentured Labor Diaspora in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean" (PhD Diss., Washington State University, 2008), 107-109, 127, 142, 153-159. For the distinctions made between identity as a broad concept, and its use to designate "identification," see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 59-90, especially 71-73, 75-77. More fine-grained interpretations of ethnicity written by historians of colonial Mexico have used colonial-era indigenous-language texts or indigenous dictionaries to reconstruct concepts about ethnic groups devised and altered by individuals within these groups. Usually, members of the indigenous élite produced the texts interpreted by these historians. See note 37, *infra*.

My usage of "chinos" derives from its general usage in New Spain. Though commentators used the word "China" to connote East Asia and Southeast Asia, more generally, commentators referring to Asia and Asians demonstrated their wider knowledge of Asia by referring to the subdivisions of Asia, such as "India Oriental," usually referring to the Estado da Índia, or alternatively, "India," or "Yndia de Portugal." Other chinos were named as "naturales de las Islas Filipinas" or "japón," expressing understandings of other possible divisions of Asia. For Gran Reino de China, see Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las Cosas más notables, ritos, y costumbres del Grán reyno de la China, labidas assí po los libros de los mesmos Chinas, como por relación de Religiosos, y otras personas que han estado en el dicho Reyno* (Barcelona: Juan Pablo Manescal, 1586).

For sangleys, see AGN, Civil, 564, exp. 1, fs. 15r, 24r (1625, 1633); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2173, exp. 10, f. 1r (1631); Family History of the Genealogical Society of Utah (Henceforth, FHLGSU), Microfilm (Henceforth, MF #), 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, f. 23r (1673).

For India de Portugal, see FHLGSU, MF# 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas 1661-1699, Item 1, f. 96v (1669).

For the use of China to mean Asia, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 283, 1ª pte., exp. 37, f. 264v (1608); Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Henceforth, AHMC), sección B, c. 29, exp. 20, f. 1v (1654); and Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quahtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time*, ed. and trans. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder and Doris Namala (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 168-171, 174-175, 236-237, 250-25, 274-275, 296-297, 304-307; Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *La descripción de la Nueva Galicia,* ed. François Chevalier

The collective deployment of the identifying category of chino in the colonial judicial and administrative spheres, along with shared experience in central Luzon, allowed for commonalities of experience among chinos. These experiences and the artificial category of chino served as a base from which chino individuals constructed social networks that connected them to other chinos for the purpose of collective action. In its study of social interaction, then, this project prioritizes analyses of the ways that chino activity proceeded from and shaped "categorization" and "connectedness," both aspects of identification. The analysis of the formation of group identities and social interaction, as well as comparative studies of their interaction labor regimes, and patterns of mobility across the spaces of the Iberian Pacific world guide the structure of this dissertation. [37]

(Sevilla: CSIC, 1946), 89; and Antonio de Robles, *Diario de Sucesos Notables*, *Volume 2*, ed. Antonio Castro Leal (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 1946), 62.

[37] For critiques of the use by scholars of the use of identity, see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 59-90, especially 71-73, 75-77. I have adopted from him the more precise applications of the study of identity which focuses on categorization of groups, and connectedness of groups.

More recent examinations of the dynamics of indigenous ethnicity in colonial Mexico have benefitted from analysis of indigenous-language texts, an approach dubbed "New Philology." See Matthew Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 113-134. My own lack of knowledge of central Luzon languages and initial lack of access to sources in these languages prevented incorporating aspects of a "New Philology" approach to this study of chinos. Nonetheless, many chinos were Spanish speakers (*ladinos*), using Spanish to communicate with other colonial subjects, and to interact with the colonial legal apparatus, which helps explain why commoners composed most of their ranks. Commoners are a group not very well represented in "New Philological" studies of colonial Mesoamerica. See Eric Van Young, "Two Decades of Anglophone Historical Writing on Colonial Mexico: Continuity and Change since 1980," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 20, no. 2 (2004): 320. Despite these challenges, the scholar Damon Woods has begun to use indigenous-language texts from Luzon to produce insightful new scholarship. See Damon Woods, "The Evolution of Bayan," in *Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?*, ed. Priscelina Patajo-Legasto (Quezon City: University of Philippines Press, 2008), 30-54.

I use other ethnic and racial nomenclature in provisional ways. For example, I use the word Afro-Mexican, not to connote the inevitability of the Mexican nation-state, but for the sake of convenience, to refer to Africans and people of African descent in mainland New Spain. Picking regional modifiers for people of African descent can be fraught with teleology and anachronism. For example, using the term Afro-Guerrerense would be problematic, because the state of Guerrero did not exist for the time period that I investigate. I thank Octavio García for his perceptive critique of the employment of the term Afro-Mexican. See Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

Likewise, many scholars have recognized the diverse regional affiliations of Spaniards during the early modern period, whose rulers were just beginning the beginning stages of integration as a monarchy and nation-state. This project will nonetheless use the oversimplified words "Spaniards" and "Castilian" to designate the *montañes*, *asturianos*, *vascos*, *catalanes*, and *gallegos* and even creoles of Spanish, and mixed-Spanish descent, which populated New Spain. For a discussion of the ways that "Spanish" regional difference was enacted in religious

Dissertation Organization

This project is spatially structured around the routes taken by chino migrants between Asia and the Americas. I begin this study in Asia. The first chapter after my introduction explores the rural history of chino migrants by examining the ways that political organization and production changed over time in the sixteenth-century Philippines. I look at the social organization of pre-Hispanic central Luzon, a crucial region that supplied transpacific migrants. I demonstrate some of the effects of Spanish colonial policies, but also the role played by indigenous nobility in sustaining colonial rule.

Chapter Two appraises the consequences for Filipinos of the early colonial labor demands made on them by Spaniards in response to the need to build the city of Manila, construct the galleons and respond to seventeenth-century threats faced by Spanish authorities from Dutch and Malay Islamicate polities. I examine the way that central Luzon peasants responded to heightened demands for labor and provisions for colonial shipyards and fortresses by migrating to other villages, rural estates, and the city of Manila. Filipino nobles, in turn,

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practice, see Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2006), 86.

The non-chino residents of New Spain frequently recognized in their terminology the existence of a variety of jurisdictions, polities, and ethnicities in Asia. For references to India de Portugal and India Oriental, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 239, exp. 1, f. 146r (1591); FHLGSU, MF# 35848, Santa Veracruz, Matrimonios de españoles, 1568-1666, Item 1, fs. 129v, 145r (1593-1594); AGN, Historia, 407, f. 162r (1616); *Ibid*., Item 3, f. 15v (1627); Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Fondo Colonial, c. 11, carpeta 1, f. 42v, protocolos 1744-1745 (1620); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal (henceforth IV), c. 1355, exp. 34, fs. 1r, 2r (1631); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1567, exp. 8, f. 1v (1684).

For references to Japón and Japanese migrants, see AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda (AHH), v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 89v, 109r (1615); FHLGSU, MF# 35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas, 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 2, fs. 1v, 4v-5r (1617); *Ibid*., Item 2, f. 113v (1636); and FHLGSU, MF#35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, f. 82r (1639).

For naturales of the Philippines and of Manila, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5257, exp. 14, fs. 1r, 2r, 4r (1610); Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima and Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Libros de Protocolo Instrumentos públicos de Colima* (México, D. F.: ADABI Fundación Alfredo Harp Helú, 2007) (Henceforth, AHEC), Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Registro 1097, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 9, carpeta 7, f. 1f (1613). AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, tomo 1, exp. 15, f. 2r (1644); AGN, Matrimonios, v. 213, exp. 54, f. 1r (1666); and Adolfo Gómez Amador, "La Presencía Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," *1er Foro de Arqueología. Antropología e Historia de Colima*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes G. (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2005), 9, http://www.culturacolima.gob.mx/imagenes/foroscolima/1/10.pdf .

worked to maintain control over peasant labor through the institution of debt bondage. I demonstrate that peasants and indigenous elites worked to integrate non-indigenous migrant outsiders into their communities, both in rural villages and Spanish-owned rural estates.

My third chapter looks at the urban experiences of Filipino workers and migrants in the province of Manila and its port, Cavite. Most migrants moved to rural communities, but others migrated to Manila and Cavite, interacting extensively with Spanish colonial institutions. Cavite served as the embarkation point for chinos on their way to colonial Mexico. The forms of labor and cultural diversity they encountered in the urban Philippines prepared them for life in Mexico.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation shows how the chino-Spanish encounter in western Mexico, an unofficial entry point from Asia into Mexico, retained the most coercive elements of labor systems of the western Pacific. Chino technology and labor changed the cacao economy into one based on the export of brandy distilled from the flowers of coconut palms. Chino servants led other itinerant laborers, married indigenous women, purchased small estates, and joined small indigenous communities.

Chapter Five examines the labor and settlement of chinos in Acapulco, the official port of entry from Asia into colonial Mexico, as well as the adjacent plains known as the Costa Grande. Linked by mule to central Mexico, the port facilities of Acapulco recruited chino labor. Chinos helped transform indigenous villages in the Costa Grande into mixed-race communities. Meanwhile, significant numbers of chinos fled Acapulco and galleon service by moving to and working on nearby cacao plantations. There, chinos harvested cacao and developed extensive ties with people of African descent.

The sixth chapter surveys chino life in the city of Mexico and central Mexico. Colonial Mexico City was an important early modern city with ties to Europe and Asia. As the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain, this city concentrated civil and ecclesiastical power, hosting institutions that recorded myriad facets of chino urban life. The documents that I explore show that chinos generally married other members of the creolized mixed-race population, while simultaneously forming chino-based Catholic confraternities and commercial partnerships.

Regardless of region, chinos ultimately traced their origins to Asia. Pre-Hispanic histories of interaction and cultural creativity help explain the communities and societies encountered by Spaniards when they entered the Philippines. The people of Asia also developed new strategies when Spanish conquistadors attempted to create a new colonial society. As in the Americas, such strategies drew on cultural repertoires and vocabularies developed both before and during the processes of colonization. It is a discussion of such strategies to which we will now turn.

Chapter 1: The Social Institutions of Prehispanic and Early Colonial Central Luzon

On May 21, 1591, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, the governor of the Philippines, requested testimony from the nobility (*principales*) of the central Luzon province of Balayan (See Figure 5) to discuss the impact of the trade from China on indigenous economy and society. Don Francisco Tapac, the mayor (*gobernador*) of the municipality of Taal, as well as other principales, responded through interpreters by describing the ways that life had changed since the Spanish conquest of 1570-1572. Previously, domestic trade and production had largely satisfied local needs. The nobility controlled the terms of trade with East Asia and the numbers of migrants from the southeastern Chinese province of Fujian (*sangleys*) were comparably few. Sangleys supplied a few luxury goods which the nobility primarily consumed or distributed via petty trade, warfare, and in potlatch-like drinking parties (*borracheras*). By contrast, since the Spanish conquest, cheap imports brought by merchants from China flooded the province. Commoners (*timaguas*) and slaves who performed wage labor for Spaniards and sangleys began purchasing Chinese silk and eroding social distinctions. Timaguas held their own borracheras, and more importantly, left the village to seek an urban life, leaving barren fields and their families destitute. They entered Spanish service as servants, farmworkers, and Tapac alleges, as prostitutes.[1]

[1] AGI, Patronato, 25, Ramo (Henceforth R.) 41 (not foliated) (1591). In the prehispanic period, Tagalogs in Balayan and Mindoro traded beeswax, carabao horns, cotton, dyewoods, and cowry shells (siguey or sigay) for silks, porcelain plates, Chinese jars, drinking cups, iron, and scented woods. See Pedro de San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala* (Valencia: Librería Paris-Valencia, 1994 [1613]), 694. For the supply of Philippines cowries to mainland Southeast Asia, see Peter Boomgaard, "Early globalization: Cowries as currency, 600 BCE – 1900," in *Linking Destinies: Trade, Towns and Kin in Asian History*, eds. Peter Boomgaard, Dick Kooiman, and Hank Schulte Nordholt (Leiden: KILTV Press, 2008), 13, 22-25. For dyewood imports from Luzon to China, see Stephen Tseng-Hsin Chang, "Commodities Imported to the Chang-chou Region of Fukien during the Late Ming Period. A Preliminary Analysis of the Tax Lists found in *Tung-his-yang k'ao*," in *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade,* c. 1400-1750, eds. Roderick Ptak and Dieter Rothermund (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 177. China also imported gold from Luzon, as well as coconut products. See *Ibid*., 182, 184.

Many chinos, both free and enslaved, traced their origins to central Luzon. Even non-native chinos resided in the region or spent considerable time there during their perambulations. Therefore, understanding chino decison-making and social interaction in the Americas requires charting and analyzing the labor arrangements, social hierarchies, political economies, and kinship patterns of Filipinos in pre-Hispanic and early colonial central Luzon. The testimonies above show the degree to which the élite inhabitants of central Luzon had long understood themselves to form part of a wider commercial and cultural maritime world connected to East Asia prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The indigenous elites of this region practiced the customs of other commercially-oriented maritime states in Southeast Asia. They derived part of their power from the control of strategically-located entrêpots and their mediation of the exchange of exotic products with foreign merchants. While there is scant evidence of strong, centralized monarchies in central Luzon, the societies there maintained status hierarchies which shaped social interactions. Elites (*maguinoo*), especially those (*datus*) with significant numbers of followers (*dulohan*) sustained these hierarchies by redistributing foreign prestige goods that they obtained through trade, warfare and in some cases, the production of marketable surpluses of key products such as rice. Bilateral lineage systems allowed datus to draw upon large alliances for collective labor tasks, wartime raids, and even commercial voyages In return for goods, booty, and protection, free followers, called *maharlikas*, and later, *timaguas* and various

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Chinese scholars have questioned the possibility that Chinese cottons could have supplanted indigenous production. See Billy K. L. So, Vincent W. K. Ho, and K. C. Tam, "Overseas Trade and Local Economy in Ming and Qing China: Cotton Textile Exports from the Jiangnan Region," in *Trade and Transfer Across the East Asian Mediterranean*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz KG, 2005), 173-174.

Drinking parties had been the preserve of elites, who used the parties to redistribute goods and cement their place in the hierarchies. Timaguas and debt bondsmen usually served maguinoo during these festivals, just as they played subordinate roles in agricultural production and military campaigns. See below.

categories of bonded laborers handed over varying levels of their production and labor to the maguinoo.[2]

These testimonies underscore the degree to which the Spanish conquest, assisted by many central Luzon nobles, undercut the control of labor exercised by maguinoo and other aspects of central Luzon hierarchies. Peasants in central Luzon found it relatively easier to move towards favorable social and material conditions compared to more densely-settled areas of South and even Southeast Asia. This mobility challenged the efforts of both indigenous elites and colonial administrators to allocate their labor.

This is not to say that central Luzon indigenous elites lacked resourcefulness. Central Luzon nobles were involved in broader changes in insular Southeast Asia in the decades and centuries before the entry of Iberians into the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. They had intermarried with the ruling family of the sultanate of Brunei, who benefitted from the recent fall of Melaka to Portuguese interlopers. Indigenous elites revealed perceptions of broader patterns of change initiated by Spanish administrators, Hokkien merchants (*sangleys*), and timaguas of central Luzon. They also demonstrate agency on the part of the timaguas of central Luzon, a group which many historians have viewed as inert. The testimonies also indicate some of the patterns of pre-Hispanic agricultural production and commercial exchange. At the same, some Luzon elites extended control in the early years of colonialism, drawing on older strategies of controlling labor through debt, inspiring Spanish entrepreneurs to employ similar tactics.

This chapter will chart the central Luzon antecedents of chino patterns of flight and integration, cross-cultural interaction, self-governance, and modes of labor later seen in New Spain. Though pre-Hispanic central Luzon occupied the eastern edge of a wider archipelagic world. I will show that its people and polities created and maintained connections to the

[2] See Scott, *Barangay*, 219-225.

economies and cultures of Southeast, East and even South Asia. Though their actions bore resemblance to systems maintained in the rest of the Malayo-Indonesian world with which they held increasing close ties in the sixteenth century, the individuals of the societies of pre-Hispanic central Luzon created and maintained hierarchies and modes of living that they had adapted to fit local circumstances. These systems of kinship, community hierarchy and labor shaped the responses to the irruption of the Spanish and the establishment of colonial institutions. This chapter provides a series of case studies of the ways that the elites and to a lesser extent, peasants and fishermen of central Luzon responded to the challenges of a transition from a kin-ordered mode of production to one more oriented in extracting intensive tribute and labor.

Geography and Social Ecology of Insular Southeast Asia

In this section, I will lay out the cultural, environmental, political, and economic factors which shaped pre-Hispanic, and later, early colonial central Luzon society. I argue that the roles of peasants and nobles in pre-Hispanic interaction helped establish a repertoire of behaviors that they drew upon after the entry of Spanish colonists in the region. An overview of social organization, ecological and cultural characteristics of pre-Hispanic central Luzon allows a better understanding of the colonial world that followed. In particular, social hierarchies, debt relationships, and patron-shifting strategies guided the choices of peasants and other humble residents of central Luzon over the early colonial period. The manner in which these practices and patterns changed over time demonstrates that Filipino movement outside the archipelago to New Spain represented only a small part of a larger shift in central Luzon demography.[3]

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[3] For discussions of the political,cultural, and economic links between the Philippines and the rest of Asia, especially with Brunei, Java, and Melayu, see Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Corpo Cronológico, Parte 1, mç 68, no. 63, fs. 1v -2v (1540), *Carta de Brás Baião dando conta a D. João II de que no Reino de Bornéu havia várias Ilhas em que se achava muto ouro e pérolas tão grossas de 30, 40 e 50 quilates muo melhores que as de Ormuz e Celão*, http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/viewer?id=3776171 . Accessed February 10, 2014; Zeus A. Salazar, *The Malayan Connection: Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu* (Lunsod Quezon, Pilipinas, 1998), especially *Ibid.,* "The Matter with Influence: Our Asian Linguistic Ties," 59-80, and *Ibid.,* "Bahasa Melayu in the Philippine," 81-107;

I use the term "central Luzon" in a political and ethnolinguistic sense to refer to the core provinces that surrounded Manila Bay and Laguna de Bay (See Figure 5). Individuals within these provinces primarily spoke Tagalog and Kapampangan. Modern geographers tend to define central Luzon in terms of its hydrology and geology to mean the alluvial plains that connect the provinces of Pangasinan and Pampanga (See Figure 4). Using this definition, central Luzon encompasses elements of both central and southern Luzon, including modern-day Metro Manila, and the provinces of Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Sambales, Cavite, Laguna, and Quezon. The following three chapters will also explore the connections of the people of the above provinces with a wider cultural, political, and economic world, which included the provinces of Pangasinan, those of the Visayan Islands, Northern Mindanao, Northern Luzon and Bikolano-speaking Southern Luzon.[4]

James T. Collins, "The Brunei Sultanate and the Eastern Archipelago: The Nature of the Linguistic Evidence," *International Seminar on Brunei Malay Sultanate in Nusantara Proceedings, Volume I*, eds. Datuk Docktor Haji, Mohd. Taib Osman, and Awang Haji Abdul Latif Haji Ibrahim (Brunei Darussalam: Akademi Pengajian Brunei, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1996), 140-160; John S. Carroll, "Berunai in the 'Boxer Codex' with Commentary," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 55, no. 2 (1982): 1-25; John U. Wolff, "Malay Borrowings in Tagalog," in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Oresented to D. G. E. Hall*, eds. Charles Donald Cowan and Oliver William Wolters (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), 346-367.

Upland people living in central Luzon spoke Sambalic languages, Sinauna Tagalog, and other various Agta languages such as Casiguran Agta. These languages, as well as the Sambalic languages of Bataan, Pampanga, and Pangasinan have been classified as part of the Central Luzon family, a language group that includes Kapampangan. These people traded with the lowland inhabitants of Tagalog and Kapampangan areas. The Dumagat inhabited lowland areas near the eastern coasts of Luzon and were known as mariners. Speakers of Sinauna Tagalog lived in Tanay and a speakers of a closely-related language called Infanta Dumagat lived near Lampon (modern-day Infanta). See Lawrence Reid, "Historical Linguistics and Philippine Hunter-Gatherers," in *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan,* eds. Loren Billings and Nelleke Goudswaard (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 2007), 11, 13-17; and Robert Blust, "The Greater Central Philippines Hypothesis," *Oceanic Linguistics* 30, no. 2 (1991), 79-80. For Casiguran Dumagat, see Thomas Neil Headland, "Why Foragers Do Not Become Farmers: A Historical Study of a Changing Ecosytem and its Effects on a Negrito Hunter-Gatherer Group in the Philippines" (PhD Diss.,: University of Hawai'i, 1986), 195-203. For trade between lowlanders and Agta, see *ibid*., 210-211. For theories about Tagalog migration and Kapampangan retreat, see Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, "Contemporary Filipino (Tagalog) and Kapampangan: Two Philippine Languages in Contact," in *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid*, eds. Hsiu-chuan Liao and Carl R. Galvez Rubino (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute for Linguistics, 2005), 93-94.

[4] On the geographical definitions of the lowlands, see Marshall S. McClennan, *The Central Luzon Plain: Land and Society on the Inland Frontier* (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1980), 11-18; Daniel Frederick Doeppers, "Hispanic Influences on Demographic Patterns in the Central Plain of Luzon, 1565-1780," *XII University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* (1968): 12-16; and Nicolas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines*

My working definition of central Luzon relies on the colonial geography that Spanish administrators and Filipino elites engineered from a pre-Hispanic ecological and political base. Their administrative efforts focused on the five circum-Manila Bay colonial provinces designated by the Spanish commentators as most crucial to their colonial administration: Pampanga, Bulacan, Tondo, Laguna, Batangas, Cavite. The inhabitants of the provinces of Tayabas and Calilaya played supporting roles. These areas were connected by noble groups and alliances of bilateral lineages from speakers of various languages that maintained political and marital alliances with the rulers of the pre-Hispanic trading cities of Tondo and Manila. The political connections of these elites in turn relied on the river and other aquatic systems which connected through Manila Bay, itself connecting to the active commercial world of the South China Sea. (See Figure 5).[5]

Much of the territory of central Luzon is composed of alluvial plains with substantial marshlands, but the volcanic geography of the Philippines also ensured substantial mountainous territory. The inhabitants of these distinct zones helped shape the emergence of chinos as a corporate group. The mountainous uplands (*tingues*) ring Manila Bay and the Laguna de Bay.

(New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1976), 5; and John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), 1, 3, 5-8.

[5] See Linda Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Colonial Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009). For marital alliances, see L. P. R. Santiago, "The Lineage of Mójica: The Super-Principalia of Cavite," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 20 (1992): 94. This is a dissertation about colonial society, and I focus on the provinces with the closest economic, social, and political links with Manila and Manila Bay during the colonial period. The connected ruling families of Tondo and Manila, and allied ruling families in adjacent communities connected the communities of the area that I define as central Luzon. In the colonial period, male rulers and allied nobles often converted or even truncated their only given names into surnames preceded by Christian saints' names. The most famous example of the conversion of male names might have been the Lakan Dula (king) of Tondo, who changed his named to Carlos Lacandula. Other surnames such as Balagtas, Gatdolan, and Dayang suggest pre-Hispanic noble lineages. See Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio de Religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japon, etc.* (Manila: Biblioteca Historica Filipina, 1892 [1676]), 45; and Luis Camara Dery, *A History of the Inarticulate: Local History, Prostitution, and Other Views from the Bottom* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2001), 4-12. For *dayang-dayang* as court maidens in the Malay world, see "The Malay Annals," trans. C. C. Brown, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25, no. 2/3 (1952): 233; and Leonard Y. Andaya, "The *Bissu*: Study of a Third Gender in Indonesia," in *Other Pasts: Women, Gender, and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia,* ed. Barbara Watson Andaya (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mânoa, 2000), 32.

Two large rivers drained the province of Pampanga, the Pampanga River on the east, and the Lubao River, on the west. The Zambales Mountains defined the western border of Pampanga and part of its northern border as well. The Angat river system, connected to the Pampanga River, branches into many tributaries, and its delta generally encompassed much of what is today the province of Bulacan. The Pasig River, flowing westward, drained the freshwater Laguna de Bay to the east of Manila Bay. It included flowing tributaries such as the Marikina and San Juan rivers, and smaller tributaries called *esteros* by the Spanish, which doubled as canals. The city of Manila sat on the southern portion of the delta of the Pasig, and the city of Tondo, on the northern portion (See Figures 5 and 6).[6]

For their livelihood, inhabitants of lowland central Luzon relied on these extensive river systems, making use of the abundant rainfall, maritime life, and connections with ecologically complimentary systems of production. The connections of these maritime and alluvial communities with the South China Sea prefigured chino mobility. The lowlanders lived an essentially amphibious life, which enhanced their mobility. This alluvial orientation is even refelected in the names of the languages of lowland central Luzon. Peasants, fishermen, and other workers in central Luzon drew from this tradition of mobility when they later contended

[6] On the inferences about interrelated families, see below; and L. P. R. Santiago, "The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman (1571-1898): Genealogy and Group Identity," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18 (March, 1990): 39-73. Gaspar de San Agustín claims that in 1575 the Lakandula threatened to revolt against the Crown, because a Spaniard, Martín de la Rea, held an encomienda of the "slaves" of Lakan Dula near Bocavi, Bulacan. These were probably namamahay or saguiguilid cultivators. See Gaspar de San Agustín, San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas (1565-1615)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1975 [1698]), 422; and Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas (1570-1608*) (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995), 253. This example shows the connections between Tondo and Bulacan. The Battle of Bangkusay demonstrates the connections between Tondo and the ruling elites of Kapampangan and eastern Bulacan. Many historians have noted that Bulacan place names are often Kapampangan in origin. See Jaime B. Veneración, *Kasaysayan ng Bulakan* (Köln, Germany: Nahay-Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan, 1986), for a more extensive discussion of the relationship between Bulacan, Pampanga, and Tondo. On Kapampangan geography, see Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 2-10. On lowland-upland trade, see William Henry Scott, "Igorot Gold," in *Great Scott: The New Day William Henry Scott Reader,* ed. Bezalie Bautista Uc-Kung (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 2006), 186-195; and Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 239-256.

with Spanish systems of coercive labor. The major components of the word Tagalog are *taga* and *ilog*, which means "those from the river." Similarly, *pampang* means "river" in the major language of *Ka-Pampangan* (of the riverbank). The lowlands of Laguna, Pampanga, and likely the banks of the Pasig River sustained high yields of rice from irrigated fields, requiring the communal labor to construct systems of impoundments.[7]

Most towns harbored fleets of small outrigger canoes and larger vessels called *bangkas* and *caracoas*. The peasants and fisher paddled these vessels, and used them for war, trade, and fishing. Timaguas also used fish traps and nets to make use of the aquatic harvest, though maguinoo appeared to own them. The fish supplemented the primary source of food: irrigation-fed rice and in lean times, roots like taro and the hearts of *sago* palms. This social ecology differed from that of the Visayas, in which irrigated rice was not commonly cultivated.[8]

Central Luzon peasant technology and practices they employed to make effective use of coconuts and other palm products shaped colonial social history on both sides of the Pacific. Other useful plants for central Luzon peasants included the nipa palm. The inhabitants of central Luzon utilized coconut palms for the production of oil, vinegar, and the production of alcohol. Coconut palms required well-drained soil, so their range was limited to more mountainous territory in eastern Laguna and Tayabas (See Figure 5). Of greater utility was the nipa palm,

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[7] Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 5; Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 1, 3, 5-8, Andrew Gonzalez, "Contemporary Filipino (Tagalog) and Kapampangan: Two Philippine Languages in Contact," in *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid*, eds. Hsiu-chuan Liao and Carl R. Galvez Rubino (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute for Linguistics, 2005). For sago and gabi, see National Archives of the Philippines (Henceforth, NAP), SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Orden del Gobierno que los naturales del pueblo de Candaba escusen... no tener cosecha de arroz*, f. 47B, (1656).

[8] For bangkas, see Pedro de San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala: El Romance Castellano Puesto Primero* (Valencia: Librería Paris-Valencia, 1994 [1613]), 629; and Fray Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de Pampango en Romance y Diccionario de Romance en Pampango,* trans. Venancio Q. Samson (Angeles City, Philippines: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, 2007 [1739]), 70. For caracoas, see Scott, *Barangay*, 63-65. For paddling and fish traps, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, f. 20r-20v (1599); and Archives of the Archdioces of Manila (Henceforth, AAM), Box 10.E.14, Folder 8, Capellanías de Candaba (1848-1896, 1910-1915), 209 (1681). Scott, *Barangay*, 287.

called *sasa* in Kapampangan. An occupier of an ecological niche similar to the mangrove family, nipa palms grow in flooded, moderately salty, and marshy lands. Like the coconut palm, Tagalogs and Kapampangans tapped this palm's sap, fermented it, and made a mildly alcoholic beverage named *tuba* from it. Heating of this ferment in Southeast Asian stills produced a potent liquor which the Tagalogs and Malayu called *alac*, and which the Spanish soon came to call *vino de palma* or *vino de nipa*.[9]

Like other denizens of lowland Southeast Asia, the livelihood of the inhabitants of central Luzon relied on trading and other patterns of ecological reciprocity with highland communities. Lowland Filipinos traded salt, fish, and rice for rattan and tropical hardwoods from the inhabitants of the uplands, from whom they also obtained beeswax and honey. Sources of gold included the upland peoples inhabiting the tributaries of both the Pampanga River and the great Cagayan River near the Magat River Valley. Solid tropical hardwoods growing near the uplands yielded the (*harigis)* or posts or stilts of the houses of lowlanders, needed to support the home erected several feet above the ground. Ladders afforded entry into the homes, and their elevation protected them from flooding. Lowlanders used bamboo and rattan for the frame of the house, and nipa leaves furnished waterproof roofs. Chickens, pigs, and later, water buffalo known as *carabaos* could be stabled below the house, as well as surplus rice. Other rice was stored in communal silos known as *tambobos*. The role of lowlanders as brokers of highland goods for

[9] On the role of palms in central Luzon culture and society, see McClennan, *The Central Luzon Plain,* 26; Pedro Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús, 1581-1606* (Barcelona: Pòrtic, 2000), 89; and AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, fs. 11v, 25r (1582). For vino and alac, see AGI, Patronato, 84, N. 2, fs. 1r-1v (1577); and AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 63, fs. 7r, 11r, 14r-14v (1590). For Kapampangan, see Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance*, trans. Venancio Q. Samson. (Angeles City, Philippines: Holy Angel University Press, Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, 2007 [1732]), 13.

Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Volume 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 39; and San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 620.

foreign traders gave them power and placed them in contact with other polities and societies over time.[10]

Central Luzon and Littoral Asia: Connected Histories

The small polities of Luzon such as Manila and Tondo interacted with a broader insular and mainland Southeast Asian world, which in turn maintained strong relationships with polities in China and India. These interactions with more centralized polities and more populous societies helped prepare people of central Luzon for the considerable ethnic diversity of colonial rural and urban life during the early colonial period. The rulers and nobles of central Luzon selectively appropriated goods and vocabularies of power from these more prominent societies, appropriating Sanskrit, Javanese, and Malay terms to constitute and explain notions of commercial and political relationships. The rulers of various states in Southeast Asia and South India had maintained commercial and political relationships across the Bay of Bengal since the fourth century CE. By the eighth century CE, kingdoms in Burma, Cambodia, and the Chams southern Vietnam had begun to appropriate Hindu and Buddhist religious iconography, Sanskrit, and political ideologies from India, adding these models to the indigenous repertoires of religiosity and political authority. By the ninth century, prominent merchant kingdoms (*thalassocracies*) had emerged in eastern Java and Palembang, Sumatra. Javanese states also

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[10] Scott, *Barangay*, 57-60. Scott refers to Visayan houses, but central Luzon construction was similar. See AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, f. 8376v (1648) for ladders. For nipa roofs, see AGI, Filipinas, 86, N. 30, f. 5r (1664). See AGI, Escribanía 440[a], f. 375r (1652) for the veranda. See Juan de Medina, "Historia de los sucesos de la orden de nuestra gran padre San Agustin de las Filipinas," in *The Philippines Islands, 1493-1898, Volume 23,* eds. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), 243; and AGI, Contaduría, 1215, f. 228r. The relationship between uplands and lowlands is known more broadly in the Malay world as between *ulu* (the uplands) and *ilir* (the lowlands). See Barbara Watson Andaya, "Upstreams and Downstreams in Early Modern Sumatra," *The Historian* 57, no. 3 (1995): 537-552; and Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeastern Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993). For pre-Hispanic Philippines architecture, see Scott, *Barangay*, 57-60. For upstream-downstream relations, and their articulations with rising demand in China, see Kenneth R. Hall, "Coastal Cities in an Age of Transition: Upstream-Downstream Networking and Societal Development in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Maritime Southeast Asia," in *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400-1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), 177-204.

drew on substantial rice-cultivating hinterlands. These states developed more intense trading ties with South India, trading embassies and hosting Tamil merchant communities, while also enriching the ritual and political vocabularies of Old Malay and Old Java with Sanskrit.[11]

The communities of pre-colonial central Luzon and the rest of the Philippines archipelago enjoyed commercial ties with China, especially southeast China, from at least the thirteenth century forward. These strengthened over time, becoming extremely important in by the latter half of the sixteenth century. Chinese merchants made contact with Southeast Asia in the early ninth century while seeking luxury aromatics. Consumers in Song Dynasty-China shifted the sources of supply of tree resins and incense from the Middle East to more geographically proximate analogs such as the camphor found in the rain forests of Java, Brunei, and Sumatra. Over the centuries, China also intensified its consumption of Southeast Asian raw materials, including pepper from Sumatra, nutmeg from Banda, and cloves from the Spice Islands (Maluku) (Figure 7). Southeastern provinces such as Fujian and Guangdong, with their important ports of Guangzhou and Quanzhou, served as centers of importation of Southeast Asian commodities. Southeast Asian merchants and sailors transported these goods. In particular, the histories of political independence, commercial orientations, and forms of Chinese language found in Fujian province lent a particular identity which scholars have identified as

[11] See Kenneth R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press, 2011), 10-30, and *passim*; Antoinette M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions* (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications, 1984); and O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1999), 21-22, and *passim*.

For a broader discussion of cultural relationships between South and Southeast Asia, especially the use of Sanskrit as a language about power, see Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the Worlds of Men: Sanskrit,Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). For critiques of this interpretation, see Johannes Bronkhorst "The Spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia," in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, eds. Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011); 263-275, and Daud Ali, "The Early Inscriptions of Indonesia and the Problem of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis," same volume, 277-297.

Minnanese. The Minnanese would historically be the Chinese group most closely linked with insular Southeast Asia in general, and the Philippines, in particular.[12]

Similarly, from at least the eighth century CE, merchants from India, especially western and southern India, traveled to Southeast Asia. Similarly, Southeast Asian merchants, raiders, and even rulers interacted with, traveled to, and resided in China, sometimes as free traders and in other instances bearing tribute that disguised commercial relations. Southeast Asian rulers and élites from as far away as Brunei drew from traders and travelers new vocabularies of rulership, religion, and even iconography. This trade accelerated over time, so that by the sixteenth century, the Mamluks in Egypt profited from trade through the South India brought Indonesian spices into the Mediterranean and Europe. The rulers of East Java earned wealth from their position as an entrepôt of eastern archipelago spices, and they probably supplied rice to Maluku and Sulawesi in return for spices. The polity of Srivijaya, near Palembang, sent tribute missions to China and worked to monopolize trade through the straits of Melaka (See Figure 7). It was in the periods of the ninth and tenth centuries that Old Malay and Old Javanese spread throughout the Indo-Malaysian archipelago as trading and written political languages, including to Pila, Laguna, on

[12] For the limitations of communications between traders of the Philippines and China, see Rosa C. P. Tenazas, *A Report on the Archaeology of the Locsin-University of San Carlos Excavations in Pila, Laguna* (Manila: 1968). For an overview of the early history of exchange between Southeast Asia and Southern China, see Derek Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade and Diplomacy from the Tenth through the Fourteenth Century* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009), 19-43.

I use the term sangley, Hokkien, Minnanese, and Fujianese interchangeably to refer to workers, merchants, sojourners, and settlers from southern Fujian. This ethnic minority was the most numerous and one of the most important parts of the non-indigenous population of colonial central Luzon. For the kingdom of Min and the Minnanese, see *Ibid*., 34, 79; Hugh R. Clark, *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Lucille Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and their Impact on Southern Fujian (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 (2006): 510, 521-522, 526, 528-530. Chia also uses the term Fujianese to refer to these sojourners. See *Ibid.*, 510. The term Hokkien is also used by scholars to refer to these merchants, referring to their ethnolinguistic identity. For Hokkien, see Wang Gungwu, "Merchants without empire: the Hokkien sojourning communities," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World*, *1350-1750,* ed. James D. Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 400-421; James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760" (PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 1998); and Henning Klöter, *The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

the island of Luzon. It was here that archaeologists have located a tenth-century copper inscription, called the Laguna Copperplate Inscription (LCI), written in Old Tagalog, Old Malay, Javanese and Sanskrit. Its language and discussion of power concretely linked the politics and trade of the archipelago to contemporary polities and practices from the more prominent political and commercial centers of Java and Melayu.[13]

The peoples indigenous to the medieval South China Sea interacted with individuals from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. Luzon belonged to one of the South China trading circuits, and like other insular Southeast Asian people, created trading networks and commercial alliances with southeastern Chinese people. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the creation of interrelated Mongol polities and expansion of trade routes by Muslim merchants helped link East Asia and by extension, insular Southeast Asia, to Central, West, and South Asia. Persian and Arab merchants from West Asia traveled to Southeast Asia and Fujian. Mongols tried, but

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[13] For Southeast Asian tribute, residence, and raiding, see Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade and Diplomacy,* 20-43*;* Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting,* 212-218; Graham Saunders, *A History of Brunei* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 25-26, 28-31; and Efren B. Isorena, "The Visayan Raiders of the China Coast, 1174-1190 AD," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 32, no. 2 (June 2004): 73-95. For the longer trajectory of trade between Eastern Asia and the Middle East, see Michael Flecker, "A Ninth-Century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck in Indonesia: first evidence for direct trade with China," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 3 (2001): 335-354; and Hyunhee Park, "Port-City Networking in the Indian Ocean Commercial System as represented in Geographic and Cartographic Works in China and the Islamic West, c. 750-1500," in *The Growth of Non-Western Cities: Primary and Secondary Urban Networking, c. 900-1900,* ed. Kenneth R. Hall (Boulder: Lanham Books, 2011), 21-53. For Egyptian trade with India, see Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A. D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 225-230.

For trade between South Asia, East and Southeast Asia, see K. Rajan, "The Emergence of Early Historic Trade in Peninsular India," *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, eds. Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011), 177-196; and in the same volume, John Guy, "Tamil Merchants and the Hindu-Buddhist Diaspora in Early Southeast Asia," 244-262. For more on Southeast Asian and South Asian interaction, including the Chola invasion of Srivijaya, see *From Nagapattinam to Suvardnipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia,* eds. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), *passim*. For Philippines iconography drawn from Indian and Southeast Asian Hindu-Buddhist influences, see *Philippine Ancestral Gold*, eds. Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, John Guy, and John Miksic (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012).

For the Laguna Copperplate Inscription, found in Pila, see Antoon Postma, "The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription: Text and Commentary," *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 2 (1992): 183–203. For more on Pila, see Helena Langrick, "An Anthropological Perspective on the Role of Chinese Trade Ceramics in the Prehistory of a Philippine Culture (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1985. ProQuest (ML 25938)); and E. P. Patanñe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries* (San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines: LSA Press, 1996), 83-103.

failed to exercise sovereignty over Java. Muslim merchants, especially local Muslims, but also Persians and Hadramis from Yemen, played an important role in the Fujianese ports of Quanzhou (*Zaiton*) and Zhangzhou (*Chincheo*), maintaining a large community there (See Figure 7 for the following discussion). The advent of the Ming Empire in China in the fourteenth century brought with it tensions between the state and the resident Persian and Muslim merchants of Fujian. Tensions between Chinese port officials in Fujian and resident Muslim merchants gave rise to the expulsion of the alliance known as the Persian Garrison, and many west Asian merchants left China. Some of them migrated and founded households in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, but even larger contingents of Chinese Muslims, some from Fujian, left for Southeast Asia, forming a prominent merchant diaspora in Melayu, the Javanese territories, and possibly central Luzon. These migrants quickly intermarried with the local populace, adhering to insular Southeast Asian customs of alliance and integration through collateral ties.[14]

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the growth of Islamicate society in South India and the Chinese Muslim diaspora appears to have gradually encouraged Southeast Asian rulers to begin adoption of Islamicate customs. Their custom and nomenclature influenced more centralized polities such as Brunei, and Sulu, in the southern Philippines, but also made an

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[14] I have based much of the above discussion on Geoff Wade, "Southeast Asia in the 15th Century," in *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor*, eds. Geoffrey Wade and Sun Laichen (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2010), 3-43; Chang Pin-tsun, "The Formation of a Maritime Convention in Minnan (Southern Fujian), c. 900-1200," in *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, eds. Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard, and Roderich Ptak (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 1998), 143-155; Roderich Ptak, "Ming Maritime Trade to Southeast Asia, 1368-1567: Visions of a 'System,'" same volume, 157-191; Pin-tsun Chang, "The First Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century," *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia*, eds. Eric Tagliacazzo and Wen-Chia Chang (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 13-27; Yoikkachi Yasuhiro, "Chinese and Muslim Diasporas and the Indian Ocean Trade Network under Mongol Hegemony," in *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 73-102; John Chaffee, "Muslim Merchants and Quanzhou in the Late Yuan-Early Ming: Conjectures on the Ending of the Medieval Muslim Trade Diaspora," *ibid*., 115-132; and John Chaffee, "At the Intersection of Empire and World Trade: The Chinese Port City of Quanzhou (Zaitun), Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries," in *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400-1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall (Lanham, MA: Lexington Books, 2008), 99-122. William Henry Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984), 66-75.

impact on central Luzon and the more decentralized communities of the Visayas. Rulers of several states of Melayu and coastal Java converted to Islam in this period. At the same time, another product of southern Chinese Islam, Zheng He, showed the might of the Ming Empire across the greater Indian Ocean. The Islamicized Malay court of Melaka, tracing its heritage to Srivijaya, took advantage of the newly-expansive Chinese in its attempt to dominate the commerce between East and South Asia. Melaka began to outcompete the Javanese court centered in Majapahit by direct tributary ties with China. Other Southeast Asian courts and polities intensified trade and "tribute" missions sent to the Chinese court. Amid these developments, rulers of polities in the Visayas, Sulu, and central Luzon began sending tribute missions to the Ming court.[15]

On the eve of Iberian exploration, the Malay and other Austronesian states of the South China Sea grew and extended their influence, shaping the economic and political world of elites of central Luzon, who were tied to them by marriage and custom. The turn of the sixteenth century saw further consolidation of Islamicate courts in the greater Malay world. The king of the spice emporium of the Filipino trading partner, Ternate, adopted Islam, as did the ruler of the Malay-influenced court in Brunei, who later sent a deputy (*adapati*) to build local alliances and rule Manila and adjacent communities. By 1500, the Malay sultanate of Melaka was one of the

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[15] Geoff Wade, "Southeast Asia in the 15th Century," in *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor*, eds. Geoffrey Wade and Sun Laichen (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2010), 3-43. Geoff Wade, trans., *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: An Open Access Resource*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore, http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1599, accessed September 15, 2011.; Geoff Wade, trans., *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: An Open Access Resource*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore, http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/513, accessed September 15, 2011; Kenneth R. Hall, "Coastal Cities in an Age of Transition," in *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400-1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall, 184-191 (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008). Scott, "Why did Tupas Betray Dagami?," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 14, no. 1 (1986): 14-15; and Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 35-36, 39-46.

This trade-centered discussion emphasizes the connections of the Philippines to a wider world. This is not to say, however, that trade determined the political economy of these societies. Several scholars have criticized, for example, approaches that explain state formation solely in forms of interregional commerce. See Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830. Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [2003]), 6-9, 15-21.

richest polities in insular Southeast Asia, serving as an entrépot for the exchange of goods from all Asia: spices from Maluku, rice from Java, printed cottons from Gujarat, and painted cottons from the Coromandel Coast (Figure 3). Melaka boasted a powerful navy of maritime nomadic peoples known as the *orang laut*. These courts grew wealthy from the expansion of the Ming economy and its consequent increased consumption of spices and other raw materials from the *Nanyang* (Southeast Asia and Southern Seas). At the same time, these courts and polities like Melaka continued to rely on fragile alliances between a variety of actors, including prominent foreign and local merchants (*orang kaya*), high ranking military officials, confederations of orang laut, and others sets of alliances.[16]

In addition to hosting Tamil Muslims, Chinese, Malay, Javanese, and a large community of Gujaratis, Northwestern Indians with strong links to the Middle East, the port held a population of Luzon merchants known as *Luçoes*. According to Tomé Pires and other Portuguese chroniclers, the *Luçoes* maintained connections to rulers across the Malay world, with a community settling a small tin-mining quarter just northwest of Melaka. After the

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[16] See Luis Filipe Ferrera Reis Thomaz, "The Malay Sultanate of Melaka," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Mera: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 69-90; and Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 1: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), *passim*. For Maluku links, see Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 197-198. For Brunei links with the Philippines and Malay influence, see Scott, *Barangay*, 191-193; Saunders, *A History of Brunei,* 25-26, 31, 37-47, 49; Carroll, "Berunai in the 'Boxer Codex' with Commentary," 5-6; and Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 1*, 138-145. For a more extensive discussion of the impact of Islamization on insular Southeast Asia, see Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 2: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), *passim*, but especially Chapter 3.

Despite some level of greater centralization in some ways facilitated by trade, Islamicization, and contact with monopolistic Europeans – many insular Southeast Asian states continued to operate as what O. W. Wolters, using the phrasing of Joyce White, refers to as heterarchies. See O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region,* 122. The apparent exceptional fluidity and decentralized nature of polity in the Philippines resemble states and political organization in the rest of maritime Southeast Asia. See Kenneth R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press, 2011). Large agricultural and monument construction, such as that of Borobudur in Java are now understood as being the initiative of village confederations. Similarly, even seemingly unitary Southeast States, such as Funan are now seen as confederations. Similarly, Srivijaya is now understood as a name that could have referred to any number of shifting port courts in southern Sumatra, western Java and the Straits of Melaka. Despite these similarities, the Manila municipality did not seem to resemble the even less-impressive grandeur of nearby courts such as that of Brunei.

conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese in 1511, the governor Afonso de Albuquerque even nominated a *Lucão* as a port authority (*shahbandar*), empowering him to adjudicate disputes among all Muslims in the port city. In the 1520s, the expedition of Fernan Magalhães (Magellan) captured a Luzon ruler Ladía Ache, returning him to his family in Brunei. In the 1540s, Fernão Mendes Pinto noted the presence of *luçoes* in Sumatra and other locales in insular Southeast Asia, where scholars like Anthony Reid have observed that they formed an important part of the wider itinerant multi-ethnic trading community interacting across insular Southeast Asia. Pinto explained that they fought in local internecine struggles across the archipelago and even on the Southeast Asian mainland. Datus and merchants from Luzon also lead nautical expeditions for military raids and commercial exchange. Between 1565 and 1569, the Spanish conquistador of the Philippines, Miguel López de Legazpi, encountered *moro* (Luzon) captains of trading vessels in several of the port communities in the Visayas and Mindanao, especially in Butuan, Panay, and the central Visayan ports. They helped supply his forces, and local informants explained to him that they had long been a presence in Visayan commerce.[17]

The spices, gold, and forest products of Southeast Asia drew the scrutiny and envy of western Europeans, especially the Portuguese. By 1500, Vasco da Gama had begun to disrupt the greater Indian Ocean trade network, which also linked with the trade of the South China Sea. In 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque mounted a successful campaign to capture Melaka. Subsequent efforts by the Portuguese to control the mercantile networks of insular Southeast Asia failed, and the Portuguese would end up constituting merely one more part of the variegated mercantile

[17] See Luis Filipe Thomaz, "A escravatura em Malaca no século XVI," *Studia* 53 (1994), 283, n. 97; Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage; A Narrative Account of the First* Navigation, trans., and ed. R. A. Skelton (London: Folio Society, 1975 [1969]), 111-112; Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinacão de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, ed. José Manuel García (Lisbon: Castoliva Editora, 1995), fs. 15v, 28v, 62r, and 65r; Scott, *Barangay*, 193-195; AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 16, exp. 2, fs. 20v-22v, 27v-29v, exp. 4, fs. 12v, 47r-48r, 49v (1568); and, Scott, "Why did Tupas Betray Dagami?," 14, 19, 21-22, 26, 28-29.

tapestry of the Bay of Bengal and South China Sea. Nonetheless, the Spanish and the Dutch entered Southeast Asia with the same goals as the Portuguese, namely, to dominate Asian commerce. We shall now shift our attention to these efforts, and the role played by the inhabitants of the Philippines within them.[18]

Social Organization and Regional Political Economy of Central Luzon at Contact

The inhabitants of the pre-colonial Philippines maintained local patterns of labor, land tenure, alliance, kinship, political decision-making, even as they connected themselves to a larger world. The interpretation and codification by Spanish administrators of various status categories shaped the experiences of the inhabitants of central Luzon as they traversed the Pacific and entered New Spain. At the time of contact, central Luzon communities were divided into five overlapping status groups. Individuals varied in status from *datus*, chief-like leaders, to domestic slaves, *alipin namamahay*. There seemed to be a mix of earned and ascribed status among datus at the time of contact. These relationships between people of different status ordered production, and during the colonial period, became an object of litigation, as Spanish administrators and clerics debated the meanings of servitude with bond-servants and the indigenous elites of central Luzon. At issue was the distinction between "open" systems of servitude, which provided bonded persons with some opportunities to lessen their responsibilities towards their master, and "closed" bondage systems, which placed people, often foreigners, totally at the mercy of their

[18] M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz and Charles R. Boxer suggest that Asian merchants quickly developed alternative mercantile networks after the incursions of the Portuguese and the institution of the *cartaz* system, particularly in the East. See M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 144-145; and C. R. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and to the Rise of Atjeh, 1540-1600," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 415-416.

masters. Filipino élites generally argued for their system embodying the former principle, while Spanish clerics and administrators saw it as closed.[19]

In common to all of the socio-economic categories was the ability, though limited, of individuals to change their status, though those of the lowest status found it most difficult to ascend. Though scholars have successfully disputed the veracity and comprehensiveness of descriptions of these categories of social relationships made by the earliest chroniclers, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese missionaries and conquistadors new to central Luzon, the descriptions of chroniclers largely guided the actions of colonial administrators and more importantly, the nobility of colonial communities throughout the early colonial period. Colonial administrators questioned the moral legitimacy of the subjection of individuals of the lowest-status groups. As we will see, peasants and debt-servants took advantage of these colonial interventions and availed themselves of colonial systems of justice to free themselves of bondage. [20]

The highest status individuals of the social hierarchy were called the *maguinoo*, people of ascribed status who ranked as nobility. Only very few maguinoo, such as the rulers of Manila and Tondo, inherited their status, often due to their status as descendants of the reputed founders

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[19] These distinctions are between ideal types, but nonetheless represent some of the representations made by ethnographers, litigants, and administrators in the early colonial period about these systems of leadership and bondage. See Marshall D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5, no. 3 (1963): 285-303; and Anthony Reid, "'Closed' and 'Open' Slave Systems in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, eds. Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 156-167.

[20] Much of the following discussion will follow arguments made by Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting,* especially pages 149, 317, 319, as well as William Henry Scott and Vicente Rafael, supplemented by primary source material from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Philippines. I also rely heavily on the early colonial Tagalog dictionary compiled by Pedro de San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala* (Valencia: Librería Paris-Valencia, 1994 [1613]), published in Pila, Laguna, in 1613. See William Henry Scott, "Filipino Class Structure in the Sixteenth Century," in William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), 96-126; *Idem.*, "*Oripun* and *Alipin* in the Sixteenth-Century Philippines," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); *Idem.*, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1991); *Idem.*, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982); and *Idem.*, *Barangay*, 131-135, 219-231. See Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), especially 121-142.

of local communities. Most other maguinoos and *datus* earned their status through battlefield exploits or even trading. Datus were those maguinoo, some non-maguinoo, who earned the right to head communities and followers, to adjudicate disputes and punish wrongdoers, and to lead communal labor projects in agriculture and raids. Datus could call on the labor of individuals such as paddlers and soldiers for communal efforts such as military raids. If early colonial examples are any guide, though mostly men acted as datus, a few women did as well, accumulating wealth and power. These leaders also provided gifts to individuals within their communities, primarily alcohol, food during communal feasts, and foreign luxury goods obtained through raids and trade. Some datus obtained their credibility and thus dulohan, from warfare, while various maguinoo excelled at artisanal occupations, including trading, fishing, and smithing. Datus also assembled followings from marriages and the collateral kin from bilateral lineage kin. Non-datu maguinoo had the obligation to serve their datu only in the time of war, and did not owe tribute to them. Datus engaged in commercial activity, seized slaves, lent money, traded, operated fish traps, and collected duties and gifts from overseas merchants landing on the shores of central Luzon.[21]

Datus in ports played roles akin to those of the shahbandar, an office that combined the duties of a harbormaster and consul in ports across the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Chinese traders visiting the pre-Hispanic Philippines and central Luzon nobles recalling the roles of their ancestors corroborate the role of central Luzon datus in the redistribution of commercial

[21] Joel Pabustan Mallari, "Metallurgy in Early Kapampangan Society," *Alaya: The Kapampangan Research Journal* 1 (2004): 35-62; and Honey Libertine R. Achanzar-Labor, "The Philippine Panday: From the Historical Past to the Ethnographic Present," *Journal of History* 52, no. 1 (2006): 226-229, 239-240. Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting,* 127. Scott, *Barangay*, 54-56, 128-131, 219-222.

Smithing was a highly esteemed and almost magical occupation to most pre-modern peoples. See Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680. Volume 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 106-114; and George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in West Africa, 1000-1630* (Boulder, CO, Westview, 1993). I am indebted to Adam Donaldson and Matt Coleman for these insights. For commercial duties and tolls, see: AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, f. 20r (1599); and Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 211.

products. The Kapampangan principal don Juan Macapagal related how his grandfather, the ruler (*Lakan Dula*) of the polity of Tondo, confiscated the sails of visiting vessels and insisted on the distribution of goods among their followers before allowing the departure of traders. In some cases, the datu would act as a chief merchant, monopolizing the purchase and sale of acquired goods on his own account.[22]

The free followers of datus were maharlikas, later called timaguas from Visayan usage. The latter term referring to peasant tributaries and dependents that generally paid tribute in as agricultural produce or in labor during wartime expeditions. Timaguas cleared jungle for the creation of irrigated rice fields and cultivated rice, coconuts, and other crops. Timaguas worked in non-agricultural pursuits as well, as fishermen or paddlers, and as part of the the manpower for the raiding vessels that plied the seas of insular Southeast Asia. Timagua and noble women in central Luzon wove cotton and abaca fiber cloth for trade. At the same time, some early chroniclers noted that timaguas moved away from their natal communities, an option taken in other maritime Southeast Asian communities low in population density.[23]

The lowest-ranking individuals of lowland societies generally were bound to patrons who had indebted or purchased them. Spanish missionaries found the status of these bondsmen

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[22] For shahbandars in nearby port-states of Banjarmassin and Brunei during the seventeenth century, see AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 3, f. 14v (1685); and AGI, Filipinas, 15, R. 1, N. 7, f. 12r (1696). For a broader temporal and geographic range of shahbandars in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea, see Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European*, 7, 42-43, 58, 77, 81, 108; Craig A. Lockard, "'The Sea Common to All': Maritime Frontiers, Port Cities, and Chinese Traders in the Southeast Asian Age of Commerce, ca. 1400-1750," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 2 (2010), 222, 230. For the Lakan Dula, see National Archives of the Philippines (henceforth NAP) SD 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, [document torn]…*la provincia de la Pampanga merced que hizo el Señor Gobernador don Diego Faxardor para que pueda a su costa. Reducir y pacificar los Çambales y negrillos de los montes de dicha provincia de la pampanga y Reducido que los aya no cobre de ellos Los 2 años tributo ninguno y …cobre 8 reales de cada uno los 2 pesos del Real situado y los 6, para el, y pasado que aya 10 años cobranza dellos el tributp por entero a Razón de 10 reales con el situado y de la cantidad de tributos, Çambales y negrillos que Ubiere Reducido a de traer confirmación de su majestad,* f. S316r (1649); and Scott, *Barangay*, 220-221.

[23]See AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 20r -22v (1589); AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 63, fs. 5r, 8v (1590); Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas: Crónicas y Memorias* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1997 [1609]), 255; and Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas (1565-1615)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975[1698]), 681.

horrifying, as for them, bondage negated the most essential attributes of personhood. Indeed, some attributes of debt and war captive bondage practices, such its heritability, resembled slavery in the colonial societies of the Americas. Yet, other features of debt bond-servants diverged from Spanish slavery, most notably the physical mobility of many debt-bondspeople, and the lack of direct supervision exercised by creditors over certain groups of debt-servants. Scholars such as William Henry Scott and Vicente Rafael have shown that the contraction and service of debt played an important role in the organization of patron-client relationships in central Luzon at contact and throughout the colonial period. The extensive references made in the Laguna Copperplate Inscription in 900 CE to debts and debt-forgiveness show that maguinoo, too, were concerned with debt. Debt bondage and credit advances were common ways to entice laborers in many insular Southeast Asian societies as was the practice in other regions, such as West Africa, where, like Southeast Asia, easy access to cheap land made it hard to retain the labor and surpluses of peasant cultivators.[24]

The debt servants diverging most from Spanish understandings of bondage were called *alipin na mamahay*, with “alipin” signifying bondsman, and “na mamamahay” indicating that they were connected to the *bahay*, the word for house. Though initially glossed as “slave” by some early Spanish chroniclers, more observant scholars such as Scott have suggested that the status of the namamahay was more akin to indebted serfs. Though the terms of bondage differed, it appears that namamahay owed a certain number of days of labor per month on the agricultural plots of their maguinoo patrons and that they also paid an annual fee that acknowledged their debt to their patron. The maguinoo decided the number of days of work

[24] See Antoon Postma, “The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription: Text and Commentary,” *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 2 (1992): 183–203; and E. P. Patanñe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries* (San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines: LSA Press, 1996), 83-103; and Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 121-142. See Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia*, 17, for debt contracted in early Java. On namamahay conversion of debt service to crop shares, see Lilly Library (henceforth, LL), *Boxer Codex*, f. 68r (ca. 1590).

assigned to the namamahay, but according to the sermons of Fray Juan de Oliver, an early missionary, just patrons ensured that namamahay had sufficient time to work their own plots. Namamahay could exchange the labor performed on maguinoo plots for the proceeds earned through the sale by produce cultivated on their own plots. Some namamahay elected to convert their mode of payment to their creditors from labor on the plots of their creditors into shares of their crops which they allotted to their creditor. Presumably, the level of debt helped account for what portion of their crop they handed over. They could also purchase some of their debt with cash or services earned from work in an occupation such as silver-smithing. Some namamahay purchased a higher status through the labor that they performed outside the purview of their patron. On the other hand, the owners of the debts of both the namamahay and that of another bonded group, the *alipin saguiguilid*, could pass on these debts to their heirs. [25]

Individuals born into, or forced into the status of *alipin sa guiguilid,* referring to *guilid*, or threshold of the house, were the domestic slaves of the datus. For this reason, Spaniards later reffered to these bondsmen as full domestic slaves (*esclavos enteros dentro de la casa*). They arrived there from a variety of routes. Some were born into this status. Others were seized or purchased as war captives. Still other saguiguilid entered into this status through the contraction of high-interest loans. Sauiguilid spent most of their time serving in their masters' houses or working the plots owned by the datus, as they did not own their own houses or plots. They played an essential role in providing the labor for the drinking feasts (*tibao*, in Tagalog, or

[25] Scott, *Barangay*, 225-226. For more on slavery and debt, but applied to a modern context in Kabikolan, see Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For colonial Katagalugan, Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 121-142; and Jose Mario C. Francisco, S. J., "Alipin ng Dios, Alipin ng Demonyo: Translating Slavery as Religious Symbol," 370-393; in *Sermones Francisco Blancas de San Jose OP (1614)*, ed. Jose Ario C. Francisco (Quezon City: Pulong, Sources for Philippine Studies, 1994), 370-393. For labor assignments, see Antonio-María Rosales, O. F. M., *A Study of a 16th Century Manuscript on the Ten Commandments: Its Significance and Implications (Juan de Oliver's 'Declaration de los Mandamientos de la Ley de Dios* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1984), 36-37, 39. On namamahay conversion of debt service to crop shares, see LL, *Boxer Codex*, f. 68r (ca. 1590).

borrachera, in Spanish) in which datus distributed food, alcohol, slaves and wartime booty to their followers. Maguinoo sold saguiguilid, but these bondsmen could also occasionally raise their status through extraordinary exploits in war or other types of work. Namamahay owned guiguilid. These status categories generally appeared to have ordered relationships between the peasants, fishermen, blacksmiths and warriors of central Luzon. Yet, other relationships also shaped the lives of elites, peasants and bondsmen of central Luzon.[26]

Mechanics of Alliance and Kinship, Metaphors of Community and Hierarchy

Filipino and allied Austronesian groups used vertical (*lineage*), horizontal (*collateral*) and affinal (*fictive*) kinship strategies to make alliances. Examples of patrilineal lineage strategies included the efforts of scattered datus tried to pass on their office to sons. Yet, many scholars have pointed out the far greater prominence of bilateral kinship systems in insular Southeast Asia as a vehicle both for expressing family ties and for creating alliances. Datus could draw on cousins and family members from their immediate maternal and paternal lineages to found new settlements, form raiding parties, and to send on commercial voyages. Thus, Raja Ladía Ache co-ruled Manila with his nephew Suleiman (*Soliman*), and both descended from the maternal line of the ruling lineage of Brunei. Such lineages and kinship structures were based on horizontal or collateral kin. These ties did not preclude the formation of hierarchies, as Austronesian groups also have been observed to revere ancestors, especially those founding new maritime settlements. Still other datus obtained their dulohan from prowess demonstrated in

[26] Morga, *Los Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 278; and San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 702. See also John Leddy Phelan, "Free Versus Compulsory Labor: Mexico and the Philippines 1540-1648," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 2 (1959): 197-198. San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 117, 702. See Pedro Carrasco, "Los Mayeques," *Historia Mexicana*, 39, no. 1 (1989): 123-166, for cases of bonded agriculturalists in pre-Hispanic central Mexico. For debt servants inside the house, called "dentro de la casa," in central Luzon and the Visayas, see LL, *Boxer Codex*, fs. 38r-38v, 65v (ca. 1590), and Chapter 2.

daring military exploits, which depended on the extension of kinship networks to datus who shared no biological ties.[27]

Filipino groups also incorporated non-kin into family networks through the creation of fictive kinship ties. Central Luzon chiefs frequently adopted offspring, thus increasing their followings (*dulohan*). Adoption and the incorporation of other fictive kin relied on understandings of kin as individuals who shared of bodily substance, which in the Austronesian world included breast milk, blood, or beverages during the making of oaths. For example, Magellan, Villalobos, and Legazpi all shared blood in ceremonies (*sandugo*) with datus of the Philippines. The creation of "blood brothers" enabled the incorporation of foreigners, strangers, or non-kin, into kinship systems and by extension, politico-military alliances. More centralized societies such as Brunei also hosted sandugo rituals. Adoptees and other members of household retinues might have been incorporated into Filipino households through the sharing of food and the hearth, a practice Janet Carstens has observed in modern-day Malaysia. Early modern societies in Brunei, Melaka, and other insular Southeast Asian states incorporated foreigners, especially so-called stranger-kings, by linking them to a embodied containers of auspicious bodily substances, often noble local omen.[28]

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[27] For Filipino bilateral ties and their use in alliances, see J. Landa Jocano, *Filipino Social Organization:Traditional Kinship and Family Organization* (Quezon City: Punlad, 1998), 21-33; Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 60, 64, 75-76, 138-139; and William Henry Scott, "Class Structure," 143-144, 148, 153, 155. For "founder ideology," see Peter Bellwood "Hierarchy, Founder Ideology, and Austronesian Expansion," in *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance: Explorations in Austronesian Ethnography*, eds. James J. Fox and Clifford Sather (Canberra: Australian National University E Press 2006 [1996]), 18-40.

[28] For shared substances as bases for kinship, see Jocano, *Filipino Social Organization*, 16-18, 28-29; Albert Schrauwers, "negotiating parentage: the political economy of 'kinship' in central Sulawesi, Indonesia," *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 2 (1999): 310-311, 315-316; Janet Carsten, "The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (1995): 223-241. Schrauwers, however, is careful to note some of the more exploitative aspects of such incorporationist aspects of kinship. Carsten expands upon these views to observe the ways that affinal kinship modes have formed the basis of the growth of states. See Janet Carsten, "What kinship does-and how," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 2 (2013): 247. For the practices of sandugo and oath-taking in the early colonial Philippines, see AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 10, f. 2v (1543); AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 16, exp. 2, fs. 12r-12v, 14r

Central Luzon societies created nautical models to express the creation and maintenance of the social systems of their communities. The centrality of maritime activity to the meaning systems of the communities and societies of central Luzon corroborates the observation of other scholars of the centrality of the boat as a central metaphor in Austronesian social thought. For example, the word "barangay" referred to the boats through which Tagalogs colonized. The word also connoted the communities of the same name led by datus in central Luzon, and also to the way that these communities were structured. A barangay community was divided into groups, in the case of pre-contact Luzon, status groups, just like a ship crew. Each group performed a different, yet crucial function necessary to maintain the community, just as each member of the crew had a specialized way of ensuring the proper functioning of a vessel. Such modes of interaction showed the compatibility of ship with hierarchy, and in fact, patron-client relationships.[29]

While we do not, as yet, have documents recording the organization of pre-Hispanic Luzon trading and military vessels, we do have solid interpretations of labor organization and hierarchies on insular Southeast Asian vessels of nearby trading states such as Melaka. Scholars have derived their interpretations from maritime legal codes such as the *Undang-undang Laut*, consultation of Bugis maritime law, and from the records of early trading voyages conducted by Asian merchants under the auspices of Portuguese authorities. Their work suggests that similar

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(1568) Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 78, 242, 301-302; and Scott, *Barangay*, 136, 156. For stranger-kings in Brunei and elsewhere, see Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 18-20. 39-42; Thomas Gibson, "From Stranger-King to Stranger-Shaikh: Austronesian Symbolism and Islamic Knowledge," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36, no. 105 (2008): 309-321; and David Henley, "Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King: Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewher," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004): 85-144. See the earlier formulation of the idea in Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 73-90. For a more lengthy discussion of the cognitive and social, versus the biological, bases of kinship, see Marshall Sahlins, *What Kinship Is - And Is Not* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[29] See Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Shipshape Societies: boat symbolism and political systems in Insular Southeast Asia," *Techniques and Culture* 35-36 (2001). Accessed January 9, 2014. http://tc.revues.org/301; and Junker, *Raiding*, 131-132.

maritime practices were followed by the skipper, sailors, and paddlers of the Philippines and insular Southeast Asia.[30]

Melaka ande Malay trading vessels (*perahus*) exhibited some of ranking systems resembling the political systems of the port cities of the South China Sea and Malay Islamicate sultanates. The central Luzon city-states of Tondo and Manila emulated these structures. In the perahu, the captain (*nakhoda*) stood as the sultan of the vessel, while the navigator (*jurumundi*) acted as his prime minister (*bendahara*). Conversely, officers in charge of the anchor (*jurubatu*) acted as the head police officer (*temenggong*). Other crew members also held authority, such as the petty officer of the starboard (*tukang kanan*), the petty officer of the port side (*tukang kiri*), the chief petty officer (*tukang agong*), and the mariners in charge of the rigging (*gatong*). The rest of the mariners were general seamen (*awak perahu*), under the care and supervision of their officers.[31]

Both the *Undang-undang Laut* and Portuguese records listed some of the opportunities available by crew members, but also they also clarified the arduousness of maritime labor, and emphasized the role of the legal system in controlling their labor. These documents indicate some of the constraints that might have guided the lives of sailors aboard Luzon trading vessels, and the expectations which guided Filipino mariners when they boarded Spanish vessels. Records from the Portuguese administrators revealed that some of these crew members could be

[30] See Kathryn Gay Anderson, "The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora" (PhD Diss., University of Hawai'i, 2003), 72-76; Luis Filipe Thomaz, "A escravatura em Malaca no século XVI," *Studia* 53 (1994): 280-283, 307-313, and *passim*; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 2*, 48-53; Richard Winstedt and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Societiety* 29, no. 3 (1956): 22-59; R. O. Winstedt, "A Brunei Code," *Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1, no. 1 (1923): 251; and *A Code of Bugis Maritime Laws with a Translation and Dictionary* (Singapore: Mission Press, 1832). http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/printheritage/detail/d7826db3-8975-418b-ba35-8e28f1716c9a.aspx. Accessed 1/20/2014.

[31] Richard Winstedt, and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," 51; and Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca,* 307-313.

slaves. Perhaps some of them were debt-slaves, as the terrestrial law codes of Melaka protected the practice of advancing credit to individuals at high interest, which enabled merchants to secure the service of indebted bondsmen. Though prohibited by Islamic law, customary law (*adat*) was recognized under the Melaka law. The *Undang-undang Laut* extended this practice to the sea. The nakhoda could even put some of the crew in bondage if he advanced them credit which they never paid back. The provision of credit makes sense. Melaka law codes showed crew members expected much of their income to come from commercial deals in which they engaged when their ships were in port. They had to wait to engage in commerce until after the activity of their nakhoda. The awak perahu held only a small share of the cargo compared to the captain and supercargo of their vessels.[32]

Many of the bonded crew members worked in these vessels as bailers. In larger vessels, they manned the pumps, a job which required constant activity with little rest. The *Undang-undang Melaka* makes clear that nakhodas, perahu officers, and other crew members had an affirmative duty to return runaway slaves, wherever they were found. The threat of the flight of sailors would have been an important peril to the crew complement of the perahu.[33]

These laws are indicative of the fates of the timagua, alipin namamahay, and alipin saguiguilid on pre-Hispanic Luzon trading and war vessels, and later, in colonial-era vessels under Spanish command. Datus required both namamahay and saguiguilid to serve aboard vessels of war and most probably commercial vessels as well. Chinos followed similar maritime

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[32] For debt, commerce, bailing, and catching runaways aboard Melaka perahus, see Richard Winstedt and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," 52-56; Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca,* 269, 272-274, 285-290; and see Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 2*, 48-53.

[33] For debt, commerce, bailing, and catching runaways aboard Melaka perahus, see Richard Winstedt and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," 52-56; Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca,* 269, 272-274, 285-290; and see Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Volume 2*, 48-53. For debt slavery on land, and the responsibility to catch runaways, see Yock Fang Liaw, *Undang-undang Melaka: The Laws of Melaka* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 81, 87, 167, 169, 173.

paths, but under Spanish command. Most vessels required rowing, or more precisely, paddling, but some vessels, paralleling the junks of maritime Southeast Asia, relied mostly on the use of the sail. In the latter case, namamahay and saguiguilid would have worked in the rigging like the gatong, or in bailing, like the awak perahu. Such obligations paralleled the service of saguiguilid and namamahay as servers at the competitive drinking parties (*tibao*) of the datus and as peasants supplying tribute. War, commerce, competitive feasting, and the sale of commercial goods all served as ways of accumulating prestige and increasing the size of the dulohan of a datu.[34]

For entrepreneurial peasants and bondsmen, commercial ventures could have presented opportunities for independence. A successful set of voyages for a namamahay, relying on capital advanced from a commanding datu or overseeing the consigned cargo of a third-party in *commenda*, might have enabled the accumulation of the eight *taels* (seventy pesos) required to redeem their freedom, just as sharecropping namamahay could hope to get ahead after a particularly good set of harvests. It is also probable that crew members gained commissions from supervising cargo consigned by merchants to other ports, an outgrowth of the system of commenda, long-term partnerships between merchants and their agents. Conversely, namamahay faced with crop failure or insufficient market information would have also faced the risk of falling into the ranks of the saguiguilid, making credit advances a potentially advantageous commercial strategy, first by Luzon datus, and then, by Spanish colonial patrons. Despite the importance of commerce, agricultural productivity and fishiong sustained local populations.[35]

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[34] For commenda and other commercial arrangements in the South China Sea, see Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence,* 48-52; and Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*. *Volume 2*, 48-53. For modes of achievement-based ranking, see Junker, *Raiding*, *Trading, and Feasting*, 75-78, 138-141, 219-222, 232-234.

[35] LL, *Boxer Codex*, fs. 65r-66v, 68r (1590). Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca,* 269, 272-274, 285-290.

The central Luzon provinces of Tondo, Laguna de Bay and agrarian Pampanga were situated on rivers that emptied into Manila Bay, facilitating water transport of bulky items like timber, rice, and raw cotton for internal and international exchange. Agricultural productivity helped fund their prosperity. The inhabitants of Laguna and Pampanga cultivated rice with the aid of rain-fed irrigation, storing some of this water in dams located on tributaries. Irrigated rice agriculture or *tubigan* sustained large population densities, but also required large amounts of labor at peak times and for the maintenance of canals and earthen impoundments. These regions were closely-linked to Cavite and Manila due to the ease of waterborne transportation. Thus, the chiefdoms of pre-Hispanic central Luzon appeared to have maintained economies centered on rice cultivation, fishing, trade, and textile manufacture. Lowland communities caught fish with nets and traps, produced salt, cultivated rice and manufactured alcohol. They traded these items for the rattan, honey, dye woods, iron, and gold gathered and manufactured by upland communities.[36]

The societies of central Luzon and the rest of the Philippines also organized their societies around war. Datus organized raids conducted by their followers against other communities and islands, distributing loot and captives between their followers and accumulating new retainers in the process. Early Spanish observers suggest that communities in central Luzon communities and communities in the Visayas raided each other. Some ethnohistorians suggest that more peaceful communication occurred between these regions. For example, linguists have recently translated an inscription on a pot inscribed with Visayan indigenous (*baybayin*) lettering in Calatagan, Batangas. This may suggest that Visayan shamans and ritual specialists might have traveled to central Luzon to share their knowledge. The

[36] Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia*, 12-13. For the commercial and agrarian bases of central Luzon economies, see Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence,* 117-118, 134-139, 166-168; and Scott, *Barangay*, 199-209, 243-244.

chronicler Gaspar San Agustín noted that the Bruneian and Luzon noble families and merchants maintained commercial agents in the Visayan islands of Panay, Cebu, and Bohol, as well as in Butuan, in Mindanao, suggesting longtime trade (See Figures 2, 3, and 5). [37]

Scholars are still somewhat in disagreement over the precise nature of pre-Hispanic settlement and political organization. One of the earliest chroniclers of the central Luzon, the Franciscan friar Juan de Plasencia, suggested that central Luzon communities organized themselves in *barangays*, small communities generally based on large lineages of approximately thirty to one hundred households. Plasencia described landownership being organized by barangay, with each inhabitant of a barangay being entitled to the use of a parcel for familial use. More recently, William Henry Scott and Damon Woods have argued that early colonial records written in Tagalog indicate the pre-colonial importance of the *bayan*, a larger-order polity than that of the barangay. Early colonial use of the word bayan suggests that this concept mainly referred to larger communities that the Spanish resettled into nucleated municipalities called *pueblos de indios*. Some scholars suggest that words like bayan and another word referring to communities, *pook* are modifiers of barangay which respectively refer to larger and smaller polities, respectively.[38]

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[37] For the role of warfare in social mobility and interpolity relationships in the pre-Hispanic Philippines, see Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting,* 336-369. Ramon G. Guillermo and Myfel Joseph D. Paluga, "*Barang king bangari*: A Visayan language reading of the Calatagan pot inscription (CPI)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (2011) 42: 121-159. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas (1565-1615)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975[1698]), 154-156, 160, 179, 215, 234-235, 241, 251.

[38] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the creation of pueblos de indios in Luzon. AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, f. 20r (1599); Scott, *Barangay*, 190-191; and Damon Woods, "The Evolution of Bayan," in *Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?*, ed. Priscelina Patajo-Legasto (Quezon City: University of Philippines Press, 2008), 30-54. The pre-Hispanic organization of central Luzon polities is still under dispute. Woods suggests that certain aspects of vocabulary used in Tagalog records demonstrate that Tagalogs thought of bayans in familial terms, that is, perhaps akin to barangays. Most of the Tagalog writings thus far gathered from early colonial records convey the opinions of maguinoo interlocutors, and thus represent a small (and self-interested) subsection of Tagalog society. Moreover, as several scholars have pointed out, Spanish administrators placed a substantial amount of authority in the hands of maguinoo which might have enabled the latter to accumulate more power over the *timaguas* than they would not have had at contact.

While Filipinos organized themselves into chiefdoms and other less-centralized polities, local inscriptions and writing systems demonstrated the cultural links that Luzon maintained with Southeast Asia. Archaeologists have not found evidence that Central Luzon hosted courts or polities on the order of Southeast Asian commercial and agrarian states such as Srivijaya, Majapahit, or Melaka (see Figure 7). Nonetheless, historians of the Philippines and Southeast Asian have demonstrated a long history of intermittent contact between central Luzon and China and the greater insular Southeast Asia world, influenced by traders from southeast China (Minnan/Fujian), Tamil, coastal and insular Southeast Asian trader-adventurers.[39]

For example, the producers of the Laguna Copperplate Inscription referred to villages within central Luzon, though it is unclear whether the communities discussed were located in Bulacan or Laguna de Bay. The writer of the inscription mentioned that some local rulers exercised authority over several communities. Antoon Postma observes that the producer of the inscription utilized old Tagalog as well as scripts and languages used by the Sanskritized culture of Java and the Malay courts. Most prominent of the communities mentioned in the inscription was *Tunduk* (later Tondo), on the northern part of the Pasig River delta, the later site of a prominent central Luzon raja named the Lakandula. The substantial presence of Malay and

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Ian Alfonso, a scholar at the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, has explained that Zeus Salazar has already demonstrated the relationship between *barangays* and the *bayan*. He also suggested the importance of the term *pook* as a synonym for the barangay (Personal Communication, 6/27/2011). I do not have the necessary Tagalog skills to extensively treat the works of Salazar, but the dictionary of San Buena Ventura refers to *pooc* as a "pueblocillo." I have seen only a few examples of references to barangays in Tagalog language documents. See San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 688.

[39] See Geoff Wade, "On the Possible Cham Origin of the Philippine Scripts," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1993): 44-87. Robert Reed sees "Islam" and intensified commerce as a catalyst for urbanization and the formation of Manila as a "suprabarangay." See Robert B. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 5-6. The discussion of Scott and Woods shows that *bayan* could encompass larger residential populations. For the broader connections between the Malayo-Indonesian world and the Philippines, see Leonard Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2008), 24, 56. These connections are analyzed in greater detail in Zeus A. Salazar, *The Malayan Connection: Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu* (Quezon City: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998), *passim*.

Sanskrit terms in Kapampangan and even more prominently, in Tagalog, further demonstrates these connections, as does the resemblance of central Luzon script (*baybayin)* to other examples of writing in the Malayo-Polynesian world. A few chinos would carry this script with them to New Spain. Central Luzon maguinoo would continue to use forms of baybayin through the end of the seventeenth century despite the familiarity that many had with Romanized script.[40]

By the sixteenth century, Portuguese, Spanish and Malay chronicles help provide a clearer picture of the political history of central Luzon and insular Southeast Asia. At this time, relatives of the Islamicate and Malay-speaking courts of Brunei in northwestern Borneo and Jolo, southeast of Mindanao, had begun claiming sovereignty over villages facing Manila Bay. Members of these royal families indirectly ruled at least two central Luzon settlements, Manila, south of the river Pasig, and Tondo, north of the river. Early colonial evidence indicates that these nobles maintained marriage and trading ties with broader stretches of central Luzon. Tondo rulers maintained ties with some communities in Bulacan, but evidently formed alliances with datus in the densely-settled province of Pampanga. Manila, in turn, formed alliances with villages on both banks of the Pasig, as well as with communities in Laguna de Bay and Balayan (see Figure 5). These families, their allies, and their subjects opened up trade relationships that stretched as far away as Melaka and Timor.[41]

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[40] For the Laguna Copperplate Inscription, see Antoon Postma, "The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription: Text and Commentary," *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 2 (1992): 183–203. For a history of Pila, consult L. P. R. Santiago, "The Roots of Pila, Laguna: A Secular and Spiritual History of the Town (900 AD to the Present)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 25, nos. 3-4 (1997): 125-155.

[41] The Brunei connection would continue to prove of significance for the ruling elites of Luzon, even into the nineteenth century. Santiago,"The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman," 40-50; and Saunders, *A History of Brunei,* 46-64. Gaspar de San Agustín argues that Kapampangan principales agreed to provide workers and timber to the Spanish soon after the Lakan Dula agreed to assist the Spanish in 1575. See San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas,* 423. For the connections between Bulacan and Tondo, see Santiago,"The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman," 45. For marital alliances, see L. P. R. Santiago, "The Lineage of Mójica: The Super-Principalia of Cavite," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 20 (1992): 94.

The later Spanish incursion and eventual claim of sovereignty over the islands would change the patterns of trade and the allocation of political power in central Luzon. Central Luzon elites prompted Spanish administrators to accommodate themselves to their bilateral marital alliances in order to forge an uneasy *modus vivendi*. Central Luzon elites responded several times with violence when they understood the willingness of Spanish administrators to challenge their prerogatives. The timaguas and debt servants of Tagalog provinces and province of Pampanga became embroiled in the midst of this power struggle; nonetheless, I shall demonstrate that they worked to find their own avenues of survival.

Spanish Incursions

The Spanish altered modes of interaction between the elites, peasants, and bondspeople of central Luzon. Nonetheless, Kapampangans and Tagalogs, elites and peasants alike, had a strong hand in shaping these colonial institutions. The organization in the 1570s and 1580s by Miguel de Legazpi and his successors of new modes of governance required collaboration with local elites, but also rested on templates brought from the Americas which aimed at undercutting the power of indigenous élites. The Spanish depended on central Luzon communities for labor and leadership for the conquest and the subsequent creation of colonial institutions. The patterns of movement of central Luzon workers, as well as the interaction between nobility and Spanish administrators set by central Luzon peasants and elites made early colonial society.

After the Portuguese entry into the Indian Ocean, agents of the Spanish Habsburgs repeatedly entered the Pacific in attempts to take control of the production of the Spice Islands (Maluku). Their efforts began in 1522 with the departure of Fernão Magalhaes (Magellan) from Andalucía, but administrators and entrepreneurs staged three subsequent attempts from Mexico, with the final successful round-trip embarking from the port of Navidad in western Mexico (See

Chapter 4). The success of the navigator Andrés de Urdaneta establishing a trans-Pacific route, and the creation of subsequent alliances with Visayan and Luzon leaders, enabled the subsequent conquest of Luzon and a foundation for Spanish colonization of the Philippines.[42]

The Spanish made first contact with the polities and peoples of central Luzon with the arrival of Magellan. Antonio Pigafetta, a Venetian, who was part of Magellan's party, wrote that amid their perambulations in the Sulu Sea, the expedition of Magellan captured a boat. The boat sailed from Luzon to Brunei, carrying a member of the court of Brunei, a man who would later become the ruler of Manila. Miguel López de Legazpi and his chroniclers would later name the man the "old king" or *Raja Matanda Ache.* The expedition returned the occupants to their craft, and after forty years Raja Ache met the successors of Magallan return to Southeast Asia, with the 1565 expedition of Miguel López de Legazpi.[43]

Landing in Cebu in 1565, the Spanish expedition under Legazpi began to form alliances against Visayan and Portuguese competitors, initiating serious Spanish efforts to colonize the Philippines, and contact with central Luzon peoples. The conquests would begin a lengthy Spanish dependence on various forms of cooperation with indigenous elites, whom they required as intermediaries. The Spanish continuously encountered trouble in their efforts to provision their expeditions. Fortunately for them a Cebuano datu named Tupas entered into alliance with the Spanish. In return for assistance against his enemies, Tupas provided hundreds of rowers and soldiers for Spanish campaigns in the Visayas. In response to constant depredations by Spanish

[42] For classic discussions of the encomienda, see Silvio Zavala, *La Encomienda Indiana* (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1973), *passim*; and Charles H. Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), 58-81. E. P. Patanñe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries* (San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines: LSA Press, 1996), 192-194.

[43] Scott, *Barangay,* 191, 193-194. The equipping of Legazpi's voyage undoubtedly required the labor of hundreds of western Mexican indigenous people. An earlier expedition to the Philippines, that of Villalobos, in 1542, also resulted in the coerced labor of indigenous people of Mexico, in this case, indigenous slaves brought to the Philippines, probably to work as servants and mariners. See AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 10, f. 3r (1543).

soldiers, the inhabitants of the islands of Cebu hid their crops or refused to plant food which Spanish adventurers would only confiscate. Visayans relied more on dry-rice irrigation than did the inhabitants of central Luzon, as well as easily-concealable sources of starch such as *gabi* tuber and the starchy hearts of palms (*sago*). Visayan slash-and-burn cultivation (*kaigín)* and their denial of resources to the Spanish, left too scant a surplus for Spanish needs and ambitions in the Philippines. In an effort to secure more reliable food supplies, in 1568, the Spanish moved from Cebu, to the better provisioned island of Panay, in the western Visayas (See Figure 3).[44]

Chronicles of Legazpi and his lieutenants revealed that the inhabitants of the Visayan Islands were deeply embedded within wider commercial networks within the South China Sea, and one of the most important networks was centered in Luzon (See Figures 1 and 2). Visayan datus located their communities on riverbanks on near the sea, trading wax, gold, and slaves for a wide variety of good brought by Luzon traders (*moros*). The moros from Luzon brought Indian cloth, Chinese goods, iron, rice, and porcelain in return for these goods. They had obtained these goods from traders visiting Luzon and from trading voyages that ranged to Brunei, Melaka, Maluku, and the shores of Fujian. Legazpi realized that Luzon was the source of wealth after he purchased rice from moros to feed his soldiers. Following American precedents, Legazpi followed trade routes in order to plan his conquests.[45]

In 1570, hearing of dense population and riches from Malay-speaking traders, Spaniards began sallies to the north. Spaniards first landed with Visayan allies on the island of Mindoro

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[44] For Visayan farming, see Scott, *Barangay*, 35-41. San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas,* 240, 245-246. For central Luzon mentions of the conquest, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 41, *passim* (1591). Patañe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries,* 192-195. Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez, "El Asentamiento: La Fundación de Manila," *España y el Pacifico,* tomo I, ed. Leoncio Cabrero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 296-297. For an overview of the Legazpi campaign in the Visayas, see Scott, "Why did Tupas Betray Dagami?" 12-31.

[45] See Scott, "Dagami," *passim*; and AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 16, *passim*.

and in the province of Balayan, but later that year, they arrived in Manila Bay. The raids in Mindoro represented the first encounter of the Spanish with populations of central Luzon. Felice Noelle Rodriguez persuasively argues that Visayan leaders set the terms of engagement with the people of Luzon. The Visayans prioritized seizure of captives in Mindoro as it allowed them to maintain the maritime Southeast Asian prioritization of obtaining followers over the seizure of land (See Figures 4 and 5). This pattern followed similar activity in Cebu, where Tupas had arranged for Spanish soldiers to accompany hundreds of his warriors against enemies in the Visayas. The subsequent expeditions of Legazpi and his lieutenants to Balayan and Manila were led by the field marshal (*maestre de campo*) Martín de Goití. Goití sent emissaries to the twin courts of Tondo and Manila, headed, respectively, by the Lakan Dula and a ruling confederation of Raja Soliman and Rajah Matanda. Goití "offered" to place Manila under Habsburg sovereignty. Depending on the chronicler, after this sally either the Visayans entered Manila and burned the fortress, or the inhabitants themselves burned it.[46]

On a subsequent visit in 1571, Guido de Lavezaris, a subordinate of Legazpi, attacked Manila. With the prompting and labor of hundreds of Visayan allies, he defeated the forces of Raja Soliman. At least one historian has suggested that the raids of Visayan nobles on Luzon and Mindoro in fact reflected goals of Visayans more than they did Spaniards. The foundation of a colony of Visayans in the Manila suburb of Quiapo confirms this point. Legazpi moved his capital to the Brunei-connected Manila and sent out two contingents to conquer the rest of Luzon. Recognizing their putative ties to the Malay-speaking, Islamicate court of Brunei, Spanish called the inhabitants of central Luzon moros for the first few decades after the conquest. They would use this term to designate to label some of the first chino sailors who

[46] AGI, Patronato, 46, R. 9 (1570); AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 17 (1570); Felice Noelle Rodriguez, "Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 2 (2003): 143-164; and San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas (1565-1615)*, 221, 321.

arrived in colonial Mexico. To the east, Spanish and Visayan soldiers under Legazpi's grandson, Juan de Salcedo, proceeded through the towns of the Pasig River, Laguna de Bay, Tayabas, and later moved on to the southern Luzon lands of Kabikolan. On the Pasig, they encountered resistance in Taguig, and in Laguna de Bay, they fought entrenched foes in Cainta and Majayjay. The soldiers advancing eastward found very dense populations along the coast of Laguna de Bay, as the people here practiced wet-rice agriculture (See Figures 5 and 6).[47]

Though the Visayans and Martín de Goití initially faced stout resistance, they were able to subdue local opposition through the use of local maritime and military labor. This included the use of Visayan warriors, but there is evidence that the Spanish soon began to rely on soldiers from Luzon, as well. Another force moved westward under the command of Goití. This force began its advance only after a large sea battle just north of the city of Tondo known as Bangkusay. From the town of Macabebe, in Pampanga, Kapampangan allies of the the Lakan Dula initiated this battle. Oral history accounts claim that a Kapampangan warrior leader, Tarik Soliman, known as Bambalito, initiated the battle with a courageous jest. Kapampangans lost the battle, but some of their forces continued to resist Spanish rule, especially in the densely-populated river communities of Lubao and Betis. Consequently, Visayan and Spanish soldiers bypassed these towns, postponing their conquest until later in 1571. In later years, descendants of the Lakan Dula claimed that the raja helped supply some of the manpower necessary to defeat the rest of the province of Pampanga. Kapampangan chino migrants to the Americas also would also deploy this history of military cooperation. The descendants of other maguinoo similarly

[47] Rodriguez, "Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare," 143-164. See also Jose Amiel Angeles, "The Battle of Mactan and the Indigenous Discourse on War," *Philippine Studies* 55, no. 1 (2007), 3-52. For the use of the word *moro*, see AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 5, N. 34, f. 163v (1582); and Archives of the University of Santo Tomas (Henceforth, AUST) , MF 193, tomo 1, *Libro de las escrituras de las tierras de Biñan pertenecientes al colegio de Santo Tomas*, f. 84v (1589). For Quiapo, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 97, f.1r (1601). San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 229, 338-340, 347.

insisted that their Kapampangan ancestors had peacefully cooperated with the Spanish during the conquest. Subsequently, Kapampangan maguinoo continued to rely on their history of cooperation in order to exact concessions from Spanish royal officials. Spanish forces under Goití conquered Pangasinan and part of Ilocos with the assistance of the Visayan soldiers first provided by, don Francisco Tupas, as well as Kapampangan laborers (See Figure 2).[48]

Spanish and Central Luzon Elites: Colonial Exploitation and Accommodation

By 1571, Miguel López de Legazpi had begun setting up the administrative bases of Spanish colonial rule in central Luzon. He drew from the strategies developed during the early conquests and administration of the Americas. He ordered the refoundation of Manila as the Spanish seat of the colony of the Philippines, established himself as governor of the islands, began to develop a system of tribute, and assigned *encomiendas* to the more prominent Spanish participants in the early conquests. Following American precedent, Legazpi asked the king to grant encomiendas, grants of indigenous labor provided to Spanish grantees for services rendered to the Crown. In return, the grantees (*encomenderos*) had the duty of protecting and providing religious instruction to the inhabitants of the communities that they oversaw. The governor could assign encomiendas for only "three lives," that is, for the duration of their lifetime of the grantees and two generations of their descendants. The king still required that encomenderos deliver a portion of the tribute, but they were able to make use of the rest of the proceeds for their own benefit. Populations that only paid tribute to the king became known as royal encomiendas. These included the most productive rice lands in the province of Pampanga, the former tributary villages of the kingdom of Tondo, as well as "The Manila Coast." The latter

[48] NAP, Cedulario, 1643-1649, SDS 434, fs. 316r-316v; San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, 229; W. E. Retana, in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas:Crónicas y Memorias* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1997), 99; Jose Victor Z. Torres, "Doubting a Hero's Name: Tarik Soliman and the Question of Paterno's Historia," *Alaya: The Kapampangan Research Journal* 1 (2004): 63-81; Patanñe, *The Philippines in the 6th to 16th Centuries*, 198; and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440C, fs. 3844v (1654).

were a string of fishing villages that swept around the Bay of Manila from the city to what became the port of Cavite (See Figure 5).[49]

In the realm of religion, King Philip II attempted to promote the Roman Catholic missionization of central Luzon. Colonial scholars have pointed out, that for many populations, missionaries represented the colonial agents most likely to be encountered by peasants in subjected societies. This was especially true in the Philippines and other areas sparsely populated by Spanish settlers and administrators. The spatial organization of the missionary enterprise shaped the experiences of the migrating peasants of central Luzon. Missionaries founded territorial parishes and worked to concentrate populations to facilitate religious indoctrination and surveillance. As in other colonial societies, the organization of space by missionaries in the Philippines followed some elements of pre-Hispanic territories, but also created new connections. As in other colonial societies, the organization of space by missionaries in the Philippines followed some elements of pre-Hispanic territorialization, but also created new connections.

As in the Americas, religious missionization prompted shifts in gender roles and relations. Preconquest religiosity in the Philippines had relied on ancestor veneration and the proclamations of female religious leaders called catalonans. Missionaries marginalized these women, who they cast as diabolical agents. Women therefore lost some of the public role that they had heretofore enjoyed in central Luzon society.[50]

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[49] Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas (1570-1608)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995); and AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, f. 10r (1582).

[50] See Carolyn Brewer, "From Animist 'Priestess' to Catholic Priestess: The Re/gendering of Religious Roles in the Philippines, 1521-1685," in *Other Pasts: Women and Gender in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Barbara Watson Andaya (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mânoa, 2000), 69-86; and *Idem*, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippine* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

Missionaries tended to view their authority to indoctrinate peasant in a rather broad fashion; in addition to enforcing canonical law, they worked to forge new behaviors and police their conduct. They mobilized indigenous converts to counter resistance by indigenous practitioners of non-Catholic religions. They also deputized community members to force people to attend Mass. These agents, known as *fiscales* in Spanish, and *bilangos*, from the Tagalog word for jail, maintained close ties with missionaries and often included members of the nobility. Missionaries quickly learned the languages of the Philippines, and began preaching southern European Catholicism first, to nobles and then, the peasants of central Luzon.[51]

Luzon maintained three bishoprics. The archbishopric of Manila maintained jurisdiction over Nueva Segovia (present-day Laloc), the bishopric which oversaw northern Luzon, and Nueva Cáceres (present-day Naga), which administered the Bicolano speakers of the southern Luzon provinces of Camarines, Sorsogon, and Albay. Secular priests tended to parishes in communities dominated by Spanish populations, which were few and far between in the Philippines. They administered few parishes outside the walls of Manila. Effectively, though,

[51] The literature on missionization and Catholicism in the Philippines is vast. Scholars interested in Church institutions could begin by consulting the following: John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1961); and John N. Schumacher, S. J, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1979). More recent work tends to focus on the dynamics of missionization and its interpretation by missionaries and the would-be missionized. See Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*; Danilo Madrid Gerona, "Text and Politics: Transactions of Power in the Early Provincial Philippines." *Asian Studies* 34 (1998): 15-49; Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippine;* Eduardo M. Domingo, "Rereading the Contexts of Historical Records: Towards a Mature and Objective Appraisal of the Early History of the Church in the Philippines," *Philippiniana Sacra* 42, no. 125 (2007): 417-432; and Oona Paredes, "Converting Conflict: Lumad Identity and Warfare in Early Colonial Mindanao" (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2008). For bilangos, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 66, f. 1v (1590).

through the course of the seventeenth century, bishops proved unable to exercise their authority over the missionary orders.[52]

The efforts of missionary orders to convert the inhabitants of the Philippines included coercive changes to indigenous modes of arranging space and comportment. The orders put these communities under the cultural and religious tutelage of the Cathlolic missionary orders, separating their new pupils from spiritual contamination. These actions supported the efforts of the Habsburg Crown to separate colonial populations throughout their realm into indigenous communities, or "repúblicas de indios," and Spanish communities, "repúblicas de españoles." Like American indigenous people, humble Filipinos, and later, chinos used their status as protected Habsburg subjects of self-governed ethnicized corporate bodies to petition colonial administrators. In time, too, some central Luzon elites would view the Church and other colonial institutions as new realm through which gain resources and form alliances.[53]

In the 1580s, the missionaries of the discalced Franciscans started settling the inhabitants of scattered farming hamlets of Laguna de Bay into more centralized settlements called *reducciones*. As in New Spain and Peru, these actions were intended to gather the populations of thinly-populated hamlets and swiddens into arrangements more conducive to Christian missionization. This system grouped peasants into *cabeceras*, larger "head towns" in which missionaries ordered peasants to construct parish churches (*parroquias*) and convents. The inhabitants of surrounding smaller towns (*visitas*) attended Mass and received the sacraments of baptism and marriage in the cabecera. These municipal hierarchies also ordered regional political economies, as residents of visitas often owed communal labor for the construction and

[52] For regular and secular relationships, see Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 5-6, 31-35. For the early attempts of civil administrators to exercise jurisdiction over indigenous morality, see AGN, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, expedientes 3-4 (1585).

[53] For space and the missions, see Phelan, *Hispanization*, 41-49, 58-61.

maintenance of the parish churches or to its missionaries (*doctrineros*). Parish churches and their preachers (*curas*) helped serve as centers of communal identity, especially after the organization of lay religious organizations (*cofradias*) formed to celebrate the feast days of patron saints of the pueblos. As appointed emissaries of the colonial moral and political order, any misbehavior by curas in the moral and social realm of the village attracted intense criticism.[54]

Each missionary order administered parishes in its own territory, which could, and did change over time. Augustinians provided the first missionaries to central Luzon, an effort begun by Augustinian Andrés de Urdaneta when he helped establish a feasible maritime route between the Philippines and the Americas. The Augustinians ministered to Pampanga, much of what would become the provinces of Bulacan, Balayan, and a few towns in southwestern Laguna province (See Figure 5). The Augustinians taught music, Spanish and Latin, and Christian doctrine to the children of the nobility within their provinces. These schools educated central Luzon indigenous elites in new languages of power and comportment. The Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans joined the Augustinians in the 1580s. The Franciscans administered a few villages in Bulacan and most of Laguna province, save the village of Bay and the northwestern villages of Cavinti, and Antipolo. The Jesuits carved out a territory on the northern banks of the Pasig River, linking older Laguna villages of Antipolo and Taytay with new suburban settlements of Quiapo, San Miguel, and Santa Cruz. The Dominicans administered a few villages like Bataan, Abucay, and Samal in the southern portion of the province of Pampanga, but centered their efforts in the quickly-growing Minnanese Christian and mestizo suburb of Binondo. In all cases, missionaries obtained at least some of the food and services that they required from the pueblos that they served. Civil administrators added other

[54] See Phelan, *Hispanization, passim*; and Paredes, "Converting Conflict," 101-111.

provision requirements to religious demands, placing heavy burdens on the agricultural surpluses of the peasants of central Luzon.[55]

The role of clerics helped provide a counterweight to Spanish civil institutions and indigenous self-government. The missionary orders maintained a parallel set of officials. Clerics advocated the separation of indigenous people from Spanish customs, in order to prevent spiritual contamination. Nonetheless, their schooling of indigenous elites, employment of Filipinos in convents, and in some cases their use of indigenous workers as secretaries (*escribientes*) facilitated further knowledge of Hispanic culture and the birth of a chino corporate group identifiable as Asians conversant with Hispanic customs. Parochial priests appointed officials called fiscales to help them with summoning villagers to Mass, making them follow Church doctrine and Church law. Inhabitants of the central Luzon soon began calling these fiscales and other minor officials, bilangos. By the seventeenth century, higher-ranking indigenous officials called *alguaciles mayores* oversaw civil village fiscales. Secular and civil officials found fault with the prerogatives enjoyed by the missionaries and their willingness to appropriate what civil officials saw as royal authority. For example, civil and secular officials repeatedly found missionaries guilty of running ecclesiastical jails and dungeons into which their bilangos had thrown people guilty of incest or of miserliness with alms.[56]

Equally, if not more vehemently criticized by civil authorities were the proclivities of clerics to appropriate indigenous labor, often to the detriment of royal revenue. Clerics took advantage of the Filipino equivalent of free services, *servicios personales*, or *tanores.*

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[55] See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 46, f. 1r (1585). For the orders and their jurisdictions, see Phelan, *Hispanization,* 47-50, 170-176. See Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence,* 122, 133-134, 146, 172-173.

[56] AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 19, fs. 1r-2v (1592); and see the civil conflict with Franciscans found in AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 96, *passim* (1621). For clerical punishment, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 24, exp. 2, fs. 46r-47v (1582); AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 7, fs. 1r-1v (1670), and *passim*.

Missionaries demanded that the village provide peasants to cook for them, chop firewood, polish their rice, deliver, food and perform other domestic services. This activity complemented the legal appropriation of indigenous labor for official church activities. Thus, in villages with more than five hundred tributaries, priests hired sacristans to assist with Mass, hired people to clean the church, and hired singers and musicians (*cantores*) to accompany the Mass. All Tagalogs and Kapampangans involved in these activities were exempt from tribute, though they would find themselves lucky to collect their putative salaries. Rural convents, like that of Santa Ana de Sapa or San Francisco del Monte, hired additional laborers, likewise exempt from tribute, to attend to the needs of the community. Those exempted from tribute came to be known as *reservas*.[57]

Some central Luzon servants with rural origins stayed in domestic service for long periods of time, though there is yet little evidence of the terms of their contracts. This domestic service brought some inhabitants of central Luzon far from home, due to the peripatetic nature of Spanish missionaries and civil servants. Some of these servants contributed to the ranks of chino migrants to colonial Mexico. The wills of several Spanish residents of Manila contain provisions of gifts for the long-standing servants from the Kapampangan region, and servants from Pampanga traveled with their masters as far as Spain via Mexico. For example, on June 12, 1612, Lucas Luy petitioned the Casa de Contratación of the Indies in Seville for the appropriate license to return to the Philippines. Luy, who had been born in Apalit, Pampanga, had acted as a servant for the Augustinian, Fray Juan de Pineda (See Figure 5). He resided in Seville for eleven years, after his master had died in 1608, and saw little reason to stay. Diego Farfán, another native of Apalit, also served an Augustinian, Fray Juan de Gutiérrez. Farfán became a stocking-

[57] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 22, fs. 1r-4r (1582); AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 19, fs. 2r-2v (1592); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 8827v, 8833r (1651); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 313, exp. 1, fs. 117r-118r (1716). See AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 136r, 143v, 144r, 194v (1649).

weaver after Gutiérrez abandoned him in Seville for travel to Toledo. Luy testified on behalf of Farfán leaving his signature, a demonstration of his literacy. Farfán testified on behalf of Luy, though without leaving his signature. The House of Trade (*Casa de la Contratación*) in Seville provided both of them with licenses for their return. In 1606, Alonso de la Cruz, an indio servant from Manila and residing in Sevilla, received his ticket home when he was hired as a servant for the incoming Bishop of Nueva Segovia (Northern Luzon), Miguel García. Of course, though new colonial practices helped create new avenues of mobility, not all choices were so extreme.[58]

Filipinos, especially elites, controlled other aspects of missionization. As in the Americas, the indigenous inhabitants of rural central Luzon created and maintained (*cofradías*), lay Roman Catholic brotherhoods within their rural communities. Sponsored by missionaries, these confraternities usually funded and ran festivals and other supporting activities for the patron saints of village churches, and paid for funerals of members. The mobility of Filipinos within these brotherhoods and the elements of corporate politics within them prepared chinos for similar religious institutions founded in colonial Mexico. Nobles appeared to have provided the bulk of the leadership of the cofradías. Such was the case of don Diego Ambao, who in the seventeenth century served as the mayordomo of the cofradía of San Nicolás of the pueblo of Betis in Pampanga. Rural cofradías such as San Nicolás and urban ones lobbied the archdiocese of Manila for permission to collect alms for their maintenance. Significantly, cofradías appeared to have collected alms for their activities in urban areas such as Manila and Cavite, as well as the nearby hinterland of Bulacan, Pampanga and Laguna. Their mandate therefore extended beyond

[58] AGI, Contratación, 5324, N. 25, f. 1v (1612); AGN, Contratación, 5324, N. 26, f. 1v (1612); and AGI, Contratación, 5316, N. 31, f. 1r (1610). See also the example of the return of Miguel Canya via the New Spain *flota* to his homeland, found in AGI, Contratación, 5316, N. 31, f. 1r; and the forthcoming monograph by Maria de los Arcos about the eighteenth-century global diaspora of Filipino mariners and servants. María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "La Marinería filipina en los movimientos intercontinentales del siglo XVIII," Paper presented at *53rd Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, July 23, July 2009.

the municipal level, a reflection of the mobility of the residents of central Luzon. In a few cases, some of the largest rural confraternities boarded the approaching and departing Manila Galleons (*naos de China*), and collected alms on board with a cash box (*alcancía*), perhaps from mariners from their towns. For example, on June 17, 1665, the Archdiocese of Manila gave permission to don Francisco Pascual, a mayordomo, to circulate an alcancía on the galleon *Concepción*, in order to collect funds for the cofradía of the Souls of Purgatory, a brotherhood based in the Hermita of *Our Lady of Guidance* (See Figure 6). It is also possible that the alcancías might have made the longer journey to New Spain itself. These activities demonstrate the connections forged by the indigenous people of central Luzon between rural communities and the urban-centered colonial economy and administration.[59]

Corvée and Colonial Population Movement

Colonial administrators required labor, both skilled and unskilled, as well as materials in order to build the infrastructure necessary to secure the new colony, and to defend it from other interlopers. The building of this workforce contributed to shifts in population and a cultural nexus out of which grew chino migrants. They quickly turned to indigenous elites to locate and gain access to these material and labor. Their efforts to articulate the new city of Manila with its hinterland helped reorient and intensify already existing population movements between areas of central Luzon. Soon after the conquest, Spanish administrators touted the value of the resources and labor for the colonial enterprise provided by the people of Laguna de Bay, Balayan, and Pampanga. The conquest of these populations yielded provided immense stands of timber easily

[59] For cofradías in San Juan del Monte and Antipolo, see Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús, 1581-1606,* 91. For early cofradías in Manila, see *ibid.,* 147. Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (Henceforth, AAM), Caja 1., C. 7, Folder 7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico, Catálogo (Jan. 1656-July 1673), 61, 64-65. This citation comes from summaries of a Libro de Gobierno from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila. The original documents are apparently missing. More extensive documentation of rural cofradías and Catholic religiosity will probably require more extensive research in missionary archives, given the relative weakness of civil administration in the seventeenth-century Philippines.

accessible by water transportation, and more importantly, dense populations supported by irrigated rice cultivation.[60]

In addition to raw materials and unskilled labor, colonial administrators sought people with the skills necessary to defend their subjects from skilled East Asian soldiers and pirates of Japan and China, the mariners of Malay Islamicate sultanates, and the gunners and engineers of Dutch and English interlopers. The ability of the populations of central Luzon to deploy several hundred small outrigger canoes (*bangkas*) demonstrated the maritime aptitude that they soon would apply to the defense of the realm. Archaeological evidence indicates that central Luzon populations were also skilled in metalworking, especially in the upper reaches of the Pampanga river systems. The presence of a noble blacksmith named Pandapira at contact supports this notion. The Spanish immediately employed Pandapira in the new shipyard of Cavite. Pandapira belonged to the Kapampangan encomienda of Bamban, in the present province of Tarlac, at the headwaters of the Pampanga River. The Spanish treasury paid Pandapira for his work in the foundry, where he cast several hundred cannonballs. Spanish officials paid Pandapira to cast ammunition for the pieces of Spanish artillery, heading a group of eight other workers.[61]

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[60] AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 18, f. 134v (1576). Alonso argues that the inhabitants of Laguna de Bay were the only practitioners of irrigated or *tubigan* agriculture prior to the attacks of the Spaniards and their Visayan allies. See Luis Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del Barangay. La principalía indígena en las islas Filipinas, 1565-1789: viejas evidencias y nuevas hipótesis," en *El cacicazgo en Nueva España y Filipinas,* eds. Margarita Menegus Bornemann and Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador (México, D. F.: Plaza y Valdés, 2005), 376.

In the 1570s and 1580s, correspondence produced by Spanish soldiers and administrators attest to the premiere place of the communities of Pampanga as centers of rice production. The towns of Lubao and Betis, especially, proved essential in the first years of settlement in the provisioning of Manila. Moreover, population densities in this location seemed at least as high as Laguna de Bay during the same period and the province lent thousands of workers to Spanish military operations in Luzon and in the shipyard of Cavite. It seems equally likely that the Bikol river valley sustained tubigan agriculture, given the reports of conquistadores of its high population and wealth. See Larkin, *The Pampangans, passim*; Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 105, 111-112; Scott, *Barangay*, 181-182; and Malcolm W. Mintz, "The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific,* http://intersections.anu.edu.au/monograph1/mintz_food.html .

[61] See AGI, Contaduría, 1195, f. 1181r [1575]; and Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas (1570-1608)*, 267. Hidalgo Nuchera found that Legazpi divided this encomienda between Juan de Toro and Francisco Sánchez in 1573. Pandapira belonged to the encomienda of Juan de Toro. The role of Pandapira holds special significance in the history of Filipino nationalism. The national independence hero, José Rizal,

Treasury records show that Spanish officials drew resources rather early from the provinces of Pampanga and the Tagalog-speaking communities of Laguna de Bay. This early cooperation between central Luzon leaders and Spanish colonial administrators made these provinces integral to the formation of the early colonial Philippines and led the way to the emergence of free chinos from these provinces. The movement of resources and labor deepened connections between settlements at the mouth of the Pasig and populations surrounding Manila Bay. By 1573, the head Spanish accountant had started sending gold to Kapampangan leaders for the services of their timaguas. The principales put their timaguas to work felling timber and shaping lumber for the needs of the Spanish. Spanish administrators requisitioned from central Luzon communities large amounts of palm brandy (*aguardiente*) for the passengers and mariners who sailed between Acapulco and Manila. In 1575 alone, they ordered thirty-two jars (*tinajas*) of the stuff; by 1597, this supply had increased to over one-hundred and eighty-five tinajas. In 1574, the new shipyards and workshops of Cavite started hiring carpenters from Bulacan. This same year, the primary accountant of the Philippines ordered hundreds of gallons of coconut oil and lumber from the encomenderos and nobility of Laguna. Spanish managers of shipyards and workshops in Manila and Cavite continued to draw on the labor of central Luzon through the rest of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, while periodically recruiting Visayan

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claimed that the role of Pandapira as a caster of cannons demonstrated the technological powess of pre-Hispanic Filipinos, legitimating their independence from Spain. W. E. Retana, his imperialist opponent, argued that archival evidence showed that Filipinos obtained cannons from Brunei, insinuating that Filipino technological advances relied on foreign expertise. More recently, both Filipino nationalists and Kapampangan cultural promoters continue to emphasize the importance of Pandapira as an exemplar of Filipino and Kapampangan cultural advancement. Pandapira did indeed lead a group of eight metalworkers (*pandays*) in constructing molds for casting artillery. See AGI, Contaduría, 1200, 2a pieza, f. 724r, 736v (1583), showing the importance of gun-casting. The quick employment of Filipino pandays by the Spanish demonstrate this legacy of familiarity and proficiency in the wider field of metallurgy. See the footnotes and endnotes provided by Jose Rizal in Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 69-74.

warrior leaders for more specialized military tasks directed against the sultanates of Jolo and Mindanao (See Figures 1 and 2).[62]

Spanish merchants and administrators also made use of goods manufactured in central Luzon for trade and diplomacy. The inhabitants of central Luzon continued to manufacture goods for the colony and for export, despite the influx of merchandise imported from East Asia. In some cases, this diplomacy maintained existing ties between Luzon and Brunei. Spanish administrators obtained fine cloth woven by Kapampangan timaguas, gifting these textiles to members of the Bruneian embassy. Textiles woven in central Luzon also figured in transpacific cargos and in trade with Portuguese Asia. The past ruler of Manila, Raja Soliman, helped supply skilled carpenters and less-skilled labor for dragging ships onto their sides for maintenance (*carenas*). In return, Spanish administrators supplied the raja with goat meat and fine Bruneian liquor for his drinking parties. Spanish administrators imported Bruneian copper, oil, and alac. Spanish administrators and Tagalog principales from Balayan maintained trade ties with Brunei through at least the 1580s.[63]

Spanish adventurers used military victories to exercise sovereignty over Luzon. Their efforts to mobilize military labor for the purpose drew on the expertise and traditions of warfare practiced by the people of central Luzon, though these campaigns of course differed from traditional raids in geographical reach and scale, to say nothing of motives. Spanish adventurers based in Manila followed the general outlines of campaigns in the Visayas, as they extensively drew on indigenous assistance and expertise in order to conquer Luzon. They depended on the

[62] AGI, Contaduría 1199B, f. 240r (1575). AGI, Contaduría, 1203, f. 42r (1597).

[63] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 9v (1574). *Ibid,* f. 180v (1575); and *Ibid,* f. 92v (1574). AGI, Contaduría, 1195, f. 362v (1568). For export of Kapampangan cloth, see AGI, Contratación, 477B, N. 2, R. 6, f. 3v (1577); AGI, Contratación, 478,N.1,R.1, f. 25r (1578); AGI, Patronato, 46, R. 31 (1578); AGI, Contratación, 475, N. 2, R. 23, f. 11v (1580); AGI, Contratación, 482,N.1,R.1, f. 4r (1587); and AGI, Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 16, fs. 1v, 2v (1592).

mobilization of indigenous soldiers, porters and rowers, a process which required the collaboration of indigenous elites. Nonetheless, Legazpi's formal provision of encomienda grants in 1571 marked an important difference from the campaigns of the 1560s and afterward. Spanish saw the need to preserve existing hierarchies; in fact, their military success depended on the cooperation of indigenous nobles. Thus, while Soliman supplied laborers for various Spanish building campaigns, the Spanish subsidized the purchase of liquor (*alac or vino de la tierra*) from Brunei for the drinking parties that helped maintain Filipino systems of patronage. Soliman evidently maintained ties to the Islamicate world as well, as the Spanish purchased goats for his feasts, rather than the more easily available pig.[64]

Colonial Spanish chroniclers generally only remarked in passing about the participation of thousands of Filipinos in Spanish-led expeditions, but their labor received more acclaim in moments of peril. One example was the 1573 invasion of central Luzon by a South China Sea corsair-merchant named Lin Feng, called Limahon by the Spanish. In 1573, the Chinese pirate Limahon (Lin Feng) threatened the newly conquered Spanish settlement of Manila, facing the archipelago with invasion from dozens of ships. The forces of Limahon probably included Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, and Chinese individuals. His men stormed the shores of the central Luzon province of the "Costa de Manila," which included the villages such as Laguio, Malate, Parañaque, Bacoor, and Kawit (Figures 5 and 6). These villages were strung from the southern edge of Manila all the way to Cavite. The inhabitants of Parañaque suffered the brunt of the attack. The invasion was repelled only with the labor of indigenous people from communities in Pangasinan, Tondo, Camarines, Pampanga, and the Visayas. Documents that record the employment of indigenous people in the campaign against Limahon demonstrate that

[64] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 74r, 180v (1575). For the continuing connections between Luzon and Brunei, see AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 30, fs. 1r-2v (1575); and AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 48, f. 1r (1578). AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 180v (1575); and Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 314.

the colonial forced labor systems were still in transition between the early days of military adventurism and more regularized institutions of corvée. Limahon was unable to take Manila and withdrew to the Lingayan Gulf, in the present-day province of Pangasinan. It was there that the Spanish chose to engage Limahon, eventually defeating him.[65]

Along with service records of Spanish military adventurers, Spanish treasury records found in the *Archivo General de Indias* demonstrate the presence and magnitude of Filipino involvement in early military campaigns. Spanish soldiers recruited rowers and soldiers from a variety of the encomiendas first assigned by Legazpi in 1571, drawing from at least five provinces. As one might expect, encomiendas closest to the base of Limahon nearLingayan Gulf in Pangasinan represented the most important contingent in the defense of the Philippines from Limahon. Some of the nobles from these villages, no doubt warriors themselves, acted as guides for soldiers in the province. Yet, Visayans also joined the fray. The Spanish seemed to have compelled some of their labor. Thus, we have records that show that the conquistador Esteban Rodríguez despoiled his encomienda in the island of Negros of over six hundred Filipinos for this campaign. Others seemed to come willingly, as might have been the case for don Carlos and don Juan, Cebuano nobles who held Christian names when such names were relatively uncommon. These datus brought client timaguas and the Visayan equivalents of namamahay and guiguilid along with them in their campaigns. The bulk of these were paddlers. Spanish encomenderos and military adventurers also brought their porters and paddlers to the northwest from the campaigns of Juan de Salcedo, in present-day Bicol (Camarines) in order to defeat Limahon. The final contingent of indigenous labor arrayed against the pirate represented

[65] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 180r, 200r (1575). For a study of Limahon which places him in the context of the South China See, see Igawa Kenji, "At the Crossroads: Limahon and Wāko in Sixteenth-Century Philippines," in *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas,* ed. Robert J. Antony (Aberdeen: Hong Kong University, 2010), 73-84; and San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, 407-416.

paddlers and laborers from the fishing villages like Dongalo and Parañaque in the Costa de Manila. Royal officials paid Cabuyao, a noble from Dongalo, for the labor of at least some of these individuals. Hundreds of people from central Luzon traveled north of Limahon, to the province of Ilocos, probably to cut off his escape route. Still other inhabitants of Parañaque sailed around Manila Bay, serving as maritime sentinels (Figures 4 and 5).[66]

Filipino Elites, Portuguese Merchants, and Competition for Bonded Labor

It was during the assault of Limahon that Spanish administrators' fears about reliance on local elites began to intensify. Indeed, for a twenty-year period, the Crown had difficulty deciding the place of indigenous elites in the new colonial order. For their part, as the testimony of Tapac indicates, some timaguas and bonded laborers voted with their feet to depart from their Filipino patrons. The Spanish worried about the dissatisfaction exhibited by central Luzon ruling elites. Throughout the early colonial period, central Luzon elites maintained marital ties with heirs of the Lakan Dula and through him, the Sultan of Brunei, maintaining networks of support and political legitimacy independent from the Habsburg king. In fact, through 1588, some of these datus did organize resistance against the Spanish crown. Chroniclers in Balayan attested that the Sultan of Brunei attempted to take advantage of the Limahon invasion in 1574 in order to retake their viceroyalty from the Spanish, only to later abort the invasion. In the wake of this threat, Spaniards executed two of the relatives of the Lakan Dula. Despite these tensions, Tagalog merchants continued to trade with Brunei, as did the Spanish. By the middle of the

[66] See AGI, Patronato, 52, R.12, exp. 2, f. 3r; and AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 99v, 199r, 200r, 202r-202v, 225v, 241r (1575). According to San Agustín, the principales of the Costa de Manila and Cavite had legitimate reasons to cooperate with the Spaniards. To begin, principales of the costa appeared to resent the authority that Raja Soliman exercised over them. Perhaps Soliman relied on their labor for trading and raiding expeditions. Cavite served as a refuge for the Spaniards and Visayans before their initial foray into Manila. Next, Limahon had killed several local people during his attack on Parañaque. San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas,* 325, 330, 416. See AGI, Filipinas, 29, N, 57, fs. 398v-399r (1595), for the procurement of paddlers for the galleys. The fact that the labor obligations of these paddlers were purchased from maguinoo for fifteen to twenty pesos suggests that they beonged to either the namamahay or saguiguilid dependent class. See Phelan, *Hispanization*, 21-22. See, LL, Boxer Codex*,* f. 68r (1590).

1570s, some merchants reported that their relatives were being held ransom by the sultan of Brunei, and the Spanish governor, Francisco de Sande, harboring designs of Spanish expansion, organized a campaign against Brunei in 1578. It is likely he recruited some of his troops from Pampanga, as descendants of prominent Kapampangan families wrote to the King extolling their early alliance with Spaniards. Yet, threats by Spanish clerics and administrators to their followings led Kapampangan elites, and even more so, their Tagalog allies, to soon grow apprehensive about Spanish rule.[67]

Political changes between 1578 and 1581 led to changes in the demography of the Philippines and its relationship with its neighbors. The increase in the ethnic diversity of the colony laid the foundation for the variety of ethnicities found among Asian migrants to colonial Mexico. They also intensified discussions about bondage and freedom, as well as bringing in another group that Filipino elites tried to incorporate. In 1578, King Sebastião of Portugal died during an ill-advised invasion of Morocco; he left an empty throne. Philip II moved quickly to claim the Portuguese crown. His army seized Portugal by 1580, and joined the two extensive Iberian empires. Within a year, the news of the union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns reached Manila. The union facilitated the entry of individuals into the Philippines from populations and polities linked to the *Estado da Índia*, the Portuguese commercial empire in Asia. Conversely, the union facilitated entry first of Spaniards, and then, the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines, to Portuguese-controlled territories and a wider world of interaction, as sailors, merchants, and missionaries. Thereafter, the Minnanese, Tagalogs and Kapampangans of central Luzon interacted with traders, sailors, and especially slaves from Japan, the Deccan peninsula, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Malabar, Bengal, the thalassocracies of

[67] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 84r (1574). AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 30, fs. 1r-4v (1575). AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 48, f. 1r-10v (1578). San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, 548.

eastern Indonesia, and the Nāyaka states of South India (See Figure 3). Philip II agreed to keep the administration of the kingdoms separate, but the union allowed Portuguese entry into the Spanish market, which they entered with gusto, bringing with them seventy years of commercial experience from transactions and interactions with the people of South, Southeast, and East Asia. Their entry into the Philippines enabled easier access to products manufactured all over Asia, thereby reopening the connections to Southeast and South Asia closed by Spain's earlier competition with the Sultanate of Brunei and the Portuguese settlements in Maluku.[68]

More acutely, the legal commerce of Portuguese merchants opened questions about the relationship of "indios" and slavery, as well as between imperial law and local custom. The resolutions to these questions would resound on both sides of the Pacific, especially shaping the course of the lives of chino slaves. Throughout the sixteenth century, the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns had sought to answer questions on the matter of the "natural" propensity of the indigenous people of Asia, India, and Africa to being enslaved. Even the Pope had worked to answer the question, but despite the arguments from some corners of the Church, sixteenth-century custom in both the Portuguese and Spanish empires facilitated the enslavement and purchase of indio slaves. Even after the prohibition of the practice in the Spanish Americas in 1555, Spaniards tacitly or explicitly, by reason of "just war," allowed its continuation in the peripheries of Peru, New Spain, and Chile. So, the state of vassalage and subjection of indigenous people in the Spanish Empire, though important, did not entirely impede enslavement, as long as it took place at a discrete distance from colonial centers. This was

[68] For work on the economic and political consequences of this union in Asia, see James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); and Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia, 1580-1680: Declive imperial y adaptación* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2001). These new routes also led to Filipinos and Manila natives residing and settling in Portuguese colonial cities like Macau, often forming families there. See AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 12, exp. 1. fs. 12v-14r (1667).

especially true of slaves made of the Muslim subjects of the Maguindanau sultanate in the southern Philippines, who were charged with impeding Christian proselytization.[69]

Meanwhile, Portuguese authorities in Asia and the Americas, too, came into conflict. Portuguese missionary and regal criticisms of indigenous enslavement, especially of indigenous allies, collided with the desires of colonists for labor. In the end, especially in southern Brazil, local custom triumphed, enabling tacit enslavement of indigenous groups labeled as enemies and the purchase of indigenous slaves from non-Christian sellers. In India, East, and Southeast Asia, Portuguese civil administrators and Church bishops were even more inclined to justify slave purchase and enslavement, given thriving local slave markets and the constant threats to the Estado da Índia represented by well-organized "infidel" or "gentile" states such as Vijayanagara, Aceh, the Kandiyan kings of Sri Lanka, and the Adil Shahs in Bijapur. Spanish administrators in the Philippines seemed inclined to respect the customs of their elder colonial tutors in Asia, when importing slaves from the Estado da Índia, but local clerics and Portuguese slaves themselves forced some reconsideration of these assumptions.[70]

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[69] For some of the voluminous historiography of slavery in the Spanish Americas, see van Deusen, "Diasporas, Bondage, and Intimacy in Lima," 247-277; Linda Newson, "The Depopulation of Nicaragua in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 2 (1982): 253-286; and Silvio Zavala, *Los esclavos indios en Nueva España* (México, D. F.: Ediciones de El Colegio Nacional, 1967).

For debates in Asia, see Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, "¿Esclavitud o liberación? El fracaso de las actitudes esclavistas de los conquistadores de Filipinas," *Revista Complutense de Historia* 20 (1994): 61-74; and Tomo uno, Libro VI, Titulo II 196r-195v ley xii, July 4, 1570; May 29, 1620- ley xii *Que dispone sobre la libertad, ó esclavitud de los Mindanaos,* in *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos delas Indias* (México, D. F.: M.A. Porrúa, 1987 [1681]). Melchor Dávalos, an early judge (I) in the Audiencia of Manila, made a detailed argument along the same lines decades earlier. He tried to rationalize the enslavement and expulsion of Muslims from the archipelago, and argued that a just war should be conducted against most Asian Muslims as impediments to Catholic Christian missionization. See AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, fs. 13r-36v (1585). Subsequent arguments made by Spaniards for enslavement of Asians were generally more pragmatic, relying on the observations of the extensive commerce in human beings engaged in by both Portuguese and Asian buyers.

For connections between the two sets of debates, see Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade," 19-38; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 47-52.

[70] For some of examples of the historiography on indigenous enslavement in the Iberian empires, see Mauricio A. Abreu, "European Conquest, Indian subjection and the conflicts of colonization: Brazil in the early modern era," *GeoJournal 60* (2004): 368-372; Muriel Nazzari, "Transition Towards Slavery: Changing Legal Practice Regarding Indians in Seventeenth-Century São Paulo," *The Americas* 49, no. 2 (1992): 131-135; Beatriz

The 1582 arrival of the first archbishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, greatly affected the discourses surrounding the legitimacy of the conquest, the institution of indigenous slavery, and the authority and position of Filipino principales within their communities. These changes in turn, shaped struggle over the social relationships of production in central Luzon out of which Asian migrant laborers traveled. The crown appointed Domingo de Salazar as the first official advocate for the rights of the indigenous people (*protector de los naturales*). A Dominican and admirer of Bartolomé de las Casas, Salazar attempted to use his position to institute moral reforms of the new colonial society. He called a synod in which ecclesiastical authorities attempted to resolve the ethical problems of the conquest. He set his sights, by and large, on the abuses of the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines by Spanish soldiers and encomenderos and a few missionaries, but Salazar also had some words for Filipino elites.[71]

Among the evidence gathered by Salazar about colonial social and labor conditions was that provided by the principales of three pueblos along the banks of the Pasig: Tondo, Maysilo, and Santa Ana de Sapa (See Figure 6). These pueblos had been seats of communities with prominent pre-Hispanic origins. The testimony of members of their nobility provide us with an elite perspective of the dynamics of colonial society and how they felt impinged upon. On June

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Perrone-Moisés, "Índios Livres e Índios Escravos: Os princípios da legislação indigenista do período colonial (séculos XVI a XVIII)," in *História dos Índios no Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992), 115-32; and John M. Monteiro, "From Indian to Slave: Forced Native Labour and Colonial Society in São Paulo During the Seventeenth Century," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 9, no. 2 (1988): 112-115. For Asia, see Levy Marie Jordão and João Augusta da Graça Barreto, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliæ Regum in Ecclesiis Africæ, Asiæatque, Oceaniæ… . Volume 4* (Lisbon: Ex Typographia Nationali, 1879), 6, 7, 10, 25, 48-49, 69, 70, 72; the remarks of the Bishop of Melaka, João Ribeiro Gaio, in AGN, Civil, 680, exp. 2, unpaginated (Sept 3, 1594); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, c. 26, fs. 3r-3v (1633); and AGN, IV, c. 1355, exp. 34, fs. 1r, 2r-2v (1631, 1633).

[71] NAP, Cedulario, 1552-1600, f. 46B (1580); and AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 91, fs. 1r-7r (1591). Horacio de la Costa, "Church and State in the Philippines during the Administration of Bishop Salazar, 1581-1594," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 30, no. 3 (1950): 314-335; Christoval Velazco, and Ernest J. Burns, "Salazar's Report to the Third Mexican Council," *The Americas* 17:1 (July 1960): 65-84; and Domingo de Salazar, *Sinodo de Manila de 1582* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1988). For the "Protector de los Esclavos," see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, c. 26, f. 3r (1633); AGN, IV, c. 1355, exps. 34, fs. 1r, 2r (1631, 1633); and AGN, Civil, 564, exp. 1, f. 16r (1633).

15, 1582, several of them spoke before the bishop. Don Luis Amanicalao, don Martín Panga, don Gabriel Tuan bacar and don Juan Bantagad had converted to Christianity, but others, such as Salalila and Calaos Amarlegua were what the Spaniards termed "infidels" (literally, "infidels") or non-Christians. These nobles complained about the behavior of the Spanish within their pueblos. First, they decried extrajudicial extraction of goods and labor by Spanish civil officials. They explained that the number of these officials had proliferated past the carrying point of the population. They had, the nobles charged, forcibly purchased rice at low prices only to sell them at a higher price on the Manila market. In addition, civil officials impressed local people as paddlers on oceanic voyages (*embarcaciones*). The nobles complained that Spanish administrators stole their slaves or charged nobles a twenty percent tax, the "royal fifth," on slaves that they already owned. Spanish administrators faced with noncompliance bound the responsible nobles and threw them into civil dungeons. Up to eight hundred of the inhabitants of these villages had moved to other locales and provinces, supposedly becoming rootless (*vagamundo*) in the process, leaving large accumulations of tribute payments for the principales to pay. In the end, the burdens led the principals to desire to leave Luzon altogether or move to a non-royal encomienda.[72]

Bishop Salazar recognized that Filipinos had been unjustly pillaged, compelled to work and in some cases had been enslaved by Spanish soldiers. He demanded that the slaves of the Spanish be freed, denying confession to encomenderos who had behaved especially outrageously. His complaints echoed those of earlier ecclesiastical commentators such as the Augustinian Fray Diego de Herrera. Herrera explained that what Spanish soldiers called the conquest often included the looting of gold and foodstuffs from central Luzon communities, the

[72] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 36, fs. 1r-2v (1582). Don Luis Amanicalao had been jailed by a local priest for co-sanguinous marriage. See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 24, exp. 2, fs. 1r-1v, 47r, 50r (1581).

torturing of Filipinos to obtain more resources, the massacre of "resisting" Filipinos and the enslavement of other Filipinos. Salazar added the observation that Spanish encomenderos unjustly used their newly-obtained encomiendas as sources of labor, in which Filipinos were employed in military campaigns as rowers, porters, and soldiers.[73]

Salazar also condemned the enslavement or bondage of Filipinos by their own elites, often for debt. Like other Spanish observers, he failed to see the difference, in some cases slight, between open and closed systems of bondage. This was a charge often raised by early Spanish observers, from Miguel de Legazpi to Fray Diego de Herrera to Antonio de Morga. The Audiencia, or newly organized royal court of appeals of Manila, responded to Salazar's charges by opening the courts to litigation by Filipinos who felt that they were unjustly enslaved. Given the flexible nature of the term slavery as used by early colonial observers, the litigation probably included many debt servants or *namamahay*. The Jesuit chronicler, Pedro Chirino report that litigation over slave status continued to clog colonial courts into the 1590s.[74]

Indigenous people, both native and foreign, worked within colonial civil institutions as litigants at all levels. After 1599, Governor Francisco de Tello acted to lessen the expense of time and money involved with lawsuits. Many indebted peasants successfully deployed ecclesiastical abolitionist discourses, litigated, and won their freedom. Others worked with the Crown-appointed public defender of indigenous peoples (*protector de los naturales y sangleyes*) and the public defender of slaves (*defensor de los esclavos*), the latter usually procured from the

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[73] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 3, fs. 1r-4v (1574).

[74] AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 9, N. 124, fs. 7v-8r. Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines*, 106.
Linda Newson and Michael Salman have claimed that the demonization of slavery by Spanish clerics and administrators was deployed in order to legitimize colonial rule. See the comments of W. W. Retana in, Morga, *Los Sucesos*, 40-41; Michael Salman, "Resisting Slavery in the Philippines: Ambivalent Domestication and the Reversibility of Comparisons," in *Slavery and Resistance in Africa and Asia* , eds. Edward Alpers, Gwynn Campbell and Michael Salman (New York: Routledge, 2005), 55; and Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 137. On the history of early colonial slavery in the Philippines, see Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines*.

Estado da Índia. The Bruneian slave Catalina Sisite used the latter office to pursue her freedom in the courts of Manila in 1589, until her owner sold her to a transpacific merchant and she had to renew her litigation in colonial Mexico. She centered her argument on her identity as a baptized indio who happened to be born in Brunei. In contrast, the owners of Sisite drew on the jurisprudence of the Estado da Índia, including the synods called by the bishops of its colonial cities. Her owners claimed that her ability to speak Malay indicated her identity as a hostile caste. Moreover, she had been purchased from the household of the Sultan of Brunei, legitimating her captivity, in her eyes, as the ransoming and salvation of her soul. In the end, despite a preliminary ban on indigenous debt bondage, the Audiencia allowed the practice after 1609, a concession to the indigenous élites responsible for allocating the labor necessary for Spanish officials to combat VOC campaigns and raids by the sultanates of Brunei, Ternate, Jolo, Maguindanao, and Makassar.[75]

Filipino elites formally defended themselves against the attack on customary institutions of bondage, both in court and in petitions sent to Spanish colonial officials. In 1585, through the mediation of the Dominicans, one such principal of the pueblo of Mexico (*Massico*), in the province of Pampanga, sent a letter of complaint to the governor (See Figure 5). Don Juan Manila described the high and arbitrary levy of tributes, the theft of items by Spanish soldiers

[75] For the institution of the protector de los naturales y sangleyes, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, L. 1, f. 233r (1583). For the ordinances intended to expedite litigation, see AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 9, N. 124, fs. 5r-5v, 7r-8r (1599). For the order to follow indigenous customs in lawsuits, see *Ibid*., f. 10v (1599). For restrictions of debt bondage or incremental slavery, see AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 9, N. 124, fs. 15v-16r (1598). For the resumption of the custom of "half-slaves" or alipin saguiguilid and alipin namamahay (See Chapter 1), see AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 4, N. 34, exp. 1, fs. 3r-3v (1610). See AGN, *Civil*, 680, exp 2, without foliation (Dec 9, 1594); Morga, *Los Sucesos*, 305; Tatiana Seijas has done path-breaking and comprehensive work on the slave trade to Manila, and chino slaves in central Mexico. See Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade," 19-38; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude."

For the agency of insular Southeast Asian slaves, sailors, and other Asian subalterns in the empire of the VOC, see Sirtjo Koolhof and Robert Ross, "Upas, September and the Bugis at the Cape of Good Hope. The Context of a Slave's Letter," *Archipel* 70 (2005): 281-308; Matthias Van Rossum,"Maritime Logistics and Subaltern Networks of Asian Sailors," *Itinerario* 36, no. 3 (2012): 39-60; and Matthias Van Rossum, "'Amok!': Mutinies and Slaves on Dutch East Indiamen in the 1780s," *International Review of Social History* 58, Special issue 21 (2013): 109-130.

and the rape and abduction of indigenous women by Spanish perpetrators. More personally, Manila described his attendance in Manila at the reading of the royal order (*cédula*) prohibiting unjust enslavement of indigenous people. Don Juan Manila returned to the pueblo of Mexico and one of his slaves promptly began a lawsuit against him. The subsequent lawsuit cost the principal hundreds of taels in gold, with each tael was worth about eight pesos. Manila remarked that the slave was worth no more than twenty *tostones* (10 pesos). In 1585, he and another principal, don Carlos Mananguet, gathered harquebuses (matchlock firearms), donned armor, and mobilized two hundred supporters in revolt near the town of Candaba to fight this injustice. The Spanish put down this revolt, probably with the backing of more compliant Kapampangan elites.[76]

Objecting to the perceived attack on slaveholding and other perquisites, other principales held a series of meetings to plan resistance. These principales sought to renew the pre-Spanish marital and political alliances between the sultanate of Brunei, local ruling families in Tagalog areas and local ruling families in Pampanga. The effective defeat and burning of the royal mosque of the Sultan of Brunei by Francisco de Sande in 1578 did not preclude further efforts at appeal by the former tributaries of the sultan. Between 1585 and 1588, a group of datus from the pueblos between Candaba and Taguig conspired to overthrow the Spanish. They engaged in shuttle diplomacy between Luzon and Brunei. They met in the house of a noble in Tondo, and in their deliberations, they consumed a great deal of *vino de palma*. This group included relatives of both the Lakan Dula and Raja Soliman. The datus tried, but were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain the support of a group of Kapampangan principales who had visited Manila to complain about the litigation of their slaves. Instead, the datus allegedly enlisted the support of a Japanese merchant, who helped them ship weapons between Brunei and Tondo. A Spanish

[76] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 47, fs. 3r-3v (1586). AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R.3, N. 12, *passim*.

alcalde mayor of Calamianes, a group of islands near Palawan, learned of the conspiracy from one of his servants who talked to a datu traveling between Tondo and Brunei. Spanish administrators executed several of the alleged conspirators, but sent others into exile in New Spain, including Dionisio Capolong, the son of the Lakan Dula. These nobles might have represented the first migration of Filipino elites to New Spain, and maybe more importantly, the first circulation of Filipino nobles *between* New Spain and the Philippines. Dozens and possibly hundreds of other maguinoo would make the transpacific trip in the coming decades.[77]

Dionisio Capolong and other datus returned from exile in New Spain. By the 1590s, Kapampangans principales interacted in a more coordinated fashion with the Audiencia, demonstrating that they had begun to selectively appropriate useful cultural practices from their colonizers. The transcripts of testimony provided to the Spanish governor left several pieces of evidence about the political economy and society of early colonial Luzon. This testimony also shows us the growing familiarity of central Luzon elites with Spanish colonial institutions, institutions which they would increasingly attempt to use to their advantage over the course of the colonial period. Henceforth, several indigenous nobles from Pampanga would prove to be prominent witnesses in the colonial court system and would appear in legal testimony as competent speakers of Castilian (*ladino*). They also learned how to write Latin letters in these schools, which helps explained the literacy of nobility and the involvement of indigenous people as scribes in the colonial Philippines and chino migrants in colonial Mexico. Nonetheless,

[77] AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, fs. 1r-4v (1589). Filipino principales travelled to New Spain, though, with a few exceptions, they generally lacked the power that they exerted in the Philippines. See Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 218, 232 (1600, 1615); AGI, Contaduría, 902, (without numeration) (1607); Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Henceforth, AHMC), sección B, c. 3, exp. 6, f. 101r (1616); AGI, Contaduria, 1218, f. 308v (1638); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 1, f. 39r (1674).

knowledge of colonial regulations and protocols did not prevent the peasants and elites of central Luzon from being exploited in new ways.[78]

A New Colonial Order: Extortion, Entrepreneurship, and Reform

One case raised during the course of an episcopal investigation in 1593 seemed indicative of the dark side of the missionary effort. Authorities investigated communities which were sources of migrants to colonial Mexico. The investigation centered on the pueblo of Guagua in Pampanga, and the neighboring village of Quilao. Colonial investigators quickly extended the scope of their inquiry to other Augustinian-administered parishes in Luzon, especially in Tondo and what would become the province of Bulacan (see Figure 5). The investigators found the most fault with the sexual peccadilloes of the resident friar, but the residents of Lubao also described economic exploitation practiced by Fray Bernardo de Avedo. The testimony of town leaders, such as don Gerónimo Dimarocot and don Cristóbal Baluyot, revealed that the friar used his position to demand free labor and goods, later plowing this pilferage into commercial enterprise. Fray Bernardino de Avedo posted fiscales outside of the church who demanded cash payments as a condition for entry into Mass. Timaguas lacking the necessary cash borrowed it from principales; they worked off this debt by working in the fields of the principales. The principales voluntarily paid for some of the church adornments, but were also coerced into paying in gold for the debts of the timaguas imposed by the friar. Peasants paid for other exactions (*derramas*) by organizing timber-cutting expeditions in the mountains and presumably selling the timber in Manila.[79]

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[78] AGI, Filipinas, 79, N. 22, exp. 5, fs. 1-17v (1593).

[79] AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 181, fs. 1r-2v, 4r (1593).

Fray Bernardo de Avedo extracted agricultural produce from his parishioners, allowing him to resell them to nearby urban markets. He demanded in-kind payment, overcharging for weddings, baptisms and burial services. His appropriation of municipal surplus revealed something of the importance of missionary authority in central Luzon during the early colonial period. In addition to the cash fees, fray Bernardo de Avedo obtained hens, rice, and palm liquor (*vino de palma*) for administration of the sacraments. He stored the least perishable goods in storehouses (*tambobos*) that he owned in Guagua and Quilao. Other violations of policy included forcing villagers to work on his personal garden plots (*huertas*) and using their labor in enterprises such as duck-raising businesses owned by his lovers. Finally, Avedo conscripted peasants to row a boat seized from a principal named Batunbacas, to Manila in order to sell the goods he had extorted from his parishioners. Though exploitation by Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities rankled central Luzon elites, they faced other pressures as well, some created by their erstwhile subjected peasants.[80]

Complaints by Kapampangan principales revealed early patterns of mobility and peasant initiative in central Luzon. Their commentary, though somewhat coerced and scripted, conveyed the influence of indigenous elites in helping to create institutions that shaped the daily existence of central Luzon peasants and the efforts of the latter to seek control over their own lives. The complaint reflected the choices faced by early modern Spanish administrators in the colonial administration of the Philippines. According to Luis Alonso Álvarez, the earliest colonial administrators, reflecting their identification with encomenderos, favored a colonial economy which centered on the exploitation of indigenous produce. This orientation reflected the composition of the cargoes of the earliest galleons sailing to Mexico. These galleons carried

[80] AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 181, fs. 4v, 5v-6v (1593).

loads of the cotton fabrics produced by the people of the Philippines and other indigenous goods, such as beeswax.[81]

Yet, certain merchants and administrators suggested that a better strategy would be to establish Manila as an entrepôt, or trans-shipment point, between Asia and the Americas. They intended that cloth production of China would be supplied to Mexican markets via Minnanese merchants of southeastern China (Fujian) (See Figures 1 and 7), who, in return, would obtain silver imported from the Americas. In this scheme, greater profits might be obtained by encouraging the immigration of Hokkien merchants from Fujian (*sangleys*) to Manila, who would then be supplied by some of their own artisanal class and servants. Sangley merchants brought goods produced in China to Manila, with an ultimate destination of the American market. Under such a scheme, the role of indigenous people changed from producers of goods for export to producers of supplies for Manila. They would also act as laborers producing galleons and warships to defend Manila. Later commentators complained that the transition to the latter model resulted in the impoverishment of the Philippines, as the sangleys drained American silver from the archipelago, the perceived lifeblood of the early modern period. Yet, as we will see, the creation of an urban economy and expansion of consumption of central Luzon products yielded other effects.[82]

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[81] Luis Alonso Álvarez, "'¿Qué nos queréis, castillas?' El tributo indígena en las islas Filipinas entre los siglos XVI y XVIII," in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 40 (2003), 24, 30, 32-35.

[82]Luis Alonso Álvarez, "La fiscalidad de la monarquía: la formación de la Real Hacienda filipina, 1564-1604," in *España y el Pacifico, Tomo II,* ed. Leoncio Cabrero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 136. For export of Kapampangan cloth, see AGI, Contratación, 477B, N. 2, R. 6, f. 3v (1577); AGI, Contratación, 478,N.1,R.1, f. 25r (1578); AGI, Patronato, 46, R. 31 (1578); AGI, Contratacion, 475, N. 2, R. 23, f. 11v (1580); AGI, Contratación, 482,N.1,R.1, f. 4r (1587); and AGI, Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 16, fs. 1v, 2v (1592). For Balayan textile manufacture, see AGI, Escribanía de la Cámara, 440ª, f. 274r (1651). For lampotes. See AGN, Inquisición, v. 140, exp. 27, fs. 490-493 (1599); NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, fs. 120b-124 (1592); NAP, Cedulario, 1618-1634, 163?-1636, SDS 597, *Orden del Señor Gobernador para que de aquí adelante se cobren de tributos en la provincial de pintados lonas en lugar de los manteles y lampotes que antes pagaban*, fs. 171B-172B (1635); and AGI, Filipinas, 16, R. 1m N. 7, f. 65r (1692). For medriñaques, see AGI, Filipinas, 53, N. 8, g. 16v (1667); and AGI, Filipinas, 123, N. 2, f. 70v (1688). For wax production for tribute, see NAP, Cedulario 1655-

In 1590, the governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas asked for comments from indigenous nobles about the impact of the still-early influx of Minnanese capital and goods into the archipelago. Kapampangan principal complaints provide insight regarding the concerns of central Luzon elites about the new colonial society. They also described aspects of pre-Hispanic trade and the important intra-insular supply chain. On May 14, 1590, don Nicolás Ramos, principal of the pueblo de Lubao delineated the pre-Hispanic history of the economy of Pampanga. He stated that Kapampangans had previously woven superior cotton cloth. They did not grow cotton in their own lands. Instead, they obtained this raw cotton from the northern provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan, as well as the Tagalog provinces in Tondo and Balayan. Ramos explained that the Spanish had valued the quality of this manufacture to such a degree that they had exported this cloth to New Spain. Ramos testified that while it was true that the pre-Spanish Kapampangans had traded with the Chinese, this trade was of low volume and of modest value. The Kapampangans exchanged gold, rice, and sappanwood for iron, bronze, and a small volume of silkstuff brought by two Chinese ships a year (See Figure 5).[83]

By contrast, Ramos explained, the onset of Spanish rule had completely altered these arrangements and upended Kapampangan society. By the 1580s, the Fujianese arrived in far larger numbers than before, at least twenty ships a year. He explained that Kapampangan cotton production could not compete with the production levels and prices of silk offered by the sangleys. Moreover, testimony of other nobles echoed this complaint; silk had become a

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1660, SDS 686, *"Maestre de Campo don Andrés Malong, su título de merced de 36 tributos de negrillos cristianos y infieles del pueblo de Telvan visita del de Balaguey provincial de Pangasinan,"* fs. 54B-55B (1656) See Palawan example in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 441B, f. 8641r, 8647v (1649-1650). For the wax trade from Mindanao, see Ruurdje Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Manguindanao Sultanate of the 17th Century* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1989), 28, 148-150. For wax shipping from Manila, see AGI, Contratación, 292, N.1, R. 7, fs. 7r-8r (1607). For shipping of Asian wax to colonial Mexico, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1890, exp. 20, fs. 16r, 36r (1635).

[83] AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 63, fs. 4v-9r (1591).

commodity of mass consumption. Even slaves wore silk, and the cloth had lost its role as a sign of status in central Luzon hierarchies.[84]

Ramos, don Miguel de Mañago of the pueblo of Mexico in Pampanga, and principales in the nearby Tagalog-speaking province of Balayan found the social and economic effects of the new colonial cash economy more corrosive than even the supply of silk. Peasants and slaves now left their native towns to obtain the cash necessary to buy silk goods and for goods. These migrating laborers walked the roads, becoming unsettled people (*vagamundos*), leaving their fields and homes behind. They would help build the pool of laborers which would build and man the galleons. Some of them would travel to colonial Mexico as chinos. Before the arrival of the Spanish, peasants had cultivated rice, raised pigs and chickens, and tapped nipa palms to make the brandy necessary for the redistributive feasts and functioning of the villages. Now, Ramos and his confederates in the villages of Macabebe, Guagua, Lubao and México testified that peasants left their villages and the authority of their datus to serve the Chinese and Spanish in their homes and fields, becoming thieves and criminals. The principales stressed aspects of these economic changes in ways designed to appeal to Spanish worries. They appealed to bullionist notions of political economy by observing that the Chinese drained tens of thousands of pesos from the islands just from their sale of cloth to Kapampangan peasants. Ramos, Mañago, and other nobles appealed to class snobbery by pointing out that the Chinese threatened existing social hierarchies. Finally, the principales tried to drum up a moral panic by claiming that migration threatened to increase crime and the sanctity of the matrimonial covenant and indeed, stable family life.[85]

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[84] *Ibid.,* fs. 6r, 7r-7v.

[85] AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 63, fs. 1r-43v (1591). For Bombón, Balayan, and Laguna testimony, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 41 (1591). Principales wrote some of their signatures in baybayin. Vera Valdés Lakowsky, *De*

The principales connected their discussion of absent peasants to a wider discussion of peasant mobility carried out by Spanish and Filipino observers. Peasant mobility helped pit new agricultural entrepreneurs against both indigenous elites losing their prerogatives of communal legitimacy and new tributary regimes which required easy availability of corvée labor. This mobility of central Luzon peasants prompted Spanish administrators to devise new policies. For example, these administrators had earlier formulated tribute assessments on Filipinos that enabled peasants to commute some in-kind (*specie*) tribute collection with cash. Consequently, by 1606, the Audiencia of the Philippines demanded that all tribute be assessed in kind, supposedly preventing the employment of Filipinos as wage laborers in the newly-emerging cities. The mobility by Filipino peasants worried Spanish observers. More importantly, as Patricio Hidalgo and Luis Alonso Álvarez demonstrate, this mobility had physical effects. Food costs soared in the 1590s as peasants moved towards the cities, convents, and shipyards of the new colony and away from communities which had provided necessary supplies for these burgeoning institutions.[86]

Treasury documents record that the principales of the Kapampangan- and Tagalog-speaking regions, Kapampangan and Katagalogan, respectively, also worked to maintain privileges and avoid unwanted attention from authorities by supplying needed material to the

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las minas al mar: la historia de la plata mexicana en Asia, 1565-1834 (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987); and C. R. Boxer, "*Plata es sangre*: Sidelights on the Drain of Spanish-American Silver in the Far East, 1550-1700," *Philippines Studies* 8, no. 3 (1970): 457-478.

[86]Of course, this discussion had analogs in other colonial societies, such as the discourses surrounding *gañanes* in New Spain, and *yanaconas* in Peru. For analogous debates about mobile labor in Spanish America, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 118-120, 232-252; and Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900,* 80-111.

The above testimony might appear to suggest that Minnanese merchants wiped out the autocthonous central Luzon textile industry. Indeed, many historians of the colonial Philippines have taken these representations at face value. Nonetheless, central Luzon textile manufacture continued through the seventeenth century. For Balayan, see AGI, Escribanía de la Cámara, 440ª, f. 274r (1651). For manufacture of both cotton and silk goods in Laguna de Bay, see, AGI Escribanía de la Cámara, 441B, f. 8371r (1648); and AGN, Inquisición, 613, exp. 1, f. 19r (1668). For the alcalde mayoria of Tondo, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, f. 61r (1650). Alonso Álvarez, "La fiscalidad de la monarquía," 132-137; and Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas.*

emerging Spanish colonial enterprise. As in the military campaigns, providing this material to colonial centers placed indigenous people in closer contact with Spanish culture, and set templates for intraregional routes followed by chinos to Manila and Cavite. To begin, the building of Spanish-style fortresses and ships required large quantities of timber using stands of tropical hardwoods clogging the uplands of Pampanga, Laguna de Bay, and Cavite. After clearing initial objections voiced by the Lakan Dula, Spanish officials purchased lumber in Lubao in 1574 and in the same year, transported six hundred and seventy bushels (*fanegas*) of husked rice (*arroz limpio*). These early requisitions became the basis of the infamous *vandala*, unpaid seizure of crops and goods to feed the growing Spanish military machine, already nourished by the levees from Kapampangan and Tagalog pueblos. In 1574, Manatman, a principal of Bataan, obtained money for the labor of his timaguas, probably for timber expeditions. In the same year, the Spanish paid principales from towns like Kawit, Bacoor, Malate, and Dongalo for the labor of timaguas for the construction of a new port and for provisions like the meat of wild water buffalo (*carabao*). Meanwhile, Spanish administrators paid "moro" nobility in Balayan for the labor of their timaguas who paddled the former during diplomatic missions to Brunei. Early colonial practice, then, strengthened the authority of datus by paying them for the work of their peasant and bonded clients.[87]

The weakness of Spanish manpower and the tenuous nature of the indigenous and Spanish conquests of Manila induced colonial officials to make other concessions. The pressure exerted by principales and clerical critics such as Domingo de Salazar reinforced these efforts. Colonial officials issued land grants to Kapampangan nobles in response to the integral role played by Kapampangan soldiers in colonial defense, and in response to the complaints voiced

[87] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 8v, 10r, 60v, 75v-76r, 84r (1574). For the importance of Pampanga in the provisioning system, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 3, N. 26, f. 11r (1576).

by ecclesiastical authorities and indigenous principales. Between 1585 and 1593, the governors of the Philippines dispensed grants of land to over fifty Kapampangan nobles, several of them, like don Guillermo Dimarocot, prominent participants in Spanish campaigns. Similarly, colonial Filipinos saw the elaboration of the normal proclamation of conquest (*requerimiento*), through reform measures called for by Philip II. The king attempted to place a veneer of legitimacy on the conquest by "requesting" that assemblies of village maguinoo and timaguas meet to discuss the terms of acceptance of royal sovereignty. Tagalog officials from eastern Laguna de Bay met in 1599 in the town of Lumban to respond (See figure 6). They elected to postpone for a year the consideration of colonial subjugation, in view of the depredations of Spanish soldiers during the conquest. The towns represented in this assembly included the previously defiant Mahayhay, as well as the eastern Laguna towns Panguil, Lumban, and Paquil, which would later contribute migrants to colonial Mexico.[88]

Meanwhile, Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, under royal pressure, attempted to impose new reforms to lessen the more egregious abuses of the people of the archipelago. Dasmariñas described the modes of exploitation by Spanish soldiers, clerics, and administrators of the indigenous populace of the Philippines. These laws provide insights into the pervasiveness of coerced, unpaid labor in early colonial central Luzon. Dasmariñas prohibited the unpaid forced labor of Filipinos as workers in maritime journeys (*esquipazones*), agricultural and domestic labor (*tanores*), and as couriers. He banned exactions of food, money, or other goods, as well. Civil officials such as alcaldes mayores and clerics also forced indigenous

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[88] NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, fs. 145-146. Nicholas P. Cushner and John A. Larkin, "Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines (1571-1626): Implications for the Formation of a Social Elite," *Philippine Studies* 26, nos. 1 and 2 (1978): 102-111. For Don Guillermo Dimarocot and don Miguel Mañago, see *ibid*., 105. For the "plebiscites," see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 9, N. 167, *passim* (July 12, 1599).; and Fidel Villaroel, OP, "Philip II and the 'Philippine Referendum' of 1599," in *Re-Shaping the World: Philip II of Spain and His Time,* ed. Dámaso de Lario (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2008), 93-133, for an optimistic reading of the modified requerimiento. For an interpretation of the requerimento that points to it as coercion, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

people to spin cotton into fiber, to weave garments such as stockings, to produce pitch (*brea*) and to manufacture cordage (*jarcia*). These officials made further demands on the villages by employing many alguaciles and other offices (*bilangos*) to procure laborers for the greedy administrators. The governor noted that the oppression of Filipinos only prompted them to flee to other encomiendas or even to flee to non-Christianized regions of the Philippines. In response, Pérez Dasmariñas reduced the number of civil officials, and reiterated prohibitions of forced, unpaid labor for at the hands of anybody except provincial magistrates (*alcaldes mayores*). Even the latter needed to make their requests in writing and only demand labor for specific tasks.[89]

In 1599, the Real Audiencia of the Philippines passed a set of government reform, or *Buen Gobierno*, ordinances which addressed the proper treatment of the inhabitants of the Philippines and other subjects. These regulations illustrated some of the internal tensions of early colonial communities of central Luzon. The Audiencia intended the passing of the ordinances to solve problems of migratory labor, the abuse of Filipinos by indigenous people working on behalf of Spanish officials, the costs incurred by litigation over slavery, and the maintenance of laborers bonded by debts to indigenous nobles. On October 2, 1598, the audiencia banned the joint ownership of slaves, a customary practice in Pampanga in which a debt bond-servant owed service to several creditors. On January 7, 1599, it placed limitations on the commercial activity of interpreters (*naguatatos*). Henceforth, naguatatos would be unable to purchase jewels or slaves from individuals for whom they had interpreted. The Audiencia worked to lessen the costs of litigation over slavery by forcing enslaved Filipinos to appear at their hearings, rather than relying on constant appeals which drained the purses of plaintiffs and

[89] AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 19 , fs. 1v-6r (1592). AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60 (1599). Tellingly, the word bilango derives from a Tagalog word for prisons or jails. See San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 45, 146, 632.

defendants alike. On February 11 of 1599, the Audiencia forced indigenous migrants (*vagamundos*) not engaged in domestic service for Spaniards or without established artisanal offices to leave the city within three days. On March 22 of the same year, the Audiencia declared that any indigenous people brought into the city from non-royal encomiendas would henceforth be forced to pay royal tribute as part of the royal encomienda.[90]

Principales did not sit on their hands in the midst of the onslaught on their resources. It appears that in at least some cases, principales moved to appropriate communal resources, particularly land, for their own use. Kapampangan nobles obtained formal sanctioning of individual property rights over their own and communal lands between 1585 and 1593. They moved to alienate this land through sale, in part due to pressures from an intensified tributary economy, and in part, to cement ties with the ecclesiastical authorities in their communities. Nearer to Manila, on July 12, 1601, Pablo Ruiz de Talavera, a curate of indigenous people, forwarded a petition to the Audiencia from principales from Quiapo, a community of the northern bank of the Pasig River. According to a principal named don Miguel Banal and doña Doña Ines Daitin, the granddaughter of Raja Soliman, other Visayan nobles who had settled in Quiapo had illegally appropriated communal land and sold it to Jesuits and local Spanish owners. As the remarks of don Francisco Tapac made clear, central Luzon elites had to compete with the enterprise of timaguas, who had begun controlling and expanding the production of alcohol and other goods in the wake of the conquest.[91]

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[90] For restrictions on debt bondage, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 13v-14r (1599). For restrictions on movement, see NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, fs. 147B-148 (1594); and see AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 9, N. 124, fs. 14r-14v, 31r (1599). For naguatatos, royal tributaries, and litigation, see *Ibid.*, fs. 3r, 7r-7v, 14r-14v, 26r-26v (1599).

[91] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 97, fs. 1r-1v (1601). See AGI, Filipinas, 35, N. 60 (1604). See. Santiago, "The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman," 44. Banal and Dahitin, along with several other principales from the municipalities of Quiapo, Sampaloc, and Pandacan, sold land to other clerics. The Augustinians purchased land from them that would serve as the nucleus of the Mandaluyong estate. See LL, Philippines Mss. II, "Recaudos de las estancias de Mandaloya…," f. 35v (1601). See AGI, Filipinas, 77, N.18, f. 5r (1606); and AGI, Filipinas, 77,

The efforts of Crown officials and ambitious Kapampangan elites helped effect a transition from the 1586 rebellion among central Luzon elites, to a full-bore military alliance that became clear in 1606. In 1594, King Philip II moved to restore some of the formal authority and legitimacy exercised by Filipino principales before members of the regular orders, encomenderos, soldiers, and Spanish officials had usurped them. He passed a cédula calling for the restoration of the lordship of these principales, an act that would be contingent on avoidance of harm to the royal treasury and his own sovereignty.[92]

By the 1590s, colonial documents provided clear evidence that Filipino elites held formal indigenous municipal offices of the sort generally established for indigenous elites by the Spanish in New Spain and Peru. The Crown sanction of indigenous leadership further encouraged central Luzon elites to negotiate and cooperate with the colonial administration. In the process, indigenous elites and peasants alike co-created a new set of colonial political traditions. Chinos carried some elements of this tradition with them when they traveled through and settled in colonial Mexico. Thus, in 1591, don Guillermo Dimarocot reported himself to be the mayor (*gobernador*) of the municipality of Mexico. By 1585, the pueblos hosted meetings of councils of town officers. These included alcaldes, which helped adjudicate disputes and were responsible for small municipalities; mayordomos that oversaw village finances; and bailiffs

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N.23, f. 2v (1606). Peter J. M. Nas and Kees Grijns, “Jakarta-Batavia: A sample of current socio-historical research,” in *Jakarta-Batavia: Socio-cultural Essays*, eds. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkinde (KITLV) Press, 2000), 5, 7. See William Bohigian, “Life on the Rim of Spain’s Pacific-American Empire: Presidio Society in the Moluccas, 1606-1663” (PhD Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994).

[92] AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.2, F.64R (1594).

responsible for enforcing civil law (*alguaciles*). By the 1620s, villages also hosted lieutenant governors (*tenientes*), and indigenous notaries (*escribanos*).[93]

New municipal sub-units and offices became important for the exercise of leadership. Over time, timaguas entered these offices. At first though, maguinoo governed colonial municipalities. Central Luzon municipalities were composed of pueblos, their subsidiary communities (*visitas*) and barangays. Regional magistrates (*alcaldes mayors*) and encomenderos held the heads of the barangays (*cabeza de barangay*) responsible for collection of tribute; in return, the cabeza office became a heritable one. Barangays held important metaphorical importance before the arrival of the Spaniards; under Spanish practice, they became sub-units of the pueblo. Tribute lists (*padrones*) seemed to have been maintained by parish priests, but again, tributaries paid tribute to the cabeza de barangay and often, timaguas reported the cabeza of their barangay when they identified themselves in legal testimony. Members of the nobility composed the ranks of gobernadores, tenientes, mayordomos, and cabezas de barangay, but by the middle of the seventeenth century individual escribanos and alguaciles no longer held the word, “don” in front of their names, suggesting that timaguas began to hold this position.[94]

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[93] For Dimarocot, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 47, f. 8v (1591). For accounts of early town offices, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 3, fs. 1r, 2v, 4r (1585). For the duties of alcaldes, and their association with smaller communities, see *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, *Tomo Primero*, libro VI, título III, Ley XV (1618) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]) ; and *Ibid.,* Ley XVIII (1563) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]). For indigenous alcaldes in western Mexico, see Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII* (Zamora, México: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1993), 395. For mayordomos, see AGI, Contaduría, 1205, fs. 345v-346r (1601). For the roles of different indigenous officers, see Morga, *Sucesos*, 301-302, 306. For tenientes, escribanos, and other indigenous offices, see AGI, Filipinas, 48, N. 35, f. 12r (1627), Chapters 2 and 3, and the *media annata* sections of AGI, Contaduría, 1220-1245.

Spanish officials used the word *gobernador* to designate mayors of pueblos from the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century. Historians of the late colonial period, projecting backward, insist that the Spanish used the derogatory word gobernadorcillo (“little mayor”) as the official term throughout the colonial period, when in fact, it only became more common in usage during the second half of the seventeenth century. This change in terminology indicates that the relationship between Filipino elites and Spanish administrators might have changed over time and illustrates the necessity in contextualizing colonial relationships more precisely within specific historical time periods. See Phelan, *Hispanization,* 122-129.

[94] See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 36, f. 1r (1582); NAP, Cedulario, 1636-1640, SDS 0081, *Comisión de juez contador de los tributos reales al Pedro de Cantoral*, f. 14B, 17 (1636); Bruce Cruikshank, “A Puzzle About

Some of the new elites managed to get lucky in the new colonial market economy. While over time, it seems that Spanish intermediaries worked to gain control of marketing of nipa- and coconut-flower liquor (*vino de palma*), there is evidence that maguinoo maintained production of it through the early colonial period. Liquor consumption constituted an integral part of the feasts which datus used as opportunities for redistribution of resources to followers. The maguinoo of central Luzon also utilized liquor consumption and festivals for the sake of forming military alliances, just as did their kindred in the Visayas, a practice continued into the early colonial period. The Jesuit Francisco Alcina claimed that indigenous and Spanish consumers preferred coconut brandy (*vino de cocos*) to the products of the nipa palm (*vino de nipa*), but the most populous and swampy sections of central Luzon, barring sections of Laguna de Bay and Pangasinan, were better suited to the growth of vino de nipa.[95]

It is unclear who controlled production of aguardiente at contact, but documents from the Treasury suggest that Spanish administrators of the port began the purchase of the wine early in the colonial period for consumption during the trip of the Manila galleon to Mexico. Like other liquids, Filipinos, Chinese, and the Spanish packing for the voyage to New Spain placed the vino de palma in four-gallon jars known as *tinajas*, as well as within the large barrels or *pipas* common in transatlantic voyages. The colonial government still stocked storehouses with vino

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Padrones: Tribute in the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 2 (2011): 21; and Scott, *Barangay*, 220.

[95] For drinking, see Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 149, 317, 319. Also see the comments of Miguel de Loarca in AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, fs. 11v, 15r-15v, 23r (1583); Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 257. For drinking parties, vino de cocos and nipa, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, fs. 1r, 2v (1589); Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines*, 268-269; and Francisco Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas e Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina 1668* (Madrid: CSIC, 1975), fs. 50r-50v, 57r. For the respective growing areas of coconut and nipa palms, see Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Una Corografía Ilustrada Inédita*: La Descripción de las Yslas Philipinas *de La Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid* (Universidad de León, 2009), 55, 101.

de palma. In 1663, the royal storehouses in Manila contained over sixty barrels of it, while the royal warehouses of the port of Cavite held over 900 gallons (1200 gantas) of the stuff.[96]

Chroniclers and administrators provided descriptions of the some of the patterns of sale and marketing of vino de palma. Spanish clerics and administrators moved to try to wrest control of this lucrative crop. The first record of ownership of a nipa palm grove (*nipal*) dates from 1575, a mere four years after the Visayan and Spanish conquest of Manila. In that year, don Francisco Marinag, maguinoo and cabeza de barangay of the municipality of Hagonoy, donated a piece of rice land and a nipal, and assumedly the proceeds of their production, to the Augustinian convent of Hagonoy. In 1583, the early chronicler and encomendero Miguel de Loarca explained that indigenous people of Catanduanes obtained up to two arrobas per day of fermented sap (*tuba*) per coconut palm, a yield which produced a great deal of liquor. By 1594, some Spanish individuals and perhaps a few principales had begun appropriation of the areas suitable for growing nipales. In 1594, King Philip II, probably following advice from Spanish royal officials in the Philippines, clarified that the palm groves (*palmares*) needed to stay in the hands of indigenous people. On January 12, 1596, a procession in Manila honoring the movement of religious relics featured a fountain of vino de palma. In 1598, Antonio de Morga and Juan Tello de Guzman recorded the sale of vino de palmas in the central market of Manila. In 1606, the head treasurer of Cavite sent five tinajas of vino de palma with Captain Marcos de la Cueva when he traveled to Japan. The same year, the treasurer of Cavite sent a letter of payment for 300 pesos to don Antonio de Arceo for twelve thousand gantas of vino de palma that he

[96] For transpacific voyages, see AGI, Contaduría, 1203, fs. 1v, 42r (1597); and AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 3, N. 41, exp. 2, not paginated (October 24, 1663). Private passengers on the Manila galleon also carried their own personal supplies of vino de palma. See the Autos de Bienes de Difuntos of Maria de la Torre and Gerónimo Romero, who drafted wills aboard the Manila Galleon, the *Santa María de Jesus*, found in AGI, Contratación, 482, R. 1, N. 1 (without consistent pagination) (1587); LL, Boxer Collection, Manuscripts (Henceforth, MSS) II, Lot 515 ms. 21528, Manuel de la Cruz and Alvaro de Benavente, O. E.S. A, “Itinerrario [sic] para el procurador para España 1700,” (unnumbered).

supplied to the royal storehouses of Manila. The treasurer also sent vino de palma to the garrison of Maluku. In 1616, employees of the royal shipyards gathered palm brandy in Pangasinan, Panay, Pampanga, and Bulacan for the consumption of an armada sent to Singapore.[97]

The people of the early colonial Philippines quickly took up the consumption and marketing of vino de palma. In 1621, inquisitors heard testimony about a Spanish soldier drunk from vino de palma in the Santiago fortress in Manila. Eleven years later, commanders in the fortress of San Salvador in Taiwan ordered more vino de palma for the consumption of soldiers. In 1647, the nuns of the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara in Manila reserved workers in a Quiapo nipal from tribute obligations, appropriating their labor and production for an annual rent. In 1635, Yongu, a Minnanese shopkeeper, obtained a license to operate a store and tavern which sold vino de palma in Guagua, Pampanga. Lico, an “infidel” sangley shopkeeper, paid ten pesos for a license to operate a store and tavern which sold vino de nipa in the town of Bacolor, Pampanga. In 1637, Diego de la Paz, the teniente of the alcalde mayor of Laguna de Bay gambled with fellow soldiers, Tagalog nobles and a Japanese man in the town of Bay, in the house of a Tagalog principala named doña Angelina Libongcate and lost a hand of cards. He blasphemed, blaming his utterance on the fact that he had drunk too much vino de palma from his drinking cup (*escudilla*). In 1639, Juan de Padilla, a Christian Minnanese merchant (*sangley cristiano*), received over seventeen pesos for delivering over four hundred and ten gantas of vino de palma to the royal warehouses. In 1648, the observers accused Blás de la Fuente, the caulker (*calafate*) of the galleon *Buen Jesús*, of engaging in public drunkenness on at least fifty different occasions. Each resulted from his consumption of Spanish wine and vino de palma while at

[97] AAM, Box 10.E.14, Folder 8, *Capellanias de Candaba* (1848-1896, 1910-1915), 75-76. For Catanduanes vino production, see AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, f. 25r (1583). For the cédula regarding palmas, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, l. 2, f. 65v (1594). AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, f. 14r (1598). AGI, Contaduría, 1207, fs. 181v-182r (1606). For 1616, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409[a], 2[a] pieza, f. 264r-264v (1616).

anchor in Lampon. In 1649, Augustinians allegedly stole the palmares of don Francisco Diguas of the municipality of Hagonoy. They forced up to forty timaguas or debt servants to work this land, which yielded three hundred pesos of income a year. Gómez Espinosa likewise observed in 1657 that missionaries all too often appropriated the labor of vino de palma workers, called *mananguet*.[98]

Colonial indigenous dictionaries compiled by indigenous nobles and clerics supplied information about the indigenous labor necessary for the production of palm alcohol, a practice veryy important for chino careers in colonial Mexico. The *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, a Tagalog dictionary published in 1613 in Pila, Laguna by the Franciscan friar and missionary, Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura, provided a few clues. Pila lies in the eastern Laguna region, which along with the Tayabas region, provides ideal conditions for raising coconuts. The *Vocabulario* abounds in references to cococulture and especially to vino de coco production. Tagalogs referred to the knives used for extraction as *carit*, used by the collectors of palm flower sap (*tuberos*) or *ahon*, as they were referred to in Tagalog. They used these to cut a slice off the coconut bud, an act called the *baoghali*. Those who extracted the tuba were known as vagamundos, and they moved from village to village. The collection of tuba was known as *tigis*, a process conducted three times a day, beginning in the morning. It seems probable that the morning collection or *awat* provided the best yield. They collected the dripping sap in a bamboo

[98] AGN, Inquisición, v. 336, primero tomo, f. 30r (1621). José Eugenio Borao, *The Spaniards in Taiwan*, Volume 1, 197, 321; AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 73r-73v (1721). See AGI, Contaduría, 1217, f. 121v (1635); and AGI, Contaduría, 1218, f. 56r (1636). For Paz, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 384, exp. 8, fs. 357r-372r. For Juan de Padilla, see AGI, Contaduría, 1219, f. 362r (1639). For Lampon, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440B, fs. 1990r-1990v (1648). For the Augustinians, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 37v-39r, 40r-40v, 62r (1649). See AGI, Escribanía, 440C, f. 4863v (1656), and AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 52, f. 7r (1666) for discussions of overindulgence in vino de palma, see James S. Cummins and Nicolas P. Cushner, "Labor in the Colonial Philippines: The *Discurso Parenetico* of Gomez de Espinosa," *Philippine Studies 22* (1974), 163. The word *mananguet* might have been appropriated from Visayan usage. See Jun Akamine, "Whisper of the Palms: Etic and Emic Perspectives in Comparative Linguistics," in *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid*, eds. Hsiu-chuan Liao and Carl R. Galvez Rubino (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute for Linguistics, 2005), 118.

tubes called *tucqil* and emptied them into a larger container called a *canuto*, ending their journey in a larger container in which the ferment ended up. They made a second collection in the afternoon, called the *hapua*. The vinateros or *magaalac* conducted the distillation in a device called a *pagaalacan* or *tinotoog*.[99]

Sangleys, the descendants of Asian slaves (*criollos*), and colonial subjects from a wide array of ethnicities participated in this industry, as well. The wide range of people involved in marketing and consuming vino de palma demonstrate its importance to colonial society and economy of the Philippines. In May 4, 1655, Francisco Lopez de Spinola, a descendant of African descent (*mulato*) paid six pesos for a two year license to operate a store which would sell vino de palma. In 1656, Marcos de Torres, a moreno criollo, paid six pesos for a two-year license to operate a store which sold vino de palma in the city of Manila. That same year, in Boronga, Samar, a Juan de la Cruz, a black servant of the teniente of Samar, stole vino de palma from surrounding communities of Visayans and sold it to the shipwrecked crew of the outbound Manila galleon, the *San Francisco Javier*. He made a handsome profit, selling the wine for two to four reales per cup (*chupa de medio cuartillo*) of a jar that cost him six reales. In 1659, Bartolomé Ayco, a sangley cristiano merchant paid six pesos for a two-year license to operate a store which sold wine in the pueblo of Navotas, near Tondo. In the next year, Domingo de la Cruz paid three pesos to operate a store in Bagumbayan that sold food and vino de palma.[100]

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[99] San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua*, 44, 144, 208-209, 389, 600. Contemporary tuba collectors (tuberos) in Lilio, in the Philippines; and in Colima, Mexico, still insist on the primacy of the morning collection (Personal observation). See Akamine, “Whisper of the Palms,” 115-123, for a discussion of Visayan tuba culture.

[100] AGI, Contaduría, 1231, f. 811r (1655). AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 18r (1656). AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 580v, 591r, 593r, 596r, and *passim* (1656). Witnesses did not know the size of the tinajas. They might have contained anywhere from twenty-eight to ninety-six chupas, yielding Juan de la Cruz a profit of at least eight hundred percent. AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 437r (1659). AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 53v (1660).

Colonial officials realized the potential income from the sale of vino de palma, but also harbored misgivings about its consumption. In 1660, the mutineers of the pueblos of Pampanga drank vino de palma when it appeared that they were closed to being pardoned. By 1705, the ubiquity of taverns near Cavite and sites around Manila led the government to attempt to regulate it. They tried to sell a license for a monopoly to taverns selling it. In the testimony suborned for discussion of the policy, at least one official claimed that vino de nipa consumption had proven a problem as far back as 1670, causing deviant sexuality and promoting violence.[101]

Central Luzon saw another important cash crop in the form of buyo and bonga. Buyo are the leaves of the betel vine. When combined with lime and fruits (areca "nuts") of the bonga palm, they form a chewable alkaloid stimulant that was much in demand in all of the regions between southern India and Fujian. Like coconut palms, buyo vines required well-drained soils, like coconut palms. Chroniclers noted that these grew in the foothills of the mountains south of central Laguna or near the eastern end of the Laguna de Bay. By the 1630s, Tagalogs from south of the municipality of Bay brought the buyo to Bay, where Japanese and Chinese merchants purchased the crop for marketing in Manila.[102]

By the 1630s, the declining population of central Bay helped move the primary outlet for buyo to Pagsanjan, on the eastern side of Laguna. Buyo marketing and production patterns showed the cross-cultural tableau of early colonial central Luzon. The wholesale marketing of

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[101] For the Pampanga revolt, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34, f. 25v, 26v-27r (1662); and AUST, Rollo 49, Sección de Bataan y Zambales, Varios, Tomo 2, doc 2., *Tierras de Bataan, otorgados al colegio de Santo Tomás*, 192v-194v (1667) AGI, Contaduría, 1236, f. 284v (1663). Don Nicolas Balagtas created a mixed unit with Zambales and lowland Kapampangans. AGI, Filipinas, 130, N. 2, fs. 1r, 3v-4v, 10v-11v, 256r-256v, last and unnumbered expediente, fs. 1r-2v (1712).

[102] Hidalgo Nuchera, *Una Corografía Ilustrada Inédita*, 101. Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de Nuestra Grán Padre San Agustín de las Filipinas*, *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Compania, 1893 [1630], 285. Buyo was an important part of central Luzon hospitality and healing. As such, it invited scrutiny from Spanish civil and ecclesiastical officials. See Scott, *Barangay*, 49; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 3, fs. 3v-4r (1585); AGN, Inquisición, v. 293, exp. 33, f. 210r (1613); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4052, exp. 29, f. 29r (1619); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 355, exp. 31, fs. 457r, 458r (1626).

buyo became a royal monopoly or *asiento* to be sold to the highest bidder. In 1638, the Spanish widow Leonor de Montero paid the fee (*media annata*) on the buyo asiento or one of its fractions, for seven thousand pesos. The Tagalogs of her encomienda in the municipalities of Mauban and Gumaca in present-day Tayabas brought the buyo that they produced up the Lumban river where it was purchased by Japanese and Chinese merchants in Pagsanjan and Santa Cruz. In the 1640s and 1650s, Japanese wholesale merchants purchased the asiento of wholesale buyo sale in Manila and Cavite. This position and a failed bid prompted Ascanio Guazoni, an Italian merchant, to sue the crown for the lost profits, over 100,000 pesos.[103]

The more humble merchants of buyo and bonga did not entirely give way before the attempts of Spanish to monopolize its distribution. Spanish administrators labeled these alleged interlopers as regatones, a term that mean to resell but that held the connotation of illicit commerce and extortion. The Spanish sentenced to galley service several individuals who violated the asiento. Thus, on May 9, 1647, Agustín de Juan Baptista, a Visayan migrant, was found to be paddling a bangka full of bonga to Manila without the proper documentation. He had carried the bonga down the Pasig for resale in Manila or Cavite. On May 24, 1647, authorities sentenced to the galley Tuansay, a non-Christian Minnanese merchant, who attempted to sail down the Pasig in his sampan after purchasing contraband buyo.[104]

Colonial pressures pushed some Tagalog peasants from western to eastern Laguna. The alcalde mayor of Laguna used the success of the buyo and bonga trade to successfully argue for a transfer of the capital from the western side of Laguna from Bay to the east: Santa Cruz in 1670,

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[103] For population movement in Laguna, see Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines,* 108-109. For Montero, see NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, *Recaudo en que de ... el señor y gobernador general de la media annata doña Leonor Montero de la merced el buyo*, S18 (1636); and AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 51, fs. 1r-1v (1638). For illict commerce and Japanese asentistas, see Filipinas, 130, N. 2, f. 192r, 192r (1641). For Guazoni, a prominent transpacific merchant, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1 (1644). AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 1, N. 3, fs. 6r, 10r, 12v (1688).

[104] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7821v-7824r (1647).

and then to Pagsanjan, in 1688. The growth of the eastern and upland villages demonstrates broader shifts in colonial demography, as peasants fled lowland and Crown villages more amenable to colonial extraction of labor and goods. The presence of Chinese mestizos, Japanese merchants and other traders in the area prompted audiencia officials to call for the founding of a parish church in Pagsanjan that would serve its substantial non-Tagalog population. Similarly, the opening up of a store in Pagsanjan in by first Antonio López, in 1656, and later Alférez Thomas de Endaya in 1675 showed that the presence of these merchants and the free labor needed to transport the produce had a multiplier effect on local economies.[105]

New sources of capital, especially silver currency, generated by the galleon trade and new arrangements of production mediated by Spanish clerics and administrators acting as entrepreneurs rearranged connections between central Luzon communities and expanding marketing networks in the South China Sea. As in the galleon trade, these new market relationships relied on the Spanish exploitation of indigenous labor, often through the use of coercion. One such case of an Augustinian enterprise uncovered in 1646 in the Philippines illustrated these dynamics. This case was exceptional for the extent of the entrepreneurial activities of the missionaries, but as the Avedo case showed, less flagrant violations of injunctions against commerce appear to have been fairly routine. Under this investigation, carried out by the archiepiscopal court (*provisorato*), investigators demonstrated that Augustinian friars such as Fray don Pedro Neira abused their positions by extracting labor from Filipinos in order to conduct illegal trade on a transnational basis. The goods extracted from indigenous producers were sold to Ilocanos, Visayans, Tagalogs, Portuguese in Macau, Spanish vecinos in Acapulco, Muslim subjects of the Sultan of Macassar, and the soldiers of the presidios

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[105] AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 1, N. 3, f. 6r-10r, 14r. For shops, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 43r (1656) and AGI, Contaduría, 1240, f. 17r (1675).

of Iloilo and Zamboanga. The Augustinians bought products for free in some cases, via the vandala, the compulsory provision of goods from Filipinos. In most steps of the process, the Augustinians appeared to have extracted rice, as South China and the large number of Iberian garrisons served as markets for this product (See Figures 1, 2, and 3).[106]

The episcopal provisor observed the most exploitative aspects of the case in the central Visayas. Various civil officials accused the Augustinians of purloining some of the jewelry and accoutrements of the *Santo Niño de Cebú*, an infant Jesus icon alleged to have its origins in the Magellan expedition. Spaniards miraculously located the statue upon their return in 1565 and the Augustinians hosted the pilgrimage site in their convent church. The Augustinians sold these jewels, via Portuguese intermediaries, to buyers in Makassar, an Islamicate polity which had allied with the Spanish since the 1620s against the VOC. Some of the investigators noted that though an ally, the subjects of Makassar were Muslim. Indeed, the Spanish had encountered Makassarese soldiers in earlier campaigns against Mindanao. The Augustinians combined the proceeds from the sale of jewels with those derived from the illegal forced sale of rice accumulated in the Kapampangan convents of Candaba, Porac, and Bacolor.[107]

The Augustinians used their capital in the 1640s to purchase Indian cloth from Portuguese traders in Makassar, and later, apparently, silk Chinese cloth from Macau. They exported the textiles to New Spain. Simultaneously, the Augustinians somehow appropriated the

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[106] AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 18v-19r, 20v-21v, 23v, 24v, 30v, 37v-42r, 52r-54r, 60v-62v (1649). For more on the early modern history of the category of vecino, see Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain* (New Haven: Yale University, 2003).

[107] For Makassar and Macau goods, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 5v-6r, 18v-19r, 24v, and 59v (1649); and LL, Phillipines MSS II, fs. 233v-245v (1653). AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, 104v-108r. For Makassar, see J. Norduuyn, "Makasar and the Islamization of Bima," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143, no. 2/3 (1987): 312-342; William Cummings, "Scripting Islamization: Arabic Texts in Early Modern Makassar," *Ethnohistory* 48, no. 4 (2001), 560-561, 563-564, 580-581; and *The Makassar Annals*, trans. and ed. William Cummings (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2010), 11-12.

palm groves (*vinateras*) of a principal, don Diguas, in Bulacan. This grove provided a 300-peso annual yield in vino de nipa. The Augustinians employed 40 unpaid nipa gatherers and distillers (*vinateros*) on the estate. Simultaneously, the Augustinians forced a Bulacan principala to buy rice during harvest, even though she initially refused to do so. The harvest was a bad one. Some of the vino de palma was sold or traded in Laguna de Bay for large jars of coconut oil and the purloined boat of a principal of Hagonoy named don Carlos Villavicencio. It was probably destined for royal shipyards, which used the oil to caulk vessels. These rowers transported at least 200 tinajas of the coconut oil in a small boat (*patache*) either rented or owned by the Augustinians. Its marineros, Filipinos, had been impressed with no pay. One such patache went to the bottom with a heavy loss of life and capital (See figure 5).[108]

In the Visayas, these Augustinians forcibly expropriated tobacco from indigenous fields. In Pasig, the Augustinians ran a small sugar mill (*trapiche*) which manufactured white sugar and brown sugar cakes (*chancaça*). The workers were Filipino and did so for free. The sugar products, especially the chancaças were sold in other provinces, especially Bulacan. In Panay, the Augustinians ran a "school" or house in which 30-40 young women (*dalagas*) wove cotton textile such as lampotes and puntas for him. The Augustinians assigned a mixed-race woman (*castiza*) to oversee their work. Merchants sold some of this cloth in Makassar. The cotton for the garments were obtained from other locations in the Philippines, and those spinning cotton into thread (*hiladores*) had probably also performed forced labor. In Bulacan and Tondo, the Augustinians rented stores to non-Christian (*infiel*) sangleys near each of their convents, which the Augustinians provisioned using the goods that they had been requisitioning from Filipinos.

[108] For Makassar and Macau goods, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 5v-6r, 18v-19r, 24v, 30v; and 59v (1650). For Augustinian activity in Bulacan, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 37v-39v, 40r-42v (1650). One witness claimed that the Augustinians might have obtained the groves of don Diguas through a false accusation that the principal had instigated a mutiny.

While exemplary, the case shows the degrees to which being subject to new masters made Filipino elites and subalterns alike vulnerable to added pressures and abuses. Such abuses shaped the choices the inhabitants of central Luzon made, whether to stay in their new municipality or to shift patrons in the hopes of escaping the most acute abuses.[109]

New Alliances: Filipino Social Climbers

Despite their discontent with the abuses of the Spanish regime, selected Kapampangan principales worked with colonial officials to accomplish their own goals. By proving instrumental first as military allies and later as labor brokers, Kapampangan and Tagalog elites preserved some elements of pre-Hispanic hierarchy, while learning new skills and articulating new languages of power. Chinos would draw on their knowledge of these newly adapted and hybridized hierarchies, which would include familiarity with Spanish and new types of office-holding, for social networks they built in New Spain. In 1591, Kapampangan principales made a personal visit to the newly-installed Audiencia when the Zambales, upland inhabitants of nearby mountains, began sending head-hunting raids into lowland Kapampangan fields and roads. They asked for some help from the Spanish and a license to enslave recalcitrant Zambales. Kapampangan and Spanish commentators left unclear the ultimate reason for the commencement of the raids, but the Kapampangans strengthened their case by stressing that the Zambales had murdered an Augustinian missionary. The Audiencia granted the request of the Kapampangans and sent Spanish soldiers in support, and though the religious orders sanctioned the campaign as a just war, they showed ambivalence about the morality of enslaving the Zambales.[110]

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[109] AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 13, fs. 21r-28v, 39r, 47r-47v, 51r-52r, 61r (1650).

[110] AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 47, fs. 7v-10v (1591); AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 74 (1591); and AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 62 (1592).

Though Kapampangans had already participated in campaigns against Limahon, as well as in campaigns in Ternate, Cagayan, and Pangasinan in the 1580s and 1590s (See figures 1 and 2), the records composed to document the campaign showed, for the first time, the organization of their militia units along Spanish lines. The adoption of Spanish organization and the extensive participation of Kapampangan principales in campaigns of the conquest would put this élite in good stead later in the seventeenth century. Principales such as don Guillermo Dimarocot, don Miguel Mañago and don Felipe Balagtas each headed a company of fifty to one hundred Kapampangan peasants, each levied from a particular town. Other nobles served as the standard-bearer *(alférez*), or lieutenant of the companies. These were official positions and the accompanying Spanish soldiers spoke highly of the bravery of Kapampangan troops in the ensuing campaign. Kapampangan troops raided Zambal settlements via land routes, but some of their forces also embarked in boats. They landed later in Pangasinan, moving inland where they burned the fields of the Zambales, attacked their villages, enslaving or killing over one thousand women and children in a war without mercy. Many of those enslaved were later sent to man the war galleys.[111]

Kapampangan principales follow up their 1591 campaign with two more connected to Spanish efforts to subdue northern Luzon. Kapampangan elites later discussed the campaigns when requesting tribute privileges from the Crown. The northern Luzon campaigns followed the

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[111] AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 47,fs. 8v-14v (1591). See NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, fs. 145-146. For similar and almost contemporaneous efforts in Spanish frontiers, see Stafford Poole, "'War by Fire and Blood' the Church and the Chichimecas 1585," *The Americas* 22, no. 2 (October 1965): 115-137; Guillaume Boccara, "El poder creador: tipos de poder y estrategias de sujeción en la frontera sur de Chile en la época colonial," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 56, no. 1 (1999): 65-4, but especially 69-70; and Christophe Giudicelli, "Un cierre de fronteras...taxonómico. tepehuanes y tarahumara después de la guerra de los tepehuanes. (1616-1631)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, BAC - Biblioteca de Autores del Centro, 2008, March 18, 2008 Publication. http://nuevomundo.revues.org/25913. Consulted 8/10/2011.

For Spanish military organization, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries´Wars* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 13-16; and Fernando Martínez Laínez and José María Sánchez de Toca, *Tercios de España: La Infantería Legendaria* (Madrid: Editorial EDAF, 2008), 29-67.

involvement of hundreds of Kapampangans in other campaigns, including a failed 1582-1583 Spanish effort to conquer Maluku. Next, don Dionisio Capolong, the son of the Lakan Dula, returning from his exile in colonial New Spain and in 1591, guided a Spanish campaign north from Candaba to the source of the Pampanga River. Following Kapampangan trade routes, Capolong led Spanish soldiers and explorers to the Magat River valley, in the area that the Spanish called Tuy. This region lies at upper reaches of the Cagayan River Valley, which empties north of Luzon near the town of Lalo (See figure 2).[112]

At the turn of the seventeenth century, two events occurred which would shape the lives of the inhabitants of central Luzon for the rest of the century. In 1599, Dutch traders arrived in the Spice Islands (*Maluku*). In 1600 Dutch privateer Oliver Van Noort sallied forth in Manila Bay. In 1605, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) seized the Portuguese fortress of Ambon in Maluku and made it their trading center. These actions heralded the arrival of a strong European competitor, but also an institution which would prove to be a dominant force in Southeast Asia as an Asian power. Kapampangan, Tagalog, Minnanese, and Spanish labor would play important roles in the struggle between the VOC and the Habsburgs until at least the 1650s. In 1606, Governor Pedro de Acuña sent a third invasion fleet against the sultans of Ternate and Tidore, the leading polities of Spice Islands, the only source of cloves and nutmeg for the world. The expedition sailed with several thousand Kapampangan and Spanish infantrymen, successfully defeating the Sultan of Ternate and his numerous allies. Kapampangan and Spanish soldiers expanded their positions into the Banda archipelago and northern Sulawesi. Spanish administrators would maintain positions in Maluku through 1662. The Dutch first headquartered themselves in Ambon, but even after founding Batavia in 1619, they maintained a strong presence in Maluku. Therefore, the Kapampangans and Spanish, after their 1606 conquest of

[112] AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, f. 4r (1589); and AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 3, N. 45 (1609).

Ternate, found themselves together on the frontier against the Dutch and insular Southeast Asian sultanates (See Figure 1).[113]

Though the Spanish dominated the acquisition of the encomienda grants, indigenous nobles also received them. By the early seventeenth century, they began obtaining encomiendas and land grants from the governor of the Philippines, following the formal organization of central Luzon-based military units. Though requiring Crown support, these grants show a degree of continuity with pre-Hispanic patterns of commerce and political organizations. Encomiendas granted to Spanish military veterans recognized this reciprocal relationship between lowlanders and highlanders. Their encomiendas included the tingues adjacent to lowland municipalities. By contrast, indigenous encomenderos were granted encomiendas only to the tingues that they were often responsible for conquering. On one hand, Spanish encomenderos probably monopolized lowland encomiendas; these areas would have been more accessible to Spaniards. On the other hand, in the pre-Hispanic period, highland communities had produced the most marketable commodities for international commerce. By the late 1690's, Dominicans in the province of Cagayan complained that the holding of encomiendas by indigenous principales only masked the continuation of now illicit pre-Hispanic patterns of commerce between highlanders and lowlanders. That is, through military campaigns against highlanders, indigenous lowlander

[113] For the first Dutch expedition to Maluku, see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawa'i Press, 1993), 138; and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas al Rey Felipe Tercero* (Zaragoza, Spain: Hospicio Provincial, 1891 [1609]), 233-238, 258. For Van Noort, see Morga, *Sucesos,* 167-181, 191-192. The classic account of the first two campaigns in Maluku can be found in Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas,* 167, 239, 292-295. Also see AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 64 (not numbered) (1584); and Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 136-137. Over eight hundred Tagalog and Kapampangan soldiers, paddlers, and provisioners served in the third campaign, headed by no other than Maestre de Campo don Guillermo Dimarocot. See Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1992), 322-326. For the Spanish presence in north Sulawesi, see David Henley, "A Superabundance of Centers: Ternate and the Contest for North Sulawesi," *Cakalele* 4 (1993), 39-42, 48-49. University of Hawai'i ScholarSpace. http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/4131/UHM.CSEAS.Cakalele.v4.Henley.pdf?sequence=1 .

principales were able to monopolize access to lucrative highland commodities ranging from beeswax to deerskins.[114]

The sparse population of Spanish soldiers and a wide array of military threats led Spanish administrators to collaborate with the elites of central Luzon. In return for their provision of labor and military support, the governors of the Philippines accorded relatively high levels of autonomy to central Luzon nobility, and even granted them modest encomiendas. In 1604, don Francisco Capinpin, a principal of Kawit (known as "Old Cavite" by the Spanish) obtained such an encomienda. He paid ten pesos for the contribution of forty tributaries from the encomienda that he had been granted from the nearby tingues of Marongondon. In 1626, don Mateo Pilac obtained rights to grants to tingues labor in Pangasinan. Similarly, in 1644, don Ventura de Masana received rights to laborers from the highlands of eastern Laguna de Bay and Tayabas, including the uplands (*montes*) of Binangonan de Lampon (Lamon) (See Figures 2 and 5).[115]

Some principales, such as don Nicolás Angeles, don Francisco Lacsamana, and don Juan Macapagal, obtained encomiendas and other grants for exemplary service to the king during foreign expeditions and "rebellions" of his central Luzon subjects. Don Nicolás de Angeles, a Kapampangan, served in Maluku shortly after it was taken by Kapampangans and the Spanish. Angeles was also rewarded with an encomienda of the tingues of Mahayhay for his familial relationship with don Juan Ventura, a Tagalog military commander. Royal officials credited

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[114] AGI, Contaduría, 1206A, f. 476r (1608); and NAP, Cedulario 1604-1622, SDS 667, f. 56B (1619). For Cagayan, see AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 52, *passim* (1696). Many upland populations lacked access to priests, when they did not thwart their entry, expel or attack them. Clerics later maged to obtain a royal order banning contact between upland non-Christians and lowlanders, but this order seemed to have been observed in the breach.

[115] For don Francisco Capinpin, see AGI, Contaduría, 1206, f. 476r (1606). Capinpin had served as a village treasurer (*mayordomo*) for Kawit in 1603. See AGI, Contaduría, 1206, 1a pte, f. 117v (1603). For don Mateo Pilac, see NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, v. 1, SD 685, *Merced al Capitán y Sargento Mayor don Matheo Pilac 500 hombres de los negrillos igolotes que hubiere en los montes y serranias del pueblo de Magaldan*, fs. 76B-77B (1626). For don Ventura de Masana, see NAP, Cedulario 1640-(1645), 1644-1654, *Confirmacion de la encomienda a Don Ventura Masana,de los negrillos de los montes en la provincia que se han de reducir a poblado*, fs. 56-58 (1644).

Ventura, along with the Kapampangan don Guillermo Dimarocot, with quelling an alleged rebellion by sangleys in Manila in 1603. Similarly, royal authorities lauded the role of don Francisco Lacsamana, a military commander of a Kapampangan unit, for the defeat of a 1638 rebellion by Minnanese tenant farmers in western Laguna. It was only in 1661 that he was able to acquire a land grant. Lacsamana demonstrated loyalty during the Pampanga revolt of the Mañago family, obtaining their encomienda for his efforts. Finally, don Juan Macapagal also secured his rights to an encomienda by showing loyalty in 1660. As the gobernador of Arayat, Macapagal deployed Zambal archers to block an alliance during the revolt of northern Luzon between don Andrés Malong of Pangasinan and the Mañagos of Pampanga. Macapagal and his heirs obtained an encomienda of the inhabitants of the upland Pampanga tingues of Arayat, in return (See Figure 5).[116]

Large numbers of Kapampangans and Tagalogs deployed on military campaigns, reinforced garrisons, guarded royal facilities, and quelled revolts and rebellions. They organized themselves according to Spanish ranks. Each company of one hundred to one hundred and fifty soldiers were led by captains (*capitanes*), lieutenants (*alféreces*), ensigns (*ayudantes*), sergeants (*sargentos*). All of these officers commanded privates (*soldados sencillos*), probably raised from timaguas. Several companies were grouped together into a tercio, led by a colonel or field marshal (*maestre de campo*), who led the first company of the tercio, and his lieutenant or sergeant major (*sargento mayor*), who led the second company. Drummers (*atambores*) and infantries playing the fife (*pífaros*) rounded out the unit and helped coordinate movements of

[116] AGI, Contaduría, 1206, fs. 116v, 476r. For don Mateo Pilac, see NAP, NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, vol. 1 (B400), *Merced al Capitán y Sargento Mayor don Matheo Pilac 500 hombres de los negrillos y ygolotes que hubiere en los montes y serranias del pueblo de Magaldan,* SDS 685, fs. 76v-77r (1626). For don Nicolás de Ángeles, see AGI, Filipinas, 40, N. 11, fs. 1r-14v (1629). AGI, Contratación, 5409, N. 32 (1631); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 9, fs. 1r-20r (1631); and AGI, Contaduría, 1216, f. 421r (1634-1635).

battle. Like the Spanish, starting at least in the 1590s, Kapampangan units were armed with standard matchlock guns (*arcabuces*) and heavy matchlocks (*mosquetes*).[117]

José Eugenio Borao, one of the first scholars to estimate the numbers of Kapampangans in early colonial service suggests that the total number of Kapampangans deployed as soldiers over the course over the course of seventeenth century reached at least thirty thousand. His estimates express the important role played by Kapampangans in Spanish service, but are too low, as they do not take into account the reformation of Kapampangan companies and the numbers of reinforcements required to sustain Kapampangan garrisons. We can look at a single example of this. On August 18, 1644, the Audiencia estimated that the total number of Kapampangans spread out in garrisons between Maluku and northern Luzon numbered one thousand and one hundred twenty-eight soldiers, a total which did not include indigenous officers. Between 1635-1644 alone, Spanish governors ordered levies for over sixteen hundred soldiers, in sixteen different polos. Officers drawn from the indigenous nobility, like Captain don Juan de Vergara, a resident of Lubao, and field marshal don Andres de Dueñas, led these recruitment drives. The rotation of several hundred soldiers from the field back to their home towns after several years of service explains the difference between the total troops in the standing forces and the total number of soldiers recruited.[118]

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[117] For the organization of the armies, see AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 454r (1607); AGI, Contaduría, 1209, 1a pieza, f. 254r (1610); AGI, Contaduría, 1213, f. 150r (1629); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, 1a pieza, fs. 227r-230r, 242r, 252r (1634); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, f. 53v (1644); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, f. 94v (1651); AGI, Contaduría, 1233, fs. 50v, 458v (1659) AGI, Filipinas, 348, L. 5, f. 76v (1667); and Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 274. For arms, see AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 4, f. 85v (1586); AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, f. 2r (1605); AGI, Contaduría, 1209, 1a pieza, f. 250r (1610); AGI, Contaduría, 1214, fs. 183v-184r (1632); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, 1a pieza, 126v (1634); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 9119r (1646); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 5, fs. 15v, 21r (1649); Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34, f. 26r (1661); and José Eugencio Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents, Volume 2* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2001), 509.

[118] José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army during the Dutch Wars (1600-1648)," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Manila: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 79-87. AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, f. 520v, PARES, (1644). For troop rotations, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 7, N. 21, exp. 3, fs. 10r-13r (1655).

Women, too, especially noble women or *principalas*, played active roles in the economies and at least on occasion, in the governance of at least some of the pueblos of central Luzon. To begin, both noble women and bond servants wove cloth, the most important product manufactured and exported from the Philippines. Noble women also owned land and sold it. In 1644, doña Juana Guinto of Bagumbayan purchased land from a Spanish mariner. In 1632, doña Maria Malic of Tondo sold a parcel of land called Somandal to the Dominicans for 150 pesos. Principalas in Pampanga also employed slaves and debt servants to work their fields. For example, in 1648, in the municipality of Guagua, doña Valentina Badia employed six tributaries on her fields. Other principalas in Tagalog towns owned slaves as well. In January 22, 1686, in the municipality of Taytay, a principala named doña María Serafina entered into an agreement to rent one quiñon of rice fields named Bayunang Dapdad, which she probably forced debt servants and timaguas to work. Like principales, principalas organized converted productive lands into annuities designed to pay for annual Masses to be said for their departed souls (*capellanias*). Thus, in 1605, in Bacolor, doña Ana Matcal endowed her lands to the local Augustinian monastery. Kapampangan principales and principalas lavished enough donations on the convent and parish church of Bacolor to earn laudatory comments about their piety from the Augustinian chronicler Juan de Medina in 1632 (See figures 5 and 6).[119]

Principalas in rural central Luzon also exercised political and commercial power linked to urban areas. Thus, on September 12, 1636, doña Ines Olanin, a principala and native of Banban,

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[119] AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, f. 20v (1583); and San Agustín, 681. Luciano P. R. Santiago, "The First Filipino Capellanias (1605-1699)," *Philippiniana Sacra* 22, no. 66 (1987), 427; AUST, Rollo 194, *Libro de las escrituras, de las tierras de Biñan pertenecientes al Colegio de Santo Tómas,* f. 2r (1632). AGI, Contaduría, 1227, f. 31r (1648). AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, fs. 103r (1686). For slave ownership by principalas in Tagalog municipalities, see AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, fs. 99r, 102r-102v, 103v, 105r, 107r amd *passim*. For Matcal, see Luciano P. R. Santiago, "The First Filipino Capellanias (1605-1699)," *Philippiniana Sacra* 22, no. 66 (1987), 422. For Bacolor, see Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de nuestra gran padre san agustin de las Filipinas*, in Blair and Robertson, v. 23 (1905), 245.

a visita of the municipality of Pasig, paid for a license to operate a fish trap in the Angon River adjacent to the town of Taguig. In 1690, Lucrecia Saul, a native of Baybay, near Binondo, paid the media annata for operating a shop in the Manila area. Other women exercised leadership positions as cabezas de barangay. On March 31, 1645, doña Potenciana Baya, a principala of Babuyan, in the province of Pampanga, received nomination as a cabeza de barangay. On June 8, 1645, doña Maria Mayao paid the fee for her post as cabeza de barangay of Panilao, also in Pampanga. In 1671, doña Jacinta Dayao of Bagumbayan, near Laloc, Cagayan, became a cabeza de barangay. Finally, women petitioned the Audiencia for relief from excessive tribute obligations after natural disasters (See figures 2 and 5). Despite the marginalization of their public roles as shamans, elite women, at least, managed to exert some agency in the colonial legal system.[120]

We have demonstrated that though dynamic internal trade and entrepreneurship existed within Luzon, many Spanish clerics and administrators continued to rely on coercive rent-seeking and extortion through the end of the seventeenth century. Despite investigations and efforts at reforms, alcaldes mayores and clerics continued to engage in extortion (*derramas*), utilized tanores, and embezzled the funds of peasants throughout the end of the colonial period. For example, in 1692, a royal investigation (*visita*) of the Luzon provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Pampanga found widespread abuses committed by civil officials. The visitador, Sánchez Abella y Fuertes, found that Don Francisco Zorilla, the alcalde mayor of Pampanga, defrauded the inhabitants of the municipalities of Arayat and Candaba by undervaluing their contributions of hens for sale to Manila. Zorrilla had also failed to pay the rice rations of these villagers when

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[120] AGI, Contaduría, 1218, f. 74v (1636). AGI, Contaduría, 1247. f. 20v (1690). AGI, Contaduría, 1225ª, fs. 32v, 43r (1645). AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 28r (1671). NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva a los naturales del pueblo de San Miguel de pagar sus tributos en especial por tiempo de un año*, f. 177B (1686). AUST, Rollo 194, *Libro de las escrituras, de las tierras de Biñan pertenecientes al Colegio de Santo Tómas*, f. 2r (1632).

they went on a logging expedition. Similarly, Sánchez Abella fined a Kapampangan encomendera, doña María Macapagal, several hundred pesos for having appropriated the tribute of the indigenous people of Palasinan, Gapan, and San Miguel de Mayamo. Macapagal had inherited the encomienda of her father, don Juan Macapagal, in 1683.[121]

Regular clerics also continued to abuse their authority into the eighteenth century. An example from southern Luzon illustrates the continuation of these patterns. In 1716, General don Manuel de Endaya, the alcalde mayor of Camarines, a southern Luzon province, received complaints from Bikolano villagers from the municipalities of Guas (Oas), Naga (Cáceres), Iriga, and Libon. They complained about the appropriation of labor by the Franciscans of the Province of Saint Gregory. The young men (*bagontaos*) and dalagas of Oas and surrounding pueblos claimed that the friars forced them to work for free in the convents. These young men and women cleaned the convents, erected triumphal arches, and polished rice. The friars, they reported, compelled them to make contributions for festivals and to bring goods for free: milk, fish, vino de palma and cut firewood. Bikolanos worked as hammock-bearers, and paddlers for free.[122]

Conclusion:

I began my discussion of the institutions, kinship patterns, labor arrangements, pre-Hispanic, social ecologies, and social hierarchies of the inhabitants central Luzon, since so many chinos, migrants from the Philippines to New Spain described themselves as having origins there. Data from Chinese records and early Portuguese contact indicates that the inhabitants of

[121] AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 6, N. 25, fs. 115v-117v, 118v, 160v (1692); and AGI, Contaduría, 1245, f. 30r (1683).

[122] AGN, Inquisición, v. 313, exp. 1, *passim* (1716). For Oas residents who traveled to New Spain on the Manila galleon, see for example, Sebastián Pagdisian, who sailed on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* in 1693. AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, N. 18, f. 430r (1694).

central Luzon showed substantial mobility long before the advent of the Manila galleon trade and indeed, before the Spanish arrived, and evidence including the current presence of a significant Malay vocabulary in Tagalog, the Laguna Copper Plate Inscription, and the tributary records of the Chinese show the results of this early mobility, and of contact with a broad East Asian and Malayo-Indonesian commercial and political world. The people of Luzon exercised mobility as merchants, as warriors, and probably as artisans, but much remains unknown about this history, especially about the lives of the more humble peasants, fishermen, and servants who supplied the labor necessary for this mobility.

Spanish administrators intent on collecting colonial rents left documentation of the mobility of peasants. Despite the common goal of maintaining Spanish rule over the Philippines, the divergent agendas of missionaries, administrators, soldiers and even central Luzon noble commentators produced diverging narratives about Spanish rule, leaving traces of the agency exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of central Luzon. Soon after colonization began, and elites demonstrated that they had lost even tentative control over their dulohan, peasants and fisherman, free and bonded alike, began to assert new forms of mobility. The resulting effects on the colonial demography and instruments of labor control, as we will see, were dramatic. As such, the emergence of the transpacific maritime chinos represented only a small part of a larger shift in the patterns of social interaction in central Luzon. The records leave no doubt that colonial rule altered social relationships between and within these communities of central Luzon. Spaniards attempted to control labor and production through missionization, new settlement regimes, and the institution of municipal governance, while indigenous nobles sought to exploit Spanish manpower needs and the gaps in surveillance left by the comparatively weak presence in order to make their own labor demands. Civil and ecclesiastical administrators were best

positioned to exploit peasant labor, and placed considerable pressure on peasants in their efforts at rent-seeking.

Spanish administrators worked to control commerce and to control colonial institutions, but also relied on collaboration with indigenous elites. Indigenous elites brought their own clients on Spanish campaigns of conquest, staffed lay Catholic brotherhoods, and implemented Spanish demands for tribute. In return, they obtained considerable perquisites, though perhaps not on the same order as those they had lost. The complaints of indigenous elites about exploitation revealed an internal trade system within central Luzon, as well as links with Chinese merchants. Meanwhile, Spanish officials worked to keep their new entrepôt functioning as a route of exchange between Asia and the Americas, and to ensure that it remained secure against a wide range of potential adversaries. The cases of the buyo and vino de palma industries showed that these larger purposes helped fuel considerable growth of production for markets within the colony. Indigenous communities produced these commodities using Filipino systems of production and central Luzon technology. Peasants produced these commodities, and it is to their social history we will now turn.

CHAPTER 2: VAGABONDS AND BONDSERVANTS IN RURAL CENTRAL LUZON

On April 13, 1672 Licensiado don Juan de Rosales, the alcalde mayor (provincial magistrate) of the court of Tondo summoned witnesses to testify about a riot that they alleged took place in the village of Santa Ana de Sapa (See Figure 6). The villagers fought off a foraging party sent from the port of Cavite composed of sailors *en route* to the port of Binangonan de Lampon (See Figure 2). Mariners and carpenters from Spain, Portugal, New Spain, and a variety of central Luzon provinces composed the foraging party. The sailors suffered two casualties in the course of the village sacking. High-ranking Spanish citizens of Manila demanded an inquiry when some of the sailors washed up ashore dead. The remaining sailors complained of the resistance that been provoked by the Franciscan resident priest (*cura*) Fray Francisco de Barajas. The inhabitants and witnesses called from the village by Rosales, located up the Pasig River from Manila, showed the diversity of rural Luzon (See figures 2, 5, and 6). They included Tagalog -speaking peasants, descendants of Indian and Indonesian slaves (*morenos*), migrants from the province of Fujian in southeastern China (*sangleyes*), offspring of Tagalog-sangley liasons (*mestizos*), and migrants from the adjacent province of Pampanga (*pampangos*).[1]

These testimonies demonstrate some of the consequences of peasant responses to early colonial patterns of exploitation in the colonial Philippines. When peasants decided to migrate

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[1] *Licensiado* was the title of someone who earned the lowest-level post-graduate university degree.
The testimony from Santa Ana de Sapa is taken from AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, *passim*. As we will see, this rural diversity can readily be compared to the outer rural districts (*kampungs*) of early colonial Batavia, but extended to rural communities all over rural central Luzon. See Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "The Free Asian Community and Poverty in pre-modern Batavia," in *Jakarta-Batavia: Socio-cultural Essays*, eds. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkinde [KITLV] Press, 2000): 75-911 and Remco Raben, "Round about Batavia: Ethnicity and authority in the Ommelanden, 1650-1800," same volume, 93-113. For the role of sangleys, see Antonio García-Abásolo, "La difícil convivencia entre españoles y chinos en Filipinas," in *Elites urbanas en Hispanoamerica*, ed. Luis Navarro (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 487-493.

one outcome was the growth of a group of transpacific migrants from the Spanish Philippines. Within the larger process of internal migration, central Luzon migrants renegotiated village hierarchies, often drawing from pre-Hispanic patterns of behavior. We will broadly examine the establishment of early colonial political economies. The creation of this system affected a broader field of labor migrations and forced labor in rural central Luzon. It required the cooperation of colonial elites, shaping social and productive relationships within rural indigenous villages, and colonial estates owned and run by Spanish religious corporations. Central Luzon peasants and elites built these new relationships using bilateral lineage alliances and incorporated migrants within bayan structures that had been molded by cololnial administrators.[2]

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[2] On the broader interactions between state-level coercion (both of tribute and labor) and migration in Spanish America, see the voluminous literature on the mitá: Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900*; Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*; and Jeffrey Cole, *The Potosí Mita, 1573-1700*: *Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Stamford: Stanford University Press, 1985). For Central America and Mexico, see George Lovell and William R. Swizy "Indian migration and community formation: An analysis of *congregación* in colonial Guatemala*,"* in *Migration in Colonial Spanish America,* ed. David G. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 18-39; and Rebeca López Mora, "Entre dos mundos: Los indios de los barrios de la ciudad de México, 1550-1600," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F. : Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 57-77.

For Southeast Asia, see Michael Adas, "From Footdragging to Flight: The Evasive History of Peasant Avoidance Protest in South and South-east Asia," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, no. 2(1986): 64-86, especially 73. The patron-shifting and avoidance strategies employed by central Luzon peasants resemble those of other Southeast Asian peasants fleeing pre-colonial corvées. See Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23*,* no. 2 (1981): 222-232. More recently, some of the most extreme strategies of flight employed by Southeast Asians have been explored by James C. Scott, as part of a long exploration of peasant cultures of resistance. See James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Though this is not the focus of this study, some of the peasants of central Luzon took the difficult step of evading Spanish authority altogether in the uplands. William Henry Scott has written about them and people who shared their condition in William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1974); and "Creation of a Cultural Minority," in William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1982), 28-41.

Studies of more protracted periods of migration in Southeast Asian history can be found in Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 20-21, 23, 109-112, 201-202; Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), *passim*; and *Idem*, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, *passim*.

Many scholars have begun to discuss the cultural aspects of community formation among migrants. For Mexico, see aspects of Jonathan Amith, "Place-Making and Place-Breaking: Migration Cycles and the Development Cycle of Community in Colonial Mexico," *America Ethnologist* 32, no. 1 (2005): 159-179. For Southeast Asia, see Janet Carsten, "The Politics of Forgetting: Migration, Kinship and Memory on the Periphery of the Southeast Asian State," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1, no. 2 (1995): 317-335; and Philip Winn, "Butonese in

I argue in this chapter that comprehension of the patterns of social interaction and labor preferred and employed by chinos in New Spain requires an investigation of the social histories and political economies of early colonial rural central Luzon, the origin of many Asian migrants to New Spain (*chinos*). Moreover, I will demonstrate that by charting the changing patterns of central Luzon peasant interaction within local political economies, we can better understand the spatial and occupational paths that led the inhabitants of central Luzon to New Spain. Indeed, I will show that both coercive and voluntary aspects of trans-Pacific mobility employed by chinos represented only part of a much larger strategy of migration employed by Kapampangan and Tagalog speakers within Luzon and the broader archipelago. Finally, while it is important to survey the ways that Spanish labor demands and other aspects of colonialism caused incalculable damage to the lives of inhabitants of the central Luzon over the colonial period, I show that the almost total preoccupation with the roles played by Tagalogs and Kapampangans as victims obscures the considerable creativity, negotiating ability and repertoires of resistance demonstrated by these individuals. This chapter will refocus attention on this circumscribed agency. [3]

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the Banda islands: Departure, mobility and identification," *Horizons of home: Nation, gender, and migrancy in island Southeast Asia*, ed. Penelope Graham (Victoria, Australia: Monash University Press, 2008), 85-100.

Further discussion of the importance of horizontal versus vertical conceptions of kinship among societies of maritime Southeast Asia can be found in can be found in William R. Cummings, *Making Blood White*: *Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 75, 116-117. Cummings argues that the early modern period saw Makassarese elites orient towards texts as markers of identity, prompting them over time to place more value on vertical than on horizontal conceptions of kinship. Kapampangan elites might have made a similar shift during the early colonial period. Of grander scale and of more recent vintage were the Ilocano migrations into central Luzon during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Grace Estela Mateo, "Ilocos: A History of the Regionalization of Spanish Colonialism," (PhD Diss., University of Hawai'i, 2004), 19, 318-319 and the last chapters of Marshall S. McClennan, *The Central Luzon Plain: Land and Society on the Inland Frontier* (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1980). More general overviews of migration are discussed by Wang Gungwu, *Global History and Migrations*, ed. Wang Gungwu (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993); and Dick Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migration in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

[3] One of the most extreme examples of the inability to acknowledge Filipino agency can be seen in the comment by Alfonso Felix that Samareños constituted the "stones of the social edifice" – while Franciscans were the " architects or masons." See Alfonso Felix Jr, "Report," in the preface to Bruce Cruikshank, *Samar: 1768-1898*

I argue that the decisions of peasants and some members of the indigenous nobility to leave their communities in response to the labor demands occasioned by wars between the Dutch and Spanish helped remake early colonial Luzon. The migrants helped form new modes of social organization in the colonial spaces of rural central Luzon while still maintaining linkages with lowland indigenous communities. Despite this initiative, immigrants continued to feel the impact of labor imposed by both Spanish administrators and Filipino elites. Spanish administrators were never completely successful in their attempts to eradicate elite-controlled indigenous systems of debt bondage and sharecropping from the colonial landscape, a

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(Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985), 17. More famous is the statement by Teodoro Agoncillo, worth quoting at length.

> Before 1872, as the author once declared in a lecture before the Pi Gamma Mu, an international society of social scientists at the University of Philippines, there was no such thing as Philippine history; that is to say, owing to the lack of documentary sources but is impossible to write the history of the Philippines before 1872. One can write the history of Spain in the Philippines before that date, but not the history of the Philippines.

Quoted by the same author in Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Philippine History* (Quezon City, Philippines: Kayamanggi Press, 1965 [1962]), iv. See also D. R. M. Irving *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12; and *History and Culture, Language and Literature: Selected Essays of Teodoro A. Agoncillo*, ed. Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2003).

More careful interpretations of these statements suggest that Agoncillo is simply stating the obvious – expecting the appearance of nineteenth-century nationalism in the seventeenth century would be anachronistic. Nevertheless, we should also attend to the implied claim here both that indigenous people of the lacked any sort of agency during the colonial era and also that a sort of unanimous Spanish assessment existed of the colonial project. The first assertion can easily contested by pointing to the presence of documents written in Filipino languages within Spanish colonial archives, while the second has been amply demonstrated by the histories of the early missionary's orders criticisms of civil administration. Renato Constantino has called for a renewed critical assessment of Spanish sources in order to get at the experiences of Filipinos. See Renato Constantino, "Notes on Historical Writing for the Third World," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 10, no. 3 (1980), 238. William Henry Scott has written very eloquently of the utility of Spanish sources for Spanish social history, but also pioneered work using Filipino-language sources found in Spanish colonial dictionaries. Collections of his interpretations can be found in the following works: *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1982); *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City, Philippines,: New Day Publishers, 1992); and *Barangay: Sixteenth Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1994). The latter work depends heavily on colonial-era dictionaries of Filipino languages.

Recent social history has reopened investigation into the social history of the early colonial period using primary Spanish sources. See, for example, Digna Apilado Balangue, "The Agturay of the Ili: The Elite of Ilocos, 1574-1661," *Journal of History* 56, nos. 1-4 (2010): 5-30. My own work relies almost entirely on Spanish sources due to a lack of language skills in Tagalog and Kapampangan. The number of early colonial-era primary sources in the languges of the Philippines is small, but growing as historians get better acquainted with archives which contain early colonial material. As it stands, Tagalog and Kapampangan sources heavily privilege elite voices to an even greater extent than is true with Spanish-language sources, a problem observed for other "new philology" textual sources.

development prompted by the utility of Kapampangan and Tagalog elites in maintaining colonial rule, and an institution that continued to shape the lives of Kapampangan and Tagalog peasants. I will show that though Spanish administrators attempted to control the demography of central Luzon and enforce ethnic separation, Tagalogs and Kapampangans incorporated central Luzon sojourners, Chinese mestizos, Minnanese migrants, and the descendants of African and Indian slaves into their communities, and in several cases, demonstrably "indigenized" them. I will map this process out as it occurred both in indigenous villages and the new rural estates owned by clerics, Roman Catholic religious corporations, and Spanish administrators.[4]

The incident in Santa Ana de Sapa illustrates some of the changes in the internal dynamics of production, social hierarchy, and reproduction within the rural communities of central Luzon. The changes in demography evident in Santa Ana de Sapa show that peasants of various ethnicities helped shape these changes, by employing mobility as a way to cope with the imposition by Spanish administrators of corvée labor drafts, illicit expropriation of labor, and forced sale of goods. This demographic shift helped to explain the ethnic diversity of chinos in New Spain. In some ways, migrating peasants continued precolonial practices of migration, but by intensifying their movement and altering their routes of dispersion, peasants altered colonial demography, leaving both Spanish administrators and indigenous nobility flailing to regain leverage over Filipino labor. Indigenous nobles negotiated a middle course which aimed at balancing compliance with Spanish labor drafts against maintenance of pre-Hispanic debt

[4] Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines,* extensively documents the practice of migration and flight of Filipinos within communities across the colonial Philippines. In this analysis, "Spanish" rule was solely a destructive force and Filipinos resisted it through movement. I believe that Dery's own evidence shows a more dynamic situation. See Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, 108-109. For example, his charting of growth in eastern Laguna suggests that both elites and peasants worked to remake community, incorporating newcomers to the area. I follow the arguments of Lucio Alonso that indigenous elites attempted to maintain their perquisites, and in fact, their own actions contributed to the pressure felt by the peasants of central Luzon. The process is described in Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del Barangay," 390-401; and Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, "Los élites nativas y la construcción colonial de Filipinas (1565-1789)," in *España y el Pacifico. Volume 2,* ed. Leoncio Cabrero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 62-65.

bondage and attracting the floating body of indigenous migrants known as *vagamundos*. The extension of the use of debt by Spanish and indigenous elites as a reaction to peasant mobility helped explain the predominance of debt relations among chinos in coastal Pacific Mexico.[5]

The example of this riot in Santa Ana de Sapa shows the social and cultural implications of the sectors of the colonial economy outside of indigenous control. Historians have best documented one aspect of this economy, the creation of the central Luzon hacienda (See Figure 5). This institution, varying in size from a few households to several hundred people, depended on coordination between Spanish landowners, Chinese merchants, clergy and others to coordinate the labor of a broad variety of colonial subjects, which included landed free villagers, sangley renters, and slaves. Changes occasioned by Spanish rule in this arena included the growth of renting and the raising of cattle. Simultaneously, the implementation of regular colonial labor drafts helped give rise to groups of indigenous laborers that retained only tenuous ties to central Luzon villages. We will analyze the organization of these drafts, which included logging expeditions, rowers, and the creation of shipyards. At the same time, after an initial threat of annihilation, Filipino elites maintained some pre-Hispanic practices such as debt peonage, but also adapted to the greater mobility of the peasant population by working to settle migrants. Nonetheless, the institution by Spanish administrators of policies such as tribute

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[5] Many historians have overestimated the ability of Spaniards to control the peasant population of the Philippines. On migration and production, see Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*; Nicolas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1976); and Nicolas P. Cushner, "Meysapan: The Formation and Social Effects of a Landed Estate in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian History* 7, no. 1 (1973), 31. On the broad effects of labor drafts and epidemics on colonial demography, see Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence, passim.*

On debt bondage, see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*; Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines;* and Francisco, S. J., "*Alipin ng Dios, Alipin ng Demonyo,"* 370-395.

On retention of power by indigenous elites, see Santiago, "The Noble Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman," 39-73; Santiago, "The Lineage of Mójica," 94; and Daniel M. Gerona, "The Colonial Accommodation and Reconstitution of Native Elite in the Early Provincial Philippines, 1600-1795," *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 266-276.

demands, forced sale of goods (*vandala*) and especially the labor drafts known as *polos* challenged the ability of central Luzon peasants to sustain themselves.[6]

This chapter will begin by examining the partially-successful efforts of central Luzon nobles to maintain debt bondage. The second section charts the relationships between Filipino migration and Spanish modes of compulsory labor and confiscation of goods. The final section will show the ways that Filipinos remade Spanish-owned rice and cattle estates into communities resembling their own. I will leave a discussion of the urban milieu and economy of Manila, Cavite, shipyards and fortresses for the third chapter.[7]

Bondservants and Vagabonds

In spite of the potential for accumulating merit from military campaigns, laws against slavery continued to challenge the status of central Luzon nobles and their ability to act within their new roles as collectors of royal tribute. Nonetheless, central Luzon principales still worked to maintain indebted bondservants. The Augustinian, fray Martín de Rada, the encomendero, Miguel de Loarca, and the Franciscan, fray Juan de Plasencia all described these customs and the resulting status of alipin saguiguilid. The Synod of Manila did not end this practice. We can learn something of the practice from colonial documents dated after the synod. Thus, in 1599, the

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[6] On estancias, see Dennis Morrow Roth, *The Friar Estates of the Philippines* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977); Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines;* and Woods, "The Evolution of Bayan," 30-54. For a reassessment of nineteenth-century agrarian history in southern Luzon, see John M. Schumacher, S. J. "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Agrarian Developments in Central Luzon," *Reflections on Philippine Culture and Society Festschrift in Honor of William Henry Scott*, ed. Jesus T. Peralta (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2001), 168-202. In the continuum of avoidance and protest explained by Michael Adas, central Luzon inhabitants most often seem fall on the avoidance side of the continuum. The peasants I discuss most often choose the option of changing patrons. Migration was a common tactic employed across pre-colonial maritime and mainland Southeast Asia in order to evade particularly disadvantageous political, social, or economic conditions. Pre-colonial familial and bilateral kinship patterns facilitate the reception and integration of migrant outsiders. Finally, thalassocratic maritime polities in particular welcomed foreigners and encouraged residence in their communities for economic purposes – these patterns eased the first wave of Chinese migrants that probably started settling port cities in insular Southeast Asia in the fourteenth century, too, migrated between adjoining cities, and Malay court culture was adapted by varying social and linguistic groups across the archipelago. See Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, *passim*.

[7] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Cavite and Manila.

Ordenanzas de Buen Gobierno drawn up by Governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán and Antonio de Morga complain of the practice of Kapampangan principales maintaining slaves, through the use of debt. This appears to refer to the practice of debt servitude. In 1609, Morga described a system whereby nobles held partial ownership of the debts and services of *namamahay*. Up to ten principales held the debt of the same person, an adjustment to outright prohibition of slavery and to the new straitened circumstances of the principales. The notion of partial debt ownership and even of partial servitude persisted at least through 1684.[8]

Several commentators write of the preservation of debt bondage by indigenous elites of central Luzon beyond the era of reform promoted by Bishop Salazar and Governor Pérez Dasmariñas. In 1603, fray Juan de Salinas, an Augustinian in Balayan, wrote of the enslavement of servants in Bulacan in order to pay off tribute debts (See Figure 5). Principales forced timaguas into involuntary servitude. They brought at least a few of these servants to Manila in order to sell as slaves. One of the leading lawyers (*fiscales*) of the Audiencia, Rodrigo Díaz Guiral, explained that the spread of estancias into the Tondo countryside had likewise moved inhabitants of central Luzon into slavery or at least debt bondage. Presumably, unpenned cattle ate the crop of the timaguas, imperiling their contribution of tribute, after which they would have to sell themselves into the debt of principales.[9]

As clerics and civic officials recorded the continuing presence of indigenous systems of debt bondage, Spanish administrators expanded other systems of forced labor in response to the appearance of the VOC in Southeast Asia and their bellicosity in Maluku. Governor don Pedro

[8] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 4, fs. 2r-2v (1574); AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, fs. 26v-28r (1582); AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 13v-14r, 20r-20v (1589, 1599); Morga, *Los Sucesos*, 277-279; and AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 50r (1684).

[9] AGI, Filipinas, 85, N. 5, fs. 39v-42v (1605); and AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 7, N. 100, fs. 3r-8r (1606).

de Acuña and don Rodrigo de Vivero expanded efforts at more systematic mobilizations of forced labor (*polo*) and below-market requisition of food and other raw materials (*vandala*). They attempted to mobilize these resources to utilize for the war effort needed to counteract the efforts of the Dutch to supplant the Portuguese and Spanish in Southeast Asia. Governor Juan de Silva, governor of the Philippines between 1609 and 1616, systematically increased war mobilization. He began a gargantuan ship-building program and expanded the compliment of troops in Maluku. These efforts required the wholesale enlistment of the inhabitants of central Luzon into a variety of corvée drafts: expanded cultivation of rice, timber-cutting expeditions sent into the montes of Laguna and Pampanga, the proliferation of shipyards, and greater conscription of indigenous troops for campaigns outside the archipelago.[10]

Principales appeared to have responded to these increased pressures by continuing debt peonage and perhaps intensifying the practice. Thus, in 1618, the Franciscan Fray Pedro de San Pablo wrote a long missive to King Philip III decrying the conditions of the indigenous people under the administration of the Franciscans, and in particular, their suffering under the intensified polos, echoing charges made in a similar missive in 1616. The Bikolano-speaking population of Camarines felt some of the most acute losses in status and population, in part due to raids by Maguindanau and other nearby allies of the Dutch (Figure 2, 3, and 4). Yet, other territories, such as Laguna, also saw severe impoverishment. The log-cutting expeditions seemed centered on almost virgin forest located far from centers of habitation. These

[10] Phelan, *Hispanization*, 99-102. Antonio de Morga explains that the precursors of polo resembled *ad hoc* small-scale personal services. See Morga, *Sucesos,* 305. For the mobilization of don Juan de Silva, see AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, fs. 2r-2v, 5r-6v (1619).

expeditions, lasting months, took Tagalogs and Kapampangans far from home for months at time (Figure 4).[11]

The polos forced the absence of able-bodied cultivators from their natal villages. They threatened the ability of timaguas and consequently, cabezas de barangay, to cultivate the rice for tribute, to say nothing of the other vandala products for which Laguna was known, such as coconut oil. San Pablo explained that some timaguas responded to the large numbers of log-cutting expeditions by fleeing to the mountains and other ungoverned areas (*montes*). Yet, the hundreds of timaguas who returned found themselves responsible for paying tribute at increased rates due to the substantial numbers who died in the forests. San Pablo described the solution utilized by cabezas de barangay; they forced indebted timaguas to work for them, probably as sharecroppers or namamahays. San Pablo recorded the presence of over two hundred debt servants from the Laguna towns of Nagcarlan, Mahayhay, Lumban, Pila, Pililla, Paete, Panguil, and Santa Cruz, as well as several dozens more from the Bulacan towns of Meycaguacan and Bocavi (See Figure 4). Similarly on May 27, 1616, the Augustinian Fray Diego Chinchón argued that successive governors of the Philippines had levied so many vandalas on the people of Kapampanga that timaguas sold themselves into slavery, working in the forests and palm groves of the provinces for cash to pay off their debts.[12]

Resident indebted servitude continued to be maintained by indigenous nobility after the tenure of don Juan de Silva. For example, on February 19, 1623, the parish registers of Lubao, an important municipality in Pampanga, recorded the marriage of Juan Tang, an *esclavo entero* to Isabel Dango, a timagua. The use of *entero* suggests that Kapampangans maintained partial

[11] Archivo Histórico Nacional de España (Henceforth, AHN), Diversos-Coleciones, 26, N. 28, exp. 1, fs. 1r-2r, (1620) and exp. 2, fs. 1r-2r (1620).

[12] AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 11, N. 70, fs. 154r-156r (1616).

debt servitude in 1623. Almost eleven years later, on February 12, 1634, Pablo Pala, a black slave of a Kapampangan principal named don Cristóbal Sandiroy married Isabel Panqui, a a woman of Kapampangan ethnicity and a debt-slave. Similarly, on September 13, 1646, the Jesuit cura of San Miguel, a municipality in the Tagalog region, in Tondo, baptized Ignacio Lunes, the infant son of Francisco de la Cruz of Dilao, another Tondo municipality, and Magdalena Hirangin, a Tagalog slave (See Figures 4 and 5). In 1657, in his justly famous *Discurso Parenético*, a commentary on the status of the indigenous people of the Philippines, Salvador Gómez Espinosa spoke of a wide range of abuses committed by nobles against timaguas. According to Gómez, nobles, especially in Pampanga, forced timaguas to work in their fields, to cut wood for them, and to erect their houses. These nobles made unfair contracts with timaguas, and also monopolized community resources, such as the montes and fisheries. Gómez did not directly address debt-bondage. In 1665, Archbishop Miguel de Poblete found widespread debt bondage after an investigation of the provinces of Cavite, Balayan, Laguna de Bay, and Pampanga. Poblete explained that nobles fined timaguas for the slightest infractions, such as the breaking of a plate, and then kept the timaguas indebted. In 1684, clerics noted that nobility in Pampanga had continued the century-long practice of debt bondage where a debt servant paid dues to multiple patrons.[13]

Unfortunately, we still lack documentation of specific instances of the coercion of individuals into debt bondage in central Luzon. Fortunately, we have for comparison a few cases

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[13] FHLGSU, MF# 1126951, San Agustín, Lubao Matrimonios, 1622-1675, 1695-1835, item 1, fs. 5v (1623), f. 51r (1634). For additional evidence of early seventeenth-century debt bondage in the Philippines, see AGI, Filipinas, 20. R. 4, N. 31, fs. 1r-1v (1610); and NAP, Cedulario, 1616-(1636) 1645, SDS *598, Cedula Real sobre el maltrato de los indios*, fs. 358-358B (1632). FHLGSU , MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, f. 17r (1646). Cummins and Cushner, "Labor in the Colonial Philippines," 190-191. *Anales ecclesiastícos de Philipinas*, *1574-1682*, *Volume 1, Philippine Church History. A Summary Translation*, eds., and trans. Ruperto C. Santos (Manila: Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila, 1994), 200. AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 50r (1684).

of an analogous social relationship documented in the western Visayas, on the island of Panay, which contained the port of Iloilo and the Spanish village of Arévalo. Both of these populations were closely tied to Spanish military networks, in that they supplied Spanish colonial garrisons in Zamboanga, Ternate, and Manado (See Figures 2 and 3). Together, these cases enable us to plot the variety of experiences of bondage of Filipinos, and by extension, chinos, who brought similar practices with them to New Spain. The social structure of the Visayas, speakers of Hilagaynon, Cebuano, and Waray-Waray in these cases, differed from central Luzon in several respects. Yet their societies also shared certain resemblances, especially in the distinctions elites and peasants made between sharecroppers and hearth slaves, called *tuhay* and *ayuey*, respectively. This distinction paralleled central Luzon categories of namamahay and guiguilid. Ayueyes who married free persons could have offspring that were like tuhay, but were called bukan or pikas. The Spanish administrators adjudicating the disputes about indigenous slavery referred to this distinction as that between whole slaves (*esclavos enteros*) and agricultural servants (*esclavos fuera de casa*).[14]

In one case brought before don Gabriel Colindres, teniente of the alcalde mayor of the province of Otón, a man named Juan Oglong, a native of the town of Putotan, described how he became a debt servant. His predicament suggested the slippage between freedom and bondage in the colonial Spanish empire. His father, a native of the municipality of Iraga, in the Luzon province of Camarines, had traveled to Panay with four compatriots, Laguinao, Sagpi, Olian and Calbug (Figure 2). His father was a silversmith by trade and was searching for his livelihood. He found work and a wife, a free woman named Osbos, in Putotan, where he settled. A principal of the pueblo named Dalonay enslaved his father and Oglong, making them hearth-slaves or

[14]AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 2, fs. 1r-2v (1652); and AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9,fs. 20r-21v (1582).

esclavos enteros de dentro de la casa. His father died years later, but Dalonay sold Oglong to another principal for two taels (sixteen pesos) of gold, and he repeatedly changed hands until he was purchased by a friar, at which point he filed suit for his freedom (See Figure 3).[15]

In the port of Iloilo, on November 12, 1652, Catalina Tonog appeared in front of Captain don Gabriel Colindres. Speaking through an interpreter, she gave her story, which demonstrated the relationship between half-slaves and esclavos enteros. Her case demonstrated the permeability of the lines between types of bondage. She testified in order to plead the case of her brother, Alonso Calitog. Calitog was in the service of a principal in the encomienda of Danao in Cebu named don Felipe Bantog (Figure 2). Bantog claimed that the parents and grandparents of Tonog and Calitog had been hearth-slaves, and therefore so were their offspring. Yet, Tonog disagreed with Bantog and claimed that her parents had been half-slaves and field sharecroppers. To support her claim, she asked royal officials to query the witnesses that would confirm the sharecropper status of her family. These witnesses testified that the parents of Tonog had provided pan de sal, cotton textiles and two reales to their patron in the middle of a field. This payment or *reconocimiento* was an acknowledgement of their tuhay status. Despite these claims of status, Bantog still pressed her and her brother into his service as esclavos enteros, or ayueyes.[16]

Other pleas recorded the servitude of families over generations. They suggested a few of the ways how "open systems" of bondage could be modified to become closed ones, preventing exit out of the system of bondage and the corresponding autnomy that came with it. Such was the case in the plea of Dorotea Hanao y Gregorio Ignacio, natives of the pueblo and encomienda

[15] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 2, f. 8v (1652).

[16] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 2, fs. 2r-2v (1652); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 4, f. 8r (1652).

of Laglag. Hanao and Ignacio had been the grandchildren of the owners of a group of slaves, referred to as the demandados.   The grandchildren of an enslaved couple, Ucayan and Manimoc, fled their captivity. When Bariquo, the parent of Hanao and Ignacio, found the ayueyes, they offered Bariquo one peso in reales, gold pieces and a very expensive plate. They successfully lessened their burden of service and secured share-cropping status for their descendants. Similarly, in another case, Dulman, a non-Christian Visayan, gave five pesos to her creditor to lessen the service obligations of her five offspring. She told the justice that under Visayan custom, a peso would purchase the alteration of the status of an individual, changing them from a whole slave to a half-slave. Dulman was successful in purchasing her own share-cropping status, which enabled her to work for Samson only two weeks a month. Her creditor, a mestizo named Balthazar Samson, chose not to apply the payment to her children, earning Dulman's ire and the label of "tyrant."[17]

One other plaintiff described the ways that debtors attempted to take advantage of credit. They afford us an example of why Filipinos and later, chinos, might have taken advantage of mobility and advancement of goods on credit. Nine years before, Habagat, the husband of Juana Itob, had approached Ana Dumay, a resident of the port of Iloilo. He wanted to borrow twenty pesos to purchase his wife's debt, but had no money; he needed a guarantor. Dumay agreed, and Habagat borrowed the money from a woman named Ines Cuyno. Habagat freed Itob and returned to Dumay's house house to pay off the debt. They worked there for two years before asking for a temporary leave so that they could pay off some debts in the town of Pasig. Habagat agreed, and the two left, but they never returned. Dumay visited Pasig, which was quite near,

[17] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 2, fs. 4r-4v (1652).

and discovered that Juana had become a servant of a friar. Dumay demanded her money back but Itob told her that she had never borrowed money from her.[18]

Though timaguas faced tough choices, they often chose options other than debt servitude. They often responded to seventeenth-century pressures by migrating to other territories. We should note that Fray Juan de Plasencia, in his discussion of contact-era Tagalog society in Laguna, described migration as a regular practice. He explained that immigrants made arrangements with maguinoo that controlled barangay land in order to gain access to the lands for cultivation. During the colonial period, both principales and Spanish observers designated as migrants (*vagamundos*) these individuals who had left their home communities. Treasury officials created and maintained a tribute category for Manila vagamundos at least from 1604 through 1700. An alguacil de vagamundos mentioned by Bishop Salazar in 1588 might have been responsible for policing Spanish and Portuguese vagrants, and likley also exercised jurisdiction over the large indigenous servant population observed by Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1591. In 1592, Pérez Dasmariñas identified the origins of these migrants, indicating that that many Tagalogs and Kapampangans moved from one encomienda to another to evade especially heavy requisitions of their labor. Rodrigo Guiral Díaz observed in 1606 that enough timaguas had left villages in Tondo province and other territories adjacent that weeds and other foliage had covered the houses of their natal communities.[19]

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[18] Presumably, this refers to 1643. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1057, exp. 4, f. 7r (1652).

[19] AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 20r-20v (1589); AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 7, N. 100, fs. 3r-8r (1606); For vagamundos of Manila and surrounding provinces, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, f. 26r (1599); AGI, Contaduría 1206, 2ª pte, f. 463v (1605); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fs. 20r-20v (1634); AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 59, exp. 3, fs. 1r-1v (1634). AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, exp. 16, fs. 3r, 10r-11r (1666); AGI, Contaduría, 1238, fs. 236r-236v (1672); AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57 (1688); and AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 3, N. 36 (1691); AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 249v (1702). For Salazar, see AHN, Diversos-Colecciones, 26, R. 10, f. 2v (1588). For Pérez Dasmariñas, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, f. 1v (1591); and AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 19, f. 1r (1592). AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 7, N. 100, fs. 3r-8r (1606).

The comments of early seventeenth-century chroniclers demonstrated the continuation of patron-shifting by central Luzon peasants as a tactic of mobility. This strategy had first been observed in the 1580s and 1590s. Chinos would also adopt this strategy. On August 13, 1616, the Augustinian provincial Fray Vicente de Sepúlveda noted that so much wealth had been extracted from Pampanga through the vandalas of rice and wood that timaguas had left their villages in order to join upland communities that lay outside of Spanish jurisdiction. Pedro de San Pablo argued that the vagamundos who had fled from Laguna sought to enter as employees of Spanish market gardens (*huertas*) and cattle ranches (*estancias*). Like other commentators, San Pablo argued that migration imperiled moral uprightness just as much as it did tribute income. In 1635, the alcalde mayor of Tondo noted that Manila was full of indigenous people who had not been born in the area. In the 1630s, several pueblos in Laguna and Tondo had established a special office to deal with migrants, called the alguacil de vagamundos, probably following the example of Manila (See Figure 4). By 1699, the province of Tondo hosted over one thousand vagamundo tributaries. This estimate was probably too low, as this number would include only new migrants, as priests would have presumably already added older migrants to the ecclesiastical censuses.[20]

The king and other Spanish administrators understood the mobility of these migrants as dangerous. Andrés de Briones, the alcalde mayor of Arévalo on Panay, probably best expressed this sentiment in a 1634 letter about the Visayas that he sent to King Philip III (See Figure 3). In 1632, Briones recommended the dispersion of indigenous migrants that had moved to Arévalo,

[20] AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 11, N. 70,f . 154r (1616); and AHN, Diversos-Coleciones, 26, N. 28, f. 1r (1619). For the office of alguacil de vagamundos, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, fs. 1r-1v (1591); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fs. 20r, 69r (1634); and AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fs. 32v-34r (1639); AGI, Contaduría, 1247, f. 44v (1690). Twenty-five vagamundo households settled in Santa Ana de Sapa in 1646. See AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, fs. 22r-22v (1646). For a similar case, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 56r (1656). AGI, Contaduría, 1253, f. 91v (1699)

the Spanish villa on the island of Panay in the Visayas. He noted that the corvée drafts (*polos*) that provided the individuals for the crews of the ships that sailed to Maluku depended on recruitment from the surrounding indigenous villages, yet migrants to Arévalo were not subject to this polo. Vagamundos simply worked for the Spanish and paid their tribute in cash, avoiding agricultural work and exposure to corvée. Briones noted that vagamundos chose not to live in the pueblo of timaguas adjacent to Arévalo, as inhabitants of that village manufactured cordage for the local shipyard. Briones recommended that monetary tribute be converted to payment in kind, forcing the annoyingly-independent vagamundos to return to their village.[21]

Rural-urban migration constituted only part of this large-scale population movement. Some rural pueblos were beneficiaries of immigration. Thus, on November 13, 1638, don Nicolas Sula, don Pedro Figueroa, and several other principales and cabezas de barangay of the pueblo of Bacolor in Pampanga asked to reserve fourteen vagamundos from tribute (Figure 4). They intended to use the immigrants as sentinels to guard the fields and communities of the pueblo from Zambal raids. Similarly, by 1636, like Manila, the rural and upland pueblos of Cavinti, Mahayhay, and Lilio in eastern Laguna had established the office of bailiffs for migrants (*alguaciles de vagamundos*). By 1670, the alcalde mayor of the province of Laguna de Bay had moved his residence from Bay, in western Laguna, to Santa Cruz, in eastern Laguna, in part because the municipality of Bay had lost over eighty percent of its timaguas.[22]

In 1686, the principales of the municipalities of Tondo, and Ermita explained that many of their timaguas had moved to Bulacan, where they rented and cultivated local lands due to a

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[21] NAP, Cedulario, 1618-1634, SDS 597*, Mandamiento para que los indios vagamundos en la villa de arevalo paguen a su magestad su tributo en especie*, fs. 93-95B (1634).

[22] For Bacolor, see AGI, Contaduría, 1218, F. 965v (1638). For the shift in the cabecera, see AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 1, N. 3, *passim* (1688) For the 1658 claim of increased population in upland eastern Laguna, see Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, 108-109.

lack of arable land in their native and now urbanized municipalities. Testimony from royal investigations of the area revealed how these newcomers (*advenidizos*) integrated into the local economy as renters. By the late seventeenth century, nobles of the central Luzon were notarizing the transactions, in Tagalog, carried out during the course of rentals. Noble individuals and probably their clients from more densely-populated communities, deprived of their land, rented lands in outlying bayans. More populated communities carried out these transactions. In the case of Taytay, principales oversaw the rentals of lands at ten pesos a cabalita to principales and principalas from more populated nearby pueblos such as Dilao and Pasig. These nobles transacted with each other, and it is probably the case that they still somehow controlling the labor of retainers. In any case, indigenous notaries called escribanos recorded these transactions, and the rentals in these cases only lasted for one year.[23]

Rural Ethnic Diversity

The ranks of rural migrants and newcomers included Kapampangans and a wide variety of non-Tagalog peoples. To begin, the rural inhabitants of central Luzon owned non-indigenous slaves, which formed significant parts of rural populations. They obtained these slaves primarily from Portuguese and possibly other Asian merchant sources, though as we will see in Chapter 3, indigenous soldiers also seized indigenous Filipinos as they quelled rebellions; they also captured Muslim and animist slaves from Mindanao and the Sulu region (Figures 2 and 3). Initially, Spanish, Hokkien, and central Luzon owners purchased their slaves from Portuguese and Bruneian merchants. Spanish administrators and merchants also sailed directly to slave entrépots such as Malacca and Macau by the 1590s. Hokkien merchants and different

[23] NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, fs. 164B-165B (1686). For Taytay, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de los naturales del pueblo de Dilao para que no paguen sus tributos en especie exceptos los que tienen tierras propias y arendadas*, f. 171 (1686); and AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, fs. 101v-107v (1686).

Portuguese sellers still served as intermediaries. By the 1630s and 1640s, with the loss of Macau and the capture of Melaka Spanish merchants had shifted to port of Gowa, Makassar, as a slave port, though they mainly visited this polity to obtain textiles produced in the Coromandel Coast (Figure 3).[24]

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[24] Tatiana Seijas has done path-breaking work on the slave trade to Manila. See Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade," *passim.* In the early seventeenth century, one of the most important places for transshipment was Portuguese Melaka, which served as an entrêpots for merchandise from the Bay of Bengal, China, and the Moluccas, as well as housing a large resident slave population. For the slave population in Manila, see Inmaculada Alva Rodríguez, *Vida municipal en Manila (siglos xvi-xvii)* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1997), 31, 35-36.

For trade with Melaka, including cloth and slaves via Southern India and Sri Lanka, see AGN, Historia, 407, fs. 163r-163v (1616-1619); AGN, Inquisición, v. 336, tomo 1, f. 123r (1621); AGN, Inquisición, v. 355, exp. 34 (1626); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1386, exp. 2, f. 1r (1634); AGN, Tierras, v. 3249, exp. 4, f. 97r (1649); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 456, exp. 2, fs. 70v-71r (1652). See Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, *Portugueses e malaios: Malaca e os Sultanatos de Johor e Achém*, *1575-1619* (Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independêndia de Portugal, 1997), 40, 186-187, 191; and, Luis Filipe Thomaz, "The Indian Merchant Communities in Malacca under the Portuguese Rule," in *Indo-Portuguese History – Old Issues, New Questions*, ed.Teotonio De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1985), 64-65.

For trade between Manila and Bengal, and Bengali slaves in Manila and New Spain, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7816r (1647); AGN, Tierras, v. 3253, exp. 2, f. 278r (1648); AGN, Historia, 406, f. 150r (1648); and Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – Instituto Histórico (Henceforth CSIC-IH), MF # 174693, f. 247r, (1657); AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 25, Exp. 2, fs. 98v-99r (1668); AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 110v (1682); FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 2, f. 98v (1684); Susil Chaudhury, *Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal, 1650-1720* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhya, 1975), 8, 221, 24. For the greater context of the Portuguese presence in the seventeenth-century Bay of Bengal and their role in Asian trade, see George Winius "Embassies from Malacca and the 'Shadow Empire,'" in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Portuguese and the Pacific: University of California, Santa Barbara, October, 1993*, eds. Antonio Dutra and João Camilo dos Santos (Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies, 1995), 170-173; and Kenneth McPherson "Enemies or Friends: The Portuguese, the British and the Survival of Portuguese Commerce in the Bay of Bengal from the Late Seventeenth to the Late Nineteenth Century," same volume, 215-217. For Bengal, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 171; Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 62, 69. See J.J.A. Campos*, History of the Portuguese in Bengal* (New York: AMS, 1975). One of the sources of slaves for Melaka, Goa, and even Bantam was Bengal. Arakan in fact is thought to have obtained its considerable power in the region from revenues gleaned from the slave trade, while local Portuguese solteiros supplied these markets through raids on the Hindu and Muslim populations of lower Bengal. The ports of Chittagong and Hughli were the most important locations of slave-markets for export until their capture by the Mughals in 1666, and 1632, respectively, which ended the large-scale slave trade. For the role of Chittagong in the slave trade, see Suniti Bhushan Qashungo, *A History of Chittagong, Volume One* (Chittagong: Dipankar Qanungo, 1988), 321-332, 326-327, 347- 357, 360, 617-618. For the collective memory of the raids in Bengal, see Gautum Sengupta, "The Portuguese in Bengal," in *India & Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, edited by José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2001) 27-28, 30-31. *The Maritime Frontier of Burma: Exploring Political, Cultural and Commercial Interaction in the Indian Ocean World, 1200-1800*, eds. Jos Gommans and Jacques Leider (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002). For the relationship of the slave trade and Arakanese state-building, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40-42, 46, 182-183, 211-213; Jacques Leider, "On Arakanese Territorial Expansion: Origins, Contexts, Means and Practice," in *The Maritime Frontier of Burma: Exploring Political, Cultural and Commercial Interaction in the Indian Ocean World, 1200-1800*, eds. Jos Gommans and Jacques Leider (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 138; and Om Prakash, "Coastal Burma and the Trading World of the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1680," same volume, 96-97, 99.

From the 1650s through the 1660s, East Asian efforts to control exports and VOC efforts to monopolize commerce in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean prompted Asian and European merchants to expand their commerce with Manila, a key source of silver and better-behaved consumer of textiles. Various Armenian, Gujarati, Malay, Makassarese, and Tamil merchants, as well as the Dutch, Danish, and British traded in the Philippines, while Spanish, Portuguese, and sangley merchants resident in Manila sought new connections with Thailand, the Coromandel Coast, Makassar, and other insular Southeast Asian destinations. They probably included slaves among their cargos. The growing success of the Manchu advance south of the Yangtze also complicated commerce ties between Spain and southeastern China. This threat, along with the prohibition of silver exports by Japan, prompted Spanish merchants to travel further afield to obtain textiles. By the 1670s, Spanish merchants were sending ships directly to the Coromandel Coast. The variety of mercantile connections between Manila broadened through the end of the seventeenth century with Spanish merchants maintaining links with Coromandel and also entering into relations with the sultanate of Bantam, the sultanate of Banjarmassin, several mainland Southeast Asian states, as well as the vigorous Luso-Asian (*mestiço*) traders of the Bay of Bengal.[25]

From the late sixteenth century onward, Manila was supplied with slaves from Spain's constant wars with Islamic and animist Malayo-Polynesian speakers from the southern Philippines and eastern half of the Indonesian archipelago. See Manuel Lobato, "The Moluccas Archipelago and Eastern Indonesia in the Second Half of the 16th century in light of Portuguese and Spanish Accounts," in *The Portuguese and the Pacific, International Colloquium at Santa Barbara*, eds. Francisco Dutra and João Camilo dos Santos (Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies: University of California, 1995), 51, 54-55; AGN, Inquisición, v. 162, exp. 1, fs. 272r, 273r (1598); and Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Slaves were supplied to Manila from the important port of Goa, as well. For trade with Goa, and slaves, via East Africa, including slaves, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4154, exp. 1, f. 11r (1620); AGN, Inquisición, v. 336, tomo 1, f. 131r, 133r, 135r (1621); and AGN, Inquisición, 903, exp. 43, f. 242r (1625); and Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India, 1510-1842* (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1992), 25-29, 37-38.

[25] See Ruurdje Laarhoven, "The Power of Cloth: The Textile Trade of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), 1600-1780" (PhD Diss., Australian National University, 1994); F. S. Gaastra, "Merchants, Middlemen and Money: Aspects of the Trade Between the Indonesian Archipelago and Manila in the 17th Century," in *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Lage Vuursche, The Netherlands 23-27 June 1980*, eds. Gerrit

Slaves purchased by the indigenous elites, Spanish and Hokkiens of the colony seemed drawn most often from South Asia, particularly Bengal and South India, and less so, from other sources, such as East Africa, Brunei, Makassar, and Java (Figures 3 and 7). South Indian slaves, generally from present-day Tamil Nadu, and known as *malabares*, were referred to as reported being sold due to famine, as the Telugu and other Nāyaka kings expanded cultivation into the more marginally-productive regions and famine-prone areas of Tamil Nadu ata time when local climates dessicated. Portuguese slavers seized others as captives of opportunity during wars, while still others they covertly purchased from the very active Dutch slaving community.[26]

Schutte and Heather Sutherland (Leiden: Bureau of Indonesian Studies, 1982), 308.

For the slave trade with the Coromandel Coast, connected to famines, and the broader demand for Coromandel cotton textiles, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4154, exp. 1, f. 3r (1620); AGN, Jesuitas, IV-68, exp. 1, fs. 1r-1v (1622): AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, exp. 34, fs. 1v-2r (1631). Serafin D. Quiason, *English "Country Trade" With the Philippines, 1644-1765* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), 5-67; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal 1500-1700* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 167, 170-172, 174-175, 224, 226, 228-230, 254-255; and Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce,* 200, 202, 204.

For trade with Cambodia, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 336, tomo 1, exp. 1, fs. 162r-164r (1621). For trade and ship-building in Cambodia, see AGI, Contaduría, 1212, fs. 138v-139r (1629); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 9119r (1648); AGI, Contaduría, 1230, f. 128v (1651); and AGI, Contaduría, 122, 1ª pieza, f. 19r (1658). For trade with Thailand (Siam), see AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, v. 15, f. 145v (1644); and AGI, Contaduría 1245, f. 599v (1685). For goods, circulation, and embassies exchanged between the Philippines and Cochinchina (modern-day Vietnam), see AGI, Contaduría, 1211, f. 181r (1627); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fs. 118v-119r (1634); AGI, Contaduría, 1230, f. 129r (1651); AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 1a pieza, f. 12r (1658); AGN, Inquisición, 613, exp. 5, f. 386r (1668); and AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 1a pieza, f. 52r (1675); and AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 118r (1683). Also, see Charles J. Wheeler, "Cross-Cultural Trade and Trans-Regional Networks in the Port of Hoi an: Maritime Vietnam in the Early Modern Era" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2001), 6, 54-55, 166.

For trade with the sultanate of Bantam, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 25, fs. 96v-102r (1668, 1669); and AGI, Contaduria, 1240, 3a Pieza, 422r (1676). For trade with Makassar, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 285r (1651): AGI, Contaduría, 1230, f. 128v (1651); and AGI, Contaduría, 1233, 1a pieza, f. 19r (1658) and the above narrative.

Salampures (*sarampures)* seemed to have generally been produced in Coromandel. Baftas (*sinabafas*) were produced in Bengal. See Irfan Habib, "Non-agricultural Production," in *The Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, ed. Irfan Habib (New Delhi: Pearson-Longman, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2011), 90-91; and Laarhoven, "The Power of Cloth," Appendix A., 55-57; AGN, Inquisicion, 613, exp. 2, f. 404r (1668); AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 25, exp. 2, f. 26v (1668); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, f. 6r (1669). For the latter, see AGI, Contratación, 482, N.1, R.1 (1592); and AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, f. 31v (1621).

[26] For the term Malabar as a referent to Tamil communities, see I. G. Županov, "Language and Culture of the Jesuit 'Early Modernity' in India during the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario* 31 (2007): 87-111. Manuel Reti (Reddi) formed part of a load of Indian slaves which included Tamil Vellalas. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, exp. 34, 1r, 3r (1631); AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 1a pieza, 52r; and 3a pieza 422r-423r (1675); and AGI, Contaduría 1245, Tercera Pieza, f. 594r, 648v, 728v (1685).

The demand of European slavers only helps us understand one part of the market in slaves in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Many slaves, some of whom would be known as chinos, were supplied to Manila and feeder markets by Asian states, interlopers, and merchants. They had long traded in captives and continued this trade into the early modern period. For example, indigenous slavery in South India had a long pedigree, extending at least back to the Chola kings. Pirates from the northwestern Burmese and Buddhist court of Arakan worked with Portuguese freebooters and *solteros* in providing the early source of the slaves referred to as *bengalas*, seizing the peasants clearing land and expanding cultivation on the Ganges delta. The Mughal seizure of Hughli in 1632 and Chittagong in 1663 may have altered

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Portuguese slavers, and their Spanish clients made more specific references to South India and Deccan social groups. These included references to Reddis (*Reti*), Telugu warriors or cultivators; Chettis (*Chiti* or *Achiti*), Telugu and Tamil merchants; Paraiyas (*Parea*) Tamil and Malayalam peasant castes; Nayars (*Nayre*), Kerala warriors; Vala (*Bala*), a Kerala fishing and boating caste; Vadugas (*Vadoya*), a Tamil term for Telugus, who had originally migrated from the north; Kunbi (*Corumbi*), Maharathi-speaking non-elites, including peasants; and Vellalas (valala), another Tamil caste. For Reddis, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja (hereafter c.), 1355, exp. 36, fs. 1r-1v (1634); and Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, 4-8. For Chettis, see Ludden, *Peasant History in South India,* 25, 64-65; and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, exp. 37, fs. 1r-1v (1634). For Paraiyas, see AGN, Jesuitas, IV-68, exp. 1, fs. 1r-1v (1616); FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, Lubao, Bautismos, item 1, f. 44r (1629); and Ludden, *Peasant History in South India,* 24-25, 91-92. For Nayars, see NAP, Protocolo de Manila, SDS 19763, *Venta de Diego Casta Nayre de 31 años de edad a favor de Miguel de Salazar*, f. 14b-15 (1674); and Hugo K. s'Jacob, "State Formation and the Role of Portfolio Investors in Cochin, 1663-1700," *Itinerario* 18, no. 2 (1994): 69-70. For Valas, see AGN, Historia, 407, f. 274r (1619); and L. K. A. Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Volume 1* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, Originally printed Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1909), 231-234. For Vellalas, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1355, exp. 34, f. 3r (1631); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7825v (1647); David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, 36-37, 39; and Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 411-421. For Vadugas, see AHMC, sección B, c. 23, exp. 4, f. 1f (1643); and Ludden, *Peasant History in South India,* 50-52. For Kunbis, see AGN, Historia, 407, f. 162r (1616); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7825v (1647); AUST, MF Roll 108, D. l., 16A, 16B, Sección Consultas, Tomo 4, *Varias consultas del Padre Juan de Paz*, f. 142v (1669); Richard M. Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 191; and V. S. Kadam, "Forced Labour in Mahārāṣṭa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study in its Nature and Change," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34, nos. 1-2 (1991): 71.

For trade with the kingdom of Golconda, see AGI, 10, R. 1, N. 25, exp. 2, f. 24r (1668); and Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce*, 85. For a Tamil merchant trading in Manila, see AGI, Contaduría 1245, Tercera Pieza, f. 599v (1685). For trade with the sultanate of Johor, see AGI, Contaduría 1245, Tercera Pieza, f. 596v (1685). For the trade with Malabar, which could include printed cottons from Surat, locally-grown pepper, and slaves from Mozambique, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4154, exp. 1, fs. 1r, 5r, 7r (1620). The latter included a load of "negros," intended for the "vecinos of Manila." See AGN, Historia, 406, fs. 188r-191v (1616), for the details of an apparent share of a load of slaves from Cochin. This "load" included over twenty slaves with origins spanning from the mouth of the Indus River to Sri Lanka.

For the expansion of agriculture into dry tracts in Tamil Nadu, see Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, 50-68. For a discussion of famine and slavery in Coromandel, see Vink," 'The World's Oldest Trade,'" *passim*.

the source of Bengali slaves, perhaps shifting some of the supply from agrarian colonists financed by Mughal-based financiers to the warriors of Tai-speaking polities fighting Mughal generals (Figure 3). Nonetheless, through the early eighteenth century, Indian Ocean merchants continued to supply Manila with bengalas.[27]

Portuguese merchants sourced East African slaves called *cafres* from all over East Africa. They concentrated on supplies from the Comoros Islands, near the Zambezi River valley, especially the Sena area, and also traded with Makua leaders to obtain slaves, which dwelled in large numbers on Mozambique Island. Merchants and slavers funneled Makuas and Swahilis from ports like Mombasa to Manila via Mozambique and then Goa. Some of these had been captured in wars, while still others faced famines and locust plagues, requiring families to sell their children. Though present in small numbers in Manila in the sixteenth century, East African Makuas and Swahilis "cafres" became among the most dominant Indian Ocean-derived slave group in the Pacific possessions of Spain during the second half of the seventeenth century.[28]

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[27] For Mughal policing and conquest of Hughli and Chittagong, see Jorge Manuel Flores, "Relic or Springboard? A note on the 'rebirth' of Portuguese Hughli, ca. 1632-1820," *Indian Economic Social History Review* 39, no. 4 (2002): 383-384; and Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, 220, 235. This work links the growth of the practice of Islam to environmental change and agrarian colonization. The continuation of Bengal as a source for slaves can be seen in that as late as 1703, a ship from Bengal anchored in Manila Bay with a load of over seventy malabar and Bengali slaves. See AGI, Filipinas, 127, N. 17, fs. 3r-4r. fs. 30v-33v (1703). For examinations of some of state-building, agrarian expansion, and ethnic change in the northwestern edge of the Bay of Bengal explained the vicissitudes of markets in slaves, see Rila Mukherjee, "Mobility in the Bay of Bengal World: Medieval Raiders, Traders, States and the Slaves," *Indian Historical Review* 36, no. 1 (2009): 109-129. For an argument of Mughal war in Assam as a gendered frontier, see Barbara Watson Andaya, *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2006), 28-31.

[28] For slavery in Chola-era and fifteenth-century Tamils Nadu, see Daud Ali, "War, Servitude and the Imperial Household: A Study of Palace Women in the Chola Empire," in *Slavery and History in South Asia*, edited by Richard M. Eaton and Indrani Chatterjee (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 63-84; and Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India: The Cholas to Vijayanagara: Comprising South Indian History and Society, Towards a New Formation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 123-125. The Telugus also practiced military slavery. See John F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 5. Later examples in Tamil Nadu are chronicled in S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity, and the Language of Conversion: Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 38-39. Stephen describes a story of a group of Tamil Paraiya slaves from the Nayaka state Thanjavur sold via Nagapattinam and Madras to Manila. See *Ibid*., 207-208.

Parish records from the municipality of Lubao demonstrate that the indigenous residents of central Luzon communities integrated slaves and their descendants into their communities. Kapampangans had adult slaves baptized, as well as their children. These cases document the continuing priority assigned by central Luzon communities to collateral kinship ties and the importance of building networks of followers. These communities adapted the new process of baptism to serve continuing goals of the enlargement of kin networks. For example, on March 26, 1622, the parish priest of Lubao baptized five slaves (Figure 4). Each female slave had a Kapampangan godmother (*madrina*) and each male slave a Kapampangan godfather (*padrino*). On April 15, 1623, don Bernardino Balinguit served as the godfather for the baptisms of Juan and Joseph, adult "black Malabar" slaves. Kapampangans also sponsored the weddings of slaves, as was the case of Nicolas Nocnate and Ana Maloca, who acted as witnesses to the February 22, 1622 wedding of Alonso Saloso and Isabel Bayo. On February 15, 1623 Miguel Salansang and Ama Quiera served as witnesses and therefore, sponsors of the wedding of the Tagalog slave Gabriel Lindavin and Lucía Tayomin, a bengala slave. Finally, Lubao Kapampangans sponsored the baptisms of the children of foreign slaves and their descendants. On February 4, 1628, the Kapampangan Sebastián Bislig served as the padrino and namesake of Sebastian, the son of Matheo Bengala and Feliciana Bengala. In fact, between 1621 and 1648, at

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For a load of two hundred slaves delivered to Manila, via Melaka, from Bengal, see AGN, Inquisición, 903, exp. 43, f. 242r (1625). F or broader commercial relations between the two, see NAP, Protocolo de Manila, 1674, SDS 19763, f. 85 (1674); AGI, Contaduría 1245, Tercera Pieza, f. 420r (1676).

For slaves from Mozambique, delivered via Goa, see FHLGSU, MF# 035267, Sagrario, Matrimonios de españoles, 1575-1589, 1629-1634, 1629-1634, 1621-1626, 1629-1630, 1629-1646, Item 1, fs. 88v-89r (1580); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4154, exp. 1, f. 11r (1620); Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pátzcuaro (Henceforth AHMP), c. 13, exp. 2, f. 237v (1647); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7816v (1647); AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 48, f. 5r (1663); AGN, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 2, fs. 3r, 55r-56, 91r, 104r (1685); AGN, Tierras, v. 154, exp. 5, fs. 73r, 74v, 185r, 186v (1685); AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 5, N. 19, exp. 1, fs. 6r (1696); and AGI, Filipinas, 128, N. 14, exp. 3, fs. 39r, 41r, 65r (1701). Teotonio R. de Sousa, *Goa Medieval: A Cidade e o Interior no Século XVII* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994), 119-120; Malyn Newitt, "Mozambique Island: The Rise and Delcine of an East African Coastal City," *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004): 28, 31-32, 33, 36; and Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 53, 61-62, 65, 173, 234.

least twenty-four identifiable bengalas and thirty-five identifiable malabares appear in the parish records of Lubao.[29]

By the middle of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, the free descendants of slaves, known variously as morenos, criollos, negros criollos, morenos libres or morenos criollos, had appeared as inhabitants of rural villages as well as the ethnically-diverse arrabales of Manila. The continued appearances of bengalas and malabares shows their continued presence in Lubao and other Kapampangan communities. Several infant baptisms recorded only the names of the mothers of slaves, raising the possibility of covert or illicit sexual activity, and even concubinage by indigenous masters. For example, on October 3, 1638, Juan de Ávalos served as the padrino of Rafael, the son of Juana Malabar and an "unknown" father. More importantly, cursory surveys of parish registers document the formation of partnerships of several slave individuals or bengalas with individuals of apparent Kapampangan surnames, indicating intermarriage. On February 19, 1623, Juan de Tang, a slave, married Isabel Dango, a timagua. On November 20, 1628, Juan Pogot and Esperanza Bengala had their daughter, María, baptized. The ethnic heterogeneity of slaves and their submergence in a sea of Kapampangan and Tagalog peasants and principales made acculturation likely.[30]

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[29] FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, Lubao Bautismos, San Agustín, 1621-1648, 1660-1736, 1738-1751, 1757-1765, item 1, f. 4r (1622). For Balinguit, see FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, item 1, f. 9v (1623). FHLGSU, MF # 1126951, Lubao Matrimonios, San Agustín, 1622-1675, 1695-1835, item 1, f. 4v (1622). For the marriage and veiling of Lindavin and Tayomin, see *ibid*., f. 5r (1622). For Sebastián, see FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, Lubao Bautismos, San Agustín, 1621-1648, item 1, f. 27r. This building of collateral ties through sacramental sponsorship paralleled similar kinship expansion seen elsewhere in Luzon. See Mark Dizon, "Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century missions on the Caraballo Mountains," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3 (2011): 367-398. It contrasted with the more vertical kinship and lineage hierarchies built among sangley settlers. See Joshua Yueh, "Adaptive Strategies of Parián Chinese: Fictive Kinship and Credit in Seventeenth-Century Manila," *Philippine Studies* 61, no. 3 (2013): 362-384.

[30] For Juana Malabar, see FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, Lubao Bautismos, San Agustín, 1621-1648, item 1, f. 100r (1638). See also, *ibid*., fs. 15v, 70r, 81r. FHLGSU 1126951, Lubao Matrimonios, San Agustín, 1622-1675, 1695-1835, item 1, f. 5v (1623). FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, Lubao Bautismos, item 1, f. 41r (1628). See FHLGSU, MF# 1126951, Lubao Matrimonios, item 1, f. 51r (1634).

The extent of acculturation of native-born slaves and free people of color (*criollos*) to central Luzon culture should come as no surprise. The most dramatic cases can be seen in late seventeenth-century Cainta, a Jesuit administered village in northwestern Laguna (Figures 4 and 5). In Cainta, in 1690, the audiencia began an investigation of a multifaceted case contesting the attempt by a noble of the town to donate several *caballitas* of land to the Jesuits. Their testimony made by the inhabitants of the village showed that some criollos, descendants of Asian and African slaves, were integrated enough to require Tagalog interpreters. The sharing of the same interpreters by Tagalog-speaking nobles and peasants, and criollos strongly suggests that this group of criollos, and by extension, others, used Tagalog as their primary language. The testimony of many of the Tagalog witnesses required interpreters. With one exception, between June 12 and June 14 of 1690, several criollos inhabitants testified, including Martín de la Cruz, Marcos de la Cruz, and Joseph Cuaresma. They all lived in Dayap, a barrio of Pasig. Ayudante Diego de la Concepción, captain of a criollo military unit of this barrio served as an exception, as they were, unsurprisingly, was a ladino. The criollos required interpreters, don Balthazar Mallari and don Agustín Rodriguéz, who acted in the same capacity for the testimony of don Francisco Macaraig, don Andrés Gogol, and don Nicolas Libag, speakers of Tagalog. Macaraig was a native of the Tagalog pueblo of San Miguel who had moved to Cainta, while Gogol and Libag were natives and residents of Cainta. According to the notary, Libag signed his name in "Tagalog characters" (baybayin) with his interpreters. Meanwhile, Don Agustín Rodriguéz had served as Tagalog interpreter for the Real Audiencia since at least 1676.[31]

Finally, sangley merchants, agriculturalists, and artisans were an important group in rural central Luzon. While they maintained separate communities, the indigenous inhabitants of

[31] AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, exp. 2, f.s 18v, 20v, 23r, 25v, f. 31r, 37r-40r (1690). For don Agustín Rodriguéz, see AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, D. 92, f. 2r (1695).

central Luzon integrated many sangleys, too, into Tagalog and Kapampangan communities. Sangleys migrated from the province of Fujian via the ports of Quangzhou and Zhangzhou (*Chincheo*), and many settled in the Philippines. Spanish governors placed a high premium on attracting Chinese merchants and capital to Manila. Spanish civil administrators were highly suspicious of the scale of their success. It appears that many immigrants passed themselves off as merchants, but plied other trades. The sheer numbers of migrants were astonishing, but perhaps more impressive was their success in a wide variety of artisanal occupations and other tasks. Spanish missionaries, especially Dominicans and Jesuits, highly prized Fujianese migrants as agriculturalists. Agriculturalists of Minnan, like their neighbors in Guangdong, had long experience with the conversion of salty mud flats and marshes into productive irrigated rice fields (*tubigan*), but more importantly, their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness prevented the recurrence to flight available to indigenous central Luzon agricultural tenants. Jesuits and Dominicans put these agriculturalists to work on their estates on the north bank of the Pasig and western Laguna, respectively. Spanish administrators acquiesced to their agrarian settlement, as Chinese and *mestizo* tributaries paid higher taxes than Tagalogs and Kapampangans to the royal treasury. Also sought after as farmers, were the rapidly-proliferating population of *mestizos*. These were the products of unions of Fujianese sojourners with Tagalog and Kapampangan women.[32]

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[32] For southeastern Chinese agriculture, see Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 11-12, 20, 83-84; Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 32-36; and Robert B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 105-110. For the 1595 lease of Quiapo land to sangleys on the northern bank of the Pasig, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 13; AGI, Filipinas, 77, N. 15, f. 2r (1602); and AGI, Filipinas, 77, N. 18, f. 5r (1606). Part of this land would come to be known as Santa Cruz. For the sangleys of Laguna, see Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines*, 49-50; AAM, Box 1.C.7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico (1620-1729), Folder 4 (1620-1627), f. 125r (1627); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 5, fs.9v-10v (1649); AGI, Contaduría , 1231, 1ª pte, f. 271r (1653); and Casimiro Diaz, *Las Conquistas de las islas de Filipinas*, 404-407. For sangley sugar-growers in Pasay,

Tribute, Labor, and Demography

Meanwhile, the initiatives of Spanish governors continued to alter indigenous self-governance and production, primarily to attempt to retain control over the flow of resources from rural areas to Manila, Cavite, and the fortresses and shipyards scattered around the archipelago. Thus, in 1646, Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera mandated the growing of abaca and coconut palms in all communities with the proper growing conditions. Abaca palms provided

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see AGI, Contratación, 368, N. 7, R. 71 fs. 57v, 111v, 114v (1618). For the forced settlement of sangleys in Laguna de Bay, see AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 1, N. 7, *passim* (1630).

For the foundation of one of the Minnanese ghettos or Parián, see NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, f. 146-146B (1594); and AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 148v-156v (1606). For contraband on board Minnanese ships, see AGI, Filipinas, 63, N.1, fs. 336r-356v (1608-1609). A group of mestizos petitioning the Crown to keep their slaves in 1684 explained that they had adopted the customs of their mothers, probably Tagalogs of central Luzon, rather than their sangley fathers. They said that they were "natives [i. e. indigenous people] by birth." See AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 32r (1684).

Like the study of the Hokkien diaspora elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Minnanese migrants in early modern rural Luzon have received little attention. See Mary Somers Heidhues, "Chinese Settlements in Rural Southeast Asia: Unwritten Histories," in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese in Honour of Jennifer Cushman,* ed. Anthony Reid, assisted by Kristine Alilunas Rodgers (St. Leonard's, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1996), 164-170, 173-177, 181-182. John A. Larkin has suggested that sangley-Kapampangan marriages were made for commercial gain between high-ranking families along the Coast and sangley merchants. Personal Communication, 8/23/09. Yongu an "infidel" sangley, maintained a shop and tavern in Guagua in 1635. See AGI, Contaduria, 1217, f. 121v (1635). More examples of Minnanese entreprenurs can be found in AGI, Contaduria, 1218, fs. 46r-46v (1636); and Contaduría, 1237, fs. 1262r, 1273v, 1284v (1670). For grouping of mestizos with indios vagabundos, see NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Mandamiento para que el alcalde mayor de la jurisidicción de Tondo [ha]ga padrones de todos los mestizos de sangleyes que viven y residen en la jurisdicción de tondo Cavite Bulacan y Balayan* , fs. 30-30B (1656). For mestizos in Bulacan and Laguna, see Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (henceforth AAM), AAM, Box 1.C.7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico (1620-1729), Folder 4 (1620-1627), fs. 124v-125v (1627).

Some scholars see mestizos as mere extensions of Chinese overseas networks and lineages. Others take an opposing tack and deem mestizos as "Hispanicized" commercial intermediaries between either Minnanese mecrhants and the indigenous population, or as links between the Spanish and Minnanese populations. Lost is the agency of the indigenous population, and the possibility of mestizos creating a new own identity while borrowng from all of the existing population groups of central Luzon. Like indigenous people and morenos, mestizos organized militias. Mestizo militias deployed against the mutineers of Pampanga in 1660 and against Chinese mutineers a year later. See NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Orden del Gobernador General que haga Padrones de todos los mestizos de Sangleyes que viven y residen en la dicha jurisidiccion y en la de Bulacan y Balayan, para que por ellos se cobre el Real tributo*, fs. 24-25B (1656); AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 31r (1658) AGI, Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34, f. 22v (1661); and AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 32v (1682). For mestizos on the northern bank of the Pasig, see AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 21v (1660). For a list of seventeenth-century northern Tondo estates inhabited by mestizos, see AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, f. 27v (1667). For discussion of mestizo identity, see AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, fs. 32r-34v (1684). For mestizo militias, formed in the arrabales and haciendas of Tondo, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 31r (1656); AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 31r (1658) AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 20v (1660); and AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 42r (1671). For tribute purposes, mestizos were counted among indios vagamundos, japoneses, Christian Hokkiens without topknots, and morenos. See AGI, Contaduría, 1238, 2a pieza. f. 236v (1672).

fiber for cordage and rigging used on the naval craft of the Philippines. Coconut palms provided oil for illumination and the production of pitch, as well as fiber and liquor. Accompanying this mandate was the new office, the judges of palm trees (*juez de palma*). These officers probably oversaw the collection of palm products for vandalas, while other officials oversaw village fields. Notaries working for the treasury transcribed the latter as the *juez de sementeras*.[33]

The collective toll taken by vandalas and polos prompted outmigration of peasants while some villages benefitted from an influx of new tributaries, whether settled in new communities supervised by alguaciles de vagamundos or moved into bonded status by principales. One of the most important consequences of the movement of timaguas was the shortage of labor for community projects. On one hand, it seems certain that principales mobilized at least some of these community laborers for their own purposes and their own enterprises. On the other hand, the pueblos required community labor to maintain the earthen impoundments necessary to fulfill the vandala quotas, and the emigration of timaguas put these resources at risk. The population movements put pueblos in situations where natural disasters forced pueblos to the margins of subsistence. Baguios or typhoons, in particular, placed rice crops in danger. Storm surges moved salt water up the mild grades of the rivers systems of central Luzon, salting the irrigated rice fields, as was the case in Minalin, Pampanga, in 1685 (Figure 4). In response to the combination of population shortages and natural disasters, pueblos asked for temporary exemptions from in-kind tribute payments and vandalas. Other pueblos asked for commutation of rice tribute to other products. Thus in 1653, Sasmuan datus and timaguas asked for

[33] For coconut palms usage and cultivation, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 46, f. 1r (1585); Dery, *Pestilence*, 244, n. 55, *op cit.*; and John Leddy Phelan, editor, "The Ordinances Issued by the Audiencia of Manila for the Alcaldes Mayores (1642, 1696 and 1739)," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* XXIV, nos. 3-4 (1959), 328-329. The directive by Fajardo had followed a 1626 order for the cultivation of abaca. See Dery, *Pestilence*, 243-244, note 54, *op. cit.* For jueces de sementeras, see AGI, Contaduría, 1225A, f. 15r (1649); and the *media annata* records of AGI, Contaduría, 1225ª-1252. For jueces de palma, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 19r (1656), and the media annata records in AGI, Contaduría 1232-1252.

permission to pay vino de nipa as tribute in lieu of rice. In 1656, Candaba timaguas and datus asked to replace their rice tribute quotas with rattan, and woven reed mats or petates.[34]

On October 20, 1647, the principales and timaguas of the municipality, a Laguna town important for the porterage of goods from the Manila Galleon, demanded another tribute count for their town. They reasoned that the alcalde mayor of Laguna had last made a tribute count in 1636. In the intervening decade, many left the town and migrated elsewhere. The existing tribute count put too high a burden on the remaining tributaries. As a consequence, Spanish administrators had begun jailing cabezas de barangay for nonpayment of tribute.[35]

A month later, governor don Diego de Fajardo acceded to the request, commissioning the alcalde mayor of Laguna de Bay, Captain don Juan de Salas, to make the tribute count. The instructions provided to Salas by the governor provide us some indication of the social characteristics of rural Luzon villages in eastern Laguna and by extension, central Luzon. These instructions indicate that the movement of central Luzon peasants and Asian slaves into the category of chino was only part of a larger movement of people in central Luzon. The alcalde mayor relied on the cabezas de barangay to provide a baseline tribute list and to ensure that everyone was present in their homes. The tabulator counted any individual over sixteen for the purpose of tribute, though the infirm and those aged over sixty were exempt. This included young women (*dalagas*) and young men (*bagontaos*) still under their family's authority. The

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[34] For a colonial Andean example of an entrepreneur benefitting from immigration, see Powers, "Resilient Lord and Indian Vagabonds," 225-249. See NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva a los naturales del pueblo de Minalin de pagar sus tributos en especie por un año*, fs. 174-174B (1685); NAP, Cedulario, 1636-1656, *Auto que el Sargento Mayor don Martin de Ocariz Alcalde Mayor de la Provincia de la Pampanga que los naturales del pueblo de Lubao y Sesmoan haga asiento perpetuo de que daran y pagaran a S. M. en dinero todo el vino que deviesen pagar en tributo cada año*, fs. 5-5b (1653); and NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Mandamiento del gobierno en que declare por excusado a los naturals del pueblo de Candaba las bandalas de arroz,* fs. 43-44, 47-47B (1653, 1656). For more discussion of the ways that labor levies affected colonial peasant populations, see Dery, *Pestilence.*

[35] NAP, Cedulario, 1643-1649, SDS434, *Mandamiento a Capitán Juan de Salas alcalde mayor de la Laguna de Bay para contar los tributos de la encomienda de Panguil en la dicha Laguna* , 232B -233 (1647)

governor explained that those timaguas counted would be eligible for the polos and vandala. Slaves imported from the Portuguese were exempt from tribute, and the governor stipulated that these slaves would not even be written down on the list. Additionally, the alcalde mayor needed to verify that those officially reserved from tribute (*reservados*) really earned this classification. The instructions reveal that the governor feared the hiding of tributaries, an act which would diminish royal income. More "pernicious," however, was the covert incorporation of immigrants, individuals known as *agregados*. The singling out of agregados demonstrates the continuing preoccupation of Crown officials with the mobility of the peasants of central Luzon, and other forms of demographic instability. In fact, in his count, Salas confirmed the presence of hidden tributaries in Panguil and Nagcarlan.[36]

Polos and Corveé Labor

The Spanish state relied increasingly over time on corveé labor mobilized from the rural inhabitants of the central Luzon. The requisition of labor, informally called *sacas* and more formally receiving the designation of *polo*, took many forms, but the channeling of indigenous mobility gave rise to chinos. The most common polo occupations were porters, timber-cutters, shipyard workers, soldiers, paddlers and grumetes. The governor of the Philippines also requisitioned laborers for the construction of the city walls and for quarrying stone from the provinces of Bulacan and Tondo. The practice of conscription began in the Visayas, and in its beginning years involved a combination of the mobilization of indigenous military specialists and their retinues, with the purchase of the least free individuals from the classes of debt

[36] NAP, Cedulario, 1643-1649, SDS434, *Mandamiento a Capitán Juan de Salas alcalde mayor de la Laguna de Bay para contar los tributos de la encomienda de Panguil en la dicha Laguna* , 233-234B (1647); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441ª, f. 5861v (1648).

servants. The responses by the inhabitants of central Luzon gave rise to new communities and new modes of interactions.[37]

One of the factors affecting labor mobility was the extent to which the Spanish relied on Filipino maritime labor to support their conquests. Ruling over an archipelago, Spanish colonial administrators of the Philippines relied on Filipinos to serve as skilled navigators, pilots, sailors, and rowers in order to tie together the territory. The extent of Spanish success depended, in large part, on their ability to adopt some conventions of Philippines warfare and navigation. Indigenous leaders, in turn, used military raids with the Spanish to build larger retinues by showing martial prowess, seizing booty and capturing slaves. The Spanish therefore employed warriors in Philippines outrigger canoes known as bangkas and employed larger vessels such as the caracoa. They relied on Filipino war leaders and paddlers to use these warcraft in an efficient manner. Maguinoo and timaguas both paddled the bangkas and caracoas, according to Plasencia. It is probable that debt bondsmen did, too.[38]

Miguel López de Legazpi employed these paddlers in the Visayas, working with the Cebu leader, Tupas. He relied on these allies for later victories in Luzon. The Philippines treasury records of 1574 and 1575 described a whole series of levies of paddlers (*bogadores*), most probably following levies of bogadores from the Visayas. Continuing a long tradition of maritime warfare, Visayans and later, Luzon leaders participated in the expeditions to assist their sandugo kin and to accumulate loot for later redistribution. Indeed, the descriptions provided by

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[37] Morga, *Sucesos*, 305-306. For quarries, see AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 732v (158); and Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, 63-65. For adoption of Filipino modes of warfare, see Angeles, "The Battle of Mactan and the Indigenous Discourse on War," 3-52; and Rodriguez, "Juan de Salcedo Joins the Native Form of Warfare," 143-164. For purchase of Filipino debt-slaves and other use of slaves, see AGI, Contaduría, 1200, fs. 169v, 193v, 194v (1581); and AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, f. 20v (1582).

[38] See San Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 441, for bangkas. For the Brunei invasion fleet, the Spanish deployed with 2000 indigenous soldiers and rowers, as well as a "navio grande de la tierra," which was likely a caracoa. See AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 22, f. 243v (1578). AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 20r-20v (1599). See Scott, *Barangay,* 147-157, 186-188, 231-233.

Spanish of the songs sung by the bogadores as they paddled, suggested the possibility that some of the indigenous participants saw these campaigns as consistent with pre-Hispanic raiding. In 1573, Juan de Salcedo obtained dozens of bogadores from central Luzon, putting them to work in the the conquest of Kabikolan, called Camarines by the Spanish, a densely settled province in southern Luzon well-known for its gold mines, productive rice fields, and convenient anchorages (See Figure 2). Salcedo obtained his bogadores from the fishing villages of Parañaque and Dongalo on the costa of Manila, as well as from Navotas and Balayan. In 1574, Juan de Salcedo, various Spanish conquistadores and probably accompanying central Luzon war leaders quickly shifted their bogadores northward to counter the threat posed by the South China raider Lin Feng (*Limahon*), moving hundreds of laborers first to Manila and later to Pangasinan (Figure 1).[39]

The ubiquity of paddlers (*bogadores*) in the campaigns in Luzon led Bishop Salazar to single out their use in his criticism of Spanish mistreatment of indigenous people in the Philippines. He explained that the Spanish took bogadores from their communities for many months at a time, preventing them from sowing their crops. Later commentators such as Salvador Gómez de Espinoza suggested that this movement of people contravened royal ordinances passed in the wake of military resettlement conducted in the campaigns of Mesoamerica and Peru. According to Salazar, Spanish commanders often did not pay paddlers, leading to increased impoverishment of their communities. Don Luis Amanicalao and the other central Luzon principales who levied complaints against Spanish officials in May 15, 1582, issued much the same criticism.[40]

[39] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 99v, 199r, 200r, 202r-202v, 225v, 241r (1575). AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 84r, 105r, 107r, 200r, 201v-202v, 241r (1575).

[40] AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 36, fs. 1r-2v (1582).

The 1596 campaign in Maguindanao (Mindanao) carried out by Esteban Rodriguéz de Figueroa required hundreds of paddlers and provisioners (Figures 1, 2, and 3). An anonymous Dominican chronicler testifies that over six hundred bogadores drowned or died of epidemics during this campaign. In 1574, Esteban Rodriguéz de Figueroa had earlier stripped hundreds of bogadores from his encomienda in the Visayas in order to fight Limahon. These bogadores had equipped several bangkas and a few caracoas.[41]

On July 6, 1605, in a missive sent by the commander Juan de Esquivel to the king, Spanish officials noted the interchangeability of the tasks of indigenous indebted and free peasant laborers, referring to the ways that the role of bogador was interchangeable with that of sailor's apprentice (*grumete*). Thos occupational flexibility presaged chino occupational and spatial mobility in colonial Mexico. In his discussion of the preparations for the final invasion of the Malukus, Esquivel explains that he needed five hundred paddlers just for the non-galley ships of the campaign. He explains that these same paddlers could work as grumetes in "high board" ships that constituted the type preferred by Spaniards. Finally, Esquivel declared that these grumetes could serve as provisioners (*gastadores*) for soldiers once on land.[42]

Bogadores and grumetes served in small craft, as well. Over the course of the colonial period, they crewed the bangkas used by royal officials to bring tribute, vandala goods, and laborers to the port of Cavite and the royal warehouses of the city of Manila. Ordinary Spanish mariners called arraeces captained these small vessels. The inhabitants of central Luzon crewed bangkas which transported clerics, staffed the lighters which transferred goods from the galleons,

[41] Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas al Rey Felipe Tercero*, 220; AUST, MF # 59, *Historia eclesiástica de Filipinas,* documentos de caracter general, documento 2, 1598-1612, (1596); AGI, Contaduría, 2ª pieza, f. 297r (1595); and AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 50, fs. 329v, 346r, 351v (1579).

[42] See AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, fs. 2r-2v (1605). Filipinos served on highboard ships as early as the 1580s. See AGI, Contaduría, 1200, 21 pieza, fs. 873v, 896r (1583); and AGI, Contaduría, 1201, 2ª pieza, fs. 216v, 224r-224v (1593).

piloted small boats that cleared Manila Bay of debris, and outriggers that served as sentinels in order to detect the approach of enemies or galleons. These small craft ferried people and goods between Cavite and the royal warehouses in the walled city of Manila, and also served to connect the rural hinterland of central Luzon to Manila and Cavite. Bangkas met the timber carried down the rivers of central Luzon from the mountains, towing log rafts to the port of Cavite. Finally, rowers and grumetes from central Luzon served on larger, European-type vessels that ferried men and supplied between Manila, Melaka, Siam, the Visayas, Cagayan, Maluku, Japan, Taiwan, and even occasionally southeastern Chinese ports such as Macau (Figures 2 and 3).[43]

The people of central Luzon also worked as porters, provisioners and artisans in campaigns both at home and abroad. Mobile central Luzon indigenous people worked alongside other free workers and enslaved persons from Southeast Asia, India, and East Asia in colonial enterprises. Asian migrants to colonial New Spain would draw on shared labor experience,

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[43] For transportation via marineros and arraeces, see AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 240r (1575); AGI, Contaduría, 1200, f. 720v (1579); AGI, Contaduría, 1205, f. 98v (1601); NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, v. 1, SD 685, *Merced de confirmación del título del alguacil mayor del puerto de Cavite a Julian de Mesina por su Magestad*, f. 143B (1627); AGI, Contaduría 1212, f. 177v (1630); AGI, Contaduría, 1217, 1a pieza, f. 384v(1635); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, fs. 48v, 53v (1644); AGI, Escribanáa de la Cámara, 440ª, fs. 273r-274r (1649);AGI, Contaduría, 1228, f. 369r (1650); AUST, MF Roll 108, D. l., 16A, 16B, *Consultas, Tomo 4, varias consultas del Padre Juan de Paz*, f. 62v (1668); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 6, N. 25, f. 124r (1692).

For water transportation to work sites around the Philippines and within central Luzon, AGI, Contaduria, 1208, f. 317r (1608); AGI, Contaduría, f. 373r (1635); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, fs. 59v-60r (1644); and AGI, Contaduría 1228, f. 281r (1650).

For grumetes in Asia outside of Manila Bay, see AGN, Inquisición, 336, 1a pte, f. 120r (1621-Melaka); AGI, Filipinas, 46, N. 44, f. 24r (Lampon - 1659); AGI, Filipinas, 17, R. 1, N. 14, (1697 – Returning from Mexico City to Acapulco); AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 11, N. 70, f. 155v (1616 – Grumetes sacados de Pampanga/Bataan); AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, f. 5r (Singapore); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, f. 53v (1644 – Lampon); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409ª, 2ª pieza, f. 247v (1616 – Singapore); AGI, Contaduría, 1202, f. 224v (1593 (Malaca); AGI, Contaduría 1206, f. 130v, f. 401v (1603) – Japón; AGI, Contaduría 1206, f. 538r, 563r (1605 – Camarines); AGI, Contaduría 1207, f. 189v (1606 – Cebu); AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 193v, 540v, 595r, 597b (1605-1607 – Maluco); AGI, Contaduría, 1208, f. 202r (1608 – Marindique astillero); AGI, Contaduría, 1208, f. 296v (1609 – Macau); AGI, Contaduría, 1208, f. 319r (1609 – Maluku); AGI, Contaduría, 1210, fs. 173r-173v, 630r (1626 – Taiwan); AGI, Contaduría, 1210, f. 181r (1627 – Cochinchina). AGI, Contaduría, 1210, f. 631v (1624 - Sian); Contaduria, 1211, ca. 784v (1628 – New Spain - Palapag); and AGI, Contaduría, l. 1230, f. 220r (1651 - Macassar).

For the bangkas of Mariveles, see AGI, Contaduria, 1217, f. 501r (1635); and AGI, Contaduría, 1233, 3ª pieza, f. 658r (1659); and AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 133r (1662). For bangka as primary embarcation type for transportation in Manila Bay and the Pasig River, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 181, f. 30v (1593); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7819v (1647); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, f. 6v (1669).

residence, and travel through central Luzon to help form chino ethno-juridical identity. Tagalogs were among the most important workers in southern and eastern Luzon. Individuals from the uplands speaking languages of Sinauna and Infanta Dumagat probably also worked in Binagnonan de Lampon (Figure 1). By the middle of the seventeenth century, Spanish administrators had created Lampon as a secondary port on the eastern coast of Luzon. It accompanied a whole range of secondary ports used for refuge by the Manila galleons. Administrators used these ports to avoid inclement weather, harsh currents, or ports, forcing local indigenous inhabitants to offload valuable cargo, especially silver, so that the fortunes of the galleons would not be at risk when the galleons threaded their way through intra-insular passages. On the eastern side of the Philippines, such sites included Boronga, in Samar; Palapag, in Leyte; Casiguran de Baler and Binangonan de Lampon, located northeast of Laguna; and San Miguel Bay and Bacon in Sorsogon and Ibalon (Figures 1, 2, and 3). Other ports included Laloc, in Cagayan; and Bolinao, in Pangasinan. The latter ports could accommodate the galleons sailing to Mexico from Cavite, while the former were utilized by galleons heading to Cavite from Mexico.[44]

[44] For Ibalon and Sorsogon sentinels, see AGI, Contaduría, 1215, f. 257r-257v (1633); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, fs. 8767r, 8769v (1648) For Albay and Sorsogon stops and shipyards, see Chirino, *Historia de la las Islas Filipinas,* 33 (1604); AGI, Contaduría 1206, 2ª pte, f. 562r (1605); AGI, Contaduría. 1207, fs. 189v-190r (1606); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, fs. 8591r, 8767v, 8767v (1648); AGI, Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34, exp. 1, f. 20v (1661); and AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 8, fs. 1r, 10v (1685). For Casiguran de Baler, see AHN, Diversos-Coleciones, 26, N. 28, f. 1v (1620); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, 8767v (1648); and AGN, Inquisición, 613, exp. 5, fs. 442r-443r (1668).

For Cagayan, see AGI, Contaduría, 1217, f. 381r (1633); and NAP, SD 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, fs. 316r- 318b (1649). For Boronga, see Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangélica* (1660), 789 [cite]; AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 580r-592v (1656), and *passim*; NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Título de merced de los tributes de las encomiendas de Binalatongan Balonguey teguan en la provincia de Pangasinan gozaba en primera vida don Miguel de guinea al capitan Silvestre de Rodas*, f. 149 (1659). For Palapag, see AGI, Contaduría, 1211, f. 784v (1629); and AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 15, exp. 3, fs. 9v-15r (1686). For Lampon, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, f. 53v (1644); AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, Bloque 2, f. 49r (1645); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440B, fs. 1985v-1991v (1653); NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, B 359, *Orden al tesorero Sargento Mayor don Juan de Veristain para ir al Puerto de Lampon para hacer la visita del navio*, fs. 82-83 (1660); AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5 (Not paginated) (April 31, 1670); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, f. 12v (1670).

Transportation from island locations such as Boronga entailed risky maritime passage across the same treacherous currents which threatened the passage of the galleon. Many other secondary ports, especially those on Luzon, required offloading cargo and the most favored utilized the difficult and expensive, yet secure, mode of ground-based porterage. Lampon excelled in this respect, drawing labor from as far as the province of Tayabas in southern Luzon to offload American silver from the returning galleons. The galleons sailing from Mexico carried as part of their cargo the receipts of the sales taxes derived from the sale of galleon cargos in Mexico. These proceeds, known as the subsidy or *situado* in New Spain, were known as the *socorro* in the Philippines, and were carried in silver. They partially financed Philippines administrative costs, especially its substantial military expenditures, while the unregistered portion of this silver cargo paid for the cargo for the next galleon.[45]

Carpenters, stonemasons, and provisioners from the Tagalog provinces, Cagayan and the Visayas also worked alongside of Spanish and Kapampangan soldiers in Maluku and Taiwan. They engaged in careers that placed them in close quarters with Spaniards. The elites among them would use these careers to secure patrons. The military governor of the fortress of San Salvador specifically requested carpenters and probably, stonecutters, too, from Bulacan in 1632. Treasury records demonstrate that a variety of Tagalogs doing logistical and construction work received pay from the military exchequer in Maluku. For example, Alonso Sarapi (probably

[45] See AGI, Contaduría, 1228, fs. 182r, 283v (1648); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5 (1669). For Boronga, see AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, f. 646r (1656); and NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Título de merced de los tributes de las encomiendas de Binalatongan Balonguey teguan en la provincia de Pangasinan gozaba en primera vida don Miguel de guinea al capitan Silvestre de Rodas*, f. 149 (1659). Previously, historians have argued that the Philippines has acted as a fiscal parasite, utilizing subsidies (*situados*) for its own defense drawn from the strained treasury of colonial Mexico. Since substantial parts of the situado sent to the Philippines were paid with sales taxes levied on goods brought from the Philippines, calling the situado a subsidy seems inaccurate. See Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "The Philippines as Imperial Profit Center in the 16th and 17th Centuries, in *Monetary History in Global Perspective*, ed. Clara Eugenia Nuñez (Sevilla: Fundación Fomento de la Historia Económica, 1998), 66. Luis Alonso Álvarez has argued that previous historians have also neglected to consider tribute and other internal tax income when asserting the so-called dependent nature of the Philippines economy. See Alonso, "Financing the Empire," 63-95.

really named *salapi*, a Tagalog word for cash), a native of Parañaque, started work in 1605 as a grumete for the successful invasion of Ternate in 1606. He worked as a gastador after disembarking, receiving part of his pay in 1607. Sarapi's salary as a gastador remained in arrears until at least October 22, 1611, when he received a receipt for his back pay. Pablo Tira, a Tagalog carpenter, waited five years for his back pay. This work would have been an extension of the labor already performed by Bulacan shipwrights, lumberjacks, and carpenters in the mountains of central Luzon and the port of Cavite.[46]

Timber-cutting was perhaps the most notorious work performed by the peasants living in central Luzon. During the initiation of colonization, Spanish administrators requisitioned timber from specific communities, using the datus of these communities as intermediaries. Treasury records document the payment, at least on paper, of these datus by Spanish administrators for the labor of the peasants and probably slaves of the communities. Peasant workers cut specified quantities of lumber. Located in Pampanga, Cavite, Laguna, and Bulacan, many of these communities had access to substantial wooded hinterlands.[47]

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[46] For canteros and gastadores, see AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 603r (1607); AGI, Contaduría, 1208, f. 675r (1607); AGI, Contaduría, 1209, f. 356v, 678r (1609, 1611); AGI, Contaduria, 1211, f. 727v, 737r (1629); and AGI, Contaduría, 1212, fs. 156r, 164v (1630); and Contaduría, 1218, fs. 695r, 737v (1635).

For salapi, see San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 691; AGI, Contaduría 1207, f. 193v (1607); and AGI, Contaduría, 1208, 2ª pieza, fs. 675r-675v (1611). For Tira, see *Ibid*., f. 669r (1611).

For a 1632 request for Bulacan artisans, see José Eugenio Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Caraballo Mountains (Taipei: SMC, 2001), 195. For Bulacan and other indigenous carpenters, see AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 227r (1575); AGI, Contaduría, 1200, f. 876r (1583); AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 185v (1606); and AGI, Contaduría,1215, fs. 201v, 203v (1633).

From 1575 onward, Spanish administrators in the Philippines begin to use the word *cagayan* to denote carpenters. In his description of the Visayas, Miguel de Loarca extolled the ship-building and carpentry skills of the inhabitants of a group of islands known as Cagayan off of the west coast of Panay (See Figure 2). Loarca states that Spanish held them in high regards, requisitioning their labor and transporting these shipwrights to other islands. This included Cavite. See AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, f. 8v (1574); and AGI, Contaduría, 1200, 2ª parte, fs. 95r, 101r, 172r, 709v, 723v, 752v, 871r (1580-1583). For the comments of Loarca, see AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, f. 8r (1582).

[47] AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 8v, 60v-61r, 76r, 92v, 105r, 225v, 233r (1574); and AGI, Contaduría, 1200, f. 713v, 714v, 743r-744r, 805r (1580-1583); AGI, Contaduría, 1202, 1ª pieza, f. 101r (1591); AGI, Contaduria, 1205, f. 96v, 98v, 124r (1599); AGI, Contaduría, 1209, f. 195r (1608); and AGI, Contaduría, 1215, f. 198r (1631). For an overview of the connections between cortes and flight in Laguna de Bay, see Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 143-146.

Treasury records, royal ordinances and a royal investigation, enable a better understanding of how colonial administrators intended these timber expeditions (*cortes*) to be run and how they actually functioned. They render visible the connections constructed by mobile laborers between the rural Philippines and more urbanized areas such as Cavite. Each of these expeditions mobilized hundreds of workers, and thousands of workers cut down timber in simultaneous cortes. The organization of space and encouragement of mobility also made the cortes significant. Like other polo activities, including military campaigns, cortes moved peasants beyond their immediate communities into contact with peasants and artisans from other ethnolinguistic communities, including sangleys, and the expeditions also enabled the congregation of large numbers of peasants. Finally, cortes brought Spanish officials and their retainers into the rural hinterlands, who often attempted to take advantage of these populations to earn a peso or two.[48]

In the early seventeenth century, Spanish administrators took control of the cortes which had been previously been administered by indigenous principales. They also greatly intensified their size, supplying the lumber necessary to sustain a crash shipbuilding program intended to defeat the Dutch. One case provides a glimpse of the ways that indigenous people of central Luzon were impinged upon by these new colonial needs and the potential profits arising from them. The transcripts of the royal investigation of Manuel Estacio Venegas, Maestre de Campo and shadow governor ostensibly serving Governor Diego Fajardo, described the recruitment and working conditions of Kapampangan peasants in draft labor campaigns. To begin, royal

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[48] For Chinese participation in the cortes, see AGI, Contaduría 1206, 2ª pte, f. 547v (1604); and AGI, Escribania de la Cámara 440ª, fs. 239r, 282r (1651). For urban recuitment, see NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Tributos de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel - Orden del Gobernador General, de estas yslas al Alcalde Mayor de Tondo para que haga averiguacion de los indios o naturales de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel, que asistieron en los cortes de maderas en los montes de la Laguna*, fs. 14B-16 (1656).

For Tagalogs sent to Kapampangan cortes, see AGI, Contaduria, 1217, f. 100v (1635); and NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, B 359, *Orden del gobierno al alcalde mayor de Bulacan para tercera parte de la cantidad de indios ir a la corte de madera para fabrica nao San Sabiniano*, fs. 48-49B (1662).

governors like Diego Fajardo were supposed to formulate the colonial needs for manpower, and materials, originating requests for the cortes. Fajardo, delegated his administrative responsibilities to Manuel Estacio Venegas, the second highest-ranking military official within central Luzon after Fajardo. Venegas obtained a better understanding of the competing labor requirements of the colony through correspondence with Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, castellano of the fortress and port of Cavite. As the administrator and commander during wartime, Mendiola oversaw all of the activity in the port of Cavite, a locus of labor recruitment and redistribution for the archipelago. Mendiola told Venegas that no workers were available for work as loggers in the forests of Pampanga. The governor then sent requests of the needs for a particular corte to the alcalde mayor of a province and unusually, to Kapampangan military officials. In this case, Venegas requested that don Agustín Sonson, then the Maestre de Campo of all Kapampangan soldiers in the archipelago, obtain soldiers serving in fortresses in central Luzon. Sonson later coordinated with other Kapampangan nobles and commanders. In general, the pueblos of the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga supplied laborers for the cortes in province of Pampanga, while municipalities in Laguna, Tondo, and Batangas supplied loggers for cortes in Laguna province.[49]

Pueblos supplied the laborers for the colonial administrators, allocating the laborers by barangay. They relied on the supervision of this process by the noble cabezas de barangay, who were well-acquainted with local populations through their control of tribute payment. Municipalities maintained what were called *cajas de polo*, community cash boxes intended to

[49] Cortes instrucciones found in NAP, SDS 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, f. 169r-171b (1646). AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 440ª, 782r-786v (1649). For requests sent to alcaldes mayor, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, fs 271r-271v, s76r-278r (1647-1648). For alcalde mayor requests to village and militia leaders in Pampanga, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, fs. 6834v-6837v (1649-1650) . For a letter from Manuel Estacio de Venegas to the Castellano of Cavite, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 8948r-8950r (1646). See AGI, Filipinas, 63, N. 26, fs. 6r-6v (1649).

pay for sustenance of the workers employed in the polo. Funds from these boxes might have partially subsidized the corveé laborers, an important role, as pay was frequently in arrears. The pueblos sent nobles as overseers or *cabezas* (later called *cabecillas*) of the cortes. These cabezas worked with gangs of twenty or thirty to one hundred timaguas. At times, the government supplied hatchets and saws to the workers, but often, it appears that the communities did so. Recommendations issued by clerics suggested that under ideal conditions, royal officials were expected to pay daily rations to workers, to pay them every week, and to supply their workers with a chaplain that spoke their own language. Peasants embarked in bangkas upstream towards the site of the cortes.[50]

The work in the cortes continued after Tagalogs and Kapampangans felled the trees. Occasionally, loggers left the logs to dry and season after the expedition. More often, it appears that workers needed to drag the trees to the banks of large, navigable rivers, where they gathered the logs and bound them into rafts (*balsas*). To undertake this task, indigenous people often had to spend more time foraging in the mountains cutting rattan and bamboo to bundle the logs together into rafts. The peasants would follow the logs to the sea, where they were required to tow or push the rafts all the way to Cavite, a tremendous undertaking even when the wind was calm. At least one commentator suggested that the shipyard (*ribera*) of Cavite often impressed workers from logging expeditions once they had brought their rafts to the port. This same

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[50] For cabezas de barangay, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 8374r-8374v (1648). For cajas de polong, see NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Tributos de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel - Orden del Gobernador General, de estas yslas al Alcalde Mayor de Tondo para que haga averiguacion de los indios o naturales de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel, que asistieron en los cortes de maderas en los montes de la Laguna*, f. 15 (1656); AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 290r-290v (1655).

For cabecillas, see AGI, Escribanía 440A, f. 1207r, 1220r, 1224v-1225r, 1228v, 1229v, 1232r-1232v, 1253r (1652). Earlier heads of repartimiento labor had also been named cabos, as was the case of don Francisco Mati, a foreman for a group of indigenous weavers of cordage. See AGI, Contaduría, 1204, f. 93v (1596). For the provision of hatchets, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, fs. 281r, 785r (1647, 1649); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, fs. 6835v-6836r, 6840r-6840v (1649-1650). For chaplains and ideal working conditions, see NAP, SD 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, f. 169r-171b (1646). For bangkas, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 785r (1649).

commentator, Juan de Paz, explained that cabecillas of the cortes obtained bribes from port officials for supplying these workers. One other hazard was hunger for timagua workers, since peasants and their cabecillas bringing logs to Cavite were unaccompanied by the Spanish officers who at least theoretically provided them with rations. On at least one occasion, peasants towing balsas filled their empty stomachs by illicitly butchering cattle from an estancia near Cavite.[51]

In 1646, a number of missionaries sent the governor of the Philippines a set of recommendations to be implemented to improve working conditions for Tagalogs and Kapampangans working the cortes. Reading between the lines of the suggested ordinances enables us to understand the ways that that actual practiced diverged from the stated ideal. The administrators of these cortes exploited the peasants in a variety of ways. To begin, royal officials kept peasants in the cortes past a monthly time limit. Royal officials also failed to pay workers or to regularly supply them with rations. Unscrupulous officials invested in even greater exploitation of the workers. They set up stores, taverns, and gambling rings, all apparent attempts to indebt peasants, perhaps pressing them into service beyond the scheduled cortes.[52]

Royal authorities prosecuted Manuel Estacio Venegas for dozens of offenses that included murder, the operation of several gambling rings, and dozens of instances of

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[51] For seasoning and drying timber, see AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, f. 1v (1619); and AGI, Escribanía 440A, f; 1238r (1652). For assembly of the balsas, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, f. 6834v-6835v (1650); AGI, Escribanía 440A, fs., f. 1208v, 1220r (1652). For towing of the balsas, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, fs. 96r-96v (1651); and AUST, MF Roll 108, D. l. 16A, 16B, Sección Consultas, Tomo 4, *Varias consultas del Padre Juan de Paz,* fs. 297v-298v, 301v (1676).

For towing of the balsas from Laguna and Pampanga to Cavite, see NAP, Cedulario, 1655-1660, SDS 686, *Orden al Almirante Francisco Garcia del Fresno par air al corte de Madera que se hace en la provincial de la Pampanga*, f. 242 (1658); AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 290v (1655); and NAP, Cedulario, 1687-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva a los naturales del pueblo de Parañaque para que no paguen el tributo en especie,* f. 168 (1686). Apparently, Don Nicolás de Sarmiento, the alcalde mayor of Pampanga, provided some of the workers of the Venegas cortes with rations, but we do not know if this was standard practice. See AGI, Escribania, 440a, fs. 281v-282r (1647). This was not the case in the cortes that preceded the 1660 revolt in Pampanga. See AGI, Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34 , f. 22r (1661).

[52] See NAP, SD 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, f. 169r-171b (1646).

embezzlement, extorsion, and corruption. The Venegas inquiry revealed other contemporary forms of labor exploitation. Perhaps most importantly, Venegas impressed Kapampangan soldiers for timber-cutting during a high point of Spanish conflict with the Dutch. Several Kapampangan nobles accused Venegas of pulling soldiers from their posts in Manila and Samal during Dutch incursions into Manila Bay. The copying of the investigation itself was an immense undertaking, occupying over half a dozen thick, bound volumes.[53]

One of the activities for which investigators found fault was the wholesale exploitation of indigenous labor by Venegas for his construction of a palatial home on the main square (*plaza de armas*) of Manila. The regular occurrence of such abuses helps explain why peasants left the villages of central Luzon. Venegas covered up his expenditures for the labor by making the claim that he was using laborers for additions being made to the barracks of soldiers of San Felipe, the fortress of Cavite, as well as the Royal Hospital of Indians. In fact, Estacio Venegas impressed the labor of Chinese, blacks and morenos, but relied most heavily on hundreds of Kapampagans. He drew the latter from enlisted soldiers and polo drafts. These workers built his house and worked on a truck farm located near Santa Ana de Sapa. He started his draft during the late stages of a destructive Dutch invasion which had led to the death of hundreds of Kapampangan soldiers and the sack of Abucay, a community in the province of Pampanga, on the Bataan peninsula on Manila Bay.[54]

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[53] For a summary of his one hundred and twenty-two charges against Venegas, see FHLGSU, MF # 1627098, item 2, fs. 67r-81v (1661). These volumes include AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, 440B, 440C, 441A, 441B, 441C and 441D. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 1194v (1652).

[54] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, fs. 1r-1v, 26r, 95r, 96r-96v, 371r-376r (1651). For the ersatz destinations for the timber, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, fs. 279r, 786r-786v (1649-1650). For different versions of the Abucay massacre, see AGI, Contaduría, 1227, fs. 31r, 59v-51r (1648); NAP, Cedulario, 1643-1649, SDS 434, *D. Ursula Paquisnavanan viuda del capitán Don Francisco Manlapa = su reserva de tributo polos y servicios personales y de su hijo ligitimo y de seis tributos de esclavas o cabancas de su barangay*, fs. 298b-290b (1648); AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 7, f. 1v (1649); and Casimiro Diaz, *Las Conquistas de las Islas de Filipinas*, 507-508.

The trial transcripts showed the intimate connections between civil and military authority in the seventeenth-century Philippines. They also demonstrated the roles of indigenous elites as brokers of labor for colonial authorities. Venegas first sent letters to the garrison commander (*castellano*) of Cavite, requesting laborers from the shipyard to send on a cortes to be conducted in the northern reaches of Pampanga. Once the castellano answered that he had no available laborers, Venegas requested them from elsewhere. He asked Nicolas de Sarmiento, the alcalde mayor of Pampanga to summon available men and made his own requests closer to home. One of the primary contingents upon which Estacio Venegas drew was from the fortress of Santiago, the primary garrison of Manila. Don Agustín de Sonson, the Kapampangan maestre de campo of the Philippines assented, and moved soldiers from his command to Pampanga. The alcalde mayor of Pampanga, in turn, commanded elements from garrison of Samal, a site near he besieged town of Abucay, to provide soldiers for the cortes. The alcalde mayor obtained hundreds more Kapampangan peasants via polos from the lowland towns of Guagua, Mexico, Lubao, Betis, Candaba, Bacolor, and Arayat.[55]

Members of the Kapampangan nobility, several of them military officials, attested to the harsh conditions and overwork which they suffered. Indigenous loggers in other cortes faced similar difficulties. The testimony of men like don Felipe Balagtas, don Mateo de Solis, and don Estevan Sancap shows that the cortes followed customary patterns; nobles lead the work gangs

[55] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 440ª, 782r-786v (1649). For requests sent to alcaldes mayor, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, fs 271r-271v, s26r-278r (1647-1648). For alcalde mayor requests to village and militia leaders in Pampanga, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 279r (1649); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, fs. 6834v-6837v (1649-1650).

For a letter from Manuel Estacio de Venegas to the Castellano of Cavite, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 8948r-8950r (1646). See AGI, Filipinas, 63, N. 26, fs. 6r-6v (1649). For the stripping of the Samal garrison,s ee AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 95r (1651). For Sonson's coordination with his fellow nobles and Sarmiento, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, f. 1235r (1652); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441ª, f. 6835v-6836r, 6838r-6838v (1649) This coordination included properly timing the timber-cutting to coincide with the waning moon. See AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, f. 1v (1619); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441ª, f. 6840r (1650). For the stripping of the garrisons of Samal and Fort Santiago in Manila, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440ª, fs. 276r , 1194v-1195r, 1210r, 1234r, 1237r (1647). For polos, see AGI, Escribanía 440ª, fs. 1207r, 1211r, 1220v, 1224v-1225r, 1228v, 1231v, 1253r, 1265r (1652r).

(*cuadrillas*) of loggers. The alcalde mayor of Pampanga sent the workers to log wood in the outskirts or montes of the northern municipalities of Candaba and Arayat, as well as the southwestern mountain areas of the Bataan peninsula, areas which bordered the upland and forested areas of the province inhabited by the Zambales and Aetas (Figure 4). Cabezas de barangay and foremen of the cuadrillas explained that the loggers were forced to work in the disease-ridden highlands and that they were unable to rest, being forced to work during the evening to take advantage of auspicious times in the lunar cycle. In the case of the cortes ordered by Venegas, Sonson complained about a lack of axes, lengthening the time required to deliver the required timber. In the absence of proper axes, Sonson pleaded for the governor to supply steel so that his workers could cast axeheads, a demonstration of the long heritage of metallurgy in Pampanga. The prolonged cortes also resulted in a shortage of food. As a consequence of the overwork, dozens of the loggers died from illness and overwork, while others chose to desert. The cabezas buried the dead in the church cemeteries of the outlying mountain visitas of towns near the cortes, naming for the commission the men and the orphans that each man left behind.[56]

After months of work and even after the logs had been seasoned and dried, the Kapampangan soldiers and polo laborers continued to labor. In order to float the balsas, don Agustin Sonson observed that the loggers in Pinpin were required to cut a large canal or *zanja* about a yard in width and a league in length from the river near Candaba. The overseers of the expeditions forced the soldiers and the residents of Pinpin to cut the canal, sickening dozens in

[56] See ordinances in NAP, for Panguil. For cortes locations, see AGI, Escribanía 440A, f. 1206v, 1275v-1277r (1652); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, fs. 6836v-6837r (1649). For sickness and working conditions, see AGI, Escribanía 440A, f. 1220r, 1221r, f. 1232v (1652). For shortages, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, f. 441[a], fs. 6838r, 6840r (1649-1650). For cabecillas, see AGI, Escribanía 440A, f. 1196r-119v, 1207r, 1298v, 1220r, 1221v, 1224v-1225r, 1228v, 1229v, 1232r-1232v, 1253r (1652). For flight, see *ibid*., 1204r (1652r). For deaths and burial, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], fs. 1221r-1284r (1652).

the process. Workers making the rafts went unpaid for their labor cutting rattan and bamboo used to bind the log rafts. Finally, since the canal diverted water from irrigation, the people of Pinpin were unable to irrigate their fields and lost the crop for that year. After the Kapampangan laborers guided the logs down the river into Manila Bay, they were ordered to tow the rafts to Manila, where they dragged the logs through western gate of Santa Lucía and Santo Domingo and then overland, to the mansion. Several Kapampangans graded the house site and guarded the work site until construction was complete.[57]

Acting as translators, don Antonio Maninbucelis and other principales helped Kapampangan principales communicate further outrages to the royal investigators. The Kapampagan nobles Don Fernando Panlasigui and don Jerónimo Daray, worked with other Kapampangan principales to draft a complaint to the governor. They traveled to Manila to deliver the complaint, but were arrested, chained, and thrown into prison.[58]

The extent of the injuries and sickness suffered by laborers in this cortes might have been extreme, but w Kapampangan and Tagalog laborers in the cortes would face similar risks during other logging expeditions, even if on a smaller scale. It formed part of a larger process initiated by the Spanish which brought larger numbers of individuals of ostensibly disparate ethnolinguistic backgrounds into contact with each other. Thus, the grouping of polo loggers from the provinces of Bulacan and Kapampangan, on one hand, and Laguna de Bay and Tondo, on the other, had the unintended effect of maintaining intra-elite communication among the noble families of the Kapampangan old pre-Hispanic elite lineages such as the Balagtas and

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[57] For Pinpin, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441C, f. 6838r-6838v (1649); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], fs. 1196v, 1200r-1200v, 1221r (1652). For the delivery of the wood and work on the palace, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], fs. 1, 374v-376r, 382v, 409v, 1211r, 1253r, 1378r (1651-1652); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440C, f. 4859r (1656).

[58] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], f. 1194r, 1233v-1234r (1652).

Mañagos with Tagalog élites in Bulacan. These lineages and the movement of people bridged the occupational and ecological divides between rural and urban spaces. In the most extreme occasions, such as the Pampanga revolt of 1660, these families worked together across regional and ethnolinguistic lines to ask for reforms of the evils of the system.[59]

The trans-Pacific commerce of the Philippines occasioned other requisitions of rural labor. Royal investigations of shipwrecks and documentation of galleon shipwrecks provide us insights on the interactions between these dragooned rural laborers and other humble builders of the trans-Pacific economy. One example was the landing of an inbound galleon at Cagayan. Don Juan Macapagal, a descendant of the Lakan Dula, mobilized the peasants in his municipality of Arayat to carry the silver of the galleon overland from Cagayan to Manila, a service he later extolled when asking for a pension. He probably ordered his own subject timaguas, slaves, and namamahay to do this work.[60]

A better example of the cross-cultural aspects of these landings can be seen in a document from 1656. In 1654, the members of the Audiencia alleged that the officials of the galleon, *San Francisco Javier*, and in particular, its captain, had mishandled the ship. The incompetence of the captain led to its wreck in Samar after sailing from Acapulco (Figures 2 and 6). The Audiencia send the judge (*oidor*) Francisco Samaniego Tuesta to investigate. In his investigation, Samaniego found a number of flaws with the piloting of the vessel, condemning to

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[59] For cortes in Bulacan and Pampanga, see Contaduría 1206, 2ª pte, f. 561r (1605); AGI, Contaduria, 1217, f. 100v (1635); and NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, B 359, *Orden del gobierno al alcalde mayor de Bulacan para tercera parte de la cantidad de indios ira la corte de madera para fabrica nao San Sabiniano*, f. 49 (1662). For accounts of the revolt, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R, 2, N. 34, fs. 21r-29r (1661); *Anales Eclesiásticos*, 165-167; and Casimiro Díaz, *Las Conquistas de las islas de Filipinas: La temporal, por las armas del señor don Phelipe Segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del nuestro padre San Augustin: fvndacion, y progressos de sv provincia del santísimo nombre de Jesus, Vol. 2,* 610-614.

[60] NAP, Cedulario 1643-1649, SDS 434, *El Capitán don Juan Macapagal, principal y cabeza de barangay del pueblo de Arayat en la provincia de Pampanga maestro que le hico el senor gobernador y general don Diego Faxardi oara que se puede a su costa y inisio, Reducir y pacificar los çambales y negrillos de los monotes de dicha provincia de la pampanga y Reducidos,* fs. 316- 316b (1648).

death the leading officer, General Lorenzo de Orella y Ugalde, and the pilot, Esteban Ramos. Later informants found the course of investigation of Samaniego to be flawed and rich in graft. The salvaging of the shipwreck required weeks of residence in the port of Boronga. Boronga faced the Pacific Ocean, and along with the island of Leyte, which contained the important port of Palapag, helped form islands of the Eastern Visayas. Local indigenous people, grumetes and mariners retrieved the silver carried by the galleon and dumped on the ocean floor by using divers and grappling hooks (See Figure 2).[61]

According to witnesses, the residencia ran into trouble through the activities of the subordinates of Samaniego Tuesta. First, Samaniego apparently put his servant, Juan de la Cruz, an Afro-Mexican, in charge of his residence. The oidor and his clients used the residencia as a profit opportunity. Several witnesses believed that this was a calculated effort. Soon after the ship wrecked, bored mariners began illicit large-scale card games, and other manner of indecent behavior, such as cockfights, which they conducted with local indigenous people. Samaniego ordered his servant to announce that such card games would henceforth be banned. In response, the mariners continued their games in areas outside the direct supervision of the oidor. At some point, Juan de la Cruz, probably with the assent of his master, decided to take advantage of the gambling proclivities of the mariners. He set up a table in the kitchen of his master, an outbuilding of the residence located nearby, and hosted the card games, apparently taking a cut of each game. The Audiencia cleared another servant of Samaniego accused of wrongdoing,

[61] AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 560r, 561v, 580r-580v, 602r, 607r, 617r, 621v, 629r-629v, 640v, 658r (1656); and Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas e Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina de 1668* (Madrid, CSIC, 1974 [1668]), f. 252v.

Antonio Maninbucelis, a Kapampangan. They noted that he had merely assisted in the documentation of the investigation.[62]

Juan de la Cruz demonstrated further entrepreneurship by opening up a tavern and shop next to the gambling operation, following the *modus operandi* of other crown officials, such as fray Avedo. Cruz supplied clothing, shirts, and tobacco to the grumetes and mariners, indigenous, Afro-Mexican and Spaniard. Vino de palma represented the most lucrative product supplied by Cruz. Coconut palm grew well in the well-drained soils of eastern Samar, and the villages here produced it in the middle of the seventeenth century. As a sort of impromptu vandala, Cruz and traveled to the adjacent villages of Catbalogan and Sula ordering villagers to provide vino de palma at below-market prices. The villagers supplied tinajas, probably containing around four gallons of wine, for ten reales to 3 pesos. In the tavern, Cruz sold small measures of wine called *chupas* for two reales, making a significant profit. Investigators of Samaniego revealed that the intoxicated sailors and officials raised a ruckus. Francisco Alcina, a Jesuit father serving in Samar, provided another perspective to this collision of peoples (Figure 2). He reported that local indigenous people netted considerable amounts of silver from the wreck, perhaps in part due to the labor they performed as divers. Experienced practitioners of the art of cock-fighting, some of the inhabitants of Samar netted up to five hundred pesos from the free-spending sailors of the *San Francisco Xavier*.[63]

Antonio Maninbucelis, a Kapampangan servant of Samaniego Tuesta, supplied the clerical labor for the oidor. Maninbucelis acted as a notary (*escribano*) for the investigation, writing furiously day and night. Documents recording his career show the new modes of social

[62] AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 560r-560v, 591r-601v, 609r-617v, 629r, 634v, 662v-672v (1656).

[63] AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 18r (1656). AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 580v, 591r, 593r, 596r, 601r, 603v, 606v, 614r, 617r, 635v, 639v, 664v-665r, and *passim*. According to witnesses, each jar held over one hundred cups of fluid. AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 437r (1659). See Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas e Indios*, 224-225.

mobility followed by central Luzon elites after the conquest. Tagalogs and Kapampangan worked as notaries, secretaries (*escribientes*), servants, and in artisanal offices alongside of Spanish patrons and colleagues. Chinos, including a number of Kapampangans, followed some of these pathways. Born in Lubao to the Kapampangan noble Sebastian Celís, Maninbucelis had probably been educated in a Manila colegio, and belonged to a select group of Kapampangans closely linked to Spanish administrators of the Philippines, such as Agustín de Sosa, the Bacolor-born associate of Estacio Venegas. Maninbucelis had also served as a translator in previous cases before the audiencia. The esteem of Maninbucelis in the eyes of Spanish mariners and soldiers was such that several referred to him as a student and even a *licensiado*, though it is not clear where he was earning his degree. At the behest of Samaniego, Manbucelis had paid allowed several mariners to draw silver from their libranzas. This practice diverged from standard protocol, which stipulated that mariners were to receive pay in Cavite; the latter practice prevented exactly the practice that occurred of bilking mariners out of their hard-earned pay. As the incident in Santa Ana Sapa shows, the inability to pay salaried workers employed by the Crown encouraged further exploitation of rural communities in central Luzon. The conflict in this particular case, provoked by pitting urbanized workers against their rural counterparts, allows us a view into the diversity and complexity of rural colonial life [64]

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[64] AGI, Filipinas, 65, N. 1, fs. 594r, 602r, 607r, and 622v-623r, 625r (1656). Other noble Kapampangans attended Spanish institutions of formal education in Manila, such as the Jesuit Colegio of San Joseph and the Dominican Real Colegio de San Letrán. See AGI, Filipinas, 85, N.91bis, fs. 29v (1641); and Everisto Bazaco, *Historia Documentada del Real Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* (Manila: Imprenta de la Universidad de Santo Tomas, 1933), 51, 133, 220, 224, 244. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, f. 1213r, 1239v (1652).

Don Antonio might have descended from don Alonso Maninbu, a noble from Macabebe. See AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 63, f. 43r (1590). For the birth of Antonio Maninbucelis, see FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, item 1, Lubao, bautismos, f. 43r (1629). The father of don Antonio, Sebastián Celis, had apparently served as a notary for the Inquisition in Manila. See AGN, Inquisición, v. 384, exp. 3, f. 348v (1637). For Agustín de Sosa, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámarea, 440C, fs. 3844v-3845r (1654). Don Antonio Maninbucelis joined the 1660 Kapampangan revolt. After several Kapampangans and General Francisco Esteibar negotiated a truce, Spaniards tortured and probably drew and quartered Maninbucelis. It is likely that another educated Kapampangan transcribed the testimony that Maninbucelis provided while being tortured. See Santos, *Anales Eclesiásticos*, 165-167; Díaz, *Las Conquistas*, 614; and AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 3, N. 44, f. 3r (1665).

Rural Estates, Ethnic Diversity, and Community in Central Luzon

The defense of Santa Ana de Sapa against foraging sailors better illustrates the relationship between the inhabitants of central Luzon villages and their conscripted cousins. It also shows the importance in the formation of rural diversity of the formation of central Luzon estates owned by Spaniards and other elite. The ethnic heterogeneity and inter-ethnic alliances formed by the inhabitants of these estates helps us better understand the formation of inter-ethnic community ties by chinos in colonial Mexico.

On April 13, 1672 Licensiado don Juan de Rosales, the provincial magistrate (*alcalde mayor*) of the court of Tondo summoned witnesses to testify who testified about an altercation that took place in the village of Santa Ana de Sapa (Figures 4 and 5). The witness, sailor Lucas de Piña, was one of several who testified on that day. Their testimony shed light on some of the implications of the transpacific galleon trade for the daily life of the inhabitants of central Luzon. Piña explained that the royal officials of the port of Cavite had sent several sampans full of over sixty sailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, and sailor's apprentices (*grumetes*) from the port. He ordered the officials to sail up the Pasig River to Binangonan de Lampon in order to relieve the crew of the *San Diego*, a galleon sailing from New Spain. Offloading silver, correspondence, and skilled maritime labor at Lampon prevented their loss to typhoons. Officials sent pilots, mariners and grumetes skilled in sailing local waters from Cavite to replace the worn and sick

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For clerical labor of Tagalogs and Kapampangans in the Philippines, see AGI, Filipinas, 59, N. 29, f. 1v, and *passim* (1591); and Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden,* 132; AGI, Contaduría, 1211, 2a pieza, f. 636r (1629); AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 3, N. 45, fs. 7r-7v (1635); AGI, Contaduría, 1226, 2a pieza., f.66v (1647); AGI, Contaduría, 1230, 1ª pieza, f. 50r, 192r (1651); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 47, f. 22v (1667); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 47, f. 20v (1667); AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 15, exp. 1, f. 4v (1691); AGI, Filipinas, N. 2, exp. 2, fs. 69r-71v (1701); and Luciano P. R. Santiago, "The Brown Knight: The Rise and Fall of Don Nicolas Paguio de Herrera (1614-1680)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 19(1991): 173-176, 178-180, 183-185. See AGI, Filipinas, 134, n. 14, exp. 2, fs. 347v-352v, 471r-472r (1695-1714) for tribute exemptions request and obtained for indigenous printers. For Kapampangan chinos matriculating in New Spain, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation; and Margarita Menegus Bornemann and Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España, siglos XVI-XVIII* (México, D. F.: Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, 2010), 65-68.

transpacific crews in Lampon and to guide the ship to Cavite for repairs. From Lampon, Tagalog-speaking Filipino porters from the nearby villages of Panguil, and also villages of the southeast province of Tayabas carried this valuable cargo westward across a portage (Figure 4). From there, porters brought the silver and other cargo into bangkas waiting in the Laguna de Bay, which fed into the Pasig River, bringing the goods to Manila.[65]

The quartermaster (*factor*) of the royal warehouses at Manila sent the crews without food or any other sort of provisions, saving money for the Crown. Manuel Melo and other commanders of small craft (*arraeces*), therefore decided to steal supplies from a village on the way. The testimony about the resulting counterattack illuminates the ethnic heterogeneity of the sailors. In the predawn hours, thirty sailors and grumetes landed ashore and began their assault. They included Portuguese mariners like Melo, Spaniards born in Cavite and Mexico, and Filipinos born in the Visayas and central Luzon.[66]

Subsequent testimony by the villagers exposed the ethnic diversity of the central Luzon hinterland; this diversity also characterized chino life in New Spain. Domingo Ramos, one of the village residents, heard the invaders, awoke and lit a lamp. Ramos, a farmer and *moreno criollo* (free descendant of Indian or Indonesian slaves) saw that someone had broke the fence surrounding his livestock underneath his house, stealing chickens and unhulled rice. He testified

[65] Sampans were square-rigged small vessels that plied routes in across the western Pacific and Eastern Indian Ocean. See G. R. G. Worcester, *The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1971). The following testimony is taken from AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, fs. 1v-4r and *passim*. For Lampon and Panguil, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 3, fs. 1v-2v (1645); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 8372r (1648); AGI, Contaduría, 1228, f. 316v (1644); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440B, fs. 1985v-1991v (1653); NAP, SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Capitán don Nicolas Sarmiento y Paredes título de merced de los 899 tributos que gocaba en la segunda vida el capitán d. Luis Muñoz Cordoba en la encomienda de los pueblos de Purao y Tagurín en la provincial de Ilocos*, f. 45B (1654); NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS B359, *Orden al tesorero Sargento Mayor don Juan de Veristain para ir al Puerto de Lampon para hacer la visita del navio*, fs. 82-83 (1660); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5 (Not paginated) (April 31, 1670); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, f. 12v (1670).

[66] For the lack of provisions, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, f. 25v (1670). For the ethnic diversity of the boat crew see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, fs. 10r, 37r, 39v, 47r-47v, 52r (1670).

that he spied two Spaniards and some Filipinos stealing a hat and chickens from his neighbor, a Christian Chinese migrant tenant from Fujian from named Jacinto Suco. Other residents alerted their neighbors of the assault and Ramos observed the resident Franciscan village priest, Fray Francisco Barajas, board a small sampan with some of the village nobility. Florentina de la Cruz, the mestizo wife of Suco, testified in Tagalog that the thieves stole cloth, twelve hens, a hat and some of her skirts. After she stirred from her sleep, due to the noise, she heard her husband bellow out his alarm in "*la usanza sangley*," or Hokkien language. After some time, she, and other villagers captured two Spaniards and three mariners from an adjacent province, Pampanga, who were taken into custody by a resident official and part-time merchant of Portuguese descent named Juan Gómez de Paiba (Paiva).[67]

On March 14, the alcalde mayor of Tondo solicited the testimony of Diego Catacotan. Catacotan had migrated to Santa Ana de Sapa from the Kapampangan town of Betis, and resided on the lands of a deceased Spanish scribe and merchant named Antonio Sánchez Caballero. Catacotan had been sleeping in the house of Ramos after guarding the maize field of Sánchez, and awoke to the sound of several dozen men breaking the fences of nearby houses. He saw men entering the ground floor of Ramos where they stole seed rice, chickens, a hat owned by Ramos and the guitar of Catacotan.[68]

On the 25th of March, 1670, Captain don Diego Nuñez de Guevara, the alcalde mayor of Laguna de Bay, led another set of set of depositions in Lampon about the incident in Santa Ana

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[67] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, fs. 1r-4v, 6r-10v (1670). For the Minnanese, see Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter," 509-534.

For more on the activities of Juan Gómez de Paiba, see AGI, Contaduría, 1230, f. 129v, 266v (1651); and AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 19r (1658). Gómez de Paiba purchased iron and Indian cottons in Makassar, an Islamicate ally of the Spanish in the Philippines who collaborated against the Dutch.

[68] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, fs. 22v-29v (1670). For Caballero, see AGI, Filipinas, 46, N. 44, f.s 1r-1v, 3r (1666). Don Andrés Catacotan served as gobernador of Bacolor in 1658. See AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 27v (1658). Bacolor was an important sending town for Kapampangan migrants to the province of Tondo. See Chapter 2. See the Introduction, for other transpacific Tacutans.

de Sapa. In these depositions, two of the several Filipino mariners and workers embarked on the sampans testified. These testimonies, supported by testimony from the Santa Ana witnesses, illuminates another fact of the early colonial period, the existence of a large group of free-floating Filipino workers born in an indigenous rural milieu, but only retaining tenuous ties to it. In fact, despite their probable rural roots, the sailors expressed solidarity with other fellow workers, regardless of ethnicity. Such nautical solidarity recalled contact-era comments by central Luzon informants which characterized communities as sailing vessels. Similar exhibitions of solidarity based on shared nautical passage would undergird chino friendships in New Spain. These workers and their ancestors had either freely migrated to the primary port of Cavite or had been impressed there from their natal villages. For the most part, these workers had their origins in labor drafts imposed on rural villages like Santa Ana de Sapa, and made up a large percentage of skilled maritime and military labor in the early colonial Philippines. One of the witnesses, Mateo de Espinosa, a grumete, had been born in Panay, a Visayan island that retained a heavy Spanish presence. Espinosa was ladino or fluent in Spanish, needing no translator. Juan de Longa, on the other hand, made use of interpreters.[69]

Longa, a blacksmith, had been born in Bacolor, a populous village in the province of Pampanga, an important source for Manila of rice as well as maritime, military, and artisanal laborers. In their testimony, witnesses of Santa Ana made frequent references to several people born in Pampanga (*pampangos*) playing a prominent role in the assault on the village. At least one witness claimed that several of the bound *indios* appeared to be Kapampangan. Kapampangans were inhabitants of a Manila Bay province that generally spoke Kapampangan, a

[69] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, *passim*. For drafts for Cavite see AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, fs. 1r-2v (1605). See also NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, v.1, SD 685, f. 144 (1627). For the significance of Panay, see AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 9, fs. 6r-6v (1583).

language related to Tagalog, as well as languages in northern Luzon. Kapampangans composed significant proportions of the Cavite work force employed by colonial officials. We know that this migration did not necessarily break ties between individuals and their natal villages. In several cases, these workers continued to pay tribute to their original communities, and these migrant laborers even knew the names of the noble leaders of the barrios of their pueblos, known as barangays. The officials responsible for village Catholic brotherhoods successfully lobbied the archdiocese to collect alms from these migrant kinsmen.[70]

A group of other witnesses described the quick mobilization of the town in its defense. Their description showed the consequences of the permanent war footing of the colony of the Philippines. It also showed the prioritizing of bilateral lineage and collateral kinship ties by villagers and estate residents. Such ties outweighed ethnic differences when the town mobilized. The witnesses included a cabeza de barangay carrying hens to Manila as tribute, a resident out fishing, the interim gobernador*,* a brother of the village field-marshal (the highest indigenous military title), and the town priest, a Franciscan. Large numbers of the indigenous inhabitants of central Luzon were armed and organized into military units, the result of the remoteness of the Philippines from sources of Spanish manpower and constant threats of frequent rebellions, invasions by the Dutch, threats of East Asian corsairs in the South China Sea and retaliatory raids from the Islamicate polities of the southern Philippines and Indonesia. Santa Ana de Sapa was no exception to this pattern; the village had maintained a militia for decades and though individuals from the village did not deploy with matchlocks and wheel-locks (*arcabuces*), they were able to bring lances, katanas, rattan shields, and helmets into battle. In the mêlée, the

[70] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6,fs. 47v-48r, 52r (1670). See AAM, Caja 1., C. 7, Folder 7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico, Catálogo (Jan. 1656-July 1673), 61, 64-65, and Chapter 2 for more on this phenomenon. *Kapampangans.* See AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 7, N. 21, exp. 3, fs. 1r-5v, and *passim* (1655). Tagalog was spoken in the lowland towns of the Bataan peninsula. A Dominican friar even composed a dictionary in one of them. See Fray Francisco de San Joseph, O. P., *Artes y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* (Bataan: Tomás Pinpin, 1640).

sailors lost three of their companions, two of whom washed up days later downriver. The sailors lost one of their leaders, and one other mariner, later identified in the Spanish hospital of Manila. The villagers chased the mariners back to the river, capturing two of them and binding them with rattan. The friar, Padre Francisco Barajas, forced the mariners to return their booty, which amounted to some indigenously-produced cloth, some chickens and the guitar of Diego Catacotan.[71]

The demography and spatial orientation of Santa Ana de Sapa reveal the ability of some rural central Luzon communities to maintain governance over those living within their jurisdiction, despite the impact of Spanish rural entrepreneurs. The growing population of Manila, the state-supported maritime sector, and the military system of the colonial Philippines depended on surpluses produced in rural villages as well as Spanish-run commercial estates. The village of Santa Ana stood adjacent to a large Augustinian estate named Mandaluyong, but the prime real estate also included several smaller estates owned by Spaniards and that of Jesús de la Peña, owned by the Jesuits (Figure 5). Presumably, an indigenous lieutenant of the governor of Santa Ana and cabeza de barangay delivered the tribute of the estate and performed the administrative duties of this traditional indigenous office within Mandaluyong, despite the estate being owned by the Augustinians. These cabezas presided over a population which included Japanese, offspring of Chinese-Filipino marriages (*mestizos*), migrants from the southwestern Chinese province of Fujian (*sangleys*), free descendants of Indian and East African slaves

[71] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, *passim*. On katanas, see AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 72, f. 1044r (1609). See Chapter 3. For further information on the use of harquebuses and mosquetes, as well as the role of Kapampangans in the Philippines military, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation. See AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, *passim* (1670).

(*morenos criollos*), and Filipino migrants from Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos, and villages from the jurisdiction of Tondo. It is to the social world of rural estates that we shall now turn.[72]

Rural Estates, Ethnic Diversity, and Community in Central Luzon

The case of the defense of Santa Ana de Sapa shows both the connections and cleavages between village cultural patterns and the practice of Spanish colonial administration of commerce and the military. Like other villages of central Luzon, Spanish officials and merchants sought to link the labor and productive pool of Santa Ana de Sapa not only to the service of the Manila Galleon, but to neighboring rural estates which supplied the infrastructure of the galleon. Though the establishment of rural estates by Spanish clerics and merchants did not determine rural settlement patterns or the shape of the rural economy, they did shape the activity of the rural indigenous inhabitants of central Luzon. On one hand, the donation of lands and constriction of usufruct rights to common lands had a deleterious effect on the livelihoods of rural Tagalog- and Kapampangan –speaking peasants. On the other hand, it appears that some of these peasants utilized the system of tribute exemption (*reserva*) employed by the estates to escape the pressures caused by the polo and other regimes of coerced labor. While not the only crucible for the formation of multi-ethnic colonial community, they definitely served as sites in which processes occurred analogous to the Tagalization and criollization occurring in cities and indigenous-governed rural communities.[73]

[72] On the history of land purchases in Mandaluyong, see Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 30-31, 49-53. For the history of estate consolidation for San Pedrillo, see Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 37-38. For the demonstration of estate owners as rational economic actors, see *Ibid*., 44-45. See below for discussion of Mandaluyong, and AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 161r-166v (1691).

[73] The classic work on reservas is Dennis Roth, "The Casas de Reservas in the Philippines," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1974): 115-124, but see also Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 50-53. The centrality of the agrarian upheaval in the eighteenth and then the nineteenth century have led some scholars to make teleological conclusions about the usurpation of freeholder tenure by rapacious Spaniards through some sort of debt peonage. More likely is the possibility that the peasants of central Luzon, facing various degrees of exploitation by indigenous elites and much more extensive pressure from Spanish labor drafts, chose to flee their settlements for the relative

Spanish rural entrepreneurs established their estates for the most part in areas closest to water transport to the markets of Manila Bay. These areas included both banks of the Pasig and western Laguna de Bay. According to Dennis Roth and Nicolas P. Cushner, Mandaluyong and other estates generally fell into one of two different types. First, the estates held populations of ethnically-diverse rice growers who rented the estate lands or served as resident laborers or sharecroppers for rice crops owned by the estate owners. Second, some of the estates served to raise large populations of cattle for urban markets and as salted beef, or *tapa*, for military and maritime markets. Spanish individuals owned and operated farms and estancias soon after conquest through the beginning of the eighteenth century, but clerical corporations consolidated the largest properties. The Jesuits established ranchlands and tenantries to the east of modern-day Santa Cruz, in Tondo, all the way to Antipolo; they also ran a western Laguna site called San Pedro Tunasan. The Dominicans established ranches on the western shores of Laguna, in Biñan, and Santa Rosa. The Franciscan sisters of the convent of Santa Clara ran an estate in Calamba and in Bulacan. The Augustinians ran a ranch between the Marikina and Sapa rivers called Mandaluyong as well as several others north of the Pasig (Figures 4 and 5).[74]

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refuge (at least initially) of some of the estates. Such a strategy is in line with "patron-switching" mode of avoidance peasant protest explored by Michael Adas. The brief discussion by Plasencia of peasant land use in contact-era Laguna suggests that patron-switching predated the arrival of the Spanish. See AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 20r-20v (1589).

[74] For Jesuit purchases and in Quiapo, Maybonga, Taytay, Muntinlupa and San Pedro Tunasan, see Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 18-20, 24, 37, 44, 48-49. For Dominican purchases and operations of estates in Laguna, see Cushner, 19. For Dominican estates in Laguna and Bulacan, see Roth, *The Friar Estates of the Philippines*, 41, 43, 45-46. For the Santa Clara estates, see AAM, Box 1.C.7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico (1620-1729), Folder 4 (1620-1627), fs.124v-125v, 148r (1627); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, f. 6r (1669). Cushner assigns the Augustinians a central role in his monographFor examples of the typologies of estates, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 333r (1673).

The centrality of questions surrounding nineteenth-century rural unrest and therefore land tenure has overshadowed the importance of individual land-holding. Individual Spanish landowners and renters appear throughout the seventeenth century, despite the common assertion that the Spanish were uninterested in agricultural production for the market. Though Roth and Cushner both acknowledge the role of these agricultural entrepreneurs, they remains understudied. See John M. Schumacher, "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Agrarian Developments in Central Luzon," in *Reflections on Philippine Culture and Society Festschrift in Honor of William Henry Scott*, ed. Jesus T. Peralta (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2001),168-202.

The rural estates of the Philippines had their origins in the post-conquest land grants provided to soldiers and administrators by the governors of the Philippines in the 1570s and 1580s. Filipino principales contributed to the increasing monetization of the economy, seizing possession of communal land or alienating it. They converted the land to a commodity, and sold it to private individuals and religious corporations. Minnanese agriculturalists and merchants constituted a third party of owners who sold to Spaniards. These purchases and donations, when annexed to other holdings, served as the cores of later estates. Within years of the conquest, piecemeal donations of various members of the nobility of central Luzon helped the orders to add on to their possessions.[75]

One of the first records of a privately-held estancia that we have is that of Diego Hernández de Vitoria, a councilman (*regidor*) in the town council (*cabildo*) of Manila. The Holy Office of the Inquisition of Manila charged Hernández de Vitoria with "judaization" and impounded his goods, and created an inventory in 1597. Hernández owned a cattle ranch, Santa Cruz, that adjoined that of Pedro de Brito, one of the earliest recipients of land grants (*mercedes)* from the Crown. Santa Cruz was located near Parañaque, an important source of labor for Cavite and maritime transportation for the Spanish. East African, Malukans and black slaves, probably from Mexico, ran over six hundred cattle on the ranch. Other individuals and even the Jesuits invested in the estate.[76]

Quiapo and the northern bank of the Pasig represented another early locale for the formation of ecclesiastical estates. By 1594, some of its principales, related by marriage to the ruling clans of Tondo, denounced the seizure and donation of land to Jesuits by a different

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[75] Roth, *The Friar Estates of the Philippines*, 49-40, 45-47; and Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 23-29.

[76] AGN, Inquisición, v. 162, exp. 1, fs. 142r, 180-182v, 335r-337r (1597).

indigenous faction. The latter apparently had their origins in the Visayan principales and their soldiering followers who the Spanish had brought to Manila as allies. Don Miguel Banal, one of the offended principales, claimed that the interloper principales had privatized communally-worked lands. Further, he suggested that the Jesuits had immediately settled Minnanese rice growers on much of the lands, dispossessing indigenous farmers from their commons. Indeed, in 1606, the ruling council of the Manila Cathedral appeared to have confirmed this dispossesion, as they asked for a large grant of reserved laborers for the upkeep of their properties; peasants with sufficient lands might have otherwise been unavailable for such work. As a result of this early upheaval, Quiapo became one of the first communities in the alcaldia of Tondo to be considered quasi-urban, as its most valuable agricultural land bevame alienated from its indigenous residents.[77]

The creation of cattle ranches, an earlier feature of estate formation, could also cause difficulties for local elites. In 1589, in western Laguna, Tagalog cultivators (*moros*) belonging to the encomienda of Tabuco complained that cattle from the estancia of interfered with their shifting field cultivation (*kaigin)*(Figure 4 and 5). A land grantee, Juan de Henao did not fence his cattle grazing within their village boundaries, though he did fence part of his property which allowed local peasants access to their older fields. The peasants explained that they used their old fields for hunting of carabao, the gathering of bamboo and the collection of wood for the manufacture of boats. When peasants killed the cattle invading their fields, Henao sent local enforcers to harass the peasants for payment. Apparently attempting to take advantage of central

[77] AGI, Filipinas, 77, N. 23, *passim* (1607).

Luzon debt peonage practices, he tried to force the offending peasants into his service to pay their debts.[78]

In another case, transcribed in 1671 by a notary working for the alcalde mayor of Laguna de Bay, doña Faustina de Malican y don Phelipe de las Cortes, a principala and principal near the hacienda of Biñan, complained that Dominican earthen dams interfered with the provision of water for the land of Malican, used for irrigated rice (Figure 4 and 5). Apparently, both parties maintained their own set of dams. The case dragged on for many years, as both the plaintiffs and defendants submitted briefs and summoned local indigenous witnesses. In 1673, Malican announced that she had run out of money for litigation. In the following year, she donated her land to the Dominicans, apparently losing the legal battle through attrition.[79]

Some historians have argued that estate agriculture destructured Filipino society, moving peasants out of autonomous cultivation into the realm of landlessness and dependent bondage, given the ways that estancias and agricultural estates interfered with some aspects of Filipino land tenure and cultivation. I argue that decisions made by peasants need to be accounted for against the backdrop of seventeenth-century peasant mobility, draft labor and systems of bondage maintained by indigenous elites. As such, they serve as an important backdrop to the advent of the group of mobile workers from which emerged the chinos. Whatever the intentions

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[78] AUST, Microfilm 193, tomo 1, *Libro de las escritras de las tierras de Biñan pertenecientes al Colegio de Santo Tomas*, fs. 80r-89v (1589). This testimony is notable in that several of the plaintiffs were not Christian and they recounted pre-Hispanic practices.

[79] AUST, MF # 193,tomo 1, *Libro de las escrituras de las tierras de Biñan pertenecientes al colegio de Santo Tomás*, fs. 47r-51v, 57r (1673). If mobility characterized life in central Luzon, then estates constituted just one more institution used by peasants to evade some of the harshest aspects of colonial labor pressures and abuses by indigenous elites. Moreover, as in rural villages, Tagalogs and Kapampangans inhabiting rural estates expanded their notion of community to include other bondsmen and migrants originating from lands that ranged from East Africa to Japan. My emphasis on indigenous agency, through constrained, diverges from standard accounts of the formation of estates in central Luzon. These tend to emphasize the ways that local land was seized, or obtained through either illicit means, with the collaboration of local elites duped by missionaries into believing that their privatization and donation of communal lands would help them to save their own souls.

of Spanish and ecclesiastical entrepreneurs in supplying markets with foodstuffs, they still required labor, which, by and large, was not supplied by adjacent communities. The arrangement worked out by migrant Filipino peasants and estate owners, in the short term, at least, contributed both to the availability of labor for these estates and to the wishes of peasants seeking to evade regular polos.

An initial solution employed by the estates was the hiring of productive sangley migrants as rice farmers, a solution apparently pioneered by the Society of Jesus in Quiapo and Meyhaligue (Figures 4 and 5). Though parts of model was continued, the efforts to create colonist agriculture later centered more on the less-densely populated areas of western Laguna than Tondo. Throughout the 1620s and 1630s, the Dominican, Jesuit and civil hacendados such as Santiago Gastelú in western Laguna recruited thousands of Chinese farmers to grow rice and even wheat in their haciendas. In 1639, these tenants started a revolt which convulsed eastern Tondo and western Laguna de Bay.[80]

More routine were the efforts of religious corporations and other groups to recruit indigenous laborers for service on rural estates and in rural convents. The inhabitants of central Luzon and others settled in the rich lands of the Pasig in order to produce rice, vegetables, and fruit, as well as earthenware and roof tiles for the growing populace of Manila. Concurrently, religious convents sought to legitimize existing relationships of labor. As with the polo, ecclesiastical labor demands imposed stress on peasant communitiues. Simultaneously, the exemption of estates from polos and tribute levies provided an incentive to settlement for peasants fleeing onerous demands for their labors in their communities. Soon after the arrival of Domingo de Salazar, Governor Santiago de Vera granted an allowance of workers for the

[80] Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 24, 49-50. For accounts of the 1639 rebellion and massacres committed against various Minnanese populations, see AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 5, fs. 9v-10r (1651); and AGI, Filipinas, 22n N. 1, R. 1, fs. 166v-169r (1644).

convents. All pueblos of over five hundred tributaries, around two thousand men, women, and children, would supply to nearby convents eight singers for the choir (*cantores*), two cooks, two servants for cleaning, and two individuals for other tasks, such as chopping firewood, milling rice, and hauling clean water. The colonial government exempted these tributaries from corvées. Less than a decade later, Governor Gómez Dasmariñas explained that it was routine for the convents and Spanish vecinos to request reservas for agriculture labor on market gardens and estates supplying the capital. It seems probable that timagua peasants themselves helped initiate the expansion of the category of reserva to include residents of rural estates.[81]

Hacendados sought to create secure work forces for larger-scale agriculture for the provision of the military or the city of Cavite. Successfully employing such a work force required exempting them from the labor drafts which emptied some of the Tagalog and Kapampagan communities around Manila Bay of their young male population. The estate owners used these incentives to attract resident laborers. In fact, on several occasions, estate owners declared that laborers refused to settle on their lands unless the Audiencia and governor granted such *reservas*. The abbess of the Santa Clara convent, for example, complained that indios would not move to their Bulacan estate until a reserva was granted by the governor. An Augustinian provincial explained that the Parañaque area and Pasay estate, in particular, was particularly susceptible to drafts for towing logs to Cavite. To avoid this corvée, vulnerable

[81] For the decree of Doctor Santiago de Vera, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, fs. 8369r-8371v (1648). For the reserva system, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 134v, 144v (1692). For the responsibilities of convent workers, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *El Monasterio de Santa alara desta ciudad – reserva de tributos* [polos] [ser]*vicios personales a 10 indios* [cas]*ados para el servicio de dicho monasterio*, fs. 150B-151 (1681). These efforts resemble the servicios personales expected of indigenous people in the Americas, but frequently decried by civil officials, who competed for the labor of indigenous people. See Chapter 3 for the working conditions of some of these workers.

indigenous workers and renters stayed away. The estate owners therefore lobbied to have their estate work forces be declared reservas.[82]

Royal authorities acceded to these requests because the hacendados promised that the produce of the laborers would supply the city of Manila and the fortresses of the archipelago, despite the harm done to provision of laborers for the purposes of commerce and tribute payment. Next, reserved laborers (*reservados*) for the church also assisted with the missionization effort through church maintenance and musical performance. Finally, officials stipulated that reservados be recruited from the vagamundo population, the individuals who were not enrolled on the tribute rolls of any given pueblo. Vagamundo individuals were difficult to recruit for forced labor, as corveé labor depended on using individuals selected on tribute lists maintained by cabezas de barangay and parish priests.[83]

In fact, it appears that migrants moved away from their natal communities to improve their circumstances. These actions were rational and we should see peasants developing strategies of survival rather than simply accepting Spanish definitions of vagamundos as rootless, lazy people. Complaints by Spanish administrators about their activities simultaneously reveal that these migrants used strategies of integration and collateral alliance-building to connect themselves to their new communities. A consulta penned by the regent of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, the Dominican, Juan de Paz, helps us understand the motivations of migrant peasant cultivators. In the 1670s, the alcalde mayor of Bulacan wrote to Juan de la Paz seeking

[82] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 73r-73v, 290v-293v (1647, 1655).

[83] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 140r, 143v, 211r, f. 353v (1625, 1626, 1634).

recommendations on the way to deal with one such group of peasants resident in the Dominican sugar estate of Lolomboy (Figure 4).[84]

The alcalde mayor stated that these peasants identified as vagamundos and paid an eleven-real fee to the owners of Lolomboy, a sugar estate, in return for the customary designation of reservado used in the case of vagamundos being attached to rural estates. The alcalde mayor noted that these migrants had identifiable origins in nearby towns of Bulacan and Bocavi, and as such did not deserve the title, and apparent privileges of vagamundos (Figure 4). Further, it appears that these vagamundos continued to marry peasants from local communities, as well as maintain other sorts of social relationships with them, showing the continuation of practices of collateral alliance.[85]

The alcalde mayor wished to obtain the tribute contributions from these vagamundos, who he believed circumvented the intent behind the designation of vagamundo. He asked Juan de Paz what to do. The reply of Paz consisted of three major points, which in the aggregate point to the ambiguity of the term vagamundo, as well as its practical application as a lens through which to understand peasant mobility. . First, Juan de Paz declared that these migrants were definitively not vagamundos. Using the most extreme use of the term, which was synonymous

[84] AUST, MF# 108, D. l. 16A, 16B, Sección Consultas, Tomo 4, *Varias consultas del Padre Juan de Paz*, and Juan de Paz, *Consultas, y Resoluciones Varias, Theologicas, Juridicas, Regulares y Morales. Resueltas por el M. R. P.. Fray Juan de Paz de la Sagrada Religion de Predicadores, regente que fue de los Estudios del Colegio. Y Universidad de Santo Tomás de la Ciudad de Manila en la Provincia de Filipinas* (Sevilla: Thomás Lopez de Haro, 1687), 528-530. For the problem as articulated to the Philippines governor, see NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, fs. 57b-59b (1662).

[85] For Dominican recruitment of vagamundos for the Bulacan estancia of Lolomboy see AGI, Contaduría, 1237, 6ª Pieza, 1268v (1670). They recruited twelve tributos enteros and twenty-four Filipinos, probably twelve couples. For sale of rice from the estate to Manila's royal storehouses, see AGI, Contaduría, 1247, f. 235r (1690). The alcalde mayor argues that these vagamundos were the descendants of migrants who had come to Bulacan to work or rent the land there. Some of them likely migrated from Tondo. These vagamundos also worked alongside of mestizos and Minannese agriculturalists, raising sugar and tobacco. NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, f. 58 (1662). Sugar and tobacco, along with gold and cowries, constituted important exports to the Coromandel coast of India. See Quiason, *English "Country Trade" With the Philippines*, 47; Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, 147; and Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce*, 187.

with the English term "vagabond." Paz stated that the identifiable origins in nearby communities put these estate residents outside the ken of the characteristics of a vagamundo. According to Paz, "real" vagamundos were rootless, and lived their life on the road. Consequently, Paz advocated that the alcalde mayor force the mayordomos of the estate to return vagamundo residents to their identifiable place of origin, but only if these vagamundos had resided on the estates fewer than ten years. Yet, Paz conceded that those who had lived outside of their communities for ten years were vagamundos, even if they maintained connections to locatable, nearby communities. As such, the alcalde mayor, probably Sargento Mayor Diego de Morales, should still register these vagamundos, but as residents of the hacienda.[86]

Paz and others of the early colonial period showed that the classification of vagamundos seemed applicable to persons who showed long-term migratory tendencies; that is, migrants who left their communities for a significant length of time would earn the classification of vagamundo. Vagamundos built new relationships in their new places of residence, and did not necessarily sever connections with their precious communities, especially if their former communities were of sufficient proximity. Such enlargement of alliances depended on formation of new followings through marriage, but also probably relied on godparentage and other sharing of obligations. In the case of residents of Lolomboy, immigration granted residents lower tribute dues, rendered them exempt from labor from the resident nobility, and granted them the ability to escape the polos, vandalas, and servicios personales traditionally levied on indigenous communities. Not explained in this discussion were the prices paid by immigrants for their abdication of some of their natal community benefits, and the possibility of more onerous labor conditions in their new community.

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[86] *Ibid*., 580-583.

The comments of other officials show that these vagamundos, where they were most numerous, forced institutional changes in the collection of tribute and the registration of inhabitants. Accounts from 1660s show that Spanish officials in Bulacan and probably other central Luzon provinces, maintained a system of *pólizas,* vouchers of tribute payment, and *boletas,* or licenses, granted to vagamundos. These show that Spanish officials acquiesenced to peasant mobility. It also shows that colonial administrators hoped to profit from this mobility and control flows of labor, perhaps just as they did for the cortes polos, but for the purposes of agrarian industry. This practice was extended to other haciendas, estancias and areas of residence for vagamundos, such as the haciendas near Tondo.[87]

Several governors attempted to control the employment of vagamundos on rural estates. They tried to ensure that those employed in these estates came from outside central Luzon, which, as we have seen, played an important role in the provision of labor for Spanish commercial and military policy. To enact control, they began investigating the origins of vagamundos in rural estates. One such investigation centered on the estate of Pasay, an estate that formed part of the parish of Parañaque, in the jurisdiction of Tondo (Figure 5).

Pasay was a large enough site to host multiple owners, both civil and ecclesiastical. The Castellano of Cavite, Gaspar de Álvarez, owned part of this property in 1618. He settled sangley cultivators as renters on the land. They paid a toston a month and a hen in rent before plowing and then, a monthly rent of two pesos after sowing. It is unclear what the sangleys raised, but given the experience of other southeastern Chinese migrants, sugar was a possibility. The inhabitants of the nearby municipalities of Laguio and Malate viewed the purchase of the land as

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[87] AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, exp. 16, fs. 3r, 5r, 10v, 11 (1666, 1682). See AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 4r-9v (1720).

usurpation, but in his will, Álvarez claimed just title. The Augustinians purchased part of Pasay for rice cultivation in 1626.[88]

By the 1650s, the Augustinians converted the land to sugar production. Sugar was an important product demanded by the growing urban population of Manila, but also signified an important export noted by European "country traders." As was the case with other rural estates, the Augustinians obtained their labor at least partly from the indigenous vagamundos settled in the area, though their origins were disputed by neighboring indigenous municipalities. The nobles of the neighboring towns of Malate and Parañaque argued that these vagamundos had mostly migrated from their towns, while the Augustinians claimed that all of the vagamundos migrated from far away provinces such as Ilocos, Pangasinan, and even the Visayas. The documented presence of at least one couple from Calumpit, Bulacan, undercut the argument of the latter, as did the presence of a Kapampangan soldier and his wife (See Figure 4).[89]

Regardless of their identity, these vagamundos seemed to have maintained large households, with Pasay households averaging over seven members, with almost four children on average per household (3.68), and apparently additional resident adults. These numbers suggest

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[88] AGI, Contratación, 368, N. 7, R. 1, fs. 57v, 111v-112r (1618). Cushner, *Landed Estates*, 26. For Minnanese sugar cultivation, see Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 49, 66. Sugarcane was also an important crop in early-modern Guangdong. See Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk and Silt*, 116.

For the status of Pasay as a barangay of Malate, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de pagar especie de tributos a los naturals del pueblo de Malate juridicción de Tondo,* f. 166 (1686).

[89] For possession of Pasay and its rent, see LL, Philippines MSS II, "*Recaudos de las estancias de Mandaloya ....San Pedrillo = y San Juan del Monte, pertenecientes a la provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Philipinas*," fs. 200r-200v (1699). For Malate and Augustinian claims to Pasay tributaries, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 239r, 249v, 287r-290v, 292v. Mestizos and sangleys continued to populate Pasay late into the seventeenth century. See AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 20v (1660).

The royal storehouses consumed some of this sugar. See AGI, Contaduria, 1247, f. 227r (1690). In the aggregate, the Philippines and probably central Luzon, particularly, exported sugar. See *The English Factories in India, 1642-1645: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminister, Volume 5,* ed. Sir William Foster (Oxford: Clarendon, Press, 1913), 222-223, 225. For the increase in population, see AGI, Contaduría 1253, f. 91r (1699).

the importance of collateral kin incorporation in these households, a continuation of incorporation based on the sharing of substances such as food. By contrast, Nicolas Cushner suggests a coefficient of four when extrapolating population numbers from totals provided for adult male tributaries. At 3.49 adults for household, most households appeared to have hosted additional kin, or at least affinal kin. The secured reservado status apparently assisted the Augustinians in their recruitment efforts; at least eighty vagamundo tributaries inhabited the hacienda fifteen years after the padrón, a possible gain of two hundred and sixty inhabitants.[90]

The padrón of the reservados of Pasay demonstrates at least some of the migrants followed patterns of vagabondage. Over twenty percent of the recorded fifty-two households were noted as absent (*ausentado*) from the hacienda. All of the ausentados had departed the hacienda for at least two years, with only one exception. The notary documented that one Filipino vagamundo, Adriano de Rosario, had been absent for a year, as he was in "Spain," that is to say, New Spain. Individuals composing most of the other "absentee" households not been seen in five years. These households averaged a little less than two persons in size, and might have been younger than the more settled vagamundos.[91]

Migrants maintained other patterns of social activity in the Spanish-owned haciendas, including some elements of village hierarchies of cabildos and ecclesiastical office. Estates maintained cabezas de barangays. Central Luzon peasants, then, set the precedents for chino self-government and community formation in Spanish-controlled political economies in western and southern Mexico. For example, don Juan Salian acted in the capacity of cabeza of the

[90] LL, Philippines MSS. II, Manuscripts Department *"Recaudos de las estancias de Mandaloya,"* fs. 200r-200v (1699). For population shifts, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 315v-323r (1685).

[91] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 315v-323r (1685). Colonial records are replete with references to "Spain" in regards to the Manila voyages. Blair and Robertson, *Philippines Islands*, v. 23, Juan de Medina, *Historia* de *los sucesos de la orden de Nuestra Gran Padre San Agustín de las Filipinas* (1905), 196.

barangay of Pasay. As such, the tribute of Pasay belonged to the jurisdiction of its indigenous cabecera, Parañaque (Figure 4). In 1665, Pasay obtained confirmation of their ecclesiastical fiscal, don Mateo Pili, as well as for his lieutenant, Andres de Reyna, the following year. The Augustinian rice estate of Maysapan also maintained a cabeza de vagamundos. Similarly, the municipality of Dilao included among its barangays the estates of Balete el Chico and Balete, el Grande. In a 1667 case, the cabeza of the latter barangay embarrassed the leading officials of Dilao. The cabeza of the estate of Balete, located near the Pasig, collected tribute and performed other tasks with the Japanese, morenos, and other non-Tagalogs, coming up with the required money and wax for the church of the cabecera. The cabezas of Tagalog barangays, by contrast, came up short. Enraged and probably feeling pressure from the resident Franciscan friar, Fray Fernando de la concepción, the gobernador, don Luis Gonzaga, had these cabezas whipped right outside the main doors of the church.[92]

Several of the municipalities in eastern Tondo supported ethnically-diverse populations with substantial Spanish land-holdings. The western Laguna rice, wheat, and fruit estates of Biñan, Calamba, Santa Rosa, and San Pedro Tunasan hosted large population of mestizo and sangley cultivators (Figures 4 and 5). The conditions suffered by the Chinese and mestizo cultivators on estates served to spark a large rebellion in 1638 which threatened the capital. The municipality of Taytay, in northwestern Laguna, hosted renters and cultivators migrating from the municipal center (*población*) of Dilao. Its neighbor, Antipolo, housed upland Tagalogs

[92] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 278v (1684). AAM, Caja 1., C. 7, Folder 7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico, Catálogo (Jan. 1656-July 1673), 73, 75 (1665-1666). For the Baletes, and the renting of Taytay rice fileds by the landless denizens of Dilao, see NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, 15B (1636); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7817v (1647); and NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de los naturales del pueblo de DIlao para que no paguen sus tributes en especie excepto los que tienen tierras propias I arendadas,* f. 172-173B. For the incident in Dilao, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 7, fs. 1r-4v, (1670).

coaxed down by the Jesuits from the mountains near San Mateo. A land dispute between Taytay and its visita, Cainta, revealed the importance of migrants to the ruling elites of towns.[93]

The dispute began in 1685, when a principal of Cainta named don Francisco Gatsalian acted to donate a piece of his land to the Jesuits in neighboring Taytay (Figure 4). Gatsalian followed the colonial protocol of drafting a *diligencia*, an affidavit signed by leading community members which authenticated the legitimacy of his action and its support by members of the communities. These principales accompanied their approval with a request for Jesuit preachers in their town, which was at that time administered by the Augustinians. Almost immediately, members of his community and that of Taytay began to question his authority. To begin, leading principales of Taytay questioned the claim of ownership by Gatsalian. They had copies made of pueblo rental agreements, and showed that he was one of the rent collectors (*cobradores*) for the claimed lands, rather being their owner.[94]

The next set of disputes centered on the question of whether the donation was made under duress. The Augustinian friars in Cainta and nearby convents felt the request for a Jesuit entry seemed suspicious (Figures 4 and 5). Some principales of Cainta went further and accused the Jesuits of deploying armed cafre outsiders under the command of a Christian Maluku migrant (*merdica*) named Juan Lutao in order to seize the land. This claim appears to have been unsupported, though questioning of commoners within the communities revealed that Cainta

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[93] For the sangleys of Laguna, see Cushner, 49-50; AAM, Box 1.C.7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico (1620-1729), Folder 4 (1620-1627), f. 125r (1627); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 5, fs.9v-10v (1649); AGI, Contaduría , 1231, 1ª pte, f. 271r (1653); and Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de las islas de Filipinas*, 404-407. For the rental of Taytay rice fields by the landless denizens of Dilao, see NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, 15B (1636). For sangley sugar-growers in Pasay, see AGI, Contratación, 368, N. 7, R. 71 fs. 57v, 111v, 114v (1618). For the forced settlement of sangleys in Laguna de Bay, see AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 1, N. 7, *passim* (1630).

[94] For the original charges, see AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, exp. 2, f. 1r-4r, 10r-12v (1686). For the rental agreements, translated from the original Tagalog, see *Ibid.,* fs. 52r-62r (1686). Up to nine-hundred and twenty cabalitas might have been rented. See *Ibid*, f. 12r (1686).

held a barangay of morenos, Dayap, requiring the same interpreters used by Tagalog witnesses. The only Spanish speaker (*ladino*) among these rural moreno witnesses was the commander of their militia unit.[95]

Finally, principales of Cainta contested the sale by questioning the legitimacy of the signatories as natives of the community. In fact, their own ranks included migrants from the more densely-settled portions of the alcaldia of Tondo, but the actions of the signatories buttressed the claims of the skeptic nobles. Many of the signatories fled the town of Cainta, fearing retribution from the Jesuit-aligned faction of don Francisco Gatasalian, requiring other citizens to vouch for their identity. These witnesses argued that several of the signatories claimed ersatz noble ancestry, but more impressively, a significant number of signatories were "foreign" advenedizos. The witnesses who made this designation usually referred to individuals as foreign if they came from outside the eastern part of Tondo, a classification that included western Tondo, Bulacan, Laguna de Bay, and Pampanga. The migrants from Pampanga represented the largest contingent of the 124 that fled. Cainta residents explained that forty-four of them were advenedizos, or recent immigrants.[96]

More extensive records from Santa Ana de Sapa gives us a better understanding of cultural diversity of migrants within central Luzon, at least from the late seventeenth century. In the late 1680s the audiencia began to more systematically question the extent to which pueblos could support the substantial services asked of them by the friar missionaries. One such dispute centered on the municipality of Santa Ana de Sapa, situated on the southern banks of the Pasig

[95] AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, exp. 3, f. 10r, 23r, 186r (1686). For Dayap, see *Ibid*., exp. 3, fs. 19r-23v (1686).

[96] AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, exp. 4, fs. 16v-33r (1686).

about a league east of Manila. The Franciscans conducted a census of the municipality, which included several visitas and haciendas.[97]

Five barangays composed Santa Ana de Sapa (See Table 1). These were not named by the census-taker, though parish records might give us some idea of their designations. Several large estates acted as visitas of the municipality. These included San Pedro Makati, owned by the Jesuits, and located to the southeast. The Augustinians owned Mandaluyong, an estate north of the river, and San Pedrillo, east of Santa Ana. Several pueblos also composed the town; these included San Juan del Monte, and its barangay, northwest across the Pasig (Figure 5). Finally, the parish of Santa Ana, its unit of tribute, included several smaller estates, owned by various higher-ranking civil and ecclesiastical officials. For example, María Barandoa owned a small estate; she was the wife of the teniente Juan Gómez de Paiba, a Portuguese teniente of an alcalde mayor, who traded with Makassar (Figures 3 and 7). Matías de Rocha, a Japanese parish priest for the negros and morenos of Manila, owned another parcel.[98]

Like the census of Pasay, the 1691 padron of Santa Ana de Sapa did not precisely identify kinship patterns. Due to Filipino and Spanish naming conventions, for example, there are several instances of nobody in a nuclear household sharing the same surname. Nor did the census-taker consistently identify the ethnicity of the people counted; he did not even do so in the majority of the cases. Also, slaves from Islamicate polities and Portuguese possessions do not appear, as royal officials instructed that non-indigenous slaves could not be counted in padrones. Finally, half tributaries, which included women-headed households and single tributaries were grouped separately and not within households by the census-taker, even though

[97] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 144r-192r (1691).

[98] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 10v, 181r, 190r. AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, fs. 10v-11r (1670). AGI, Filipinas, 78, N.19 (1689).

they probably shared households with each other or with married individuals within households.[99]

Table 1. 1691 Padrón of Santa Ana de Sapa[100]

	Indios	*Sangleys*	*Mestizos*	*Criollos*	*Vagamundos*	*Others*[101]
Santa Ana total	261	31	121	44	18	7
Santa Ana (población)	15	0	1	9	2	0
Mandaluyong	21	2	26	6	2	2
San Juan del Monte	97	2	7	1	0	0
San Pedro Makatí	35	3	33	6	7	0
Huertas de Correa	6	1	6	0	2	0
San Pedrillo	36	1	20	0	0	0
Tierras de Barandoa	1	0	1	4	0	0
Tierras de Rocha	2	3	0	1	0	1

The padrón of Santa Ana de Sapa confirms the ethnic diversity and marital endogamy exhibited by peasants of rural central Luzon at large. The mixing of ethnic diversity and marital exogamy exhibited by the residents of Santa Ana de Spa helps explain the vigor of chino identity in colonial Mexico. The lack of consistent ethnic designations seems to have skewed the results.

[99] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, *passim*.

[100] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 146v-191v (1691).

[101] These categories included mestizos de japón, slaves, and a migrant from Ternate. These tribute assessments did not include non-indigenous slaves imported from outside the Spanish empire.

Of the one thousand, five –hundred and forty-one identifiable individuals, the contador labeled only a little more than two-hundred and sixty-one as indigenous (*indio*). Nonetheless, even if all of the unlabeled individuals were indigenous, which seems unlikely, non-indigenous inhabitants numbered more than fourteen percent of the inhabitants, or two-hundred and twenty-one individuals. Significant non-indigenous populations include those of Minnanese mestizos, sangleys, criollos, the products of Japanese-indigenous unions (*mestizos de japón*), Luzon indigenous people from outside of central Luzon, and even a presumably poor Spaniard. The large hacienda of Mandaluyong appears to follow a similar pattern as Pasay in that it hosts large households compared to San Juan del Monte. Household composition also demonstrated ethnic diversity. Individuals of Santa Ana de Sapa showed significant marital exogamy, and several households include married couples sharing space with single men and women of other ethnicities. These residents exhibited the persistence of collateral pre-Hispanic kinship ties in central Luzon. This persistence illustrates the agency of central Luzon epasants and elites. It provides one more example among many of the longer history of negotiation and contestation of colonial rule in the Philippines, a history of struggle which central Luzon workers would bring with them to colonial Mexico.[102]

Conclusion:

Despite the objections of Spanish clerics and administrators, it appears that village elites worked to use their power to maintain both the institution of chattel slavery (alipin saguiguilid) and the pre-Hispanic custom of subordinating villagers through debt bondage (alipin namamahay). Indigenous elites living in areas of more tenuous Spanish control, such as the Visayas, forced Spanish officials to acquiesce in the *de facto* maintenance of these relationships.

[102] *Ibid*.

Indeed, into the middle of the seventeenth century, Spanish administrators legitimated datu efforts to retain and even extend the practice of hearth slavery.

Nonetheless, I demonstrated in this chapter that the peasants and workers of rural central Luzon peasant continued and adapted strategies of mobility as a tactic to adapt to the vicissitudes of the Spanish colonial system. First, rural residents demonstrated substantial mobility, moving between cities and the countryside, but migration between rural communities represented one of the most important aspects of this mobility. Some forms of coerced mobility proceeded from colonial policies, but rural residents also moved on their own initiative in order to evade Spanish colonial policies.

Second, through movement, rural residents of central Luzon, like other peasants, necessarily found themselves bound to a larger political and economic system that put them in contact with other indigenous groups and various non-indigenous migrants. Extraction of tribute by Crown officials, whether in the form of commodities or labor, represented the most familiar form of this connection. Central Luzon peasants also continued to prioritize bilateral and collateral kinship patterns, enabling them to expand their households to incorporate outsiders and fruitfully settle themselves in unfamiliar communities. The exchange between rural communities and the urban and military economies induced individuals from various groups to enter the countryside. This included Spanish administrator-entrepreneurs, soldiers from Mexico, indigenous migrants, descendants of Indian slaves, Chinese tenant farmers and shopkeepers into the countryside. Flight from these various increased exactions as well as the imposition by colonial authorities of more extraordinary impositions would have mitigated such primitive accumulations, and like their contemporaries in the Americas, we must consider that noble appropriation of labor might have forestalled community.

Despite the initial attempts at standardization, indigenous demands and the tutoring of the Spanish about the local economy changed with the imposition of extraordinary extractions and extensive alteration of tribute quotas imposed in 1604. The widespread reliance on corvée labor by Spanish administrators increased pressure on communities, and their ties to Spanish culture and its legal system. On one hand, the labor drafts brought peasants from out of the countryside into more urban zones such as Cavite and Manila. We will see in the next chapter that indigenous workers often transformed this ostensibly short-term appropriation of labor into a longer-term career in the ports and cities of the archipelago and beyond. Flight constituted an aspect of these expeditions.

The creation of shipyards, the establishment of timber expeditions, and other more extraordinary uses of labor brought the colonial administrators into more prolonged contact with rural communities. Through the cortes and other corvée expedition, lower-order officials brought local features and forms of urban colonial society into these remote location such as the taverns and gambling den, were brought into the countryside In turn, the workers supplied for these expeditions came into contact with individuals speaking different languages and from distant lands. Rowers appeared to have been important for pre-Hispanic expeditions and certainly, these earliest expeditions were headed by indigenous leaders during the extended conquest.

Finally, and among the most-documented phenemona of early colonial communities were the estancias - cattle ranches and large rice haciendas, staffed with Indian slaves, Chinese mestizo cowboys and central Luzon Filipino tenants. Rather than constituting replicas of supposed Spanish fiefdoms, these ranches contributed towards a sort of creole Tagalization of northern Luzon, Japanese, mestizo and moreno creole cultivators. In fact, as we saw from the

parish records of Lubao, Pampanga, the ethnic diversity of these estates, controlled by Spanish owners, paralleled the diversity of indigenous villages of central Luzon,. Both institutions facilitated incorporation of outsiders, whether Tagalog-speaking or otherwise, through intermarriage and the Catholic godparentage. The entrepreneurs who initially began these settlements included Spanish clerics and soldiers, and of course, the justly famous Chinese merchants, but also included indigenous elites empowered by the colonial system. Chinese peasants and artisans entered the countryside as did merchants attempting to benefit from the more monetized economy around Spanish centers.

We can immediately identify the Filipino mariners sailing the sampans and attacking Santa Ana de Sapa as erstwhile "chinos," mariners who interacted with Spaniards, and in some ways emissaries of the colonial system. It is only after we have analyzed the changing organization of labor, and resource usage in rural central Luzon, we see that these mariners represented part of a larger set of changes occurring more broadly in central Luzon, rather than representing a Hispanicized elite divorced from the rest of the isolated Filipino population. Instead, the ubiquity of military threats and requisitioned labor converted entire territories into potential arenas not of Hispanicization, but of a cultural milieu influenced by colonial culture and draft labor, but still administered by Filipinos speaking their own languages and organizing labor in their own distinct ways. It is only by beginning to sketch the contours of these changes that we can understand not only why some Filipinos left, but why many returned. The existence of this return migration, and transpacific communication with portions of the Philippines suggested regular exchange between the rural communities of central Luzon, as well as between these communities and the urbanized centers of Cavite and Manila. Further, this mobility suggests the need of a discussion of patterns of change in the interconnected rural and urban

communities of central Luzon. It is to a discussion of such changes in more urbanized and Hispanicized areas of the Philippines that we shall now turn.

Chapter 3: The Ties that Bind: Migration, Labor, and Settlement in Urban Central Luzon

On January 2, 1606, a mariner named Roque Miguel on the Manila galleon *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, lay sick and on his deathbed. He decided, in light of his condition, to write a codicil to his will. Miguel, a native of Marseilles, served on the galleon alongside of his brother, Juan Miguel, the quartermaster. The Miguels used their access to the ship to consign goods on behalf of many vecinos of Manila and its surrounding arrabales for sale in New Spain (Figures 4 and 6). Roque Miguel carried with him nine large jars (*tinajas*) of crystallized sugar for his brother. Miguel also oversaw a bundle of Juan Cana, a municipal citizen of Cavite, which contained a piece of velvet and spools of raw silk. The codicile demonstrates that Spanish sailors had begun to build close relationships with the indigenous inhabitants of the port of Cavite. Thus, Miguel safeguarded goods of doña Mariana, an indigenous vecina of Cavite and wife of Alonso Garabato, including ten pieces of cotton cloth and a velvet saya. He also acted as a consignee of Inésilla, another indigenous woman from Cavite, asking his executor to sell the pañuelo morado and a shirt on her behalf. Finally, he looked after the goods of an unnamed indigenous woman from the pueblo of Dongalo, who he named as his godmother.[1]

This case demonstrates the persistence and adaptation of insular Southeast Asian and South China Sea practices of commenda and consignment of goods. It also shows the ways that Filipinos of colonial Luzon extended their multi-ethnic social networks into new colonial urban spaces like Cavite, even including Europeans within them. The Spanish colonial economy transformed the Cavite peninsula from a scattered group of Tagalog fishing villages into a large, multi-ethnic population center in early colonial central Luzon. The prominence of Cavite

[1] AGI, Contratación, 503A, N. 6, exp. 2, fs. 10r-10v (1609).

derived only in part from its status as the center of construction and repair for the Manila galleons. Sailors, grumetes, and passengers used Cavite as a site of embarkation and disembarkation when they made their annual journeys between Asia and the Americas. The port also sent and received smaller ships (*pataches*) and galleons sailing intra-Asian voyages. To build the galleons, Spanish administrators coordinated the labor of thousands of coerced laborers, including skilled slaves employed as artisans, sailors and soldiers impressed in New Spain, and carpenters and masons drafted from the rural and suburban hinterland of Manila. The administrators of the colonial Philippines in time fixed the burgeoning port of Cavite and the city of Manila as crucial points for the redistribution of colonial labor, albeit centers that these administrators did not fully control. Manila, Cavite, and their hinterlands emerged as markets for the sale of locally-produced items, served by vendors from adjacent communities as well as by itinerant merchants from communities scattered along the Manila Coast.

I argue that we need to study the demographic, political, economic, and social dynamics of these early colonial urban centers of the Philippines, given that so many chinos had either been born in or had moved through this area. Charting routes of spatial and social mobility, plotting the impact of changing political economies on the labor and social history, and evaluating changes in social interaction and legal maneuver in the colonial core of urban Luzon provides a baseline with which to compare indigenous activity in rural areas of the Philippines and chino interactions in New Spain. Changing strategies of mobility and employment patterns in urban central Luzon encompassed much larger populations than that of chinos, and therefore deserve study in their own right. I contend that the relationships maintained by Filipinos colonial institutions and their administrators, whether in the form of salaried service and corvée labor, or in the course of litigation and petition, constituted one of of the most important modes of

interaction that shaped chino experience in the Americas. The decisions made by migrants and the contact-era inhabitants of central Luzon also influenced the way that Spanish administrators designed colonial institutions and implemented royal orders.

The agency of these migrants also affected the way that other social, commercial, and political patterns in Manila and Cavite changed over time. Chino experiences in urban Luzon played a formative role in their life history. In addition to housing the headquarters of Filipino colonial institutions, Manila and Cavite served as commercial and imperial linchpins in Spanish Asia, emerging as key sites for the redistribution of supplies, merchandise and labor across the archipelago, Asia and the Americas. In this chapter, I examine the the dynamics of the tensions between Filipino mobility and colonial structures by charting the routes of labor flows. I also sketch the typologies and varieties of the interactions between Filipinos and colonial institutions. Next, I analyze the ways that Filipino and other Asian migrants helped form urban Manila and Cavite. Finally, I scrutinize the vagaries of itinerant Filipino experience Spanish imperial policy, by exploring cases of chino maritime service on Spanish ships.

Interaction between Spanish plebes, Filipinos, Japanese migrants, and populations of enslaved origins showed the diversity of the port. Like Manila, the early colonial port of Cavite also had a resident community of sangleyes originating in the province of Fujian, in southeastern China (Figure 3). Manila and its arrabales embodied similar diversity. Inquisition records document the interactions between indigenous people, the diverse slave population of Manila, and individuals from the lower reaches of Spanish society, especially soldiers and sailors. The descendants of Tagalog and Kapampangan sojourners and settlers formed social networks with the members of these groups. The inhabitants of central Luzon colonial developed strategies to negotiate and align themsleves with Spanish institutions such as the Catholic Church and

colonial courts. Since Central Luzon formed the wellspring of chino populations in the Americas, I argue that chino experience of colonial multiethnic corporate politics, civil litigation, and Catholic ecclesiastical protocol in the Philippines would prepare them well for similar institutions that they encountered in New Spain. Filipino migrants, mariners and militia members showed particular mobility, creating strong ties with Spanish individuals and institutions. Their movement within and between the urban centers of Cavite and Manila, and the wider early modern world of Asia prefigured their travel to New Spain and mobility within the boundaries of that viceroyalty (Figure 6).

Charting this movement also shows that transpacific traffic formed only a part of broader intra-colonial and cross-cultural maritime mobility engaged in by Filipinos. Filipino negotiation with Spanish colonial work regimes, civil institutions, and the broader colonial population profoundly shaped their experience in New Spain and beyond. These skilled workers, along with Spanish plebes, slaves, free morenos, Japanese merchants and sangley artisans interacted and forged a recognizable creole culture. Filipinos and others formed this culture from within the closest arrabales of Cavite and Manila, producing it from the collateral kinship networks forged by Filipinos, the sites of multiethnic labor in imperial fortresses and shipyards, and the residential patterns of workers subject to colonial institututions such as the Audiencia and the Church.

The indigenous and migrant populations of Cavite and Manila embodied the contradictions of early colonial governance of the Philippines. On one hand, colonial administrators felt that the Christian indoctrination and security of the Philippines required stationary, segregated ethnic communities that performed specific tasks, especially the production of provisions and the reproduction of labor for military and commercial purposes.

On the other hand, colonial administrators required mobile laborers to staff the widely separated fortresses and shipyards of the archipelago. Heightened tribute requirements and community obligations prompted even settled agrarian Filipino workers to move in order to evade increasingly onerous production demands. They also contributed to the desperate attempts of Filipino nobility to integrate migrant tributaries and members of the community Filipino and non-Filipino migrants into their pueblos. These contradictions shaped the daily existence of the ever-changing pool of migrants from which sprung the chino grumetes and chino servants of colonial Mexico. Finally, the labor of these migrants helped link Cavite and Manila, strengthening the connections of central Luzon rural populations to a broader world linked to Manila Bay. Some of these migrants moved even further afield, to colonial Mexico.

Cavite served as a gateway for Spanish and Filipinos sailors to the Pacific Ocean, and also to bodies of water rich in pre-colonial exchange, such as the Leyte Gulf, the Seas of Jolo and Sulawesi, the South China Sea, the Java Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the Arabian Sea (See Figures 2, 3, and 7). As key components of the Spanish colonial order in Asia, Filipino mariners helped bring together the increasingly-interconnected colonial terrain of the South Seas with the millenia-old cultural, economic, and social domains of Tamil, Hokkien, Javanese, orang laut and Luzonese seafarers. Through their labor and movement, sojourners traveling through and settling in Cavite and Manila linked flows of ostensibly-unskilled polo laborers to more specialized military and maritime labor markets. For example, the famous 1606 conquest of the primary Spice Islands fortress of Ternate required indigenous labor alongside its complement of over a thousand Spanish soldiers drawn from the empire and several hundred Spanish mariners. Ninety-five indigenous sailor's apprentices (*grumetes*), two hundred indigenous servants, hundreds of indigenous rowers, and three hundred and forty-four Filipino soldiers left Cavite for

Iloilo in order to seize Ternate (Figures 2 and 3). Similarly, the increasing number of permanent residents in these Luzon cities gave rise to a geographically and ethnically-diverse work force of skilled laborers who worked daily alongside "Spanish" plebe sailors and soldiers. The knowledge and skills of these workers enabled them to forge strong ties to an urban area strongly shaped by Hispanic colonial institutions linked to the governor, Audiencia and Roman Catholic Church. These interactions in turn sustained a labor pool which supplied the diverse work force of the Manila galleons, a mix of peoples with diverse, but shared experiences, who came to be known as chinos in the Americas.[2]

As we saw in the last chapter, the missionary impulses of Spanish colonial administrators and the lessons of the American conquests prompted them to try to erect "pueblos de indios" and to control the boundaries of these pueblos. They implemented similar policies in the environs of Cavite and Manila. Tagalogs, Spanish plebes, Japanese sailors, and sangley artisans, as the objects of Spanish attempts at ethnic segregation, resisted these policies, creating a common culture of multiethnic interaction which in part challenged the attempts of Spanish administrators to delineate spatially and socially-separate ethnic settlements. In other ways, though, the denizens of Manila and Cavite conformed to colonial patterns of corporate ethnic segregation.

These same mixed-race populations shared dire material circumstances, coping with numerous calamities and constraints such as the threat of fire, earthquake, invasion, baguio, and the occasional, but repeated demolition of their homes and places of worship when invasion

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[2] For the Maluku invasion, see Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas,* 356-357. The Spaniards had employed skilled Filipino soldiers in the first Maluku campaign, and Cambodia. See *Ibid*., 167, 203. The Filipino soldiers were organized into five companies; Kapampangans led four of them. The Kapampangan Field Marshall don Guillermo Dimarocot led one company of 189 soldiers. Don Francisco Palaot captained another company of 189 soldiers. Don Agustín Lonot's company held 66 soldiers, while forty-seven armed stoneworkers made up the company of don Luis. One Tagalog officer, don Juan Lit, led a small company of thirty-six soldiers which we can assume were Tagalogs. See AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 3, f. 3v (1606). See *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), for indigenous rural-urban migration in colonial Mexico.

threatened. The indigenous people, sangleys, and plebes of Manila and Cavite also shared spaces and routines of work. They built the walls, bulwarks, stockades, and strongpoints attached to the already existing fortifications in times of emergency. These indigenous people, Japanese, morenos, and sangley laborers mobilized militias to counter invasions and quell rebellions.[3]

Administrators and indigenous people of central Luzon worked together to forge a working population with a variety of skill levels, supplementing them with often skilled, but coerced workers coming from adjacent rural pueblos. Spanish administrators made use of skilled and salaried workers to undertake the most advanced tasks supporting intra-Asian and trans-Pacific commerce – the construction and manning of some of the largest machines, naval vessels, then assembled. The emergence of these skilled artisans helped give rise to a criollo population of migrants with fairly close ties to Spanish patrons. Population centers that harbored migrants also hosted native populations. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, these communities such as the port of Cavite and its indigenous annex of San Roque, as well as Bagumbayan, San

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[3] For an idealist description of the spatial practices of reducción and congregación, see “The Ordinances Issued by the Audiencia of Manila,” 279-388, especially 326. Even early work, which tended to study the institutional history of the pueblos and concentrate on royal ordinances, saw the contradictions of Spanish colonial policy. See Phelan, *Hispanization*, *passim*; and Phelan, “Free Versus Compulsory Labor,” 189-201.

For some of the range of disasters experienced by the residents of Manila, see Ricardo García-Herrera, Pedro Ribera, Emilio Hernández, and Luis Gimeno, “Typhoons in the Philippines Islands, 1566-1900,” < http://www.typhoon2000.ph/stormstats/PhilippineTyphoons1566-1900.pdf . (Accessed November 20, 2009). 1-41; Greg Bankoff, *Cultures of Disaster: Society and Natural Hazard in the Philippines* (London: RoutledgeCurzon Press, 2003); and Greg Bankoff, “Fire and Quake in the Construction of Old Manila,” *Medieval History Journal*, 10, no. 1 (2007): 411-427. For studies of the effects of epidemic, war, and disease on the populations of the Philippines, see Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*; and Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*.

For shared experience in other colonial urban and rural landscapes, see Kimberly Gauderman, *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Equality, and the Law* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Martha Few, *Women Who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala, 1650-1750* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 166-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Niemeijer, “The free asian community,”75-91; Remco Raben, “Round about Batavia,” 93-113; and Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009 [1983]), 3-32.

Miguel, and Dilao supplied stable populations of skilled maritime and terrestrial laborers. Imperial corvée systems and other colonial institututions spurred, but did not produce this group of laborers. Flows of migrants from Luzon and far beyond were responsible for supplying these laborers and it is to these flows that we shall now turn.[4]

Colonial Institutions, Indigenous Municipalities, and Labor

Manila and its suburbs were the headquarters of the key institutions of colonial governance and administration, including the Audiencia, the royal treasury, and offices of the governor. The city hosted a Spanish cabildo or municipal government. In the closely-connected ecclesiastical realm, a Chinese sangley neighborhood, Binondo served as the seat of Dominican administration and consequently, the headquarters of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Other religious orders, the Franciscans, Augustinians (shod and *dezcalzos*), and Jesuits, had convents

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[4] For characterization of ships as machines, see Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, *Los Hombres del Óceano: Vida cotidiana de los tripulantes de las flotas de Indias. Siglo XVI* (Sevilla: La Diputación de Sevilla, 1992).

For boat construction knowledge shared between insular Southeast Asian peoples and China, reflected in the hull forms and manufacturing methods of the ships of insular Southeast Asia, see Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Southeast Asian Ship: An Historical Approach," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 11, no. 2 (1980): 267-268, 272, 275; and Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Trading Ships of the South China Sea. Shipbuilding Techniques and Their Role in the History of the Development of Asian Trade Networks," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36, no. 3 (1993): 267-268.

Following the efforts of the Portuguese to disrupt the network of Melaka and northern Javanese polities, Dutch efforts to monopolize shipping in insular Southeast Asia had devastating effects for several coastal polities, expecially Jakarta, Bantam, Aceh, Gowa (Makassar) and many of the eastern Javanese polities. Other coastal and Malay-affiliated groups and polities were able to reconfigure their networks, most notably the Makassarese, the Minangkabau, the Bugis, the sultanate of Johor, and different trading communities in eastern Banda. See Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence, passim*; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*. Volume 1, *passim*; and Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*. Volume 2, *passim2*.

For the connotations associated with the terms "Turk," "Ottoman," and "Rumi," in the early modern period, see Giancarlo Casale, "The Ethnic Composition of Ottoman Ship Crews and the "Rumi Challenge' to Portuguese Identity," *Medieval Encounters* 13, no. 1 (2007): 122-144. For Ottomans in Southeast Asia, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 3, N. 26, f. 8v (1575); AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 2, N. 9, f. 3r (1583); and Anthony Reid, "Aceh and the Turkish Connection," in *Aceh: History, Politics, and Culture* eds. Arndt Graf, Susanne Schröter, and Edwin Wieringa (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010), 26-38.

For Renaissance fortresses in Asia and Europe, see José Eugenio Borao Mateo, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan: The Baroque Endings of a Renaissance Endeavor* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 111-117; and Andrade, *Lost Colony*, 152-156, 174-176, 248-249, 316-320. Insular Southeast Asians have a long history of iron metallurgy, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this study. See also David Balbeck, *Land of Iron: The Historical Archaeology of Luwu and the Cenrana Valley. Results of the Origin of Complex Society in South Sulawesi Project (OXIS)* (Hull, UK: University of Hull Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 2000).

around the city of Manila. They each founded missions in the city and its arrabales, while also overseeing the operations of the agricultural enterprises required to fund them. Cavite was the official disembarkation point for the Manila galleon, and the it was also the center for deployment of ships, troops, and supplies to ports in the Indian and Pacific oceans. Tribute, both in money and in kind, streamed into the royal warehouses of Manila and the port of Cavite. Silver flowed out of the city to China, India, and Southeast Asia, but also to the provinces to pay for royal projects. Tens of thousands of Hokkiens, South Asians, East Africans, Filipino, Spanish and Portuguese workers constructed, maintained, cleaned, and expanded the houses, churches, residences, barracks, shipyards, convents, and public buildings of Manila and Cavite.[5]

Individuals from indigenous communities, as the subjects of the king of Castile, paid ten reales a year in tribute, often levied in rice and hens. Like the indigenous people of the Americas, they were viewed as wards of the King, and were required to live in communities "repúblicas de indios," separated from the Spanish realm. As we shall see, such separation remained only hypothetical in the core of colonial Luzon. Filipinos were subject to the authority of the viceroy of Mexico, who ostensibly administered the territory of the Philippines for the King of Spain. In actuality, the distance between Mexico and the Philippines allowed the governor and Audiencia autonomy from the viceroy and Spain itself. The governor exercised civil authority, and also control the troops and garrisons of this heavily militarized colony, whose scattered garrisons held soldiers that numbered in the thousands. The Audiencia served as an appellate court, but also modified laws issued by the crown, and exercised certain investigatory roles over more minor officials. Alcaldes mayores, the magistrates of the provinces, helped coordinate labor and presided over investigations and cases appealed from municipal

[5] See Morga, *Sucesos*, 290-295; María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 13, 15-19; and Phelan, *The Hispanization*, 167-176.

gobernadores. They also supervised other judicial and administrative functions broadly aimed at keeping imperial order. They oversaw the construction of churches and convents, attacked the practices of idolatry, ensured the employment of peasants in cultivation, protected local indigenous people from abuse by Spaniards and directed the election and selection of local indigenous officials.[6]

Spanish colonial administrators such as the governor and the Audiencia exercised substantial control over the colonial society of the Philippines through their implemention of royal orders and finely-tuningof royal legislation. They transformed local customs which allocated labor and other resources. For example, they transformed the polo, which early in the colonial period was a periodic levy which pooled the labor of commoners for community tasks such as rice harvests, the construction of dams and the construction of houses. By 1610, the governor of the Philippines had begun to levy the polo on thousands of Tagalogs, Visayas, and Kapampangans for colony-wide priorities, such as the construction of galleons or the provision of military labor in campaigns against Mindanao or the VOC (Figures 2 and 3). The resulting large-scale levy closely resembled the mita, the corvée levied on Andean peasants to supply labor for the silver mines of Potosí. Some of the smaller, but still significant polos resembled those imposed on the indigenous population of New Spain.[7]

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[6] For tribute, see Phelan, *Hispanization*, 96. The instructions and duties of the office of alcalde mayor can be found in the *hojas de méritos y servicios*, the service records used as proof to encomiendas. The responsibilities of alcaldes mayores grew over time as the Habsburgs issued more protective legislation. For example, compare AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 64, fs. 9r-11r (1598); and AGI, Filipinas, 54, R. 9, fs. 99r-105r (1658). For early efforts by the civil government to supervise missionization and to suppress non-Christian practices, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 2, f. 22r (1585); and *Ibid.*, exp. 3, fs. 1r-4r (1585).

[7] For the early manifestation of the polo, see Morga, *Los Sucesos*, 305. For Southeast Asian corvées, see Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 73; Henley, *Fertility, Food, and Fever*, 31, 33; and and Anthony Reid,"Pluralism and progress in seventeenth-century Makassar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156, no. 3 (2000): 446-448. For effects of labor levees in the Andes see Cole, *The Potosí Mita, 1573-1700*; Peter J. Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); and Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosí*, *1692-1826* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993). For the effect of the repartimientos of New Spain, especially those levied on the

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the sangley population of the city began to play a larger role in shipbuilding and colonial works, though they were still overshadowed by the larger numbers and consistent involvement of indigenous people. The sangley population paid high regular taxes, basically serving as the primary source of revenue for the Spanish cabildo of Manila. Colonial officials often imposed "extraordinary" or periodic exactions of cash from the community or for polo deferrals that frequently became opportunities for graft. In response to this problem, and as an indication of the importance of the polo, in 1615, don Juan de Silva ordered communities to hold its polo funds in a separate chest. The proceeds of the caja de polong would be used by indigenous communities to pay part of the salary of the polo workers, as well as their travel and food expenses. Only gobernadores, alcalde mayors, and the municipal parish priest held keys to these chests.[8]

Similarly, at contact, community leaders or datus, even the rajas of Tondo and Manila, had levied a sort of tribute. Late sixteenth-century peasants in central Luzon provided food to the growing city of Manila. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century, governors and alcaldes mayors had instituted the *vandala*, a below-market price requisition of massive quantities of foodstuffs, especially rice, and raw materials such as coconut fiber from the provinces. This policy was the same as the *reparto de efectos* in the American colonies.[9]

Valley of Mexico for services in the city of Mexico, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule,* 224-242; and Tomás Jalpa Flores, "Migrantes y Extravagantes: Indios de la perifería en la Ciudad de México durante los siglos xvi-xvii," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérez (México, D. F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2010), 89-104.

[8] For sangley vandalas, see NAP, Cedulario, 1636-1640, SD 0081, *Alcalde Mayor de Pampanga sobre bandala de sangleyes christianos*, fs. 151-153b (1639). For some examples of sangley workers in colonial works projects, see NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, SD 685, *Auto notificado a los tenedores de los almacenes de Manila y Cavite sobrelo de las raciones de arroz,* f. S. 79B (1627); AGI, Contaduría, 1215, fs. 63r, 198v-199v (1633-1634); AGI, Escribanía 409D, 1a pieza, fs. 50r, 59v, 62v (1644); and AGI, Contaduría, 1227, fs. 277r-277v (1648). For the caja de polong, see AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 15, exp. 2, fs. 21v-22r (1615).

[9] For provisioning of the Manila by indigenous municipalities, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 14r-15v (1598). For the vandala, see Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, 51-53.

Spanish administrators also enjoined the cooperation of local notables in their efforts at colonial administration. They sought to use indigenous nobility as intermediaries to govern local communities on behalf of the Crown, in return providing royal "protection" from exploitation of local administrators, clerics, and encomenderos. To do so, they drew from American experience and centralized the low-density settlements of Tagalogs and Kapampangans in a process called reducción, facilitating religious indoctrination by members of the missionary orders. Filipinos built stone churches and convents in their cabeceras, requiring attendance at the cabecera Masses by the populations of the outlying visitas, and centering the parishes in the cabeceras, staffing each with one or two resident priests from missionary orders. Formally at least, colonial institutions separated Spaniards and people of other ethnicities from indigenous people by forming "pueblos de indios," protected communities that stood under indigenous leadership, and that were distinct from "pueblos de españoles." As one of their duties, alcaldes mayores oversaw the legitimacy of the election of indigenous leaders of the pueblos, probably exerting influence over the elections in the process, but otherwise confirming the subjection of indigenous governance to the authority of the Crown. Indigenous governance and many of the colonial processes described here mainly took place in the cabeceras. Colonial officials then installed local nobles in municipal governments. Cabeceras were lead by gobernadores, who often also served as mayordomos. Escribanos, and alguaciles mayores supported the judicial and administrative efforts of the governors. These officials served as administrators, justices of the first instance, and collaborated with local clerics to ensure attendance at Mass. Indigenous alguaciles, parish priests, and colonial courts alike hired bilangos to help them enforce the law.[10]

[10] For the reducción, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, L. 1, exp. 2, f. 107r (1584); and Phelan, *Hispanization*, 44-48. For church construction, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 22, fs. 1r, 2r, 3r (1582); and AGI, Contaduría, 1202, 1a pieza, f.

Cabezas de barangays, noble heads of moieties of less than thirty to fifty households, provided another locus of indigenous authority, complimenting elected town officials like the alcalde, which were present in early colonial indigenous and sangley municipal government. These small communities and the allocation of authority within them created templates for the creation of small settlements and chino offices in New Spain. Colonial authorities charged these officials with collecting tribute, working with the local cleric to keep accurate counts of their barangay population, and later, allocating workers for the polos. Cabezas de barangay could also be jailed for providing insufficient tribute. The cabeza de barangay was a a lifetime position and heritable, but at times, nobility purchased the office. By contrast councils composed of nobility and past officers annually elected gobernadores and holders of offices later added by colonial administrators, such as the teniente, juez de sementeras, and juez de palmas.[11]

111v (1591). For indigenous élites and intermediaries as cultural brokers, see Yanna Yannanakis, *The Art of Being In-Between* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 9-14.

For the duties of gobernadores, see the instructions addressed to don Pedro Mójica, the gobernador of Silang, a municipality in the alcaldía mayor of Tondo, in Filipinas, 43, N. 52, fs. 7r-7v (1659). It is possible that municipal governments held a formal and more expansive *cabildo* structure, with appointed members called *regidores* and *diputados*, but I have not yet found evidence of these more minor officerss in Tagalog or Spanish documents.

For the activity of fiscales, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 181, fs. 2r, 4r (1591); and AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 19 fs. 1v-2r, 3v-4r (1592).

Bilang was the seventeenth-century Tagalog term for jail or apprehension. See Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 632. José Rizal accused Morga of misunderstanding the term "bilango," which he refers to as the term for a constable. During the colonial period, both Spanish and Tagalog officials used the term to refer to constables. See Morga, *Los Sucesos*, 300-301; AGI, Filipinas, 55, N. 11, exp. 2, f. 24r (1655); AGI, Filipinas, 126, N. 1, f. 135v (1701). For its usage in a Tagalog document, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, exp. 13, fs, 1v, 3v, 4r (1670).

[11] For indigenous and sangley alcaldes, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 3, fs. 1r, 2v, 4r (1585); and NAP, Cedulario 1552-1600, f. S146B (1594). For the duties of alcaldes, and their association with smaller communities, see *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, *Tomo Primero*, libro VI, título III, Ley XV (1618) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]) ; and *Ibid.,* Ley XVIII (1563) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]). For elections of gobernadores and other officials, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441ª, fs. 5974v, 5977r-5979r (1649); AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 52, fs. 6v-7r, 8v (1659, 1679).

For the responsibilities of cabezas de barangay, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441ª, f. 5971v (1649); and NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, *Comisión de juez contador de los tributos reales al Pedro de Cantora*l, S14B-16 (1636); SDS 686, Cedulario 1655-1660, *Tributos de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel - Orden del Gobernador General, de estas Yalas al Alcalde Mayor de Tondo para que haga averiguacion de los indios o naturales de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel, que asistieron en los cortes de maderas en los montes de la Laguna,* S14B-S15 (1656). For the jailing of cabezas de barangay, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS

Cabezas de barangay exercised certain perquisites that derived from both pre-Hispanic precedents and the efforts of colonial indigenous elites to expand their authority. As we have seen from missionary accounts, the seventeenth-century allocation of timaguas and namamahay as laborers to principales accompanied the pawning of timaguas to principales in order to pay tribute and parish fees. Both these sets of examples emphasized the permeability of the line between coerced and "free" labor in the colonial Philippines, an ambiguity made use of by Spanish employers of chinos in colonial Mexico. Colonial officials, such as Governor Juan Niño de Tavora referred to the cabezas as lords (*señores*) or even "owners" (*dueños*) of their barangay. As such, cabezas of barangayes might have been entitled to labor from some of the subjects (*cabangcas*) of these barangays, in the form of personal services provided by subjects to their lord in his or her fields or houses. Prehispanic entitlement to the labor of tributaries can be seen in a case described by Gaspar San Agustín, which he alleged to have occurred in 1572. In that year, the Lakan Dula angrily objected to the grant of a settlement of his "slaves" in Bulacan as an encomienda to a Spaniard. In an instruction to Pedro Cantoral in 1636 about producing a tributary census (*padrón*) in Tondo, governor don Sebastián de Corcuera listed the duties that he expected cabezas de barangay to provide during the census count. He wrote of the "obligations of the nobility, owners of barangays."[12]

Treasury records documenting services accorded to the widows of nobles and cabezas de barangay slain in colonial military service provide the most clear evidence of the role of the

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603, *Reserva del Pueblo de Quiapo i sus visitas de pagar el tributo en especie,* f. 164 (1685). For inheritance of barangays, see Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,* 275-276, 282; and, "The Ordinances Issued by the Audiencia of Manila for the Alcaldes Mayores," 305-306.

[12] For possession and lordship in barangays, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation; San Agustín, *Las Conquistas*, 422; and NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, *Comisión de juez contador de los tributos reales al Pedro de Cantoral*, f. S16 (1636), The words Corcuera used were " …*cargo de los principales dueños de los barangayes*." Also see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 9, N. 167, exp. 3, f. 2v (1599); and AGN, Inquisición, 480, exp. 9, fs. 235v, 237r (1604).

barangay as a unit for allocating service to nobility, and perhaps to Spaniards, as well. For example, on June 25, 1648, governor don Diego Fajardo granted a type of pension to Ursula Panquisnavan, a native of the Kapampangan town of Mexico, for the service of her husband, captured by the Dutch VOC when the latter invaded the town of Abucay (Figure 4). Fajardo wrote that he granted the service of six "cabangcas or slaves" from her barangay to her and her son. In his 1732 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance*, Fray Diego Bergaño defined *cabangca* as a subject, clarifying in another definition that cabangcas also could denote shipmates in a boat (*bangca* or *bangka*) who were subject to their captain. The term was equivalent to the Tagalog term *sangbalangay* which referred to the peasant subjects of a barangay and also alluded to ships, refelective of a broader insular Southeast Asian which connected maritime labor to metaphors of societal organizations. Finally, sacramental records indicate the importance of patron-client relationships in barangays. In these records, parish curates and their scribes recorded the names of the people involved in baptisms and marriages that they performed in these records. They often annotated the margins with the barangays to which their congregants belonged. These scribes labeled the barangay by its name, or provided the surname of the cabeza of the barangay.[13]

In a few cases of extraordinary service to the Crown, royal officials explicitly granted the labor of several barangay tributaries (*cabangcas* or *cabalangay*) to nobility within the barangay, seeming to refer to cabangca labor as analogous to slavery or bonded servitude. Certainly, some principales, like Spanish administrators, represented and later transformed, systems of debt

[13] For Paquisnavanan, see NAP, SD 434, Cedulario, 1643-1649, *D. Ursula Paquisnavanan viuda del capitan Don Francisco Manlapa = su reserva de tributo polos y servicios personales y de su hijo ligitimo y de seis tributos de esclavas o cabancas de su barangay*, fs. 289B-290R (1646).

For cabangcas, see Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga*, 46; and San Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 105. For barangay labels in parish records and other colonial records, see FHLGSU, 1127788, item 1, *passim*; and MF# 1127637, item 1, *passim,* and the end of this chapter. For boats in insular Southeast Asia, see Manguin, "Shipshape Societies," *passim*.

bondage and other forms of servitude from open systems into closed ones. Chinos would encounter similar transformations in colonial New Spain, where debt servitude, first seen as temporary, obtained the connotation of slavery. By the 1650s, royal officials like Salvador Gómez de Espinosa had begun to complain of the abuse of personal services allocated by cabezas de barangay. The ambiguity of the relationship between tributary status and bonded labor can be seen in other cases. For example, on July 23, 1648, a notary of the colonial treasury recorded the petition of doña Ursula Sinoc, a native of the Kapampangan municipality of Macabebe, for the right to hold what crown officials deemed "six slaves or cabangcas from her barangay" free from personal services and polos. She had argued for this pension after losing her Kapampangan husband, Alférez don Juan de Arceo, to a VOC siege of the Dominican convent in the municipality of Abucay. After a 1671 royal decree freeing slaves and other bonded laborers in the Philippines, María Sinapi, an indigenous native of Macabebe filed suit against Sinoc for her freedom. She was successful in obtaining her freedom, the freedom of her offspring, Phelipe Flores and María Brigida, and the manumission of her granddaughter, María Solin, the daughter of María Brigida.[14]

The Early Colonial Church in Manila and its Arrabales

In addition to their relationships with indigenous élite intermediaries, indigenous peasants and Filipino elites in early colonial Manila and its arrabales interacted extensively with the

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[14] For services alloted to cabezas de barangay, see Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 301-302. For abuse, see Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del *Barangay*," 400-401.

For a reference to cabalangay in a Tagalog document, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, exp. 13, f. 4v (1669). References to barangays were much less common than those made to *bayans*. See Woods, "The Evolution of Bayan," 30-54. See James L. Watson, "Slavery as an Institution, Open and Closed Systems," 6-7, 9-13, in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). For the petition requests of Sinoc, see AGI, Contaduría, 1227, 1ª pieza, f. 50v (1648). For the summary of the successful suit brought by Sinapi, see AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, exp. 2, f. 96v (1674). By contrast, Remco Raben emphasizes the role of Europeans in increasing demand for slaves in port cities, suggesting that such imports oustripped pre-colonial insular Southeast Asian demand. Remco Raben, "Cities and the slave trade in early-modern Southeast Asia," in *Linking Destinies: Trade, Towns and Kin in Asian History*, eds. Peter Boomgaard, Dick Kooiman, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), 119-140.

Roman Catholic Church, and members of the nobility, especially, held authority as lay officers. The city of Manila and its arrabales served as a vast field of interaction with different forms of religiosity and ecclesiastical administration. Indigenous residents interacting with the Church in Manila would be well-prepared to work within analagous institutions in rural, and especially, urban, new Spain. The primary institutions with which they interacted were the missionary orders, one of the most important and numerous of the Spanish agents of colonialism in the archipelago. They did so in a variety of ways: as provisioners of mandated personal services (*servicios personales*) to resident clerics, as acolytes (*sacristanes*), cooks (*cocineros*), and maids (*sirvientes*). They also interacted with clerics as Catholics, in the course of worship, paid clerical fees. They joined cofradías, and participated in the sacraments of baptism, reconciliation, marriage, and the last rites. Since this was a corporate society, sacramental fees varied by status. For example, in the 1627 fee schedule for sacraments (*arancel*) for indigenous people and slaves of Manila, priests charged two and a quarter pesos for the sung funeral Mass of a principal, while indigenous peasants, Japanese, and free blacks (*negros*) owed only a peso and a half. The slaves of Spaniards paid even lower fees, and slaves of Filipinos paid half of the fees of the latter.[15]

Principales served in high offices, including that of fiscal, sometimes monopolizing the office in exchange for donating land and labor for the establishment of the parish church. For example, in 1714, don Faustino Dandán, an indigenous principal of the municipality of Dilao wrote to the Franciscans and informed them that he would occupy the place of fiscal mayor of

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[15] This study's investigation of indigenous-ecclesiastical relationships ends in 1720. Shortly afterward, in 1721, the Crown legally extinguished the encomienda.For extinction of the encomienda, see Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del *Barangay*," 402. For the sacraments, see Phelan, *Hispanization*, 53-71; and AAM, Box 1.C.7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico (1620-1729), Folder 4 (1620-1627), fs. 118r-118v (1627). The interpretation of the role of the clergy in the colonization of the Philippines is, of course, that of John Leddy Phelan. See *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, *passim*. Phelan also recognized the role of Filipinos in the missionization and cultural change. See *Ibid*., 72-89. The mechanics of the reinterpretation of Catholicism by Tagalogs are analyzed in Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*. Filipino women lost the leadership roles that they had enjoyed in shamanic pre-Hispanic religious practice. See Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations*, *passim*.

the town (Figures 4 and 5). He justified his occupation of the office, reminding Franciscan authorities that his ancestor, Captain don Domingo Lomboy, had donated the land for the church and convent. As such, Lomboy and his descendants had earned the right to become fiscales mayores and to obtain burial in near the altar of the church.[16]

Filipinos and the inhabitants of Filipino communities participated in new colonial relationships by acting as members of lay religious brotherhoods. Chinos in colonial Mexico also created cofradías. These groups existed from the late sixteenth century forward, and through a small contribution, its members, under the supervision of a parish priest or member of a missionary order, pooled assets to fund celebrations for patrons saints and probably burial expenses. The Jesuits helped found such a group in theTondo rural municipalities of Taytay and Antipolo in 1597 (Figures 4 and 5). Early in the seventeenth century, the urban foundation of the Jesuits in Manila, the College of San José, helped institute an urban cofradía, also called a *congergación*, for the Tagalogs of San Miguel, despite the fact that the latter was not a parish until 1611. The Jesuits further helped morenos and slaves of the city form a cofradía in 1634, which probably served as the nucleus of the short-lived moreno ghetto of San Francisco Javier. Filipino and other Asian migrants to the city of Mexico also attached themselves to Jesuit ecclesiastical institutions.[17]

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[16] For Dandán and his family, see Bruce Cruikshank, *Spanish Franciscans in the Colonial Philippines, 1578-1898: Catalogs and Analysis for a History of Filipinos in Franciscan Parishes, Volume 3* (Hastings, Nebraska: Cornhusker Press, 2003), 104-105. The above volumes are invaluable for bringing together new primary source material on the Church in the Philippines and the analysis, often fresh and always insightful, of an experienced scholar studying missionization. I thank Bruce Cruikshank for bringing this work to my attention. Also see NAP, Cedulario, SD 686, Cedulario 1655-1660*, Tributos de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel - Orden del Gobernador General, de estas Yslas al Alcale Mayor de Tondo para que haga averiguacion de los indios o naturales de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel, que asistieron en los cortes de maderas en los montes de la Laguna*, f. S15B (1656); AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, exp. 2 f. 96r (1673); and AGI, Contadurías, 1245, 1ª pieza, f. 38r (1683).

[17] For Jesuit cofradías in the Philippines, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 156, 176, 364, 370. See Chapter 6 for chinos affiliated with Jesuit institutions in colonial Mexico.

Cofradías have been a central area of study for students of the colonial Americas. For some examples of studies of religious brotherhoods in Latin America, see Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities*

The example of the cofradía of the Souls of Purgatory in the municipality of Hermita de la Guía, founded in 1638, showed that indigenous élites saw cofradías not only as expressions of Catholic identity (Figure 5), but as representations of their authority and status. In 1665, don Francisco Pascual served as the mayordomo of this cofradía. Given the prestige of being the mayordomo, Pascual, a native of Santa Ana de Sapa, was probably the same don Francisco Pascual who had served served as the commander of all of the Tagalogs (*maestre de campo*) who deployed against Manila sangleys in 1662. The movement of Kapampangan and Tagalog nobility was common in the seventeenth century, explaining the fact that Pascual held office in Ermita, despite being a native of another municipality. On June 14, 1665, Pascual received permission from the archbishopric to collect dues and alms (*limosnas*) from the adjacent provinces of Pampanga, Laguna de Bay, and Bulacan (Figure 4). In that same year, the cofradía obtained permission to send a cash box (*alcancía*) to New Spain with a sailor named Sebastian de los Reyes in order to collect more dues.[18]

Filipinos also shared spaces with Spaniards in Spanish-controlled ecclesiastical institutions such as convents and cathedrals. These convents and churches required laborers, cooks, and maids. Within these spaces, Filipinos formed new colonial patterns of labor mobility, social interaction and political economy, while the archdiocese confirmed the wide variety of fiscales or vilangos required to police the arrabales. Late in the sixteenth century, Governor Santiago de Vera laid down the guidelines for normal provision of laborers for the church-convents of the Philippines. The guidelines applied to cabeceras once they reached a population

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and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Lorida, 2006); Célia Maia Borges, *Escravos e libertos nas irmandades do Rosário: devoção e solidariedade em Minas Gerais, séculos XVIII e XIX* (Juiz de Fora: Editora UFJF, 2005); and Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 218-229.

[18] For the service of don Francisco Pascual, see AGI, Contaduría, 1236, f. 63v (1662). For the cofradía of las Animas de la Hermita, see AAM, Box 1.C.7, Folder 7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico, Catálogo, 1656-1673, fs. 64-65 (1665).

of five hundred whole tributaries (*tributos enteros*), consisting of a married couple, and minor children. Each adult was classified as a tributante. Each qualifying pueblo cabecera had to supply thirteen laborers, of which eight would serve as cantores for polyphonic choirs; two as sacristans, to assist with the ceremonies of the Mass; one to serve as a doorman; and two cooks.[19]

Over the course of the seventeenth century, non-Filipino populations created civil and ecclesiastical bodies patterned after their Filipino counterparts. Japanese, Chinese, mestizos, and even *morenos* formed barangays and pueblos following colonial models of residential segregation. These non-Filipino groups then governed these communities with gobernadores, tenientes and alguaciles. Of course, the sangleyes had gobernadores almost as long as the Parián existed, but so did other groups in the arrabales. On October 14, 1635, Matheo Campos paid fifty pesos for the *media annata*, a fee for acceding to an office, in order to become the gobernador of San Francisco Javier, a short-lived community of several hundred of free morenos inhabiting an island between Santa Cruz and the Parián (Figure 5). On January 19, 1639, the Japanese residents Juan Tetemanco, Miguel Yamat, and Gaspar Quisiu paid the media annata for the respective offices of gobernador, teniente, and escribano of the Japanese population of the pueblo of Dilao (Figure 5). On July 13, 1633, don Francisco Bacti paid the rice and hens due from his barangay. Fifteen houses of tributaries inhabited the barangay, which was the estate of Balete, owned by the Spanish officer Captain don Juan Sarmiento, and it fell under the jurisdiction of Dilao. Similarly, on May 6, 1653, Nicolás Sonco, a sangley Christian, paid the

[19] AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, f. 135r (1716). Slaves also served in convents. See Museo Nacional de Antropología (MNA), Fondo Franciscano, MF# 32, volume 100, f. 99r (1672). For polyphonic choirs in Manila, see Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, *passim*.

media annata for the governorship of the sangley farmers working the estate of San Juan de Calamba (Figure 4).[20]

The types of governance could differ from those of Filipinos in spatial ways. The jurisdiction of some of these offices surpassed several municipal boundaries, allowing them to represent and exert authority over ethnic subjects in scattered jurisdictions. For example October 31, 1646, Juanes Quisayno, Miguel Sancho, and Juan Yocas paid the media annata for the offices of the gobernador, teniente, and notary of all of the Japanese of Manila and its surrounding jurisdictions. These offices tended to proliferate over time, especially the offices sold to sangleyes in the Philippines.[21]

As settlements proliferated across central Luzon, so, too, did the numbers of individuals wishing to exert authority within them. Each municipality and barrio required its own set of officials, and most offices had buyers, reflecting the will and perhaps the capacity of some to pay to exercise authority over other subjects of the Habsburg king. The proliferation of offices also might have reflected the entrepreneurship of Spanish colonial administrators, as opportunities for the authority and status associated with office began to proliferate, so did opportunities for graft. In the meantime, migration, commerce, and war between the Philippines and other Asian polities shaped the construction of the early colonial communities of central Luzon. It is these relationships to which we will now turn.

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[20] AGI, Contaduría, 1217, 1ª pieza, f. 104v (1635); and AGI, Contaduría, 1219, f. 19v (1639). For the earliest record of the office of gobernador for the Japanese, see AGI, Filipinas, 48, N. 73, fs. 56v-57r (1629). For Balete, see AGI, Filipinas, 1215, f. 91r (1633). Sarmiento would pass on his estate to his son, don Nicolás Sarmiento. The latter probably populated his estate with several slaves from Northern Maluku. Seventeen of these slaves, from the island of Makian, and led by Gabriel de Moia, successfully litigated and obtained their freedom on December 10, 1675. See AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, exp. 2, f. 99v (1675) For Makian, see Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 48-49. For Sonco, see AGI, Contaduría, 1231, f. 271r (1653).

[21] See AGI, Contaduría 1225B, fs. 77v-78r (1646). As of yet, I have not located information about what authority non-Fililipino and non-Chinese gobernadores possessed and wielded.

Intra-Asian Flows of Labor and Goods

The union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns in 1581 quickened the relationships of Manila with other insular Southeast Asian polities, due to extensive commercial network maintained by the Portuguese colonial adminstrators, soldiers, and merchants. This proliferation of connections and expansion of exchange networks ensured the establishment of an even more diverse population in urban central Luzon, and the chinos that had their origins there. Of the eight ships owned by European Christians searched by the Inquisition of Manilain the 1625-1626, seven ships had sailed from Portuguese-run port cities in Asia (See Figure 3). The hybrid nature of the Habsburg Asian empire is shown by the fact that the vast majority of the hundreds of crew members were Asian, and of these, the majority were from South Asia. Moreover, Spanish and Asian merchants accompanied several of the passengers of these ships, which delivered gunpowder, and slaves from ports connected by Portuguese merchants. These merchants also brought cotton and silk textiles produced on the looms of weavers in the villages of Bengal, Surat, and the villages of Andhra and Tamil Nadu (Figure 3). From 1582 onward, Spanish and Portuguese merchants strengthened connections to the rulers and clove merchants of Maluku, rendering the traditional Javanese connection to the islands more difficult (Figures 3 and 7). Maluku furnished access to cloves, a good immensely valuable throughout the world, and also in the Americas. Maluku also became a route through which the Philippines, including indigenous elites, gained access to slaves from Indonesian islands, from mainland Southeast Asia, and obtained in wars between the Portuguese and polities in Java.[22]

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[22] For Portuguese ships, see AGN, Inquisición 903, exp. 43, fs. 242r-259r (1626-1668). For Maluco and Java connections, including slaves, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2440, exp. 27 (1602); AGN, Inquisición, 162, exp. 1, f. 173r (1597); AGI, Contaduría 1206, f. 243r (1604); including the postmorterm inventory of Domingo Artacho in AGI, Contratacion, 274B, N. 1, R. 12, f. 28r (1607); and of Bernardino Alfonso in AGI, Contratación, 942,N.21, f. 10r, 14r, 15v, 17v (1609). Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas,* 173, 175. The Spanish sometimes encountered Javanese merchants near Jolo and Mindanao. See AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 2, 114r (1636). The origins of insular Southeast Asian slaves ranged from Papua, in the east, to Malays, in the west,

South Asia sources of labor and goods continued to prove important to the colonial Philippines, but Hokkien-speaking sailors, peasants, artisans and merchants forged the strongest Asian foreign links maintained by central Luzon outside of the archipelago. In 1606, a bare three years after Kapampangan, Tagalog, Japanese, and Spanish troops quelled a large revolt by Hokkiens near Manila, the Audiencia commissioned a report on Hokkien migration and living conditions. Chinese and Spanish sources both agree that the colonial militia killed thousands of Hokkiens, perhaps as many as twenty thousand. The inspectors revealed that twenty-five ships that had sailed from China in 1606 had brought over two thousand mariners and merchants, violating colonial prohibitions, and leaving hundreds behind before returning to Fujian. The same survey shows that these "pagan" sangley artisans, vendors, and merchants tended to sleep in rooms they rented from the better-connected Christian Hokkiens, above their shops, generally located in a ghetto known as the Parián (Figure 5).[23]

By the middle of the seventeenth century, central Luzon hosted thousands of Hokkien artisans, farmers, and traders, a population only outnumbered by the indigenous population of Manila and its arrabales. Meanwhile, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the center of export commerce within Fujian moved from the long-term entrépot of Quanzhou to Zhangzhou (Figure 3) a process aided by the 1567 slackening of trading prohibitions by the Ming court. By the end

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and included Ternatans (*terrenates*), Solorese (*Solores*), Timorese (*Timores*), Makassarese (*macasares*), inhabitants of Buton (*botun* or *buton)*; Sanguires (*Manados*), Joloans (*Jolo*), subjects of Maguindanaw in Mindanao and Caraga (*mindanaos* and *caragas),* Bruneians and their *orang laut* subjects (*borneyes* and *camucones*), Javanese (*jabas* or *xabas*), people from the Sultanate of Patani (*Patani*); and subjects of Banten (*bantam* or *Sunda*). See AGI, Inquisición, v. 162, exp. 1, fs. 190r, 201v, 272r, 273r 770v-771r, 772r-772v, 774r-774v, 783r (1587, 1597-1598); AGI, Contratación, 512, N. 3, fs. 15r, 36r (1597, 1600); AGI, Contaduría, 1206, f. 243r (1604); AGI, Contratación, 503A, N. 6, exp. 2, f. 16r (1606); AGI, Filipinas, 63, N. 1, f. 58r (1610); AGI, Contratación, 368, N. 7, R. 71, fs. 39v, 104v (1620); AGI, Contaduría, 1210, f. 146v (1620); AGI, Inquisición, v. 355, exp. 32, f. 471r (1635); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, exp. 2, fs. 5r, 7r (1644); AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, f. 40v (1644); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7826r (1647); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 3, f. 64r (1650), *Idem*; exp. 5, f. 6r (1677); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], f. 285r (1651): AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, exp. 1, f. 22v (1667); AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, fs. 97r, 99v-100r, 101r (1674-1676); and AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 5, exp. 4, fs. 7v-8r (1686).

[23] AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 7, N. 105, exp. 3, fs. 225r-225v, 230r-230v (1606); and AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 7, N. 105, exp. 4, fs. 1r-24r (1606).

of the seventeenth century Xiamen (Amoy) served as the primary port of Fujian. The Hokkien overseas merchants of Fujian had maintained centuries-long connections with Chinese provinces further afield, as well as to Southeast Asian commercial polities and Japan. The skilled potters in southern Fujian and at the ceramic kilns of Jinzheden in the adjacent province of Jianxi supplied much of the porcelain used by well-heeled residents of Luzon, and exported to the Americas. Meanwhile, the provinces of Zhejiang, Guangzhou (Canton), and the Yangtze delta (Lanquin) supplied much of the silk thread and textiles transshipped by Hokkiens to Japan, Manila, (and via the Philippines) to the Americas. Hokkien traders became even more active throughout Southeast Asia after the foundation of Manila. Their expansion continued through the second half of the seventeenth century, when Manchu conflict with a local loyalist merchant dynasty, the Zhengs, harmed the economy of Fujian. Hokkiens accepted American-produced silver in return for their goods, but also traded products made within the Philippines, later extending their commercial involvement to the internal wholesaling and retail trade within the archipelago. Hokkien merchants, along with Japanese merchants, also imported agricultural products and more prosaic goods, products of temperate regions especially valued by Spanish élites. Sangleyes brought rice, iron, and gunpowder to the eager storehouses of Manila and Cavite, but also wheat flour, and hams, eagerly awaited by Spanish consumers.[24]

[24] For some of the most recent population estimates, see María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Grueso, "Introduction," in *Repensar Filipinas: Política, Identidad y Religión en la construcción de la nación filipina*, ed. María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Grueso (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2009), 1-28.

The Anglophone historiography of the early modern Hokkien or Min diaspora and commerce in East and Southeast Asia (Nanyang) is immense and growing quickly. See the Introduction; and Xing Hang, "Between Trade and Legitimacy, Maritime and Continent: The Zheng Organization in Seventeenth-Century Asia" (PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010); Pin-Tsun Chang, "Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Fuchien (Fukien)" (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1983); *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert J. Antony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010); Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1688" (PhD Diss., St. John's University, 1970); and Ch'en Ching-Ho, *The Chinese Community in the Sixteenth Century Philippines* (Tokyo: Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1968). For transshipment from the Yangtze delta and Guangzhou, via Fujian, see AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 66, exp. 7, f. 9v (1585); and Ruurdje Laarhoven, "The Power of Cloth," Appendix A, 48.

Sangley tailors, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, woodworkers, painters, fishermen, and farmers heavily outnumbered their merchant counterparts within central Luzon. Like the urban and rural indigenous residents of the alcaldía mayor of Tondo, sangleyes produced goods for internal consumption of central Luzon. According to Lucille Chia, it was the humbler sort of Hokkien, often from Chincheo (Figure 3), who was most likely to stay in the Philippines and forgeconnections with local Filipino families and communities. Quanzhou traders, on the other hand, were more likely to return home. Hokkiens of both humble extraction and merchants settled in Manila before Spanish contact, though very few in comparison to later arrivals. A community of fishermen occupied the furthest west part of the northern bank of the Pasig River, in a community called Baybay (Figures 4 and 5). Fisherfolk and other maritime laborers, such as the boatmen known as chinchorreros, would continue to constitute an important part of the Hokkien population throughout the early colonial period. Baybay served as part of the nucleus of the Christian sangley community known as Santo Rosario de Binondoc or Binondo.[25]

See also Dolors Folch, "Piratas y Flotas de China Según los Testimonios Castellanos del Siglo XVI," in *La Investigación Sobre Asia Pacífico en España, Granada 2006*, ed. Pedro San Ginés Aguilar (Granada: Editorial Universidad, 2007), 267-286; Anna Busquets, "Los Frailes de Koxinga," in the same volumen, 393-422; in the same volume, (Granada: Editorial Universidad, 2007); Antonio García-Abásalo, "Conflictos en el abasto de Manila en 1686: Multiculturidad y Pan," in *El municipio indiano: Relaciones interétnicas*, *económicas y sociales; homenaje a Luis Navarro García*, eds. Manuela Cristina García Bernal and Sandra Oliver Guidobono (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009), 283-298; and Innes, "The Door Ajar," *passim*.

See AGI, Contratación, 512, N. 3, f. 12v (1600); Morga, *Sucesos*, 312-313; AGI, Escribanía, 440A, f. 789r (1646); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440[a], fs. 63r (1651); and AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 132v (1671). Wheat was also useful for baking hardtack. See below.

[25] See Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker and the Carpenter," 509-534; and James K. Chin also examines artisans. See Chin, "Merchants and Other Sojourners," 34, 49, 56-61.

On porcelain manufacture and export from Fujian and Jiangxi (Jingdezhen), see George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); George Kuwayama, "Chinese Porcelain in the Viceroyalty of Peru," in *Asia & Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850*, eds. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 165-174; Chuimei Ho, "The Ceramic Boom in Minnan during Song and Yuan Times," in *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Boston: Brill, 2001), 237-281; Chuimei Ho, *Minnan Blue-and-White Wares: An archaeological survey of kiln sites of the 16th-19th centuries in southern Fujian, China* (Oxford: B. A. R., 1988), especially 3-15, 43-51, 84-115; Timothy Brook, "The Merchant Network in 16th-Century China: A Discussion and Translation of Zhang Han's 'On Merchants,'" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24, no. 2 (1981): 201; Margaret Medley, "Organization and Production at Jingdezhen in the Sixteenth

Spanish merchants increasingly made direct contact with Asian merchants and portfolio capitalists in the last half of the seventeenth century, following Manchu gains in Fujian, Japanese restrictions on commerce, the Portuguese rebellion in 1641, and the end of the Dutch Wars in 1648. Spanish portfolio capitalists and administrators set precedents by working with the Islamicate sultanate of Gowa or Makassar, beginning in the 1620 (See Figure 3). They followed the diaspora of Malay merchants from Melaka, as well as the Portuguese and English, who used the polity as a source of cloves, after the VOC increasingly curtailed the output of Maluku. Spanish military officials in Maluku began this relationship through procurement of war supplies and provisions from the sultanate, especially iron, gunpowder, and rice. Gradually, Spanish clerics and merchants began semi-regular commerce with the port, through which they obtained Coromandel cotton textiles and probably slaves. Ironically enough, this commerce probably supplied in part the funds required for the increasingly aggressive expansionist plans of the sultan, who staged raids throughout the eastern end of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, including Islamization campaigns in Sulawesi and attacks on Christianized settlements in Timor. The raids by the Makassarese on these settlements provided one more source of slaves for Spanish, sangley, and indigenous elite slaveowners in the Philippines market.[26]

Century," 69-82; Julia B. Curtis, "Markets, Motifs and Seventeenth-Century Porcelain from Jingdezhen," 123-149; and Christian J. A. Jörg, "Chinese Porcelains for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise," 183-205, all in *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen: Held on June 15-17 1992 in Celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Sir Percival David and the 40th Anniversary of the opening of the Percival David Foundation* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993).

On silkworm-raising and silk production in Guangdong, Zhejiang, and the Yangtze River delta, see Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt*, 119-120, 129-130; Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 113-114, 116-117, 194-195.

For Baybay and Rosario, see Lorelei D. C. de Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture: A Socio-Historical Perspective* (Manila: University of Santo Thomas Publishing House, 2001), 13-16; and Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven Yale University Press, 1965), 4-20.

[26] For the alliance and brisk trade between Manila and Makassar, see NAP, Cedulario, 1616-(1636) 1645, SDS 598, f. S28 (1618); AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, f. 314r(1646); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441C, f. 6705v (1647); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, f. 456r (1651); and AGI, Contaduría, 1231, f. 811r (1655). For Makassar as slave mart, see Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 324. Makassar and Portuguese both raided Timor for slaves, some of

After the 1640s, Indian, Portuguese mestiço, Armenian, and Islamicate Southeast Asian merchants increasingly sent their own ships to trade directly with Manila from a variety of ports. This broadened the number of merchants who could supply slaves to Manila, as well as increasing the diversity of Cavite and Manila. The diversification of trade accelerated after the unrest in southeastern China created first by Manchu invasions and then the efforts of Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) to control Hokkien commerce. The dominance by the Zheng family of commerce with Manila ended after the successful Manchu capture of Taiwan in 1684 (Figure 3).[27]

Spanish captains sent ships to Madraspatnam and Porto Novo in Coromandel, obtaining textiles woven by the growing populations of weavers recruited by the Golconda Qutb Shahis. Textiles also were sold in the ports under the jurisdiction of Nāyaka kings, and later, Mughal governors, in Tamil Nadu and modern-day Andhra Pradesh (See Figure 3). The towns were known as the "Costa de Coromandel," though port administrators often just glossed them as "La

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which they sold to Manila. See Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 388; and Andrew McWilliam, "Looking for Adê: A contribution to Timorese historiography," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162, no. 2/3 (2007), 223, 226-229. See AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 76r, 97r (1674, 1684); AGI, Filipinas, 33, N. 2, exp. 16, f. 22v (1667); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 2, N. 7, exp. 7, f. 5r (1691). Slaves of unknown origin purchased from Makassar were simply known as *macasares*. See AGN, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7818r (1647).

For the seventeenth-century political and economic history of Makassar, see Heather Sutherland, "A Sino-Indonesian Commodity Chain: The Trade in Tortoiseshell in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia*, edited by Eric Tagliacazzo and Wen-Chin Chang (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 74-76; Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, 33-39; William Cummings, "The Melaka Malay Diaspora in Makassar, c. 1500-1669," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71, no. 1 (1998): 106-121; and C. R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese Merchant-Adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667* ('Sgravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 3-11, 32-33, 42. For Makassar-Coromandel links, see Subrahmanyam, *Political Economy of Commerce,* 174-177, 183-185, 207-209.

[27] For observations of the Manchu (*Tartaros*) conquest of China by the Spanish, see AGI, Escribanía de la Cámara 440ª, f. 284r (1649). For threats by Zheng Chenggong against the Dutch and the Spanish, see Díaz, Las *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 624, 627-634. For Manila trade with merchants operating out of Zheng Taiwan, AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 3, fs. 33v, 51v (1668, 1670). For resumption of trade with mainland China after years of working through Taiwan, see AGI, Filipinas, R. 1, n. 38, exp. 2, f. 5v (1680-1681); and AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 3a pieza, f. 732v (1684). Guangzhou became a more prominent source for the Philippines and New Spain of Chinese immigrants and commodities as a result of these new commercial and political changes. See AGI, Filipinas, 126, N. 1, fs. 281r-281v, 360v-365r (1701).

Costa." The Spanish seemed also happy to trade for the pepper of the Islamicate sultanates of Bantam and Banjarmassin. New Julfan Armenians, with their connections to Iran and the Arabian Sea, brought slaves and cotton textiles to Manila from Surat and Fort St. George in Madraspatnam. Late seventeenth-century Spanish officials sought to corral New Julfans and the growing population of other non-Catholic merchants in the Parián, the ghetto constructed for non-Christian southern Minnanese migrants. Silver constituted an important part of the goods supplied by the Spanish, but they also sold gold, sugar, and dyewoods to British, Armenian, and various Muslim traders of Coromandel (Figure 3).[28]

Indian merchants, too, visited the Philippines. In 1685, the royal treasurer of the Philippines granted a license to return for a Tamil Muslim ship captain and merchant from the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Hyderabad, docked in Manila (Figure 3). Named by the port official Macudu (*nakhoda*) Naina, meaning Naina, the ship captain, this merchant had come from the

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[28] For "La Costa," see AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 10, fs. 13v-14v (1701). For Armenians in Manila, see the case of Elias Antonio, in Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – Instituto Histórico, MF#3534 (October 29, 1674). The latter can be found more easily in NAP, Protocolos de Manila 1674, SDS 19763, fs. 84B-85 (1674]; AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 2, N. 14, f. 104r (1680); and AHN, Codices y Cartularios, L. 296, f. 26v (1707). New Julfan Armenians had originally been uprooted from their lands during sixteenth-century border conflicts between the Safavids and the Ottomans. The Safavid Shah settled them in Isfahan, where they soon became crucial commercial intermediaries. For a good introduction to their impressive commercial reach, see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley: University of California, 2011).

For Tamil merchants, see Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel* (Chennai: Orient Longman, 199). For the involvement of Telugu Chettis and Tamil Muslims (Marakkayars) in Coromandel commerce and shipping, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Staying on: The Portuguese of southern Coromandel in the late 17th century," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 22, no. 4 (1985): 453-454, 457.

For Masulipatnam, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 25 (1672); and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese: The Travails of Masulipatnam Shipping in the Western Indian Ocean, 1590-1665," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 3 (1988): 503-530. For Andhra, see Joseph Jerome Brennig, "The Textile Trade of Northern Coromandel: A Study of a Pre-Modern Export trade" (PhD Diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975). For late seventeenth-century trade between Manila and Coromandel, see AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 2a pieza, f. 52r (1675), and *Idem*, f. 422v (1676); and AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 3a pieza, 494r, 600r (1684).

Many Spaniards traded in Coromandel. The merchants and their agents that sailed from the Coromandel Coast to the Philippines were of diverse ethnicities and religious traditions, and included Muslims and "Hindus" (Gentiles). These merchants resided in the Parián and Binondo, and were a source of anxiety to Spanish administrators of the Philippines, who feared cultural mixing and conviviality between foreigners and the indigenous people of the Philippines. See FHLGSU, MF# 1627348, Item 1, fs. 318r-323r (1686).

"Kingdom of Puliacat" (See Figure 3). Naina paid for a license to return to his "kingdom." Puliacat was under the authority of the Qutb Shahi dynasty ensconced in Golconda. Despite the presence of the Dutch and the inability of some merchants to exercise the autonomy they had before the entry of the Dutch, Asian merchants and shippers continued to sail through the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Naina and others like him, for example, the Tamil (*Malabar*) merchant named Nagapa who died without a will in 1687, visited Manila throughout the first few decades of the eighteenth century. Nagapa might have been named by confused Spanish port authorities for his port of origin, Nagapattinam, a port under the sovereignty of the Tanjavur Nayaka at the turn of the sixteenth century, and later leased by Portuguese merchants until 1658, when the Dutch took formal control of it (Figure 3).[29]

Commerce between the Philippines and South Asia led quickly to the residence of a significant population of South Asian slaves, seamen and laborers within central Luzon, and later, in Acapulco. Known as lascars to the Spanish, these sailors and workmen worked under

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[29] See AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 3a Pieza, fs. 599v-600r (1685). Scholars assert that na'ina or nayna refers to a Tamil or Malabar Muslim. See Torsten Tschacher, "Divergence in the Islamic Traditions of Ma'bar and Nusantara," in *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia*, eds. R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), 49-51, and especially 63, n. 6. See Tapan Raychadhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690: A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economies* ('Sgravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 53. The former were known as Marakayyars.

To see the longer trajectory of Marakayyar and Tamil merchants in Southeast Asia, see Barbara Watson Andaya, "'A People That Range into All the Kingdoms of Asia': The Chulia Trading Network in the Malay World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash (Delhi: Pearson, 2012), 353-384; Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Role of the Saudagar Raja (King's Merchant) in Traditional Malay Courts," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 51, no. 1 (1978): 13-36; and Sinnapah Arasaratnam, "The Chulia Muslim Merchants in Southeast Asia 1650-1800," *Moyen Orient et Ocean Indien, XVIe-XIXe* 4 (1987): 126-143. See also the example of Mahadum Naina, in AGI, Contaduria 1245, 3ª Pieza, f. 728v (1685).

The proximity of Nagapa to an Armenian named Manuel Báez in the records probably indicates that Nagapa was one of the South Indian Chetti, Komati, or Marakkayar merchants of the sort depicted in the 1734 Carta Hydrographíca y Chorográphica de las Islas Filipinas drawn by the Tagalog artist Nicolás Bagay in the *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Islas Filipinas*, a map authored by the Jesuit Pedro Murillo de Velarde. See Angel Hidalgo, "Philippine Chartography and the Jesuits," *Philippine Studies* 29, nos. 3-4 (1981): 362-363. See AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 9, N. 46, fs, 28v, 32v, and 26v (1687). For further discussion of Nāyaka rule and the rise of Balijas and Chettis in Tanjavur, as well as in Madurai and Senji, see Velchuru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 10-20, 74-80.

South Asian foremen of various ranks, known as serangs (*saranguis*). Though later lascar referred a to semi-bonded maritime laborers around the Indian Ocean, it seemed to have been a term broadly referring to seamen around South Asia or even the Middle East who stopped in Cavite. For example, in 1634, the serang Dila and twelve other lascars left the ship of a Portuguese merchant from India named Luis Dias. They worked ashore in Cavite after port officials compensated Dias. Inquisition officials boarding ships to inspect them for heretical material took note of the religious affiliation of the lascars. A few were Christians, probably drawn from either the Konkani population near Goa or the Paravas of the Fishery Coast (Figure 3). Many more were Muslims (*moros*) or Hindus (*infieles* or *gentios*). They brought to the Philippines a long tradition of seafaring and all of its associated sealore, accumulated over the centuries, traditions shared and produced as part of a process of knowledge shared between Arabs, Persians, Gujaratis, Konkanis, Marathis, Kannadas, Tamils, Malayalams and others seafareres and navigators in South Asia and the Middle East. More recently, the Portuguese had depended on this tradition of lascar recruitment and service to staff the shipping that plied routes from Mozambique to Japan. These sailors joined a large non-Filipino population which central Luzon Filipino migrants and long-time residents integrated into their communities. It is the dynamics of the relationship between ethnicity, labor regimes, and community formation which we will now analyze.[30]

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[30] See AGN, Inquisición, v. 355, exp. 44, f. 501r (1626) AGI, Contaduría 1216, 294v (1634); and AGI, Contaduría, 1233, 2a pieza, f. 118r (1658). On the broader historiography of lascars, see Michael H. Fisher, "Working across the Seas: Indian Maritime Labourers in India, Britain and In-Between, 1600-1857," in *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History*, eds. Rana P. Behal and Marcel van der Linden (New York: Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 2008), 21-28; and Amitav Ghosh, "Of Fanas and Forecastles: The Indian Ocean and Some Lost Languages of the Age of Sail," *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 25 (2008), 56-62.

On maritime knowledge in India, see B. Arunachalam, "Traditional Sea and Sky Wisdom of Indian Seamen and their Practical Applications," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean,* eds. H. P. Ray and J. Sales (New Delhi: Ajay Kumar, 1996), 261-281; and B. Arunachalam, *Maritime Heritage of Southern Peninsular India* (Mumbai: Maritime History Society, 2010), 11-17, 275-278. For Paravas, see Bayly,

Segregation, Settlement, and Work in Manila

In a 1667 case, the Philippines governor Manuel de León wrote to the King to complain of the temerity of the Franciscan order in its interference in civil concerns, and in his discussion, unveiled an example of the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships in colonial central Luzon communities. Tagalog noble plaintiffs from the pueblo or bayan of Dilao supplied testimony in the case. This indigenous arrabal bordered both the sangley ghetto called the Parián and a section of the eastern walls of the city of Manila (See Figures 4 and 5). The plaintiffs, Capitán don Sebastián Savay, Capitán don Luis Dimaanlig, Capitán don Juan Tigas and don Mathias de Mentrillas were cabezas of four Tagalog moieties barangays of the pueblo of Dilao. The principales explained that the Franciscan cura of the village Fray Fernando de la Concepción had made demands on the cabeza of each barangay. They were to obtain either wax or money to buy wax in order to illuminate the Holy Sacrament, normally a voluntary contribution. Several of the barangay heads had no problem fulfilling this request.[31]

The heads of other barangays of Dilao, including Japanese and moreno ones, successfully collected the necessary funds and wax. So, too, did the cabeza of the agricultural estates of Balete, el Chico and Balete, el Grande, visitas of the parish and probably barangays. Nicolás Sarmiento and the cathedral owned the respective estates. They had emerged out of polo exemptions *(reservas*) granted to nineteen houses of attached laborers by governor don Juan de Silva in 1613 to the dean of the cabildo of the cathedral and thirty houses in 1615 to Gregorio Dias Guiral. They served as centers for the raising of cattle, rice cultivation, and as sources of

Saints, Goddesses and Kings, 325-350.

[31] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, exp. 3, fs. 1r-4v (1667).

aguardiente extracted from the palm groves (*nipales*) which lined the Pasig. Forty-nine households of reservados inhabited the two estates.[32]

The non-Tagalog barangays altogether collected thirty pesos, a quantity not reached by the Tagalog barangays. In response, the friar angrily closed the church and ejected the parishioners, prompting the cabezas of the Tagalog barangays, including that of the municipal nucleus, or *poblacion* to return with seventy candles, three pesos, and six reales. Despite their efforts, the gobernador, don Luis Gonzaga, had these cabezas whipped by his lieutenant on the main supporting pillars (*harigues*) of the church, right outside the main doors. The governor was shocked at the corporal punishment exacted at the friar's request, and looked at the village leadership for support for their challenge of the authority of the regulars. The Franciscans cleverly made their own inquiry and at least in their eyes, confirmed the legitimacy of their actions.[33]

The construction of new colonial spaces by the residents of Manila and its arrabales expressed the conflicting interests of different colonial populations, who had contradictory interests. Indigenous peasants and elites used the colonial legal system to negotiate these treacherous waters, gaining experience which chinos would later utilize in colonial Mexico. Administrators concerned with application and interpretation of royal justice vied with the missionaries. The latter group, in turn, was torn between establishing enduring local Christian

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[32] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, exp. 3, fs. 1r-4v (1667). For Balete, el Grande, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 15, exp. 2, fs. 227r-227v, 229r-230v (1695). For Balete el Chico, see *Ibid*, fs. 384v-388r (1695).

[33] AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 5, exp. 3, fs. 1r-4v (1667). AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, f. 278v (1684). AAM, Caja 1., C. 7, Folder 7, Libro de Gobierno Eclesiástico, Catálogo (Jan. 1656-July 1673*)*, 73, 75 (1665-1666). For the Baletes, and the renting of Taytay rice fields by the landless denizens of Dilao, see NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, 15B (1636); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7817v (1647); and NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de los naturals del pueblo de Dilao para que no paguen sus tributos en especie excepto los que tienen tierras propias y arrendadas*, f. 172-173B (1687). For the incident in Dilao, see AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 7, exp. 1, fs. 1r-4v (1670). By 1692, 234 of the 449 tributaries of the municipality were morenos, Japanese, or from "*otras naciones*." See AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, f. 139r (1692).

communities and the draw from the more glamorous missionary fields of proselytizing in East Asia. Filipino nobility and Filipino peasants sought better working conditions, contending with the efforts of Spanish agricultural entrepreneurs, transpacific merchants, and local military élites to exploit their labor. Hokkien traders and sailors tried to make their livelihood while avoiding the scrutiny of the colonial state, as did varying groups of slaves and "free" maritime laborers. The patterns of the formation and development of these communities over time reflected broader changes in the political economy of central Luzon under Spanish rule, as Spanish administrators sought to control and legalize flows of labor that they had first viewed as disruptive. The service of Filipinos to the Spanish empire in Asia and incorporation by their communities of flows of non-Filipino itinerants and settlers helped forge new communities which, while headed by Filipino élites, reared an itinerant multicultural work force well-adapted to settlement across the wider Spanish empire. While most of the latter population stayed in Asia, as chinos, some of these mariners and soldiers visited or even settled in the Americas.

The Dilao whippings showed several pertinent features of urban life in colonial central Luzon. First, it demonstrates the continuing close relationship between village nobility and Spanish religious authorities in exercising authority over their communities. These connections helped hold the colony together, as nobles played integral roles as intermediaries for colonial institutions seeking to shape the work habits, cultural life, and production of the peasants of Luzon. Second, the testimony demonstrates the importance of non-Tagalog and migrant communities not only in the demography of urban central Luzon, but also to its political and cultural life. This diversity in part rested on the mobility of merchants, seamen, and slaves within maritime Asia. Next, the ready interaction of village authorities with the civil government of Manila reflected the close relationship of indigenous elites with colonial religious and civil

institutions. Indeed, the ability of the community of Dilao and other neighboring arrabales to supply labor and expertise proved crucial to the smooth functioning of colonial authority. Dilao supplied draft laborers for the ubiquitous cortes, and workers for the port of Cavite. It also supplied cantores and workers for the maintenance of the cathedral of Manila, translators for civil litigation, and auxiliary notaries necessary for the proper accounting of funds for the treasury. Because of migration and the proximity of Spanish agricultural entrepreneurs, Dilao, like other interior arrabales, lost access to land and agrarian sustenance over the seventeenth century. Yet, the proximity of Dilao to the colonial power and wealth of Manila also helped make it, like other arrabales, a destination for rural migrants fleeing the harsh exactions of vandalas and community service.

As we have seen in previous chapters, rural provinces of Luzon felt the influence of Manila very soon after its refoundation as a "pueblo de españoles." Miguel de Legazpi and his lieutenants refounded it soon after the Spanish-directed military campaigns of Visayans, Kapampangans and Tagalogs. This act helped set into motion migrations of workers who would remake the social spaces of the drainage of the Pasig River, the area that would form the basis of urban development during the colonial period. To begin, the Spanish and their allies had already encountered a burned city and had refounded Manila as a new Spanish pueblo. Spanish residents settled in solares with large housing complexes (*casas grandes*), and gardens (*huertas*). As in other post-conquest cities of Spanish and Portuguese America, Manila casas grandes hosted large retinues of kin, retainers, slaves and servants, many of them Filipinos. Indeed, in 1591, a chronicler claimed that the city housed three thousand indigenous people, a count which included both workers and nobility (*sobresalientes*), as compared to three hundred Spanish vecinos. Other former residents and new migrants of Manila moved to new villages further south of the

walled city such as Ermita and probably Bagumbayan, while still others moved to existing nearby villages such as Laguio and Malate (Figures 4 and 5). In fact, in 1598 and probably in 1655, the hinterland of Manila, known as the alcaldía mayor of Tondo, housed over twenty-five thousand tribute-paying indigenous residents. They, along with the twenty-thousand sangley residents, vastly outnumbered the small population of Spaniards.[34]

Filipinos in large part constructed the city and port of Cavite. They supplied the labor necessary to maintain the convents, houses, and workshops of Manila. Filipino slaves made up the earliest component of this domestic work force. Therefore, from some of the earliest years of colonial rule, Filipinos therefore were in protracted contact with Spanish rulers and the institutions that they controlled. Later acquaintance of chinos with Spanish colonial practices can in part be explained by the sharing of space and protracted series of interactions between Spanish vecinos and their retinues, and Filipinos slaves, bonded workers, and free people. Spanish and indigenous soldiers captured these laborers in the course of the earliest wars of conquest. Soon, the Spanish began hiring migrants who moved to Manila for the purpose of acquiring cash for tribute payments, a phenomenon recorded in the 1591 testimony of the Balayan and Kapampangan principales. Royal officials administered much of central Luzon under royal encomiendas, which were then organized into alcaldías, placing them under the king's direct authority. Along with the alcaldía surrounding Manila known as Tondo, these juridictions included Kapampangan, and the port and surrounding pueblos of Cavite (see Figure

[34] For the examples of casa grandes, see Nancy E. van Deusen, "Diasporas, Bondage, and Intimacy in Lima, 1535-1555," *Colonial Latin American Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010) 249, 259-261. For a census of casas grandes of two colonial Spanish towns in the Philippines, Arévalo and Iloilo, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 681, exp 5, fs. 9r-10v, 14v (1638).

For the classic statement of the implications of the casa grande for Brazilian history and culture, see Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala; Formacão da Família Brasileira sob o Regim de Economia Patriarcal. Third Edition* (Rio de Janeiro: Schmitt, 1938 [1933]). AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, f. 1v (1591).

For a discussion of some of the members of the Manila royal families who chose to reside in Malate and Tondo, see Santiago, "The Houses of Lakandula, Matandá, and Solimán," 43. For the seventeenth-century population of Tondo, see Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 308-309.

4) . Only a few pueblos of Tondo lay outside of crown control. Santa Ana de Sapa, Pandacan, and a few other small pueblos fell within private, personal encomiendas (*encomiendas particulares*). These tended to border mountain regions, such as San Pablo de los Montes, Binacaya, Antipolo and Taytay (Figures 4 and 5).[35]

The correspondence of space and jurisdiction between royal encomiendas, and pre-Hispanic bayans and barangays, enabled easy mobility between the pueblos of central Luzon. This promoted the persistence of a large indigenous population in Manila, which was supplemented by Filipinos fleeing the royal corvée that linked residents of rural Luzon to the colonial urban center. Thousands of indigenous people lived in Spanish houses within the walls of the city and hundreds more lived right outside the walls, but worked daily within its walls. By 1621, these urban indigenous workers still numbered one thousand six-hundred and forty individuals, complementing the nearly two thousand slaves present in the city. The heavy indigenous presence immediately began to affect consumption and other aspects of the cultural practices of the Spanish and their offspring.[36]

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[35] The 1577 will and postmortem inventory of Fernández Cabello furnishes a good example of an early Manila household. The executors of the Cabello estate auctioned off seven indigenous slaves after his death. Cabello owned several more who he "rented" to other Spanish households. See AGI, Contratación, 475, R. 2, N. 27, fs. 3v-5r, 12v-14r (1580). Also see AGI, Contratación, 217A, N. 2, R. 1, fs. 12r, 37v-38r, 40r, 47v, 48v, 50v, and *passim* (1577).

For the division of encomiendas, including the royal share, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, fs. 1r-2v (1591); and NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de pagar especie de tributes a los naturales del pueblo de Malate juridicción de Tondo*, fs. 166-168B (1686). In fact, like Bulacan, governor Gonzalo Ronquillo had separated Tondo from the alcaldía of Pampanga in 1581. The Spanish designation of these jurisdictions probably followed the jurisdictions suggested by indigenous nobility of whom the most compliant was the Lakan Dula of Tondo, who showed his ties to Bulacan and Pampanga. See AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 1, N. 17, exp. 1, fs. 8v-9r (1604), as well as Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

[36] See AGI, Filipinas, 74, R. 90, f. 600v (1621). For the 1623 population, see NAP, Cedulario, 1616-(1636) 1645, SDS 598, *Cédula real de la respuesta al Gobernador de Philipinas*, fs. S102-103B (1623) The king had responded to a 1621 letter which explained how the 1970 slaves and 1641 indigenous workers of Manila had no place to hear Mass except outside the chapel for the Spanish hospital.

One case suggests the ways that the indigenous population of Manila, ostensibly a Spanish city from its very foundation, helped alter the practices of the Spanish inhabitants of the city. They also show how gender shaped the choices made by Filipinos. The division of colonial Filipino occupations by gender, in part a continuation of pre-Hispanic traditions privileging male mobility in war and trade, helps explain why chinos migrants to New Spain were overwhelmingly male. Between September 13, 1585 and December 1, 1586, the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Manila called several witnesses to testify about the the physical abuse a Spanish resident of Manila named Cristóbal Velásquez. Velásquez, a familiar of the Inquisition, had attacked Juana Taguanan, and Ana Silongui, two of his indigenous servants. Several witnesses reported that Velásquez beat Silongui with rattan before threatening to drown her. He also beat Taguanan with a piece of firewood until she bled. The case is unusual in many ways, not least the particular intensity of violence exhibited by Velásquez. It reflects the ubiquity within the city walls of indigenous labor and their interaction with Spaniards over the course of the early colonial period. The depositions of those testifying against Velásquez had been included in the Inquisition archives because he was a familiar, but he was tried before the Audiencia as the mandate of the body included protection of the indigenous people of the Philippines.[37]

At least five inhabitants of Parañaque, a prominent Costa de Manila town which provided maritime labor, testified against Velásquez (Figures 4 and 5). These included Juliana Alengcon, Juana Taguanan, Ana Silonguin, Agustín Calaguan, and Mariana Lemoín. Their use of the colonial legal system, in this case, the Inquisition, and leveraging of Spanish patronage to protection indicated the extent of knowledge of colonial institutions by Filipinos and later, chinos in Spanish service. One Tagalog man helped Taguanan flee the house after her ordeal, and spoke

[37] The following discussion comes from AGN, Inquisición, 140, exp. 27, fs. 6r-20r (1585-1586).

to his own employer, Alonso de Torres, about the feasibility of obtaining court-ordered protection for Taguanan from Velásquez. The testimony not only shows the importance of Parañaque as a center of domestic labor (as it was of maritime workers), but that indigenous people working in urban central Luzon had begun to acquire familiarity with Spanish colonial institutions, particularly its system of courts. Moreover, in in Manila, Spaniards and indigenous people shared the same spaces. Velásquez, for example, had several servants on his staff who lived within his house. Spanish houses, like their indigenous counterparts, were raised off the ground on strong hardwood posts called harigis. Entry to these houses, sited on the marshy grounds of the Pasig delta, required ladders or stairs, whereas Spanish houses elsewhere in the empire lay on the ground. Indigenous servants purchased fish for the household, and Taguanan, after being beaten, applied buyos to her wounds. Indigenous people, slaves, morenos, and Spanish plebes would continue to use buyo as a medicine and occasionally as a vehicle for enchantments throughout the colonial period.[38]

Mobile labor and resources tied the hinterland of Manila to the city and its port, Cavite. The communities of Malate, Dongalo, Parañaque, Binacayan and Kawit provided labor for the galleons and their construction, but so, too, did new communities such as Ermita and Bagumbayan, immediately to the south of Manila (Figures 4 and 5). In 1614, in the act of requesting the alcalde mayor of Tondo for coerced grumetes from Tondo, especially from villages of Parañaque, Cavite, Ermita, and Malate, Governor Juan de Silva explained that he valued these laborers because they were effective and skilled in sailing. The principales of these

[38] For Filipino houses, see AGI, Filipinas, 75, N. 21, exp. 3, fs. 9r, 12r (1686).
According to Pedro Chirino, the Tagalogs of Taytay used buyo to embalm their dead. See Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 139. For use of buyo in healing and hechicería, see Scott, *Barangay*, 49; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 3, fs. 3v-4r (1585); AGN, Inquisición, v. 293, exp. 33, fs. 210r-213 (1613); AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 96, f. 21r (1618); AGN, Inquisición, v. 336, 2a pte, fs. 326r-328r (1621); and AGN, Inquisicion, v. 355, exp. 31, fs. 457r-458r (1626). Velásquez paid some of the medical costs for Taguanan and remained in jail for several months, but was later freed.

towns had helped supply male paddlers for the early years of the conquest and some of the earliest draft labor for the shipyards in Cavite. The alliances between the Spanish and the maguinoo of these seaside villages date from early on and can perhaps be explained by dissatisfaction with labor demands levied by Raja Soliman. Further evidence of this split can be shown by the fact that none of these towns supplied prominent elite collaborators of the sort seen in Bulacan and the Pasig valley in the anti-Spanish conspiracies that emerged in 1585 and 1588. As we have seem, these villages also supplied domestic laborers who rapidly became accustomed to Spanish colonial institutions. Workers from here and towns further afield helped form the nucleus of new indigenous and mixed-race settlements which surrounded Manila.[39]

One of the mixed-race settlement formed in the earlier postconquest years was Bagumbayan, which was tied to Manila through its provision of services to the Spanish vecinos there, as well as its supply of low-cost land for the settlement of low-status Spaniards, indigenous people, and slaves. Its inhabitants and creators expressed some of the broader patterns of mixed-race and migrant-based community formation in the early colonial Philippines. The name "bagumbayan" means new settlement in Tagalog. When enumerating encomiendas in 1591, the royal treasurer of the Philippines listed Bagumbayan as a new indigenous settlement. The Augustinians from Manila ministered to one-third of the population, while the curate for the indigenous people of Manila, based in the parish of Santiago, ministered to the rest. By 1621, in an informal census of parishioners, the bishop of the Manila suggested that Bagumbayan hosted a population of four hundred indigenous people and their slaves. One hundred and fifty Spanish mestizos and one hundred and fifty Spaniards also lived in the settlement. The latter populations

[39] See Chapter 2 for rural analogs. AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 15, exp. 2, f. 18r (1614); and AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, exp. 2, fs. 3r-4v (1588).

indicates that unlike the later example of San Miguel, Bagumbayan soon became defined primarily by its relation to Manila.[40]

Unlike other indigenous arrabales, indigenous officers of Bagumbayan as a separate pueblo did not appear in the treasury rolls for the payments they made for their office, nor would its parish separate from Manila until the first decades of the seventeenth century (Figures 4 and 5). In 1606, the Augustinian Recollects founded the church of San Nicolás, later San Juan Bautista, within Bagumbayan. Bagumbayan served as an area of settlement for Spanish sailors and soldiers who entered into relationships with locally-born women. It is with the presence of Bagumbayan as the parish of San Juan Bautista, that some of the town governance assumed more of an indigenous shape, as the pueblo of Ermita assigned a teniente and alguacil to San Juan Bautista, the "solares of Bagumbayan," and the nearby visita of Santa Monica.[41]

Meanwhile, the site served as a rural retreat for Spanish elites, such as the governor Pedro de Acuña, who chose to escape the close confines of Intramuros. Other lower-status Spaniards erected houses, gardens, and small rural estates within Bagumbayan. Spanish administrators staffed these "solares" and "sitios" with indigenous tenants, as well as residents of other ethnicities. By 1634, Spanish adminstrators conducting a census of the vecinos of Manila noted that Bagumbayan was a settlement of lower-class Spanish inhabitants who married or formed informal liasons with enslaved and freed South Asians known as *bengalas* and *malabares*. The products of these unions and their descendants formed part of the mixed-race denizens of Luzon

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[40] See San Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 447, 501. AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, f. 1v (1591). AGI, Inquisición, 162, exp. 1, f. (1597); and AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 90, f. 582v (1621).

[41] For the foundation of San Juan Bautista and the early role of Bagumbayan as a center for Spanish estates, see Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas, Conquistas Espirituales y Temporales de Estos Españoles Dominios, Estabelcimientos Progresos y Decadencias*, Tomo IV (Manila: La Imprenta del Seminario Conciliar, y Real de San Carlos, 1788), 251-255 and NAP, Cedulario, 1616-(1636) 1645, SDS 598, S. 99B-103B (1623). For the "solares de Bagumbayan," see AGI, Contaduría, 1218, f. 33v (1636); and AGI Contaduría, 1228, f. 26v (1649).

known as morenos. This characterization corroborates testimony from seventeenth-century Inquisition records, which demonstrate the ubiquity of Spanish soldiers and sailors as vecinos of the site. These plebes often married indigenous or moreno women, while Japanese, Christian sangley, and indigeneous migrants populated its ubiquitous solares and huertas.[42]

Ermita, Laguio, and Malate, settlements further south of Manila, upheld an indigenous character, at least in their cabeceras (Figures 4 and 5). They served as centers of settlement for the Tagalog, and presumably, Kapampangan, elites displaced from Manila. The nobility and the more humble inhabitants of these pueblos quickly enmeshed themselves in the colonial society and economy of Manila and the new thriving center of Cavite. Both Malate and Laguio supplied laborers soon after the conquest of Manila. In 1574, twenty-four Malate natives spied on Lin Feng in Pangasinan for the Spanish. In 1580, dozens of residents of Malate and Laguio, one of its barrios, received rice rations for their labor manufacturing cordage for the galleon *Santa María de Jesús*, while in 1581, indigenous people from Malate worked alongside residents of Tondo to stow goods in the new royal warehouses.[43]

Principales and other Filipino inhabitants of the Costa de Manila would come to suffer from the labor demands of Spanish colonial administrators, but early on, some of them took advantage of intra-ethnic social networks and proximity to Cavite in order to engage in trans-Pacific commenda commerce. In a testament written on the Manila galleon *Santiago* in 1594,

[42] For intermarriage of Spaniards in Bagumbayan with bengalas, morenas, mestizas and indias, see AGI, Filipinas, 27, N. 181, f. 1006v (1634). For other cases of Bagumbayan cross-cultural marriage, and more generally, the residence of Spanish plebes in Bagumbayan, see AGN, IV, c. 4052, exp. 29, f. 21r (1619.); AGI, Contratación, 368, N. 7, R. 71, fs. 57r, 107r (1619); AGI, Contratación, 438, N. 1, R. 14, f. 7r (1625); AGN, Inquisición, v. 344, exp. 34, fs. 458r, 459r, 473r, 493r (1626); AGI, Contaduría, 1217, f. 80r, f. 90r, 91v (1635); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 384, exp. 3, fs. 361r-362r (1637). For the Japanese population of Bagumbayan, see AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, f. 66v (1646); and AGI, Contaduría 1231, pte 1, f. 541r, f. 541r (1654) and AGI, Contaduría, 1231, pte. 2, f. 1240r (1637). For the slaves of the parish of Santiago, which adjoined Bagumbayan, see AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 90, f. 582v (1621) and NAP, Cedulario, 1616-(1636) 1645, SDS 598, fs, S99B-S103B (1623).

[43] For early Malate and Laguio service, see AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, exp. 2, fs. 201v-202r (1575); and AGI, Contaduría, 1200, fs. 728r, 730r, 737r, and 738v (1580-1581). For later Malate polos, see AGI, Filipinas, 48, N. 73, fs. 52r-52v (1628); and AGI, Filipinas, 44, N. 35, exp. 2, fs. 70v-71r (1670-1674).

the mariner Alonso Pérez listed among his goods bound for Acapulco two bales of textiles consigned for the "moro" Felipe Parasol, a native of Malate. Another bale held a letter which showed the personal mark of Lucas Suárez, a merchant who had consigned other bales to the care of Pérez. Pérez explained that the executors of his will would find underneath the marks of Suárez a sign in Filipino script (*baybayin*) known as "letra moro." Suárez had consigned a bale for Juan Binten, another Filipino merchant from either Longos or Dongalo, both Tagalog pueblos in central Luzon (Figures 4 and 5). Malate entrepreneurship continued throughout the early colonial period. In 1619, the Spanish merchant Juan Pardo Lozada Quiroga left in his will a combined one hundred pesos to three Malate principalas, a quantity worth more than twice the annual wage of a grumete. He left fifty pesos to doña Monica Oyani; twenty-five pesos to doña Margarita Oatu, the mother of Oyani; and another twenty-five pesos to doña María Panigan, Oyani's mother-in-law. In 1630, the Augustinian missionary and chronicler Fray Juan de Medina described Malate as a site for indigenous traders who traded with Cavite. These merchants and petty tradesman left every morning in their bangkas with goods for sale to the port workers. Like other central Luzon villages, Malate also provided workers for the colonial labor drafts associated with the timber-cutting expeditions and for labor in Cavite.[44]

[44] For Malate transpacific enterprise, see AGI, Contratación, 490, N. 1, R. 9, fs. 3v (1596). For the will of Juan Pardo, see AGI, Contratación, 524, N. 2, R. 10, f. 40v (1619). In 1675, don Juan de Paz described a case of a certain Filipino named Lázaro Diaz who pawned the slave and goods of his widow, Inés Pestahin, in Acapulco. See AUST, MF Roll 108, D. l. 16A, 16B, Sección Consultas, Tomo 4, varias consultas del Padre Juan de Paz, fs. 288v-291r (1675). For Malate peddlers in Cavite, see Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de Nuestra Grán Padre San Agustín de las Filipinas*, *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina, volumen iv* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Compania, 1893 [1630]), 151.

The presence of baybayin on jars (*tibores and tinajas*), vessels for conveying cargo, fand ound in the 1638 wreckage of the Manila galleon, the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción,* testify to the continuing presence of central Luzon workers and merchants on the trans-Pacific route. For the baybayin of the Manila galleon, see Maura Rinaldi, "The Ceramic Cargo of the Concepcion," in *Archaeological Report: The Recovery of the Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, For the Government of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas,* eds. W. M. Mathers, H. Parker, and K. Copus (Sutton, VT: Pacific Sea Resources, 1990), 445, 450, 452-453, 455-456, 458.

The people of the pueblo of Ermita, located south of Bagumbayan, also worked in Manila and Cavite (Figure 5). Like Bagumbayan, the foundation and growth of Ermita were tied to the emergence and evolution of the economy of the early colonial Philippines. The exact origins of the community are unclear, but its founders seem tied to the construction of nearby military and religious buildings. By 1585, local residents had built a hermitage which the Augustinians later tried to claim. Dedicated to Our Lady of Guidance, by 1596, the namesake hermita housed an image of this virgin, venerated by sailors and used to assure safe voyages of the Manila Galleon. Nonetheless, despite the importance of the hermitage, the indigenous population of Ermita initially fell under the administration of the curate (*cura de indios*) of Manila and was not named as a separate community as was, for example, Quiapo. Ermita maintained ties to Bagumbayan. Early in the seventeenth century, the gobernador or Ermita held authority over a teniente serving in the village, and Bagumbayan also had a mayordomo, who oversaw a community cash box separate from Ermita.[45]

The new mobility demanded of the residents of central Luzon by colonial authorities shaped the makeup of local populations, and also altered the construction of space in central Luzon Some indigenous elites prospered in these new colonial urban spaces, just as had Kapampangans in colonial military hierarchies, or at least, managed to obtain positions of status, under colonial administration. Pueblos de indios in Cavite and the alcaldía mayor of Tondo often exerted control over new settlements formed by migrants supplying draft labor for colonial institutions. This is evident through their maintenance of tenientes or cabezas de barangay in

[45] See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 92, fs. 47r, 62r (1585). For the use of the image of Our Lady of Guidance, see Gaspar de San Agustín, *Descripción Chronologica; y Topographica de El Sumptvoso Templo de Nuestra Señora de la Virgen santíssima de Gvia, nombrada la Hermita, extramuros de la Ciudad de Manila*, fs. 4r-6r (1712). For the earlier history of Ermita. see Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 132. For one of the earliest references to the town government of Ermita, see AGI, Contaduría, 1205, f. 385r (1602). Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de nuestra gran padre san agustín de las Filipinas*, *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina*, 151.

outlying villages often connected with Spanish economic activity. For example, don Juan de Salian served as the cabeza de barangay for Malate of the indigenous migrant (*vagamundo*) populations of the huertas and sugar estates of Pasay. The occupations of the noble inhabitants of Ermita indicated the connections between the pueblo and Manila. For example, Spanish officials noted that the militia officer and field marshal don Antonio de Coria, a principal and militia officer from Ermita served as an architect (*alarife*). These administrators showed their high regard for his judgment when in 1686, they assigned him the task of appraising the cost of necessary repairs to the port facilities of Cavite, and the gunpowder factory in Parañaque. For his services in war construction, and pueblo government, Coria requested exemption from tribute for his family. Another native of Ermita, Don Juan Gadya, acted as a cantor in the choir of the Manila Cathedral. Like other royal employees, Gadya found his salary in arrears, so much so that after his death, his daughter Francisca del Rosario litigated for his backwages of over sixty pesos in 1685.[46]

Ermita and Malate both supplied workers for the cordage factories of Cavite and Manila, the Treasury, the Manila Catedral, and the cortes conducted in Laguna de Bay, up the Pasig River. The labor of Tagalogs in Tondo connected them to Cavite, and its is from this port that some Tagalogs set sail for New Spain, to be reborn chinos. In a complaint issued to colonial authorities in 1607, the residents of Ermita complained about the mandatory service that they provided in the cordage factory of Manila as well as in the construction of buildings within the city and service in logging expeditions, probably in Laguna de Bay. It is these prolonged

[46] For Pasay and the general practice of using cabeza de barangays to govern estancias, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, fs. 279v, 282r-282v, 290r-290v (1655-1689). For Gadya, see AAM, Box 7.B.4, Folder D4 Expedientes sobre diferentes materias (1653-1696), fs. 26r-34v (1685-1690). For the career of don Antonio de Coria, see AGI, Contaduria, 1234, f. 11r (1660); AGI, Contaduria, 1236, f. 14v (1662); NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de tributos polos y servicios personales al Maestro de Campo don Antonio Coria y a sus hijos y nietos legítimos*, f. 147 (1685); AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 2, exp. 2, fs. 3r (1686); and AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 2, exp. 5, fs. 2r, 3r (1687).

episodes of interaction and shared space which over time promoted the Spanish-based creole languages known as Ermitaño, a language related to the longer-lived creole in Cavite called Chabacano or more formally, Caviteño.[47]

Colonial settlement patterns north of the Pasig River varied from the indigenous-centered settlement south of the river, in part stemming from pre-Hispanic precedents. Both rural and urban colonial-era settlements included large numbers of sangley merchants and cultivators, as well as smaller populations of morenos and indigenous migrants tied to provisioning the city and port. Soon after their conquest, razing, and refoundation of Manila, Spanish estate owners and cabildo quickly facilitated expanded resettlement of areas adjacent to Tondo by sangley merchants and fishermen, already settled in the indigenous community of Baybay before the conquest. In 1582, the Audiencia of the Philippines, after consulting with Bishop Salazar, established a Christian sangley settlement site called Meiton, just outside of the pueblo of Tondo, only after an initial failed attempt by Augustinians to minister to non-Christian and Christian sangleyes. By contrast, the Dominicans and Jesuits won their struggles to minister to sangley communities, obtaining significant rents from sangley laborers and prosperous merchants in the process. The Dominicans encouraged the segregation of sangley Christians from their non-Christian brethren in the Parián, working to ensure their separation in the settlement of Binondo

[47] For Ermita's role in the cordonería, see AGI, Filipinas, 85, N. 5, fs. 1r-1v (1607); and AGI, Filipinas, 44, N. 35, exp. 1, f. 14v (1686).

For Philippine Spanish creoles, see Keith Whinnom, *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippines* (Homng Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1956); John M. Lipski, "Chabacano y español: resolviendo las ambigüedades," *Lengua y migración* 2, no. 1 (2010): 5-41; Patrick O. Steinkrüger, "The Puzzling Case of Chabacano: Creolization, Substrate, Mixing and Secondary Contact," *Paper presented at Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. 17-20 January 2006.* Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines. http://www.sil.org/asia/philippiones/ical/papers.html. For early testimony about the emergence of pidgin or possibly creolized Spanish in urban For central Luzon, a phenomenon traced by Juan de Medina to interaction between Tagalogs, morenos, and the Spanish, see Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de Nuestra Grán Padre San Agustín de las Filipinas*, 100. For the phenomenon in Kawit and elsewhere, see AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 8, exp. 2, f. 24v (1689).

(Figure 5). Here, Christian sangleys largely married indigenous women from a community that existed side-by-side with the Chinese through the seventeenth century. It was in Binondo and the scattered sangley-Tagalog agrarian colonies scattered throughout central Luzon that the *mestizo de sangley* population would be born which would dominate Filipino affairs in the late colonial period.[48]

Christian sangley settlements accompanied the larger sangley ghetto of the Alcaicería or Parián, which began inside Manila, but by 1597, the governor and Audiencia had mandated its transference to a site just east of the city (Figure 5). They represented, along with mestizos de sangley, a growing population in Tondo and its arrabales, but generally did not form a significant part of ship crews. As with other groups, Tagalos and Kapampangan communities integrated through marriage and sacramental sponsorship into Tagalog and mixed-ethnicity barrios, Initially, the Parián housed a settlement and market of non-Christian Hokkien migrants and sojourners.[49]

[48] For Baybay, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, f. 1v (1589); AGI, Filipinas, 79, N. 32, f. 3r (1597); AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 15, exp. 2, fs. 30r-30v (1615) and AGI, Filipinas, 81, N. 95, fs. 1r- 1v, 5v, 6v (1663).

For the foundation and early history of Binondo, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, l. 2, fs. 62r-62v (1594); and Lorelei D. C. De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594-1898, A Socio-Historical Perspective* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2001), 12-14, 24-25.

For some of the early history of the Parián, see Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 185-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 1-20; and Antonio García-Abásolo, "La Audiencia de Manila y los Chinos de Filipinas: Casos de Integración en el Delito," in *Homenaje a Alberto de la Hera*, ed. José Luis Soberanes Fernández and Rosa María Martínez de Codes (México, D. F: UNAM, 2008), 343. For the founding of Minon or Meiton, whose relation to the later Minondoc or Binondo is unclear, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 24, f. 167r (1582). For jurisdictional disputes with the Augustinians, see *Ibid*, fs. 162v-166r (1582). For the 1594 refoundation of the Parián, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, L. 2, f. 52r (1594).

[49] After the first few years of colonization of the Philippines, Spanish administrators and missionaries tended to view sojourning and resident Hokkiens, as a group, as incapable of integration into the colonial society of the Philippines. Spanish observers justified their suspicion and stigmatization of sangleyes by referring to their status as subjects of a different monarch, their resistance to Christian missionization, their wealth, their inheritance of an alien, if urbane, civilization, and later, their record of rioting against Spoanish injustices. This insecurity and later paranoia catalyzed violence against the sangleyes and legitimated their exploitation, resulting in a very different relationship between Hokkien labor and Spanish colonial administration than the one that existed between indigenous communities and the colonial state, preventing them from showing a prominence in the galleon crews commendurate with their presence in Manila. Moreover, the primary areas of recruitment for chino (Parañaque, Dongalo, Cavite, Bacolor, Lubao) sailors did not have many sangley residents until late in the colonial period, which

The Parián, like other Hokkien diaspora communities, organized by occupational guilds. When leading members of the Parián met at the parish church on October 27, 1621, to consider the way the funds from their caja de comunidad would be distributed, they did so as heads of occupational guilds. Thus, the meeting included Simon Yoco, the head of the tailors; Juan Tuitin, the head of the nurses; head of the embroiderers; Pedro Fayon, head of the carpenters; Jacinto Quimian, head of the tailors; Miguel Yanton, head of the Cavite carpenters; Thomas Tiguian, head the cobblers; Francisco Buaycan, head of the jarmakers; Martin Cunsan, head of the boat-rowers (*chinchorreros*); Jacinto Tian, head of the weavers; Luis Yarra, head of the painters; ande Matheo Guaton headed the surgeon-barbers. It was the possibility of rents and souls from these skilled workers in the Parián which had initially prompted the Dominicans to tolerate the emergence of a Christian sangley community in Parián that lived cheek-by-jowl with their "infidel" kinsmen. The difference in these two Christian groups can be seen in the maintenance of the practice of wearing ponytails (*cabellos*) by Parián Christians, a practice discarded, often coercively, by Christian sangleys outside the ghetto. Chinese Christians continued to petition the king to follow their hair-wearing customs throughout the 1630s. Other communities organized by occupation such as fishermen and boatmen were settled nearby in the Jesuit-run estates and arrabal of Santa Cruz.[50]

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also prevented their prominence among the chinos of New Spain. The few sangleys who crossed the Pacific, like the Japanese, were distinguished from the Filipino and Asian slave masses with the "sangley" demonym. See above.

[50] For other Hokkien Christians, see AGI, Filipinas, 80, N. 216, exp. 4, fs. 1r- 2r (1619-1635), exp. 5, fs. 1r-1v (1625), and Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 366, 373.

For Hokkien Christians with cabellos and a listing of more guild heads, see AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 19, N. 132, f. 2v (1622). For the role of guilds in Hokkien migrant communities, see James Chin, "Merchants and other Sojourners," 50-54. For the struggle over the cabello, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 16, fs. (1585), AGI, Filipinas 18A, R. 5, N. 31, fs. 3r-4r (1587); AGI, Filipinas, 339, L. 1, f. 349v (1587); and AHN, Diversos-Colecciones, 26, N. 32, fs. 1r-1v (1621). I am indebted to Ryan Kashanipour for the latter reference.

In 1625, some sangley Christians addressed a letter in Chinese characters to the king requesting permission to retain their cabellos. See AHN, Diversos-, 26, N. 45, fs. 1r-2v (1625). For the presence of Christians with cabellos in the Parián, see AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 19, N. 132 (1621).

These settlements on the northern bank of the Pasig did not entirely displace indigenous communities. The Tagalogs of Binondo, for example, maintained self-rule through the last years of the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, sangley communities and estancia labor soon became prominent on the northern banks of the Pasig. After Spanish administrators learned that sangleys held substantial non-merchant populations, they subjected them to colonial labor drafts, at first as galley rowers and agricultural colonists, but later as lumberjacks and artisans in the upland forests of central Luzon and Cavite. Soon after the conquest, agricultural sangley tenants settled Jesuit-owned tracts east of Binondo in Quiapo and later, Santa Cruz. In the late 1620s, the Audiencia began forcibly resettling sangleys as farmers in Laguna, in order to grow temperate crops such as wheat favored by Spanish consumers. Tagalogs, morenos, indigenous migrants and sangleyes in eastern Laguna also grew wheat (Figure 4). [51]

In general, indigenous migrants located their settlements near new churches and institutions to which they supplied labor. Migrants, clerics and private estate owners helped shape the spatial arrangements and political economy of the hinterlands of Manila, in part through seeking the indigenous and mestizo migrants necessary for agricultural estates. This arrangement had the advantage of placing migrants under the supervision of the indigenous élites already invested with judicial and fiscal authority. For example, the town of Dilao grew up around the Franciscan hermita of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. San Anton also accompanied a hermitage, and served as a barangay of Quiapo. Indigenous migrants founded San Miguel

[51] Casimiro Diaz, *Las Conquistas de las islas de Filipinas,* 403-405. For the rebellion that resulted from the exploitation of the sangleyes, see *Ibid*., 405-419. The Binondo indigenous population numbered 250 of the pueblo population of 1458 tributos as late as 1695. See AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, fs. 436v-437r (1695). For eastern Laguna wheat, used to make bread for Manila, and hardtack (*biscocho*) for the galleons, see AGI, Filipinas, 55, N. 4, fs. 14v-16r (1665-1666).

early in the seventeenth century – some suggest Jesuits founded the communit, while others claimed that the military leader Cristóbal de Azcueta settled indigenous people there.[52]

Late seventeenth-century petitions reveal how the coordination of indigenous labor shaped the organization of tributary space, as pueblos administered specific barangays composed of workers allocated to specific colonial institutions. As attached laborers, male residents of dependent barangays were then exempted from tribute and other colonial levies, such as the polo and bandala. For example, the pueblo of Binondo held a barangay of tribute-exempt laborers (*reservados*) allocated to the sangley hospital of San Gabriel. The workers for San Lázaro, named after the the royal indigenous hospital rebuilt in 1680, formed a specific Dilao barangay, later becoming a municipality. The service conditions for the hospital must have been attractive, as by 1693, the barangay quickly outgrew by twelve houses its original limit of thirty households, and the alcalde mayor redistributed its "extra" residents into the other barangays of Dilao subject to colonial levies. A barangay of Kapampangans lay under the pueblo of Santa Cruz. The inhabitants of this barangay were tasked with supplying fodder to the horses of the vecinos of Manila.[53]

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[52] Dilao pueblo and its church were built before 1599. See AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 38, f. 2r (1591); and AGI, Filipinas, 77, N. 9, d. 3r (1599).Thus, the comments of 1606 referring to a "new pueblo de indios" could not be referring to this village. For San Antón as a barangay of Quiapo, with its own teniente, see AGI, Contaduría, 1235, f. 28r (1661). By 1693, San Antón had seceded and elected its own governor. See AGI, Filipinas, 134, n. 14, exp. 2, fs. 379r-379v (1693). For Candelaría, see AGI, Filipinas, 77, R. 9, f. 3r (1599); AGN, Historia, 406, f. 191r (1621); AGI, Contaduría, 1217, 1a Pieza, ca. 1635, f. 12v (1635); NAP, Cedulario 1636-1640, SD 0081, fs. 15B, 17 (1636); and AGI, Contaduría, 1235, f. 28r (1661).

[53] For San Lázaro and San Gabriel barangays, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, f. 14v (1689); NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva de pagar especie de tributos a los naturales del pueblo de Malate juridicción de Tondo,* f. 167r (1686). For San Lázaro barangay growth and dispute, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, f. 482v-492r (1693); and NAP, Cedulario, 1696-1705, SD 613, *Servicios de 12 indios de la provincia de laPpampanga servicio del Hospital de San Juan de Dios*, f. 65 (1703)

For the Kapampangan barrio of Santa Cruz, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva del gobierno a los principales y cabezas de barangay del barrio de Santa Cruz de pagar especie, por un año*, fs. 183-183B (1686).

Of course, the the proliferation of ethnic settlments, though a continuation of Southeast Asian precedents, did not always assuage the fears of colonial officials. Though a creation of deliberate colonial policy, the increasing number of sangley communities and their proximity to indigenous settlements prompted a fair amount of discomfort on the part of Spanish officials. By the 1590s, southern Pasig indigenous settlements stood adjacent to the non-Christian sangley ghetto of the Parián, which by the early years of the seventeenth century, Spanish authorities had represented as a feared center of moral contagion. [54]

Later discussion of the moral turpitude of sangleys would focus on gambling and their various celebrations of the Chinese New Year, both seen by missionaries as ways to mask idolatry by representing it as mere custom. This frustration led to other actions, such as the ban on the performance of sangley plays (*comedias*) passed by Bishop Cristóbal de Salvatierra in 1592. The final straw came in 1603, when during a visit by officials of the Ming court, the Spanish accused the sangleys of planning a rebellion. Some indigenous people in nearby Quiapo joined in the revolt, which Spanish soldiers, Japanese inhabitants and the indigenous people of central Luzon put down with great loss of life. Spanish chronicles, administrative correspondence, and service records document how Spanish soldier, Cristóbal Asqueta, the Kapampangan veteran don Diego Dimarocot, and don Ventura Mendoza from the Tagalog town of Mahayhay in Laguna led hundreds, possibly thousands of central Luzon Filipinos against the

[54] For analogous ethnic neighborhoods in other port cities of Southeast Asia, often called by the Malay word *kampung*, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation, and Denys Lombard, *Le Sultanat D'Atjéh au Temps D'Iskandar Muda* (Paris: École Française D'Estreme-Orient, 1967), 47; Luis Filipe Ferrera Reis Thomaz, "The Malay Sultanate of Melaka," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, edited by Anthony Reid (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 80-82; and Anthony Reid,"Pluralism and Ppogress in seventeenth-century Makassar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156, no. 3 (2000): 436-438, 444.

Portuguese merchants and soldier-adventurers added to the ethnic diversity of these ports, forming ethnic barrios that they called bandeis, plural of bandel, from Persian bandar, meaning port. See Stefan Halikowski Smith, "No Obvious Home: The Flight of the Portuguese 'Tribe' From Makassar to Ayutthaya and Cambodia during the 1660s," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 7, no. 1 (2010): 1-28; and Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 9-10, 49, 107-109.

sangleys. These soldiers counterattacked, sending the sangleys into the mountains of Batangas and San Pablo, south of Manila, where indigenous soldiers killed the survivors (Figure 4).[55]

Another group of settlers proved important to the demography and imaginary of colonial Manila: Japanese Christians fleeing from religious persecution, and maritime laborers. Japanese merchants had gone into business with Hokkien merchants in the South China Sea throughout the sixteenth century; both had turned to piracy when the Ming proscribed legal commerce. Between the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Japanese merchants were active through the South China Sea and Southeast Asia, though sometimes without the support of the Japanese imperial government, especially in Taiwan, Ayutthya, southern Vietnam (*Cochinchina*) and Cambodia (Figures 3 and 7). Juan de Carrión encountered some of the earlier corsairs-merchants in Cagayan in 1581. The Spanish encountered a Japanese merchant when they first conquered Manila and Japanese merchants from the southern island of Kyushu began to trade with Manila when they realized they could obtain Chinese silk without the Portuguese middlemen that they had endured since the 1550s.[56]

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[55] For sangley comedias, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 1, N. 70, fs. 1r-1v (1592). Nonetheless, some sangleyes managed to bribe officials for licenses to present their plays. This was the case for Nicolas Ramírez, who paid twenty-fice pesos to Juan Sanson, the barber-surgeon of the treasurer, Agustín de Hegoen. Sanson put on two plays during a sangley wedding in Santa Cruz. See AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 3, f. 71v (1644). For the 1603 rising, see Antonio de Morga, *Los Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,*207-209, 215-223; AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 17, exp. 2, fs. 5v-6r (1605); Argensola, 320-336; and also the accounts of the Kapampangan Dimarocots in AGI, Filipinas, 39, N. 20, exp. 3, fs. 14r, 15v-16v, 18r-19v (1603).

[56] For the importance of discussions of Japanese Christianity to Manila residents, see María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "The Philippine Colonial Elite and the Evangelization of Japan," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 4 (2002): 63-89. For Cagayan and Japanese piracy in early colonial Philippines, see AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 4, N. 49, fs. 1v, 2v (1582); and AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, n. 16, f. 2v (1585).

For a general discussion of early modern Japanese migration, see William D. Wray, "The Seventeenth-Century Japanese Diaspora: Questions of Boundary and Policy," in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History,* eds. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ionna Pepelasis Minoglou (New York: BERG, 2005), 77-78. For the longer history of smuggling and piracy in the South and East China Seas, see Peter D. Shapinsky, "From Sea Bandits to Sea Lords: Nonstate Violence and Pirate Identities in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Japan," in *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert Antony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 27-41; and Igawa Kenji, "At the Crossroads: Limahon and Wako in Sixteenth-Century Philippines," in *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert Antony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University

Japanese merchants brought swords (*katanas*), cloth, and familiar products such as wheat flour and hams to Manila. Many of these merchants were Christians, but not all. Sailors began to settle in the arrabales of Manila, especially in Dilao (Figure 5). Japanese Christian exiles came in greater numbers as persecution by Japanese leaders intensified in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The missionary cause of Japan inspired numerous publications circulated and read on both sides of the Pacific and across the Atlantic. Martyrdom of Japanese Christians, and Iberian missionary figures as the Franciscan Felipe de Jesús in Japan, led to the the publication of entire libraries of sermons, paeans, and hagiographies in the presses of New Spain, Spain, and the Philippines. Among the celebrities of Christian missionization in Japan were noble converts such as Julia Naito, who helped found a refuge house for noble pious lay women (*recogimiento*) in Manila. The Jesuits settled these Japanese Christian nobles in the new town of San Miguel in 1615 (Figure 5). Trade with Manila at times served goals of Japanese military leaders who sought to unify Japan, as was the case of the merchant Kāto Kiyomasa, who obtained gold in the Philippines that likely was stockpiled to pay for the invasion of Korea.[57]

Press, 2007), 73-84. For an overview of Japanese communities in the colonial Philippines, based on both Blair and Robertson and Japanese documents, see Iwao Sei-ichi, *Early Japanese Settlers in the Philippines.* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1943).

[57] For Japanese shipping, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 36, fs. 3r-3v (1587); AGI, Filipinas, 63, N. 1, f. 216v (1608); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4154, exp. 1, f. 13r (1619). For the shipping of over 150 "large" katanas and "small" katanas (*wakizashis*) to Manila, see AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 5, fs/ 41v-42r (1592). This ship also brought hams, and over three hundred piculs of wheat flour. For Korea, see Nakajima Gakushō, "The Invasion of Korea and Trade with Luzon: Kāto Kiyomasa's Scheme of the Luzon Trade in the Late Sixteenth Century," in *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 145-168; and Innes, "Door Ajar."

Hokkien and Jiangnan merchants carried wheat, iron, and even harquebuses from Japan to the Philippines long past the time of official prohibition. See AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 1a pieza, f. 77r (1675); AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 38, exp. 2, fs. 4r, 5r (1684-1685); AGI, Filipinas, 1245, 3a pieza, f. 728v (1685); and James K. Chin, "Junk Trade, Networks, and Sojourning Communities: Hokkien Communities in Early Maritime Asia," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 6 (2010): 181-184.

For Japanese Christian and missionary martyrdom and flight from Japan, see Cornelius Conover, "Saintly Biography and the Cult of San Felipe de Jesús in Mexico City, 1597-1697," *Americas* 67, no. 4 (2011): 441-466; and Haruko Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549-1650* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009). For an analysis of Asian migration to New Spain which adds many new insights about Japanese

Japanese merchants and settlers populated the lands of Bagumbayan and Cavite where they occupied important places the petty retail and wholesale markets. Japanese buyeras and storeowners (*tenderas*) operating in Cavite and Manila, such as María de la Cruz , who in 1645 paid six pesos for a vendor's license in Dilao represent the former sector (Figure 5). The successful efforts of Juan Pérez and Miguel de Silva, in 1644, to obtain a controlling role in the Crown buyo monopoly (*asiento de buyo*), epitomized the Japanese involvement in larger-scale enterprises. Japanese merchants had long been involved in the traffic of buyo, a point remarked upon by the Augustinian Juan de Medina in 1630. The success of Silva and Pérez required forty thousand pesos of investment and thousands more in bribes provided to Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, not to mention silent backing by sangley and Konkani (*Canarí*) investors. The royal investigation and contemporary Inquisition records revealed that the Japanese *asentistas* employed Japanese servants to vend their product, while Japanese and morena women sold some of this commodity in Cavite, probably as informal vendors. Japanese men intermarried with indigenous people in San Miguel and Dilao, giving rise to a population known as mestizos de japón.[58]

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migrants, see Phillip Anthony Ramírez, "Asian Identities in Seventeenth-Century Colonial Mexico" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007).

Dozens of Japanese merchants traveled in 1613 to Acapulco, traveling through New Spain and Europe, and obtaining much attention from historians. Yet, the hundreds that inhabited Manila and the smaller number that traveled as ordinary seamen to Acapulco probably outnumbered their better-publicized merchant counterparts. For a good introduction to the burgeoning scholarship on ties between New Spain and Japan, see Lothar Knauth, *Confrontación transpacífica. El Japón y el Nuevo Mundo hispánico, 1542-1639* (México, D. F: UNAM, 1972). A more recent discussion of the consquences of the voyage between Japan and New Spain can be seen in Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, *El japonés que conquistó Guadalajara: La historia de Juan de Páez en la Guadalajara del siglo xvii* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2009). For *cañarí,* or Konkani Christians, see Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 60.

[58] See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 47, f. 1r (1585), for the Japanese corsairs in Cagayan. Many Japanese Christians, especially non-nobles, Lusitanized or Hispanicized their names and surnames. For the buyo asiento, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 3, fs. 59r-60r, 99r-100r, 143v -144v (1644). Miguel Silva and Juan Pérez played parts in a much larger scandal surrounding Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera and his lieutenants, who were accused of extorting bribes for a variety of concessions and political offices. The royal order requesting testimony from those involved with bribes uncovered dozens of bribes. Other merchants, such as Ascanio Guazoni, an individual heavily involved in the transpacific trade, desired to acquire the buyo concession. See AGI, Filipinas, 22,

Slavery and Freedom in the Arrabales of Manila

Enslaved and manumitted individuals constituted another group of early settlers of the arrabales. Filipinos brought them into their collateral kinship networks through sacramental sponsorship. As Tatiana Seijas has shown, this population might have constituted a majority of the early population of chinos in colonial Mexico. Manumitted slaves, such as the *camucones* Juan de Guaca, Tomas, and Catalina de Xiména, freed by Alonso de Canto in a will written in 1612, formed an important part of the population of the multiracial arrabales of Manila and Cavite. Slaves had many different origins, which were further obscured by the extent of the insular Southeast Asian trade in slaves at contact. As Bondan Kanumoyoso and historians of the transatlantic slave trade have noted, the practice of collecting slaves at special transshipment ports often obscured the origins of slaves. Portuguese merchants and other slavers often relied on the port of embarkation to apply the ethnonyms of slaves. As we saw from the case of Martín

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R. 1, N. 1, exp. 4, f. 4v (1644). For Japanese and morena buyo sellers in Cavite, probably dependent peddlers, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, fs. 62r-63v (1651). For Japanese shopkeepers, see AGI, Contaduría, 1225A, f. 42v (1645). For the relief of Spaniards at news of the Japanese invasion of Korea, see AGI, Filipinas, 29, N, 57, fs. 403r-404v (1595). For Japanese merchants, see AGI, Contaduría 1204, fs. 79r, 81r (1597); AGI, Contaduría 1205, fs. 91v (1599); AGI, Contaduría, 139r, 486v (1603-1604); For Japanese in Cambodia, see AGI, Filipinas, 52, R. 11, fs. 69r, 76r (1657). For Japanese in Siam, see AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 1, N. 6, f. 10v (1626). For Japanese communities in Faifo (Vietnam), see *LL, Historical Papers and Documents dealing with the Spanish Missions in the Philippine Islands and East Asia Phillipines 8293 and 8464. 17th century,* Lot 516, volume 1, MS 21529 (1), legajo 1, fs. 212r-216v (1647).

Japanese Christians were a favorite target for religious philanthropy as indeed the Japanese mission was for Spaniards in the Philippines and Mexico. See María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "The Philippine Colonial Elite and the Evangelization of Japan," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 4 (2002): 63-89; and Conover, "A Saint in the Empire: Mexico City's San Felipe de Jesus, 1597-1820." For example, on December 10, 1619, the General Juan Pardo de Losada willed one hundred pesos as alms for lay conventualized Japanese noble women housed in a convent in San Miguel. See AGI, Contratación, 524, N. 2, R. 10, f. 49r (1619). For Japanese Christian exiles in San Miguel, see Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 83-104; Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 363; and Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, 378, 385-388, 391-397, 409, 547 (1902 [1661]). Don Juan Naito, the head of one of the Japanese families, served in 1653, as a godfather for the baptism of Andres Paralayday, a Tagalog, baptized in San Miguel. See FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, f. 28v (1653). For lepers (*lázaros*) sent from Japan, see NAP, Cedulario, 1618-1634, 163?-1636, SDS 597, f. 156 (1630).

Japanese material culture, such as the folding screen, called the byobu, or *biombo*, had a large influence on world art production and especially of art production in New Spain. See Sofia Sanabrais, "The Biombo or Folding Screen: Examining the Impact of Japan on Artistic Production and the Globalization of Taste in Seventeenth-Century New Spain" (PhD Diss.,: New York University, 2005); and Naoko Frances Hioki, "The Shape of Conversation: The Aesthetics of Jesuit Folding Screens in Momoyama and Early Tokugawa Japan (1549-1639)" (PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009). For mestizos de japón, see AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 26v (1660); AGI, Contaduría, 1ª pieza, 1243 f. 49v (1683); and AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, fs. 163r, 181r, 184r (1691).

de Goití, many of the earliest slaves were captives taken in the Philippines wars of conquest carried out by Visayans, Kapampangans and Spaniards (Figures 1, 2, and 4). These populated the households of Manila households into the 1580s. Though proscribed by Salazar and early colonial legislation, these Filipino slaves and bonded laborers never fully disappeared. They would develop a reputation as rebellious subjects. Kapampangans and Spaniards organized campaigns of "fire and blood" against so-called rebels like the Zambales throughout the seventeenth century. Better-organized revolts would prompt similar responses (See Chapter 1 and 2). For example, Visayans organized revival of indigenous religions in Leyte in 1621 and in Bohol in 1622. Between 1632 and 1634, a number of revolts erupted in Cebu, Samar, Caraga, and Samar (Figure 2).[59]

Slaves obtained from polities away from Spanish jurisdiction composed the majority of slave populations in Manila after the 1580s. These were generally taken in war by the Portuguese, purchased during famines, or captured as part of a wider South China Sea slave

[59] For the will of Alonso de Canto, see AGI, Contratación, 319ª, N. 1, R. 9, excp. 2, f. 9r (1612). Other manumissions can be found in AGI, Contratación 287, N. 1, R. 15, fs. 52r-52v (1608), in the will of Pedro de Zúñiga; AGI, Contratación, 339A, N. 1, R. 8, exp. 1, f. 20v, 38r (1615), in the will of Ruy Gómez de Arrelano; and AGI, Contratación, 358B, N. 1, R. 8, sin foliación (1621), in the will of Hernando Ramírez. See Bondan Kanumoyoso, "Beyond the City Wall: Society and Economic Development in the Ommelanden of Batavia. 1684-1740" (PhD Diss., University of Leiden, 2011), 124-127.

Camucones were *alfoores* or animist tributaries, of the Sultanate of Brunei. Spanish and Filipinos considered them to be especially able seamen and warriors. Horacio de la Costa identifies them with the present-day *orang tidong*, but we lack a proper seventeenth-century ethnohistory of their activity. See Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 321. For a later ethnohistory of the orang tidong, see also Warren, *The Sulu Zone,* 85-87, 92-92. For a more detailed treatment and analysis of the role of alfoores in Mindanao polities and Jesuit missionization, see Paredes, "Converting Conflict," 85, 243, n. 79 .

The word "rebellion" was a highly-loaded, and instrumentalist term, often used to legitimate exploitation of indigenous groups. Nonetheless, it was a concept that guided Spanish rhetoric and activity. For some of the rebellions and resistance carried out by Visayans and other around the archipelago, see Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 314-315. For revolts and religious revival in Tagalog areas, see Horacio de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 156; and AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 30, fs. 6v-7v (1601, Balayan). For some of the hundreds of slaves and captives captured in "revolts" and in acts of resistance against the imposition of Spanish sovereignty, see AGI, Filipinas, 48, N. 15, f. 6v (1598) (Mindanao); AGI, Filipinas, 49, N. 12, fs. 15r-16v (1611) (Leyte and Samar); AGI, Filipinas, 50, N. 45, f. 16r; AGI, Filipinas, 53, N. 6, fs. 91v-92r (Caraga, Tagabaloyes); and AGI, Filipinas, 54, N. 1, f. 27r (1674); AGI, Filipinas, 54, N. 13, exp. 2, f. 60r-60v (1661) (Palapag rising); AGI, Filipinas, 56, N. 2, fs. 25r-26r (1662); AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 2, N. 30, f. 8r; AGI, Filipinas, 57, N. 9, fs. 11v-12r, 16r (1676, 1684); AGI, Filipinas, 58, N. 7, fs. 15v-16v (1677).

market from raids of upland groups (*alfojores*) or outlying islands. Early in the seventeenth century, Spanish administrators, soldiers, and merchants sailed to Macau and Melaka, where they obtained slaves trans-shipped from other sites. Portuguese freebooters, soldiers, and merchants generally supplied these slaves. From Maluku, the Spanish purchased speakers of Javanese and Papuan languages, while the slave markets of Melaka supplied Bengalis as well as Tamil and Malayalam speakers from southern India (Figures 3 and 7). Portuguese and sangley traders on the littoral of East Asia supplied some Chinese and Japanese slaves, but by the early seventeenth century, these supplies were overshadowed by sources in East Africa, the Bay of Bengal and insular Southeast Asia. The labels applied by Spanish consumers of slaves of *camucon*, *mindanao*, *tagbaloy*, *jolo*, *jabo*, *macasar*, and *terrenate* flattened the linguistic and social diversity of the subjects of the polities of Islamicate Southeast Asia, their allies, and other ethnic groups not aligned with these polities. This diversity would shrink even further after these slaves became manumitted, when they became known as morenos libres or criollos libres.[60]

From the Spanish refoundation of Manila through 1650, indigenous and Spanish slaveowners purchased slaves from sangley merchants, Portuguese slavers, or seized them in the course of campaigns prosecuted against upland animists and coastal Islamicate polities. Thus, on September 11, 1641, a notary at the Caraga fortress of Tandag sentenced Danili, Octanon, Tiaya and twenty-one other Tagabaloyes to enslavement after their capture on a raiding campaign by Spanish and Caraga soldiers under Sergeant Francisco Morillo (Figure 1). Governor Sebastián

[60] See Chapter 2. For capture of tagabaloyes, see AGI, Escribanía 441B, f. 8427v, 8432r-8432v, 8434v, 8437v-8440v (1646-1648). For criollos and morenos as descendants of slaves and freed slaves, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7836r (1648); AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 3, N. 41, exp. 4, f. 4v (1664): LL, Philippines MSS II, "Recaudos de las estancias de Mandaloya," f. 39v (1675); and AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, f. 110v (1682).

Hurtado de Corcuera had ordered the raids and the prosecution of war of *fuego y sangre*, the no-quarters battle often prosecuted against those rejecting colonial sovereignty.[61]

Spanish and Portuguese merchants traveling in Asia also purchased the slaves from indigenous merchants in Southeast Asia, southern India, Makassar, or Goa. For example, late in the sixteenth century, a Spanish soldier, Pedro de Chaves purchased Catalina Sisite, a child of Malay Christian parents, from a sangley merchant in Brunei during a raid on the sultanate. In 1616, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, in present-day Madhya Pradesh, an Indian fisherman seized a Marathi-speaking peasant or artisan, Francisco Corumbi, bringing him to the Portuguese colonial city of Bassein for sale, from where he was sold to Goa, the seat of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (Figures 3 and 7). Various owners sold Corumbi through the Portuguese-controlled outpost of Cochin, and then he arrived in the Philippines via Melaka. On August 26, 1616, Luis Danga, a resident of Dilao, purchased Jacinto, a Malabar slave captured in warfare by Benito Ferreira, a Portuguese man. In Manuel Mamadu, a slave of the Chalukya (*Tolucan*) caste, had also been sold into slavery during a famine, and was shipped along with Reddis and other Tamil speakers out of Nagapattinam and to Manila. The public defender of the slaves of Manila was able to persuade the court that Manuel's captivity was illicit, though most of the other South Indian slaves that accompanied him to Manila were not so lucky.[62]

After the 1680s, East and South African slaves, generally known as "cafres" were the most dominant population of slaves, due to colonial legislation favorable to the manumission of

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[61] AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, exp. 2, fs. 20r-20v (1641). The documentation of this raid was part of a larger investigation which uncovered substantial evidence that Hurtado de Corcuera used the slaves and booty from these campaigns to enrich himself, and that he failed to pay taxes on his sale of captives. The raid encompassed subjects of the sultan of Brunei, Jolo, and Mindanao. See *Ibid*, f. 2r (215 pesos for three Caragas), f. 4r, 9r-9v (Fifty-two *caragas* and others captured by don Antonio Tupas, presumably the son or grandson of don Francisco Tupas), 29r, and *passim* (1641-1645). For a comprehensive investigation and theorization of the ethnohistory of some of these alfoores of Maguindanao, see Paredes, "Converting Conflict."

[62] AGN, Civil, 680, N. *2, passim* (1594); AGN, Jesuítas, IV-68, f. 1r (August 1, 1622; August 31, 1622). AGN, Historia, 406, f. 187r-192r (1616). AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1355, exp. 34, fs. 2r-3r (1631).

"native" slaves. These slaves seemed to have generally been transshipped via Goa and then sold from Macau, after 1667 the center of Portuguese commerce in East and Southeast Asia. This long voyage seems to have taken a heavy toll. In 1685, when the ship *San Pedro de Alcántara* stopped in Manila on its way to Macau from Goa, many of the one hundred and seventy-nine slaves on board from Mozambique were sick. These slaves come from the mainland hinterlands of Mozambique Island, as suggested by the Manila sale in 1674 of Antonio of the Sena caste by Ignacio Morales. Morales was merchant from Macau and sold Antonio to a Spaniard, Francisco Fresno. Most of the non-cafre slaves in the late seventeenth century were descendants of slaves born in the Philippines and were called criollos. Criollo slaves constituted ninety-nine of two hundred and thirty-four named slaves of identifiable ethnicity who, the Audiencia freed after 1673 royal cédulas liberated most non-African, Christian slaves in Luzon. Over time, freed slaves intermarried with individuals from the populations of rural migrants and urban settlers. Some of them, such as Gertrudis de la Concepción, a free cafre, opened up stores in the alcaldía mayor of Tondo. Other free people of color, known as morenos, formed barrios of indigenous pueblos, as was the case for Dilao and Cainta (Figure 4).[63]

As with sangleyes, seventeenth-century Spanish clerics and civil authorities expressed alarm about the growing numbers of free morenos. Spanish authorities blamed morenos for robberies, theft and illicit commerce, a discourse consistent with similar accusations directed against indigenous migrants forty years earlier. The Spanish tended to view these freed morenos

[63] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1567, exp. 8, fs. 1r-1v (1684). For the dominance of Macau as a commercial port in the late seventeenth century, see George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 107-142, and *passim*. For the sick passengers of the *San Pedro de Alcántara*, see AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 1, fs. 80r-103r (1685). For the sale of Antonio, see Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Histórico (henceforth CSIC-IH), MF#3534, unnumbered. (September 18, 1674); and for more cafre sales, see *ibid.* (September 22, 1674). For Gertrudis de la Concepción, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 17r (1656).

For the Audiencia manumission results, see AGI, Filipinas, 24, R. 5, N. 28, exp. 2, fs. 96v-120v (1684). For African contributions to the music of the colonial Philippines, see Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 42-43.

as alien, imported from foreign lands by the Portuguese. They therefore came up with a more draconian solution to the perceived unwillingness of morenos to fit into the proscribed social hierarchy. One measure of this was the sudden willingness in 1635 of the royal authorities under Pedro Cantoral to count slaves of indigenous elites in Tondo that they purchased from Portuguese sources for the purposes of tribute, a large burden on Filipino elites. The uproar over this practice indicates a breach of custom. In the same year, the Audiencia passed sumptuary legislation preventing the donning of silk garments by morenos and mulatos; the Audiencia had passed a similar ordinance in 1591 to prevent the movement of Filipinos into cities and the market as waged laborers.[64]

In 1635, Spanish authorities began efforts to deport free morenos to an island in the middle of the Pasig river, probably the present-day location of the Isla of Convalencia located southwest of Quiapo (Figures 3 and 5). Jesuits ministered to the moreno population of the town, called San Francisco Javier. The Jesuits obtained the curacy in part because they ministered to adjacent parishes in Quiapo and Santa Cruz. The residents of the pueblo, however, were free to obtain confession elsewhere. In 1636, Ana Polotín, the Bengali wife of Tomé Quintarnay and a resident of San Francisco Javier, did so. A secular cleric sexually assaulted her during confession and she reported the crime to a Jesuit, who brought the complaint to the Inquisition. As in other arrabales, San Francisco de Javier had its own gobernador and militia officers, such as Mateo de Campos. The Crown did not agree with the measures enforced by local officials, and by the 1650s, if not before, morenos had dispersed back to their original wide distribution around the city.[65]

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[64] For sumptuary legislation, see AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 59, exp. 3, fs. 1r-1v (1635).

[65] For the deportation plan advanced by Hurtado de Corcuera and the Audiencia, see AHN, Volume 21, Cedulario Indico, 39/235-221, fs. 1r-3v (1637). For the Laguna de Bay implementation, see AGI, Escribanía de

Indigenous Mobility and Migration in Manila and Urban Central Luzon

The last peripatetic group which shaped the spaces of Manila and its arrabales were indigenous migrants from outside of Tondo. Individuals from these groups soon would come to work on the galleons and form a small part of the chino population of colonial Mexico. Aside from the initial group of Visayans, the first geographical base for immigrants to urban central Luzon was fairly narrow, extending to the Tagalog-speaking areas of Southern Luzon or Katagalogan (Figure 2). This base rapidly broadened to include Kapampangan, which had supplied migrants in the pre-Hispanic period. By the last half of the seventeenth century, individuals began to enter from further afield, especially Ilocos, Pangasinan, and Kabikolan (Figures 1 and 2).[66]

Visayans, too, traveled to Manila and Cavite as servants, warriors and laborers. For example, in 1615 a polo brought one hundred Visayan carpenters to Cavite. They continued to travel though and settle in the area of Manila, in part due to the movements of military campaigns and the importance of Iloilo, in Panay, as a staging point for movement between Manila and Maluku. A 1638 padrón for Arévalo and Iloilo illustrates these connections (Figure 2). Thus, Nicolás, the husband of Juana Vaybitsti, left his wife to care for their daughter while

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Cámara, 441[a], f. 5862r-5862v (1648). For the assault on Ana Polotin and her reporting of the matter, see AGN, IV, c. 3466, exp. 27, f. 13r (1636). For the dispersion of the inhabitants of San Francisco Javier, see AGI, Filipinas, 330, L. 5, fs. 169r-169v (1659). The Isla de Convalencia lies directly south of the present-day suburb of San Miguel, which moved across the river, north of its original location in the wake of the British invasion of Manila in 1762.

[66] Principales seemed very mobile throughout the Tagalog-speaking area, from eastern Laguna de Bay to Cavite, and from Tayabas to the northern banks of the Pasig. The Cainta case demonstrated that this mobility partially derived from the increasing lack of access to arable land for urban residents. A series of examples from a royal investigation showed the purchase by these principales of offices outside of their native municipalities. For example, Don Agustín de Villegas, a native of the municipality of Sinaloan in Laguna de Bay, passed bribes to the treasurer Agustín de Hegoen for don Lucas Buti to obtain the position of field-marshal of Dilao. In 1644, Augustín Gutiérrez, a notary (*escribiente*) from Dilao, passed eighty pesos to Hegoen for an indigenous person to obtain the governorship of the pueblo of Taguig. The notary Alférez don Nicolas de Herrera passed three ounces of gold to Hegoen on behalf of a man named don Domingo Salvador so that the latter could become governor of the municipality of Abucay. For bribes, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 3, fs. 148v, 158r, 160r-160v (1644).

he worked in Manila. Juana Hian and Alonso Barolan, both single residents of the household of the Spaniard Ayudante de Frias, similarly left Arévalo for Manila. Similarly, Juan Huyoc and Sebastian de Morales, a sangley and mestizo, respectively, left their large Arévalo households for Manila in the same year. Their large households made it likely that both were merchants.[67]

By the second half of the seventeenth century, individuals from northern Luzon had begun settling in both rural and urban areas of central Luzon, a fact documented in the Santa Ana de Sapá padrón of 1691, but also in other pieces of evidence we will discuss below. A number of reasons explain this movement. First, historians like Grace Estela Mateo have shown that land became scarce in Ilocos throughout the seventeenth century, in part a result of entrepreneurial activities by Ilocano elites such as don Nicolas Manganos, who opened up agrarian estates and cattle ranches in Ilocos in by paying the Crown to shield laborers from polos and servicios personales. Second, local private trade increased throughout the late seventeenth century throughout the Philippines, though we have the most documentation of the commercial activity of Spanish and sangleyes. These ships carried smaller cargoes, predominantly of victuals. As the numbers of these sampans and fragatas increased, so did the need for local maritime labor acquainted with local conditions. Chinese and Spanish sampan captains, such as Roque Cayco and Eugenio Vinco, both Christian sangleyes, increasingly applied for licenses from the Audiencia for maritime trade in Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan, hiring Christian sangleys and indigenous mariners from Ilocos and Pangasinan (Figure 1). Next, Pangasinanes and Ilocanos were petty traders who supplied local military garrisons and campaigns followed their customers south. Eighteenth-century chroniclers document the efforts of Pangasinan

[67] For the 1615 polo, see AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 3, exp. 2, fs. 26r-26v. For other Visayan workers in Cavite, see AGI, Contaduría 1202, 2a pieza, f. 296r (1595); AGI, Contaduría, 1207, 1a pieza, f. 189v (1606); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 823, exp. 4, f. 237r (1637). For Arévalo migrants, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 0681, exp. 5, fs. 12r, 14v, 23v (1638). For Visayan grumetes on the Manila galleons, see AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 14, fs. 25v-26r (1682); AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, fs. 91v-92v, 93r (1687); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, n. 18, fs. 60v-61r (1692).

traders who brought cattle south to Manila. Thomas, a Pangasinan trader, traveled all the way to Acapulco to carry out his commercial prerogatives.[68]

Finally, the rebellion of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan from 1660-1662 introduced large numbers of people from central Luzon to northern Luzon. More concretely, the colonial government mandated the exile and forced labor of over two hundred Pangasinanes, Cagayanes, and Ilocanos as punishment for their participation in the rising. These new workers were probably followed by members of their households. The colonial government o the Philippines forced them to work in the Ribera of Cavite, the royal galleys, and the hospitals and convents of central Luzon.[69]

The pueblo of San Miguel provides an example of the formation of an ethnic migrant settlement in an arrabal of Manila. Such settlements resembled chino barrios in New Spain. Tagalog or Kapampangan migrants had helped found San Miguel in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Figure 5). Adjacent to Dilao, San Miguel continued to grow, and its parish records shed some light on the distribution of its population. Its relatively small size makes, at one hundred and forty tributaries in 1638-1640, makes it of a manageable size for analysis. Principales migrated here, as they did throughout the Tagalog alluvial plain. These principales apparently acquired enough wealth to purchase foreign slaves, not a cheap purchase. For example, on December 7, 1642, Francisca Rodrigúez served as the godmother of Cathalina Rodrigúez, the daughter of Pedro Sanda and María Bengala, the latter a slave of don Agustín

[68] Mateo, "Ilocos: A History of the Regionalization," 112-116, 132-134, 251-252. For Pangasinan cattle vendors, see *Ibid.,* 117. For Ilocano principal ranchers, see AGI, Contaduría, 1226, 2ª pte. F. 13r (1647); AGI, Contaduría, 1236, f. 44r (1662); and AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 34r (1671). For Northern Luzon commerce and licensing, see AGI, Contaduría, 1247, f. 11r, 42v (1690); and AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 1ª pieza, f. 9v (1683).

[69] For forced labor assignments in the wake of the 1660-1662 revolts, see AGI, Filipinas, 9, R. 2, N. 30, f. 98r (1661). For Pangasinanes, Cagayanes, and Ilocanos in Tondo, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, fs. 179v, 188v-190v (1691). For Northern Luzon migrants on the Manila galleons, see AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 14, f. 26v (1682); AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, fs. 93v, 94v (1687); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, n. 18, fs. 60v-61r (1692).

Quinig. Tagalog slaves and debt servants resided in the town as well, as was the case of Magdalena Hirangin, the wife of Francisco de la Cruz, a native of the adjacent town of Dilao. San Miguel also retained a Japanese community into the seventeenth century, though its population underwent a process of mestizaje with the larger Tagalog population, as demonstrated by the baptism on August 4, 1658, of María Magdalena Tobaran, the daughter of Miguel Xara, a Japanese man, and María de Concepción, a Tagalog woman.[70]

Sangley Christians, freed slaves, and morenos also settled San Miguel. Indigenous migrants settling in adjacent arrabales sought out its church. As in Lubao, the church of San Miguel served as a site for propagation of collateral alliances, through the baptism of children and their incorporation into the community through the sharing of holy water, an auspicious substance, and the adoption of godparents (*compadres*) resident in the community. Thus, on November 2, 1648, Lazaro Gonzalo and Inés Malabar sponsored the baptism of Simón, the son of Pedro Malabar and María Vanalangin. On February 8, 1658, Agustín Masaysay and María Daliyava acted as the godparents for the the baptism of Policarpio Masaysay, the son of two municipal citizens (*vecinos*) of San Miguel: Augustín Alvarado, a free black man and Ignacia Sulitan, a free black woman. Juana Tavarin stood as the godmother to Agustina de los Santos, the daughter of the sangleyes Alonso Corin and Francisca de la Concepción on October 30, 1662. Members of the community also served as as the baptismal sponsors of sangley adults. For example, on March 2, 1664, captain don Juan Esguerra performed the role of godfather for the thirty-year old sangley, Juan Inco, and on March 30, 1666, he also sponsored the baptism of

[70] For the tributary count of San Miguel, see AGI, Filipinas, 77, N. 57, exp. 7, f. 2v (1641).

For the said slaves, see FHLGSU , MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, fs. 11v, 17v(1642, 1646). Other examples can be found in *Ibid*., fs. 20r-21r (1648-1649). For the baptism of María Magdalena Tobaran, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, f. 35v (1658). On November 30, 1653, the venerable don Juan Naito, a Japanese vecino and Catholic exile, served as godfather to Andres Paralayday, the son of Matheo de Yong and Maria Guidya, vecinos of San Miguel. *Ibid.,* f. 28v (1653).

twenty-five year old Juan Chu. San Miguel residents also performed as godparents for the marriages and baptism of children of migrants and residents. We find residents of adjacent municipalities such as Pasig, Maysilo, Pandacan, Sampaloc, Dilao, Taytay, the estates of Balete, Bulacan, and Malate in the San Miguel parish registers (Figures 4 and 5).[71]

Most significantly for our purposes, the sacramental records of San Miguel document the formation by the 1640s of a Kapampangan settlement within San Miguel called the "barrio de pampangos" or "barangay de los pampangos." On October 5, 1648, the parish notary labeled Andrés Martín and Francisca Mutia as "capangpangos" (Kapampangans), when they baptized their daughter Gerónima Martina. These sacramental records demonstrate that significant numbers of migrants arrived here through the 1650s, generally an era in which migration was much discussed within urban central Luzon. In fact, in 1667, Fray Isidro Rodríguez, an Augustinian with a history of service in Pampanga, argued that harsh corvée requirements had prompted a situation where more Kapampangans lived in the environs of Manila than lived in the province of Pampanga (Figure 4). These migrants included nobility, such as don Nicolas de Rojas, who served as the godfather (*padrino*) of Nicolasina Logor, the daughter of Nicolasina Nogoy and Gerónimo Maricot. By the 1650s and 1660s, the barrio, now formally a part of the colonial apparatus as a barangay, had been named San José. On October 27, 1659, Joseph Sumbillo and Monica Guintong Pili, vecinos of "the pueblo and of the barangay of the Pampangos," had their son Simón Lázaro Santos baptized; and on January 14, 1663, Magdalena Natividad, a native of "the barrio of San Joseph" was baptized in San Miguel. The barangay attracted principales of Kapampangan provenance. Fortunately, baptismal records of San Miguel

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[71] For morenos and sangleys, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, fs. 20r, 34v, 42r, 44r, 47r (1648, 1658, 1662, 1664, 1666).

For Tagalog migrants to San Miguel from other Tondo municipalities, see MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, fs. 14v (1644), 17v (1646), 26r (1652), 28v (1653), 39v (1661), 41r (1662), 41v (1662), 42v (1663), 44r (1663), 44v (1664), f. 55r (1670).

often provided the natal origins of parents of baptized children, as was the case for Diego Cuaresma, and Francisca Binyai, natives of Bacolor, Pampanga, who had their son Andrés de León baptized on November 24, 1652.[72]

These principales and timaguas of San Joseph mostly hailed from Bacolor, the municipal seat of the alcalde mayor of Pampanga (Figure 4). Formation of ethnicized spaces in coastal New Spain would resemble the formation of this community, while the San Miguel examples of reliance on sacramental sponsorship and church activity for alliance-building were comparable to chino community formation in central New Spain. Within San Miguel, Don Martín de Silva and in 1675, don Joseph Díaz y Tovar, both natives of Bacolor, served as cabezas of the barangay of San Joseph. Perhaps these migrants moved away from Bacolor due to land pressure, as the village of Bacolor also seemed to be growing in size during the middle of the seventeenth century, as evidenced by its proliferation of offices. For example, Bacolor required a second teniente and bailiff (*alguacil*) by 1656, indicating growth and also, the geographical expanse of the municipality, as one of its tenientes served to oversee its visita and probably barangay of Cavetican. Godparentage patterns in San Miguel reveal the maintenance of communal identity – many of the godparents of Kapampangan migrants were themselves principales and timaguas from Bacolor. For example, on August 4, 1658, the Kapampangans Juan Misarsar and Isabel Timan had the baptism of their son Silva sponsored by his Kapampangan namesake, Martín de Silva, a native of Bacolor, and Agustina de la Concepción.[73]

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[72] For Rodríguez, see AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 109, f. 1v (1667). For Gerónima Martina, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, f. 19v (1648). For Logor, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, f. 23v (1650). For Lázaro de los Santos and Natividad, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, Item 1, fs. 37r, 42r (1659, 1663). For Silva, see *ibid*, fs. 35v-36r (1658).

[73] For cabezas de barangay of San Joseph, see AGI, Contaduría, 1240, 1ª pieza, fs. 24v-25r (1675). For the birthplace of Martín de Silva, see FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, item 1, f. 51v (1668). For the presence of a second teniente and alguacil of Bacolor, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, 1ª pieza, f. 66v

In 1656, the principales and cabezas de barangay of San Miguel and Dilao argued that they required relief from tribute requirements, as the timaguas of their barangays had been subject to seven polos over the course of six months. Royal administrators had sent the inhabitants of San Miguel to cortes in the province of Laguna de Bay, probably close to the coconut-growing centers of eastern Laguna, where they would have worked alongside other inhabitants of the alcaldia mayor of Tondo to drag and tow timber to Cavite (Figure 4). San Miguel, like other villages of Tondo such as Dilao, supported its corvée laborers through the provision of money, and rice rations, paid through its caja de polo. For the cortes, it had supplied one hundred and twenty-nine pesos and four tomines, over eight large bags (*cavanes*) of rice, and seventy-four workers, a hefty burden for a small community of only one-hundred and forty tributary households. Like other urban arrabales, San Miguel also lacked farmland, requiring its inhabitants to travel to rented land in Taguig (Figures 4 and 5) to provide in-kind tribute demands, and a fact reflected in its lack of agricultural offices, corroborated by a 1686 request for tribute abatement based on lack of access to farmlands. Thus, maintenance of agrarian activity itself required mobility. Service in and change in residence to Cavite represented another strategy used by indigenous people to cope with colonial labor demands. We shall now turn to a discussion of the ways that Filipino mobile laborers negotiated the relationships between labor, mobility, and residence in this important urban center of early colonial central Luzon.[74]

(1656). For the teniente of Cavetican, see AGI, Contaduría, 1238, 2ª pieza, f. 215r (1672); and FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, item 1, f.s. 35r-35v (1658).

[74]For polos, see AGI, Filipinas, Filipinas, 52, R. 14, fs. 57r-59; and NAP, Cedulario 1655-1660, SDS 686, *Tributos de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel - Orden del Gobernador General, de estas Yslas al Alcale Mayor de Tondo para que haga averiguacion de los indios o naturales de los pueblos de Dilao y San Miguel, que asistieron en los cortes de maderas en los montes de la Laguna*, fs. 14B-15B (1656).

For landlessness, see NAP, Cedulario, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, SDS 603, *Reserva a los naturales del pueblo de San Miguel de pagar sus tributos en especial por tiempo de un año*, fs. 177B-187B (1686).

Labor, Mobility, and Settlement in Cavite

In 1687, the Council of the Indies requested that the colonial government of the Philippines send them the accounts concerned with the construction and fitting out of the galleon named the *Santo Niño y Nuestra Señor de la Guía*. Governor Juan Hurtado de Vargas gathered the requisite documents, which alcaldes mayores and port officials produced between 1682 and 1684. The construction of the galleon required lumber-cutting expeditions in three different sites. The province of Balayan hosted the smallest cortes (see Figure 4). The cortes in Laguna de Bay and Babuyan, in the province of Pampanga on the Bataan peninsula were much larger than that conducted in Balayan. The lumber-cutting in Pampanga drew on laborers from both Pampanga and Bulacan, the same arrangement which had resulted in a joint rebellion in 1660 of residents and workers from both provinces. The cortes in Laguna drew on both the residents of Laguna de Bay and those of Tondo, the hinterland of Manila. Yet, even after the cortes were complete, the alcalde mayor of Tondo continued to send polistas. In fact, the polistas of Tondo were used in both Babuyan and Laguna de Bay, where they dragged the log rafts with their bangkas all the way to Cavite. In 1683, Tondo sent over seven hundred men to tow rafts from Babuyan. Finally, the officials of Cavite levied hundreds of workers from Pampanga and Tondo for month-long shifts in the shipyards, where the workers cut the wood to size and assembled the galleon. In all, the alcaldía mayor provided over seven polo drafts of at least one hundred and fifty men each for towing balsas, and twenty-three polo drafts of one hundred and fifty men each for work in the shipyards and works of Cavite. Between August of 1682 and August of 1684, thousands of indigenous people from Laguna de Bay, Pampanga, Laguna de Bay and Tondo worked together in Cavite on the galleons.[75]

[75] AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 6, exp. 2, fs. 2r-40r (1688).

The accounts of the construction of the *Santo Niño* demonstrate that Cavite, like the cortes, served as a crucial site for of indigenous labor and a space where interaction between sangleys, sangley mestizos, Kapampangans, Tagalogs, and other peoples from across central Luzon were common. As a keystone of imperial infrastructure, Cavite and its hinterlands served as an area where Spanish plebes, indigenous laborers, sangley, South Asian and enslaved workers built colonial identities and constructed a new economy. The work sites, convents, fortresses and Cavite served as an arena not only for the imposition of Habsburg domination, but as an arena for negotiation, albeit between parties of unequal status. Cavite, like Manila and its associated hinterlands, served as a backdrop for the common experiences of chinos when they traveled to the Americas. Filipino workers made it a crucible for the formation of a colonial population of workers who combined Southeast Asian technology, labor relations, and leadership with relationships with the leaders of Habsburg-imposed civil, military and ecclesiastical institutions. Finally, as one of the most important anchorages for the Manila galleons and vessels serving intra-Asian commerce, Cavite held an important role as a node for the redistribution of labor and materials throughout Asia and the Americas.[76]

As we have seen, the recruitment of indigenous labor by Spanish military, civil and ecclesiastical leaders began in the wake of the earliest Spanish conquests. The inhabitants of the Costa de Manila towns of Parañaque, Dongalo, Malate, and Kawit proved especially important. Over the course of the seventeenth century, a large number of Kapampangan migrants and the populations of the colonial municipalities of San Roque, the port of Cavite and Las Piñas buttressed the mariners and laborers of the original municipalities of the Costa de Manila.

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[76] For the notion of Cavite as a "key" to central Luzon, see Isagani R. Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution (1571-1896)* (Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 1994), 31.

Spanish administrators chose the "hook" of the Cavite peninsula (Kawit means hook in Tagalog) for a site for shipyards soon after the conquest. The site and its indigenous hinterland of the municipalities of Kawit (*Cavite El Viejo*) and Bacoor began to grow (Figure 4). Cavite peninsula served as the site of a port, shipyard, and fortress. Its administrators drew labor from Kawit and from the nearby fishing villages of Binacaya, Dongalo, and Parañaque. The shipyard (*Ribera*) soon enlarged beyond the ability of local populations to absorb the labor demands for this maritime center, prompting labor drafts specifically for the Ribera. More and more foreigners worked in the shipyards, requiring local housing. These sailors and laborers, Spanish and otherwise, resided in Kawit, the Tagalog settlement of closest proximity, marrying local women, and forcing local laborers to supply them with food. By 1611, the Audiencia took formal steps to erect local housing within the limits of the port of Cavite, working to erect a barracks for their habitation. In 1636, the Audiencia similarly tried to force sailors to reside and work in the port of Cavite, but no avail, as sailors continued to settle in Kawit, Parañaque, Bagumbayan and points in between. By 1615, local workers and polistas had constructed the "indigenous town" of San Roque. Both of these municipalities sustained indigenous governments in the 1640s.[77]

The port town of Cavite and its hinterland grew quickly. Linda Newson records its growth from just over four hundred and fifty tributaries in 1582 to over one thousand in 1608. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this number had climbed to just short of two thousand tributaries. This number did not include the many hundreds of indigenous people and sangleyes brought into the port by the polos, nor day laborers from Parañaque. Kawit and the

[77] For the early assignment of the port of Cavite as a crown encomienda, see AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 19, f. 18r (1571). For the settlement of marineros in Kawit, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 1, f. 1v (1582); AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 2, N. 33, f. 11r (1594); see NAP, Cedulario 1604-1622, SDS 667, *Don Juan de Silva caballero de la orden de Santiago gobernador y capitán general destas islas* [sobre] *algunas cosas principale sen el número de marineros, artilleros y calafates que son de poco servicio*, f. 59B (1611); and AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 2, N. 47, fs. 1r-1v (1636).

Costa de Manila municipalities provided its first laborers, but later polos drew from most central Luzon provinces of central Luzon, and even from as far afield as Pangasinan and the Visayas (See Figure 4). These workers helped to construct a fortress, San Felipe, which guarded the anchorage, repair facilities, and shipyard which faced the towns of Bacoor and Cavite. This garrison housed several dozen Spanish and Kapampangan soldiers. These soldiers and other officials resided permanently within the port. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the port itself hosted several convents, including that of San Telmo, run by the Observant Franciscans; a Recollect convent; a Jesuit colegio named Our Lady of Loreto, and a parish church. The Jesuits gradually took over much of the spiritual administration of the surrounding towns, including Kawit, Bacoor, and Binacaya, which was near the doctrina of Silang.[78]

The governor and Audiencia worked to control the movement of the subjects of the polos. After the alcaldes mayores, gobernadores and cabezas de barangay allocated the workers, foremen (*cabecillas*), often members of the nobility, took over the supervision of the workers (*tanores*). In order to receive their pay and rations, tanores brought to Cavite provided to the cabecilla and to the paymasters and provisioners their first and last name, their pueblo of origin, and the head of their barangay. Alcaldes mayores like Sebastián Rayo Doría, the alcalde mayor of Tondo, were able to compile bound volumes from the lists provided by the gobernadores and cabezas de barangay. This allowed Rayo Doria to determine the number of men sent from the

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[78] For the early development of the port of Cavite, see AGI, Contaduria 1199B, fs. 172r, 240r (1575-1576); and AGI, Contaduría, 1203, f. 42r (1597). For the use of workers from Kawit and other municipalities in its jurisdiction for the port of Cavite, see AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 76r, 241r (1575); AGI, Contaduría, 1200, f. 760r (1580); and AGI, Contaduría, 1202, 2ª pieza, f, 216v, 304r (1592-1593). For Cavite population estimates, see Newson*, Disease and Pestilence*, 149. Also see AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 90, f. 609r (1621); and Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution*, 32. For San Felipe garrisons, see AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 7, N. 21, exp. 3, fs. 11r-11v, 13r –14r, 19r (1635-1655). The size of the Kapampangan component of the garrison varied between eighty and two hundred soldiers. Also see AGI, Filipinas, 11, R. 1, N. 4, exp. 6v-7r (1677). For the churches and convents of Cavite, see AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 90, f. 609r (1623); and Díaz-Trechuelo, *Arquitectura española en Filipinas*, 293. For the building of the colegio of San Loreto in Cavite and the domination of the Society of Jesus in the hinterland of Cavite, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 372-373.

barangays, such as the one hundred and sixteen polistas sent from pueblos like Parañaque to Laguna de Bay in 1658, and other cortes such as that of Amo, in Pampanga, as well as the number of polistas sent to Cavite.[79]

We have only minimal information about the vast majority of the heads of the work gangs brought to labor in Cavite. The title "don," which preceded most of their names in the records, indicated that Spanish administrators selected them from the nobility, a status demanded by colonial officials as a qualification for the supervision of other polo labor. Other individuals shared the surnames of the most illustrious noble families in the realm, but do not themselves appear in the lists of purchased indigenous offices. Such is the case of don Gabriel Balagtas, the cabecilla of a group of fifty stevedores (*cargadores*) from the province of Bulacan (Figure 4). Balagtas did not appear in the records of purchased offices, but was probably drawn from the pre-colonial Balagtas clan which held prominent colonial offices in the provinces of Pampanga, the municipality of Tondo, and across central Luzon. Other cabecillas held office. In 1646, Don Francisco Balabato served as a cabecilla for a work gang (*cuadrilla*) from the province of Tondo composed of over one hundred polo laborers who worked over a month in Cavite. In 1645, he had served as the agricultural magistrate (*juez de sementeras*) for the municipality of Parañaque, suggesting that the cuadrilla of polistas came from the same municipality, as had been so many before them. In some cases, the leadership of a cuadrilla added to a portfolio of service which nobility could later uses as a basis from which to request certain privileges. This seems to have been the case for don Cristóbal de Brito, who in 1646 led a cuadrilla of polistas to Cavite from

[79] AGI, Filipinas, 52, R. 14, fs. 56r-56v (1655). For Rayo Doria, see AGI, Filipinas, 44, R. 34, exp. 2, 13v-14r, fs. 19r-19v (1661).

the province of Tondo, probably from the visita of Dongalo. In 1685, he obtained a position of the captain of a company of indigenous soldiers from Dongalo.[80]

Indigenous people thronging the port of Cavite and the indigenous village of Kawit accompanied a large labor force of Spanish sailors and Spanish administrators, but exercised self-government. They formed and governed communities in ways analogous to the patterns found in the alcaldía mayor of Tondo. Thus, in 1639, nobility working in the port purchased offices for a government which ruled over its indigenous residents. Don Juan Manaquid served as the gobernador in that year, while Luiz Jiménez acted as his lieutenant. Don Juan Suyo purchased the office of treasurer (*mayordomo*) in that year, while Ignacio de Vivar acted as the notary. In that year don Gaspar Bravo served as the juez de sementeras, suggesting that some of the port workers worked plots when not engaged in ship construction. Similarly, in 1649, nobles and timaguas like don Pedro Dimaala in the pueblo of San Roque, just outside the walls of the port of Cavite, purchased offices. Kawit, too, maintained its town government, ruled by men who maintained close ties with the port of Cavite. Nobles like the gobernador don Gabriel Cagang and don Diego Constantino served office both in the port and in Kawit. Both San Roque and Kawit administered visitas. Kawit maintained a teniente for the village and visita of Binacaya, while San Roque administered first the older port village of Bacoor, adjacent to Las Piñas, and later the estate of Naic (Figures 4 and 5).[81]

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[80] For don Gabriel Balagtas, see AGI, Contaduría, 1228f. 282v (1649). For some of the Balagtas family positions in both civil and military service, see AGI, Contaduria, 1217, 1ª pieza, f. 101r (1635); AGI, Contaduria, 1226, 2ª pte, f. 74r (1647); AGI, Contaduría, 1227, f. 48r (1648); AGI, Contaduría, 1232, 1a pieza, f. 18v, 39v (1656); AGI, Contaduría, 1236, f. 284r (1663); AGI, Contaduría, 1237, 3ª pieza, f. 356v (1667); and AGI, Contaduria, 1245, 1ª pieza, f. 32r (1683). For Balabato, see AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, 3a pieza, f. 340r (1646); and AGI, Contaduría, 1225A, 1a pieza, f. 28v (1645); AGI, Contaduría, 1233, 3ª pieza, f. 427v (1659). For Brito, see AGI, Contaduria, 1225B, 2ª pieza, f. 333r (1646); and AGI, Contaduria, 1245, 3ª pieza, f. 634r (1685).

[81] For Manaquid and his lieutenants, see AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fs. 20r-20v (1639). For Dimaala and San Roque, see AGI, Contaduría, 1228, 1ª pieza, f. 17v (1649). For Cagang, see AGI, Contratación, 5596,N.10, f. 118r (1627); AGI, Contaduría, 1226, 2ª pte, f. 47r (1647); AGI, Contaduría, 1227, 1ª pieza, f. 23v (1648); and AGI,

A set of reforms proposed by the treasury in 1635 gave impetus for a royal investigation of Cavite salaries. The resulting data provides a snapshot of the workforce and population of the port in that year. The work force included one hundred sangley iron workers, one hundred and fifty sangley mariners, one hundred indigenous iron workers, two hundred Spanish mariners, two hundred indigenous grumetes, and one hundred and fifty lascars. In addition, the port housed hundreds of draft laborers and a variety of offices for Spanish officials and their clients. In 1691, this population numbered over six hundred indigenous people, with six hundred and seventy permanent workers weaving cordage, casting artillery, and working as blacksmiths, carpenters, and boatmen. This heterogenous population created ample room for conflicts over authority, as the administrative prerogatives of small communities or work gangs collided with the privileges of the castellano of Fort San Felipe and the overseer of the Cavite shipyards (*Patrón de la Ribera*). Nonetheless, the port authorities negotiated with local authorities, enabling the latter to police their own communities. Yet non-Spanish officials turned to port authorities when they required mediation. Such was the case in 1646, when the lascar leader (*serang*) Dauchi turned to General don Sebastián López, the justicia mayor of Cavite, to gain justice for the death of a well-loved coworker at the hands of Dilao, another serang.[82]

The port of Cavite mixed draft laborers with a resident labor force, and in general, non-Spanish workers earned far less than their Spanish counterparts, demonstrating the ethno-racial

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Contaduría,1233, f. 478r (1659). For Constantino, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 51v (1656); and AGI, Contaduría,1233, f. 478r (1659). For Bacoor, see AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 57r (1656); and for Binacaya, see AGI, Contaduría,1233, f. 49r (1658). Bacoor, older than San Roque and once independent of its rule, became independent from San Roque once more in 1671, part of a broader trend of secessions of visitas across central Luzon in the second half of the seventeenth century. See AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 42r (1671). For Naic, see AGI, Contaduría, 1253, f. 29v (1699).

[82] For workers of the Ribera, see AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 3, N. 45, exp. 2, fs.13r-17r (1635). AGI, Contaduría, 1219, 1a pieza, f. 19v (1639); and AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 15, fs. 44v-46v (1691). For Dauchi and Dilao, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440C, f. 4141v (1646).

segmentation of the work force. In 1635, indigenous and sangley workers earned less than one-half to one-quarter the wage of their Spanish colleagues, receiving half of their monthly rice ration of thirty gantas, a little over sixty liters of uncooked rice. This showed ethnic discrimination, and again, in general, wages earned by indigenous and sangley workers seemd to be based on the baseline annual salary of a polista of twelve pesos. For example, in 1691, pandays, once an esteemed position, only earned twenty-four pesos a year, and a rice ration. Treasurers and accountants deducted (*descontar*) the rice rations from the wages of workers while ashore, but embarked workers received rice rations in addition to wages. Polistas received a peso a month of salary and a rice ration, at first paid from the casas de polong but later paid directly from royal coffers. Indigenous toneleros received a wage of five pesos a month, less than a quarter of their Spanish colleagues, and the standard fifteen-ganta monthly rice ration. Spanish caulkers (*calafates*) earned two hundred and fifty pesos a year, and sangley workers earned an annual salary of only sixty pesos. The Spanish master iron worker earned four hundred pesos, while his indigenous blacksmith coworkers earned only 100 pesos.[83]

In 1688, colonial administrators gathered data which provides a glimpse of the ways that migration shaped the political economy of colonial Cavite. The administrators compiled the data workers normally provided to their foremen, which included the following: the name of the foreman of a given cuadrilla, the name and surname of the worker, their town of origin, and the cabeza of the barangay in which they were enrolled (*empadronado*) for the purposes of tribute. The makeup of these late seventeenth-century cuadrillas indicated the ways that indigenous migrants had changed the demography of central Luzon, but it also demonstrated that indigenous

[83] Filipino gantas, related to the Malay *gantang*, were a dry volume measurement equal to between 2.3 and 3 liters. See Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 384; and Dery, *Pestilence*, 296. Fish and vegetables probably accompanied the rice, as well. Nonetheless, it is unclear whether these rations satisfied the caloric needs of indigenous and sangley port workers. See AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 15, fs. 45r, 46r (1691); and AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 3, N. 45, fs. 5r-7r (1635).

leaders in certain areas had proven successful in their efforts to maintain their flow of resources. Each cuadrilla, for example, included members from both Tagalog and Kapampangan provinces. One of the most striking features was the number of workers claiming to be natives or residents of Cavite, though they did not indicate whether they meant the port or the municipality of Kawit. One hundred and five of the three hundred and forty-three workers claimed this status. Yet of this total, only seven acknowledged belonging to a barangay, suggesting three possibilities. First, they might have been recent migrants to Cavite and had not been incorporated (*agregado*) to one of the barangay tribute lists. Next, they might be residents of one of the Cavites, but did not pay tribute, instead being enrolled on the migrant tribute list (*padrón de vagamundos*). Finally, they might have been residents who were in some way exempt from tribute, perhaps because they possessed special skills. Many of these possibilities indicate a transient population and it is reasonable to assume that many of these migrants had their origins in the nearby provinces of Tondo, or perhaps, Bulacan, municipalities of which complained about outmigration in the 1680s.[84]

The tributary status of the largest block of workers stood in stark contrast to the natives of Cavite. One hundred and fifty-two workers came from the province of Pampanga (Figure 4). Only twenty-five of these workers were *not* enrolled in tribute lists of their barangays. The acknowledgement of tributary status suggests that Kapampangan principales had been better able to manage migration than had the principales of the presumably Tagalog towns from which originated the residents of Cavite. Perhaps they were tied to a burgeoning Christian sangley population in the river towns in the province. We can presume that these Kapampangans sent their tribute, probably in cash, to their cabezas in Pampanga. Of all of the municipalities of Pampanga, Lubao, Guagua, Bacolor, and Macabebe were the best represented. These delta

[84] The following three paragraphs draw from AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, fs. 10v-26v (1688).

towns of the two major rivers in Pampanga were among the most closely tied to Manila Bay commerce, especially Bacolor, the capital of the province, and source for migrants to San Miguel and forty-five labor migrants to Cavite.[85]

Workers from other provinces were more scarce. Workers from Tondo seem especially underrepresented given the large population of the province, with only six workers acknowledging residence in that jurisdiction. The low numbers implied that some of the residents working in Cavite listed with no origin had their origins in Tondo, though they did not acknowledge them. Fifteen migrants traveled from Camarines, the headquarters of the large shipyard of Bagatao, and Laguna de Bay sent thirty-eight workers (Figures 2 and 4). Laguna de Bay residents acknowledged their cabezas de barangay, not surprising given the close connections with Manila. Workers came from across this province. Three of the barrenadors, Lucas Macapuli, Diego Manrique, and Francisco Rivera, were natives of Panguil, which supplied laborers to Binangonan de Lampon. Majayjay, a center of cortes for galleon timber, also provided several workers.[86]

Women, too, contributed their labor for the maintenance of Cavite. Spanish sailors married local women of a variety of ethnicities, while some migrating Filipino laborers brought their wives with them. The exploitation of female labor helped subsidize polo labor, as the presence of a woman at home allowed port officials to provide palay (unhusked rice) or *arroz en cáscara*. Women pounded the rice in mortars and saved the Crown from paying others for the task. So, in addition to utilizing community resources through the casa de polong, polo labor

[85] AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, fs. 10v-26v (1688). John Larkin (Personal Communication, 8/23/2009).

[86] See AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, fs. 10v-26v (1688).

required a sort of subsidy through the appropriation of uncompensated labor from women in each indigenous community.[87]

Administrators and the families of mobile workers faced important challenges due to the mobility of the work force. One of the most important problems was that the dispersed nature of ship manufacture required the absence of male workers, leading to a shortage of necessary labor for the maintenance of male-headed households. At times, hundreds or even thousands of laborers left their home just for the construction of galleons. For example, in 1619, Sebastián de Pineda wrote that the military buildup of governor Juan de Silva alone required over six shipyards, all located far from Manila. Each port required a workforce of dozens, if not hundreds of workers.[88]

Dead or absent workers could not farm small plots, nor contribute their salaries for the maintenance of their families. The families of mariners seemed especially desperate, according to royal officials such as General Pedro de Mendiola, the castellano of San Felipe in 1647. He alleged that the partners and wives of absent sailors "committed great offenses against God" (…*hacer muchas ofensas a Dios Nuestro señor*..), a euphemism for prostitution. Their clients included sangleyes, a fact repulsive to the castellano. Mendiola suggested as a solution that Treasury officials advance portions of the rice rations of mariners to their families. The practice of advancing rations and later wages to the families of indigenous mariners continued through the eighteenth century; Crown officials considered the fulfillment of these requests to be of special importance for the families of mariners on the Manila galleons. One other way that

[87] For the use of women's labor to save on rice costs, see NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, v. 1, SD 685, *Auto notificado a los tenedores de los almacenes de Manila y Cavite sobrelo de las raciones de arroz,* f. 79B (1627). For women as rice huskers elsewhere in central Luzon, see NAP, Cedulario, 1661-1664, SDS 614, B 359, *Mandamiento en quales se les remite y perdona a los naturals del pueblo de Arayat la obligación de pagar el tributo del año pasado de 1661 en especie y cumplan con pagarle en reales conforme a la tasación u los demas que contiene*, f. 59B (1662); and AGI, Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 6, f. 51v (1670).

[88] AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, f. 2r (1619)

Crown officials mitigated some of these problems was by awarding back wages to the family members of deceased workers. Thus, on August 30, 1599, royal officials in Cavite provided nineteen pesos to Catalina Dacsali, almost a year of salary for her deceased husband, Perico Pananbo, a cagayan carpenter. The treasury officials recognized that Dacsali was tasked with raising the children of Pananbo on her own. Similarly, on September 28, 1635, the Crown disbursed over one hundred and fifty pesos to the widows or children of six indigenous carpenters, probably victims of workplace accidents. These heirs included María Tanaguin, the widow of Pedro Mandinguin.[89]

Skilled and draft workers operated in smaller groups overseen by cabecillas. The latter, along with cabezas de barangay, faced the risk of imprisonment if they failed to bring the requisite number of laborers. Yet, cabecillas and cabezas de barangay also could and did exploit vulnerabilities in the conscription process in order to make a profit. As we saw, the cajas de polong had been set up to avert the common practice of accepting bribes from timaguas to avoid certain polos. Some of this money could be used to hire a replacement worker or slave, while cabecillas pocketed the rest. More often, it seems that cabezas de barangay received bribes for excusing persons from the cortes polos. In 1646, Captain Gerónimo Pacho ordered don Simon Omaban, and don Thomas Bontogan to pay a fine and be sentenced to exile for the practice. These two principales from the pueblo of Lucban in Tayabas had withdrawn timaguas from the Cavite polo in exchange for a bribe (Figure 4). The Dominican procurador of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, Juan de la Paz, confirmed that the cabecillas of cuadrillas headed to Cavite frequently received bribes from residents unwilling to travel to the shipyard. In 1676, he

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[89] For carpenter payments, see AGI, Contaduría, 1205, f. 97v (1599); and AGI, Contaduría, 1217, f. 382r (1635).

For the wives and partners of mariners, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 8954r-8954v (1646). For eighteenth-century examples of wages advanced to the families of indigenous mariners on the galleons, see AGI, Filipinas, 143, N. 15 (1731), *passim*.

described the case of a cabecilla who received two pesos each from twenty-four of two hundred indigenous corvée laborers avoiding service in the cortes. Several other indigenous people who paid two tostones (one peso) each to evade the obligation of towing lumber to Cavite. Paz, a moral theologian, agreed that the detention of indigenous people was just because it was customary, but declared the deferral of service by the polistas to be immoral as it increased the work of the Cavite laborers unable to pay to avoid service.[90]

Some workers, including soldiers and sailors, tried to flee service, as did their chino and Spanish counterparts on the other side of the Pacific. For example, in 1619, Hernández Farinas, a pilot in the service of His Magesty, tried to hire a crew for a sampan which he planned to sail to Melaka (Figure 3). He paid fifteen pesos in advance to eight "Spanish," actually Portuguese, sailors, who met with Farinas in a house in Baybay owned by another pilot. A mysterious benefactor provided the advance wages. In order to conceal their activities, the sailors traveled to and from the house on covered sedan chairs meant to guard the modesty of well-born women. The pilot secured provisions from private sangley suppliers working in the Parián, who delivered the supplies on the backs of sangley porters. In the end, the illnesses of several of the sailors caused the postponement of the trip. Less-capitalized fugitives fled to other locations within central Luzon. In 1625, several mariners joined deserting soldiers and escaped slaves in a community near Maragondon. In 1648, colonial authorities sentenced Diego Pascual, an indigenous native of Panguil, to the galleys when he failed to board a galleon to fight the VOC. The Crown treasury had already provided Pascual advance pay (*socorro*) as a grumete. Pasqual,

[90] AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, f. 51v (1646). For Juan de Paz, see AUST, MF Roll 108, D. l. 16A, 16B, Sección Consultas, Tomo 4, *Varias consultas del Padre padre Juan de Paz, fs*. 297v-302r (1676).

for his part, claimed that he was too sick to fulfill his duty as a mariner. The labor and treatment of mariners will be discussed in our next section.[91]

Regimes of Maritime Labor

Another important colonial demand made by the Spanish was for maritime labor. Almost all free chinos migrating to New Spain, and many bonded and enslaved ones as well, served as mariners on the Manila galleons. The sources of indigenous mariners reached all over central Luzon, but the most prominent suppliers were from Pampanga and the alcaldía mayor of Tondo, especially the seaside municipalities of Parañaque, Dongalo, and Malate. Since these municipalities also supplied soldiers, polo labor for the cortes and carpenters from the port of Cavite, many of the mariners and grumetes from these locales came into prolonged contact with colonial institutions and the Spanish.

In 1590, the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, hove to in the port of Cavite. The ship, operated by Andrés Diás de Cáceres, had begun its voyage in Macao, probably stopping in the Philippines before weighing anchor in Acapulco (Figures 3 and 6). In the following year, the ship and its crew returned to Macao via the port of Cavite. The record of the Cavite refit and subsequent crewing of the return voyage to Macao reveal much about early colonial maritime history of the Philippines and some of the earliest free chino mariners in New Spain. The voyage of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* from Acapulco also sheds light on early colonial transpacific social history, though it did not arouse the same sort of controversy as that stirred up by João da Gama, another Portuguese transpacific voyager who had been detained in New Spain after his illegal Pacific crossing. Several chinos, called *grumetes moros*, boarded in Acapulco

[91] AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 5, N. 59, exp. 6, fs. 1r-6r (1619); AGI, Filipinas, 48, N. 64, f. 7r (1625); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7831r-7832r (1648).

and showed up on the notebook in which the quartermaster kept track of accounts. Among those who worked on the two-and-a-half month voyage to Cavite were Martín, a Visayan; Alonso, a native of the municipality of Bay in Laguna de Bay; Simón, another native of Bay; Tomás, a native of Calumpit, a Bulacan municipality adjacent to Macabebe; Alonso, probably Alonso Bato, a grumete from Dongalo; and Pedro Lima, another indigenous person from Dongalo (See Figure 4). Lima was able to write his name.[92]

After extensive refitting and caulking performed by indigenous and sangley workers, the quartermaster Andrés de Cáceres hired a crew for the last leg of the voyage. Cáceres employed a Bengali and a Japanese sailor, but the bulk of the grumete portion of the return crew, twenty-one of the thirty-seven, appeared to have hailed from central Luzon. That is, thirty-nine of the forty-four crew members named by Cáceres were labeled as "grumetes moros," an early colonial term referring to the inhabitants of central Luzon. Of these, Cáceres provided twenty-one places of origin for them, all of which were in central Luzon. One man, Juan Bato, was responsible for the recruitment of fourteen of the grumetes, probably the thirteen individuals who came from the twin villages of Dongalo and Parañaque. At the moment, we have little evidence of the recruitment methods employed for the earliest chino grumetes, nor the precise ways that the Crown worked to retain these recruits. Given Spanish practices in the colonial Philippines, and pre-Hispanic insular Spoutheast Asian maritime traditions, it seems likely that Spanish captains and indigenous elites advanced wages or goods to free and bonded prospective grumetes, forcing them to become namamahay. If this was the practice, chinos might have shifted patrons, once off the galleon. Bato himself was a native of the fishing village of Dongalo, and Cáceres paid him twenty-eight pesos, the total monthly wage for the fourteen grumetes. Three other grumetes

[92] Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to locate the records for the voyage the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* from the Philippines to Acapulco, but the paybooks of the other legs of the voyage can be found in the AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, fs. 58v-59r (1589).

had origins on the Costa de Manila: Diego and Nicolás were from Laguio, and Clemente came from Cavite. Three grumetes hailed from Quiapo, and one, Juan, from Panguil. Several of the crew members returned to the Philippines, and they became active as grumetes and sailors in both Asian and transpacific sailing.[93]

This paybook provides a glimpse of the career path of some of these grumetes, when linked with other records. To begin, the records show that the number of people returning to the Philippines suggests that grumetes, at least in this early stage of the galleon route, did not use voyages entirely as an immigration route, buta s a route of circulation between the outposts of the Iberian Pacific world. Confirming this is that of the five grumetes for which a marital status provided; three were married. Another piece of proof is that the leg between Manila and Macao served as only one part of a longer maritime career for a few of the grumetes who appeared in the pay book. Juan Bangico, for example would follow his work on the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* with voyages on Manila galleons sailing in 1594, 1595, and 1615. Nicolás Bula would sail again in 1601. Bato also sailed in 1594 with his crewmate Bangico to New Spain, but on a different ship, the *Santiago*. He also sailed on the *San Pedro* in 1597.[94]

The data supplied by the paybook demonstrates the connection of the employment of intra-Asian voyages with work on the Manila galleons. This connection itself emerged out of the pattern of recruitment and conscription of slaves and free rowers from the indigenous communities of the Visayas and Luzon that began at the time of the conquest (Figures 1 and 2). As we have seen, the employment of central Luzon as intra-Asian sailors had pre-Hispanic

[93] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, fs. 1v-5v (1590).

[94] Spelling varied between references. I have assumed that two names refer to single individual if the spelling varies by only a letter or two between names.   For Bangco, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, f. 2v (1590); and Oropeza, "Los *'indios chinos*,'" 208, 210, 233. For Nicolás Bula, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, f. 1v (1590); and Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*,'" 220. For Bato, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, f. 3v (1590); and Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*,'" 209, 210, 216.

precedents, given the trade connections maintained by Visayan and central Luzon communities with other societies in East and Southeast Asia. Finally, the predominance of central Luzon recruits among the crew of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* reflects a larger prominence of these workers in the transpacific work force and within the work force of Iberian Asia.

The payment of Juan Bato shows that social differentiation existed even within the maritime occupational group of grumetes, opening the potential for advancement and patron-client relationships with Spaniards for some Filipinos. For example, after serving as a grumete and translator on the galleon *Santiago* in 1594, Pedro Tacla ascended the occupational and pay ladder and served as a mariner in the colonial Philippines between 1602 and 1605. Don Benito Lampag and other grumetes became carpenters and specialized workers with higher compensation. Differentiation between nobility and timaguas emerged as one other side of social differentiation among indigenous mariners. For example, in 1597, don Sebastián, a noble from Taguig, sailed on the Manila galleon *San Pedro*, as did don Diego Baca, and several other nobles. Finally, the Crown appointed overseers of the force of indigenous grumetes called guardians or "little guardians" (*guardianejos*), who were paid a higher slary than the other indigenous grumetes. These officers probably served as interpreters and foremen, a position similar to the roles played by tandels and serangs serving on Arab, Persian, Indian, Portuguese, Dutch and British vessels in the Indian Ocean. Their duties undoubtedly closely followed the modes of discipline-enforcement assigned to the sounding officer (*jurubatu*) and chief petty officer (*tukang agong*) described within the Malay *Undang-undang Laut*. This position seemed dependent on prior experience as a grumete. For example, Joseph Calindon served on a galleon in 1618, and only after this experience was he appointed a guardian in 1633. Alonso Sarapí

served aboard the *San Pablo*, in 1596, and the *Santa Margarita*, in 1598, and ended his transpacific career with a guardian position in 1600.[95]

Treasury or Contaduría records from 1590 to roughly 1630 record the names of many of the chino grumetes on the Manila galleons. Déborah Oropeza compiled most of these records and constructed a large table from them in the appendix of her doctoral dissertation. Records from 1593-1615 were the mostly likely to show the villages of origins for the sailors. From these, accountants, treasurers and notaries documented the towns and province names of approximately one hundred and eighty-five of the sailors. Since the accountants recorded the towns of origins for a few grumetes in both their departures and arrivals, they provided a few duplications, but one hundred and fifty sailors were still represented in this sample. Seven of the individuals came from Japan. Two are clearly identifiable as Chinese. Most were from the island of Luzon in the Philippines. One hundred and forty-eight of the one hundred and eighty-five grumetes identified their places of origins in provinces or pueblos adjoining the Bay of Manila, dominated in this time period by speakers of Tagalog and Kapampangan. Of these, eleven had places of origins in Pampanga and Bataan. Twenty-four grumetes provided to notaries their places of origin in the pueblo of Tondo or adjoining villages such as Taguig. Ten grumetes came from Cavite or adjoining towns. Ninety-two of the individuals came from the

[95] For Tacla, see Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*,'" 224; AGI, Contaduría, 1206, f. 401v (1604); and AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 194r (1606). For nobility on the galleons, see Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*,'" 207, 216, 231, 235, 238 (1615, 1618).

For the roles of tandels and serangs in the western Indian Ocean, see Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1740* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), 40-43. For serangs and tandels in the eastern Indian Ocean and the Pacific, see above, and AGI, Filipinas, 13, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 2, f. 70v (1685).

For jurabatus and tukang agong, see Winstedt and De Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," 51; and Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca*, 308, 310, 312. For guardianejos, see Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*,'" 213, 217, 219, 235, 244; and AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 143rv (1662).

For conscription of maritime labor in the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain, see Colin Imber, "The Navy of Süleyman the Magnificent," in *Studies in Ottoman History and Law*, ed. Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1998), 51-55; and Nicholas Rodgers, *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and its opponents in Georgian Britain* (London: Continuum, 2007), 12-29. I am grateful to Sofia Zepeda for the latter reference. The former impressed oarsmen for the galleys, but also set up corvée systems for timber felling and recruitmenmt systems for capenters. See Colin Imber, "The Navy of Süleyman the Magnificent," 10, 17-18, 30-31.

Costa de Manila. Seventy-nine of the ninety-two individuals, or over one-half of the total, came from one village, Parañaque, and its fishing village hamlet, or *visita*, Dongalo (See Figure 4).[96]

By the 1630s, central Luzon mariners known as grumetes indios or grumetes chinos had emerged as an experienced, though underpaid maritime labor force for intra-Asian and transpacific voyages. They served as part of a racially-segmented work force that proved crucial to the maintenance of colonial transpacific commerce. Nonetheless, despite the maintenance of ethnically-based occupational categories, several indigenous sailors earned the grudging respect of Spanish administrators as laborers as competent as Spanish sailors. Yet a semi-professional group of laborers did not emerge, Athena-like, from the greater indigenous population of central Luzon. Their advancement required luck, canny positioning and also a longer history of colonial labor. This group of mariners had earlier origins in the broader policy of polos. The more personal recruitment of indigenous domestic servants and workers from the rural population of central Luzon by both Spanish and indigenous élites also served as a channel into maritime service. This long history of forced labor and the creation of a multi-ethnic colonial system based on mobile laborers is inseparable from the history of transpacific migration by Filipinos to colonial Mexico.

The grumetes for "high-board" ships quickly emerged from the hordes of rowers forcibly impressed or purchased by Spanish military and civil officials from the initiation of the conquest. Colonial officials had begun to employ indigenous grumetes on transpacific voyages by 1587. They made a regular presence on transpacific crews through the eighteenth century. The voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco was a grueling one, lasting five to eight months; the voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines only lasted two to four months (Figure 6). Francisco de las

[96] I extracted these results from Appendix C of Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 205-252. See Chapter 1 and 2 of this dissertation for a discussion of the roles of Parañaque and Dongalo in the provision of maritime labor for the sixteenth century colonial Philippines.

Misas, a treasury official in the early 1590s, explained that Spanish expedition leaders purchased these bonded laborers, probably captured in wars and used as house servants, and used them as mariners. Spanish military commanders purchased them from principales for as little as sixteen to twenty pesos, after which they placed the "slaves," probably both saguiguilid and namamahay, into paddling gangs (*esquipazones*). Spanish dependence on bonded and obligated workers as mariners relied on insular Southeast Asian traditions, but so, too, did Filipinpos fleeing these obligations. Paddlers did not meekly comply with the abuse and orders of their captains. Some fled. The governors issuing ordinances prohibited rowers from coming ashore to replenish firewood and water for the galleys, and warned other commanders of armadas of the dangers of fleeing paddlers. Commanders employed paddlers on indigenous vessels like the bangka or panga, as well as the caracoa, respecting the utility of indigenous vessels rigged for the weather of the archipelago.[97]

In 1605, Juan de Esquivel explained that Spanish leaders moved maritime laborers between boats that required paddlers, and those that were fully-rigged. On sailing ships, Spanish factors and captains employed the indigenous people as grumetes, which during the late sixteenth century served as a sort of maritime apprenticeship for young and inexperienced sailors. In the Atlantic, teenage grumetes outranked pages (*pajes*) which often were mere boys. The age qualifier for grumetes did not really exist after the first few years of the colonization of the Philippines. Yet the requirements for menial labor remained. On the high seas of the western

[97]AGI, Patronato, 25, N. 32, f. 8v (1587); and AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 6, N. 38, exp. 2, f. 3r (1588). For the duration of the transpacific voyages, see Morga, *Sucesos*, 323, 325; AGI, Filipinas, 51, R. 12, exp. 2, f. 6r (1659); and Francisco Santiago Cruz, *La Nao de China* (México: Editorial Jus, 1962), 138-139. For the purchase of paddlers, see AGI, Filipinas, 29, N, 57, f. 399r (1595). AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, fs. 2r-2v (1605). For the flight of paddlers, see AGI, Filipinas, 48, n. 15, fs. 5r, 7r (1598); and AGI, Filipinas, 64, n. 15, exp. 2, f. 65r (1662).

Pacific, Spanish maritime officials and administrators referred to indigenous mariners employed by the Crown, by and large, as grumetes indios.[98]

In the eastern Pacific, colonial officials referred to Filipino mariner's apprentices as "grumetes chinos," and by the second half of the seventeenth century, accountants and colonial paymasters on both sides of the Pacific referred to them as "grumetes sencillos." A sample of one thousand, three-hundred and fifty-seven grumetes sencillos sailing on twenty-three galleons between 1661 and 1700, showed that each galleon carried a mean complement of fifty-nine grumetes sencillos in the latter period of this study. This finding suggests that the absolute numbers of Filipino migrants to New Spain increased over time, as did the proportion of galleon offices occupied by them. Further, these numbers indicate that existing estimates of chino migration are too low, reliant as they are on the low numbers of grumetes chinos carried by galleons sailing early in the seventeenth century. Pay records confirmed the racial and ethnic inequalities demonstrated in the Cavite dockyards. Spanish grumetes earned a higher wage than grumetes indios, and indigenous grumetes at first earned only one to two pesos a month, a wage equivalent to that of a polo laborer. Later, grumetes earned four pesos a month, and fifteen gantas per month, only one-third the salary of Spanish mariners, who were paid one hundred and fifty pesos and thirty gantas of rice. Grumetes indios earned half the salary of Spanish grumetes (*grumetes españoles*), often themselves indigenous people, who were paid one hundred pesos and a ration of thirty gantas a week. For example, Juan de Robles, a native of the indigenous

[98] For the early recruitment of Filipinos for high-decked, rigged vessels, see AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, fs. 2r-2v (1605); and letter of Francisco de las Missas in AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 4, N. 33, fs. 11v-12v (1594).

For the status of pajes and grumetes in the Atlantic, see Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína, *Los Hombres del Óceano: Vida cotidiana de los tripulantes de las flotas de Indias. Siglo XVI* (Sevilla: La Diputación de Sevilla, 1992), 84-86. For grumetes moros and grumetes indios, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, fs. 1r-5v (1590); and AGI, Contaduría, 1202, 2ª pieza, f. 224r (1593).

pueblo of Parañaque and a Spanish grumete, served on the Manila galleon *Santa Rosa* in 1682. By 1690, the grumetes sencillos only earned thirty-six pesos a month.[99]

Cavite officials began to maintain a standing reserve of indigenous grumetes by the era of don Juan de Silva in 1608. Royal officials employed grumetes on fully-rigged European-style vessels (*naos*) in wartime campaigns at least from 1605 onward. For example, the grumete indio, Juan Tagaya, fought in Maluku on the ship *Santa Ana.* In 1610, in the first battle of Playa Honda, one of a series of battles between the colonial Philippine forces and VOC near the Bay of Manila, imperial forces relied on over one hundred and twenty-three indigenous grumetes serving for four weeks, and stationed them in each of the six ships of the colonial fleets. Each ship also carried other Filipino workers: three to ten cagayanes, carpenters and metal workers were employed in specialized repair work on each galleon.[100]

Colonial officials employed these grumetes in local inter-archipelagic voyages, but also for intra-Asian travel. Thus, in 1603, Juan Manta, an indio grumete from the Costa de Manila, served on the ship, the *Santiaguillo* on a voyage to Japan, one of the concession voyages

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[99]For the nomenclature of grumetes chinos, see AGI, Contaduría, 897, "Libro de Raziones, 1591", s/f.;); and AGN, Marina, v. 2, exp. 1, fs. 4-4v, 15-15v, 21r-22v (1592). For grumetes sencillos, see AGI, Contaduria, 1236, f. 143r (1662); and AGI, Contaduria, 1237, f. 1356r (1670). For the interchangeability of the terms grumetes sencillos and grumetes indios, see AGI, Contaduría, 1236, fs. 143r-143v (1662).

For grumetes sencillo crew totals, see AGI, Contaduría, 1235, f. 128r (1661); AGI, Contaduria, 1236, 1662, f. 143r (1662); AGI, Contaduría, 1237, 6ª pieza, f. 1356r (1670); AGI, México, 45, N. 20, f. 18v (1670); AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 112v (1671); AGI, Contaduría, 1240, f. 166v (1675); AGI, Contaduría, v. 1241, 2ª pieza, f. 335v (1679); AGI, Filipinas, 11, R. 4 f. 39r (1679); AGI, Contaduría, 1245, f. 176r (1683); AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 1ª pieza, f. 179r (1683); AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 2ª pieza, f. 528v (1684); AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 3ª pieza, f. 713v (1685); AGI, Contaduróa, 1245, 4ª pieza, f. 1201v (1686); AGI, Contaduría, 1246, 1ª pieza, fs. 130v-131r, (1688); AGI, Contaduría, 1247, 1ª pieza, f. 216r (1690); AGI, Filipinas, 125, N. 15, f. 46r (1691); AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, N. 18, fs. 60v-61v (1692); AGI, Contaduría, 1249, 2ª pieza, f. 555v (1694); AGI, Contaduria, 1250, 1ª pieza, f. 230r (1695); AGI, Contaduria, 1250, 3ª pieza, 892r, 14 gs (1696); AGI, Contaduría, 1252, 1ª pieza, f. 217v, 219v (1697); AGI, Contaduría, 1252, 3ª pieza, f. 930v (1698); AGI, Contaduria, 1253, 1ª pieza, fs. 239r, (1699); and AGI, Contaduria, 1253, 3ª pieza, fs. 943r, (1700). For grumete pay, see AGI, Contaduría, 1206, f. 130v (1597); AGI, Contaduria, 1208, fs. 102r (1610); AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 3, N. 45, fs. 9r-9v (1635); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 7831r (1648); and AGI, Filipinas, 124, N. 15, f. 46v (1691). For Spanish grumetes, see AGI, Filipinas, 8, R. 3, N. 45, fs. 9r (1635); and AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 14, f. 24v (1682).

[100] For Maluku, see AGI, Patronato, 47, N. 3, f. 3v (1605). For Tagaya, see AGI, Contaduría, 1207, f. 600v (1608). For Playa Honda, see AGI, Contaduria, 1208, fs. 103v, 106v-107r (1610).

purchased by wealthy portfolio-capitalists in Manila. Colonial officials made these grumetes available for more impromptu maritime sallies or naval campaigns of extraordinary size. The latter was the case in 1615, 1616, and 1617, when governor don Juan de Silva made extreme demands on the colonial population in order to pursue his varied goals. He worked to simultaneously fend off the attacks of the Islamicate sultanates of Brunei, Maguindanao, and Jolo thrown against Manila and the archipelago, to reinforce colonial troops in Maluku, and to embark on an expedition planned to relieve the Portuguese city of Melaka, besieged by the VOC and the Sultanate of Aceh (Figures 3 and 7). On August 12, 1614, for one of the Maluku relief expeditions, don Juan de Silva ordered that the Costa de Manila fill the whole standard grumete complement for the nao *San Pedro*. The governor requested that a noble cabecilla be sent to prevent the flight of the grumetes, a procedure identical for similar polos performed for service in Cavite and in the cortes.[101]

The Singapore campaign required over four hundred grumetes and an equivalent number of mariners and Kapampangan soldiers. Silva planned to rendezvous with a Portuguese fleet in the Strait of Singapore, and then attack Acehnese and Dutch vessels threatening the Portuguese entrêpot. The governor and Audiencia built up a large reserve of grumetes for the port of Cavite. For example, in 1615, don Juan de Silva demanded that the alcalde mayor of Tondo impress forty grumetes for the caravel to Macao and for other ships. In 1616, the colonial government impressed over a hundred and a fifty grumetes from the docks of Cavite, as they faced a severe

[101] For the *Santiaguillo,* see AGI, Contaduría, 1206, 2ª pte, f. 394r (1604). AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 15, exp. 2, fs. 18r-18v (1618). For the long-term conflict between Aceh and Portugal in the Straits of Malacca, see Lombard, *Le Sultanat D'Atjéh*, 35, 37-39, 95-98; and Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Of Fortresses and Galleys: The 1568 Acehnese Siege of Melaka, after a Contemporary Bird's-Eye View," *Modern Asian Studies,* 22, no. 3, *Special Edition : Asian Studies in Honor of Professor Charles Boxer* (1988) 612, 616, 619-625.

shortage of mariners for their flotilla. In the end, the campaign ran into a severe typhoon (*baguio*), destroying the fleet and leading to the loss of hundreds of lives.[102]

Colonial observers described other ways of recruitment of grumetes for the galleons. Of course, the recruitment activity of Juan Bato represented one possible means of obtaining maritime laborers. Another way, mentioned by governor don Pedro de Acuña, was the employment of servants as grumetes. Presumably, the masters of the servants collected the pay for the labor of their servants. This was the case in 1616, don Francisco de Carbajal employed three of his servants as grumetes on the expedition to Singapore. On the 1592 voyage of the *Santiago* to Acapulco, don Lope de Andrada, the *maestre* of the galleon, brought two indigenous, and two black servants that he employed as grumetes. Some of these were undoubtedly namamahay. In his will, he suggested that royal officials desist from paying these servants, as they were his financial responsibility. When Lope de Andrade died, his servants collectively petitioned the captain to request that the food of Andrade be partitioned among them as they had no other source of sustenance. As the ship master, Andrade had access to his own cabin, and so maintained an impressive personal store of food which included live hogs, pork preserved in lard, chicken preserved in syrup, jars of sugar, and biscocho. Nonetheless, despite their petition, the captain of continued to auction off the victuals over the duration of a few days. The practice of employing servants as grumetes continued at least through the 1620s. In 1621, Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza spoke of the common practice of the use of slaves and indigenous Filipinos as grumetes. Their masters used them to pay for their passage or their importation

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[102] AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 4, N. 52, F. 2v (1617). For 1615 impressment, see AGI, Patronato, 53, R. 15, exp. 2, f. 37r (1615). For the impressments of grumetes and other maritime workers for the Singapore fiasco, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409ª, 2ª pieza, f. 247r, 249v, 261r (1616). For the snapping of cables, due to the high winds, and the blame assigned to indigenous grumetes, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409 A, 2ª pieza, f. 247r (1616).

For the general effects of the naval construction spree and military buildup under Silva, see AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, fs. 2r-2v, 4v-5v, 6v-7r (1619). For the Singapore fiasco, AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 5, N. 52, fs. 1r-2r, 7v-8v (1618).

licenses, allowing their owners a profit when they sold the slave grumetes, or sold their services to a new patron, in New Spain.[103]

The path of free recruitment and advancement represented one last important mode of maritime labor, one that became most important in the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, on January 22, 1688, Francisco de Acuña, a marinero, lent his testimony as a witness to an investigation in the royal shipyards of Bagatao, in western Kabikolan (Figure 2). Acuña had been born in Parañaque, not unusual for a Filipino mariner. Acuña testified at seventy-six, a ripe old age by any account. Moreover, he claimed to have made over twenty-seven round-trip voyages between New Spain and the Philippines. On at least of seven, the captains aborted their journeys due to bad weather. Another one of his crew members, a grumete, Nicolás de la Cruz, hailed from Apalit, a Kapampangan municipality which, like Parañaque, had long supplied maritime workers. It is unlikely that colonial authorities would have been able to force Acosta to sail over twenty times, suggesting the emergence of a free labor force by the second half of the eighteenth century. The possibility, however remote, of obtaining one hundred and fifty pesos, the full pay of a Spanish mariner, would have acted as an important incentive to stay in maritime service. Experienced mariners, even Filipinos, also shared in collective decision-making during the councils (*juntas*) called to meet by galleon captains during adverse weather conditions and when the crew faced peril. On one such occasion, in 1687, the Filipino mariner Francisco Martín Calantas, probably named after a small municipality in northwestern Pampanga, met in 1687 with the junta aboard the galleon *Santo*

[103] See AGI, Contaduría, 1208, f. 194r (1618). For Lope de Andrada, see AGI, Contratación, 292, N. 1, R. 7, exp. 1, f. 31r, fs. 43v-44r, 45v-48v, 50r-50v (1607). For the letter of don Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, see AGI, Filipinas, 7, R. 5, n. 65, f. 1v (1621).

Niño and Nuestra Señora de Guía. The crew decided after several days of taking on water near the Mariana Islands, to turn back to the Philippines.[104]

Passenger lists from galleons sailing in the late-seventeeth century, like the *Santo Tomás*, *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, and *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, provided further evidence of regular travel by freely-recruited grumetes. These lists, drawn up in New Spain, include the names of grumetes rectruited in the Philippines and on New Spain, as well as the substantial number of forzados recruited there. Of those listed, over thirty-seven were also named in the 1688 padrón of San Roque. Many others gave their place of birth as Cavite. Sailors and grumetes like Mateo Guinto, Agustín Manabat, and Alonso Bula alternated between shore service and service on the galleons. Agustín Manabat, a resident of Sasmuan, Pampanga, paid tribute to the cabeza of his barangay, don Pedro Dumandan. Agustin Landao, another vecino of Sasmuan, was a resident of another barangay. Manabat sailed in 1692 to New Spain on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* as a grumete sencillo, while Landao worked on same ship in 1693 as a Spanish grumete and panday. Mateo Guinto, another Kapampangan and barrenador, served aboard the *Santo Tomás* in 1686, working in Cavite in 1688. He paid his tribute in Bacolor, indicating that he had maintained ties to his community even after the long voyage to Acapulco. Bula, from Camarines, and probably a Bikolano, did not indicate his barangay in the 1688 padrón. He probably had changed his residence in 1687 after sailing aboard the *Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de la Guía*.[105]

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[104] AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, exp. 2, fs. 3r-12r, 262v-266r, 268r-270r (1688).

[105] A full listing of the galleon crew can be found in AGI, Filipinas, 276, N. 9, fs. 49r-53v (1691). In AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3306, exp. 2, an undated partial copy of this list can be found, with the name of the galleon omitted, as well as the names of many of its commanding officers. For Manabat, see AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, f. 25r (1688); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, N. 18, f. 61r (1692). For Guinto, see AGI, Filipinas, 13, N. 15, f. 22v (1686); and AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, f. 111r (1688). For Landao, see AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, f. 21v (1688); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, N. 18, f. 429r (1693). For Bula, see AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, f. 93r (1687); and AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, f. 18v (1688).

Spanish administrators recruited labor for the more regular sailings of relief vessels intended to bring supplies to the farflung outposts of their Asian colony. Thus, indigenous laborers constructed vessels not just for periodic invasions and the annual voyage to Acapulco, but also for the maintenance of Asian empire (Figure 6). Spanish planners needed naval patrol and merchant vessels for the transportation of supplies to Kapampangan and Spanish garrisons in Maluco, Taiwan, Cagayan, Cebú, Caraga, Tandag, and Jailolo (Figure 3). These ships brought rice, fresh clothes and fresh military and maritime recruits from colonial Mexico and Kapampangan villages. Shipping of various types made runs for supplies to Malaca and Macao, sailing less often to Cambodia, Cochinchina, and Japan (Figure 3). Indigenous grumetes and mariners plied many if not all of these routes. This geographical diversity provides a ready explanation for the reason why colonial officials stated on several occasions that they worried about the departure of Filipinos to other islands and other lands. The king and local clerics, too, worried about the maritime flight of his subjects.[106]

The arduous nature of the transpacific voyage and especially the work aboard the naos de China helps to explain why Filipino grumetes settled in New Spain and forfeited an immediate return to their natal communities. The work of grumetes indios and grumetes chinos combined some of the most difficult work of sailors with some of the more demeaning work performed by servants. It therefore accorded well with the responsibilities of the awak prahu discussed in the *Undang-undang Melaka*. The Spanish maritime historian Pablo Pérez-Mallaína identifies grumetes as acting as "assistants" of mariners. He also suggests that mariners and passengers often became patrons or even masters of grumetes, who then acted almost as domestic servants. In this and other roles, grumetes cooked and cleaned. In the instructions given to the commander of galleons providing relief for the garrisons of Maluku, grumetes were tasked with

[106] See AGI, Filipinas, 28, n.107, fs. 788r-789v (1676); and AGI, Filipinas, 341, L. 7, fs.188v-190r (1677).

cleaning out the quarters of soldiers. Carla Rahn-Phillips suggests that grumetes predominated in work in the rigging, and manning the pumps, tasks which usually depended on dexterity and stamina. For example, in 1637, mariners and grumetes attempted to decide whether to mend the sails of galleons in Cavite, or to cut them for use in some of the smaller vessels used in the archipelago.[107]

Baguios and immense seasonal rainfall, combined with Spanish labor shortage, caused colonial officials to rely on indigenous mariners to keep their ships afloat. Maritime officers placed much importance on the labor of indigenous people in the pumps that emptied the bilges and lower decks of the ships. For example, in 1633, port officials in Cavite found the two galleons, the *Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia,* and the *Santa Teresa*, to be taking on water, finding over one hundred centimeters (*cinco palmos*) of water in the hold. They assigned forty to sixty Filipinos to continually operate the pumps, finally pumping out the ship and presumably sealing the leak. In 1687, Filipino grumetes aboard the galleons the *Santo Niño* and *Nuestra Señora de La Guía* worked for three straight days trying to fight a leak that introduced eighty centimeters of water a day. The leak left over nine palmos, or over a meter of water, in the hold. The ship had encountered a harsh storm which had caused the ship to roll. The grumetes filled and hauled barrels of water out of the top hatch, in addition to working the pumps.[108]

One other source provides us a glimpse of other labor possibly performed by grumetes. In the late seventeenth century, the courtier and polymath Carlos Sigüenza y Gongóra wrote the

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[107] Pérez-Mallaína, *Los Hombres del Óceano*, 84-86. Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 140, 143. For mariners and grumete work with sails, see AGI, Filipinas, 52, N. 8, exp. 2, fs. 27v-28v (1637); and AGI, Filipinas, 61, N. 22, f. 102r, 103v (1607).

[108] For palmos, see José María Martínez-Hidalgo, *Diccionario Náutico, con equivalencias en Inglés y Francés* (Barcelona: Ediciones Garriga, 1978), 47, 94, 322. For the effects of storms, and bailing, see AGI, Filipinas, 49, N. 48, fs. 16v-19v (1633); AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, exp. 2, fs. 1r-3r, 262v-266r, 268r-270r, 307v-309r (1687). Bailing was also important in Malay praus. Winstedt and De Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," 55; and Thomaz, *A escravatura em Malaca*, 273.

seemingly fanciful story of a Spanish criollo named Alonso Ramírez. Ramírez had been born in Puerto Rico, but traveled to the Philippines only to be captured by English pirates. After the abduction, the pirates traveled through the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Ramírez and his companions, most of them Asians, escaped from the pirates off of the Yucatán Peninsula, from where they eventually traveled to the city of México where Sigüenza y Gongóra was able to write his story. More recently, Fabio López-Lázaro persuasively argued that archival documents corroborate most, though not all, of the story in *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*, making it valuable for representations of subaltern maritime life. In this late seventeenth-century recounting, after being capturing by English privateers, Alonso Ramírez and his Asian companions, including the Kapampangan Marcos de la Cruz, are set to work. They performed the menial labor necessary to sustain ships on transoceanic voyages, the same sort probably performed by grumetes chinos. He and his companions prepared rice for cooking by polishing it with mortars, a woman's job in the Philippines. They cleaned and extracted fiber from coconut husks (*bonote*), spliced, and braided cordage. They repaired and sewed sails. They cleaned the outside and inside of the ship.[109]

One additional role endured by chino grumetes was shipboard defense. First the sailing of Francis Drake and then, the capture of the galleon *Santa Ana* in 1587 by Thomas Cavendish destroyed forever the perception of the invulnerability of Spanish Pacific possessions and the galleon trade, in particular. Initially, even the threat of Dutch pirates, such as Spielberghen, in 1615, failed to prevent Spanish captains from overloading the galleons to the extent that the

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[109] See Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez, Relación de la América Septentrional por Luis Hennepin* (Madrid: Viuda de G. Pedraza, 1902), 77-80; and Fabio López Lázaro, *The Misfortunes of Alonso Ramirez: The True Adventures of a Spanish American with 17th-Century Pirates* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), *passim.* Some of this work accords with the menial work assigned to sailors. See Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain,* 125.

artillery was displaced in favor of cramming in more cargo. Over time, Spanish administrators and investigators made plain that they would prosecute and punish captains who failed to defend their ships. Consequently, the role of the gunners (*artilleros*) aboard the galleons became all the more important. A detailed list of ship gunnery organization aboard the galleon *Santo Tomás*, in 1691, shows that grumetes though untrained in gunnery, nonetheless played a role in shipboard defense. They were assigned to the artillery of the ship which were named after saints. Each of the thirty cannons aboard, which ranged in size from those firing ten-pound shot, to those firing eighteen-pound balls, required a crew of five or six. Two artilleros attended each gun, and from three to five grumetes were assigned to each cannon. They assisted with moving the guns into position and fetching ammunition, with the properly-trained gunners responsible for measuring out the proper charge for the weapons and perhaps, aiming them.[110]

As most mariners were not élites, they lived a precarious material existence aboard the galleons, a state that they eased by consigning merchandise for transpacific merchants. In this way, too, they continued the small-scale commerce noted of mariners aboard Malay vessels in the *Undang-undang Laut*. Marineros brought their own goods, such as vino de palma, carried in their own tinaja. For pay, mariners generally received a promissory note or bill of credit (*libranza*) which guaranteed them the bulk of their pay upon arrival. They paid for other expenses through an allotment derived from the tax-free mariner's chest (*caja marinera*) or half-chest that they brought with them. Grumetes did not always receive this privilege, and when they did so, they were allowed only a much smaller portion of cargo in which merchants consigned goods. For example, in 1643, the merchant Domingo de Yraegui paid several thousand pesos for the license to carry goods in fifty-four mariners' chests. His cargo included payment of twenty-two pesos for a one-third-size chest allowed for Ignacio Sarait, a chino

[110] See AGI, Filipinas, 276, N. 9, fs. 61v-64r, 65v-67r (1691).

grumete, as well as those of the grumetes Pedro de Morales and Jerónimo de Guzmán. The space in these chests effectively became part of the larger space purchased by better-capitalized merchants in Manila and Mexico. As such, mariners safeguarded the consignments of others and played a crucial role in the maintenance of the transpacific commercial system.[111]

In addition to difficult work, material shortfalls, and pay discrimination, grumetes found other difficulties in their work experience. Spanish crew members mistreated grumetes indios and that ship masters skimped on their provisions of clothes and food. In 1608 and 1620, King Philip III wrote to the governor of the Philippines to stop these abuses. The long voyage, risk of scurvy, and close quarters put all members of the crew and passengers at risk of death and disease, to say nothing of shipwrecks. The *Santo Tomás* foundered off Catanduanes in 1600. The *Santa Margarita* and *San Gerónimo* lost many Spanish and indigenous mariners before the former sank in 1602. The *San Diego* struck aground off the coast of Balayan in 1655, and several other galleons sunk over the course of the seventeenth century, with a high loss of life. [112]

Casualty rates on the galleons were correspondingly high, when mentioned at all. In 1612, the *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* served as the lead ship (*capitana*) of the two-ship Manila galleon flotilla. Many died on the voyage to colonial Mexico, including twelve Spanish sailors and eleven chino grumetes. Many of the indigenous grumetes, including Nicolás Guevara and Jusepe Hova, died without making a will. Yet, the grumetes Pedro Bautista and Lucas Sanga made wills before their deaths, suggesting that some grumetes were familiar with Spanish

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[111] For tinajas, see AGI, Contratación, 337A, N. 10, f. 34r (1610). For advance pay of marineros, see AGI, Filipinas, 40, N. 32, f. 3r (1632). For normal pay upon arrival, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, 2ª pieza, f. 53v (1644); AGI, Contaduría, 1237, f. 112v (1665); and AGI, Contaduría, 1237, 6ª pieza, 1356r-1356v (1670). For cajas marineras, see AGI, Contaduría 905A, 598v-600v, 706r-707v (1642-1643).

[112] AGI, Filipinas, 19, R. 2, N. 25, exp. 3, fs. 1r-1v (1601); AGI, Filipinas, 59, N. 47, f. 7r (1603); and AGI, Filipinas, 51, N. 13, exp. 2, fs. 64v-65r (1655). For other shipwrecks, see AGI, Filipinas, 15, R. 1, N. 44, f. 4r (1695); and Santiago Cruz, *La Nao de China*, 133-135.

legal procedures. In 1659, Admiral Francisco García del Fresno recorded the deaths on the *San Joseph* of ninety-five passengers and crew members on the seven-month voyage to New Spain. The chronicler Don Pedro Cubero Sebastián, who traveled on the galleon *San Antonio de Padua* from Cavite to Acapulco in 1676, claimed that one hundred and ninety-two passengers and crew members died on the long voyage. On some days, crew members heaved up to four people a day over the side.[113]

In some cases, social relations directly affected the experiences and rates of survival of the grumetes aboard the Manila galleons. One of the biggest threats was overloading of the ships. The galleons had a reputation of top-heaviness some greedy officers exacerbated by loading cargo on the top deck or in other areas. Overloading or mis-stowing of cargo blocked access to arms, lessening the security of the voyage. The loading of slaves or servants placed high pressure on food supplies. The royal government repeatedly limited the carriage of slaves for this reason, and yet passengers continued to carry them aboard. Passengers, too, attempted to board without licenses. Delays in embarkation placed pressure on food supplies and increased chances of encountering poor weather conditions or slack winds. Passengers wealthy enough to bring cooks aboard lit cooking fires in unprotected spaces, increasing the risk of fire. Finally, the crowded nature of the ships put sailors and passengers alike at risk of contracting diseases, especially from the rodent populations on the ships. Long-distance voyages put passengers at risk of contracting scurvy and other nutritional deficiencies. Some passengers seemed to have held some notion of the dangers of scurvy, carrying with them or advising others to carry citrus,

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[113] For the cold of the upper latitudes of the Acapulco voyage, see Morga, *Sucesos,* 324. For orders from the King, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441C, fs. 7142v-7143r (1608); and AGI, Filipinas, 340, L. 3, fs.21v-262v (1620). See AGI, Filipinas, 51, R. 12, exp. 2, fs. 6r-6v (1659). Don Pedro Cubero Sebastián, *Breve Relacion, de la Peregrinacion Que Ha Hecho de la Mayor Parte del Mundo* (Madrid, 1680), 335, 340. See AGI, Contratación, 514, N. 1, R. 7, fs. 1r-2v, 7r-9r (1613).

such as Lope de Andrada. All of these factors contributed to the perilous nature of transpacific crossings, especially to the grumetes, people of fairly low status.[114]

Conclusion:

The term "chino" referred to a shared ethno-juridical identifying category, but one which drew on precedents and shared experiences derived from the pre-Hispanic and colonial Philippines. Spanish administrators and the colonial inhabitants used the term loosely, to refer to individuals with Asian origins. Most chinos shared central Luzon origins and even those born elsewhere often spent a significant amount of time in central Luzon. The multiethnic plebes arriving in New Spain on the galleons shared a common social history and political economy rooted in central Luzon. I have shown that these common experiences, rooted in urban spaces, forced labor regimes and Hispanic institutions of Cavite and Manila, provided a template for these migrants from Asia, whether the migrants, sojourners, slaves and settlers arrived from from East Africa or Japan. These workers supplied the labor necessary for the Spaniards, Portuguese, Armenians, Tamils, Hokkiens, Japanese, and other merchants who came to trade in Manila.

Some only passed through, but some mariners and merchants stayed, where Tagalog and Kapampangan peoples integrated them into local indigenous societies which combined pre-Hispanic Southeast Asian modes of governance and leadership with adaptations imported from Habsurg and Catholic ideologies of morality, ethics, and governmentality. The inhabitants of these colonial communities helped create new cultural patterns and political economies. Their interactions with each other, and with the members of the new Spanish ecclesiastical and civil institutions produced the port of Cavite and the walled city of Manila. Along with a large immigrant and creole Hokkien population, indigenous people and their integrated non-

[114] AGI, Mexico, 26, N. 69, fs. 9r-9v (1605). AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441C, fs. 7137v, 7138v, 7142v (1608, 1628). For overloading, see AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 4, N. 40, fs. 4r-8r (1691). For other ship hazards in fogones, overloading, overusing ship provisions and other dangers, often addressed in instructions given to the ship masters, see AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, exp. 2, fs. 34r-34v (1687).

indigenous kin, that included the descendants of freed slaves known as morenos, supplied both coerced and freely-contracted manual and skilled labor to these institutions, forging close ties with Spanish ecclesiastical and civil patrons as a result.

Skilled indigenous workers, some of them members of an indigenous élite, employed their knowledge of the colonial institutions to ameliorate some of the harshest effects of colonization, while others attempted to more efficiently squeeze their peasant subjects of labor and resources. Peasants sought better circumstances as clients of civil institutions, ecclesiastical estates, and the infrastructures, such as ranches and convents, which grew to support the fleets and fortresses. These peasants found some of these arrangements to be exploitative, but they appeared to have done their best to obtain privileges which would insulate them from the most exacting aspects of colonial tribute and corvée levies. Soldiers and sailors seemed to have been the most mobile of these workers, with the former gaining the most privileges, especially among the élite. While many mariners constructed careers centered on the rhythms of intra-Asian and transpacific shipping, some used shipping as a way to explore and occasionally even settle within, the new, but still familiar colonial societies of the colonial Americas. These sojourners and migrants brought with them a wide array of experiences with Habsburg colonialism, and put this knowledge to use in colonial Mexico, along with pre-Hispanic technology and modes of labor. It is to the colonial American experiences of these travelers and migrants that we shall now turn our attention.

CHAPTER 4: MAGAALAC, MOZO, AND MULETEER: PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF A SOUTHEAST ASIAN LIQUOR IN A WESTERN MEXICAN PERIPHERY

On December 28, 1643, Lorenzo de Aguilar asked the curate of the pueblo of San Salvador de Chiamila to ratifiy his betrothal to Maria de la Asunción. Aguilar, a chino, was a migrant from the eastern Laguna municipality of Panguil, in the Philippines (See Figure 4). He claimed to have arrived twenty years earlier from the province of Manila. His betrothed, Asunción, a native-born woman of Asian descent (*china criolla*) had been born in the indigenous town of Ixtlahuacán, a *visita* of Chiamila in southeast Colima (See Figure 10). Her mother had been María Ruiz, an indigenous woman, a native of Ixtlahuacán. Her father, Juan Alonso de Morales, had been a migrant from the Philippines. Three witnesses, vecinos of Ixtlahuacán, attested to the free will of the betrothed. Luis Ortiz, a chino, served as one of the witnesses. Ortiz had served aboard several galleons. In 1632, he had taken office as a collector of tribute and alcalde for the chinos of the province of Colima, and also worked as a sentinel from the pueblo of Alcusahui. The second chino witness, Agustín de Paz, also claimed to be a native of "Manila", who had lived in "esta parte [Colima]" for fifteen years. Finally, Juan Bautista "Pantavo" (*Pantaon*) testified. Another chino native to Manila and vecino of Ixtlahuacán, Juan Bautista had known Aguilar for 20 years in Panguil. After supporting testimony from Asunción, gathered from her when she was away from any potential pressure exerted by the witnesses, the two were married.[1]

This chapter traces the routes of spatial and social mobility forged by chinos in a maritime and coastal western Mexican periphery. The chapter closely examines the introduction

[1] For Aguilar document, Ortiz, and the testimony of Paz and Bautista, see FHLGSU, MF # 0779063, item 1 (December 28, 1643) (Not paginated); AHMC, sección B, c. 22, exp. 4, fs. 1r-3v (1642); Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima durante el siglo XVII: un sistema de representación en torno a un oficio," *Letras Históricas*, 1 (Otoño-Invierno 2009), 105, n. 31, *op cit.*; and AHMC, sección B, c. 11, exp. 5, f. 1r (1632).

of a new product, and labor regime by chinos in western Mexico. It looks at how this new local economy shaped patterns of social interaction and the living conditions of chinos, as well as the changing dynamics of relationships between chinos and local colonial administrators. I argue that chinos on the late sixteenth-century voyages of exploration settling in the western provinces of Colima and Motines (See Figures 10 and 11), employed Southeast Asian technologies and labor patterns. Yet, the vitality of local Mesoamerican, that is, Nahuatl-speaking indigenous, communities and Spanish entrepreneurial oligarchs also forced chinos to adapt social practices learned in the urban and rural environs of the colonial Philippines. The ingenuity of chino workers and their adaptation to new circumstances helped found an industry in which their services were in high demand. In spite of the successful efforts of some chinos to take advantage of the "boom" in vino de cocos production, Spanish vecinos successfully immobilized some chino laborers. Chinos made the best of their situation, marrying local indigenous people and integrating into colonial indigenous communities. Chinos played an integral role in the local economy and defense against pirates. Their unique position in the local work force prompted Spanish officials to provide them with leadership positions over the work force of client laborers, which included free Afro-Mexicans and indigenous clients (*indios naborios*). This chapter looks at the vicissitudes of the practice of this leadership, the material circumstances of chino laborers at work, and the patterns of social interaction between chinos and other local inhabitants. Finally, I look at the ways that chinos and Spaniards marketed vino de cocos in western Mexico and beyond over the course of the seventeenth century.[2]

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[2] The marriage of chino men with indigenous women followed insular Southeast Asian and South China Sea custom. Witness the contempory emergence of mestizos de sangley in central Luzon, which followed similar patterns.

For Nahuatl in Ixtlahuacán and the provinces of Colima and Motines see AHMC, seccion B, c. 7, exp. 20, fs. 1f-1v (1627); Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán: Los indios de Colima en el virreinato* (México, D. F: CIESAS, 2000), 89; and Isassy, "Demarcación y Descripción de El Obispado de Mechoacán y Fundación de su Iglesia Cathedral: Número de Prebendas, Curatos, Doctrinas y Feligrezes que tiene y Obispos que ha tenido desde

The comments of the notary and biographical details in this document express the ambivalent status of chinos in the society and political economy of the provinces of Colima and Motines. Aguilar claimed to be a free chino (*chino libre*), but in a marginal comment (*entre renglones*), the notary declared him to be a slave (*esclavo*). The notary based his assessment on the occupation of Aguilar. Aguilar worked as a debt servant, gathering and distilling (*hacer vino*) the fermented sap of coconut palms (*tuba*) into a potent brandy-like spirit (*vino de cocos*). Along with salt-producers and collectors (*salineros*), mainly indigenous people, vinateros manufactured the most lucrative exports from these provinces. Aguilar died in debt, thirteen years after his marriage on the nearby hacienda of Sinacamitlán, a vino de cocos plantation run by Clemente Hidalgo de Agüero. At the same time, Aguilar showed knowledge of the Spanish language and marriage procedure. Both Aguilar and Bautista signed their names, indicating literacy, a common attribute of chinos crossing the Pacific, and indicative of the acquaintance of migrant chinos with Spanish institutions.[3]

This marriage document of Lorenzo de Aguilar illustrates several important aspects of chino residence in western Mexico. The first is that many chinos knew each other even before they boarded their ship to New Spain. Aguilar and his companions had been acquainted in

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que se fundo," *Bibliotheca Americana* 1, no. 1 (1982): 172.

Colonial historians disagree about the prominence of Nahuatl in pre-Hispanic western Mexico as a regional language. They also disagree whether the post-conquest dominance of the language was spontaneous or a colonial imposition. See Leopoldo Valiñas C., "El Nahuatl de Occidente: balance sobre sus investigaciones y perspectivas tanto lingüísticas como historicas,:" 165-199; Leopoldo Valiñas C., "Transiciones lingüísticas mayores en Occidente," in *Transiciones mayores en el Occidente de México*, ed. Ricardo Ávila Palafox (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1994), 127-165; Rosa H. Yañez Rosales, "La Construcción del nahuatl como lengua general y la supresión de las lenguas indígenas locales: el caso del occidente novohispano," in *El occidente de México: arqueología, historia y medio ambiente. Actas del IV Coloquio de Occidentalistas*, ed. Ricardo Ávila Palafox (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1998), 55-63; Martin Nesvig, "Spanish Men, Indigenous Language, and Informal Interpreters in Postcolonial Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (2012): 739-764; and Robert C. Schwaller, "The Importance of Mestizos and Mulatos as Bilingual Intermediaries in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (2012): 713-738.

[3] For notarial comments, the signatures of the chinos, and the occupation of Lorenzo de Aguilar, see FHLGSU, MF # 0779063 , item 1 (December 28, 1643) (Not paginated); AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 8, f. 1r (1654); and AHMC, sección B, C. 29, exp. 20, f. 3f (1654).

Panguil, a key source of labor for galleons docking in Calilaya, near eastern Laguna (Figures 1 and 4). The workers and administrators of eastern Laguna tied it to Manila and Cavite in several ways. First, it supplied laborers for the cortes in the montes of Laguna and Calilaya (Tayabas), including Mahayhay (See Figure 4). Second, as a better-drained region, coconut palms grew well in Laguna, supplying vino de palma and coconut oil for royal storehouses. Its laborers brought lumber to Cavite, where some of them stayed as workers, providing a labor pool for intra-Asian and transpacific shipping. We have records of Panguil mariners leaving the Philippines as far back as 1591, on the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. Ortiz, in fact, was a veteran of several voyages, not an uncommon occurrence in the middle of the seventeenth century. Chinos and Spaniards traveling from the Pacific brought the coconut tree to colonial New Spain. With the arrival of chinos, Spanish and chinos adapted Southeast Asian technology and labor practices, namely, namamahay dent bondage and share production, to the exploitation of the newly-transplanted cultivar. Together, they built a new industry centered in the river valleys of Colima and modern-day western Michoacán which would flourish through the eighteenth century.[4]

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[4] For the comments on the role of Panguil, and Laguna in supplying labor for the galleons, in cortes, and agricultural products, see FHLGSU, MF # 0779063, item 1 (December 28, 1643) (Not paginated); Chapters 1 and 2 for eastern Laguna; AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, f. 8372r (1648); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440B, fs. 1985v-1991v (1653); AGI, Contaduria 1199B, f. 240r (1575); AGI, Contaduría, 1203, f. 42r (1597); and the entries in San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 44, 144, 208-209, 389, 600, 620; Hidalgo Nuchera, *Una Corografía Ilustrada Inédita*, 55, 101. Also see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6729, exp. 9, fs. 1v-5v (1590); AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, f. 51v (1646); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 7831r-7832r (1648); and AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 14, fs. 25r, 26v (1682).

Felipe Sevilla del Rio, *Breve estudio sobre la conquista y fundación de Coliman* (Colección Peña Colorada, 1973); 89-90; Felipe Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima en su defense ante un mandamiento de la Real Audiencia de México, que ordenaba la tala total de los palmares colimenses en el año de 1612* (México: Editorial Jus, 1977), *passim*; Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán: Los indios de Colima en el virreinato* (México, D. F: CIESAS, 2000), 169-170; Gerardo Sánchez Díaz*, La costa de Michoacán. Economía y Sociedad en en el siglo XVI* (Morelia, México: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2001), 101-108; and José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros en Colima de la Nueva España (1523-1600)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2008), 225-228.

For the inventory of Lorenzo de Aguilar, see AHMC, sección B, C. 29, exp. 20, *passim* (1654). For the significance of debt and share-cropping in the Philippines and Southeast Asia, see Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*; Rafael, *Contracting* Colonialism, 121-142; Francisco, "Alipin ng Dios, Alipin ng

Chinos played a key role in transforming production in western Mexico. They added *lambonag* (vino de cocos) to a production regime centered on salt and cacao production. The technology that they brought was simpler than Arabic-type stills, requiring fewer outlays in copper and more importantly, lead. Their debt peonage might have made vino de cocos more competitive in price than Spanish wine. They probably cultivated other Southeast Asian crops, such as bananas, and rice, and possible even mangos.[5]

In other ways, the experiences of Filipinos in western Mexico differed significantly from their interactions in the Philippines. For one thing, the Filipinos who arrived in Mexico were

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Demonyo: 370-393; Malcolm W. Mintz, "The *Philippines* at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," ; and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 8828v-8929r (1650); and Chapters 1 & 2.

For the study of the vecinos of Colima, the local oligarchy which used its unique geographical position between New Spain and New Galicia to exercise control over the regional economy, see Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII* (Colima, México: Universidad de Colima, 2009); Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "Colima entre las audiencias de México y la Nueva Galicia. Historia de un conflicto jurisidictional," *IV Foro de Arqueología. Antropología e Historia de Colima*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes G. (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2008), 1-12. http://www.culturacolima.gob.mx/imagenes/foroscolima/4/11.pdf ; José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros en Colima de la Nueva España (1523-1600)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2008); and José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima en la Nueva España (1523-1600)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007).

[5] For the continuation of the practice of debt peonage in the colonial Philippines, see Chapters 1-3; AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. 8828r-8829r (1648); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1640, expediente 28, f. 1r (1637).

A lengthier comparison of still types and their archaeology can be found in Henry J. Bruman, "Early Coconut Culture in Western Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 25, no. 2 (1945): 212-223; and the extensive corpus of Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Patricia Colunga-García Marín on on the ethnohistory and botany of early coconut and agave cultivation. For the latter, see Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, "History of Coconut in Mexico," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution*,43, no. 6 (1996): 505-515; Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Patricia Colunga-García Marín, "Early Coconut distillation and the origins of mescal and tequila liquor in western Mexico," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 55 (2008): 493-510 ; Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, Francisco González-Zozaya et al., "Archaeological evidence of the cultural importance of *Agave* spp. in Pre-Hispanic Colima, Mexico," *Economic Botany* 63, no. 3 (2009): 288-302; and Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, Ofelia Vargas-Ponce et al, "Sustainability of the traditional management of *Agave* genetic resources in the elaboration of mescal and tequila spirits in western Mexico," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 60, no. 1 (2012): 33-47.

In 1659, the town council (cabildo) of Guadalajara set the price for a cuartillo of Spanish wine at four reales (half a peso), four times the the price of a cuartillo of vino de cocos, which sold for one real a cuartillo. See Archivo Histórico Municipal de Guadalajara (AHMG), Libro de Actas del Cabildo de la Nueva Galicia, 1607-1662, f. 255v (1657).

For bananas and rice in Colima and Motines, see AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 2, f. 6f (1630); W. Michael Mathes, *Californiana, Documentos para la Historia de la Demarcacion Comercial de California, 1583-1632.* Volume 1, Part 1 (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua, 1967), 475; Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 70; and FHLGSU, MF# 775536, Diezmos, 1636-1756, item 1, exp. 37, fs. 9r-9v (1636).

largely men. For the first few generations, they formed unions with non-Filipino women, mostly Nahuatl-speaking indigenous people. Filipinos had to adapt to local foodways and learn local indigenous languages in order to find mates. The most radical shift was that debt peonage in Mexico, was more permanent than in the early colonial Philippines and defended vigorously in local courts (*reconocimiento judicial*), making a transition from an open to a closed system of bondaghe. This shift followed similar developments in the Philippines as Spanish and indigenous elites sought to control peasant labor. The foreign status of chinos and their significant, though still modest population numbers, left them little leverage in the regional labor market, especially after the prices of their once scarce and novel product dropped. Chinos, and later non-chino vinateros, nonetheless managed to maintain a claim, derived in part from namamahay customs, on at least part of their product. Colima records suggest that authorities in Mexico did not set up local systems of bondage with possibilities of exit. Spanish authorities and entrepreneurs fixed and defended, though the colonial courts, chino debt bondage. Though the accounting of chino shares, salaries, and debt suggested the possibility of chino freedom, the remarks of the notary on the status of Aguilar suggested that Spaniards viewed the status of chinos as bonded servants as immutable. The status of chinos quite soon might have been confused with the status of enslaved people of African descent in western Mexico. Nonetheless, despite these considerable obstacles, many chinos, of the probable hundreds who traveled through western and southern Mexico, secured a living in their new environments, in the vino de cocos industry, as workers in the transportation sector, and in some cases, as petty merchants.[6]

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[6] For free indios chinos as mainly male migrants, see Chapter 5; Appendix C of Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,' 205-252; and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 108, n. 155, *op cit.*. The demography of enslaved chinos varied, including more women. See Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila;" and by the same author,"Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580-1700," (PhD., Yale University, 2008), *passim*.

For an example of administrative and legal support for debt bondage in western Mexico and New Spain, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, expediente 1, fs. 107f-107v (1640); José Ignacio Urquiola Permisán, *Trabajadores de*

The Physical and Social Geography of Western Mexico

Present-day Colima approximates the boundaries of the old province inhabited by the chinos and the people of Ixtlahuacán. Juan Carlos Reyes Garza has remarked that the province is shaped approximately like an equilateral triangle, with the central vertex located in the mountain range which contains the Volcán de Fuego or "Colima Volcano," located just over the Jalisco border. The right side of the triangle runs through the southern extension of the Sierra Madre del Sur, to the mouth of the Coahuayana (then known as the Alima) River to the Pacific Ocean. The left side of the triangle slices through mountain ranges to the port of Navidad, just across the border in Jalisco, and Manzanillo, which was known in the seventeenth century as the ports of Salagua and Santiago (See Figures 9 and 10). The northern part of Colima runs into the highlands of Jalisco, while the vast majority of the province gently slopes toward the Pacific Ocean. On the western border is the Marabasco River. The Armería River, then known as the Río Grande de Colima, drained the center and eastern half of the province. Inhabitants knew the central length of this river as the Nahualapa River, and called its lower reaches, marshes and estuaries, the Valle de Caxitlán. The Coahuayana River, Alima River in the colonial period, marked the eastern border of Colima with Michoacán and the province of Motines, in the colonial period. The Salado Rivers fed into the Armería from the west; mountains separated

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campo y ciudad: Las cartas de servicio como forma de contratación en Querétaro, 1588-1609 (Querétaro: Gobierno del Estado, 2001), *passim*; and John Tutino, *Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 103-112.

For the slippage between debt bondage and slavery in western New Spain, see AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, f. 96f (1598). In a similar vein, Deborah Oropeza and Tatiana Seijas have written of some of the prejudices encountered by free chinos and free people of African descent in New Spain as connected with the simultaneous existence of large enslaved and free populations from both groups. Given the large numbers of chino slaves imported on the galleons, colonial subjects of New Spain might have considered both chinos and people of African descent as enslaved, by default. See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 178, 230, and *passim*. For estimates of numbers of chino laborers in western Mexico, see below.

them from the Colima Rives. The main ports of the province were in the west, Salagua and Santiago, just east of the important port of Navidad.[7]

The varied indigenous population of Colima acutely felt the impact of epidemics brought by Spaniards and the less-pronounced, but still important impact of forced labor. Juan Carlos Reyes Garza estimates that the population of greater Colima at contact numbered one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants. By 1631, this population plummeted below three thousand indigenous inhabitants. The colonial administrators of the provinces had started with more promising potential. Though not on the same scale as the city-states (*altepeme* or *ireta*) in central Mexico and Michoacán, the province still held a number of important indigenous settlements even after they were regrouped into nucleated populations (See Figure 11).[8]

The Villa de Colima, a Spanish settlement founded in 1523, hosted the alcalde mayor of the province, the town council, and the parish church of the town. It was the center of Spanish economic and administrative activity through much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. North of Colima, in the highlands, laid Comala and Suchitlán, which, with an adjacent town, Tecuicitlán, supplied laborers for the needs of Colima (Figures 10 and 11). San Francisco de Almoloya was located west of Colima and was the cabecera of the pueblos on the western side of the Armería: San Pedro Coquimatlán, Zacualpa, Nahualapa, Quizalapa, Tecuciapa, and Juluapa. Several pueblos notable for their cacao production were located on the eastern bank of the

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[7] See Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán: Los indios de Colima en el virreinato*, 22-23, 61; and Ma. de los Ángeles Olay, “Arqueología de Colima,” *Introducción a la Arqueología del Occidente de México,* ed. Beatriz Braniff Cornejo (Colima, México: Universidad de Colima,), 271-274, for the limits of the province of Colima.

[8] For the population declines in Colima and Motines, and the creation of reducciones, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 61-72, 76-88; Sherbourne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History : Mexico and California, Volume 3* (Los Angeles: University of Califronia Press, 1979), 90, 173-174; and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 56-57.

For *ireta* of the Purépecha, and their counterparts in central and southern Mesoamerica, see Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, “Etimologías políticas michoacanas,” in *Autoridad y gobierno indígena en Michoacán*, *volúmen 1*, eds. Carlos Paredes Martínez and Marta Terán (Zamora, México: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003), 78-79; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 14-58; and Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca*, 102-121.

Caxitlán River: Tecomán, Alcusahui, Tecolopa, and Caxitlán. San José Tecolopa first served as the ecclesiastical seat of these southeastern parishes, but Caxitlán later took this role. Spaniards and Afro-Mexicans dominated the latter town with the explosion of coconut cacao cultivation in the seventeenth century. East of the Armería, near the Salado, lay Tamala, Sinacamitlán, Ixtlahuacán, Malacatlán, and San Salvador de Chiamila, the parish center.[9]

Spanish conquistadores and entrepreneurs converted the province of Motines into the hinterland of the province of Colima, though technically, it was a separate jurisdiction with its own alcalde mayor and lieutenant. Colima vecinos purchased many of the cacao and later, coconut palm orchards which lined the eastern banks of the Alima and its tributaries. For part of the seventeenth century, the alcalde mayor of Motines resided in the temperate highland pueblo of Coalcamán, while his teniente resided in Maquilí, a pueblo located in a small river valley east of the Alima (See Figures 10 and 11). Here, too, Spaniards owned several plantations. Alimanzí, a rapidly depopulating town at the mouth of the Alima river, produced cacao for Colima, as did Aquila, adjacent to Maquilí, while Suchitzi, served as an anchorage for ships. The rest of the province was mountainous and unsuitable for the intensive irrigation necessary for the most lucrative tropical exports of Motines and Colima. Understanding the development of export routes for these products, and the exploitation of labor for their production requires exploring the

[9] For the early colonial political geography of Colima, early administration of the Villa de Colima, the alcaldía of Colima, and the involvement of its officers in local commerce, see Carl Sauer, "Colima of New Spain in the Sixteenth Century," *Ibero-Americana*, nos. 29-34 (1948), 36-58; José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima en la Nueva España (1523-1600)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007), 164-280; and Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII* (Colima, México: Universidad de Colima, 2009), *passim*.

For the effects of the reducciones on the Motines and the Colima pueblos of Teuchitlán, Suchitlán, Comala, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 78-88.

For the early history of the Franciscans in Colima, and their foundation of the convent in Almoloyan, see José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros en Colima,* 63-78.

pre-Hispanic past of these provinces and interpretations of their conquest, the subject of the next two sections.[10]

Development of Pre-Hispanic Political Economies

The inhabitants of pre-Hispanic Colima and Motines created routes and patterns of exchanges with highland western Mexico which would continue into the colonial period. The Classic era (300-800 CE) saw Colima highland communities participate in architectural practices centered in western Mexico. Some settlements in northern Colima erected considerable examples of monumental architecture, showing that they belonged to the Teuchitlán tradition. Teuchitlán settlements housed dense populations, practiced intensive raised-field (*chinampa*) agriculture, and built distinctive round "pyramids" and ceremonial plaza complexes called *guichimontones*. These settlements took economic advantage of nearby obsidian deposits, and probably traded with lowland coastal sites. Settlements in the coast cultivated corn, beans, squash, ands cotton, and gathered purple mollusks (*Spondylus*), used in important Mesoamerican rituals. Other communities located near the lowlands raised maguey, which they used for fiber, food, and alcohol. Some communities near western Jalisco produced *mezcal*, a low-alcohol ferment produced from roasted agave hearts, while other communities from a very early era produced pulque, a ferment produced from sap drawn from agaves. Western Michoacán

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[10] For Coalcamán as the residence of the alcalde mayor of Motines, the geography of Motines and its role as the hinterland for Colima, see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993 [1975]), 193; and 67, 73; AGI, Contratación, 285B, N.4, R.24, f. 48r (1608); Donald D. Brand, *Coalcoman and Motines del Oro: An* Ex-Distrito *of Michoacan Mexico* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 69, 73; and Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima*, 38, 44, 46, 51.

For the location of Maquilí and Alimanzi, see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 22, 26; and Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography*, 192; and Brand, *Coalcoman and Motines del Oro*, 148. This jurisdiction used to extend to within a few kilometers of the municipality of Zacatula, but in the middle of the sixteenth century, Motines was split in two, with the eastern half becoming closely tied to Colima. See Brand, *Coalcoman and Motines del Oro*, 58-63.

communities near Coalcamán produced alcohol from magueys at contact and shortly afterward, though chroniclers do not specify whether it was mescal or pulque.[11]

After the fall of Teotihuacan and the decline of the Teuchitlán societies, agricultural societies in highland Colima showed signs of adopting religious language and other cultural patterns from Postclassic central Mexico. Monumental sculpture in western Mexico in sites like El Chanal displayed central Mexican motifs, including square stepped pyramids and depictions of the deity Tlaloc, appropriated via alluvial trade routes from central Mesoamerica. Their inhabitants spoke a number of languages, but many spoke languages closely related to Nahuatl, and in fact, some of the inhabitants of Colima, like the inhabitants of western Michoacán and Jalisco, spoke an older form of Nahuatl now known as Western Nahuatl (Nahuatl de Occidente). These populations reached high densities, especially in a polity in southern Nayarit known as Aztatlán, which exerted influence over dense populations settled in the river valleys of western Jalisco, Michoacán, and Colima. These coastal and alluvial communities, in turn, obtained

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[11] For conceptions of western Mexico, see Ma. de los Ángeles Olay, "Él Occidente Mesoamericano. Una Historia en Construcción," *Introducción a la Arqueología del Occidente de México,* ed. Beatriz Braniff Cornejo, (Colima, México: Universidad de Colima, 2004), 43-46; and Christopher S. Beekman, "Recent Research in Western Mexican Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18 (2010): 42-46. For a problematizing of regionality by a scholar of colonial western Mexico, see Eric Van Young, "De razones y regiones," in *Historia regional, el centro occidente de México: siglos XVI al XX* ed. Gladys Lizama Silva (Guadalajara, México: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2007), 21-33.

For pre-Hispanic Colima and Motines, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 37-43; and Ángeles Olay, "Arqueología de Colima," 282-284.

For Teuchitlán, see Phillip Weigand, "States in Prehispanic Western Mesoamerica," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica: Transformations during the Formative and Classic Periods*, eds. Vernon L. Scarborough and John E. Clark (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 101-113; Phil C. Weigand,"The architecture of the Teuchitlan Tradition of the Occidente of Mesoamerica," *Mesoamerica* 7, no. 1 (1996): 98; and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 39-40..

For the cultivation practices of the inhabitants of Classic and Postclassic western Mexico, and coastal-highland trade, see Joseph B. Mountjoy, "Prehispanic Cultural Development along the southern coast of West Mexico," in *Greater Mesoamerica: The Archaeology of West & Northwest* Mexico, eds. Michael S. Foster and Shirly Gorenstein (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 95-100, 102-104; Laura Almendros López and Fernando Gónzalez Zozaya, "El Occidente de México. La reocupación del Valle de Colima," *Boletín Americanista* 59 (2009): 144; and Dorothy Hosler, "West Mexican Metallurgy: Revisited and Revised," *Journal of World Prehistory* 22, no. 4 (2009), 189-190.

For agave cultivation, *mezcal*, and pulque in western Mexico see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 162, 167, 169, 177, 193; and René Acuña, *Relaciones Geográficas del siglo XVI: Nueva Galicia, volume 10* (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1988), 41, 69.

goods like turquoise from the American Southwest, indicating a westward shift in the trade routes along the north-south axis in western Mexico, which had previously run through central western Mexico.[12]

Meanwhile, more centralized polities arose in the Valley of Mexico and the lacustrine basin of Michoacán. Chinos and other inhabitants of colonial Colima would continue and deepen routes forged by pre-Hispanic merchants between Colima, Michoacán, and central Mexico. Several fisher communities created dense settlements in northern Michoacán, the sites of Lake Cuiseo and Pátzcuaro, as well as several other sites. The most centralized polity, the Tarascan Empire, arose in part as a product of interaction between the speakers of a distinct western Mexican language called Purépecha and diverse sedentary peoples in the north who would later became known as Chichimecs. The Purépechas of the Tarascan Empire proved highly successful at repelling Mexica invasions, yet like the Triple Alliance, the Tarascans oversaw a multilingual empire, peopled with Nahuatl speakers, Otomí, Matlazinca, and people of a variety of languages and cultural traditions. The Purépecha created centralized cities and ceremonial complexes drawing on tribute and trade from a wide area.[13]

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[12] For cultural sharing and Mesoamerican symbols shared between central Mesoamerica and western Mexico, see Laura Almendros López and Fernando Gónzalez Zozaya, "El Occidente de México, La reocupación del Valle de Colima," *Boletín Americanista* 59 (2009): 144; Beekman, "Recent Research in Western Mexican Archaeology," 73-75; Helen Perlstein Pollard, "West Mexico beyond the Tarascan Frontier," in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Francis F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2003), 55-57; Elizabeth H. Boone and Michael E. Smith, "Postclassic International Styles and Symbol Sets," in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Francis F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2003), 186-193.

For Nahuatl in western Mexico, and the possible role of Epiclassic migrations in its spread, see Christopher S. Beekman and Alexander F. Christensen, "Controlling for Doubt and Uncertainty Through Multiple Lines of Evidence: A New Look at the Mesoamerican Nahua Migrations," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 10, no. 2 (2003): 111-164.

[13] For the Purépecha, their relations with the Triple Alliance, and multi-ethnic imperial rule, see Beekman, "Recent Research in Western Mexican Archaeology," 71, 75-77; Helen Pearlstein Pollard, "Development of a Tarascan Core: The Lake Pátzcuaro Basin," in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 227-237; Helen Pearlstein Pollard, "The Tarascan Empire," in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 78- 86, especially 83; and Helen Pollard, *Tariacuri's Legacy: The*

In the Postclassic era, parts of western Michoacán, such as Coalcamán; and the northeastern part of greater Colima, the municipalities of Tamazula, Zapotlán, Sayula, and Tuxpan paid tribute to the Tarascan tributary state headquartered in the lakeside town of Tzintzúntzan (Figure 10). The lowland towns of Colima and Michoacán supplied tropical lowland commodities: cloth, tropical fruits, cotton, and possibly cacao, to the western Mexico tributary empire, which successfully contested the hegemony of the Nahuatl-headed Triple Alliance, headquartered in Tenochtitlán. Most of the city-states and statelets in Colima and Motines, however, remained independent of both the Mexica and Tarascan Empires, blocking access to the Pacific Ocean for the latter empire and warring quite often with each other.[14]

Spanish conquistadors and their Mesoamerican allies took an early interest in western and southern Mexico after the conquest of Tenochtitlán, seeing it both as a source of the lowland commodities such as cacao so desired by Mesoamerican elites and as a gateway to the "Southern Sea" (*Mar del Sur*) and the fabulous riches of Asia This interest would begin the early modern linkages between Colima and Asia that helped construct the Spanish Pacific rim. In 1522, Hernán Cortés ordered a detachment of his forces to visit Zacatula, a prominent port on the Pacific Coast. There, they ordered local indigenous people to construct a shipyard in order to begin an Asian expedition (See Figures 9 and 10). That same year, Spanish forces under Cristóbal de Olid entered the Tarascan or Purépecha capital of Tzintztuntzan and began extracting tribute. The lords of Zacatula sent loads of a luxury commodity, cacao, to Olid,

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Prehispanic Tarascan State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 7-28, 90-108, and *passim*.

[14] For the conquest and administration of southwestern Jalisco and Coalcomán by the Tarascans, see Pollard, *Taríacuri's Legacy*, 90; Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 192.

For missionization in Motines, see Gerardo Sánchez Díaz, "El Proceso de Evangelización y Colonización entre los Nahuas de la Costa-Sierra de Michoacán en el Siglo XVI," in *Curanderismo y Hechicería en la Costa de Michoacán: El Proceso Inquisitorial contra Hernán Dánchez Ordiales, Cura Beneficiado de Coalcamán, 1623-1625,* eds. Gerardo Sánchez Díaz y J. Benedict Warren (Morelia, México: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidaldgo, 2010), 11-55.

signaling their respect for his authority in Mesoamerican terms. One of the lieutenants, Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte, sent an embassy to Tamazula and Colima, having heard of their bellicosity. After the nobles killed his emissaries, Rodríguez de Villafuerte directed a force of several dozen Spanish soldiers and hundreds of central Mexican (*Acolhua*) allies and Purépecha to march on Colima. The rulers of Colima and allies he had gathered from neighboring polities fought the Spaniards and their allies, routing the Spanish and their allies, sending them back to Tzintzuntzan.[15]

The Mesoamerican and Spanish forces under the commander Gonzalo de Sándoval had better success in subduing Colima and introducing Spanish colonial rule. In 1522, Sandoval first proceeded south from Mexico City and conquered a group of indigenous people near Acapulco known as the Yopes. In 1523, he followed the coast up to Zacatula, and after a battle near the present-day city of Tecomán, defeated the lords of Colima with a force of Spaniards, Purépecha and warriors from Texcoco and Tlaxcala (See Figures 8, 10, and 14). That year, the soldiers founded the Villa of Colima near Tecomán, only later moving it to its present location and forcing the settlement of many indigenous people from Tuxpán, a former tributary of the *cazonci*, to provide it with labor.[16]

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[15] For the westward and southern progress of Spanish and Mesoamerican conquest, see see Michel R. Oudijk and Matthew Restall, "Mesoamerican Conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century," in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, eds. Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 49-54; Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima en la Nueva España (1523-1600)*, 27-29, 31-35, 37-49; Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 38-43; and Ida Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 3-4.

For the entry of Olid and his Nahua allies into Tzintztuntzan, Zacatula, and the Spanish invasion of Zacatula and Colima, see Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y utopia: El gobierno indio y español de la "ciudad de Mechuacan", 1521-1580* (México, D. F.: INAH, 2005), 119, 122-126, 129; Dorothy Hosler, "Ancient West Mexican Metallurgy: South and Central American Origins and West Mexican Transformation," *Ancient Anthropologist* 90, no. 4 (1988),841-842; and José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 31-35.

[16] For the Yopes, the Zacatula campaign, and the coastal route to Colima, see Danièle Dehouve, *Entre el caimán y el jaguar: Los pueblos indios de Guerrero* (México, D.F.: CIESAS, 1994), 33-36; Rosa Margarita Nettel Ross, *Los testigos hablan: La conquista de Colima y sus informantes* (Colima: Universidad de Colima, 2007), 19,

Early Colonial Political Economies

Colima, founded as a *villa* of Spaniards in 1523, also served as headquarters for the encomendero population of greater Colima. The king assigned encomiendas based on service in the campaigns of conquest, a standard practice in New Spain. Encomenderos were entitled to make use of the labor of indigenous people assigned from the pueblos (*altepeme*) or rancherías. In return, the encomenderos needed to supply religious instruction, and guard the physical safety of his charges. Despite these safeguards, encomenderos across western Mexico and the rest of New Spain took slaves and illegally assigned their laborers to the profitable work for gold-panning and working mines. Encomenderos put their laborers to use as porters or *tamemes*, and even soldiers, as Colima and Michoacán served as bases for exploration and conquest of communities further to the north.[17]

Exploration and military expeditions in the North led to discovery of silver, the most significant being the strike at La Bufa, in Zacatecas, providing a boon to settlement. Western Mexican producers hastened to supply new markets. Meanwhile, new supplies of silver helped quicken local commerce, as well as trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade, strengthening connections between western Mexico, and trade routes that connected Acapulco, the city of Mexico, and Veracruz (See Figures 8, 10, and 14). The commercial opportunities found in this axis attracted chino migrants, as well as a wide variety of other traders, merchants, and muleteers

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44, 49, 67 note 19, and *passim*; Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 37-47; and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 49-52.

For the use of laborers from Tuxpan, see Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 75; and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 75-76.

[17] For the responsibilities of the encomendero, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 58-59.

For the slippage between slaves and encomienda labor, and the employment of the both as tamemes and miners, see Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Reshaping New Spain: Government and Private Interests in the Colonial Bureaucracy, 1531-1550*, trans. Julia Constantino and Pauline Marmasse (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006), 35-36, 58-59; and José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 49; and AHMC, sección A, c. 1, exp. 2, *Testamentaria de Juan de Benavides, minero*, f. 4f (1536), in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, C.s 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009).

(*arrieros*). Spanish settlers and Mesoamericans settled the new western region of New Galicia, placing its capital first at a site called Purificación, in modern-day Nayarit, before shifting the capital to Guadalajara, in central Jalisco, in 1560. Settlers delayed their population of the latter town as a result of a 1546 silver strike at La Bufa, near Zacatecas, even though this strike inaugurated a new era of economic expansion in New Spain (See Figures 8 and 10). In areas closer to Guadalajara in western Jalisco and Nayarit, Spanish prospectors started more modest mines. Sites like Guachinango and Senticpac produced silver into the seventeenth century.[18]

Silver strikes in the North helped spur demand for a variety of products. They also prompted bloody destruction, as Spanish military-adventurers and various Nahua, Purépecha, and Otomí soldiers embarked on a series of expeditions against the decentralized agricultural communities situated in the near North who opposed this expansion. These cultivators and hunter-gatherers, known as Chichimecs, fought back, and these conflicts became known as the Chichimec Wars. The Spanish enslaved thousands of indigenous people, killed many, and spread disease to these communities, severely depleting northern populations. Chichimec resistance against these campaigns, and missionization attempts dragged on for decades.[19]

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[18] For the foundation of Compostela as the seat of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, and its later removal to Guadalajara, see Altman, *The War For Mexico's West*, 55, 60-64, 125, 150-151.

For the discovery of mines near Zacatecas, and in Guachinango and Senticpac, see Peter Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 4-21; and Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993 [1982]), 89, 126.

[19] For the early phases of the war in the north see Altman, *The War For Mexico's West*, *passim*; and Jesús Gómez Serrano, *La guerra chichimeca, la fundación de Aguascalientes y el exterminio de la población aborigen (1548-1620): Un ensayo de reinterpretación* (Zapopán: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2001), 9-33.

For the latter stages of the Chichimec War, see Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), and Stafford Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571-1591,* Second Edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2011 [1987]), 209-218.

For the northward movement and campaigns fought by Otomí, Purépecha, and Nahuatl-speaking warriors from central Mexico, see Tutino, *Making A New World*, 72-81; Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, *Los tarascos y el imperio español, 1600-1740* (México, D. F.: UNAM, 2004), 46-47; Ida Altman, "Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration: Indian Allies and the Campaigns in Nueva Galicia," in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, eds. Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 145-

In the 1550s, civil and religious authorities began to concentrate dispersed agrarian populations of the indigenous people of Colima into congregaciones. Known as *reducciónes*, clerics, civil officials and soldiers in this process grouped individuals into spaces more easily surveyed by town officials and religious missionaries. The inhabitants of these municipalities came from varying communities, were of different ethnicities, and spoken different languages. Nahuatl became the lingua franca of these communities. Indigenous people residing in these colonial creations later intermarried with chinos and formed other collateral ties. One reducción was imposed on Colima in 1592 and another in 1606. In addition to promoting civility, the congregaciones allowed easier collection of tribute and a more central location for apportioning forced labor drafts called repartimientos. Franciscans, as one of the most prominent missionary orders in western Mexico, contributed to reducción. They moved westward from Michoacán to set up a convent in Almoloya, a town just west of Colima. Missionaries in this convent town, often called San Francisco in colonial documents, ministered to a group of pueblos in western Colima which came to be known as the Cuartel de los Naguales. Curates from the rest of the parishes in the province of Colima and the adjacent province of Motines did not come from missionary orders and were known as seculars.[20]

165; and Altman, *The War for Mexico's West,* 24-32, 39, 44-45, 53-54, 166-170.

[20] For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reducciónes in Colima, see Ernesto Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones, Relación sumaria* (Colima: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2006), 165, 167, 169; and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán,* 75-86.

For an analysis of the process of reducción in the Yucatán, see William F. Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 32-40, 48-50, 54-84.

For informal implementation of the repartimiento in Colima, see Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones,* 159, 173. For later implementation, see, Reyes Garza, *El pie del volcán*, 113-117, 122-123.

For San Francisco de Almoloyan and its visitas, within the Cuartel de los Nahuales, see Reyes Garza, *El pie del volcán*, 85-86, 130, 134-135, 138-139, 141; and Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros*, 63-79.

For the secular dominance of much of Colima and Motines, see Reyes Garza, 139-140, Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros*, 98-106; and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 49-52.

After the conquest of Colima, colonial officials helped create forms of indigenous governance known as pueblos de indios necessary for colonial governance and staffed with indigenous office-holders. The indigenous councils that administered these pueblos were known as *cabildos*. Gobernadores oversaw the operation of the council. Immediately after the conquest, gobernadors were drawn from the previous noble head of the community (*tlatoani*, in the singular, and *tlatoque* in the plural), but over time, this office became an elective post increasingly influenced by local powerful Spanish entrepreneurs. Curates and missionaries placed cabildos in charge of the local hospital; mayordomos handled town finances. Alguaciles and alcaldes administered justice at the most local levels. Alcaldes collected tribute, and administered smaller municipalities like Tecomán which had lost too much population to repartimientos, emigration, and epidemics to qualify to elect gobernadores. Council members called regidores staffed the cabildos, but these officers were not as prominent as alguaciles and tlatoque in petitions to the General Indian Court, one of the best sources for studying indigenous governance during the colonial period. Finally, early on, some women exercised leadership roles as "great mistresses" (*tectle cihuatl*), a role that might have found a parallel in the leadership shown by Nahua women in colonial central Mexico.[21]

[21] Mesoamerican merchants also thronged the villages of sixteenth-century Colima, though it is unclear whether they enjoyed positions of prestige, as was the case in central Mexico. Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones,* 167.

For the tlatoque as heads of the cabildo, and other officers in the pueblos, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, fs. 109f, 110bis, 112v, 113v, 118f (1603); Reyes Garza, *El pie del volcán*, 129-131, 132, 134; Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones*, 157, 167; and AHMC, sección A, c. 3 exp. 12, fs. 2f, 3v, 4v-5f, *Diligencias acerca de la muerte de Pedro Simón, natural del pueblo de Xicotlán,* (Boxes 1-11) (1562), in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, C.s 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009); and AHEC, Registro 267, Jerónimo Dávalos Vergara, Fondo Colonial (FC), PEP, caja 7, carpeta 5, ff. 67-67v (1604).

For the influence of Spanish élites on elections, and abuses by indigenous officials of indigenous peasants (*macehuales*) see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 130-131; and Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones*, 161-165

For women's leadership in Colima, see Reyes Garza, *El pie del volcán*, 134-135. For colonial central Mexican parallels, see Jonathan Truitt, "Courting Catholicism: Nahua Women and the Catholic Church in Colonial Mexico City," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (2010): 435-438.

The study of the ethnohistory of indigenous people in Colima, and Motines, pioneered by Juan Sevilla del Rio, Juan Carlos Garza, and José Romero de Solís, is stillis still in development, with local archives in Colima still

Catholic missionaries also established hierarchical arrangements. Head towns called cabeceras housed the parochial church with subordinate municipalities called *visitas* or at times, *barrios*. The population of the visitas and barrios often found it necessary to visit the town to see the parish priest or friar for important life events such as baptisms, weddings, or burials. The reducción allowed friars and curates to keep track of Mass attendance and other activities necessary to indoctrinate local indigenous people. As in the Philippines, clerics had claims on indigenous labor. These curates sponsored religious brotherhoods and sodalities in cabeceras such as San Salvador Chiamila and San José which paid for feasts for patron saints, local hospitals and Masses and prayers for their deceased members. For example, in 1647, Cristóbal Fernández de Tene, the curate of the cabecera of San Salvador de Chiamila, near Ixtlahuacán (See Figure 4.4) performed dozens of baptisms, several marriages, presided over several feasts for the patron saint of Chiamila and its *visitas*, and oversaw the finances of the local cofradía dedicated to San Nicolás. San José Tecolopa (See Figure 10) served as the headquarters of another cofradía, which included chino members. Indigenous assistants known as *cantores*, *priostes*, *sacristane*s and *tamistianes* helped clergy with administration of the churches, staffing choirs, Masses, baptisms, and weddings, as well as assisting with the indoctrination of the local towns.[22]

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largely unexplored. For example, the Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima contains dozens of documents written in Nahuatl which either remain untranslated and uninterpreted, or which exist in poorly-circulated editions. As such, interpretations produced for other areas, most notably southern and central Mexico, still are lacking for Colima. Comparisons between the regions are thus difficult to make. Related fields of inquiry, such as indigenous and Afro-Mexican relations, are similarly underdeveloped.

[22] For the cabecera and visita relationship, ofradías, and the duties of parish priests, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, f. 107v (1603); FHLGSU, MF #0764165, item 1, nonfoliated (February 13, 1648); AGI, *Contratación*, 520, N.2, R.14, f. 74r (1622); AGN, Inquisición, v. 601, exp. 5, f. 395r (1664); AGI, Contratación, 520, N.2, R.14, f. 75r (1621); and AHMC, sección B, c. 30, exp. 23, f. 7f (1652).

For priostes and hospitals in Colima and Motines, see FHLGSU#0779064, item 1, exp. 82, fs. 1-3r (1659).; and Ramón López Lara, ed. *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII, Informe inédito de beneficios, pueblos y lenguas* (Morelia, México: Fimax Publicistas, 1973),, 109, 113-114, 117, 118-119.

By the late sixteenth century Spanish and indigenous entrepreneurs across the Bajío and western Mexico found more stable conditions, allowing them develop a transportation industry, which supplied goods from urban centers and the Atlantic to the mining centers and western Mexico. These new production areas demanded Colima products such as salt and cacao, and also helped supply products demanded by consumers in Colima, complementing goods already supplied by central Mexico. Spanish miners and administrators first used the backs of indigenous porters (*tamemes*). Soon afterward, they turned to horses, mules, carts and wagons to deliver their goods. Spanish and indigenous people started stock farms to raise the steers, mules, and horses necessary to supply leather, meat, traction power, and transportation to the new mines. Purépecha were especially active as ambulatory vendors and itinerant laborers in these new communities. They exchanged commodities between the new settlements of the North, central Mexico, the Tarascan heartland of central Michoacán, and the lowlands of Pacific Coast and river basins of western Mexico. Otomí and Nahuatl men and families founded towns and worked as miners and farmers for the new Bajío cities of Querétaro, San Miguel, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí (See Figure 10).[23]

Simultaneously, a rising Spanish and African population led central Mexico to demand more non-tribute goods, spurring investment in cultivation of crops such as wheat, but also

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[23] For transportation, farms, and stock-raising ventures formed by Otomí and Spaniards in the sixteenth-century north and Bajío, see Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*, 4-5, 24-26; and *Making a New World,* 75, 83, 99-101, 123, 140-141.

For Purépecha peddlars, merchants and colonists in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century northern and western Mexico, see Gómez Serrano, *La guerra chichimeca*, 24-25; and Carlos Paredes Martínez, "El mercado de Pátzcuaro y los mercaderes tarascos en los inicios de la época colonial," in *Historia y sociedad. Ensayos del Seminario de Historia Colonial de Michoacán*, ed. Carlos Paredes Martínez (México, D. F. : Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas de la Universidad Michoacan-CIESAS, 1997), 149, 155, 157-159, 161-163, 164-170; and Castro Gutiérrez, *Los tarascos y el imperio español*, 46-50; and Tutino, *Making a New World,* 125, 135.

For Nahuatl-speaking migrants in the north, see Tutino, *Making a New World,* 125, 135; Velasco Murillo, "Urban Indians in a Silver City," 69-71, 74, and *passim*; and Eugene B. Sego, *Aliados y adversarios: Los colonos tlaxcaltecas en la frontera septentrional de Nueva España* (San Luis Potosí, México: El Colegio de San Luis de Potosí, 1998), *passim*.

extension and intensification of Mesoamerican cultivars such as cacao. In the last half of the sixteenth century, in response to reports about the abuses of the encomienda, the king passed a new set of laws, replacing it in part with the repartimiento system. The growing economy made great use of silver supplied by the northern miners, stimulating demand for goods like cloth, produced in New Spain (*ropa de la tierra*), Asia (*ropa de China*), and Europe (*ropa de Castilla*), the latter imported via the port of Veracruz (See Figures 8 and 14).[24]

Colima played a role in this expansion, as well, supplying salt and tropical products. The patio silver-refining process, employed by miners in Zacatecas and elsewhere in New Spain, required salt in prodigious volumes. The salt pans along the southeastern coast of Colima helped supply it and production intensified there.[25]

Central Mexican and northern populations also consumed more cacao than produced in older centers of cultivation, such as Soconusco. Unlike other Pacific coast municipalities such as Petatlán (See Figures 9 and 10), cacao was a negligible tribute crop in Colima and its environs in the first years after the conquest. Colima vecinos quickly realized the potential of their province for cacao cultivation, but epidemics and slaving reduced the availability of local labor. Vecinos soon invested in planting and labor recruitment. In 1551, the royal investigator (*visitador*) Lebrón de Quiñones commented that Spaniards had ordered laborers to plant almost four hundred thousand trees in the province. The selection of Colima for the establishment of a new cacao industry was a wise decision, as its extensive river systems, and torrid climate were ideal

[24]For the supply of provisions by Michoacán for Zacatecas, see Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 64, 74. For the passage of these laws, which included the New Laws, the institution of the repartimiento, the ending of the "personal service" (*servicios personales*) privilege provided by indigenous people to their encomendero, see Ruiz Medrano, *Reshaping New Spain*, 218-219; Proctor, *"Damned Notions* of *Liberty*:", 14-15*;* Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras*, 218-229; and Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish* Rule, 224-247.

[25]For the utility of Colima salt for the Zacatecas mines, and the consumption of salt elsewhere in western Mexico, see Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Sal, El Oro Blanco de Colima, La industria salinera colimense durante el virreinato* (Colima: El Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2004), 90-93, 144-145.

for the crop. Spanish settlers found it relatively easy to acquire good cacao land of good land due to the human devastation and population decreases occasioned by virgin-soil epidemics.[26]

Demographers and geographers of the early colonial period indicate that the indigenous populations in the provinces of Colima and Motines declined from one hundred and forty-thousand individuals in 1523 to less than three thousand in 1631. Surviving indigenous people faced steadily increasing tribute assessments and demands for services. Tribute assessments were based on population, and epidemics ensured that population declines outpaced the counting of tributaries, even if tribute counts were conducted in a timely manner. Epidemics provided the prime cause, but other forms of exploitation took their toll, as well. Soldiers engaged on slaving campaigns, depopulating richly-populated areas like the Valle de Banderas (modern-day Puerto Vallarta). Spanish soldiers, administrators and entrepreneurs put these slaves to work in the mines. They also sold indigenous slaves to other entrepreneurs outside of the province, as in 1545, when Ginés Pinzón sold Francisco, and Juan, indigenous slaves born in Colima, for fifty-seven pesos each. Meanwhile, Spaniards introduced new diseases to the lowlands which would prove endemic; other epidemics spread from central Mexico, like the infamous cocoztli outbreak in the middle of the sixteenth century.[27]

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[26] For tribute income, and the shifts in supply of cacao in New Spain, see Eugenio Piñero, *The Town of San Felipe and Colonial Cacao Economies* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994), 15-25; and Réné Frances Millon, “When Money Grew on Trees: A Study of Cacao in Ancient America” (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1955), *passim*.

For cacao planting in Petatlán, Colima, and Motines, see Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros*, 192-206; Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Henceforth, BNE), MS. 2800, *Libro de visitas de los de la Nueva España, 1548,* fs. 64r-66r, 183v-188r, 238r-242r (1548), http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000051228&page=1 (Accessed 3/10/2012; and *El Libro de las Tasaciones de Pueblos de la Nueva España, Siglo XVI* (México, D. F.: Archivo General de la Nación, 1952), 288-299; See Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán,* 99-108, for figures from the entire *Suma*.

[27] For population loss in Colima and Motines, as well as western Mexico, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán,* 61-72, especially 66, -72; Baltasar de Covarrubias, “Relación de la Diócesis de Michoacán hecha por el Obispo Fray Baltasar de Covarrubias en Valladolid en 1619,” in *Valladolid-Morelia 450 Años: Documentos para Su Historia (1537-1828)*, ed. Ernesto Lemoine (Morelia: México: Editorial Morevallado, 1993), 149-186.

Spanish local administrators, encomenderos, and clergy also shaped labor recruitment in Colima and Motine. They worked to find ways to add to their diminishing supply, a motive which would later induce local Spanish cacao growers (cacaoteros) to employ chinos. Their illicit and legal patterns of recruitment included forcing encomienda laborers to work as part of their tributary obligations (*servicios personales*), wage labor, repartimiento, and inducement through advances of credit. Spaniards rapidly converted their administrative prerogatives into leverage over local labor and resources in order to develop a cacao industry. The rapidly-shrinking population put pressure on the encomienda and cacaoteros to obtain more labor. The concentrated their efforts in the best-watered areas of Colima and Motines, especially the southern river valleys of Alima, Caxitlán, and Maquilí. The visitador named Lorenzo Lebrón de Quiñones, nominated by the viceroy from Nueva Galicia, noted the effects of this early cacao boom on the indigenous inhabitants of Colima. Cacaoteros planted their groves near the river banks, and in the process impeded indigenous access to the most productive lands. Cacaoteros like Francisco de Preciado first forcibly recruited indigenous people for no pay. Lebrón de Quiñones first implanted a kind of repartimiento system, which attempted to moderate abuses by only requisitioning fixed numbers, in this case, ten per one hundred, of paid indigenous laborers to plant nurseries and cut canals and irrigation ditches (*acequias*). As in the Philippines, pueblos de indios responded to unusually exploitative labor demands by issuing complaints and

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), 173-174; López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 116-117; Rosa H. Yañez Rosales, *El rostro, palabra, y memoria indígenas: El Occidente de México, 1524-1816* (México, D. F.: CIESAS, 2001), 121; and Castro Gutiérrez, *Los tarascos y el imperio español,* 51-52, 55.

For slaving, and the use of western Mexican slaves in mines and the wars in Nueva Galicia, see Altman, *The War for Mexico's West*, 96-98, 165; Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 66-69; and Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros en Colima*, 177-190.

For the sale of Francisco and Juan, see José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores: Nueva España y Nueva Galicia, siglo XVI* (México, D. F: Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 405.

requesting more frequent recounts of their population for the sake of more realistic and less onerous tribute assessments.[28]

As in the rest of New Spain, Spanish hacendados and entrepreneurs purchased African slaves and employed the rapidly-growing free Afro-Mexican population in western Mexico as a way of solving at least part of their labor shortage. African slaves composed part of the work force on the haciendas and in the houses of Colima Spaniards. A 1592 census of indios naboríos recorded several marriages between indigenous women and enslaved African men. The 1622 inventories recorded the ownership just by Colima office-holders of ninety slaves. Other free Afro-Mexicans, already active in the transportation and livestock-raising industries, entered the cacao and vino de cocos industries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, appearing throughout the municipal documents composed during this era. Their populations steadily increased, until they were almost half of the province's population by the end of the eighteenth century.[29]

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[28] For the population declines in Colima and Motines, and requests for census recounts, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 61-72; Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History :* Mexico and California, *Volume 3*, 90, 173-174; and AHMC, sección C, c. 21, exp. 14, fs. 1r-9f (1642).

For the use of servicios personales, repartimiento, and the consequences of landlessness due to land acquisition, and construction of cacaotales and acequias, see Terríquez, *Lebrón de Quiñones,* 159, 161; Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 113-117, 122-123; and AHMC, sección A, c.3 exp. 12, fs. 2f, 3v, 4v-5f, *Diligencias acerca de la muerte de Pedro Simón, natural del pueblo de Xicotlán,* (Boxes 1-11) (1562), in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, cajas 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009). See Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *The Leverage of Labor: Managing the Cortéz haciendas in Tehuantepec, 1588-1688* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989).

[29] For African slaves and free Afro-Mexicans in Colima, see Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, "Negros y afromestizos en Colima, siglos XVI-XIX," in *Presencia Africana en México*, ed. Luz María Martínez Montiel (México, D. F.: CONACULTA, 1994), 259-335, especially 282, 302, 325, and 328; UASC, MS 089, fs. 3v-4r, 5v, 6v (1592); Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Por mandato de su Magestad: Inventarios de Bienes de Autoridades de Colima, 1622* (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2000), fs. 8, 15, 21, 24, 36, 40,47, 55, 62, 70, 76, 82, 77, 92, 96, 104, 110, 114, 119, 126, 131, 145, 150, 156, 173; AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, fs. 44v, 77v, 92v, 106v (1601-1603); AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 8, f. 98v (1625); AHMC, sección B, c. 12, exp. 13, fs. 1f, 2f (1635); AHMC, sección B, c. 14, exp. 18, f. 3f (1638); AHMC, sección B, c. 16, exp. 9, f. 1v (1639); AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 34, f. 12r (1670).

Spanish administrators employed Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people to produce cacao which they supplied not only to western Mexico, but to new colonial markets in northern and central Mexico. This required the use of older pre-Hispanic commercial route and the creation of new paths and roads. For example, one of the most important trade routes between the large populations of the former Purépecha-dominated empire and the mines ran south and west of Lake Chapala (See Figure 10). This mule route, which ran through the towns of the alcaldía mayor of Zapotlán, Tuxpan, and Tamazula, connected Colima with central New Galicia, Michoacán and the city of Mexico. Another route ran from Colima through Ávalos and its capital of Sayula to Guadalajara, and northward to Zacatecas (See Figures 8 and 10). In 1581, Luis Maldonado, a vecino of Zacatecas, died in Colima after sending his brother Tomás there with orders to sell goods for cacao that he would later bring to the mines. Luis had asked Tomás to travel through Guadalajara during his journey. Another route connected Ávalos with the northwestern pueblos of Michoacán: Xiquilpa, Jacona, and Zamora (See Figure 10). From there, arrieros rode eastward to central Michoacán and the city of Mexico.[30]

Cities in western Mexico emerged to serve as sites of redistribution from rich agrarian hinterlands. For example, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the viceroy of New Spain refounded the indigenous town of Guayangareo, Michoacán, as the Spanish city of Valladolid. He did so in part to move the center of the diocese of Michoacán to Valladolid away from the lacustrine Purépecha center in Pátzcuaro, and the ecclesiastical communities founded by the bishop Vasco de Quiroga (See Figure 10). Civil authorities strengthened this transfer in the late sixteenth century providing indigenous repartimiento labor to the city, closely tying the diocese

[30] For the pre-Hispanic-era roads between Colima, Guadalajara, Michoacán, and Mexico, see Claudia Espejel Carbajal, *Caminos de Michoacán…y pueblos que voy pasando* (México, D. F.: INAH, 1992), 36; Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 38. For Luis Maldonado, and Salto, see Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 4, 291-292.

more tightly to the quickly growing towns of the Bajío such as Guanajuato, Querétaro, and León. As John Super, John Tutino, and others have documented, the Bajío soon emerged as a center of production and redistribution in its own right, producing silver, wheat, maize, and cloth, goods which made their way to the western rim of New Spain. In turn, these towns and cities would serve as markets for the salt, cacao, and later coconut products produced in Colima and surrounding alcaldias mayores.[31]

The merchants and muleteers of Colima brought their cacao to Guadalajara for trans-shipment. These centers of indigenous consumption helped broaden the demand for Colima cacao, especially the city of México (See Figures 8 and 10) and the episcopal center of Valladolid. In 1571, a merchant in the city of Mexico took delivery of sixteen cargas, or about eight hundred pounds, of cacao from Colima. In 1598, Tomás Pérez freighted forty tercios, or about three tons, of cacao on his mules for delivery from Hernando de Alvarado, in Colima, for the merchant Diego Martínez de Sande, resident in the city of Mexico. Meanwhile, Spanish entrepreneurs in Colima invested in local religious institutions, donating to the local Franciscan convent, a Mercedarian convent, and religious institutions in nearby central Michoacán.[32]

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[31] For the growth of Guadalajara, see Thomas Calvo, "Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: Aspectos demográfricos," en *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Guadalajara; El Colegio de Jalisco, 1989), 20-21; and Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara region, 1675-1820* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 18-19, 22-27.

For cultural, commercial, and political links between the Bajío and Valladolid, see Carmen Alicia Dávila Munguía, *Una ciudad conventual: Valladolid de Michoacán en el siglo XVII* (Morelia, México: H. Ayuntamiento de Morelia, 2010), 51; López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 31-33. Alberto Carrillo Cázares argues that by the end of the seventeenth century the Bajio, particularly the cities of San Luis Potosí and Guanajuato, drew migrants from central Michoacán, growing at the expense of that region. See Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII* (Zamora, México: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1993) 53, 103, 110, 116.

For the continuing importance of Pátzcuaro as a link between the Pacific lowlands, and central Mexico, see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán,* 163; and Carlos Paredes Martínez, "El mercado de Pátzcuaro y los mercaderes tarascos en los inicios de la época colonial," in *Historia y sociedad. Ensayos del Seminario de Historia Colonial de Michoacán*, ed. Carlos Paredes Martínez (México, D. F.: Instituto de Investiagaciones Historicas de la Universidad Michoacan-CIESAS, 1997), 161, 167-170.

For the sale of Colima goods in the Bajío, see Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima*, 61; and AHMC, sección B, c. 24, exp. 21, f. 3v (1641).

[32] For Mexico-Colima traffic, see José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores,* 35, 98.

Cacaoteros obtained the considerable labor necessary for cacao cultivation through a a variety of methods. To work their groves, encomenderos and owners of cacao groves began by appropriating indigenous labor through servicios personales. Though cacao can grow in direct sunlight, it descends from a plant acclimated to the under story of tropical rain forests. As such, cacaoteros directed their workers to plant cacao, two at a time, under shade-providing trees known as "madres." Cacao is a humidity-seeking plant, so Spanish and indigenous entrepreneurs first appropriated the most well-watered locales for cacao cultivation. The cacaoteros of Colima created a floating pool of laborers, who the visitador Lebrón de Quiñones labeled *indios vagabundos*.[33]

After the failure of the encomienda system as source of labor, cacaoteros moved to the repartimiento system. Under the ideal parameters of this system, the Crown required cacaoteros to recruit indigenous laborers through civil officers known as jueces repartidores. Under five percent of the tributary population was eligible to work a given repartimiento, and these lasted

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According to Murdo J. MacLeod, a carga of cacao weighed about fifty pounds, and a tercio, about one hundred and fifty pounds. See Murdo J. MacLeod, *Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 70.

For the collection of cacao tithes in Colima for the diocese of Michoacán, see AHMC, sección A, c. 9, exp. 23, *Martín Ruiz de Monjaraz demanda el pago de cierta cantidad de cacao*, fs. 1f-2v (1579), in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, C.s 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009); in the same volume, AHMC, sección A, c. 8, exp. 19, f. 30f, *Cuentas que da Alonso Miguel, albacea de Juan Domínguez y tutor de los hijos del difunto,* (1579); and FHLGSU, MF# 775536, Antiguo Obispado de Michoacán, Diezmos, 1636-1756, item 1, f. 5v (1637).

For Colima vecinos and their investments in chaplaincies, see AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Sección Justicia, Serie Testamentos Capellanias y Obras Pias, Capellanias, 92, c. 99, exp. 34 , fs. 2r-2v (1600); and AHMC, seccion B, c. 7, exp. 20, fs. 3r, 4r (1627); and AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Sección Justicia, Serie Testamentos Capellanias y Obras Pias, Capellanias, 92, c. 106, exp. 103, f. 1r (1638).

[33] For the tropical forest understory roots of cacao, see Cameron L. McNeil, "Introduction," in *Chocolate in Mesoamerica; A Cultural History of Cacao*, ed. Cameron L. McNeil (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006), 4-6; and N. Ogata, A. Gómez-Pompa, and K. A. Taube, "The Domestication and Distribution od *Theobroma cacao* L. in the Neotropics," in the same volume, 69-70. For the purchase of indigenous lands for cacao production by Spaniards, and conflicts over water access, see Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros en Colima,* 207-217. For the use of encomienda labor in cacao cultivation in Colima and Motines, see Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 33, 83-93; and Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros,,* 196-201.

For indios vagabundos, and repartimiento labor, see Terríquez Sámano, *Lebrón de Quiñones, Relación sumaria*, 159; Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 116-117, 120; and *"Y por mi visto...:"Mandamientos, ordenanzas, licencias y otras disposiciones virreinales del siglo XVI*, eds. Carlos Paredes Martínez, Víctor Cárdenas Morales, Iraís Piñon Flores y Trinidad Pulido Solís (México, D. F: CIESAS, 1994), 314-315.

for several weeks at a time. Finally, the Crown stipulated that cacaoteros needed to compensate repartimiento workers with a fair wage.[34]

In its ideal form, the repartimiento represented an improvement over the encomienda for cacao workers (*cacahuateros*) working the cacaotales due to the limits that the Crown set on control by cacaoteros over labor. In practice, cacaoteros exploited the repartimiento system. Cacaoteros often served as jueces de repartimiento, and thus took full advantage of their access to labor. For example in 1579, Álvaro de Grijalva served as the official in charge of allocating repartimiento labor in Colima (*juez repartidor*). He took advantage of his position, forcing the indigenous people of the visita of Alcusahui to work the salt pans (*salinas*) he owned on the Pacific Coast.[35]

These recruitment methods failed in the face of population declines and increased demand for tropical commodities. In response, Spanish cacaoteros drew on innovations in labor recruitment and retention created by entrepreneurs in the Bajío and central Mexico. They also drew on colonial forms of pre-Hispanic labor recruitment patterns, in the Philippines, especially saguiguilid and namamahay debt bondage. Entrepreneurs advanced goods and money to indigenous inhabitants to purchase new products circulating in the viceroyalty, which we can conceive of as either providing credit or indebting laborers. For example, in 1581, Julián de Frías filed suit against Álvaro de Herrera, for usurping the services of an indebted indigenous resident of San Francisco, Alonso Gutiérrez Patla. Patla owed Frías nine pesos. Herrera claimed that Patla had paid off his debt. Frías disagreed. He argued that Patla simply transferred his

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[34] For the transplantation of cacao, and the use of madre plants, see Gerardo Sánchez Díaz, "Plantaciones de Cacao en el Obispado de Michoacan, Siglo XVI," in *Agricultura y Agronomia en Mexico 500 Años*, eds. Juan de la Fuente Rafael Ortega and Miguel Sámano (México, D. F.: Universidad Autonoma Chapingo, 1993), 245-246. For the initiation of cacao cultivation in Motines, see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 33, 84-85, 93-98.

[35] For the case of Álvaro de Grijalva, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 116. For a 1590 case in which the indigenous inhabitants of Sinacamitlán, Chiamila, and Alimanzi complained about being circed to work in the cacao haciendas near Xocotlán, see *"Y por mi visto..,"* 314-315.

service without notifying his creditor, a crime under local statutes. Another servant, a Purépecha merchant named Miguel Francisco from Pátzcuaro (See Figure 10), accrued forty pesos after failing to sell cacao and goods with this value. In 1580, his debt was purchased by a Spanish administrator in Motines, who made Francisco work for him, assigning various administrative tasks in the pueblo of Tlacitla, in southern Motines. On March 18, 1598, an indigenous couple, María Salomé, and Juan Bautista, signed a domestic service contract with a Colima vecino, Pedro de Trejo. Trejo had advanced twenty-nine pesos, and seven reales worth of cacao, cloth and cash to the couple. In return, Salomé and Bautista agreed to work in the homes of Trejo. Salomé earned one peso monthly, while her husband was paid two pesos.[36]

By 1590, a large population of indigenous people had fled from local pueblos, and attached themselves to hacendados and Spanish households as dependent laborers known as indios naboríos, probably as attached to Spanish owners as the previous indios vagabundos observed by Lebrón de Quiñones.This increased cacao cultivation, and epidemics placed immense pressure on the populations of the pueblos who were increasingly susceptible to both increased tribute demands and substantial repartimiento obligations. These influences probably induced indigenous people to flee. The proliferation of cacao haciendas and houses of vecinos opened up areas to which indigenous people could flee.

In 1592, the alcalde mayor of Colima, Antonio de Villalobos, responding to a royal decree issued by don Luis de Velasco, took a census of the naboríos resident in Spanish households in the Villa de Colima and those working on cacao haciendas in the Caxitlán valley.

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[36] For the cases of Alonso Gutiérrez Patla, Miguel Francisco, María Salomé and Juan Bautista, see AHMC, sección A, c. 11, exp.1, fs. 1f-11f, *Julián de Frías contra Álvaro de Herrera, por haber sonsacado a su criado indio, Alonso Gutiérrez Patla* (1581), in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, C.s 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009); and AHMC, sección A, c. 1, exp. 19, *Juan Fernández de Ocampo, alcalde mayor de los Motines, contra el tarasco Miguel Francisco, por ciertos pesos de oro*, fs. 1f-6f (1581), in the same volume; and Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 555.

This group had been displaced from indigenous communities, and became dependent on Spanish patrons, a predicament later experienced by chinos. The alcalde mayor pointed out that the number of naborío tributaries, at three hundred and thirty-seven individuals, outnumbered the largest indigenous pueblos in the province of Colima. This number only counted tributaries, that is, adult men and women under the age of sixty and over the age of twenty-two or twenty-five. Each vecino and hacendado employed between four and six indigenous people, both single people (*solteros*) and married couples (*casados*). Villalobos counted at least eighty-nine married couples and one-hundred and three single people of marriageable age. These numbers suggests that this group was capable of and indeed in the process of reproducing itself, producing a group of indigenous laborers with few formal ties with their home villages. The alcalde mayor omitted pueblos of origin, for the most part, though the count did mention Pedro Sayulteca, presumably a native of the congregación of Sayula. Another indigenous man hailed from Zapotlán (See Figure 10). At least three naborios were Purepécha men from Michoacán (*indio tarasco*). These included a man named Juan and two named Pedro. At least three of the indigenous naborias married enslaved Africans, a strategy which allowed their children to be born free. Peddlers, and royal officials alike grew rich on cacao, but they also were interested in Colima for its strategic value as a connection to the North, to the Pacific Ocean and to Asia. This value centered by and large, on the maritime connections of Colima with the rest of the world. Taking opportunity of Colima required the use of people skilled in navigation and ambitious to forge transpacific connections. It is to these individuals and their history that we shall now turn.[37]

[37] The above entries come from University of Arizona, Special Collections, (henceforth UASC), *MS 089, Matrícula de Indios y Indias, Villa de Colima*, fs. 1r-13r (1592).

Maritime Colima[38]

Colima vecinos and imperial administrators maintained their interest in the South Seas. If anything, the bloody conquest by Nahuas, Purépecha and Spaniards of western Mexico in the 1520s, 1530s, and 1540s and the increasing productivity of the colony of New Spain spurred even greater interest in finding a path to Asia. This obsession ensured and eventual success in linking to Asian commercial routes enabled the immigration of chinos. In 1527, following first the conquest of Melaka, and later, the voyage of Magellan, Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón set sail from the province of Zacatula in search of the Spice Islands. Colonial administrators sent three expeditions from Navidad and Salagua to exploration of Northwest in the 1530s. Viceroy Mendoza set sail for Peru in 1550 from Salagua, reversing the route taken in 1550 by the Central American conquistador Pedro Alvarado from Guatemala to Jalisco.[39]

In 1542, Ruy López de Villalobos departed the port of Navidad, in the Province of Ávalos and Autlán, a province that neighbored Colima. This expedition brought indigenous slaves from Mexico with them, a reminder that the Spanish Pacific Rim was constructed by coerced and free laborers from both sides of the ocean. In 1564, port workers and drafted indigenous people in the port of Salagua, in the province of Colima, readied several ships. The king put them under the command of Miguel de Legazpí, a Basque who had served the viceroyalty of New Spain. Andrés de Urdaneta, an Augustinian monk who had traveled on an earlier sally from New Spain, helped Legazpí forge the first solid Spanish foothold in the Pacific,

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[38] This section title draws on the insights of José Romero de Solís, who superbly analyzes the maritime influences on the development of colonial Colima. See José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Colima marinera en el siglo XVI.* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 1994); and Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, *passim*.

[39] For the voyages of Álvaro de Saavedra and other explorers through 1555, see W. Michael Mathes, *Sebastián Viscaíno y la Expansión Española en el Oceáno Pacífico, 1580-1603* (México, D. F: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM, 1973), 12-16; Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones*, 87-106, 116-130; Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 11, 89, 134-135, 181-182, 326; and Altman, *The War for Mexico's West*, 113, 147-150.

and set the stage for the Manila galleon route, the first sustained set of exchanges between the Americas and Asia in the modern era.[40]

Manila galleons continued their transpacific voyages through 1815. Their early decades left a profound mark on western Mexican history, bringing hundreds of chinos to labor there. The ships began their voyages in Cavite or in any of a variety of subsidiary ports which served as alternative launching sites. Ship captains, pilots, and sailors threaded their way through the Visayan islands eastward, until they broke out of the mouth of the San Bernardino Strait, and then took the Kuroshio current to the southward currents in the western North Pacific (See Figures 1 and 6). After sighting land near California, captains sailed their vessels to the southeast, encountering Baja California, and the northwestern edge of New Spain, usually on coastline of New Galicia, where sentinels in Sinaloa, Nayarit, and Jalisco sighted the gallons, sending couriers to the city of Mexico with the news. Galleons anchored off the western Mexican ports of Navidad or Salagua, where commanders sent the first mail (*despachos*) intended for correspondents in New Spain. Here, a number of ships' boats offloaded sick passengers, brought on provisions, and probably landed small quantities of contraband for the increasingly lucrative market of New Galicia. Déborah Oropeza and Paulina Machuca persuasively argue that these landings probably included some of the chino sailors who would later work in Colima.[41]

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[40] For the use of indigenous slaves from Mexico on his voyage to the Philippines, see AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 10, f. 3r (1543). For the voyage of Legazpí and Urdaneta, see Mathes, *Sebastián Viscaíno y la Expansión Española*, 17-18; Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores,* 197; Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 124, 129-135; and Acuña, *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI: Nueva Galicia, volume 10*, 31.

On the longevity of the galleon route, see María Fernanda García de los Arcos, *Forzados y reclutas: los criollos novohispanos en Asia (1756-1808)* (México, D. F.: Potrerillos Editores, 1996); and Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785* (México, D. F.: INAH, 1984).

[41] For contraband traffic and sentinels in the ports of western Mexico, see Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "Los '*indios chinos*' en la Nueva España. La inmigración asiática de la nao de china, 1565-1700," Paper presented at

One of the important transpacific voyagae for the history of chino labor in western Mexico was that of Alvaro de Mendaña, an ill-fated voyage sent in 1567 from Peru to locate the fabled mines of King Solomon, rumored to lay in the South Pacific. The captain and many others died on the voyage, but his expedition, then under the command of his widow Isabel Barreto, reached the South Pacific. Gaspar Sánchez Díaz documented that the expedition brought coconuts with them on their return to New Spain. They landed in the port of Salagua, and planted coconuts in Colima. Spanish and others brought coconut up the river valleys of the Pacific to the rest of western Mexico. Others later planted the trees further down the coast, and the Crown ordered the planting of coconuts near Acapulco.[42]

Manila galleons and several efforts at Pacific discovery and reconnaissance left several avenues for direct landings of Filipinos in western Mexico. In 1580, a mariner named Manuel Pérez landed in Salagua (See Figures 9 and 10) with six of his companions from the Manila galleon. Pérez was ill and died in Colima, leaving Asian cloth in his post-mortem inventory. The *Relación Geográfica* of Maquilí, written in 1579, established that the Manila Galleon route held an important place in the society of the province of Motines, as well. The Spanish administrators responsible for responding to the questionnaire, issued by the Habsburgs to their American dominions, wrote that the galleons provisioned off the coast of Motines. This might

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Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo." January 30, 2008; Deborah Oropeza Keresey, "La inmigración asiática en la ciudad de México, 1565-1700" July 21, 2009, *53 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, *Universidad Iberoamericana*; Thomas Calvo, *Por los caminos de Nueva Galicia: Transportes y Transportistas en el siglo xvii* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1997), 88-91; Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos: el caso de la villa de Colima en el siglo XVII," *Anuarios de Estudios Americanos* 66, no. 1 (2009): 176*;* and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 113; and *infra*. José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "The arrival of the Spanish galleons in Manila from the Pacific Ocean and their departure along the Kuroshio stream (16th amd 17th centuries)," *Journal of Geographical Research* 47 (2007): 17-38.

[42] For the introduction of coconuts from the South Pacific by Álvaro Mendaño, and the the spread of coconut cultivation to the Costa Grande, see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 101-105, 107; AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 3v (1580); and *infra,* Chapter 5.

be the reason that local inhabitants cultivated citrus trees there and across the coastal provinces of western Mexico.[43]

Western Mexico played a key role in provisioning and victualling the early exploration of California and other voyages; they connected Acapulco and Colima, providing yet another route for the entry of chinos into Colima and Motines. Francisco Galí sailed through the region in 1584. Pedro de Unamuno took over these exploratory voyages after the death of Gali. Chino sailors afterwards adopted the name of Galí. In 1587, the hulk of the *Santa Ana* arrived in the Bahia de Santiago (Salagua) after its capture by pirates. In the same year, Pedro de Unamuno sent chinos (*indios luçones*) to reconnoiter the California Coast, arming them with swords and shields to encounter indigenous people living there. In 1595, Sebastián Vizcaíno embarked from Acapulco northward, probably with several chinos, during his exploration of California, and the crew victualled in Navidad and Salagua. In 1595, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño landed in the port of Salagua, after the the Manila galleon that he piloted named *San Agustín* foundered off the coast of northern California. At least one of his passengers was a china slave named Catalina Sisite, though many chinos arrived in western Colima as free.[44]

Arrivals: The First Generation of Chinos

The connections between Colima and the Iberian Pacific continued into the seventeenth century, providing glimpses of chino activity in early seventeenth-century Colima. In 1603

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[43] For Manuel Pérez, and citrus in western Mexico see Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 30-31, 396-397; Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 154, 156, 165, 174; and AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 25, fs. 12f, 14f (1642).

[44] For the early California landings and the adoption of Galí as a namesake, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 32, fs. 6r-6v, 8r-9r,10v-11v, and *passim* (1587); W. Michael Mathes, *Sebastián Viscaíno y la Expansión Española*, 21-23, 26-30; and Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 208, 222.

For the case of Agustín Cermeño, see AGN, Civil, vol. 680, exp. 2 (1594), "Recaudos de Catalina Burneye;" and and Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, "From the Philippines to the California Coast in 1595: The Last Voyage of *San Agustín* Under Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño," trans. Joseph P. Sánchez. *Colonial Latin American History Review* 10:2 (2001): 223-226.

Sebastian Viscaíno returned to western Mexico, from another voyage to California. He brought several chino grumetes northward with him on his voyage, including Agustín, a carpenter from Dongalo (See Figure 4). In 1608, the lieutenant head constable, Hernán Gómez Machorro, sent Bartolomé de Sepúlveda to the city of Mexico to advise them of the news of the hoving to of another ship of trans-Pacific voyagers. In that year, one of the Manila galleons, probably the *Santa Ana*, anchored in the port of Salagua. On April 14, 1608, Pedro Gómez Machorro, a familiar for the Inquisition of Colima, denounced a chino named Pedro Sánchez for bigamy. He explained that many chinos were in the province and that the ports of Navidad (See Figures 9 and 10) and Salagua hosted several ships from Asia and Peru. The previous year, a Spanish administrator had observed both Manila galleons had sailed past Colima, probably the capitana *San Pedro y San Pablo*, and the other, the *Santiago*. In 1614, the ship carrying Sebastián Vizcaíno and his Japanese diplomatic mission sailing from Asia stopped in Colima, before its final destination of Acapulco. In 1624, Several Spaniards landed in the same port aboard the galleon, the *Santo Niño de Atocha*.[45]

Filipinos appeared to have entered service in the production of lambonag almost immediately after their first arrival, and their value was high, given the novelty of their product. They were prominent in Spanish service, and a few examples indicate that their patrons transferred their debt and services. Coconut production had begun to complement cacao

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[45] For the 1603 Vizcaíno expedition, and other landings in the early seventeenth century, see Oropeza, 222-223; AHMC, sección B, c. 2, exp. 20, f. 1f (1608); and Bruce Cruikshank, "Manila Galleon listing," https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWFpbnxtYW5pbGFnYWxsZW9ubGlzdGluZ3xneDo0YzYwYjJkODZmNmE1OWE5 (Accessed October 12, 2012); AGN, Inquisición, v. 283, primera parte, exp 37, fs. 264r-264v (1608); AHMC, sección B, c. 2, exp. 37, f. 2f (1607); and Bruce Cruikshank, "Manila Galleon listing," https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWFpbnxtYW5pbGFnYWxsZW9ubGlzdGluZ3xneDozNDA3MzdlMDM0ODYzYmEw (accessed October 10, 2012); and Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, "Japanese Merchants in 17th Century Guadalajara," *Revista Iberoamericana* 22, no. 2 (2011): 200.

For Pagés de Moncada, see Isolda Rendón Garduña, "Catálogo de los fondos del siglo XVII: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima" (PhD Diss., Escuela Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, 2002), 140-141; and Paulina Machuca , "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres/ Cultura material de origen asiático en Colima, siglos xvi-xvii," *Relaciones* (2012), 89, 103-105.

production in the 1580s and 1590s in Colima, and its vecinos exported coconuts to the city of Mexico during this period. The vecinos of Colima began to expand their use of the palm. In 1597, the alcalde mayor of Colima, Alonso de Enríquez, had two chino servants (*criados*), one named Alonso and the other, Juan Gerónimo. That same year, an unnamed chino cured the wounds of Miguel de Luna, an indigenous inhabitant of Aguacatitlán, an area which hosted several cacao haciendas. By 1598, the parish of Colima had begun to assess vino de cocos production for the purposes of the tithe. On January 14, 1600, Pedro Ruiz de Padilla sued a local merchant Francisco Rodríguez Machuca, because his chino servant (*indio chino*) cut two palms from his fifty-tree orchard in order to make vino de cocos. Ruiz further alleged that the man had killed the trees, as he had cut into the trunks with a machete to make a kind of ladder, allowing diseases to enter the trees and kill them.[46]

The sudden prominence of chinos in the local economy was connected to the lucrative nature of their product, at least soon after its introduction. A four-gallon jar of the stuff was valued at five pesos as late as 1617. This price descended to two pesos a jar by 1638, as a result of more producers and probably, competition from other spirits. This could account for the high wages of chinos early in the development of the industry. In 1604, a contract recorded that Juan Gutiérrez Monroy paid a monthly wage of seven pesos to Nicolás Rodríguez to distill vino de

[46] For crew lists and salaries for the Manila galleons that sailed between 1581 and 1583, see AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 64, fs. 1r-9v (1583) See Chapter 1& 3 for transition between river grumetes and ocean-bound grumetes in the Philippines. The situation of grumete status and the use of ships by grumetes to look for oppotunities compare well with the situation of Luso-African grumetes in the early modern Caribbean and Atlantic. See David Wheat, "The Afro-Portuguese Maritime World and the Foundations of Spanish Caribbean Society, 1570-1640" (PhD Diss., Vanderbilt University, 2009), 22-24, 38, 217. On the formation of grumetes as a Lusoized group of African mariners, important agents for the creation of African creole languages see Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 124, 136, 194-195; and George F. Brooks, *Eur-Africans in Western Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 52-54; and Philip J. Havik, *Silences and Soundbites: The gendered dynamics of trade and brokerage in the pre-colonial Guinea-Bissau region* (Münster, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2004), 27, 53-54, 105-106, 130, 136-137, and *passim*.

For the 1597 tithe, Rodríguez Machuca, the chino curer, Alonso and Juan Gerónimo, see José Miguel Romero Solís, *Papeles varios del Fondo Sevilla del Rio (1545-1613)* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2000), 13-14; Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 141, 360, 467, and 559; and Sevilla del Rio, *Breve estudio sobre la conquista y fundación de Colimán,* 89-90.

cocos in order to pay back a fifty-seven peso debt. Notably, Rodríguez was using his service on the hacienda to pay a debt to Melchor Vera, a vecino of Guadalajara, suggesting that Vera had sold the debt of Rodríguez to Colima hacendados.[47]

It took time for coconut production to displace the dominant economy of cacao cultivation. The growth of the industry can be seen in the post-mortem estate records of don Cristóbal de Silva. Silva had served as alcalde ordinario of Colima, and the lieutenant alcalde mayor on at least three occasions. These offices allowed him to accumulate significant resources. The executors of the will of Silva hired experienced appraisers to make an inventory of the household goods and possessions, a task that required the counting of livestock, cacao plants, and coconut palms. Silva, a native of the city of Mexico, had extended cacao cultivation southward from the Villa of Colima and into Motines. In 1591, he owned cacao estates in Caxitlán, upon which he employed thirteen indios naborios. In 1600, he died with several estates scattered across the jurisdictions of Colima and Motines. These included Contla, just to the northeast of Salagua; Aguacatitlán, west of Colima, in Motines; and Popoyutla, in the Caxitlán valley. He also owned several estates in the Alima River Valley, which included the estates of Achiotlán and Salahuacan (See Figure 11). Appraisers documented that the estate of Salahuacan alone included eighteen thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine *casas*. Two cacao trees composed a casa, making the count thirty-seven thousand, eight hundred and fifty-eight trees. Silva had only planted twelve coconut palms on the property. Appraisers counted over ten thousand cacao trees in Achiotlán, as opposed to only fifteen coconut trees. Finally, appraisers

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[47] See AHEC, Escribano Mateo de Sepúlveda, Registro 498, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 8, carpeta 6, f. 1f (1611). See also, AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Registro 1652, c. 10, carpeta 12, fs. 56-57 (1617); AHEC, Escribano Jerónimo Dávalos Vergara, Registro 222, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 5, carpeta 5, fs. 3-4 (1604); and AHMC, sección B, c. 17, exp. 3, f. 1r (1639). Compare the salary of Rodríguez to the three-peso monthly wage of Pedro Cabra, ordered to repay a forty-one peso debt. See AHEC, Jerónimo Dávalos Vergara, Registro 382, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 8, carpeta 1, fw. 2f-2v (1608).

found ninety-six coconut palms on the hacienda of Popoyutla, in the valley of Caxitlán, listing no cacao trees for this hacienda. The high number of palms suggests that chino producers of vino de cocos (*vinateros*) worked on this estate, but it was only one of many haciendas owned by Silva. The presence of coconut orchards and indications of chinos at such an early date raise questions about the motives of Spaniards controlling the production of vino de cocos.[48]

One early example of vino de cocos marketing suggests that Spaniards used its production as one of many weapon in their arsenal to recruit indigenous cacao workers. In 1601, indigenous people of the nearby jurisdiction of Motines complained about the depredations of their alcalde mayor Juan Velásquez de Cuevas, echoing similar complaints penned in the sixteenth century. They composed their complaint in both Nahuatl and Spanish. Like many alcaldes mayores, Juan Velásquez de Cuevas abused his authority. He actually enjoyed more authority than a normal alcalde mayor. He also served as a judge (*juez congregador*) charged with overseeing congregación of the local people, wielding the force of the viceroy in ordering the space of the province of Motines. He worked in Coalcamán and the southern reaches of the Alima River, particularly in the towns of Maquilí, Xocotlán, and Alimanzi, centers of cacao production. One of the first complaints provided by the nobility of Coalcamán and southern towns was that Velásquez obtained goods by force. Like other corrupt officials, in a system

[48] For the division of Silva's goods, the offices of the offices of Cristóbal de Silva, and the histories of Silva's estates, see UASC, MS 089, *Matrícula de Indios y Indias, Villa de Colima*, fs. 5r, 7r-7v (1592); AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, fs. 1r-3v, 20f-37v, 44f, 77v-120v (1601-1603); Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima*, 243-245, 337-345; and AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, fs. 20f-37v, 44f (1601).

In his testament, Silva requested that three hundred cargas of cacao be sent to Gerónimo de Cueva, a merchant in Mexico City. This represents fifteen thousand pounds of cacao. See AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, f. 90f (1601).

known as the *repartimiento de mercancias* or the *reparto de efectos*, he demanded monthly levies of chickens, maize, and lard.[49]

The main thrust of their complaints centered on the efforts by Velásquez to control both the labor of local indigenous people and the production and marketing of cacao. He demanded tribute be paid in cacao instead of in cash. Velásquez devalued the exchange rate between cacao and cash, setting it at two hundred cacao seeds (*almendras*) per real, instead of the prevailing one hundred. He also set up a store in Maquilí, from where he sold goods in high demand among the indigenous people. These goods included hats, soap, and more expensive goods such as ropa de Castilla, and ropa de China. Velásquez demanded payment in cacao, setting a price of two hundred cacao almendras per real. The alcaldes, topiles, and regidores complained that one real actually purchased one hundred almendras in the market. Velásquez, they contended, forced the indigenous people of the province to work on salinas and cacao orchards that he owned. He destroyed fruit orchards in order to replant them with cacao, and finally, he required indigenous people to carry shipments of cacao all the way to Mexico City, a distance of one hundred leagues, without pay and using their own horses.[50]

Velásquez also ran a tavern that sold vino de cocos out of his house. The plaintiffs charged that he staffed the tavern with two unnamed chinos, who produced the vino de cocos. The chinos also transported the vino de cocos to surrounding pueblos, causing drunken disorder in their wake and provoking great scandal. The identification of chinos echoed representations

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[49] See AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, f. 107r and *passim*. For the Velásquez case, seizure of goods, and acquisition of the cacaotales of Maquilí, Alimanzi and other locales in Motines, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, f. 107r and *passim*; and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 89-95.

[50] For the use of indigenous people for illegal transportation, and reparto de mercancías by Velásquez, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, fs. 107r-108r, 110v, 124v (1601). These shipments probably ran through Coalcamán to Tepalcatepec, and from there, Pátzcuaro. See Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán,* 163,191. This connection had been maintained for the purposes of tribute during the time of the cazonci. See Elinore M. Barrett, *La cuenca del Tepalcatepec, I. Su colonización y tenencia de la tierra*. *Volume 1* (México, D. F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1975), 27.

in other parts of colonial Mexico of Afro-Mexicans, often represented as cruel agents of their Spanish patrons. The role depicted for the chinos also resembled the descriptions provided by Juan de Plasencia of saguiguilid, the house bond-servants of central Luzon, who worked with their elite patrons and were often tasked with serving drinks at feasts.[51]

Other pieces of evidence, gathered by Paulina Machuca, confirm the early entry of chinos and their employment in the vino de cocos trade. In 1602, the local court of Colima sentenced Agustín de Mendoza, a chino, to work in order to pay off a debt, a situation also faced by workers in central Luzon in the previous decade, and as we have seen, indigenous workers in western Mexico. In 1603, the alcalde mayor of Colima, Francisco Escudero, imposed a fine on the sale of vino de cocos within the municipality, a crime for which twelve chinos were denounced in that same year. This might have represented early competition for the privilege to market this valuable commodity.[52]

In addition to colonial Mexican precedents, labor legislation in the Philippines and changes to labor practices there helps explain the labor of chinos and the relationship that they held with their Spanish patrons in western, and also southern, Mexico upon arrival. Filipino elites complained about the entry of peasants into the consumption and presumably, marketing of vino de cocos, just as they moralized about the growth of vagamundos, unattached migrant laborers. Meanwhile, Filipino namamahay and saguiguilid entered Spanish service at the same

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[51] For the use of chinos and taverns by Velásquez, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, fs. 107r-108v (1601). The role of chinos presented by indigenous plaintiffs here as agents of Spanish exploitation in this case parallels tropes used to describe African-indigenous relationships elsewhere in Spanish America. See Valérie Benoist, "La conexión entre casta y familia en la representación de los negros dentro de la obra de Guaman Poma," *Afro-Hispanic Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (2010), 45-47; and Patrick J. Carroll, "Black-Native Relations and the Historical Record in Colonial Mexico," in *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall, 245-268 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009).

[52] Claudia Machuca, "El Cabildo de La Villa: Gobierno, Poder, y Una Élite Consolidada, 1600-1622," (MA Thesis, Universidad de Colima, 2006, Biblioteca Digital de Tesis de Posgrado. http://digeset.ucol.mx/tesis_posgrado/Pdf/Claudia_Paulina_Machuca_Chavez.pdf), 96, 108.

time that Spaniards had begun to wrest control of palm groves and their alcohol production, previously under the control of Filipino elites. Filipino indebted laborers also served on ships in the colonial Philippines, allowing spatial mobility, but circumscribing their social mobility, as Spanish chroniclers continued to interpret debt servitude as slavery. The ability to transfer their services enabled their debt to be transferred between creditors, so Spanish naval officers and passengers could have either purchased their services from others, or advanced cloth and other goods to bind laborers. These creditors could have easily transmitted the debt of their servant ts to patrons within and across the Pacific them, and even across regions within New Spain.[53]

Throughout the 1580s and 1590s, control over Filipino labor by Filipino nobility was in flux. Royal officials made formal efforts at reform in the 1590s, but the new laws were not followed for several years. Clerics and some civil authorities decried the existence of debt bondage and debt servants, but late sixteenth-century Spanish authorities were still availing themselves of indebted laborers. Their early campaigns in the Philippines had depended on slaves and debt servants purchased from indigenous élites. The Audiencia of the Philippines promulgated legislation which prohibited peonage and slavery in 1599, but much of these prohibitions were revoked in 1609. Spanish administrators adjudicated disputes between debt servants and their creditors, and in some cases, even oversaw the transfers of debt service from one master-creditor to another. Chinos and Spanish patrons carried with them across the Pacific Southeast Asian and colonial forms of debt peonage, merging them with colonial debt servitude patterns of western Mexico.[54]

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[53] See Chapters 1, 2 & 3for labor arrangements in the colonial Philippines at Spanish contact, and their evolution during the early colonial period. For the cédulas regarding palmas and "restoration" of the privileges of Filipino lords, see AGI, Filipinas, 339, l. 2, f. 65v (1594); and AGI, Filipinas, 339, l. 2, f. 64r (1594).

[54] For jockeying by Filipino élites, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 41 (not foliated) (1591); and Luis Alonso Álvarez, "Los señores del Barangay," 390-401.

For the vicissitudes of pawning and debt bondage under the legislation of the Crown, see AGI, Filipinas,

The status and background found in chinos entering New Spain reflected their unstable condition in the Philippines, and also stemmed from their uncertain status as foreigners, having no clear place outlined in colonial law. Unlike Asian migrants in central Mexico, chinos entering peripheral colonial Mexico had no legislative umbrella upon which they could draw as natives (*naturales*). Instead, they would rely on the forging of customary arrangements mediated by their Spanish patrons, some of which were drawn from Filipino precedent and others which they adapted to the new conditions of colonial Mesoamerica. In this, they shared similarities with individuals of other low-status groups not clearly included in the *república de indios-república de españoles* binary. These included free and enslaved people of African descent, and individual people of color (*castas*), who tended to depend on relationships with Spanish patrons, and creditors.[55]

Some of the chinos who entered colonial New Spain, including western Mexico, were slaves, rather than dependent indebted laborers. The Spanish vecinos of Colima and western Mexico purchased these chino slaves in the city of Mexico, Acapulco, Valladolid, and the the illicit sources available on the coasts in which ships like the *Santo Niño de Atocha* anchored in 1624. A document from the municipal archive of Colima records that in 1643, Juan Beltrán de Allende, a vecino of the city of Mexico, purchased from Tomás García de Lozada, Ignacio, a chino slave (*esclavo chino*) "of the Vadoya caste" (*casta vadoya*). This phrase probably came from "vaduga" or northerner, a term that Tamils used to designate Telugu migrants living in the Tamil kingdoms. Important petty kings (*Nāyakas*), warriors, and merchants in the Tamil lands

20, R. 4, N. 34, exp. 1, fs. 3r-3v (1610); AHN, Diversos-Colecciones, 26, N. 28, exp. 1, fs. 2r-2v (1620); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1640, exp. 28, fs. 1r-1v (1637).

[55] Chinos entered more involved disputes and negotiations about their status in the city of Mexico, whose formidable legal arenas have generated substantial documentation. See Chapter 6.

For studies of negotiation of the relationships between castas and Spanish patrons in Mexico, see R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 86-105; and Proctor, *"Damned Notions of Liberty*," 125-185.

were Telugu. Tamil and Portuguese traders traded between Nagapattinam, Melaka, and Manila (Figure 3). García had purchased Ignacio from Alonso de Valderrama, who had traveled from Acapulco. Valderrama, in turn, had bought Ignacio in Acapulco from a Captain Juan de Venegas, who had probably traveled from the Philippines, or up the coastal road from Colima, who had access to Asian contraband via Salagua.[56]

Chinos were also present elsewhere in western New Spain. Virginia Claverán González records that the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia freed several chino slaves after a 1673 royal proclamation had ordered their manumission across the viceroyalty of New Spain. Chinos learned of the decree and acted to secure their liberty. For example, the chino slave Domingo de la Cruz filed suit in the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia. He claimed that he had been stolen as a child from a pueblo under the jurisdiction of the city of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, in Cebú. Cruz named a Captain Alonso Ramírez as his first owner, which was also the name of an important Tagalog militia noble in central Luzon. Ramírez died after bringing Cruz to Manila, where a Dominican friar purchased him. The friar sold him to a person who sailed to New Spain, where he landed him, as contraband, in the port of Salagua. After moving inland, to Sayula, Captain Pedro de Urbina owned him and sold him to Captain Juan Sánchez de Banales. In 1683, another chino slave, Inés Rodríguez, claimed the right to manumission under the 1673 decree. Rodríguez lived in the mines of Chimaltitlán, in the jurisdiction of Compostela, in the present

[56] For a more extensive discussion of the sources of chino slaves brought to Mexico, see the work of Tatiana Seijas. See especially Seijas, “The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila,”; and Tatiana Seijas, “Transpacific Servitude.” The documents in Colima confirm the argument of Seijas about the importance of insular Soputheast Asia and Portuguese India as transit points for slaves. See Oropeza Keresey, “La esclavitud asiática,” 5-57. See AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 10, carpeta 11, fs. 66-66v (1616); AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 11, carpeta 1, fs. 43v-44 (1620); and AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 11, carpeta 5, fs. 122v-123 (1622).

For the purchase of Ignacio, and the history of early modern Tamil Nadu, see AHMC, sección B, C. 23, exp. 5, fs. 1r-1v (1643); Ludden, *Peasant History in South India,* 50-52; I. G. Županov, “Language and Culture of the Jesuit ‘Early Modernity’ in India during the Sixteenth Century,” *Itinerario* 31 (2007): 87-111; and Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings*, *passim*.

For contraband in coastal Colima, see Machuca Chávez, “Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos,” 176.

state of Nayarit, near the Pacific Coast (See Figure 4.3). She solicited the testimony of several witnesses, some speaking in Nahuatl, that verified her chino status. They explained that Rodríguez was a descendant of at least two generations of chinos who had lived in the jurisdiction. Entrepreneurs with connections to the Manila galleon had smuggled her ancestors via western Mexican ports, either the port of Navidad, or Salagua (See Figures 9 and 10).[57]

Most of the chinos who left traces in the archives of western Mexico did not so neatly fit into the category of slave. "Free" Filipinos quickly entered the social system and commercial world of western Mexico. As we saw, under some circumstances, even late in the seventeenth century, Filipinos took service as peons or saguiguilid to the Spanish and other patrons. Filipinos in New Spain faced a more precarious situation than they did in central Luzon. As a consequence, they embedded themselves as servants in patron-client networks under Spanish control, as had many of their compatriots in urban central Luzon. As we will see, chinos performed a number of tasks connected with the naborio-based system of production in western Mexico, a situation analogous to free and enslaved servants of African descent in the colonies. Their work included sugar and salt production. Yet, they quickly became best known for their

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[57] For the sale of chino slaves in Guadalajara, and the freeing of chino slaves in Mexico, and Guadalajara, see Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Guadalajara (AIPG), Francisco de Orendaín, v. 6, fs. 26r, 59r-59v (1637). For free chinos in Nueva Galicia, see AIPG, Juan Sedano, tomo 4, f. 165v (1631).; AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas (RCD), 30, exp. 94, f. 133r (1673); Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco (BPEJ), Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 9, exp. 9, progresivo 134, fs. 1r-1v (1678); and Virginia González Claverán, "Un documento colonial sobre esclavos asiáticos," *Historia Mexicana* 38, no. 3 (1989): 523-532.

For Cebu as a center of slave sales and war captivity due to famine, rebellions, and slaves taken in local raids, see Chapters 2 and 3; AGI, Filipinas, 59, N. 4, fs. 2v-3r (1580); NAP, Cedulario, 1626-1630, v. 1, SD 685, *Merced al Capitán Pedro de Navarrete de la encomienda de Tabuco y sus sujetos en la provincia de la Laguna de Bay que tiene 502 tributos que vaco por fin y muerte del capitán Luis Énriquez de Guzmán en conformidad de su antiguedad y servicios* .., f. 125 (1626); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 441B, fs. 8437v-8438r (1647); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1057, exp. 2, fs. 1r, 2r (1652).

For the landing of Cruz in the contraband port of Salagua, see BPEJ, Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 9, exp. 9, p. 124, f. 1v (1678).

For Rodríguez, and a brief history Chimatitlán, located just east of Tepic in the modern-day state of Nayarit, see BPEJ, Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 4, exp. 9, progresivo 47, fs. 1r-4v (1683); and Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 144-146.

co-creation of and adaptation to a new colonial system of alcohol production using Southeast Asian technology.[58]

The First Generation of Chinos: Labor and Clientage

The examples of José Velásquez de la Cueva and Francisco Rodríguez Machuca make clear that chinos during the earliest years of the seventeenth century resided in close proximity to Spaniards, often their patrons. Adolfo Gómez Amador, however, has provided evidence of this phase of chino labor and settlement, enabling us to discern patterns of Filipino culture, proof of relationships to indigenous people and Spaniards, indications of hierarchy within the chino community, and early manifestations of more autonomous economic activity. Early in the seventeenth century, Spanish authorities demonstrated the close connections of chinos with Spanish patrons. In 1603 Colima authorities arrested twelve chinos for their sale of vino de cocos to indigenous people within the province. Each chino named, served a Spanish household. Two chinos, Manuel, and Juan Tazzo, lived in the house of Juan de Muñoz, in Aguacatitlán, in the Caxitlán valley. Bartolomé, Miguel and Francisco lived together in the house of Alonso García Nonparte, and Pedro and Marcos lived in the house of Diego Morán. Five other chinos lived singly in the "casas", probably estates, of five other Spaniard. Three chinos living in groups are identified in the litigation as companions. Three chinos inhabited Xicotlán, the scene of commercialization of vino de cocos by a relative of officials in Guadalajara. Agustín Pérez and Francisco, two other chinos, lived in the huerta de cocos of

[58] Though chinos were not major rice producers in western Mexico, they might have participated in smaller-scale dry rice or wet rice production in the region. In 1638, some rice was sent from Colima as a tithe good to Valladolid. See FHLGSU, MF# 775536, item 1, Diezmos, 1636-1756, leg 843, exp. 37 , f. 9r (1638). For small-scale rice production in the Philippines, often produced by Kapampangan soldiers around Spanish fortresses in Asia, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409D, 1a pte, f. 6r (1644); and AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 441B, fs. f. 8461v, 8463r, 8467r (1646).

Gaspar Sánchez. Perhaps, some of these workers had arrived aboard the same galleon, or had been recruited as apart of the same group.[59]

Other cases in western Mexico resembled social patterns found in the colonial Philippines, which included forms of social hierarchy, patterns of entrepreneurship, and prioritizing the construction of social alliances and collateral kinship patterns. At least one chino in Colima, don Juan Hernández, claimed noble birth. Hernández celebrated in grand style, apparently held a drinking party (*borrachera* or *tibao*) in 1600 with four other chinos, all men. Such a celebration was reminiscent of the tibao in the Philippines, a reinforcement of noble magnaminity and authority. The provincial government charged Hernández for contributing to delinquency with this festival, as he apparently also invited indigenous people. Two other chinos, Juan Alonso and Alonso Gutiérrez, along with Hernández, demonstrated proficiency in baybayin.[60]

Other early Filipinos displayed the cultural hybridity characteristic of colonial society. These included Nicolás Hernández, the son of a Spaniard and an indigenous noblewoman in the Philippines. Hernández employed an indigenous servant, probably employed from the profits of small-time peddling. Hernández owned several horses and mules, a path followed by other chinos adapting their skills from the maritime commercial orientation of the Austronesian

[59] For the 1603 arrests of chinos, the identification of other resident chinos in the same year, and the use of baybayon by chinos, see Adolfo Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," *1er Foro de Arqueología. Antropología e Historia de Colima*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes G. (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2005), 6-8, http://www.culturacolima.gob.mx/imagenes/foroscolima/1/10.pdf ; and AGI, *Contratación*, 520, N.2, R.14, f. 93v (1620).

For the importance of shipboard experience in insular Southeast Asia, see Chapters 1, 2, and 3. For its role in helping to create relationships in New Spain, see Tatiana Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580-1700," (Unpublished PhD diss., Yale University, 2008), 118.

[60] For the tibao of don Juan Hernández, see Adolfo Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," *1er Foro de Arqueología. Antropología e Historia de Colima*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes G. (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2005), 6, 8, 17; and San Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 117.

archipelago. Other chinos, such as Sebastián Tumbaga, and Gabriel, engaged in commerce, and employed themselves in the transportation industry. Finally, several chinos, such as Simón Luis and Simon Perdomo, were recorded as ladino while other chinos demonstrated literacy in the Spanish language. They had probably acquired these skills in the ships, convents and barracks of the colonial Philippines.[61]

Nonetheless, the position of vino de cocos distiller (*vinatero*) continued to constitute the single most important occupation for Colima chinos, despite the luck and entrepreneurial skills of some chinos in the first decade. They complemented the indigenous naboríos on the haciendas, and Spanish officials soon moved to include them in the naborío tribute system, tying them to the crown and maintaining more intense surveillance of their activities. In 1603, the alcalde mayor of Colima ordered that all indios naborios and indios chinos display their contracts and present themselves for enrollment in the local tribute lists, such as that created in 1592. Given the Luzon origin of so many chinos, such tribute would have been familiar.[62]

Some chinos arrived in Colima via western Mexican ports. Nonetheless, it seems likely that most chinos landed in ports in the Costa Grande and Acapulco, later proceeding westward on the coastal roads that passed from Acapulco to Zacatula, Motines, and Colima. Chinos in Colima maintained relations through coastal roads with chinos in Acapulco. For example, a Kapampangan chino, Domingo de Villalobos, a merchant in western Mexico, had a chino associate in Acapulco named Agustín. Colima vecinos made arrangements with residents of the Costa Grande and Acapulco to receive Asian merchandise and to recover fugitive slaves. We

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[61] For the ancestry of Nicolás Rodríguez, and his goods, see Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," 14, 18-20. For chinos on horseback, see *Ibid*., 13, 14.
For ladino chinos, see *Ibid.,*7; AHEC, Escribano Jerónimo Dávalos Vergara, Registro 222, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 5, carpeta 5, fs. 3-4 (1604); AHMC, Sección B, c. 12, exp. 13, f. 4f (1635); and AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 31, f. 2v (1642).

[62] For chinos as naboríos, see Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima," 15.

also have evidence of the use of labor brokers to facilitate chino westward travel. Hacendados in the Costa Grande, the coastal plain west of Acapulco, had better and more consistent access to chino laborers by virtue of their proximity to Acapulco, and could thus help supply Colima demands. An example of one set of transactions, by Antonio Gónzalez de Loys, the owner of the hacienda of San Bartolomé, near Petatlán, helps illustrate the dynamics of this movement (See Figures 9 and 10).[63]

Antonio Gónzalez de Loys left tithe records and account books showing how Costa Grande brokers supplied chinos to western Mexico, transferring their debt in the process. On several occasions, Gónzalez de Loys transferred the debt of his servants to other employers. In 1636, Gónzalez de Loys transferred three chino servants, Mateo, Juan de Ribera, and Juan García, to sugar plantations owned by hacendados in the Tierra Caliente municipality of Tancítaro (See Figure 10). The sugar hacendados and the chinos in question absconded from the service of Gónzalez de Loys, who several years later demanded their back wages and ordered royal officials to jail the chinos for debt. Nonetheless, rental arrangements appeared lucrative enough that Gónzalez de Loys contracted another such arrangement. In 1639, three chino debt servants moved from San Bartolomé to Colima. These included Pablo, Juan de Carranza, and Mateo. They moved their debt and service obligations from the Costa Grande to Colima, where

[63] For smuggling in the Costa Grande, the road between Zacatula and Colima, and chino linkages between Acapulco and Colima, see Chapter 5; Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 163-164; AHEC, Escribano Mateo de Sepúlveda, Registro 686, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 8, carpeta 9, fs. 1f-1v (1612); AHEC, Escribano Gaspar de Lugo, Registro 1246, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 10, carpeta 1, f. 1f (1614); and AGI, *Contratación* , 520, N.2, R.14, f. 41v (1618). In 1651, Diego Nuñez, a ranch overseer (*mayordomo*) working in the Costa Grande was denounced before the Holy Inquisition for bigamy. His accusers alleged that he had married a woman in Asuchitlán, in the Tierra Caliente, and in Colima. His travels, too, showed the linkages between western Mexico and the Costra Grande. See AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 19, fs. 469r-477r (1651).

they worked for Joseph de Labayen, a Colima cocotero and hacendado. Between them, the six chinos contracted more than three hundred pesos in debt.[64]

A series of inventories and wills deposited in the Archivo General de Indias helps provide a glimpses of chino labor and settlement patterns of the Filipino migrants began their entry into western Mexico. We begin with the will of Gaspar Ramírez de Alarcón, a vecino of the Villa de Colima, a merchant, who worked in the Alima River valley. The other, Domingo de Villalobos, a chino, was a municipal citizen of the indigenous pueblo of Zapotlán, between the Villa of Colima and Guadalajara.[65]

Gaspar Ramírez de Heredía died in 1608, drowning in a river near Maquilí, one of the two seats of the alcaldía mayor of the province of Motines. The post-mortem inventory of Ramírez help us to understand the wider commercial reach of this seemingly isolated corner of Michoacán, as Ramírez de Heredía was a peddler, who sold his wares in Motines, up and down the Alima River Valley, and the indigenous towns near Coalcomán. The alcalde mayor of Motines, Juan de Mansilla Hinojosa, made an inventory of his goods, and worked to locate and auction off his goods to pay for the funeral expenses of Ramírez. Mansilla, in turn, assigned the alguacil mayor, Miguel Sánchez, to the task. Indigenous people in Maquilí told Sánchez that

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[64] For some work on the career and family networks of the son of Antonio Gónzalez de Loys, Captain Diego Gónzalez de Loys, as well as the social history of his possessions, see Jorge Amós Martínez Ayala, "Por la Orillita del Río… Y hasta Panamá. Región, Historia y Etnicidad en la Lírica Tradicional de las Haciendas de la Huacana y Zacatula," *Tzintzun: Revista de Estudios Históricos* no. 46 (2007): 18-22; and Chapter 5.

For the movement of the chinos between the Costa Grande and both Colima and the Tierra Caliente, see FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 85r, and 95v-96r (1641); and FHLGSU, MF# 0779051, Información matrimonial y actas diversas 1630-1635, not foliated, *Libro de diezmo comiença desde el año 1634 a onra y gloria de Dios nuestro señor, Antonio gónzalez de loys, 1634-1637*, not foliated, (December 31, 1635), and (September 19, 1636).

Chinos worked in sugar estates and palm estates across the Tierra Caliente, especially near Pinzándaro, Apatzingán, and Carpio de Haro. See Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pátzcuaro (AHMP), c. 11B, exp. 3, f. 11r-11v/11-3-266r (11-3-258) (1631); AHMP, c. 11B, exp. 2, 101, f. 45r (1642); AHMP, c. 14, exp. 1, f. 53r (1660); and Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones del Obispado de Michoacán, 1680-1685* (Morelia: Gobiernod el Estado de Michoacán, 1996), 313, 317-319; and Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño*, 334-335, 433. Tagalogs, of course, worked on sugar haciendas in central Luzon. See Chapter 3.

[65] For the wills of Gaspar Ramírez, and Domingo de Villalobos, see AGI, *Contratación*, 285B, N.4, R.24.

Ramírez had no will (*testamento*). Sánchez began his inventory in a storeroom (*aposento*) of Ramírez, which contained seventeen tercios, or just over two thousand five hundred pounds of cacao. Other goods included twenty yards (*varas*) of sinabafa, a textile produced in Bengal; tobacco, butcher knives (*cuchillos carniceros*), and a variety of items labeled for indigenous consumption. These included hats and blouses marketed to indigenous people (*sombreros indios*) and (*camisas indias*). The appraisers also located the account books and receipts of Ramírez, which showed the large, multi-ethnic population which had purchased items on credit.[66]

Spaniards, indigenous people, and Afro-Mexicans were among the debtors of Ramírez, as were chinos; perhaps some of the latter had been those mentioned in the Velásquez case. As Sánchez traveled to the lower reaches of the Alima River Valley, moving between the cacao haciendas, the debtors responded with excuses (Figure 11). Many of the cultivators held no cash, and were dependent on the upcoming cacao harvest. Even after the harvest, Sánchez relied on the alcaldes and alguaciles of the indigenous pueblos to bring debtors forward. Ramírez listed five chinos among his several dozen debtors. They included Andrés, Juan Miguel, Juan Angel, Juan, and Pedro. Of those listed, Ramírez named three as "from the house" of certain Spaniards. Foremost among them were Juan, who served Andrés Díaz, a vecino of Maquilí; and Juan Miguel, a servant of the house of Gerónimo López de Rueda, another Spaniard. Andrés, Pedro, and Juan Angel had no such association listed. Most of the chinos held paltry debts, but Andrés owed twenty-four pesos, a considerable quantity, equaling eight months of standard wages on the cacao estates.[67]

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[66] For the role of Captain Juan de Mansilla Hinojosa and the work of Miguel Sánchez, see AGI, Contratación, 285B, N.4, R.24, fs. 34v, 38r, 40r (1610). For the sinabafa, tobacco, and sombreros, see AGI, Contratación, 285B, N.4, R.24, fs 29r-30v (1610).

[67] For the debtors of Gaspar Ramírez, see AGI, Contratación, 285B, N.4, R.24, Fs.30v-40r (1608). For the cacao harvest, indigenous regidores and alcaldes who helped recover debts, and the chino debtors of Ramírez, see AGI, Contratación, 285B, N.4, R.24, Fs. 34r, 35v, 53v, 55v, 57v, 60r, 64r , 66r, 67r, 68r, 148v (1608).

Miguel Sánchez made a special trip to recover the debts of Andrés, visiting his village, Ixtlahuacán. The indigenous inhabitants of the municipality informed him that Andrés had traveled to San José Tecolopa, a cabecera in the lower valley of Caxitlán in which resided fifty chinos casados in 1619 (See Figure 11). As Tecolopa lay within the jurisdiction of Colima, Andrés had effectively evaded the royal authorities of Motines. Apparently, Andrés relented, as he purchased twenty varas of sinabafa during the post-mortem estate auction of the deceased.[68]

Several of the residents who owned cacaotales in Motines resided in Colima, yet Sánchez staged most of the investigation through Coalcamán. Sánchez wrote at least one of his letters to the court from Tepalcatepec, as he made his way back to the city of Mexico. This suggests that muleteers (*arrieros*) transporting goods from Motines ran their mules up the Maquilí river valley through to Coalcamán and into the Tepalcatepec basin (See Figure 10). Arrieros could then travel from the Tierra Caliente to the cool lands of Pátzcuaro, into the market towns of the Bajío or onward to the city of Mexico itself.[69]

The death of another peddler, a chino, illustrated the character of the growing chino presence in western Mexico in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Domingo de Villalobos died in Zapotlán 1618, a pueblo in the province of Tuxpan, Zapotlán, and Tamazula. This pueblo lay just north of Colima, athwart roads between Colima and Guadalajara, to the north, and Michoacán, to the east. Villalobos held the status of vecino in the pueblo, having

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Vinateros could be paid three pesos every month on top of their share from their total vino de cocos production. See AHMC, sección B, c. 16, exp. 47, f. 1v (1639). Contrast this to the 1-2 pesos salary of cacao workers. See Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores,* 385, 555.

[68] For Ixtlahuacán and San José Tecolopa; the activities of Andrés; and epidemics in Coalcamán, which killed half of its inhabitants in 1607, see AGI, *Contratación*, 285B, N.4, R.24, fs. 65r, 98v, 155v-156r (1607); and "Relación de la Diócesis de Michoacán hecha por el Obispo Fray Baltasar de Covarrubias en Valladolid en 1619," 173. Compare the latter to the mortality of late sixteenth-century epidemics. See Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 147-148.

[69] For the Motines-Tepacaltepec-Tierra Caliente-Pátzcuaro route, see AGI, *Contratación*, 285B, N.4, R.24, fs. 82r,125v (1608). For its pre-Hispanic antecedent, see Barrett, *La cuenca del Tepalcatepec,* 27, 36-37.

resided there for twenty years. Sayula, and the province of Ávalos, to the northwest, was also held strong ties to Guadalajara. The citizens from Zapotlán, in particular, played prominent roles moving goods between the tropical lowlands of Colima and the highland areas in Michoacán and Guadalajara. Sebastián Vizcaíno, the Pacific explorer held an encomienda in Ávalos, and later, defended the coast of Nueva Galicia from the depredations of the Dutch privateer, Joris van Spielbergen. His son, Juan Vizcaíno, served as alcalde mayor of Tuxpa, overseeing the execution of the will of Villalobos. Villalobos, though born in Quilao, Pampanga, near Guagua (See Figure 4, maintained a network that ranged over much of the coast of western Mexico, from Acapulco in the south, to Nayarit in the north (See Figures 8, 9, and 10). The majority of the goods inventoried were of Asian provenance, especially cloth such as lanquines, from the Yangtze River valley, and sinabafas.[70]

Like Ramírez, Villalobos sold to a wide variety of consumers, including chinos, Afro-Mexicans, indigenous people, and Spaniards. As such, and especially in his dealing with chinos, Villalobos clearly benefitted from the new industry producing vino de cocos. At least eight of the clients of Villalobos were chinos: Francisco Luis, Nicolas Malanqui (Mananquel), Pedro Timbán, Juan Triana, Agustin Solampao, Alonso Ramos, Francisco Mathias, Alonso Gutiérrez, Andrés Malate, and Andrés Rosales, an alcalde. Other documents show that Spanish

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[70] For the arrival of Villalobos in Zapotlán, his death there, and references to Quilao, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, fs 13v, 21r, 42v (1620); and AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 181, fs. 2r, 4v, 5r (1593).

For the province of Tuxpa, and Ávalos, see Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain,* 239-242, 338-340. For Ávalos and its capital, Sayula, see Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 239-242.

For Sebastián Vizcaíno, his encomienda, and his defense of Nueva Galicia and Colima, see W. Michael Mathes, *Sebastián Viscaíno y la Expansión Española*, 117, 119-120.

For Juan Vizcaíno as alcalde mayor of Tuxpa, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, f. 3r (1622). Both don Juan Vizcaíno and his father had ties to the Japanese community in Guadalajara. See AIPG, Juan Sedano, v. 4, fs. 165V-166F (1631); and Calvo, "Japoneses en Guadalajara: 'Blancos de Honor' Durante el Seiscientos Mexicano," in *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1989), 161-162.

For the connections of Domingo de Villalobos to Tepic, the city of Mexico, Guadalajara, Colima, and Acapulco, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 25v, 36v, 41v, 69v-72r, 120r (1622).

For the Asian goods of Villalobos, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 25v, 23v-34v, 36v, 41v, 69v-72r, 91v (1620).

investors in vino de palma production employed some of these clients. Yet, several of the chinos owed Villalobos debts in locally-produced commodities, indicating that at least in 1620, chinos exercised sufficient autonomy that they worked outside of coconut orchards, obtaining cacao and salt.[71]

Villalobos worked as a peddler in a colonial American periphery, but his inventory showed clear signs of his acquaintance with Spanish colonial Asia. His activity was reflective of a broader group of itinerant chino merchants in New Spain. His possessions showed the differences between indigenous life in the Philippines and mainland New Spain. Like other Filipino and Spanish soldiers in Asia, Villalobos possessed a katana. He also owned a harquebus, powder horn, pistol, sword and dagger, despite the viceregal proscription of arms possessions by members of the castas in mainland New Spain. He also owned a saddle, probably riding horses for his peddling, which, again, royal pronouncements prohibited. Villalobos and other chinos maintained other ties with Asia. The executor of his will, Alonso de Gutiérrez, was a chino, and had migrated from Pampanga. Gutiérrez married a rich cacique of Zapotlán, doña Mariana Hernández, and became a merchant in his own right after the passing of Villalobos. He traded as far as Mexico and Valladolid.[72]

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[71] For examples of vino de cocos production in Colima and Philippines records, see *infra*, Sevilla del Rio, 36, 129; Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús, 1581-1606*, 268-269; Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista,* 627. For a perulera of vino, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, f. 91v (1621).

For the debts and payment of the chinos Francisco Luis, Nicolas Malanqui (Mananquel), Francisco Mathias, Pedro Timbán, Andrés Malate, Juan Triana, Agustín Solampao, and Alonso Ramos, see AGI, *Contratación* , 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 35v-36r, 37r,-37v, 44v, 45v, 60r-61v, 149v (1620); FHLGSU, MF #1126936, Bautismos, Lubao f. 20r; AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 2, f. 1r; and AHMC, Seccion B, c. 26, exp. 26, *passim*.

For payment by chinos with other products of Colima, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, fs. Fs. 35r, 37v-38r (1621).

[72] For the possession by Villalobos of a katana and harquebus, and the broader use of edged weapons in the Philippines, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, f. 53v-54r, 91v (1618); AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 72, f. 1044r (1609); AGI, Filipinas, 39, N. 20, exp. 3, fs. 18v, 19v, 28v (1603, 1610); AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, tercera parte, f. 1281r; and Casimiro Díaz, *Las Conquistas de las islas de Filipinas*, 415. The ownership of edged weapons was prohibited for indigenous people and other non-Spanish ethnic groups of New Spain. Viceroy Toledo promulgated the edict against the former in 1579. For fears about the use of weapons by members of casta groups, especially blacks, see AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas (Henceforth, RCD), v. D3, exp. 99, f. 61v (1589). This

As in the Philippines, chinos joined cofradías. This activity also helped them form collateral alliances. Villalobos, Hernández, and Gutiérrez were members of Our Lady of the Rosary, the cofradía of Zapotlán. This cofradía paid for funeral expenses, sponsored the festivals for the town patron saint, and facilitated the saying of Masses for the dead, a benefit which Hernández requested after the death of Gutiérrez. Despite these local ties, Villalobos still kept his homeland in his heart. The primary beneficiary of his will was his mother, Mónica Binangan, still resident in Quilao, to whom he sent one hundred pesos of his inheritance.[73]

The account books of Villalobos corroborate contemporary evidence about the prominence of chinos in the local economy, and the connections between Colima and the rest of the viceroyalty. The chino Andrés Malate owed Villalobos several pesos; Filipinos from Malate had earlier participated in transpacific commerce (See Figure 4). Villalobos held strong ties to the town of San José Tecolapa, the residence of several chinos; and several dozen households of indigenous people congregated from the pueblos of Alcusahui, Tecomán, Tecolapa (See Figure 11). Villalobos also sold goods in the municipality of Ixtlahuacán, to the east, as well as the

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ordinance was renewed and extended to mulatos in 1596. See AGN, RCD, v. D46, exp. 77, fs. 167r-167v (1596). This prohibition had been promulgated in 1571 and was later adopted in New Spain. Indigenous people were also prohibited from carrying arms. For the latter law, see *Recopilación de los Leyes de las Indias, Libro XVI, Título I, Ley xxxiii*, *Que no se puedan vender armas à los Indios, ni ellos las tengan.* For the evolution of this restriction of arms ownership to Spaniards, as a colonial group, see Robert C. Shwaller, "'For Honor and Defense': Race and the Right to Bear Arms in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 21, no. 2 (2012): 242-24.

For the saddle of Villalobos, the prohibition of riding on horseback for indigenous people, and the proscription for chinos on horseback, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 40r-40v (1618); AGN, Civil, v. 258, exp. 5, fs. 2r-4v (1612); and *Recopilación de los Leyes de las Indias, Libro XVI, Título I, Ley xxxiii. Que los Indios no pueden andar à cavallo*.

For the marriage between doña Mariana Hernández, an india principala, and Alonso Gutiérrez, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 21r, 39r, 109r, 123r (1618, 1619); AIPG, Francisco de Orendaín, v. 6, f. 25r (1637).

For the post-Villalobos career of Gutiérrez, see AIPG, Francisco de Orendaín, v. 6, fs. 25r-25v (1637); and AHMP, Fondo Colonial, c. 8, exp. 3, n. 3, 37-39, fs. 1r-3r (1620).

[73] For the membership of Hernández, Gutiérrez, and Villalobos in the cofradía of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, in Zapotlán, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 43r, 102r (1618, 1621); and Archivo Histórcio Casa de Morelos y el Obispo de Michoacán (Henceforth, AHCMO), Fondo Diocesano, Disciplinar, Cofradias, Asientos, 0100, c. 002, (1627-1646), Exp. 10, fs. 1r-1v, 52r-52v (1639, 1642).

For Monica Binangan as the heir of Domingo de Villalobos, and for Monica Binay in Kapampangan parish records, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14,Fs. 16v-17r , 19v, 42v (1618, 1622); and FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, item 1, Lubao, Bautismos, fs. 44v, 71v, 81r (1629, 1634, 1635).

Nueva Galicia towns of Tepic, and Guadalajara. Villalobos obtained goods from Mexico City, perhaps from chino merchants resident in the city. He asked for Masses to be said city cathedral and in the cofradía of Los Remedios there, ordering the sale several mules to pay for them. His itinerant status was further suggested by the fact that he was a member (*cofrade*) of the cofradías of several other pueblos: San Nicolás de Tolentino in San José Tecolopa, Ixtlahuacán de los Reyes, and Tepic. Villalobos also referred his albaceas and creditors to a regidor in Guadalajara, showing his familiarity with the commerce of that city [74]

The testimony given by several witnesses about his albacea, Alonso Gutiérrez, showed some of the difficulties encountered by wandering chino merchants, as well as the strong relationships formed by chinos in western Mexico. Villalobos initially made his will in 1616, but afterwards sold some of his possessions to pay for medical bills incurred curing his illness. Consequently, in his will, he left debts that he could not have paid from the sale of his goods; Gutiérrez sold his own possessions to pay the deficit. All of the witnesses questioned about the activities of Gutiérrez testified to his good character. They remarked that he was a good Christian, "even though he was of the chino nation." Other chinos accompanied Gutiérrez on his trips to collect on the debts of Villalobos, namely, Francisco Matías, an older chino vinatero of sixty years of age who had been acquainted with Gutiérrez for twenty-six years. Mathiás claimed to have known Gutiérrez in the Philippines, as well. Several other chinos appeared outside the city of Mexico and in rural areas in the occupations of peddling or transportation, but

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[74] For the debt of Andrés Malate, and the commercial practices of the inhabitants of this pueblo, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, f. 44v (1620); and Chapter 3.

For the presence of Villalobos in the community of San Joseph, and its constituent *visitas*, see AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 32r, 37r, 42r, 44v, 46r, 54v, 64v, 72r (1618); and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 81-83.

For the Masses requested in Guadalajara and Mexico for the soul of Villalobos, see AGI, Contratación , 520, N.2, R.14, fs. 38v, 72r (1618).

it appears that Mathiás, rather than Villalobos and Gutiérrez, was more representative of the occupation of chinos in Colima. It is to the vinateros that we shall now turn. [75]

El Partido Chino: Negotiating Labor Relationships in Western Mexico

Chinos primarily worked as vinateros producing vino de cocos, mainly as resident laborers on palm estates. In this section, we will examine the material conditions of chinos engaged in this work. I also analyze the terms of chino contracts with coconut hacendados. Finally, this section will also seek to explain the change of the composition of the vinatero work force over time. The work force changed from one centered on employment of chinos to a more inclusive debt servitude that also targeted workers of indigenous, African and mixed (*casta*) descent. Post-mortem inventories, chronicles, and even criminal records allow a reconstruction of the process of vino de cocos production, which, for the most part, closely resembles colonial chroniclers of the production of vino de palma in the Philippines, as well as the present-day descriptions of the preparation of the manufacture of lambanog, its descendant.[76]

Coconut trees (*Cocos nucifera*) according to seventeenth-century witnesses and modern-day botanists, require up to six to eight years to mature. Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and other botanists have identified the variety of coconut palm growing in western Mexico as almost identical to Southeast Asian and South Pacific varieties. These trees reach twelve to fifteen meters in height, and Spanish entrepreneurs planted them in the river valleys of Colima, and

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[75] For the account deficit of Villalobos, and the testimony of the character of Gutiérrez, see AGI, Contratación 520, N. 2, R. 14, fs. 84r-85r, 87r, 118v-119v, 120v, 128r, 133v, 149v-157v (1622) .

For the employment by Gutiérrez of another chino, Nicolás Mananquel/Malanqui as a servant, see Archivo Histórico Municipal de Morelia (Henceforth, AHMM), Fondo Colonial, c. 8, exp. 3, n. 3, 37-39, fs. 1r-3r (1620).

[76] For descriptions of vino de palma production in the Philippines, see Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

For the description of modern techniques of tuba collection, fermentation and distillation of lambanog, , see Priscilla C. Sanchez, "Part 4," in *Coconut as Food,*, Julian A. Bauzon, Olympia N. Gonzalez, Sonia Y. de Leon, and Priscilla C. Sanchez (Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Coconut Research and Development Foundation, 1990), 214-218; and Priscilla Chinte Sanchez, *Philippine Fermented Foods: Principles and Technology* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of Philippines Press, 2008), 150-172.

Motines, later extending this cultivation to Balsas River tributaries and across the Costa Grande, the coastal plain between the mouth of this river, and Acapulco (Figures 9 and 10).[77]

Chinos climbed the trees to obtain the sap of the coconut tree flower bud or spadix, which produced tuba, the essential raw material for vino de cocos. First, tuba collectors (*tuberos*) used a coconut knife or *carit* to encourage sap production by cutting thin slices off from each bud, and attached a gourd called a tecomate to collect the sap. Climbing the trees required sure footing; some tuberos fell to their deaths while gathering palm sap. Cutting notches in the trunk facilitates the ascent of contemporary sap collectors, and early modern chino workers, too, cut notches into the palm trunks with their machetes to erect a sort of ladder.[78]

After descending from the treetops, chinos let the indigenous microflora go to work on the sap, high in fructose, in order to make tuba. Microbiologists studying tuba production in

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[77] Not surprisingly, Colima vecinos tended to emphasize the time that palms required to mature. See Sevilla del Rio, *La provança*, 40, 47, 50, 53, 64, 70, 77. Modern botanists state that these plams require at least three years to grow to maturity. See Julian Banzon, “The Coconut Palm and Its Fruit,” in *Coconut as Food,* Julian A. Bauzon, Olympia N. Gonzalez, Sonia Y. de Leon, and Priscilla C. Sanchez (Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Coconut Research and Development Foundation, 1990), 3. Once they flower, coconut trees bear fruit for up to seventy years.

For historical, morphological, and genetic evidence for the South Pacific and Southeast Asian origins of Mexican coconut palms, see Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 101-105; Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, “History of Coconut (*Cocos nucifera L.*) in Mexico, 1539-1810,” *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 43 (1996): 505-515; Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Daniel Piñero, “Patterns of Morphological Variation and Diversity of *Cocos Nucifera* (Arecaceae) in Mexico,” *American Journal of Botany* 85, no. 6 (1998): 855-865; Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, Miguel Fernández-Barrera, et al., “Morphological variations of fruit in Mexican populations of *Cocos nucifera* L. (arecaceae) under *in situ* and *ex situ* conditions,” *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 52 (2005): 421-436; and Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Patricia Colunga García Marín, “Early coconut distillation and the origins of mescal and tequila spirits in west-central Mexico,” *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 55 (2008): 499-501, 504.

For the diffusion of cococulture eastward from Colima across Motines to the river valleys of the Costa Grande, and up the Balsas River tributaries, see Gerardo Sánchez Díaz, *Los cultivos tropicales en Michoacán: Época colonial y siglo XIX* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad de San Nicolás de Hidalgo Michoacana [USNHM] Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2008), 67-73.; *infra,* Chapter 5, n. 46; and AHMP, Fondo Colonial, c. 11B, exp. 3, fs. 11r-11v/11-3-266r (1631).

[78] For the climbing, and pounding, bending, and tapping of the coconut buds, see William L. Fernandez, “The Collection of *Tubâ* and *Lambanog* Toddy,” *Philippine Journal of Coconut Studies* 3, no. 2 (1978) : 74; and Sánchez, “Part 4,” 219-221; San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 204, 641; amd Sevilla del Rio, *Breve estudio sobre la conquista* 89-90; and Priscilla Chinte Sanchez, *Philippine Fermented Foods: Principles and Technology* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of Philippines Press, 2008), 153.

For falls of vinateros and tuberos from the palms, see AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 5 (1636); AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 10 (1640); and AHMC, sección B, C. 29, exp. 23 (1654).

Mexico and the Philippines have isolated several bacteria species which acidify the sap, making it distasteful to other bacteria, assisting the growth of yeast. Then, species of yeast convert the sugars into alcohol and other substances. Chinos typically carried out the fermentation in tecomates that they had carefully cleaned in order to avoid contamination. Tuberos still use tecomates to store and transport tuba in contemporary Colima. After two or three days of fermentation, *Acetobacter* make the tuba too vinegary for consumption. The time shortly before this acidification represents the height of the alcoholic potency of tuba. In the Philippines, Filipinos add to the sap container the bark of certain trees, including some species of mangrove, to depress bacterial growth, and promote the growth of the yeast, elevating the alcoholic content of the tuba. Chinos could have used similar bark in Colima, as the coasts had mangrove forests. Its use would have lessened the time required to distill vino de cocos, and boosted alcohol production.[79]

The producers of vino de cocos and the inhabitants of nearby villages consumed tuba, with an alcoholic content of between six and eight percent alcohol by volume. Hacendados placed far greater emphasis on the production of vino de cocos than tuba, as the former had a high alcoholic content, rendering it transportable and commanding a higher profit. Hacendados called the producers of this venerable beverage vinateros or tuberos. Chinos first dominated its

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[79] For the yeasts present in tuba; and the synergy of lactobacilli and yeast in tuba fermentation, see J. D. Atputharajah, S. Widanapathirana, and U. Samarajeewa, "Microbiology and biochemistry of natural fermentation of coconut palm sap," *Food Microbiology* 3 (1986): 276-279; and Chinte Sanchez, *Philippine Fermented Foods* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of Philippines Press, 2008), 161, 164-165.

For the use of tecomates in making tuba, and transporting other goods, see AHMC, seccion B, c. 8, exp. 25, fa. 109v, 119v (1628); AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 8, f. 98v (1629); AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 109v (1639) and AHMC, sección B, c. 6, exp. 7 (1627).

For the threat of *Acetobacter* in tuba production; the use of bark-derived tannins and polyphenols bark to boost alcohol content, and the presence of mangrove swamps in Colima, see J. D. Atputharajah, S. Widanapathirana, and U. Samarajeewa, "Microbiology and biochemistry of natural fermentation of coconut palm sap," *Food Microbiology* 3 (1986): 278-279; Chinte Sanchez, *Philippine Fermented Foods*, 151, 158, 163-164, 166-167; AHMC, sección B, c. 22, exp. 25, f. 2v (1642); and W. Michel Mathes, *Californiana, volume 1, Part 1 : Documentos para la Historia de la Demarcación Comercial de California, 1583-1632* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, 1967), 474.

production, but over time, hacendados hired indigenous people, mestizos, people of African descent and even Spaniards for the same work.[80]

In 1640, Antonio Tello de Guzmán, a Franciscan from Colima, described the most important part of the process, the distillation of tuba into vino de cocos. According to Tello, vinateros used a hollow tree trunk as a makeshift still, "about the width of a man," covering the top with a copper kettle (probably with a convex bottom) filled with cool water and inserting a plank impregnated with a spout in the middle of the tree. As the tuba heated in the bottom of the tree, the kettle acted as a condenser, separating the water in the tuba solution from the less dense alcohol. This alcohol within the tuba boiled into a vapor, until it reached the cooler surface of the kettle (See Figure 12). The alcohol condensed on the bottom of the kettle, and collecting there, dripped off into the channel in the plank leading to the spout, where it flowed into a waiting one arroba (four-gallon) wine jar (*perulera*). Hacendados replaced the tree trunk still (*horno*) with avocado wood barrels. The important element of the configuration was a way to prevent the escape of evaporated alcohol and the heat necessary to boil the tuba.[81]

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[80] For consumption of tuba in colonial Colima, see AHMC, sección B, c. 14, exp. 18, f. 3v (1638); AHMC, sección C, c. 18, exp. 10, f. 3f (1640); AHMC, sección B, c. 24, exp. 36, f. 5f (1643); AHMC, sección B, c. 26, exp. 24, f. 10f (1647); and AHMC, sección B, c. 30, exp. 18, f. 1f (1664).

For indigenous vinateros, see AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 16, f. 1v (1636); AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 47 (1640); AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 32, f. 1f (1654).

For Afromexican vinateros, and mestizo vinateros, see AHMC, sección B, c. 20, exp. 42, fs. 27f, 118v (1641); c. 26, exp. 24, fs. 3f, 4f, 11f (1647); AHMC, seccion B, c. 33, exp. 26, f. 4f (1693); AHMC, sección B, c. 28, exp 14, fs. 1f-1v (1652) and AGN, Inquisición, v. 601, exp. 5, f. 395r (1664).

[81] For a description of the vino de cocos distillation process, see Fray Antonio Tello, *Crónica Miscelanea en que trata de la Conquista Espiritual y Temporal de la Santa Provincia de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco en el Nuevo Reino y Nueva Viscaya..* Volume II (Guadalajara: La República Literaria, 1891), 238. For the beginning of studies of vino de cocos production techniques in Mexico, see Henry Bruman. See Henry J. Bruman "The Asiatic Origin of the Huichol Still," *Geographical Review* 34, no. 3 (1944): 418-427, especially 425-426; and Henry J. Bruman, "Early Coconut Culture in Western Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 25, no. 2 (1945): 212-223, especially 215-217. Regional historians and botanists have produced recent scholarship on the matter, especially Adolfo Gómez Amador, Gaspar Sánchez Díaz, Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal, Patricia Colunga-García Marín, Paulina Claudia Machuca Chávez. See above.

For the use of peruleras to store and serve wine, and the use of copper, cazos, cántaros and peroles to ferment and distill tuba, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, f. 107v (1603); AHMC, sección B, c. 2, exp. 24, f. 1f (1613); AHMC, sección B, c. 3, exp. 6, f. 88v (1618); AHMC, seccion B, c. 2, exp. 24, f. 3v (1613); AHMC,

Priscilla Chinte Sanchez notes that the tapping of the palms constitutes the bulk of the labor expended during lambanog production. Using the production figures she collected, we can estimate that distillation of each liter of vino de cocos required at least 6.3 liters of tuba. The distillation itself required chinos to tend the fire and ensure that the top kettle (*cántaro*) was filled with cold water. Assuming that each palm yielded approximately between one and one and a half liters of sap, each botija required a vinatero to ascend and descend from between seventy and one hundred palm trees. Any time spent decreasing the time of ascent and descent from the palms increased productivity. To that end, modern-day tuberos in the Philippines and their seventeenth-century counterparts in Colima used "bridges," pieces of wood which connected palm canopies and allowed them to travel between trees without descending. Sanchez observes that vinateros ascending the palms tap on average one hundred and fifteen buds per day. A higher output per palm is assited by tapping two buds (*spadices*), meaning that it is likely that tuberos required a day and a half of labor to collect sufficient sap to produce a botija of lambanog. The time spent in the palms was perilous. On November 28, 1629, Martín Francisco, a vinatero on the Carrillo estate fell from a palm. The ledger did not record the resumption of work after the fall, which suggested that he sustained a serious injury. Documents from the municipal archive of Colima record several incidents of vinateros falling to their deaths in the course of their work.[82]

Seccion B, c. 8, exp. 27, fs. 1f, 3f, 5r (1618); AHMC, Sección B, c. 16, exp. 2, f. 3r (1639); AHMC, sección B, c. 26, exp. 24, f. 10f (1647); and AHMC, sección B, c. 16, exp. 29, f. 37v (1670).

For the use of barrels for stills, see AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 8, f. 65f (1629); AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 16, f. 1v(1636); and AHMC, sección C, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 8f (1639).

[82] For yields, labor costs, and hazards faced by lambanog producers and tuberos in the early modern and modern periods, see Priscilla C. Sanchez, "Part 4," in *Coconut as Food,* by Julian A. Bauzon, Olympia N. Gonzalez, Sonia Y. de Leon, and Priscilla C. Sanchez (Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Coconut Research and Development Foundation, 1990), 220-221, 236-238; Chinte Sanchez, *Philippine Fermented Foods*, 156, 171. When I conducted research in the Philippines, I observed tubero bridges being used near Pagsanjan, Laguna, and Liliw, Laguna. For Colima bridges, see AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Registro 1313, c. 10, carpeta 4, fs. 71-71v

In setting up an industry in the Americas, Spanish seemed to have turned to their advantage the long history in Southeast Asia of utilizing debt to obtain patronage, though they transformed these systems of bondage into more permanent arrangments with little hope of exit. They attracted workers with credit in cash and cloth. Through debt, owners of palm orchards worked to attract and immobilize vinateros, the latter practice alien to the pre-Hispanic Philippines. At the same time, perhaps to enhance the attractiveness of the occupation, these hacendados preserved the share left for vinateros of their own labor. They called this share, one-third to one-half the production of the production, "the partido chino."[83]

Scholars of colonial Mexico have viewed cash advances as representative of the power of workers in bargaining for their labor. It is also true that employers viewed the indebtedness of their workers as assets. They indicated their understanding of these benefits by listing worker debts in their wills as assets for their executors and heirs.[84]

Conditions in the Philippines help explain why chinos would accept share-cropping arrangements and debt bondage in western Mexico. The sharecropper class, or namamahay, remained part of the social landscape of the colonial Philippines, and Spaniards also tolerated the

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(1615). See AHMC sección, c. 8, exp. 25, f. 150v (1629); AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 5 (1636); AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 10 (1640); and AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 23 (1654).

[83] For chinos de partido, see AHMC, sección B, c. 11, exp. 5, f. 1f (1632); AHMC, sección B, c. 27, exp. 8 f. 11v (1647); AHMC, sección B, c. 27, exp. 35, f. 1f (1648); AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 20, f. 3v (1654)

For an indigenous vinatero de partido, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 22v (1638).

[84] For Mesoamerican precedents to indebted labor, see Tutino, *Making a New World*, 133; and Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1991), 99-101.

Indeed, in the first several years of the seventeenth century, at least, three chinos, Antonio López, Juan Chino and Antón Pérez, worked in Querétaro for two and half to three pesos monthly. In return for providing room and board and paying debts ranging from sixteen to seventy pesos, owners of textile factories (*obrajes*) in the city such as Juan Rodríguez Galán employed these chinos and workers in cloth production. For chino labor in Querétaro, see Urquiola Permisán, *Trabajadores de campo y ciudad,* 302-303, 363, 372-373.

For the strength of worker bargaining power in "obligated labor," and for servant debts as assets, see Tutino, *Making a New World*, 103-105; Van Young, *Haciendas and Markets in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, 248-249; AHMC, seccion B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 19v, 154v (1628). AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 16v (1639); and AHMC, sección B, c. 34, exp. 4, fs. 4v, 11v (1694).

indenture of Filipino peasants to several elites. These debts were transferable from owner to owner, as we saw in the 1638 cases of which adjudicated Visayan servitude. As in the case of the imposition of the term "slave" on bondage in the Philippines, Spanish colonial legislation in western Mexico also helped close off the social mobility implicit in namamahay status. Similarly, in western Mexico, Spanish administrators moved to close off avenues of social mobility. In western Mexico, in 1618, the cabildo voted to prohibit the involvement of chinos, mulatos, and indigenous people in the marketing of vino de cocos. The monopolization of profit by Spanish colonial elites foreclosed the possibility of chino movement out of debt bondage, except in extraordinary circumstances, leading to the interchangeability of the terms of servant and slave seen in the marriage records of Lorenzo de Aguilar.[85]

We lack evidence of some of the earliest employment and settlement patterns of chinos. We do know that credit and debt played important roles in attracting workers with the promise of goods, and then, potentially keeping them bonded to hacendados and other employers. One of the earliest clear illustrations of these connections was a punishment imposed by the cabildo of Colima on the chino Agustín de Mendoza in 1602 for debt. The cabildo imposed the sentence of imposed service on the chino for this infraction. This punishment echoed the use of of debt service for punishment of Filipino peasants by Filipino elites.[86]

The dynamics of the connection of debt and service employment of chinos seem to follow practices employed by hacendados with indigenous debts servants on Colima haciendas.

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[85] For the tolerance of debt bondage in the Philippines until 1683, see Chapters 1&3; and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1640, expediente 28, f. 1r (1637).

For the banning of the marketing by indigenous people and chinos of vino de cocos, see AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 27, f. 1f (1618).

[86] For Agustín de Mendoza, see Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "El Cabildo de la Villa de Colima: Gobierno, Poder y una Élite Consolidada, 1600-1622," 96.

In 1598, Cristóbal de Silva employed several indigenous servants, workers who he called "boys" (*mozos*), on his haciendas. He kept accounts of their debts and required them to pay them off during their service. Francisco, an indigenous native of Ixtlahuacán, incurred an extreme example of this type of servitude. Silva labeled him a slave in the margin of his will. Silva supplied to Francisco, on credit, twelve varas of blue sackcloth (*sayal azul*), a coverlet (*frazada*), a hat, and leather boots. Silva claims that Francisco pawned himself to pay this debt. He allegedly agreed to work for Silva for a period of ten years, of his own free will (*su voluntad*). Silva provided in his will for the freedom of Francisco after these years, "forgiving" him for the sick days (*fallas*) that he had taken which might have otherwise have added to his indenture.[87]

The hacendado Bartolomé Bravo de Lagunas, in his capacity as a constable (*alguacil*) for the province of Colima, imposed debt service as a punishment for several alleged indigenous, Afro-Mexican, and chino criminals. In 1639, three indigenous people appeared before him, accused of failing to repay debts totaling over thirty pesos each. Juan Francisco, a native of Alcusahui, incurred eighty-six pesos of debt. Juan Martín, an indio natural de Santa Ana de Ecautlán, owed thirty-six pesos. Gonzalo Juan, an indigenous native of Tepalcatepec, in western Michoacán, incurred thirty pesos. In each case, Bravo imposed the same service: all had to work on nearby vino de cocos haciendas for a small monthly wage until they paid off their debt. Juan Francisco and Juan Martín worked for a monthly salary of three pesos, and Gonzalo Juan, for four pesos. Bravo imposed a rather self-serving sentence for Juan Francisco, who worked for Luis Gonzales, a renter of an estate owned by Bravo. In each case, these sentences would have been easy to prolong; any items purchased by chinos would add to their balance. Advances of

[87] For the servant debtors (*mozos*) and slaves of Silva, see AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, f. 95f (1598).

goods and the actions of self-interested administrators could therefore assist in providing a secure labor force.[88]

Colonial records from archives in Spain, Michoacán, Utah, and Colima reveal that the status of chinos changed over time, seeming to follow in part the decline of the price in vino de cocos and the rising prominence of other alcohol substitutes, such as mezcal. Documents from early in the seventeenth century provide extensive evidence that some chinos exercised social mobility. By the middle of the seventeenth century, most documents from the municipal archives of Colima show that chinos worked as debt servants who handed over half of their production to the cocoteros. Several examples indicate the changing contours of chino labor contracts.

One contract indicates the ways that this transition occurred. On February 1, 1619, Andrés Rosales, alcalde of the chinos of the province, complained to the alcalde mayor of Colima that that Alférez Jorge Carrillo de Guzmán, a member of the prominent Carrillo de Guzmán family of Colima, had reneged on a rental agreement. Rosales argued that Carrillo owed him half of the jars of vino de cocos produced by vinateros from a palm grove Rosales owned in San José de Tecolopa. On February 5, Jorge Carrillo disputed the characterization by Rosales of the contract, so authorities reviewed the text of the agreement.[89]

In the document, signed by the literate chino on September 5, 1618, Rosales explained that due to recent orders issued by the alcalde mayor, the palms that he owned were losing value. The alcalde mayor prohibited chinos and indios from selling their vino de cocos, placing the

[88] For the imposition of servitude for criminal penalties by Bravo, benefitting his associates Lucas Navarro and Luis Gonzales, see AHMC, sección B, c. 16, exp. 47, fs. 100r-103v (1639); AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 47, fs. 1f-5v (1640); AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 24, fs. 1f-1v (1640); and AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 17, f. 3f (1639).

[89] AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 27, fs. 1f, 2f (1619).

profits in the hands of Spanish élites in the town. Rosales proposed a solution. He suggested that he enter into a partnership with Carrillo (*compañía*) in which Rosales would retain one-third of the production of the grove with no further investment. Carrillo would benefit from the capital goods already owned by Rosales, which included the copper kettles of the still (*alambique*), the barrel or hollow tree trunk, and the knives, tecomates, and jars (*botijas*) which he had previously purchased. Carrillo would hire and pay the vinatero (*oficial hacer vino*), receiving the lion's share of the production and its profits. In view of the comparative advantage enjoyed by Carrillo, a Spaniard legally permitted to profit from production and the risk involved with hiring the vinatero, Carrillo obtained two-thirds of the vino de cocos produced.[90]

Carrillo de Guzmán insisted that he was the aggrieved party. He explained Rosales had taken more than the agreed-upon one-third of the production share and owed him damages. Rosales argued that royal justice was obliged to give *him* satisfaction, as he had since purchased unremunerated capital goods for the project, in the form of a lock (*candado*), several jars, and a copper kettle (*peról*) used for distillation. These had not formed part of the prior agreement. Ultimately, Carrillo persuaded the court to rule for him, not surprising, given the degree to which the vecinos of Colima controlled the marketing of vino de cocos. Rosales, in turn, had already begun to borrow money from Carrillo in the form of cloth and cash (*reales*), requiring him to pay back these manageable debts in the form of conceding several botijas of vino de cocos. The agreement shows one way in which chino small-holder could transition into servants.[91]

Paulina Machuca notes that many chinos did not own properties of the sort available to Andrés Rosales. Later contracts indicate that chinos suffered far more asymmetrical

[90] AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 27, fs. 3f.-3v (1619).

[91] AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 27, fs. 5f-6f (1619).

relationships with Spanish patrons. On December 10, 1638, Diego Pérez de Espinosa, a criollo chino working for the estate of Sinacamitlán, appeared before the alcalde mayor of Colima. He verified before the magistrate that debts listed for him on the account books of the estate were legitimate and that he owed the amount of eighty-six pesos and four tomines. Antonio Carrillo de Guzmán, his creditor and the administrator of the estate, verified this was true, explaining that Pérez had purchased a mule in Pátzcuaro. Carrillo had added this debt onto an existing balance of twenty-four pesos.[92]

Juan Bautista de Pantaón, another chino, negotiated his contract on February 7, 1632, on the estate of Achiotlán. Pedro de Andrada, a vecino of Colima, owned the estate, located on a tributary of the Alima River. Juan Bautista probably worked as a carpenter in Pantaón, a shipyard located in the northern Visayan Islands. A native of the Philippines, he provided no other place of origin. Bautista agreed to pay his debt of eighty-two pesos from his share of vino de cocos production, selling the jars of liquor for their market price. If absent from the palms, he agreed to pay not in cash, but from his share of coconut brandy production, unless he could get someone to work in his place.[93]

Examples of the enforcement of restrictions on chino demonstrate the ways that colonial authorities worked to curtail chino autonomy. In 1638, Gerónimo de Oñate, the alcalde of the Santa Hermandad, a private rural police force, found two chinos on the royal road in the province of Colima, one named Miguel and the other named Sebastián Tumbaga. Tumbaga had taken his

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[92] For the separation of chinos in western Mexico into the two categories of debt servants and people of means, see Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos: un gobierno particular," *Memoria III Foro Colima y su Región Arqueología, antropología e historia*, ed. Juan Carlos Reyes Garza (Colima, México: Gobierno Estado de Colima, 2007), 6-7 . http://www.culturacolima.gob.mx/imagenes/foroscolima/3/13.pdf .

For the contract and debt of Diego Pérez de Espinosa; and for records of his probable namesake, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, fs. 19f, 24f, 102f, 73f-74f, 107f (1628); and UASC, MS 089, *Matrícula de Indios y Indias de la Villa de Colima*, f. 7v (1592).

[93] For the contract of Juan Bautista Pantaon, see AHMC, seccion B, c. 11, exp. 5, fs. 1f-1v (1632).

surname from a Malay and Tagalog term for a gold-copper alloy. Oñate charged the two chinos with flight and theft, arguing that they had left with debts to their masters. The alcalde mayor had apprehended the two chinos with two mules, both equipped with saddles, as well as five casting nets (*atarrayas*), and five worked coconut cups holding tobacco and chocolate powders.[94]

The alcalde mayor had inferred that most chinos entered debt relationships with Spaniards, connecting the caste status of chinos with their mobility and occupation. In this case, he had made an incorrect assumption. Miguel successfully argued that he was free of service obligations, a correction corroborated by several Spanish witnesses. He successfully demanded his freedom and received his goods back from his captors.[95]

Gerónimo de Oñate, on the other hand, had correctly identified the status of Sebastián Tumbaga. Hernando de Solorzano approached Gerónimo de Oñate in August of 1638 and presented proof that Tumbaga was a debtor to Bartolomé Bravo de Lagunas. Tumbaga owed over forty-one pesos to Bravo and another forty-six pesos to Lucas Navarro. Tumbaga confirmed the debts, signing the letter and confirming that he was literate. In October, Tumbaga, still imprisoned, wrote another letter to the court. He declared that though he had no wish to return to his coconut hacienda, nor pawn himself (*venderme*), his poverty required him to return to debt service in order to avoid starvation. Despite his stated wish to leave the jail, Tumbaga

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[94] AHMC, sección B, c. 15, exp. 15, fs. 2f-2r (1638). Another chino, Juan, had taken the name Tumbaga as a surname. See Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," 7 .

In Tagalog, tumbaga means copper alloy. For the Tagalog meaning and more on its etymology, see San Buena Ventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 705, R. David Paul Zorc, "Austronesian Culture History Through Reconstructed Vocabulary (An Overview)," in *Austronesian Terminologies: Continuity and Change*, eds. A. K. Pawley amd M. D. Ross (Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics, 1994), 558; and Arsenio Nicolas, "Early Musical Exchange between India and Southeast Asia," in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, eds. Pierre Yves-Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2011), 357.

For the inventory of the apprehended, see AHMC, sección B, c. 15, exp. 15, f. 3f (1638); and Héctor Rivero Borrell M., Gustavo Curiel, and Antonio Rubial García, *La grandeza del México virreinal: Tesoros del Museo Franz Mayer* (México, D. F.: Museo Franz Mayer, 2002), 256-262.

[95] For the exoneration of Miguel, see AHMC, sección B, c. 15, exp. 15, f. 4f (1638).

remained in prison until December, when he begged to leave prison through his public defender, Diego Carrillo de Guzmán. Carrillo, another hacendado, urged the court to free Tumbaga so that he could comply with his obligations.[96]

Tumbaga entered jail again in 1640. That year, Luis Gonzales asked that authorities imprison Tumbaga, who he argued had accrued over one hundred pesos of debt and who was not working on his palms. On November 4, 1640, Tumbaga agreed to pay sixty-six pesos of his debt, and freed him for several years more of service. Bartolomé Bravo, the former creditor of the chino, and the owner of the property which Gonzales rented, served as a guarantor for the payment. Tumbaga himself also signed.[97]

The terms of these agreements applied to vinateros of all ethnicities. On December 28, 1652, Juan Larios, a mixed-descent man (*morisco*) signed a contract with the important cocotero, Juan Ximénez de Nava. Larios, a native of Zapotitlán, in the Jalisco pueblo of Acaponeta, had accrued a substantial debt of over one hundred and eighty-six pesos. As with the chinos, he had done so through advances of cash and cloth. Larios negotiated for a price of one and a half pesos for each "*chino*" delivery, that is, his share as a namamahay. In return for this price, Larios was tied to the hacienda, also agreeing not to work for any other hacendado while his debt to Ximénez remained unpaid. Larios signed the contract, but apparently reneged, as Juan Ximénez sued him for the same sum in 1655. Juanillo, an indigenous man from the indigenous town of Sinacamitlán, also "worked like a chino" (*sirve de chino*) on the hacienda of Sinacamitlán. He owed ten pesos to the hacienda. As these examples show, the varied productions strategies and commercial connections created by cocoteros shaped the functioning of the vino de cocos

[96] For the apprehension of Tumbaga, his imprisonment and his appeals, see AHMC, sección B, c. 15, exp. 15, fs. 5f-9f (1638).

[97] AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 24, fs. 1f-1v (1640).

industry, and the lives of chinos, throughout western Mexico. We will now take a closer look at the ways that hacendado decisions affected the growth and functioning of this industry. [98]

The Vino de Cocos Industry of Colima: A Profile

Paulina Machuca has shown that decisions by Colima municipal and provincial administrators helped remake the provincial economies of Motines and Colima. They gradually embraced vino de cocos as a source of revenue, moving away from their former ambivalence, when they had tried to ban its sale to nearby pueblos de indios. These changes crystallized in 1610, when the provincial oligarchy coalesced and mobilized against a threat to its privileges challenged from the city of Mexico. In 1610, the Viceroy of New Spain banned the production and sale of vino de cocos in Colima and Zacatula as part of a broader crackdown on the production and consumption of fermented intoxicants. The vecinos of Colima and Zacatula ignored his proscriptions for two years. In 1612, the Audiencia of Mexico ordered the palms of the provinces to be cut down, and in response, the cabildo of Colima mobilized a formal defense of the industry. They sent testimony from a set of expert witnesses to the viceroy to explain the economic value of the industry, to proclaim the sacrifice of Colima vecinos for the defense of the realm, and to argue for the medicinal properties of vino de cocos.[99]

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[98] For Juan Larios, and Juanillo, see AHMC, sección B, c. 28, exp. 14, f.s 1f-2f (1652); and AHMC, sección C, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 22v (1638). Chinos namamahay also worked elsewhere in western Mexico, especially in the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán and Guerrero. See AHMP, Fondo Colonial, 11B, exp. 3, fs. 5r, 8r, 11r, 20r (1631); and AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano. Justicia, Test. Capellanias y O. Pias, Testamentos, c. 146, exp. 54, f. 49v (1632).

[99] I draw on the work of Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez for much of the interpretation below. See Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII*; and Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos," 173-192, as well as Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima*, *passim*. I am grateful to Paulina Machuca for providing me a copy of the *Provança*, introducing me to the municipal archives of Colima, and providing research advice.

For the measures taken by the alcaldes mayores of Colima against sale of vino de cocos, the prohibition of vino de cocos production, the rebuttal of Colima vecinos, and the wider set of concerns with alcohol production in New Spain, see Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos," 180-182; and AGN, Ordenanzas, v. 2, exp. 52, f. 44v (1635).

The defended the industry in a document known as *La Provança de Colima.* Scholarship centered on these documents has reinforced the importance of chinos in the vino de cocos industry. For example, the historian Felipe Sevilla del Rio explains that Colima hacendados mentioned that the laborers for this industry came from, "Malolos, Palanaque, Cavita, Manila; Bajan, Camarines, Cabaya, and Santiago." Six of the eight locations he named were pueblos and provinces of central Luzon, respectively Malolos, Bulacan; Parañaque, Tondo; Cavite; Manila; Batán (Bataan), in Pampanga; and Santiago, probably Bagumbayan (See Figures 4 and 5). He also mentioned Camarines, Kabikolan; and Cabaya, the latter probably in the province of Ilocos.[100]

The vecinos gave several reasons to preserve the industry. They explained that those raising coconut plantations were the descendants of the conquistadors of Colima, who had risked everything to seize the land over which the king exercised sovereignty, and who also defended the land from foreigners. Francis Drake had attacked Salagua in 1579. In 1587, Thomas Cavendish had visited the port of Salagua enroute to his capture of the galleon *Santa Ana*. The survivors of his attack later sailed to Salagua. The vecinos also argued that since the land was poor in indigenous labor and suffered from typhoons and earthquakes, the vecinos faced poverty due to their distance from large colonial markets, and deserved production licenses.[101]

Vecinos delineated the benefits of their product. Faced with an accusation that indigenous communities suffered from the consumption of vino de cocos, they blamed supposed indigenous alcoholism on products fermented and distilled from indigenous products: fruit,

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[100] For the municipalities mentioned, see Felipe Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima*, 12.

[101] Of course, the composition of the questionairre (interrogatorio), probably composed by the cabildo, heavily shaped the way Colima vecinos assessed the industry. See Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima*, 25-28.

For the claims about the antiquity of Colima and its conquistador families, the importance of coastal defense, and poverty pleas, see Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII*, 94-95; Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima,* 39, 44-46, 49, 52-53, 68, 75-76.

agave (*maguey)*, maize, and sugar. Other vecinos argued for the benefits of vino de cocos production for the spiritual condition of the province. Ecclesiastical mortgages (*censos*) imposed by vecinos on their palm groves yielded annuities that paid for church construction and the employment of clerics. Vecinos explained that coconuts provided a variety of useful products, from fiber, to vinegar. Still other praised the service of Africans and Asians in the coconut groves as assistance to the royal treasury, through the provision of sales tax (*alcabala*) receipts. Finally, a surgeon resident and several other vecinos claimed that the consumption of vino de cocos was in fact healthy (*saludable*).[102]

The campaign proved successful. In 1627, the Viceroy of New Spain licensed the production of vino de cocos and its sale throughout the viceroyalty, subject to a eight-year window. The viceregal government periodically renewed the licenses through 1724, when the viceroy of New Spain, don Juan de Acuña, banned the sale of vino de cocos, listing it among a myriad number of alcoholic beverages fermented and distilled in the viceroyalty which had contributed to the disease of its inhabitants.[103]

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[102] For the argumentand counterarguments about the causes of indigenous epidemics, see Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima,* 27, 40, 43-44, 54, 60, 163.

For tithes, chaplaincies (*capellanías*), and ecclesiastical mortgages (*censos*) attributed to vino de cocos production, see *Ibid*., 29, 41, 45, 56, 66-67, 83; and AHMC, sección B, c. 14, exp. 15, fs, 6f, 7f-8f (1638) AHMC, sección B, c. 20, exp. 42, f. 93v (1641); AHMC, seccion B, c. 31, exp. 34, f. 16r (1670); and AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano,,Sección Justicia, Test. Capellanias y O. Pias ,Testamentos, 0092, c. 100, Exp. 41, fs. 4r (1619); AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Sección Justicia, Test. Capellanias y O. Pias ,Testamentos, 0092, c. 106, Exp. 103, f. 1r (1638); AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Sección Justicia, Test. Capellanias y O. Pias ,Testamentos, 0092, c. 107, Exp. 107, fs. 1r-2r (1646); and AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Sección Justicia, Test. Capellanias y O. Pias ,Testamentos, 0094, c. 144, Exp. 48, fs. 7r-7v, 8v (1666).

For the alcabalas, the utility of materials produced using coconut palms, and the use of vino de cocos as medicine, see Sevilla del Rio, *Provança de la villa de Colima,* 26-27, 38, 50, 59- 61, 65, 77, 82. 85-86; Machuca Chávez, “Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos,” 184; and AHMG, *Libro de Actas de Cabildo 1607-1662 de la Nueva Galicia*, f. 205r (1645).

[103] For the renewed granted by the viceroy for production and sale of vino de cocos, and the 1724 ban of the same, see Sevilla del Rio, *Provança*, 167-169; Machuca Chávez, “Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos,” 184, 188, 189; and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3003, exp. 19, fs. 1r-2v (1724).

The 1627 license only legalized what had already been a widespread trade carried on by the vecinos of Colima. Francisco Toscano Gorjón, one of the most vehement defenders of vino de cocos in the *Provança* explained that the vecinos of Colima sold their wares throughout the viceroyalty, included San Luís de Potosí, the mines of Guachinango in Nayarit, Guanajuato, and Guadalajara (See Figure 10). Their ambitions even included the city of Mexico, an extension of the commercial ties and networks between center and periphery that had begun early in the sixteenth century. For example, in 1614, Álvaro Martínez de Sande, a merchant in the city of Mexico, provided Asian cloth to Martín Arias Tello, a partner in Colima. He received in exchange vino de cocos. In 1650, Ambrosio García, successfully obtained a license to sell the spirit in the viceregal capital.[104]

In 1622, King Philip III ordered that all of the office-holders in the Americas provide detailed inventories of their possessions and rents, affording a glance of the infant vino de cocos industry. Office-holders still held substantial incentives to understate their assets and conceal their use of their office for personal profit. Yet, as Juan Carlos Reyes Garza argues, these inventories provided snapshots, however limited, of the material culture of élites and a profile of the provincial economy. The inventories indicated that despite the cultivation of palms, the cacao economy was still quite important, with the vast majority of officeholders holding cacao haciendas (*huertas*). Officeholders also invested in salt pans, cattle-raising, and sugar

[104]For the comments about the sale to markets in the Bajío, see Sevilla del Rio, *Provança,* 61.

For the Martínez de Sande exchange, see Paulina Machuca, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres," 102, 104. Fort the sale of vino de cocos in the city of Mexico, see AGN, IV, c. 6716, exp. 57, *passim* (1650); and Natalía Silva Prada, "'*El año de los seises (1666)*' y los rumores conspirativos de los mulatos en la ciudad de México: coronaciones, pasquines, sermones y profecías, 1608-1665," in *Cofradías de negros y mulatos en la Nueva España: devoción, sociabilidad y resistencias*, ed. Rafael Castañeda García, http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64277?lang=en . Consulted 2/12/2013.

For a fully-fleshed out interpretation of the connections between office-holding, commercial monopolies and licensing of the production of vino de cocos, see Machuca Chávez, *El cabildo de la villa de Colima en los albores del siglo XVII, passim*.

production. Over sixty percent of the officeholders held palm groves, and many of them had recently invested in production.[105]

A series of documents produced in the early seventeenth century provides a good indication of the growing importance of vino de cocos production in Colima and Motines. Throughout the late 1620s and into 1631, the archbishops of the diocese of Michoacán compiled information about the social and economic profile of their parishes. In the case of Colima, the 1631 census enabled the diocese to estimate productivity of cattle estancias, cacao haciendas, and the burgeoning industry of vino de cocos production. Parish officers across the provinces of Colima and Motines, which included the cabeceras of San José Tecolopa, Chiamila, and Maquilí, estimated that the hacendados and vinateros of Colima and Motines produced just over twelve thousand botijas peruleras of vino de cocos. At over sixteen liters per one-arroba botija, this comes to an annual production of forty-eight thousand gallons, or over one hundred and ninety-two thousand liters of hard liquor.[106]

Entrepreneurs also contributed impressive production of other items consumed in the viceroyalty, especially salt, cacao, and livestock. The laborers on these haciendas required large

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[105] For more on the inventories, what they indicated about cacao production and cattle-raising, and the sources for the count of vecinos involved with coconut haciendas, see Juan Carlos Reyes Garza, *Por mandato de su Magestad: Inventarios de Bienes de Autoridades de Colima, 1622* (Colima, México: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, 2000), v-ix, 7, 20, 27-29, 41, 48, 51-52, 54, 63, 68, 73-74, 85-87, 97, 102, 109, 114, 118, 125, 149, 153-154, 160, 169, 172 . As Reyes Garza observes, Colima authorities were not anxious to advertise that they produced vino de cocos from the palms, as vino de cocos production was still officially banned between 1610 and 1627.

[106] See López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 14-18. For the 1619 diocesan summary letter, the 1631 diocesan census, and estimates of Colima production, see Baltasar de Covarrubias, "Relación de la Diócesis de Michoacán," 152-154; López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 109-118, 175; and Mitchell W. Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500-1800* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 122-123. These estimates accord with other estimates by scholars such as Eichi Fuchigami and Gerardo Sánchez Díaz of annual coastal aguardiente production, who estimate Colima and coastal Pacific production at between ten thousand and fourteen thousand botijas. See Oropeza, "Los '*indios chinos*," 91-92.

According to Prudence Rice, such a quantity would represent five percent of the export of Spanish aguardiente to all of its American colonies between 1650 and 1700. See Prudence Rice, *Vintage Moquegua: History, Wine and Archaeology on a Colonial Peruvian Periphery* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 140-141.

amounts of beans and maize from the indigenous pueblos and nearby haciendas, as well as large quantities of cloth, used to entice laborers. Some of this cloth was produced locally, but hacendados also developed close relationships with merchants in the cities of Mexico, Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Acapulco, for cloth from Europe and Asia. Finally, hacendados recruited labor from outside the province of Colima.[107]

Spanish hacendados used laborers of several ethnicities. They drew on indigenous labor from nearby provinces, chino workers, and purchased African slaves. They did not ignore local sources of labor, and in fact, helped contribute to the destruction of pueblos such as Santa Ana Ecautlán as self-sufficient producers, through the drafting of corvée laborers, and purchase of land. Some indigenous élites and municipal corporate bodies, such as Ixtlahuacán, successfully invested in productionof salt for export, and evaded dismemberment. Yet, indigenous municipalities continued to supply repartimiento labor to staff the salt pans, provide food, and to supply temporary labor to the haciendas. They also levied indigenous women (*molenderas*) to process and cook nixtamalized corn. In 1590, indigenous plaintiffs in San Francisco de Almoloyan protested the collusion of local indigenous officials in the recruitment of indigenous molenderas to work in Spanish households in Colima. They said that the practice gave great offense to God, suggesting that hacendados and their employees sexually exploited these women.[108]

Salt-making industry complemented both the cacao and later vino de cocos industry. Spanish investment in local salt "wells" (*pozos*), began in the sixteenth century and continued

[107] For livestock-raising, and maize production in seventeenth-century Colima and Motines, see AGI, Contratación, 292, R. 1, N. 1, fs. 12r-12v (1604); AGN, Inquisición, v. 389, 2a pte, exp. 15, f. 537v (1636); AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 37, fs. 5v-7f (1637); AHMC, c. 8, exp. 25, sección B, f. 132r (1629); AHMC, sección B, c. 11, exp. 3, f. 8v (1632); and AHMC, sección C, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 7v (1639).

[108] For the destruction of Santa Ana Ecautlán, the use of molenderas, and the economic expansion of Ixtlahuacán de los Reyes, see *infra,* and Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 85, 89-91, and 120.

into the eighteenth century, as salt increased in price. It was a significant addition to incomes for those poised to purchase lands in the most accessible salt flats in eastern coastal Colima. In 1628, the administrator of the estate of don Juan de Carrillo recruited dozens of laborers (*sacapines*) from the villages of Nahualapa, Tecomán and Coquimatlán, employing them on his salinas, and on weeding his estate (See Figure 11). Salineros utilized techniques possibly derived from pre-Hispanic antecedents long practiced in the region. Salineros poured sea water through vats of salt-infused soil and filters (*tapextles*), leach salt into briny water which was then dried into cakes (*panes de sal*).[109]

Several sets of hacienda documents record facets of productive diversification and commercial connections sustained by hacendados with merchants and consumers in other provinces. One of the earliest records, a 1598 will of a hacendado named Cristóbal de Silva and the record of the division of his estatem produced in 1603, provides important details about commercial diversification. Inventories and account books produced by the heirs of Catalina Alarcón, and Juan Carrillo de Guzmán, in 1628 and 1630, recorded the operating expenses and production schedules of workers in the Caxitlán valley between 1628 and 1630. More inventories from the 1640s and 1670s, as well as tithe records from the 1650s and 1660s give us some idea of the state of production in these years.. Finally, I base analyses of the changing ethnic profile of the provincial work force on padrones from 1681, 1682, and 1683, used in conjunction with late seventeenth-century inventories.[110]

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[109]For the 1628 recruitment of sacapines, and salt production techniques, see AHMC, Seccion B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 82v, 119v-120r (1629); and Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*, 559; Reyes Garza, *Sal. El oro blanco de Colima*, 53-65; and Eduardo Williams, "Salt Production in the Coastal Area of Michoacán: An ethnoarchaeological study," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 13, no. 2 (2002): 239-250.

[110] These inventories can be seen respectively in AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5 (1603); AHMC,s ección B, c. 8, exp. 25 (1628); AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1; AHMC, c. 1 (1630); AHMC, c. 20, exp. 42 (1641); FHLGSU 0775537 and AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 34 (1670); AHMC, sección B c. 34, exp. 4 (1694); and AGN, Tierras, 309, exp. 4 (1712).

The haciendas of Cristóbal de Silva display, in an extreme form, the varied portfolio of Colima hacendados. Silva possessed several stores in Colima, and operated several haciendas in Colima and Motines, as well as owning salinas and beasts of burden. He sustained access to indigenous labor and slaves, one of which he sent to the mines of Guanajuato. Finally, Silva maintained close relationships with merchants of the city of Mexico. For example, he ordered one hundred and eighty cargas of cacao, four and a half tons, at his death to Mexico in order to settle debts from his long history of exchange with one merchant, Gerónimo de la Cueva, and ordered that three hundred more cargas be sent to Mexico in order to settle a debt of over three thousand and nine hundred pesos with the vecino Juan Ramírez de Alarcón.[111]

Signs of a trans-regional vino de cocos trade appear soon after the provança and illustrate the transformation from a cacao to vino de cocos industry. A charge brought in 1620 confirms the connections between Colima and the Audiencia of New Galicia. Miguel de Vera, the alcalde mayor of Ahuacatlán, in the present-day state of Nayarit, condemned Miguel García, a storeowner, to a one-hundred peso fine (See Figure 10). He accused García of violating the Audiencia ban on vino de cocos, mixing the liquor with Castilian wine during Christmas and the Three Kings fiestas in 1619.[112]

This early vino de cocos trade coexisted with the considerable trade in salt and cacao. For example, chinos of San José (Figure 11) owed Domingo de Villalobos several fanegas of salt, probably gathered along the coast. The 1618 accounts of don Gerónimo de Sandoval y

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[111] For the varied investments of Silva, see AHMC, sección B, c. 1, exp. 5, fs. 21f, 22v-23f, 24f, 25v-26f, 32v, 35v, 36v, 37f-37v, 44f, 75f, 88f-88v, 90f-90v, 91v-92v, 93v, 96v-97v, 101v, 107v-111f, 112f-114v, 120f (1603).

[112] For trade between western Jalisco and Colima, and the sale of vino de cocos in Nueva Galicia, see AHMC, sección B, c. 2, exp. 24, fs. 1f-5f (1613); BPEJ, Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 9, exp. 9, fs. 24f-25f (1620); and BPEJ, Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 4, exp. 49, 198f (1630).

Zapata, a Colima merchant show that the alcalde mayor Rodrigo de Ibarra Ateguren, a relative of merchants in Guadalajara, had gathered forty fanegas of salt from the inhabitants of San José in that year. Ibarra obtained letters from credit, cacao, and botijas of vino de coco totaling over five thousand pesos during the two years that he ran the store. His debtors included five chinos and their wives who lived in San José: Juan Bautista, Juan Gerónimo, Juan Martín, Pablo de los Rios, Francisco Luis and a chino noble, don Juan, probably don Juan Hernández. Of these workers, three, Juan Gerónimo, Francisco Luis, and Pablo de los Rios, inhabited nearby huertas as servants. Three were married. Two indigenous couples of San José also were granted credit, but they ran up less than two pesos in debt, while chino debts varied between five and ten pesos.[113]

Several changes encouraged the transition from a salt and cacao-based economy to one centered on salt and vino de cocos production. First, in 1626, a typhoon caused widespread damage to the plantations of the notoriously fragile cacao growing across Motines and Colima. The more durable coconut palms weathered the storm, prompting vecinos to shift their investment priorities. Next, in 1627, the viceroy officially granted a monopoly on vino de cocos production by the vecinos of Colima which they were already selling. This was a direct effect of the 1612 *Provança* and their successful effort to halt the destruction of the palm orchards. . The term "hacienda de cacao" soon gave way to "hacienda de palmas."[114]

In 1622, the hacendado Juan Carrillo de Guzmán listed his holdings, which included a hacienda with several hundred coconut palms and sixteen thousand cacao trees in Caxitlán, the

[113] For the involvement of chinos and salt, see AGI, Contratación, 520, N.2, R.14 , f. 37v (1620).
For the accounts and commercial activity of Ibarra Ateguren, including credit extended to chinos, see AHMC, sección B, c. 3, exp. 6, fs. 88r-88v, 100v-101v, 103r, 106v-107f (1616).

[114] See Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos," 183-184, and *passim*.
E.g. Compare the rental agreement for "unas tierras y palmar," signed in 1623, with rental of "unas palmas y tierras" in 1627. AHMC, sección B, c. 4, exp. 14, f. 2f (1623); AHMC, sección B, c. 4, exp. 14, pos. 4, f. 6f (1627); and AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 37, f. 5f (1637).

center of vino de cocos production in Colima and Motines. Four years later, after the 1626 typhoon, his inventory revealed he had shifted production to coconut palms. Carrillo owned a maize plot to provision his hacienda workers, rented three stores in the villa, which provided rent and sources of goods for his hacienda workers and operated several salt pans on the coast. Finally, Juan Carrillo was one of the last encomenderos in Colima, of the municipality of Tecuicitlán, a pueblo near Colima which might have provided him with sacapines.[115]

Pedro de Espinosa, the guardian (*tutor*) of the children of Carrillo, continued the management of the estate after his death. He oversaw the shipping of vino de cocos from the estate, and supervised the loading of several mule caravans (*recuas*). For example, on September 24, 1628, Pedro de Espinosa registered the dispatch of a mule train to Captain Juan de la Serna. Serna, a resident of Pátzcuaro, received seven fanegas of salt and twelve botijas of vino de cocos (See Figure 10). Arrieros freighted several hundred cargas of salt from the salinas of Colima. They carried the salt and and hundreds of gallons of vino de cocos to Jalisco and Michoacán.[116]

Work and Residence on the Haciendas

Muleteers on Colima haciendas loaded their mules with botijas of vino de cocos, each weighing an arroba, or thirty-two pounds or barrels which contained between three and a half to occasionally, seven and a half arrobas, containing between one hundred and forty-four pounds and two gundred and forty pounds. Each mule could carry two barrels, making up a load (*carga de vino*). Dueños de recua equipped their mules with special blankets and cinches (*aparejos*),

[115] For the 1622 and then 1628 holdings of Carrillo de Guzmán, see Reyes Garza, *Por mandato de su Magestad*, 51-61; and AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 102v, 104r, 116f, 120v, 131f, 132f (1628).

[116] For mules with barrels and botijas of vino de cocos, barrel capacity, and the shipments to Pátzcuaro, see AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 3f-5f. 76r (1628); and AHMM, Hacienda, c. 0001, exp. 0017A, fs, 1r-3v, 4v-5v (1670).

which allowed the load to rest securely, and safely on the backs (*lomos*) of the mules. These fittings and sacks (*costales*) were made of rough cloth (*jerga*), while still other cloth (*guangoche*) was used as covering for loads. Muleteers tied each animal together with a set of traces (*reatas*) requiring fewer human workers. Other mules in the trains carried bags of salt. Mules carrying varied loads would have been more likely to carry wine jars, to ensure a more balanced load on the precarious defiles of mountainous New Spain.[117]

As they grew up, the two sons of Carrillo, Alonso and Diego, learned to administer the estates, working under the mayordomo, Juan Ponce de Leon. Diego Carrillo oversaw the production of the salinas, and vino de cocos. Alonso Carrillo managed the recruitment of the salt workers, including their provisioning and their debt contracts. Alonso Carrillo provided his salineros with rations of vino de cocos, obtained from his brother. Sacapines working the salinas worked for one-month stints and came from pueblos around the provincem including Coquimatlán, Tecuicitlán, Ixtlahuacán, Nahualapa, and Tamala. The Carrillos paid these workers one peso a month, and provided them with food. Coconut estates supplied workers with maize, frijoles and beef. They purchased maize from the Villa of Colima, indigenous pueblos like Nahualapa, or other hacendados. Once recruited, the Carrillos worked to retain their workers, advancing cash and cloth on credit. For example, a worker named Alonso received

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[117] For the volumes of barrels and botijas, and the rigging of the mules, see the following. Note that the barrels normally tended towards the smaller side of the volume range. See AHEC, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 10, arpeta 4, fs. 71-71v (1615); AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs.3f, 4f-4v, 72f-76f, 154f (1628-1629); AHMC, sección B, c. 14, Exp. 6, f. 1v (1637); AHMC, sección B, c. 24, exp. 21, f. 3v (1641); AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Hacienda, c. 1, exp. 17A, (1670); AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14,, f. 4f, 41v (1619); and Clara Elena Suárez Argüello, *Camino real y carrera larga: La arriería en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVIII* ("exico, D. F. : CIESAS, 1997), 44-46, 65, 210.

advances of several reales and varas of rough cloth (*sayal*) in the course of his labor, contributing to his debt.[118]

Diego Carrillo also oversaw the production of vino de cocos. The Caxitlán estate of Captain Juan Carrillo de Guzmán employed at least eight distillers (*vinateros*) over the course of the two-year guardianship of Pedro de Espinosa: Chano, Martín Francisco, Antón de Guzmán, Agustín, Bartolo, Diego, Sebastían and Sebastiánillo, with the last two probably being the same individual. Juan Ponce de Leon and Diego Carrillo de Guzmán identified the ethnicity of only one workers: Anton Guzmán, a chino. Over the course of two years, these vinateros distilled over four hundred and forty-five botijas of vino, or over one thousand and six hundred gallons of coconut sap brandy. Each vinatero took on average just over six days to distill four gallons of hard liquor, an impressive feat considering the labor required for gathering tuba, the threat of spoilage, adverse weather, and the labor required for the demanding task of distillation.[119]

Under the production rates provided by the account books of Sinacamitlán, vinateros might have been capable of producing sixty botijas of vino de cocos yearly, which with a generous chino partido of half of the production, might have meant one hundred and tweny botijas. For an effective production aside from the chino partido, the provinces probably required a couple of hundred workers for this industry alone. This is a very conservative estimate, as it assumes that the vinateros would take no time off for feast days, illness, and injury. Nonetheless, if used with the tithe assessment, it could assist us in estimating the number of vinateros necessary to produce the annual production of vino de cocos for the province.

[118] For the administrators of the estate, and the provisioning, recruitment, and retention of salineros and other estate workers, see AHMC, seccion B, c. 2, exp. 24, f. 3v (1613); AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 72r, 82v, 120f, 127f, 130f-130v, 132f- 132v, 150f (1629, 1630); and AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, fs. 7r-7v (1639).

[119] For the productivity and identity of the eight vinateros, and the equipment used in distillation, see AHMC, sección B, c. 8, exp. 25, fs. 65f, 98v, 119v, 144f-151f, 153f-153v (1628); AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 8, fs. 65f, 98v (1630); AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 109v, 16f, 17v, 106f (1639-1641); AHMC, Sección B, c. 16, exp. 2, (1639), and AHMC, sección B, c. 22, exp. 25, f. 19v (1670).

Diocesan tithe records place the 1638 tithe of Colima at five hundred and ninety-one botijas peruleras. These records indicate that only five percent of total production was taken for the tithe. Assuming the high production rate of sixty botijas per year, such a volume of production would have required at least one hundred and ninety-six vinateros, for the entire year. Illness, death, flight, imprisonment, and various production inefficiencies meant that the number of vinateros employed was higher by several dozen, even conservatively estimated. This demand for laborers seemed to have far exceeded the entire number of chino crew members on the galleons. Given the eclectic origins of other chino slaves, these would have not been as reliably knowledgeable about vino de cocos production.[120]

This labor shortage helps explain the early entry of Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people into the vino de cocos industry. Yet, despite their scarcity, producers continued to recruit Filipino workers. A 1638 complaint from the indigenous people of Santa Ana Ecautlán shows us why. In that year, Miguel, the alcalde of the pueblo of Santa Ana Ecautlán, complained that Francisco, the mulato foreman of the hacendado of Francisco de Arévalo, had beaten four indigenous vinateros of the hacienda: Martín Lázaro, Juan Agustín, Melchor Pérez, and Juan Domingo. In response, they left the hacienda, fleeing as far north as Zapotlán. Cristóbal had beaten them because they had failed to produce sufficient vino de cocos under the terms of their

[120] For the tithe assessed in Colima in 1638, see Enrique Florescano and Lydia Espinosa, *Fuentes para el estudio de la agricultura colonial en la diócesis de Michoacán: serie de diezmos 1636-1810, volumen 1* (México, D. F: INAH, 1987), 256; and AHMC, sección B, c. 14, exp. 18, fs. 3f-9f (1638). This suggests that production in Colima exceeded eleven-thousand and eight hundred-and-twenty botijas for 1638, or between one thousand, five hundred, and two thousand mule loads. Again, this is a conservative estimate, which assumes honest reporting of production. We do not know the extent to which all Motines production was tithed, though some of it was included in the Colima tithes. Nor do we know much of vino de cocos production in western Colima, which paid its tithe to the Diocese of Guadalajara.

contract. This is despite the fact that their pueblo laid adjacent the Salado River, which had long hosted vino de cocos production and chino settlement.[121]

Another post-mortem inventory, conducted in 1638, reveals still more about the working conditions of chinos and the political economy of Colima. In 1638, Catalina Alarcón, a vecina of Colima and wife of Antonio Carrillo de Guzmán, died, leaving her husband, to administer a vino de cocos estate as her executor. Post-mortem inventories indicate that the estate, named Sinacamitlán, was a significant producer of vino de cocos. Alarcón, and then Carrillo, employed several chinos on the estate. Each chino tended to a grove of between eighty to one-hundred and forty trees, a ratio of tubero to trees that compares favorably to modern proportions. Alarcón also employed considerable numbers of salineros for salt pans that she operated near Petlazoneca, near the mouth of the Caxitlán River, on the Pacific Coast. Alarcón recruited salineros predominantly from pueblos in eastern Colima, such as Malacatlán, Ixtlahuacán, and the namesake of the hacienda, Sinacamitlán. Carrillo grew maize on the estate of Alarcón, supplementing his harvest with maize imported as far east as Ihuitlán, in Motines. Estate workers also consumed beef, purchased from neighboring estates, with a calf or cow slaughtered every other month.[122]

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[121] AHMC, sección B, c. 14, exp. 18, fs. 3f-9f (1638).

[122] For the death of Catalina de Alarcón, and the palm groves, salinas, food supply, and productivity of Sinacamitlán, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f.s 1f-4f, 7f-7v, 19f-19v, 22f-23f (1638); and FHLGSU, MF# 775536, item 1, Diezmos, 1636-1756, not foliated (March 27, 1638).

For complaints about the Sinacamitlán from the inhabitants of the pueblo of Malacatlán, see AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 2, fs. 1f, 2v, 2v, 8v (1630). For Ihuitlán, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp.1, f. 7f (1640); and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán,* 169, 171-172. The pueblo of Ihuitlán lay adjacent to the pueblo of Coxumatlán, a center of cacao investment. One of the cacaoteros in the area was a chino named Juan Triana. See *Ibid*., 167, 172; and AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Justicia, Procesos Legales, siglo xvii, Bienes Materiales, 0072, c. 81, exp. 40, fs. 1r-1v (1656). Alarcón exported some of his vino de cocos to Guadalajara and western Jalisco. In 1641, Alonso Vargas recorded the sale of ten botijas of vino, at two pesos a botija, for delivery in Guadalajara. Another arriero delivering vino de cocos was a native of Agualulco, another pueblo in western Jalisco. For Agualulco and Guadalajara sales, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, f. 1f (1639).

Carrillo maintained a diverse work force. He owned several slaves of African descent, who probably worked in domestic service and to supplement. He paid several indigenous workers a monthly salary. For example, he paid several unnamed indigenous workers a monthly salary of a peso for weeding and watering his palm groves. Francisco, an indigenous servant, earned a four-peso monthly salary to maintain the hacienda and water the palms. Luisa, another indigenous servant, served as a cook, receiving two pesos every month to cook for estate workers. Alarcón extended credit to many of the rest of the workers, including salineros, vinateros and arrieros. They received monthly wages, and resident workers also operated under sizable loads of debt, especially the vinateros. The salineros maintained debts of between five and fifteen pesos.[123]

The hacienda employed seven vinateros. One, Juanillo, was indigenous. The rest were chinos. They all owed over fifteen pesos, with the exception of one chino, Alonso, who fled the hacienda after accruing only ten pesos of debt. Agustín Pérez, Juan Bautista Pantaón, Baltasar Francisco, Juan García, and Diego Pérez de Espinosa, a chino criollo, owed over two hundred and thirteen pesos in 1639. They produced over two hundred botijas and sixty-four botijas over twenty-six months. Juan de Aguilar, the mayordomo, remarked that three factors impaired further productivity: the flight of Alonso, an illness suffered by Baltasar Francisco, which prevented him from working, and a lack of Filipino workers (*una falta de chinos*). Of the core of five chinos, four were married, probably to women from the nearby pueblos. Carrillo assigned worker to supply the vinateros with firewood.[124]

[123]For slaves, salineros and other non-vinatero workers, see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, fs.3f, 8f, 9v-10f, 17f, 22v-23f, 45f, 46f, 102f, 109v-110f (1639-1640).

[124] For vinatero identities, debts, productivity and marital status, see see AHMC, sección B, c. 18, exp. 1, fs. 19f-19v, 21f, 22v-23f, 24f, 102f, 107v, 121f, 126f-126v (1639).

The records of another estate in the Caxitlán Valley reinforced some of the patterns observed in the other haciendas. This record is especially useful, because it allows us to trace some of the ways that its owner, the former alguacil mayor, Bartolomé Bravo de Lagunas, acquired pieces of land and consolidated estates. He enlarged his estates through purchases of pieces of land from indigenous landholders in Caxitlán and San José Tecolopa. An unnamed purchase document (*escritura*) recorded the purchase by Bravo of a parcel (*pedazo de tierra*) from María Magdalena, a vecino of Caxitlán, for seventeen pesos. Francisco Miguel, an indigenous man from Tecolopa, sold a parcel to Bravo which held sixteen rows (*hiladas*) of cacao trees and nine coconut palms. The holding, though small, shows that indigenous people also invested in the vino de cocos economy.[125]

Bravo owned salt pans in Petlazoneca, purchased goods from adjacent hacendados and recorded his efforts to act as a labor broker. Bravo purchased slaves of African descent in Mexico and employed them as vinateros. Colima hacendados had depended on Mexican merchants for decades, buying slaves, textiles, and other goods on credit advanced against the harvests of future crops, whether cacao or vino de cocos. Bravo also held commercial connections with merchants in Mexico. He traveled to the viceregal capital in 1633, 1634, and 1635, and purchased over two thousand pesos of cloth on credit, which he claimed provided him access to chino labor. Several chinos owed him money for the goods he advanced to them.[126]

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[125] For Bravo and his land acquisitions, see AHMC, sección B, c. 20, exp. 42, fs. 1f-2v, 34v-35f (1642).

[126] For the salinas of Bravo, his labor force, his cloth purchases, and his work as a labor broker through credit advances, AHMC, sección B, c. 20, exp. 42, fs.1f-1v, 7f, 14v-15f, 20v, 24f-28f, 33v, 37f-37v, 56f, 60f-60v, 75v (1642).; AHMC, sección B, c. 16, exp. 47, fs. 100r-103v (1639); AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 47, fs. 1f-5v (1640). Some of the chinos who owed Bravo money were Juan Martín., Bartolomé Vásquez, the chino alcalde and servant of Bachiller Sebastián Gutiérrez Cornejo, and Agustín Garnapaza. See AHMC, sección C, c. 19, exp. 24, fs. 1f-1v (1640). A bachiller was a lower-level university graduate. For previous advances of credit and goods by Mexico City merchants, see AHEC, Escribano Toribio de Casso, Registro 88, Fondo Colonial, PEP, c. 6B, carpeta 3, fs. 1r-1v (1601); and AHEC, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Registro 1088, c. 9, carpeta 7 (1613).

Moving Away from a Chino Work Force

Various pieces of evidence indicate that chinos inhabited Colima and Motines though the second half of the seventeenth century, but other workers became more prominent on the haciendas. For example, in 1659, a chart (*mapa*) of tithe indicated that tithe collectors (*diezmatorios*) of Colima received dozens of botijas from the estate of María de Yniesta "and her chinos," as well as from don Joseph Beltrán and his chinos. Other parts of the mapa referred to the production of vino de cocos by "boys" (*mozos*) and "vinateros." These terms could refer to chinos but hacendados also used the term mozo to refer to all bonded vinateros. Vino de cocos production, and export continued apace through the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[127]

In 1681, ecclesiastical padrones showed that chinos still composed part of the work forces of the coconut estates, but their numbers had declined over time. In addition to the workers on the Barroso estate, chinos worked the estate of doña Francisca Figueroa. Two chinos worked as servants in 1681: Martín Salinas and Alonso Martín. Chinos worked on two other estates in the years 1681 and 1683. Eight other chinos would be counted on these estates, and others in the years 1681 and 1683. The employment of non-chino vinateros of mixed–race (*casta*) groups dwarfed the number of chino vinateros. For example, the 1681 padrón labeled nine chinos by name. This number represented a small fraction of the one hundred and ninety-one coconut estate servants identified in the padrón. The padrón provided the ethnicity of only one hundred and thirty of them. Indigenous people provided the largest contingent of servants, with seventy-three of them representing just less than half of the work force. Twenty mestizos worked the palms and seventeen free mulatos. Nine mixed-race workers of indeterminate

[127] For the tithes collected from doña María Yniesta and don Joseph Beltrán, see AHCMO, Colonial, Fondo Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Colecturia, Siglo xvii, Diezmos, Colima c. 008, exp. 97, not paginated (1659).

composition (*moriscos*) cared for the palm groves, leaving chinos as the only ethnic group to outnumber the two Spaniards working on palm estates.[128]

Francisco Clemente Larios, another producer of vino de cocos, died in November and his parish interred him on November 23, 1670. Two days later, the alcalde mayor and local vecinos of Caxitlán made an inventory of his estate, San Nicolás. His estate bordered several others in Caxitlán, including that of Nicolás de Ángulo, a prominent producer of aguardiente. Distilling equipment included an oven, botijas and cántaros. He owned a mule train and all of its requisite equipment. The debts and credits recorded by Larios in his account books demonstrate a wide array of commercial and labor contacts, stretching from Caxitlán, in the south, to Santa Ana Pacueco, located in the present-day state of Guanajuato. Larios also maintained commercial relationships with people in Jalisco, especially Zapotlán; and Michoacán, including Patambán; and from Ixtlahuacán, in the west, to Amatitlán in the east.[129]

Larios had a well-established work force of chino vinateros. Whether due to clientage or debt, this work force resided on the hacienda at least for ten years, and included at least four chinos. The vinateros included Nicolás de Triana, Gaspar Triana, Juan Triana, and Pedro Juan. They owed, on average, a little less than fifty –two pesos per worker. The Trianas were all chinos, perhaps related to Juan Triana, a chino owner of a hacienda de palmas near Ihuitlán. They served through 1683 on the same estate doña Ana Barroso de Vera, the widow of Larios.

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[128] For chinos resident outside of the haciendas of Barroso and Figueroa and for the 1681 ratio of chino vinateros in Caxitlán to the total number of vinateros see Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones del Obispado de Michoacán*, 383-386, 390.

Colima parish sacramental records also indicate that a few chinos were still rasing families in Colima in the latter half of the seventeenth century. See the baptisms of the chinos Pedro chino and Santiago chino in Archivo Histórico de la Parroquía de San Felipe de Jesús (henceforth AHPSFJ), Libro de Bautismos de Españoles, Book 1, 1611-1703, (un-paginated) (November 9, 1677); and AHPSFJ, Libro de Bautismos de Españoles, Book 1A, 1611-1703, f. 59v (1684).

[129] For late-seventeenth-century Caxitlán estates,and the inventory of Larios, including his livestock, distilling equipment, and account books, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 601, exp. 5, f. 392r (1664); and AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 34, fs. 1f, 12f-12v, 16f, 17v-21r, 13f-14f (1670).

The ecclesiastical censuses of Michoacán, taken between 1680 and 1683, also provide a glimpse of the social arrangements of these chinos. By 1683, the year of the census, the hacienda recorded the employment of at least three more male servants: Juan de la Cruz, a mestizo married to the mestiza Juana Medina; Manuel de Vega, a mulato married to Melchora de Medina, a woman of unnamed ethnicity; and Antonio de Savala, a chino married to Juana María, an indigenous woman. Gaspar Triana was married to Magdalena Francisca, a mestiza. Juan Triana was single; and Nicolás Triana had married Catalina María, a china, probably a creole. The long-term residence of the chinos on this estate suggests the continuing utility of debt as a means of creating dependent workers. Debt was used for workers of many ethnicities, due to declining number of available chino workers.[130]

The post-mortem inventories of the estates of María Contreras and Juan Viana, taken in 1694 and 1712, respectively, confirm this decline. Of the seven vinateros, thirteen salineros, employed by the Contreras on her Zapotlanejo estate, only one vinatero, Juan de la Cruz, was a chino, a large reduction of the chinos working on her estate since 1683. Four of the vinateros were indigenous or mixed-race men who had been born in the jurisdiction of Colima: Simón de Zendejas came from Caxitlán, Andrés de Oria also had been born in Caxitlán, Pedro de Castillo was a native of Nahualapa, and Juan Gabriel came from Alcusahui. Two other vinateros, Pedro and Sebastián Estevan, were indigenous people from Sayula, and Guadalajara, respectively.

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[130] For early records of the vinateros, and doña María Ana Barroso de Vera and AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 34, fs. *Ibid*., fs. 1f, 2f, 16v, 20f (1670).

For employment of the chinos in the 1680s, see Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 384, 388.

Beatríz Larios, Catalina Centeno and Felipa Martína worked as preparers of tortillas, corn gruel (*atole*), or tamales. Appraisers called them *teçines* in the inventory, after the Nahuatl word for the grinding of maize. Martína was a native of Tequila, in western Jalisco.[131]

Juan de Viana Campo died in 1712. His inventory confirmed the almost total disappearance of chino vinateros by the eighteenth century. He owned the estates of Zapotlanejo, San Nicolás de Tolentino, and Tecolopa, as well as salinas in San Pantaleón and a livestock-raising hacienda. The appraisers of his estates listed the debts of his forty servants, but listed no ethnicity for the workers on the post-mortem inventory that they produced. Their inventories listed hundreds of palms trees and lambanog-making paraphernalia. Debts maintained by these late seventeenth-century hacendados with Michoacán and Guadalajara merchants suggested that they continued exports of vino de cocos. Indeed, the 1724 registers of tithes for the province of Colima make clear that the vecinos of the province still produced volumes of vino de cocos, though the production had diminished in comparison to the level of fifty years before.[132]

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[131] For vinateros, and the other workers on the Contreras estate, see AHMC, sección B, C. 34, exp. 4, fs. 11v-13f (1694). The name of *teçines* derives from the Nahuatl "tez," which refers to the grinding of corn. See Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1992 [1983]),215-216.

For the production and consumption of tortillas, tamales, and atole in Colima and Motines, see AHMC, sección A, c. 3, exp. 12, f. 6f, *Diligencias acerca de la muerte de Pedro Simón, natural del pueblo de Xicotlán* (1562), in in the DVD, *La Villa de Colima de la Nueva España Siglo XVI, Volumen 1, C.s 1-11* (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico de Colima, 2009); and in the same volume, AHMC, sección A, c. 10, exp. 8, ff. 2f-3f, *Ana Ximénez, india del pueblo de San Francisco, se querella de Juana Rodríguez, negra, porque le dio de coces y puñadas al reclamarle el pago de unos tamales* (1579); AHMC, sección B, c. 15, exp. 17, f. 5f (1638); and AHMC, sección B, c. 34, exp. 4, fs. 11f (1694).

[132] For the vino de cocos equipment of Viana, his lands, the debts of his workers, and the accounts he maintained with extra-provincial merchants, see AGN, Tierras, c. 309, exp. 4, fs. 1r-1v, 3r-5f, 6f, 8v, 10f, 11v-13f, 16v-19v (1712). Joseph Viana, the father of Viana, was also sold vino de cocos to these markets. See AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Gobierno, c. 4, exp. 13B, fs. 1r-1v (1634); and AHMC, sección B, c. 22, exp. 35, f. 14f (1643).

For the decline in the production of vino de cocos in Caxitlán in 1724, see FHLGSU MF# 775536, Diezmos, 1636-1756, unfoliated, (1724).

Arenas of Autonomy, Arenas of Negotiation: Labor, Ethnicity, and Governance

I suggest that Spanish authorities in Colima recognized chino status as cognate to indio naborio status, in that both moved outside of the jurisdiction of indigenous pueblos. Indios naborios, as we have seen, had appeared as a significant population as early as 1592 in the haciendas of the Caxitlán valley. Yet, pueblos de indios in Colima continued to hold territory and exercise jurisdiction through the seventeenth century, serving as possible sites of refuge for fleeing indios naborios. By contrast, chinos had entered the territory of New Spain and especially western Mexico almost exclusively as clients, dependents, and in some cases, slaves of Spaniards. In western Mexico, the label of chino applied to these migrants in some cases represented a designation of ethnicity and geographical origins, but the adjective was also used to refer to a set of labor and subordinate social relationships with Spaniards, exemplified by the debt bondage under which chinos produced vino de cocos. By contrast, indios naborios occupied only one position on a whole spectrum of potential juridical and social relationships recognized in colonial society. The exceptional status of "naborio" modified the normative status of "indio," whereas in western Mexico chinos experienced this exceptional status as normative.[133]

Royal laws devised for the Indies spelled out the role of the alcaldes in indigenous communities. All indigenous communities required an alcalde and regidor as part of an indigenous council which could also include an escribano and an alguacil. Some pueblos in Colima and Motines had high offices called tlatoani, or "speakers." As indios, Filipinos, too, had elected alcaldes in the 1580s, which provided another precedent upon which chinos could draw, and several chinos identified themselves as Filipinos. In fact, in the 1632 elections for the

[133] For the royal order instituting regidores and alcaldes in each pueblo, passed in 1618, see *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, *Tomo Primero*, libro VI, título III, Ley XVI (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]), 230.

For the role of alcaldes de los chinos in collecting tribute, see Machuca, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincial de Colima durante el siglo XVII," 195; and Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima," 11.

alcalde de los chinos, held in Nahualapa, the chinos identified as "…naturales de las islas Filipinas," or natives of the Philippines, and explicitly connected their Colima office of alcalde to the office in the Philippines. Alcaldes were responsible for administering justice, imposing fines, apprehending suspects and jailing them. They could also bring suspects of serious cases and those involving non-indigenous defendants to Spanish jurisdictions.[134]

As Paulina Machuca has argued, the prominence of chinos as workers in Colima's most productive industry helps explain the emergence of the "alcalde de los chinos" as an elective office designed by the Spanish Crown to ensure subjection and the cooperation of indigenous intermediaries in Crown administration. This section looks at the exercise of the office of the alcaldes de los chinos, and includes comparisons with related offices in the Philippines. Spanish officials recognized this title as applying to the leader of chinos not only in San José de Tecolopa, but as the leader for all of the chinos of the province. The alcalde exercised authority in law enforcement, and following local precedents, acted as intermediaries between local workers and Spanish authorities. They settled disputes, enforced the laws, and collected tribute.[135]

In Colima, the individuals within this office were also accompanied by a councilman (*regidor*) and alguacil. By 1642, Spanish officials had begun to designate these alcaldes as exercising authority over indios naborios, mulatos as well as chinos. For example, in 1640, the

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[134] For the duties of alcaldes, and their association with smaller communities, see *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, *Tomo Primero*, libro VI, título III, Ley XV (1618) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]), 230; and *Ibid.,* Ley XVIII (1563) (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]), 242. For accounts of early town offices, see AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 19, exp. 3, fs. 1r, 2v, 4r (1585). Quoted in Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima," 9.

[135] For Andrés Rosales and Luis Ortiz as alcaldes de los chinos, see AHMC, Seccion B, c. 8, exp. 27, f. 1f (1618); AGI, Contratación 520, N.2, R.14, f. 44v (1619); and Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima durante el siglo XVII: un sistema de representación en torno a un oficio," *Letras Históricas*, 1 (Otoño-Invierno 2009): 105, n. 31, *op cit.*.

For the role of regidor and alguacil, see AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 2, f. 1f (1642); and Adolfo Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," 11 (1651).

Spanish alguacil Bartolomé Bravo de Lagunas wrote to the Audiencia, explaining how Colima authorities would soon collect the tribute required of free blacks and mulatos and indios naborios from 1639 and 1640. He later added chinos to the list, suggesting that all people of the list were of the same tributary status. He also explained that the individual from all of the above classes served Spaniards and "they wandered loose, outside of their pueblos (*andan sueltos afuera de sus pueblos*). Still later, in 1642, chinos elected Gaspar Hernández, a chino, as the alcalde of the "*chinos, mulatos, y indios laborios* [naborios]." Yet, into this period, the leaders of these multi-ethnic ensemble were still chinos. For example, Hernández won the election of 1642, held in Nahualapa, with ten votes against Nicolás Mananquel and Agustín Pérez, both chinos, with four votes each. Juan Alonso, mentioned in the will of Domingo de Villalobos, acted as both the regidor and alguacil. Moreover, Cristóbal Lugo y Montalvo, the alcalde mayor of Colima. received the documentation of this election from "the chinos of this province [Colima]."[136]

The election of the chino Luis Ortiz as alcalde in 1632 reveals an additional function of alcaldes chinos. Ortiz served Sebastían Gutiérrez as a vinatero on a hacienda in the Valley of Caxitlán and was a married chino. Ortiz was charged with collecting tribute from other servants of hacendados scattered across the province. The text of the document certifying his election makes it clear that chinos saw themselves primarily as natives of the Philippines, and they represented their exercise of the office of alcalde as a continuation of similar positions held by Filipinos within the colonial Philippines. As in the Philippines, it appeared that Colima chinos

[136]My argument about the importance of occupation in shaping chino governance, especially after 1640, roughly parallels that made by Machuca, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima durante el siglo XVII," 91-115; and comments made by Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima y su Aporte a la Identidad Regional," 15. For the tributary status of chinos, the duties of alcaldes, and the elections of Hernández and Alonso, see AHMC, sección B, c. 19, exp. 32, fs. 1f – 1v (1640); AHMC, sección B, c. 21, exp. 2, fs. 1f-2v (1642); and *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, *Tomo Primero*, libro VI, título III, Ley XVI, Ley XVII, Ley XX (Madrid: Boix, 1841 [1680]), 230, 242.

held annual elections, and in Nahualapa. They elected Ortiz in the pueblo of Nahualapa, long the stronghold of chino landowners within Colima.[137]

Bartolomé Vásquez, a servant of Bachiller Sebastián Gutiérrez Cornejo, served as alcalde in 1636 and provided an example of the role of alcaldes in arbitrating intra-community quarrels. On November 29, 1636, Juan Gregorio, an indigenous man from the pueblo of Malacatlán and probably working as a vinatero on the Gutiérrez estate, had gotten drunk and beaten his wife. Juan Martín, a mulato servant, intervened and tried to pacify Juan Gregorio. Gregorio, still armed, left his hut, promising to set fire to the house of Gutiérrez, Vásquez, acting in his capacity as both the alcalde and a servant to his master, tried to again calm Gregorio. Failing at the task, he first informed local Spaniards of the actions of Gregorio, only later grabbing Gregorio and trying to disarm him. Gregorio cut him in the process. Perhaps Vásquez would have apprehended Gregorio and turned him in to the authorities had he been successful.[138]

In 1651, chinos reelected Sebastián Tumbaga as the alcalde de los chinos, indios naboríos, mulatos libres and negros libres. Like Ortiz, Tumbaga was charged by the listed electors with tribute collection and declared to be of good character and was married. The group elected Phelipe Santiago as the regidor and alguacil. The chino making the election again invoked their colonial Philippines precedents, but also acknowledged their responsibilities in attending to the revenues generated by indios naboríos, and free blacks and mulato. Eight chinos signed the declaration, which avowed that no fraud had been committed: Sebastián Tumbaga,

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[137] For the election of Luis Ortiz, see Gómez Amador, "La Presenca Filipina en Colima," 9.

[138] Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima," 105, n. 31, *op cit.*
For the service of Bartolomé Vásquez service to Gutiérrez, and his service as an alcalde de los chinos, see AHMC, sección B, c. 20, exp. 42, fs. 37v-38f (1642); and AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 5, fs. 1f-4f (1636). The landscape of western Colima around Nahualapa and Tecuciapa continues to reflect the legacy of this chino presence. INEGI maps of the area identify several nearbyb geographical features, including streams and hills, called "El Chino." See Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), Carta Topográfica Colima E13B44. 1:50 000. Aguascalientes, México: INEGI, Undated.

Nicolás Mananquel, Martín Pano, Sebastián de la Cruz, Agustín de la Paz, Hernando Donay, and Lorenzo Aguilar all signed. Of this group, approximately four were landowners in Nahualapa, and thus, of considerable status within the chino community.[139]

Some scholars have suggested that the function of the alcalde de los chinos followed that of the office of the gobernador in the Philippines. I propose, following the declarations of chinos themselves, that the power exerted by alcaldes de los chinos in Colima first closely resembled two seventeenth-century forms of legal and fiscal authority in the Philippines. First, like cabezas de barangays, alcaldes de los chinos collected tribute from tribute-payers, including those working for Spaniards. Yet these alcaldes also embodied extra-territorial politico-fiscal authority found in the colonial central Luzon, a situation that can be contrasted with the territorial authority exerted by gobernadores in the Philippines and other contemporary forms of chino governance in the Costa Grande that we will see in Chapter 5. Spanish administrators associated naborios and others under the authority of the chino alcaldes with service to Spaniards, contrasting their status with indigenous people subject to the jurisdiction of indigenous pueblos. Their status resembled that of the vagamundos of Manila and its surrounding arrabales. Manila officials, too, collected special tribute from vagamundos and assigned them special officers with law enforcement duties, the alguaciles de vagamundos. Central Luzon held other extra-pueblo offices, such as the officers leading the Japanese of all pueblos of Manila, and extra-territorial mestizo military commands.[140]

[139] See Gómez Amador, "La Presencia Filipina en Colima," 11. For chino land ownership, see below.

[140] For explanations of Filipino precendents, and for examples of extra-territorial militia leadership, see Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima," 109-110; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, f. 65v (1640); AGI, Contaduría, 1226, 2a pte, f. 71v (1647); AGI, Contaduría, 1227, f. 70r (1648); AGI, Contaduría, 1231, fs. 273v-273r (1653); AGI, Contaduría, 1232, f. 31r (1656); AGI, Contaduría, 1233, f. 31r (1659); and AGI, Contaduría, 1234, f. 21v (1660).

Paulina Machuca persuasively argues that this occupational-based identity for the alcalde became more prominent over time. Occupational identities could and did intersect with ethno-juridical labels in the colonial politics of Colima. One example of this was the gobernador of the Cuartel de los Nahuales in Colima. Though scholars have uncovered little documentation on this office, it is clear that the gobernador oversaw a population notable for its mobility, in its course of providing labor for vecinos of Colima. Though at least partially centered on San Francisco de Almoloya, the inhabitants of the parcialidad included all of the population of the western Colima pueblos. In 1591, the inhabitants and principales of the pueblos of the Cuartel de los Nahuales elected their gobernador, don Juan López de Castro. These pueblos included Comala, Quizalapa, Juluapa, Nahualapa, Tecuciapa, Coquimatlán and several others. The gobernadores of the Cuartel apparently stood above the gobernadores of the cabeceras, acting as officials especially tasked with alleviating abuses of the indigenous people tasked with serving Spaniards.[141]

Paulina Machuca shows that occupational guilds in colonial Latin America could also have served as a template. These guilds sometimes had alcaldes who exercised authority over people of the same occupation, regardless of ethnicity or geographical location. Ecclesiastical censuses produced in 1681 and 1683 support this theory. The producers of the census identified alcaldes of southern Colima pueblos like Santiago de Tecomán, and Alcusahui, which figured prominently in post-mortem inventories as sources of salinas labor. Yet, enumerators identified no other officials, as might be expected for pueblos de indios.[142]

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[141] For the labor of the inhabitants of the Cuartel de Nahuales and their election of don Juan López de Castro, see Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 86, 135.

[142] For the increasing identification of the alcalde de los chinos occupational identities, over time; and alcaldes in southern Colima, see Machuca Chávez, "El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima," 108; and see Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 383-384, 387-388.

One other possible function of this extra-territorial organization might have been the allocation of labor for the purposes of colonial defense from pirates. After the 1616 attack by Joris van Spielbergen, both indigenous and chino men served as sentinels on the coast, trying to deter other pirates taking the same path. On November 22, 1642, several indigenous men from San Salvador Chiamila reported to the lieutenant alcalde mayor that they had seen several ships or "sails" (*velas*) when they had gone fishing off of the mouth of the Alima River. The next day, Luis Ortiz, the former alcalde, and a vecino of Alcusahui, testified. He had been working as a sentinel in Suchitzi, near the mouth of the Alima, by the commander and lieutenant in Caxitlán, Alonso Fernández de Loarca. He assured the local capitán general that the indigenous people had mistaken the spray from whales spouting for enemy ships. He confirmed his conclusion by citing his transpacific experiences. He had sailed on the Manila galleon three times, and had spent a great deal of time on the coast.[143]

The alcalde mayor trusted the authority of Ortiz, but wanted to verify the conclusion. He ordered that Ortiz and Diego de Palacios, the commander of the coastal sentinels, reconnoiter the coast. The pair followed the path taken by Juan del Valle, a sentinel who had conducted a similar reconnaissance trip a week earlier. The pair traveled down to the coastline of Caxitlán, and up the beaches of western Colima to the post (*puesto*) of Las Cruces, the sentinel post on the southern heights of Salagua. From here, Diego de Palacios and Ortiz traveled onward to the port of Salagua. There, they met with chino sentinels of Salagua. Among these chinos were Mananquel, probably referring to Nicolás Mananquel. Juan Dias, Martín Pano, the son of a chino hacendado Miguel Pano, Sebastián de la Cruz, Juan Martín, and Juan Bautista Pantaleón [Pantaón] all met with the pair. Most of the chinos were resident in western Colima, in or near

[143] For the attack on Salagua, the use of indigenous sentinels, and the testimony of Luis Ortiz, see Mathes, *Sebastián Viscaíno y la Expansión Española,* 117-120; Reyes Garza, *Al pie del volcán*, 111, 113; and AHMC, sección C, c. 22, exp. 4, fs. 1f-3f (1642).

the pueblo of Nahualapa. Several signed their names during the 1651 election of the alcalde de los chinos. This town probably had a road that ran to Salagua, which also served as an anchorage center for the galleon, making Nahualapa a strategic site for chino sentry service and for transpacific communications.[144]

Chino Marriage, Lineage, Property and Honor in Western Mexico

Chino marriage patterns were also adaptations of Filipino social patterns. As in the Philippines, affinal and collateral ties consolidated through marriage facilitated social mobility by enlarging the social networks necessary for collective action and accumulation of property. Marriage allowed chinos a claim on local resources and social relationships which they would have otherwise lacked, a strategy also employed by sojourning merchants and artisans in the Philippines and across the South China Sea. Criminal records, post-mortem inventories, wills and sacramental registers recording marriage shed light on some of the social relationships forged by chinos. Diocesan census summaries demonstrated a strong localized presence of chinos in southern Colima and Motines, but these other documents show us what chinos wore, who they married, and even the degree to which chinos adopted colonial rural and plebian colonial notions of honor and masculinity.

Marriage records document the ways that chino-indigenous marriages relied upon and deepened inter-ethnic ties. On December 3, 1656, Sebastián Tumbaga, forty years old and widowed, petitioned the cura of the pueblo of Ixtlahuacán de los Reyes to marry María de Rosales, a china criolla, and servant of the nearby hacienda of Chicuitlán. On the same day, don

[144] For the reconnaissance trips of Juan del Valle, and Ortiz, their meeting with the chino sentinels, and the names of chino landowners in western Colima, see AHMC, sección B, c. 22, exp. 35, fs. 1r-2v, 8v (1642); AHMC, sección C, c. 22, exp. 4, fs. 5f-6f (1642); AHMC, sección B, c. 23, exp. 1, fs. 1f-1v (1643); AHMC, sección B, c. 26, exp. 26, fs. 1v-5f (1647); AHMC, sección B, C. 30, exp. 23, fs. 6v, 7v (1652); and López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII*, 175. For Martín Pano as son of Miguel de Pano, see Sección B, c. 12, exp. 1, f. 1f (1636).

Pedro Miguel, the gobernador of Ixtlahuacán, testified on Tumbaga's behalf, in Nahuatl. He corroborated that Tumbaga was a widower, and had lived in the pueblo for twelve years. He had known María Rosales since she was eight. Later that day, Gaspar Martín, a resident of Ixtlahuacán added that Tumbaga had previously married an indigenous woman, Ana García. Finally, in the same day, Maria Rosales, age sixteen, and a china criolla, agreed that the marriage was not forced and that she wanted to marry Sebastián Tumbaga.[145]

Chinos generally married women from southern Colima communities tied to the salt and coconut industries. Therefore, the marriage of Lorenzo de Aguilar to a woman from Sinacamitlán followed local logic. In fact, we have many examples of chino marriages to local indigenous women. For example, don Juan Hernández lived with his indigenous wife Mariana Flores in San José Tecolopa in 1616.[146]

Glimpses of chino activity and material culture emerge from analyses of the account books and criminal records of chinos. Further details were revealed in the post-mortem inventory of Lorenzo de Aguilar, a servant on the large hacienda of hacienda of Sinacamitlán, operated in 1654 by the notary Clemente Hidalgo de Agüero. In 1630, its former owner, Gaspar Sánchez, had come into conflict with the inhabitants of Malacatlán over water rights. Hidalgo supplied large quantities of vino de cocos to Francisco Rodríguez Vidal, the monopoly provider

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[145] For the marriage of Sebastián Tumbaga, see FHLGSU, MF# 0764173, item 1, unpaginated (December 5, 1656).

[146] See: FHLGSU, MF# 0779063, item 1 (December 28, 1643) (Not paginated); AHMC, seccion B, c. 3, exp. 6, f. 101f (1616); Adolfo Gómez Amador, 9; FHLGSU #0764165, item 1, Unpaginated (July 2, 1647) ; AHMC, sección B, c. 3, exp. 6, f. 101r (1616); AHMC, sección B, 12, exp. 15, fs. 4v, 6f -6v(1635) and AHMC, sección B, C. 30, exp. 23, fs. 6v, 7v; AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 2, fs. 1f, 3v-4v (1635); and AHMC, sección B, c. 26, exp. 26, f. 2f, 6f-6v (1647).

of this liquor and mescal to the Guadalajara market. In 1630, they both signed a contract that assured the delivery over one thousand arrobas of vino de cocos.[147]

On November 17, 1654, Gregorio Fernández Tene, a regidor of Colima and the teniente of the alcalde mayor of the province, reported that the chino Lorenzo de Aguilar had died with no will (*abintestato*). He immediately ordered Francisco Martín, another chino servant of the estate, to compose an inventory of the goods left by Aguilar. These were apparently sparse. One new chest contained the wardrobe of Aguilar, a suit of coarse cloth (*ropa de paño*), with hose (*calzones*), a white doublet (*jubón*), knee-length stockings (*calcetas*), two handkerchiefs (*paño de manos*), an old hat, two pairs of shoes, one of cowhide and the other of cordovan leather. His hut (*jacal*) also contained tools, including three old knives for cutting palms, one fishing net (*atarraya*), a needle for repairing his shoes (*alesna*), a digging stick (*coa*), an axe, and a machete. He also possessed a stitched volume (*legajo*) of scattered papers. Finally, Francisco Martín noted that Aguilar owned livestock lent out to other residents.[148]

Other elements of the inventory indicated the social connections maintained by Aguilar, and the deeper links forged by chinos, conversant with the colonial Philippines and sharing ethno-juridical identities. Two of the three witnesses corroborating the circumstances of the death of Aguilar were Spaniards. They had known Aguilar for less than four years. These employees of the hacendado only knew that he had come from the Philippines and that he had died of a respiratory illness (*hasma*). They had no knowledge of his family. By contrast, a third witness, Juan de la Cruz, a chino who had arrived four years previously from Manila, knew that Aguilar had survived his deceased wife, and that he had been buried in the church of Ixtlahuacán.

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[147] For the service of Aguilar in Sinacamitlán, prior indigenous complaints about the estate and its production for the Guadalajara market, see AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 20, f,. 3f (1654; AHMC, sección B, c. 9, exp. 2, fs. 1f, 2v, 2v, 8v (1630); and AHMC, sección B, c. 17, exp. 3, fs. 1f-1v (1638).

[148] For the inventory of Lorenzo de Aguilar, see AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 20, fs. 1f, 2f-2v (1654).

Several other chinos inhabited the hacienda and lingered around the house of Aguilar after his death, in the process acting as witnesses to the creation of the inventory. These included: Juan de la Cruz, Francisco Diego, Juan de Vega, Miguel Gómez and Francisco Melchor.[149]

Western Colima represented another sphere of chino interaction, one in which chinos exercised modest economic autonomy. The will and post-mortem inventory of Francisca Martha, a china criolla and vecina of Nahualapa, shed light on these connections, as well as the relationships between chino settlers and Mesoamerican women (See Figure 10). On February 14, 1664, Captain don Juan de Abarzuja, the alcalde mayor of Colima sent sent Joseph de Solorzano to conduct an inventory for Martha. Solorzano counted nineteen horses, fruit trees and eighty-five coconut palms. The estate was equipped for vino de cocos distillation, and employed an indebted vinatero named Juan Alonso. Martha also owned a blouse made of cloth imported from Rouen, a green woolen overskirt (*faldellín*), a dress with silver and gold trim, tablecloths, and a bed covering. The inventory was witnessed by Friar Francisco de Najera, a Franciscan; Diego Álvarez de Espinosa, a Spaniard from Colima and a chino named Juan de la Cruz.[150]

On February 26, 1664, the alcalde mayor inquired further about the existence of a will. Diego Álvarez, who had been acquainted with Francisca Martha for twenty years, confirmed the existence of a will. He also told the judge that Martha had married Sebastián de la Cruz, the chino hacendado. In the will, written in 1652, Marta described her last wishes and her lineage. She had been legimiately born the daughter of Juan Martín, a chino, and María Cornejo, an

[149] For witnesses to the marital status of Lorenzo de Aguilar, nearby chino witnesses, and a lawsuit initiated by Hidalgo to use proceeds from the sale of the deceased to pay off his debts, see AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 20, fs. 3f-4f (1654); and AHMC, sección B, c. 29, exp. 8, fs. 1f-1v (1655).

[150] For the declaration by the alcalde mayor of the death of Francisca Martha, the witnesses to her death, and her inventory, see AHMC, sección B, C. 30, exp. 23, fs. 1f-2v (1664).

indigenous woman. She followed the traditional testamentary protocol in declaring her dedication to the Roman Catholic Church. After appealing to the Virgin Mary as her intercessor, she commended her soul to God. She requested to be interred in the church of the pueblo of Nahualapa, in the habit of the Franciscans, under whose administration Nahualapa belonged. She asked that her executor pay the alms, but also for five Masses to be recited for the souls of her dead husband, her mother, and her father. She declared herself a cofrada of the cofradía of San Nicolás, in Ixtlahuacán, and requested that the curate of the pueblo say Mass for her soul. She was also a cofrada of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, in Colima. Finally, she also ordered that her executors pay the fifty pesos that she owed to doña Magdalena de Arévalo, the widow of a Colima vecino, where Martha apparently maintained her property through her worked as a domestic servant.[151]

She then explained how she had obtained her property and other relationships. She had married Sebastián de la Cruz in 1652, but they had had no children. She had inherited from her parents, three yoked pairs of oxen and a hacienda of coconut palms named San Juan, located in Tecuciapa. The hacienda contained sixty palms, fifteen wine jars, and a still with two cántaros. Her parents also passed on six mules with no gear and twelve horses for the marriage. Cruz owned five mules with cargo rigging and six mares. During the marriage, Cruz had purchased from Melchor Pérez, an indigenous man in Tecuciapa, a piece of land with eight coconut palms, and Cruz transplanted a few seedlings from elsewhere. The couple rented out their haciendas to man named Matheo de Ocaríz. Martha wrote that Ocaríz still owed his rent. A short while later,

[151] See AHMC, sección B, C. 30, exp. 23, fs. 3f-5f, 6f-8v (1652, 1664).

Cruz died, deprived of his mental capacity. Martha named as her executors the cura of Caxitlán, Bachelor Diego Correa Gudiño, and Diego de Rivera, a vecino of Colima. [152]

Martha and other cases showed that chinos often forged connections with local indigenous people. Indigenous and mixed-race women worked alongside men, too, of different ethnicities, as rural plebeians. Like other male rural plebeians in the Spanish empire, chinos negotiated their identity through representation and contestation of honor. Criminal records from Colima suggest that chinos adopted understandings of honor with wider currency in colonial Latin America. Chinos, primarily men, often claimed power over their spouses, showing resentment when they perceived others as encroaching. They sometimes responded with violence, which seemed especially prominent given the combination of alcohol, and edged weapons inherent in the work of vinateros. Other men defended their reputation vis-à-vis other men who questioned their masculinity, or self-worth. In turn, chinos also proved to be victims of other rural plebeians of equal status, or of Spaniards who felt them to be insufficiently deferential.[153]

Chinos on haciendas and in indigenous pueblos valued exercising authority over their spouses, and like other men, found their honor threatened if others violated this authority and the concomitant value of fidelity. In 1635, the chino Mateo García attacked Juana, the indigenous wife of the chino alcalde Pablo de los Reyes, in Contla, a hacienda located near Salagua. He

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[152] For the history of the property of Marta, provided in her will, see AHMC, sección B, C. 30, exp. 23, fs. 7f-7v (1652).

[153] For discussions of the intersections of honor, masculinity, violence and ethnicity in colonial New Spain, see Ann Twinam, "The Negotiation of Honor: Elites, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century Spanish America," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Honor in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 80-83; Lyman L. Johnson, "Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures and Violent Acts: The Disputed Hierarchies of Plebian Life in Colonial Buenos Aires," in the same volume, 127-151; Richard Boyer, "Honor Among Plebians: *Mala Sangre* and Social Reputation," the same volume, 152-178; Richard Boyer, "Negotiating Calidad: The Everyday Struggle for Status in Mexico," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 64-73; and Richard Boyer, "Respect and Identity: Horizontal and Vertical Reference Points in Speech Acts," *Americas* 54, no. 4 (1998): 491-509.

threatened her with rape and abduction when her husband was away. Juana admitted that the two had begun an affair several years before, but she ended the affair due to its impropiety. Caxitlán authorities jailed the chino, and exiled him from Contla, denying his claims to Juana, and affirming those of her husband, Pablo de los Reyes. In Caxitlán, in 1636, Bartolomé Vásquez, a chino alcalde, was stabbed after trying to prevent the indigenous servant Juan Gregorio from attacking Juan Martín, a mulato. Juan Martín had tried to stop a drunk Juan Gregorio from beating his wife. In Tecuciapa, in 1647, the chino Nicolás Mananquel attacked a Spanish neighbor, Simón de Anza, with a knife, when he came home and saw the latter alone with his wife, Marta. Anza claimed his innocence, but after first jailing him, Colima authorities confirmed the understanding of honor of Mananquel by fining Anza and exiling him from Nahualapa.[154]

Colima criminal records often documented chinos in the act of challenging the masculinity of others while being challenged in the course of everyday life, while doing their work or drinking. On the morning of March 29, 1635, an indigenous man named Francisco Ruiz was in the midst of sharpening his knives, no doubt for tuba collection, when he heard the raised voices of men arguing. Martín de Pano, a chino vinatero, had become drunk and confronted an indigenous servant named Antonio Felipe, calling him a cuckold (*cornudo*), bastard (*cabrón*), and attacked him with a stick. Pano and Felipe scuffled, and Pano left Felipe writhing on the ground with two deep knife wounds. In 1641, the chino Francisco de Campos greeted the Spaniard Julián de Cubián on the road to the Villa of Colima. Cubián struck Campos with his sword, outraged that Campos had not shown him the proper respect owed to him by Campos, a non-Spaniard, and member of an ethno-racial group of lesser status (*calidad*). On June 14, 1638,

[154] See AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 2, fs. 1f.-5v, 8f-8v, 13f-14f, 17f-17v (1635); AHMC, sección B, c. 13, exp. 5, fs. 3v-4v (1636); and AHMC, sección B, c. 26, exp. 26, fs. 1f-4f (1647).

Martín, a chino muleteer, stabbed Nicolás Román in Valladolid, after the two had played cards with several Afro-Mexicans. Martín had not said a word; he sliced the arm of Román with a katana and fled. Neither Román nor his companions could provide a motive, but it probably involved Martín's honor. The episode of Martín showed the mobility of chinos and the connections between Colima and the wider market of the viceroyalty of New Spain. We will turn towards a closer examination of these linkages in the next section of this chapter.[155]

Vino de Cocos in the Markets of New Spain

Spaniards and other entrepreneurs in western Mexico mobilizing chino and indigenous labor first in cacao and then in vino de cocos production took advantage of the sixteenth-century markets that had emerged from the new mining center of Zacatecas. They needed to do so because of the greater opportunities present in other markers, compared to Colima. In 1619, Colima's population numbered less than five thousand. The centers of Zacatecas, the far northern mines, Valladolid, Pátzcuaro, the Bajío, and Mexico City each boasted populations several times this number. The more rural markets of western Jalisco, the Tierra Caliente, and the hinterlands of Michoacán hosted populations that equaled that of Colima and Motines (See Figure 10).[156]

Chino-made vino de cocos made inroads into the more densely-populated areas outside of coastal western Mexico, especially in Michoacán and Jalisco. The indigenous city of Pátzcuaro, was made an episcopal center and the city of Michoacán by the famous social engineer Vasco de Quiroga. By 1619, its population numbered over three thousand, one hundred, and fifty-seven

[155] AHMC, sección B, c. 12, exp. 1, fs. 1v-2v (1635); AHMC, sección B, c. 13 exp. 16, fs. 1f-3v (1645); AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Justicia, C. 31, exp. 11B, fs. 1r-6r (1638); and AHMC, sección B, c. 24, exp. 15, fs. 1f-2v (1641).

[156] Colima figures are drawn from the following: López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 116-118; and Carrillo Cazares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 329, 369-370, 381-382, 390-391.

vecinos, with fifteen thousand individuals in the whole area. The city exercised ecclesiastical and political dominance over a much larger population, even after the cathedral and capital of the province of Michoacán was moved to the city of Valladolid, to the east. Valladolid itself, though still a new city, in 1619, counted only in its urban core, indigenous barrios, and hinterland haciendas over three thousand inhabitants between castas, indigenous people, and Spaniards. The mining and agricultural towns of the Bajío and nearby cities, which included San Luis Potosí, Querétaro, León, San Miguel and Guanajuato, grew from modest origins in the 1560s (Figure 10). Modest numbers of Spanish, Otomí and Purépecha immigrants formed these towns in the Bajío which by the years 1630-1631 had reached a total population of over twenty-thousand people. In the north and west the mines of Zacatecas continued a strong output of silver in the 1630s, sustaining a population in that decade a population between three and four thousand Spaniards, castas, and indigenous people. Even further to the north, miners made silver strikes near Parral in 1631, and founded mines near this locale throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century (Figure 8).[157]

[157] For the 1538 selction by Vasco de Quiroga of Pátzcuaro for "the city of Michoacán," see Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y Utopía*, 278-281. For the population of Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan, see Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos and Padrones*, 78, 85, 102-104, 108, 115, 122, 124, 142-143; Guillermo Vargas Uribe, "Poblamiento y ambiente regional de Guayangareo-Valladolid-Morelia: Una perspective desde la historia ambiental," in *Morelia y su historia: Primer foro sobre el centro histórico de Morelia*, ed. Carlos Paredes Martinez (Morelia, México: Coordinación de Investigación Científica Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2001), 145; Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "Alborotos y siniestras relaciones: La república de indios de Pátzcuaro colonial," *Relaciones* 23, no, 89 (2002), 206, 211, 213-214.; and Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos and Padrones*, 102, 125, 142-143.

For Valladolid population estimates, see Carrillo Cazares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 25-26; and Guillermo Vargas Uribe, "Poblamiento y ambiente regional de Guayangareo-Valladolid-Morelia," 145.

For population growth in the Bajío, see Tutino, *Making a New World*, 94. 543, 547.

For the populations of Zacatecas, Guadalajara, trade routes between the two, and commercial exchange with Michoacán and populations in the north such as Parral, see Thomas Calvo, "Guadalajara y su Region en el Siglo XVII: Aspectos Demograficos," in *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos xvi y xvii,"* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1989), 21, 23; Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, 30; Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 58-80, and specifically, 73-74, with regard to trade with Colima; Calvo, *Por los caminos de Nueva Galicia*, 28-29, 63, 83-84; and Robert C. West, "The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District," *Ibero-Americana* 30 (1949), 13, 80-81. For a comprehensive study of the indigenous population of Zacatecas, see Velasco Murillo, "Silver Indians in a Silver City," *passim*.

The ubiquity of mule and horse ownership among chinos reflected the integral role played by overland connections with the rest of the viceroyalty in the economy of the province of Colima. José Romero de Solís demonstrated that the sixteenth-century Spanish vecinos of Colima invested heavily in transportation by mule or horse. This investment only quickened through the seventeenth century, for while the cacao economy began to ebb, the transportation of salt and vino de cocos expanded. Chinos were involved in this transportation, just as they had invested in the transportation industry in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Even after the death of Domingo de Villalobos, Alonso Gutiérrez continued to act as a muleteer and merchant, sending Nicolás Mananquel overland with two indigenous servants. The free Bengali chino Francisco de Lima asked in 1653 to carry weapons to defend his recua transporting goods between Querétaro and northern mines. Alonso Jiménez de Osuna, a vecino of the pueblo of Purificación, on the coast of Jalisco, mentioned that in 1646 a chino, Lorenzo de Ayala, transported two cargas of flour.[158]

Michoacán proved to be an important vino de cocos market, even before the licensing of the industry, and its importation provoked a moral panic similar to that occasioned first in Colima and then, in New Spain. The San Pedro brothers were one of the parties that smuggled the beverage there. In On September 29, 1624, Juan Luis de Salinas, the teniente of the alguacil mayor of Valladolid denounced Diego López de San Pedro, the brother of Juan de San Pedro, a hacendado from Caxitlán, for illegally importing vino de cocos into the city, contravening the 1610 orders of the viceroy (See Figures 10 and 11). After being jailed, Diego de San Pedro confessed that had tried to sell three arrobas of vino de cocos to Francisco Barrigas, a merchant

[158] For the investment by Colima vecinos in mules and horses, Colima commercial routes, and involvement of chinos in the transportation industry, see Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes y arrieros,* 263-296; AHMP, Fondo Colonial, c. 8, exp. 3, n. 3, 37-39, fs. 1r-3r (1620); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6032, exp. 107 (1653); and Archivo Histórico del Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara (AHAG), Justicia, Testimonios 1644-1655, c. 4, exp. 37 (1646).

in the city. In 1626, alguacil mayor of Pátzcuaro charged Agustín Moreno de Nava for his acts of disorder in the indigenous town of Tzintzuntzan. He had imported three and a half botijas, over fifteen gallons of vino de cocos, and sold it in town. Indigenous witnesses explained that the inhabitants quickly became drunk from the potent liquor, and the alguacil charged that this created great disorder in the town. Observers claimed that the intoxicated "indios" had engaged in all sort of perverted and aberrant behavior, including incest, a standard accusation used to inflame moral panic. In 1627, Juan Castellán arrived in Ajuno, a barrio of Pátzcuaro. He had brought eight barrels of vino de cocos, or between ninety-six and one hundred and twenty-eight gallons, on the backs of his mules, on his way to Valladolid. Castelán sold the vino de cocos in the pueblo, even though it was part of the tithe of Colima. He caused more disorder, and more importantly, deprived the church of the income used for its operations.[159]

In 1633, the cabildo of Valladolid published a document which listed the alcohol excise tax (*sisa del vino*), a half-peso (four reals) charge levied on every arroba collected from vendors of Spanish wine and vino de cocos within the city. So, vino de cocos consumption and sale figured into municipal politics in Valladolid. The list included the following: Juan Sánchez Rendón, Baltasar Pereyra, Pedro Lorenzo Montero, and Pedro Moreno. Other payers of the sisa worked in other regions. Simón López and Juan Alemán were merchants in Zacatecas and the Costa Grande, respectively. These merchants sold some Spanish wine. The tax paid on vino de

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[159] See AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Gobierno, c. 4, exp. 11A, fs. 1r-8r (1624); AHMP, c. 8, exp. 4, 1620, fs. 161r-175r (1627); and AHMP, c. 9, exp. 7, fs. 1r-5r (1627).

For a discussion of the biography of Moreno de Nava and a fuller range of his transgressive ways, see Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "Honor y Deshonor en una ciudad provinciana. La curiosa vida y escandalosas acciones de Agustín Moreno de Nava," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 23, no. 23 (2000): 47-66.

Other merchants sold vino de cocos in Michoacán during the era of prohibition. For example, in 1620, Juan Luis de Salinas, the teniente of the alguacil mayor, denounced Juan Gabino for selling vino de cocos from Colima in Valladolid. See AHMP, c. 9, c. 16 (1620); AHAP, c. 9, c. 1 (1623); and AHMP, c. 10A, c. 8. I have extracted the above from Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "Guía del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Patzcuaro, Cajas 6-18" http://www.scribd.com/doc/6685212/AHAP-Indice .

cocos showed the importation of eight hundred and seventy-one arrobas of vino de cocos, or almost three thousand and five hundred gallons of lambanog legally sold to the population. This amount is a conservative estimate, given the importance of contraband in sale.[160]

On July 18, 1634, the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor of the city of Valladolid began an investigation into the merchant Pedro Lorenzo Montero. He accused Montero of illegally selling vino de cocos from his shop across the plaza from the façade of the cathedral of the city. Two indigenous men corroborated this account. Juan Caymi, a vecino of the indigenous barrio of El Carmén, and likely a Purépecha, testified via an interpreter that he had entered the shop and received a drinking cup (*vasija*). City ordinances prohibited the sale of vino de cocos, signified by the provision of a vasija, to indigenous people and people of African descent. He and his companion, Miguel Gustagua, each drank a half real of vino de cocos, starting at six in the afternoon and became drunk Other witnesses verified the sale and Montero, too, admitted that he violated the municipal ordinances, and he paid a fine of eight pesos. [161]

The rigor of Michoacán authorities had began earlier in 1634, when they began an investigation into allegations that muleteers and vecinos of Colima illegally shipped vino de cocos into the province alongside legal exports. On January 13, 1634 the notary Clemente Hidalgo de Agüero recorded the beginning of one such shipment. On that day, the Colima vecino Jusepe Viana presented (*manifestado*) before the Colima cabildo twenty-eight and half loads of barrels, up to nine hundred and twelve gallons, of vino de cocos from Colima which he intended to sell in Michoacán. He hired Miguel de Castañeda, a vecino of Colima, to transport

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[160] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6390, exp. 12, fs. 1r-1v (1633); FHLGSU, MF# 077905, Información matrimonial y actas diversas 1630-1635, unpaginated (1634); AGN, Jesuitas, IV-50, exp. 3, not paginated (November 22, 1628); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3762, exp. 20, fs. 1r-1b (1630); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5247, exp. 63, fs. 1r-1v (1642); and AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 17, exp. 1, f. 32r (1644).

[161] AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Gobierno, c. 4, exp. 13A, fs. 1r-6r (1634).

the goods in his recua. The recua arrived in Pátzcuaro (*la ciudad de Michoacán*) after two weeks of travel. In February 4, 1634, Viana showed evidence to a city judge (*alcalde ordinario*) of the sale of seventy-five arrobas to and proved that he paid the alcabala. On February 20, Cristóbal Gómez Caravallo, a tailor, testified that he had seen indigenous arrieros unloading six cargas of vino de cocos in the plaza of the Jesuit church (*plazuela de la Compañía*) during the night. They claimed to be from Pátzcuaro. The same day, the alcalde ordinario initiated inspections of the stores of the merchants of Valladolid. His men measured the quantities of vino de cocos being sold by each merchant, and found that several merchants were found to have illegally loaded the vino de cocos at night. The cabildo officials announced their intention to conduct annual surprise inspections of the shops of merchants in order to evade the evils committed by the drunkenness of the casta population.[162]

The municipal government of Valladolid carried out more store and tavern inspections in 1638, fining twenty-five merchants and tavern-keepers for evading the alcabala and sisa. The cabildo charged that merchants from Colima imported the regulated intoxicant at night, in twenty to thirty-mule recuas. Yet, the bulk of this complaint focused on the sale of vino de cocos by prohibited vendors and outside the downtown core (*traza*) of the city, rather than its sale and consumption, *per se*. This cabildo demonstrated their concern with control, rather than prohibition by reiterating the names of the merchants who had purchased the monopoly of vino de cocos sale within the city: Juan de Salazar, Pedro Moreno, Miguel Sánchez, Juan Luis, Baltasar Pereyra, and Juan Sánchez Rendón. They instituted a more standardized set of punishments for merchants found contravening municipal ordinances. The cabildo would fine offenders twenty pesos after the first infraction, forty pesos after the second, and they would

[162] AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Gobierno, c. 4, exp. 13B, fs. 1r-6v (1635). Cabildo oversight of vino de cocos imports continued for decades. See AHMP, c. 12, exp. 2, f. 1r (1645).

sentenced second-instance offenders with military service in the Philippines. The last punishment was common for serious offendeses in colonial New Spain.[163]

Municipal documents produced in Valladolid in the 1670 illustrate the process by which Valladolid controlled the importation of vino de cocos into their city. Colima hacendados and merchants sent their arrieros to the gates of the city of Valladolid, where city officials registered the number of arrobas that they imported in their barrels and jars. The cabildo of Valladolid used the proceeds of the half-peso sisa to pay for the construction of an aqueduct for the city, a goal similar to that of their counterparts in Guadalajara. Joseph de Viana, Francisco de Carpio, and either Nicolás de Brizuela numbered among the importers. Yet, merchants also sent recuas to obtain vino de cocos directly from the hacendados producing it. Juan de León and Agustín de Viera were among the most prominent of the merchants mediating these exchanges. Colima vecinos in turn, supplied vecinos of Valladolid like doña Marta de Vasconcelos and Gaspar de los Reyes, probably storeowner and merchants investing in storefronts. A six-month assessment of the sisa cost importers one hundred and twenty pesos, indicating that they imported at least two hundred and forty arrobas of vino de cocos.[164]

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[163] For the 1638 inspections (*visitas*), penalties imposed for smuggling, and concerns about vino de cocos throughout the seventeenth century, see AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Gobierno, c. 4, exp. 16A, fs. 1r-2r, 4r-4v (1638; and AHMM, Fondo Colonial, c. 4, exp. 17B, 1r-2r (1640); AHMP, c. 12, exp. 2, p. 124, *passim* (1645); AHMP, C. 11, carpeta 5, *passim* (1650); and AHMP, C. 13, carpeta 4, *passim* (1659); and Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 338, 340-341.

For seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century histories of the Philippines exile penalty, see Adolfo Gómez Amador, 8-9; AGI, Filipinas, 52, N. 13, exp. 2, fs. 47v-48v (1624); and García de los Arcos, *Forzados y reclutas*.

[164] For importation, Colima producers of vino de cocos during this period, the role of Pátzcuaro as a transshipment point, and examples of the merchants and hacendados involved in these late seventeenth-century shipments, see AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Hacienda, c. 1, exp. 17A, fs. 1r-6r (1670); FHLGSU, 775536, Diezmos del Obispado Antiguo de Michoacán, 1636-1756, leg. 843, exp. 3 (1670); AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisicion, v. 17, exp. 1, fs. 5r-5v (1644); Alfonso de la Madrid Castro, *Apuntes históricos sobre Colima. Siglos XVI-XX*, ed. José Miguel Romero de Solís (Colima, México: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 1998), 101-103; AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Hacienda, c. 1, exp. 17A, f. 1v (1670); AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, sección Justicia, Serie Test. Capellanias y O. Pias, Testamentos, 94, 144, exp. 44, f. 1v (1668); AGN, Mercedes, v. 58, fs. 42r-42v (1675); and Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Meanwhile, individual traders of western Jalisco, in the Audiencia of New Galicia, continued their trade in vino de cocos with Colima into the 1630s. Here, too, debates about the importation, sale, and consumption of vino de cocos shaped local politics. As the city of Guadalajara was the seat of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, urban politics affected the entire region. The city of Guadalajara continued the hostility earlier raised by the authorities of New Spain towards the importation of vino de cocos. Yet in 1637, the city of Guadalajara licensed the importation of vino de cocos and vino de mescal, a distillate obtained from fermented roasted agave hearts, as a monopoly concession (*estanco*) to whoever would pay the fee of over two thousand pesos. Francisco García Vidal was the first concessionaire (*estanquero*). On January 8, 1638, he received the financial backing of an important vino de cocos hacendado, Juan Ochoa Victoria, of Colima, who agreed to provide half of the costs of the estanco. The notary and hacendado of Colima, Clemente Hidalgo de Agüero signed a contract with García to provide him with vino de cocos, paid in four biannual installments. Presumably, García would profit from the sale of the vino de cocos to make a product from his initial investment. Paulina Machuca shows that the vecinos of Colima, used to their own licensed monopoly, felt threatened by the Guadalajara estanco, and reacted accordingly. In 1637, they prohibited the export of vino de cocos to Guadalajara, and required the brandy exporters to swear that they would not send the liquor to the city, requiring arrieros to obtain fiadores from Colima for the purpose.[165]

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[165] For the document notarizing Ochoa as a financial guarantor (*fiador*) of García, the activity of the Ochoa family, the contract with Hidalgo, disputes with the cabildo of Colima, and the provisions of the estanco, see AIPG, Protocolos de don Francisco de Orendaín 1638, , v. 8fs. 1r-1v (1638); José Oscar Guedea Castañeda, "Los Vitoria: Consorcio mercantil colimense en el siglo XVII," in *Charlas de Colima, Siglos XVI-XX, volumen 1*, ed. José Oscar Guedea Castañeda (Colima, México: Sociedad Colimense de Estudios Históricos y Sociales, 1997), 101-111; AHMC, sección B, c. 17, exp. 3, fs. 1r-2r (1637); Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos," 186-187; AHMG, Libro de Actas del Cabildo de la Nueva Galicia, 1607-1662, f. 229r (1651); AHMC, sección B, C. 14, exp. 3, fs. 1f-8v (1637); AHMG, Libro de Actas del Cabildo de la Nueva Galicia, 1607-1662, fs. 163r-163v, 170v (1639); and Juan López, *Actas de Cabildos de la Ciudad de la Guadalajara,* Volumen Segundo, 10 de Enero del año de 1636 al 18 de Junior del Año de 1668 (1984), 26-27.

In 1640, Sebastián Báez de Acevedo, a grand merchant based in the city of Mexico, purchased the Guadalajara estanco. Báez de Acevedo maintained the estanco through 1650. Báez also maintained merchant interests and agents in the mining city of Zacatecas (See Figure 8, 10). Here, too, scholars have found evidence of the consumption of vino de cocos. Báez also took advantage of the growing production of *vino de mezcal*, a liquor distilled from fermented hearts of agaves, and a forerunner of tequila. On March 30, 1641, he signed a contract with Antonio de Nava, a vecino of the western Jalisco province of Autlán. Nava agreed to deliver four cargas of vino de mescal a month to Báez, or between five-hundred and eighty and seven hundred and fifty gallons a year. The vecinos of Colima, which had begun with an almost a captive market more distilled alcohol, faced serious challenges marketing their product in the viceroyalty from the middle of the seventeenth century forward.[166]

Vino de cocos hacendados found other markets for their products, particularly in the Bajío. In 1641, provincial authorities received a complaint from a hacendado about the activities of an arriero selling vino de cocos in a few of these markets. Joseph de Solís, a vecino of Colima, reported that he had given his hacienda recua to the arriero, Antonio Piñedo, to deliver a shipment of one hundred botijas of vino, in sixteen loads of barrels, to the "cold lands," (*Tierra Fría*), which in this case meant the highlands of present-day northern Jalisco. Solís and two

[166] For the purchase of the estanco by Báez, and his involvement of the purchase of mezcal, see AHMG, Libro de Actas del Cabildo de la Nueva Galicia, 1607-1662, fs.165v, 169r, 170v, 224r, 229r (1640, 1641, 1651); and AIPG, Protocolos de, Hernando Enríquez Del Castillo, v. 1, fs. 107f-107v (1641).

Sebastián Báez and his brother Antonio Báez de Acevedo, belonged to a much more extensive commercial network with important northern, trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific branches. See AGN, Jesuitas, IV-50, c. 82, exp. 6, f. 1r (1632); Chapter 6 of this dissertation; AGN, Tierras, v. 3255, exp.1, *passim* (1656); García de León, "La Malla Inconclusa. Veracruz y los circuitos comericales lusitanos en la primera mitad del siglo XVII," in *Redes sociales e instituciones comerciales en el imperio español, siglos XVII a* XIX, eds. Antonio Ibarra and Guillermina del Valle Pavón (México, D. F.: UNAM 2007), 41-83, expecially 68; and James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650* (New Brunswick. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 126-127.

For consumption of vino de cocos in Zacatecas, see the denunciation of Agustín Barriento on July 24, 1633 Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacateca, Fondo Poder Judicial, c. 1, exp. 59 (1633), cited in *Catálogo de las causas criminales del fondo Poder Judicial, correspondientes al periodo colonial, del Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas, Tomo I*, eds. Alicias Susana Palacios Alvarado, José Enciso Contreras, and Felipe Borrego Estrada (Zacatecas, México: Cuadernos de la Judicatura, 2002), 116.

other arrieros, Nicolás de Escobar, a mulato from Colima, and Andrés, an indigenous man from Cocula, charged Piñedo with selling loads of vino de cocos for a premium in Guadalajara, León, San Miguel del Grande, and the mines of Guanajuato (See Figure 10). The pedestrian nature of this trade in the Bajío corroborated the claims made by Francisco Toscano in the *Provança* that by 1612, Colima vecinos were selling their aguardiente in areas far to the north and east, including San Luis Potosí, San Miguel, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas. In the same year, Nicolás García, a muleteer from Zacoalco, in western Jalisco, ran afoul of this ordinance. He took his recua to Motines, to the hacienda of Sinacamitlán in order to obtain vino de cocos. Antonio Carrillo de Guzmán, the executor of the doña Catalina de Alarcón, confirmed that García had purchased the brandy on the estate, and he seemed intent on selling it in Jalisco.[167]

Authorities even further to the north, in San Joseph del Parral, in the present-day state of Chihuahua, worried about the consumption of vino de cocos. On June 13, 1639, Captain don Juan de Madrid y Luna, the alcalde mayor of the far northern province of Nueva Viscaya prohibited the sale of vino de cocos to the indigenous people and Afro-Mexicans inhabiting the mining settlement (*Real*) of Parral and its hinterlands (See Figure 8). He alleged that its consumption incited violence, and that merchants mixed vino de cocos with vino de mezcal. He demanded inspections and affidavits from merchants to prove their compliance. In 1640, his successor, don Francisco de Escobar Treviño, repeated the edict.[168]

Not surprisingly, all of the merchants who provided affidavits vowed that they only sold mezcal out of their shops. On April 22, 1649, don Diego Guajardo Fajardo reiterated this prohibition. He claimed that area merchants were selling vino de cocos as mezcal, which the

[167] AHMC, sección B, c. 24, exp. 21, fs. 1f-4v (1641); and AHMC, sección C, c. 24, exp. 8 (1641).

[168] For the 1639 and 1640 prohibitions, see Archivo Histórico Municipal de Parral (AHP), Fondo Colonial, A16.001.003, fs. 1r-18r (1640). I thank Carlos Yturralde and the Hispanic Heritage Project for obtaining Parral documents for me.

provincial government allowed local merchants to sell at the price of two reales per cuartillo. On May 22, 1652, Juan Miguel, an indigenous man from the city of Mexico, accused the merchants Andrés Gonzales and Martín de Astorga of violating these ordinances, selling him vino de cocos. The alcalde mayor charged Domingo de Assuage for violating laws prohibiting overcharging and the sale of vino de cocos. After detaining them, an investigation by administrators found the barrels in the stores filled with vino de mezcal, so he only fined the merchants fined for overcharging.[169]

The will of Bartolomé de Espinosa illustrates the longevity of Colima exports to Jalisco. Espinosa, a vecino of the western Jalisco pueblo of Cocula, died on the hacienda of Zapotlanejo. Francisco Clemente Larios owned this hacienda, in Caxitlán, an Espinosa had died in the midst of loading cargas of vino for his recua. On May 30, 1666, a Spanish companion of Espinosa, Nicolás Yañez, made an inventory of the goods that Espinosa had left on the hacienda of Zapotlanejo. Among the goods that he left were four barrels full of vino de cocos, apparently purchased in Colima, and twenty-two animals owned by several different entrepreneurs. The will of Espinosa revealed that he owned several empty barrels in Cocula, as well as a set of kettles used to make soap, an important import from western Jalisco into Colima. Espinosa maintained credit and commercial relations with muleteers and merchants in Sayula, an important stopping point for trade between Guadalajara and Colima.[170]

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[169] For the 1649 prohibition, as well as the subsequent inspections, affidavits, and prosecutions, see Documentary Relations for the Southwest (DRSW), AZU Film 0318,1652D, r. 2039-2118, fs. 1r-6v (1652).

Vino de cocos was superceded by grape brandy and mezcal. See AHP, Fondo Colonial, A23.001.001, fs. 5v (1632); AHP, Fondo Colonial, A23.001.007, fs. 4v, 5v (1637); AHP, Fondo Colonial, D14.001.013, fs. 1r-4v (1643); AHP, Fondo Colonial, A23.002.37, fs. 6r, 9r (1657) and AHP, Fondo Colonial, A16.002.044, fs. 1r-2v (1676).

[170] For the circumstances surrounding the death, post-mortem inventory, and will of Bartolome de Espinosa, see AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 15, fs. 1r-6v, (1666); and AHMC, sección B, c. 31, exp. 14, fs. 3r-4v, 15f-16f (1662, 1666).

In 1672, the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia opened up the entire territory to the free sale of vino de cocos by the vecinos of Colima. A few witnesses denounced the legalization of the trade, but, as in the case of the 1612 *Provança*, a number of Guadalajara vecinos claimed that local indigenous people made far more unsanitary beverages from local ingredients. The Audiencia therefore approved the measure. In other areas, however, local observers cast vino de cocos consumption in a far more ominous light. In 1670, a cleric in Arantzán (See Figure 10), in western Michoacán, denounced the effects of the Colima trade for the pueblo which he administered. He attributed disease and other insalubrities to the consumption by the Purépecha of Arantzán of the liquor.[171]

Colima and Motines continued to produce vino de cocos into the early eighteenth-century. For example, an eighteenth-century post-mortem inventory of Joseph de Viana, a heir of several haciendas of coconut palms, showed the continued vitality of the industry. Other wills and post-mortem inventories of hacendados recorded in the 1690s likewise demonstrate the maintenance of coconut palms. The notebooks recording debts of vinateros and salineros, however, show that chino laborers had almost disappeared from the haciendas. They corroborate padrones conducted between 1681 and 1685, which, again, show the residence of few chinos. Indigenous people, mestizos, and Colima residents of African descent dominated the ranks of vinateros in this later period. Only a few chinos populated the Tierra Caliente, in towns such as Apatzingán, Pintzándaro, and Churumuco.[172]

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[171] For the royal cédulas surrounding the legalization of vino de cocos importation into Nueva Galicia, and denunciations of its consumption in Arantzán, see Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos," 188; FHLGSU, MF # 269815, Audiencia de Nueva Galicia, Libros de Gobierno, 1670-1675, item 1. fs. 180v-184r (1672); and Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 338, 340-341.

[172] For the will and inventory of Juan Viana de Ocampo, in which not a single chino is identified, see AGN, Tierras, 309, exp. 4 (1712). For chinos in western Mexico, including Colima, between 1680 and 1685, see Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 90-94, 313, 317-319, 349, 385, 388-390. The chino Francisco Loolco, an inhabitant of Colima in 1680, was one of the very small percentage of chinos identifiable as Hokkien or

By 1700 chinos had definitely reduced their presence as a key component of the Colima economy. We can attribute their relative absence to several factors. First and foremost, as we saw, the passage and enactment of the 1673 order banning chino slavery had definitive effects even in remote areas of Nueva Galicia. Several chinos in the western periphery of Nueva Galicia felt comfortable suing for their freedom under this law. As we have seen, Colima enjoyed a relatively close relationship with Guadalajara, and Michoacán, an important alcaldía mayor in the Audiencia of New Spain. The role of chinos in the transportation industry made it likely that they would have heard of the passage of the order, preventing the sort of transition from debt peonage into slavery alluded to by the notary transcribing testimony about the matrimony of Lorenzo de Aguilar and cases of indigenous cash advances. Another reason for the decline of chino employment in the industry was the diffusion of knowledge about distillation. The long years of multiethnic cooperation on coconut haciendas and chino-indigenous intermarriage facilitated distilling skills and knowledge of the utilization of bark to boost alcohol yields, eliminating the premium placed on chino labor by hacendados in the early seventeenth century.

Other larger economic changes contributed to a lowering of the desire and means to migrate to Colima by chinos, another reason for their population decline in the province. Colima and Motines might have lost their attractiveness as a destination for chino workers as the demand for this liquor lessened. Retailers of vino de cocos soon had to compete with producers of other locally-produced liquors, possibly curtailing their ability to secure goods on credit and hampering their ability to use credit advances as incentives. In the seventeenth century, Santa María de las Parrás, a town in modern-day Coahuila, started to produce wine and brandy. A host of producers manufactured "vino de mezcal," a liquor distilled from the fermented hearts of roasted agaves in the early seventeenth century. In 1649, several merchants sold mezcal in San

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mestizo, due the–co, suffix, in his surname. See AHMC, sección B, c. 32, exp. 36, f. 30v (1680).

Bartolomé de Parral, the silver mine successor of Zacatecas in the far North (see Figure 8). Indigenous vendors and entrepreneurs sold pulque, an agave ferment, across western Mexico and into central Mexico during this period. Finally, though tightly regulated, sugar production undoubtedly lead to sale of illicit liquor, the precursor of the famous staple of contraband traffic in the eighteenth century, cane liquor, or *chinguirito*. All of these contributed to the decline of tithe receipts seen in Colima during the late seventeenth century.[173]

Morever, various scholars have noted a noticeable rise in population and economic activity in the Guadalajara area during the late seventeenth century, which helped fuel economic growth in the province of Ávalos. By the first decades of the eighteenth century, the economic productivity of this province, centered on the towns of Zapotlán, Tuxpa, and Tamazula had surpassed the production of Colima. The growing importance of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia to New Spain and the confidence of is inhabitants can be seen in the argument of vecinos of Manila in 1682, who petitioned the king and viceroyalty to move the main port of the galleon from Acapulco to the Puerto de Banderas, modern-day Puerto Vallarta. They explained that the vigor of Nueva Galicia and its proximity to the mines validated the shift away from Acapulco. This petition suggests that ports in Nueva Galicia had superceded those of Colima as entry points for Asian contraband.[174]

For the most part, then, most references to chinos in Caxitlán trail off in the eighteenth century. An Inquisition document from 1719 is an exception. The example demonstrates the

[173]For the production and marketing of wine and aguardiente of Santa María de las Parras, and the sale of vino de mezcal, see Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura en el pueblo de Santa María de las Parras: Producción de vinos, vinagres y aguardientes bajo el paradigma andaluz (siglos XVII y XVIII)* (Torreón, México: Ayuntamiento de Torreón, 2004), 14-18, 44-45, 104-106, 122-125, 129, 131-132, 138; and AIPG, Protocolos de Hernando Enríquez del Castillo, v. 1, fs. 107f-107v (1641); and *supra*.

[174] For the lobbying about the port of Valle de Banderas, see AGI, Filipinas, 341, L. 8, exp. 1, fs. 26r-28v (1682).

For comparative tables of tithes for the years 1724-1725, see Florescano and Espinosa, *Fuentes para el estudio de la agricultura colonial*, 41, 54.

persistence of coastal interregional routes and the continuation of cross-cultural knowledge-sharing along the colonial Pacific Coast. In this case, a mulato in Acapulco born in Colima spoke of a past encounter with a chino of "the Coast," probably meaning the Costa Grande (See Figures 8 and 9). The chino shared herbal knowledge with the mulato, telling him how to mix tobacco with a certain herb in order to enchant a woman, convincing her to embrace his love. By 1719, knowledge about tobacco cultivation and in fact, the plant itself, had been transferred to the Philippines, where it had been grown for several decades. The sharing of knowledge about tobacco held parallels with a similar process on the eastern side of the Pacific, in Colima, where chinos shared with individuals of varying ethnicities distillation techniques. Chinos in Colima had also been knowledgeable about the use of tobacco for several decades. As we will see, chinos, as well as other inhabitants of the Costa Grande, would also consume tobacco as they moved between the Philippines and Acapulco, making the story about Filipino use of tobacco a sign of both interregional American exchange and transpacific movement, as well. This usage might have followed the transpacific and interregional movement of chinos.[175]

Conclusion

Inhabitants of central Luzon worked in western Mexico. Though it was only one of several regions in which they occupied important roles in colonial Mexico, their impact here was perhaps the greatest of any part of New Spain. They entered a region with a firmly entrenched set of Spanish vecinos descended from wandering entrepreneurs, and the conquistadors of western Mexico. While devastated by imported epidemics, slaving, and forced labor for mines, indigenous people of Colima and Motines exercised a limited degree of autonomy in their

[175] For the chino de Colima, and tobacco cultivation and consumption in the Philippines, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 1169, exp. 16, fs. 263r-263v (1719); AGI, Filipinas, 22, R. 1, N. 1, exp. 5, fs. 80v-81r (1644); AGI, Filipinas, 14, R. 1, N. 1, exp 3, fs. 24r-24v (1673); AGI, Filipinas, 83, N. 41, exp. 2, fs. 29r-29v (1686); and AGI, Filipinas, 140, N. 16, 21r (1724).

pueblos. Meanwhile, Spanish vecinos who had first settled the region during a rush to build links with Asia soon tried to come up with new ways of generating income, becoming all too successful by forcing local indigenous people to plant cacao haciendas. Faced with a diminishing labor pool, Colima vecinos, like others in the sparsely-settled peripheries of New Spain, turned to advancing credit in order to attract workers.

The fair ports of Colima and southwestern Jalisco soon attracted the attention of captains plying the eastward leg of the Manila Galleon route. At the same time, the Crown settled on using western Mexico as a base for the intense maritime exploration of the California's during the waning decades of the sixteenth century. This confluence of events soon linked the ports of Asia and New Spain, attracting Filipino sailors, called chinos in New Spain, to the area. Colima vecinos, eager for more workers, soon extended credit to this new labor pool, and these advances bore fruit, as Filipinos had long been acquainted with debt labor servitide. It seems that Filipinos began using their knowledge of tuba fermentation and lambanog distillation to purchase their way out of debt bondage. They put their own stamp on the modes of distillation, but also on their remuneration, transferring Filipino sharecropping traditions associated with tuba-tapping, and implanting it on new soil, where it soon became dubbed "the partido chino." Yet, their industry made them even more attractive to the vecinos of Colima, who established a monopoly over the marketing of the beverage.

Chinos married indigenous women and some exercised spatial mobility as peddlers and arrieros. Most soon lost the possibility of social mobility, due to the Spanish marketing monopoly. Chinos became mired in debt, and closely tied to their Spanish patrons. Spanish administrators assigned chinos an intermediary role, creating the position of "alcalde de los chinos," which saw chinos overseeing tribute collection and law enforcement duties over the

indigenous and Afro-Mexican vinatero population on Spanish haciendas. Chino men adopted the ideologies of honor and masculinity of their fellow rural workers, using violence to defend their reputation and control over women.

Larger changes in regional and viceregal political economy prompted the decline of the vino de cocos industry in the face of wider competition in the field of the production of spirits. Chino dominance in the vinatero labor pool similarly declines, due to both the demonstration of distillation proficiency of Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people, and the ending of chino slavery. The growth of the northern mining community and loss of Colima and Motines as strategic anchorages for Asian contraband from the galleon similarly decreased the opportunity for chino immigration into these provinces. A very different set of circumstances obtained in another region in which chino workers predominated, the Costa Grande, also known as the Province of Zacatula. It is to this region that we shall now turn.

CHAPTER 5: CHINOS IN THE COSTA GRANDE

In the August 1599, two Spaniards living in the town of Coyuca, just northwest of the port of Acapulco, summoned the lieutenant of the provincial magistrate (*alcalde mayor*) of Acapulco. They brought him to a hut near the sandbar off the Laguna de Coyuca (Figures 9, 10, and 13). A chino named Domingo Báez owned the hut. The term "chino" signified residents of colonial Mexico who had been born in Asia, and also referred to their descendants. The Spaniards explained that Báez had drowned after the Coyuca River, swollen by rainy season precipitation, carried their small rowboat past the sand bar that ordinarily sheltered the lagoon and brought it to the sea, where the strong waves off of the Pie de la Cuesta had overturned it. Since Báez had died without a will, local residents of African descent and chinos assisted the teniente as he made an inventory of the goods of Báez. The inventory of Domingo de Báez provides us with a glimpse of chino material and social history in an important site of chino settlement, the Costa Grande, at the turn of the seventeenth century. The region of the Costa Grande extended several hundred miles west by northwestward, from Acapulco to the mouth of the Balsas River. The inventory reveals the crucial linkages between the labor and commodities markets of Acapulco and the greater Costa Grande forged by chinos during the early colonial period. It also shows the connections between these American communities and the increasingly interconnected states and markets of the South China Sea.[1]

This chapter provides a social history of chinos of the Costa Grande. Through their migration from central Luzon, employment on the Manila Galleon, and in the shipyards, chino laborers linked the region to the Spanish Pacific centered in the Philippines. At the same time, the involvement of chinos in the production of cacao in the Costa Grande, a commodity with

[1] Capitán a Guerra refers to the fact that alcaldes mayors of Acapulco held a military position befitting their post in one of the most important ports of New Spain. The post-mortem inventory of Báez is found in AGI, 492A, N. 3, R. 3 (1599).

origins in Mesoamerica, connected them to both the ethnic configurations and political economies of New Spain. The Costa Grande hacienda, indigenous villages, and multiethnic ranchos produced cacao, a product demanded by the consumers of large indigenous and Spanish markets of central Michoacán and central Mexico (See Figures 10, 13, and 14), in addition to the inhabitants of Spain's colonial possessions in Asia. I will show that within the labor relationships manifested in in the Costa Grande ports, chinos expressed and negotiated a position between the free Afro-Mexican and "indio" identity that they claimed on both sides of the Pacific. Like other plebian denizens of the Costa Grande, chinos contended with a wide range of coercive labor systems: debt bondage maintained by hacendados, corvée (*repartimiento*) labor mediated by Spanish labor contractors (*repartidores*) for cacao harvests, raids to capture fugitive slaves, and the royal agents commissioned to force sailors and soldiers to make trans-Pacific journeys.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, free Costa Grande chino patterns of sociability demonstrated a malleable group identity that profited from continuing contact with casual chino labor from Asia. Yet, chinos that chose to stay in the Costa Grande also intermarried and formed small agricultural communities with individuals of different ethnicities, sharing as they did common modes of living with local indigenous people, Afro-Mexicans and poor Spaniards. In this way, chino migrants continued the practices of relative social inclusion demonstrated by peasants and workers in the ports, convents, pueblos and ranches of central Luzon. In prioritizing these traditions, chinos upheld traditions of pre-colonial insular Southeast Asian practice which emphasized collateral alliance, tracing of bilateral lineages, exogamous marriage, and cross-ethnic social networks. Though not entirely autonomous, chinos in the Costa Grande expressed some of this group identity through and within their social arrangements

of production connected with intra-group social networks, choice of residence, and modes of mobility and consumption.[2]

The chapter will begin with a brief overview of the physical, jurisdictional and economic environments of the Costa Grande. I will then briefly describe the development of the Spanish cacao haciendas along the coast, as well as a providing a sketch of subsidiary economic activities in the region. The chapter then charts various facets of chino interaction with local inhabitants, colonial institutions, and employers. I begin this discussion with the labor conducted by chinos in the port of Acapulco and in Costa Grande haciendas, move on to explore chino material culture, and end with an analysis of chino experience in small agricultural settlements called *ranchos.*[3]

The fragments of the post-mortem inventory of Báez and the circumstances of his death show some of the interethnic relationships that characterize chino social history, even though the will describes only the earliest history of chinos residence in Mexico. To begin, Domingo Báez shared his boat with three Spaniards in addition to two chinos, Pedro Ramírez and Agustín. These Spaniards resided in Coyuca along with chinos, Afro-Mexicans, and the indigenous population. Chino ease with inter-ethnic networks in the Costa Grande paralleled patterns of chino cross-cultural ties in Colima, as well as the formation of multi-cultural communities in urban central Luzon. The inability of the Spanish companions of Báez to sign their names indicates that they were likely part of the significant population of the Costa Grande's more humble Spanish population, which consisted of sailors, petty traders, and those who performed odd jobs on the coastal cacao and cattle haciendas. Afro-Mexican residents of Coyuca acted as

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[2] See Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

[3] See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," and the more Sinocentric contribution of Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 35-6.

town criers for the village and some purchased the possessions of Báez after they had been assessed. The inventory even provides a small hint of social differentiation among the group of named chinos. Pedro Rámírez had drowned on the same fishing expedition as had Báez. The witnesses explained that unlike Báez, Ramírez only possessed the clothes in which he had drowned.[4]

The most visible (and pungent) of the possessions of Báez were several hundred snook lying salted and drying in the sun. The sheer numbers of these fish and the extensive list of goods present in the hut strongly suggests that the hut served as a locus of activity for several individuals. For example, the hut contained a couple of dozen porcelain plates from China and large amounts of salt. Salt-making requires large inputs of labor to gather the wood necessary to boil seawater or brackish water, as well as time to attend the fires for boiling. Báez and his associates would have used some of the salt to preserve the fish that he could then have sold via merchant intermediaries to the lead provisioner (*factor*) of Acapulco. The factor and his lieutenants then distributed the rations for the workers and mariners of the port. Báez owned several awls, planes, hammers, nails, balances, plumb lines, and drills. In short, he possessed all of the tools of a carpenter or held these possessions for a group of carpenters of the sort that royal authorities extensively employed on the Acapulco royal payroll. The presence of abaca fiber and pitch suggests that caulkers, chino or otherwise, frequented the hut. Báez owned a matchlock with gunpowder charges, a halberd, a crossbow and, and other goods that would have been utilized by a member of the colonial indigenous Filipino militia. Among his goods was a

[4] See AGI, 492A, N. 3, R. 3, fs. 1r, 2r, 5v-6r (1599); AGN, Tierras, v. 37, exp. 1, f. 277v (1572); and, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1109, exp. 40, f. 11r (1612).

pair of mariner's short pants (*calcetones*), part of the uniform provided by the royal warehouses in both Acapulco and Cavite for mariners of the Pacific Ocean.[5]

Other elements of his inventory demonstrate all of the hallmarks of employment in the haciendas of the Costa Grande which relied on raising cattle, cotton and cacao. Báez owned spurs, a saddle, and reins. For the purposes of policing social boundaries in New Spain, the Crown had prohibited non-elite members of indigenous groups from owning these items as well as arms. Other entries in the account books of Báez showed his equestrian proclivities. He claimed that he had left several horses and mules in an indigenous village farther up the Coyuca River as well as in Apusagualcos (Figures 9 and 13). Báez maintained other ties to Apusagualcos, as individuals of various ethnic designations residing there owed money to him. These included the mayordomo and gobernador of the indigenous pueblo of Coyuca. The presence of maize, manos and metates in the inventory demonstrate that the chinos of Coyuca supplemented their consumption of Asian textiles with the tortillas or tamales of Mexico. Báez or one of his associates probably worked in the cacao haciendas of the Costa Grande, as the hut

[5] AGI, Contratación, 492A, N.3, R.3, fs. 3r-5v (1599). See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6391, exp. 63 (1658); AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 2ª pieza, (Unpaginated) (1653); AGI, Contaduría, 897, f. 99r (1592); AGI, Contaduría, 899, unpaginated (November 12, 1594); and AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, 1ª pieza, fs. 104v- 105r (1635). See AGN, Mercedes, v. 9, f. 38r for a parallel case in the Costa Chica. See AGI, Contaduría, 1199B, fs. 75v, 92v, 181r (1575-1576); and AGI, Contratación, 492A, N.3, R.3, fs. 4v-5r (1599). See AGI, México, 30, n. 14, exp. 3, fs. 1v-2v (1608) for an inventory of a tool shipment to Acapulco.

The harvest of abaca, a non-native plant, and the presence of pitch near Coyuca indicate that Báez and his fellows were following the instructions set by the predecessors of the *factor* of Acapulco in the 1560s and 1570s. These instructions were known as the *Buen Gobierno* documents for the port of Acapulco. See AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 3r (1580), for recommendations on planning plants for rope fiber, and foja 14v for the discussion of the superior pitch to be found near Acamalutla.

Thousands of Filipinos served in the colonial military of the Philippines. See Chapters 1-3. They fought against the Dutch in the Spice Islands and Taiwan, quelled revolts in Manila and the island of Luzon, and served in garrisons from Cagayan in the north to Zamboanga in the south. The ordinance against casta ownership of weapons renewed and extended to mulatos in 1596. See AGN, RCD, v. D46, exp. 77, fs. 167r-167v (1596).

contained a reed mat (*petate*) containing several hundred beans (*sontles*) of raw cacao drying in the sun.[6]

Located between the valleys of the rivers Tecpan and Atoyac, the extensive plain of Apusagualcos had since the late sixteenth century hosted extensive cattle-raising and cacao cultivation (Figure 13). The Spanish and indigenous proprietors of these cacao estates sold their produce to central and western Mexican markets in Mexico City and Valladolid (Figures 10 and 14). First staffed with indigenous encomienda laborers and African slaves, haciendas across the Costa Grande began to integrate indigenous migrants, free Afro-Mexicans, chinos, and poor Spaniards into their labor forces by the early seventeenth century. Báez also owned a middle-aged slave woman traded through West Africa (*Biafra*). Though tied to the markets of New Spain, Báez showed his connections to the Asian market, as he owned textiles and other commodities produced in the Philippines, China, and Japan.[7]

From Báez's will, we can see that that work in Acapulco and the Costa Grande formed an important component of the American experience of chinos. The region, the coastal plain between Acapulco and the mouth of the Balsas River, as well as the port of Acapulco itself,

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[6] This prohibition had apparently been promulgated by in 1571 and was later adopted in New Spain. Indigenous people were also prohibited from carrying arms. For the former law, see *Recopilación de los Leyes de las Indias, Libro XVI, Título I, Ley xxxiii. Que los Indios no pueden andar à cavallo.* For the latter law, see *Recopilación de los Leyes de las Indias, Libro XVI, Título I, Ley xxxiii*, *Que no se puedan vender armas à los Indios, ni ellos las tengan.* Also, AGN, Civil, v. 258, exp. 5, fs. 2r-4v (1612). AGI, Contratación, 492A, N. 3, R. 3, f. 11v (1599). A sontle consisted of approximately 400 cacao beans. See MacLeod, *Spanish Central America,* 70. AGI, Contratación, 492ª, N. 3, R. 3, f. 3v, 8r – He had 15 sontles, the amount of approximately two tributes in Coyuca in 1568 terms; see Sherbourne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History, Volume 3,* 113.

[7]AGN, Mercedes, v. 11, fs. 9r-9v (1649); and AGI, Contratación, 479, N. 3, R. 3, *passim* (1611). AGI, Contratación, 492A, N. 3, R. 3, f. 4v; (1599); AGI, Contratación, 479, N. 3, R. 3, f. 120v (1611); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 5v (1647); and AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 78r (1654).

Chapters 1, 2, and 3 showed that Filipino indigenous elites owned substantial numbers of slaves and debt servants. They purchased slaves from Portuguese merchants who obtained them either from Bengal and South India, but they also obtained slaves and bonded laborers from debt and expeditions into the mountainous regions which supported communities avoiding colonial labor demands. In other cases, Filipino nobility and wealthy Filipinos, especially Kapampangans, captured subjects of Islamicate polities in Mindanao and Indonesia, or purchased them from Portuguese, Chinese, or Spanish slave dealers.

loomed large for chinos as a source of employment, an arena of social interaction, an area of settlement, and as a stage from which to return to the Philippines. A case study of chino work and social interaction in the Costa Grande helps to provide a basis for comparison of patterns of chino social interaction, social mobility, and influence on regional economies in Colima and central Mexico. The port of Acapulco anchored the Costa Grande to Asia when it came to both the labor supply and the region's material culture. Interactions with Nahuatl-speaking peasants, Afro-Mexicans and Spaniards also shaped the experiences of chinos in New Spain, just as they had in western Mexico, and in ways comparable to the influence of relationships between central Luzon Filipinos and Malay-speaking and East African slaves, South Asian mariners, Spanish soldiers, Portuguese merchants, Japanese Catholic priests, and Fujianese Chinese artisans.[8]

Of course, Acapulco is most famous for its status as the official port of entry into Mexico from Asia and the Pacific Ocean, as well as the place where galleon embarked for Asia with loads of silver, soldiers, and clerics. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, two large ships moved between the port of Acapulco and Cavite. These ships became known as the Manila Galleons or in Spanish as the nao de China. They received the latter name since the individuals of colonial Mexico knew Asia in a general sense as China, just as the inhabitants of the colonial Philippines referred to the Americas as Spain (*España*). The galleons were justly famous for bringing East Asian silks, porcelains and furniture to New Spain, but the galleons

[8] This examination of regional political economy and patterns of labor procurement draws on some of the great work produced about Latin America. See Robert W. Slenes, "Os múltiplos dos porcos e diamantes: A economia escravista de Minas Gerais no século XIX," *Estudos econômicos* (São Paulo) 18, no. 3 (1988): 449-495; Ann Zulawski, *They Eat from Their Labor: Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995); Ouweneel, *Shadows Over Anáhuac;* Bernardo García Martínez, *Los pueblos de la Sierra: El poder y el espacio entre los indios del norte de Puebla hasta 1700* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987); Jonathan Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Danièle Dehouve, *Entre el caiman y el jaguar: Los Pueblos Indios de Guerrero* (México, D. F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1994); and Powers, "Resilient Lords and Indian Vagabonds: Wealth, Migration, and the Reproductive Transformation of Quito's Chiefdoms, 1500-1700," *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 3 (1991): 225-249.

also carried large amounts of South Asian textiles manufactured in Coromandel, and Bengal, as well as more modest quantities of textiles produced in the Philippines. Mexico City-based merchants often consigned their goods through agents in the Philippines and paid Acapulco port authorities to ensure the security of their delivery. Muleteers brought goods from Acapulco through Tixtla and Chilpancingo to the hot Balsas River Valley and onward through Morelos to Mexico City, where it was locally consumed and also distributed to other areas of consumption in New Spain and occasionally, to Spain itself. As Woodrow Borah and Fernando Iwasaki Cautí have shown, Acapulco also served as an essential, if often illicit, entrepôt for intra-Pacific trade. It was here that Asian goods bound for Central America and Peru were exchanged for silver mined in Peru. In fact, the demand for Asian goods became so great in silver-rich Peru that ships occasionally, and illegally, sailed directly from Lima to Asia. In the early eighteenth-century Mexico imported massive quantities of cacao from Ecuador.[9]

Asian labor and technology helped link this Pacific system together as we saw in the first three chapters. Their labor helped connect this ocean through the most-studied ports of Acapulco and Cavite, but also in the auxiliary ports and hinterlands of towns such as as Binangonan de Lampon, and Boronga, in the Philippines, and Salagua and Navidad, in Mexico. These served as crucial arenas for exploitation, smuggling, and trans-Pacific cross-cultural contact. The galleon passage itself served as a further vector of cross-cultural contact. Passengers of all ethnicities consumed the food distributed in Cavite, which often consisted of local legumes, rice, dried fish, and vino de palms. Filipinos formed one-third to half of the

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[9] For the use of "España" to connote New Spain, see AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 440A, f. 265v (1649). For traffic with Peru and Central America, see AGN, Indiferente Virreonal, c. 5276, exp. 59, fs. 1r, 2r, 3r, and *passim* (1613); Woodrow Borah, *Early Trade and Navegation Between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954); Fernando Iwasaki Cautí, *Extremo Oriente y Perú en El Siglo XVI* (Bilbao: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992); and below. For cacao imports, see below, and Amith, *The Möbius Strip*, 309-310.

galleon crews, and passengers often brought Asian servants and slaves, further increasing the proportion of Asians aboard. As we saw in Chapter 4, the provisioning, mail, and contraband ports of Colima held a significant Asian population, and western Mexico depended on these ports for lower-cost Asian goods outside the clutches of monopolistic Mexico City merchants.

Once they disembarked from the Manila Galleons, chino mariners like Báez found employment in the royal shipyards and warehouses of the port of Acapulco. Along with the population of the rest of the rural Costa Grande, chinos generally labored in cacao cultivation on large haciendas. They differed from other Costa Grande residents in importing traditions of cross-cultural interaction from the Philippines and introducing Southeast Asian technology used to distill coconut-flower brandy known as vino de cocos. Along with free Afro-Mexicans and indigenous laborers, they began co-founding small agricultural settlements known as *ranchos* the first few decades after their migration to Mexico. The movement of chinos between these different work and social spaces shaped their interactions with each other and with other members of other juridically-constituted colonial racial groups.[10]

Before 1650, the population of chinos within the Costa Grande, though linked by a common ethno-juridical identity, had varied experiences. In addition to different places of origins, the civil status of freedom or enslavement separated the experiences of chinos, though, as we have seen, chinos in indebted servitude shared some characteristics from both free and

[10] In examining social mobility and ethnic identity in a lowland colonial Mexican periphery, this work draws from recent scholarship on free Afro-Mexicans. See Andrew B. Fisher, "Negotiating Two Worlds: The Free-Black Experience in Guerrero's Tierra Caliente," in *Black Mexico: Race Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, eds. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 51-71; and Pat Carroll, "Black Aliens and Black Natives in New Spain's Indigenous Communities," *Black Mexico: Race Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, eds. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 72-95. See Ben Vinson III, "*West Side Story*: Free-Black Labor in the Mexican Pacific during the Late Colonial Period as seen through the Revillagigedo Census," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, no. 3 (2009). http://muse.jhu.edu. (Accessed 2/8/2011). For examples in coastal Ecuador and Central America, see discussions of Esmeraldas in Kris Lane, *Quito, 1599: City and Colony in Transition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2002); and Kent Russell Lohse, "Africans and Their Descendants in Colonial Costa Rica, 1600-1750" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005).

enslaved chinos. Next, chinos were divided into the settlers and itinerants. For the most part, scholars have placed overwhelming focus on those chinos who settled within colonial Mexico. Yet, the population of chinos entering the viceroyalty always differed among migrants who opted to continue their voyages to the Philippines, those who stayed in Mexico for a few years before leaving, and those who choose to put down local roots and settled. Members of each population interacted, but it was the latter that constituted the long-term residents of haciendas and the founders of small agricultural settlements (*ranchos*). By the latter half of the seventeenth century, the settler population of chinos had founded lineages of chinos criollos. Many migrant mariner chinos and their descendants, chinos criollos, could trace their ancestry to central Luzon.[11]

The administrative and commercial documents produced in and about the Costa Grande clearly indicate the origins of chinos, a situation that contrasts with sources from central Mexico. To begin, treasury or Contaduría records from 1590 to roughly 1630 record the names of many of the chino grumetes on the Manila galleons (Figure 6). Déborah Oropeza compiled most of these records and constructed a large table from them in the appendix of her doctoral dissertation. Records from 1593-1615 were the mostly likely to show the villages of origins for the sailors. From these, the accountant provided the towns and province names of approximately one hundred and eighty-five of the sailors. Since the accountants recorded the towns of origins for a few grumetes in both their departures and arrivals, they provided a few duplications, but one hundred and fifty sailors were still represented in this sample. Seven of the individuals came from Japan. Two were clearly identifiable as Chinese (*sangley*). Most were from the island of Luzon in the Philippines. One hundred and forty-eight of the one hundred and eighty-five

[11] AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, tomo 1, exp. 15, f. 2r (1644); and AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Procesos Criminales, c. 833, exp. 1, fs. 5r-5v (1702). For testimony about Sergeant Matiás de Navarrete, a chino criollo and hacendado on the Costa Grande, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2772, exp. 24, fs. 6r-7v (1712).

grumetes having their places of origins in provinces or pueblos adjoining the Bay of Manila, dominated in this time period by speakers of Tagalog and Kapampangan.[12]

Notaries transcribing chino names left other evidence of their central Luzon heritage, as many of the earliest grumetes held Tagalog or Kapampangan surnames. Naming practices changed over time for Filipinos employed in Spanish-controlled enterprises. Over time, Filipinos in the municipalities and workers in closest proximity to Manila and thus in protracted contact with Spanish colonial institutions chose or received from their parents more Hispanicized surnames. Over the long-term, the shift was dramatic. For example, in her study of chinos to colonial New Spain, Oropeza recorded the names of many chino grumetes on the Manila galleon between 1591 and 1666. Of the over one thousand and five-hundred and thirty-four grumete surnames, mainly drawn from the pay records of Manila galleons sailing before 1650, only four hundred and seven, or just over twenty-six percent, had Spanish surnames. By the end of the seventeenth century, this had dramatically changed. Over one hundred and fifty-four named indigenous grumetes (*grumetes sencillos*) sailed on the three galleons the *Santa Rosa,* the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, and the *Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de la Guía*, which sailed in the respective years of 1682, 1692, and 1687. One hundred and thirty-four sailors, or eighty-percent of the individuals, had Spanish surnames. The latter represents a smaller sample size, given the prevalence of professional sailors in the galleons in the latter half of the seventeenth century. More helpful is an examination of a 1686 count of surnames in the port of Cavite, and a census conducted in the Tondo municipality of Santa Ana in 1691 (See Figure 4). In San Roque, fifty-six percent, or one-hundred and ninety workers of the three hundred and forty-two counted had Spanish surnames, even though many had been born in Pampanga, Bulacan and other provinces

[12] These results are extracted from Appendix C of Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*' en la Nueva España," 205-252. See Chapter 1, 2, and 3 of this dissertation for a discussion of the roles of Parañaque and Dongalo in the provision of maritime labor for the sixteenth century colonial Philippines.

outside of the hinterland of Manila. In 1691, in Santa Ana de Sapa, a cabecera near Manila exercising jurisdiction over several subject villages and estates, held a population of fifteen hundred and eleven named individuals of many ethnicities. Of these, seventy-four percent, or one thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven individuals, had Spanish surnames.[13]

The documentation of chinos employed on Costa Grande haciendas corroborates the dominance of individuals from central Luzon found in the extensive documentation produced by the officials of Acapulco. In some cases, the surnames derive from locations or ethnicities. For example, the mayordomos of the Petatlán hacienda of San Bartolomé de Tuxtepec recorded the employment of Pedro Balayan, and San Miguel de Apusagualcos, near Atoyac, Cristobal López de Osuna employed Miguel Panpango. Other the surnames were derived from Tagalog and Kapampangan words. The surname of Juan Baguio stemmed from the Kapampangan and Tagalog words for typhoon. Agustín Suay had a name which came from the Tagalog words connoting rebelliousness (See Figures 9 and 13).[14]

Despite their Asian origins, members of the settled chino population bore similarities to the two different populations of the Costa Grande, Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people. Like the former, free chinos bore the stigma of slavery, since, as Tatiana Seijas notes, at least half of the population of chinos within Mexico were enslaved. On the other hand, within the Philippines, free chinos had for the most part belonged to indigenous communities known as the *república de*

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[13] AGI, Contaduría, 1210, f. 146r (1620); AGI, Contaduría, 1216, f. 229v (1633); and AGI, Contaduría, 1218, 2a pieza, F. 700v (1637). These numbers come from Appendix C of Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 205-252. I derived later crew surname counts from AGI, Filipinas, 25, R. 1, N. 14, fs. 24v-27r (1682); AGI, Filipinas, 68, N. 1, fs. 93v -95r (1687); and AGI, Filipinas, 26, R. 4, N. 18, fs. 60v-61v (1692). For San Roque counts, see AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 57, fs. 10v-26v (1688). For Santa Ana de Sapa counts, see AGI, Filipinas, 134, N. 14, exp. 2, 146v-191v (1691).

[14] AHCMO, Diocesano, Diezmos, c. 0002, exp. 12, f. 6r (1640); and FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 139v (1636); and FHLGSU, MF # 1646112, (AGN, Civil, 742, exp. 8) f. 75r (1655). Balayan refers to a province in western central Philippines, or words with several Tagalog meanings. See San Buen Aventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala*, 628. For baguio, see Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance,* 35; and San Buena Aventura, *Vocabulario*, 626. For suay (soay), *ibid*., 695.

indios and therefore held a juridical status very similar to the indigenous people of Mexico. The crown and merchant-organized cacao industry and port employment in turn, put individuals from all indigenous, Filipino, Afro-Mexican and Spanish populations into protracted contact.[15]

As a work of social history, this chapter diverges from these more recent investigations of the Costa Grande by analyzing the ways that local workers worked to control their own lives in haciendas and in the port of Acapulco. By contrast, twentieth-century historians of the southern state of Guerrero Costa Grande have generally focused on the so-called Spanish economy. That is, they focus on either haciendas, or the more populous indigenous communities, the Cuitlatecan, Tlapanec and Nahuatl-speaking inland and upland populations of the mountains of the Sierra Madre del Sur or in the lower Balsas River Valley. More recently, those few historians who have examined the coastal communities of the region have largely utilized macropolitical or macroeconomic lenses. They have centered their analyses on patterns of large-scale industrial booms and busts in the Costa Grande, in part attempting to explain the prominence of Costa Grande elites, sharecroppers, artisan, and muleteers in the Independence-era armies of José María Morelos, and in subsequent rural upheaval in the early nineteenth century. This chapter departs from these previous treatments by analyzing the Costa Grande in terms of the ties created by chinos to a material, political and economic world of the greater Spanish Pacific. This paper will examine the first period of these interactions, from roughly 1565 to 1720 within a nascent Pacific Rim dominated by imperial competition between Iberian powers and the Dutch for access to goods manufactured in India, China, and insular Southeast Asia.[16]

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[15] For a fuller exploration of the connections between slavery and identity for New Spain chinos, see Tatiana Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," *passim*.

[16] Recent treatments of the political economy of the Costa Grande include Jesús Hernández Jaimes, *Las Raíces de la Insurgencia en el Sur de la Nueva Espana: La Estructura Socioeconómica del Centro y costas del actual Estado de Guerrero durante el siglo XVIII.* http://www.geocities.ws/jhjaimes/LibroRaices-insurgencia.pdf , Accessed October 10, 2010; María Inés Mombelli Pierini, "La formación histórica del paisaje en el Corredor

The analysis of chinos in this chapter emphasizes chino experiences in the Costa Grande region. I build upon the impressive works recently written by students of chino history in colonial Mexico, but depart from them in focusing on the connections forged by chinos within and between specific communities dotting the coastal plain between Acapulco and the mouth of the Balsas River. These connections helped build the Costa Grande as a region. By contrast, in the works that have not been syntheses, examinations of chino history have grouped together the very disparate regions of Colima and the Costa Grande, eliding the very important differences in experiences of chinos in these regions, differences in part explicable through the very different political economies of the two regions. More recently, four scholars, Eichi Fuchigami, Edward Slack, Déborah Oropeza, and Tatiana Seijas have studied various elements of chino experience over a wide geographical range of colonial New Spain. Seijas focuses on Mexico City. Edward Slack wrote an article on chinos in all parts of Mexico though he mentions their employment in the vino de cocos industry. Fuchigami concentrates his analysis on chinos in Colima, but does not compare their experiences with those in the Costa Grande and central Mexico. Meanwhile, Oropeza groups the history of chinos on the west coast of Colima with those of the Costa Grande. Oropeza contributes the most far-reaching analysis to date of chinos in the Costa

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Acapulco-Zihuatanejo," *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín del Instituto de Geografía, UNAM* 72 (2010): 120-138; and Dehouve, *Entre el caiman y el jaguar,* passim. Dehouve analyzes the cultural and social vicissitudes of the coast inasomuch as individuals within these communities interacted with members of her communities of interest, such as Chilapa, Tlapa, and Tixtla, located in the Sierra Madre del Sur.

Jonathan Amith looked at the Costa Grande in the context of his long-term study of community and political economy in the lower Balsas River, but focuses on the eighteenth century. Amith examines the arriero traffic from Acapulco, as the lower Balsas stood astride the primary route between the coast and the city of Mexico. See Amith, *The Möbius Strip*, *passim*.

Peter Guardino has made an excellent study of the Costa Grande starting in the mid-eighteenth century, though his temporal focus differs from mine. See Guardino, *Peasants, Politics and the Formation of Mexico's National State, passim*.

The final example, Rudolf Widmer, surveys the rise and fall of the cacao economy of the Costa Grande and Costa Chica. His analysis describes the social interactions against the backdrop of larger political economic and political changes along the entire southwest coastal littoral between Afro-Mexicans, chinos, Spaniard, and indigenous people, but brings us only a few miles west of Acapulco. Widmer ends his analysis thirty-five years before the Crown sponsored a major consolidation of land-holding along the Costa Grande. See Rudolf Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas del mar del sur* (México, D. F: CONACULTA, 1990).

Grande. Using treasury documents from Seville, her study extensively documents the work experiences of chinos in Acapulco, but her study concentrates primarily on the American aspects of chino activity and centers on the eastern portions of the Costa Grande.[17]

The differences in these interpretations stem in part from the source of documents used by these various scholars. Acapulco and its sister village, Coyuca, both laid within the administrative boundaries of the diocese of México, and members of the diocese left extensive documentation in the national archives of Mexico, one of the primary colonial archives of the country and consequently, one of the premiere destinations for students of colonial history. By contrast, Valladolid and the bishopric of Michoacán oversaw much of the Costa Grande west of the Coyuca River. While still quite accessible, this documentation is sparser and is located in Morelia, outside of Mexico City, but the material from the former archive better documents a range of chino history on the Costa Grande and allows a study of the connections between Costa Grande chinos and those elsewhere in colonial Mexico. This chapter will begin by surveying the prehispanic and early colonial history of the Costa Grande.[18]

The Human Geography of the Costa Grande

In the pre-Hispanic period, the villagers of the Costa Grande created a variety of ethnic and political configurations. Acccording to the *Codex Mendoza* and the *Matrícula de Tributos*, in addition to salt, this region supplied conch shells, cacao, and cotton textiles to pre-Hispanic central Mexico, later trading these goods, especially cacao, to the residents of the mountain

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[17] See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude,"*passim*; Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" *passim;* and Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 35-6, and Eichi Fuchigami, "Los indios *chinos* en Colima, siglos XVI y XVII" (Master's Thesis, Colegio de México, 1995).

[18] Notable exceptions to the negligence of the western portion of the Costa Grande include Jorge Amos Martínez Ayala, "Por La Orillita del Rio…y Hasta Pánama. Region, Historia y Etnicidad en la Lírica Tradicional de las Haciendas de la Huacana y Zacatula," *Tzintzún: Revista de Estudios Históricos* (Deciembre 2007): 13-38, and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán,* 207.

Colonial officials understood the importance of the connection between Michoacán and the Costa Grande rather early. See AHN, Diversos Colecciones, n. 31, fs. 3r-3v (1575).

communities or *tierra templada* towns in exchange for shrimp, copal, and maize. The communities that dotted the coast and the coastal slopes of the Sierra Madre del Sur in the eastern part of the Costa Grande affiliated themselves with the headtown of Citlaltomahua, located near the source of the Coyuca River. Those in the western region were governed by the main town of Mexcaltepec, by the headwaters of the Tecpan River. The inhabitants located the headtowns of these polities and kingdoms in the temperate highlands of the Sierra Madre del Sur, though the most valuable items for tribute were gathered or cultivated in the coastal lowlands. The inhabitants of the villages associated with Mexcaltepec spoke a variety of languages, most notably Cuitlatecan, Tepotztecan, and Panteca. By 1500, the Mexica, with their capital of Tenochitlán, had organized much of the western portion of the Costa Grande territory into the province of Cihuatlán. Meanwhile, the Mexica-led Triple Alliance sent Nahuatl-speaking colonists to the village and governing center of Citlatomahua and its southern annexes of Citlala and Coyuca.[19]

The implementation of colonial rule and the attendant imposition of new administrative practices by agents of the Spanish Crown changed the cultural, economic, and cultural patterns of the Costa Grande. To begin, like the rest of the Pacific Coast, the population decreases of the indigenous communities in the Costa Grande following the Spanish conquests were quite severe. Also, as in other regions, from the 1520s through the 1580s, the Crown rewarded encomiendas to some of the Spanish conquistadors such as Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte who had been active in the conquest of the Costa Grande. In the 1580s, the Crown ordered the congregación of the

[19] See Dehouve, *Entre el caiman y el jaguar*, 31, 37- 38, 42; World Digital Library, *Tribute Roll*, http://www.wdl.org/en/item/3248/pages.html#volume/1/page/17, (Accessed October 15, 2009) (1530); "Relación de la Provincia de Zacatula," in *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI*, ed. René Acuña (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 451, 454, 458, 460; "Relación de Citlatomáua y Anenecuilco," *Papeles de la Nueva España, Tomo VI*, ed. Francisco Paso y Troncoso (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipogáfico, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), *passim*; and Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas del mar del sur,* 37.

villages on the Costa Grande. With the implementation of congregación by royal authorities, the sheer number of communities decreased, as well. The congregation of Tecpan was completed by 1603, the town of Coyuca and Acamalutla by 1604, and that of Atoyac by 1614. The most prominent of the remaining villages were, from west to east, Zacatula, Petatlán, Tecpan, Atoyac, Coyuca, and Acamalutla (Figures 9 and 13). It is possible that the populations of these villages and their smaller *sujetos* were, like the towns further north in the Tierra Caliente, stabilized in part with Afro-Mexican residents.[20]

In general, Spanish officials had situated the settlements of Cuitlatecan, Yope, and Nahuatl-speaking indigenous peoples in the post-congregación Costa Grande near the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Nearly all of these villages and towns, with the exception of Acapulco, sat on rivers that drained wide plains convenient for cacao cultivation. The tributaries of some of these rivers fed freshwater lagoons that lined the coast. Mangroves bordered the lagoons and beaches of the Costa Grande during the colonial era. These humid flatlands would have seemed familiar to chino migrants, as salt-water tributaries (*esteros*) even in such highly-urbanized zones in the Philippines such as Tondo, like communities across the tropical Pacific and Indian oceans, also opened onto mangrove swamps. According to the *Matrícula de Tributos* that immediately postdate the conquest, the Costa Grande had long supplied cotton and cacao as tribute to Tenochtitlán, but colonial administrators helped encourage the growth of the market for cacao by extending the consumption of this once-elite commodity to the entire indigenous population. The Spanish and Afro-Mexican populations of the viceroyalty soon developed their

[20] "Relación de Citlatomáua y Anenecuilco," 156. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New* Spain, 41, 394-396. "Relación de Citlatomáua y Anenecuilco," 156; AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, fs. 42r-42v (1618); and AGN, Tierras, v. 2672, exp. 28, f. 489r (1614). "Relación de la Provincia de Zacatula," in *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI*, ed. René Acuña (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 456, 459. For estimates of the population decrease in the Costa Grande, see Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History, Volume* 3, 72-80.

own taste for the beverage, as well. The Crown supplied this expanding market in part by continuing the pre-Hispanic practice of assessing Costa Grande tribute in cacao.[21]

Through tribute and sale, the indigenous communities worked to sustain their own economy, an interest that often intersected, but also collided with the pursuits of Spanish landowners and officials. The Spanish had divided the jurisdiction of Costa Grande between the province of Acapulco, which extended to the valley of the Coyuca River, and the province of Zacatula, who extended past the Balsas River. The headtown of the latter jurisdiction sat at the mouth of the Balsas River. As population decline continued apace through the late sixteenth century, the alcalde mayor of Zacatula and his lieutenant situated their residences at the respective towns of Petatlán and Tecpan. They seemed to select these sites for their proximity to areas of salable agrarian surplus, cacao most notably, and to centers of indigenous labor, both of which they could appropriate. In and near Coyuca, indigenous people farmed their maize plots (*milpas*) but also grew cacao in small plots. Some of the nobility owned their own plots, and the precipitous decline of the indigenous population enabled smallholders, whether chino, Afro-Mexican or Spanish, to purchase or inherit these holdings. Indigenous people in Coyuca maintained fisheries in the brackish water lagoons that lined the coasts, as did its visitas, like that of Cayaco, a hamlet of Atoyac,. By the early seventeenth century, indigenous residents of Coyuca as well as those of Tecpan had planted banana orchards and plots for growing cotton. Costa Grande communities such as Tecpan and Atoyac used communal plots for livestock-

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[21] The congregación of the Costa Grande took place largely in the 1590s, though it was not fully consolidated until the 1620s. See the descriptions provided in AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 7; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1109, exp. 40 , f. 6v (1614); and AGN, Mercedes, v. 32, f. 1v (1615). NAP, Cedulario, SDS 603, 1679-1697, 1685-1687, f. 170b (2 de Marzo, 1686); Macleod, *Spanish Central America* , 68-70, 241-242; and Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 89.

raising or the cultivation of cotton or cacao, the yield of which sustained small cofradias in the indigenous villages.[22]

The lives of Costa Grande indigenous people intersected most with those of chinos, Afro-Mexicans and Spaniards through their labor on the cacao haciendas. Spanish encomenderos and small-holders stole, inherited, and purchased prime cacao-growing land from indigenous people, primarily nobles (*principales*). The indigenous people of these villages filed complaints against these abuses, but seemed more successful in lawsuits filed against the small communities that haciendas workers formed on the outlying lands and outskirts of the cacao haciendas. These haciendas loomed large as sources of employment and refuge for chinos. The largest haciendas, such as San Miguel de Apusagualcos, extended from the foothills of the Sierra Madre all the way to the sea. Like their Cuitlatecan and Nahua predecessors and contemporaries, the Spanish located their haciendas and their humidity-loving cacao trees near rivers and lagoons, and in fact, some haciendas made a profitable trade from sale of salted fish to the port of Acapulco. Some of the laborers used on these haciendas were indigenous people from adjacent villages, but early in the history of the industry, African slaves provided much of the permanent labor for the rapidly expanding cultivation of cacao. In addition to free Asians, Spanish proprietors employed chino slaves coming from a variety of regions. Early in the seventeenth century, some of these slaves had either lived in or been sold through ports in the southern Philippines and South India.[23]

[22] AGN, Mercedes, v. 25, f. 2v (1605); AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 95, f. 45v (1629); AGN, Indios, v. 11, exp. 280, fs. 229 (1639); and AGN, Indios, v. 24, exp. 261, fs. 165v-166r (1669). AGN, Mercedes, v. 51, f. 26r (1657); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 28r (1644); AGN, Tierras, v. 2830, exp. 25, f. 4r (1695). AGN, Tierras, v. 2827, exp. 5, f. 2r (1716); exp. 11, f. 2r, 6r; AHCMO, Gobierno, Visitas, c. 56, exp. 10 f. 23r, 25v, 26v-27r (1671). I thank Ryan and Anna Alexander for locating and obtaining some of the above sources.

[23] AGN, Indios, v. 24, exp. 261, f.s 165v-166r (1669). AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Justicia, c. 26, exp. 6ª, f. 4r (1672); and AGN, Mercedes, v. 11, f. 241r (1583). This was especially true of the sitio of Mitla, which comprised one half of the laguna of Mitla. See AGN, Tierras, v. 3656, exp. 2, f. 5r (1706). Owners of several Costa Grande estates purchased canoes and rowboats. See AHCMO, Diocesano, Capellanias y Obras Pías, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 48, f. 5r (1663); and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 10r (1672); an AGN, Tierras, v. 154, exp. 5, f.

Spanish hacendados themselves came from a variety of backgrounds. Recipients of royal land grants (*mercedes*) such as Villafuerte and Albornoz came from the ranks of conquistador families. Others such as Fernando Santotis were local officials. In the 1630s and 1640s, local clerics and officials such as Hernando Toribio de Alcaráz, Cristobal López de Osuna, and Pablo de Carrascossa invested in cacao production. Mexico City merchants and officials such as Melchor Rodriguez López and Pedro de Cabañas leavened the mixture of the hacendados of local origin. By the late seventeenth century, members of long-standing Costa Grande Spanish families tended to own heavily-mortgaged cacao properties, and partition of the properties became relatively common. The more fortunate of these had consolidated large haciendas which grew cotton, vanilla, and achiote alongside of cattle-raising and the main crop, cacao. Other Spanish individuals, mulatos, mestizos, and indigenous people possessed more modest properties. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Spanish owners had begun to run behind on the payments of their mortgages, leading to the transfer of properties like Nuestra Señora de Buen Suceso and San Miguel de Apusagualcos to religious corporations in Valladolid and the city of Mexico. The early eighteenth century also saw the *de facto* partition of haciendas by

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238r (1691). See AGN, v. 37, exp. 1, *passim*. AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp 2, f. 5r (1646); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 3, fs. 60v-61r (1647), 64r (1650); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, fs. 11v-12r (1672); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 5, f. 7r (1679); exp. 6, fs. 15r-15v (1677); AGN, Tierras, v. 104. exp. 6, fs. 99r, 128r (1654); AHCMO, Colonial, Justicia, Serie Test. Capellanias y O. Pias Testamentos, c. 144, Exp. 48, Fs. 5r (1663), and AGN, Tierras, v. 177, exp. 3, f. 23v (1677). We have considerable evidence that the proximity to the Pacific supply of Asian slaves led some of these hacendados to roles as slave brokers for buyers further inland. See AHMP, Serie Colonial, caja 13, exp. 2, f. 237v (1647-1650); and FHLGSU, MF # 0764167, item 2, (Unpaginated) (July 26, 1649), and FHLGSU, MF# 0764167, item 2 (Unpaginated) (March 26, 1650).

It is possible that slaves from southern India might have been purchased because they were known to have palm-tapping skills. Southern Indian caste groups, such as the Shanars, were famed for their palm-tapping abilities. Diagrams of western Mexican stills closely resemble the descriptions made of Filipino stills in chronicles and estate records. See Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings*, 22-23, 25. South Indian slaves from castes such as the Paravas might have harbored other important skills useful to Spanish entrepreneurs such as pearl diving, see *Ibid.*, 321-325. For the insular Southeast Asian and South Indian identies of some of the Costa Grande slaves, see below, and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 3, f. 64r (1647); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 6, f. 6r (1677) and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5687, exp. 60, f. 28v (1677).

resident sharecroppers growing cotton, though hacendados had started growing the crop in the seventeenth century.[24]

Carpentry, Careening and Cargo: Work in the Port of Acapulco

Acapulco and its rural counterpart, Coyuca, served as the introduction to New Spanish society for legal chino migrants to colonial Mexico. The Crown had designated the port of Acapulco as the only legal point of disembarkation for chinos and the merchandise carried by the Manila galleons. It is probable that some mariners and grumetes incurred debt aboard their ships, or had been recruited via debt servitude for their first voyage. The transfer of the debt ashore to new creditors helps to explain the substantial debts owed to the hacendado Diego Gónzalez de Loys in 1658 by mariners of the Manila galleons. Chinos had little time for rest, as royal authorities immediately recruited grumetes chinos to unload the ships, shuffle goods to merchants' houses and royal storehouses and repair the ships for their next voyage. Grumetes hired in Manila and Cavite found themselves legally obligated to board the galleons once they were seaworthy in order to return for the homebound voyage. Royal officials forcing Filipinos to finish their term of service ran into problems, as we will see. They often had to recruit Filipinos who had previously settled in Mexico for the homebound voyage.[25]

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[24] For Villafuerte, see Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas,* 26, 27; for Hernando de Santotis, see AGN, Mercedes, v. 17, f. 237r (1591). For Hernando Toribio de Alcaráz, see AGN, Tierras, v. 2830, exp. 26, f. 2v (1629) and AGN, Intestados, v. 1, exp. 2, f. 126r, 128r. For Melchor Rodríguez López, see AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, fs. 126v-127v, and AHCMO, Diezmos, c. 24, exp. 677, f. 1v-2r. For Pedro de Cabañas, see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 2r; and AHMM, Justicia, c. 26, exp. 6A, f. 2r, (1672). AGI, Contratación, 509, N. 12, fs. 67r-67v (1611); AGN, Tierras, v. 2672, exp. 29, fs. 495r-497r (1712).; AGN, Tierras, v. 2772, fs. 2r-4r (1712); AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, exp. 15, f. 2v (1712); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, *passim*; "Relación de la Provincia de Zacatula," 460; and AGN, Mercedes, v. 18, f. 104v-105r (1592). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 32r (1645); and AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, exp. 15, f. 3v (1673). Jaimes, "El Fruto Prohibido," 45. For seventeenth-century cotton cultivation, see López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 132; and FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, Item 1, f. 95v (1640). Note that the microfilm is not paginated, but the ledger within it is paginated; and FHLGSU, MF# 0779063, *Obispado Antiguo de Michoacán, Información matrimonial y actas, 1646-1649,* Item 3, fs. 10r, 12r, 21r, 26r, 39r, 40v, 45r, 50r, 51r (1649, 1653-1657). Item 3 is not paginated, but the ledger within it is.

[25] AGI, Contaduría, 905A, Factor Pedro de Torres y Sosa; tesorero Bartolome Rey de Alarcón y contador, Juan Ramírez de Ursúa – f.s 327r-327v (1636). The dependence on these maritime laborers for terrestrial labor

Though despised for its climate, Acapulco served as a site of habitation for Afro-Mexicans, Africans and Spaniards, in addition to chinos. Indigenous people appear to have stayed away from the city except to vend goods. Nonetheless, many indigenous people traveled to Acapulco as the alcalde mayor levied heavy requirements for forced labor from the provinces surrounding the port. The historian Rudolf Widmer argues that these laborers, mostly unnamed in treasury records, had built the port in the first place, a conclusion well-supported by Spanish treasury records. In addition to indigenous draft labor, royal officials and the Spanish citizens of the port purchased and deployed West African slaves to serve in the construction, repair and service of the Manila Galleons. Spaniards and other Europeans from around the viceroyalty traveled to Acapulco in the hope of getting rich. Sailors, royal officials, merchants and the hacendados from the coast settled in the city in order to dip into the lucrative trans-Pacific legal trade and in even more profitable illicit commerce.[26]

Though a few mariners and drifters settled in Acapulco, most individuals of lesser status, including free chinos, seemed to have preferred life in the nearby indigenous village of Coyuca.

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requirements was a continuation of practices in the Philippines. See Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangélica de los Obreros de la Compania de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells, SJ (Barcelona: Heinrich and Company, 1904), 6-7; and AGI, Patronato, 47, R. 1, 2v (1605). AGI, Contaduría, 903, 1 de Septiembre, (1617); AGI, Contaduría, 903 (1630); AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 2a pte, 32r-32v (1653); AGI, Contaduría 905B, 10a pte, fs. 27r-27v (1658); AGI, Contaduría 905B, 12a pte, 21v-22v, 32r-32v (1660); AGN, AHH, v. 1238, exp. Fs. 108v-109r, 122v, 124v (1623); AGN, AHH, v. 1238, exp. 3, f. 62v, 65r, 74v, 80v, 82r, 84r, 89v (1625); and AGN, AHH, v. 1240, exp. 1, f. 105v (1615). For mariner debts, see the ledger within, FHLGSU, MF# 0779063, *Obispado Antiguo de Michoacán, Información matrimonial y actas, 1646-1649*, Item 3, f. 57v (1658).

[26] In regards to climate, see Francisco Carletti, *Razonamientos de mi viage alrededor del mundo (1594-1606)* (México, D. F: UNAM), 64-65; and more insistently, Juan Francisco Gemmeli Carreri, *Las cosas más considerables vistas en la Nueva España*, trans. José María Agreda y Sánchez (México, D. F: Xochitl, 1946), 28-32. The location of Acapulco was considered so unfavorable that the Franciscan Province of Santiago de Xalisco posted Padre Fray Felix de Mendoza there in 1643 as punishment for a fight in Valladolid. See Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Franciscana de Santiago de Xalisco (Henceforth, AHPFSX), Gobierno, Libro de Becerros, caja 1, no. 1, fs. 70r-70v (May 4, 1643). The secular pastors of the port were not immune from the urge to leave the port, either. See AGN Tierras, v. 2774, exp. 8, f. 20v-21v (1636). See AGI, México, 371, 9r-11v, and *passim*, (1615). Chinos also helped construct and repair Fort San Diego. See AGI, México, 371, f. 13r (1615); and AGN, AHH, v. 2427, exp. 1, f.127r -127v, 129r, 130v-131r (1615). Oswaldo Sales Colín, *El Movimiento Portuario de Acapulco*: *El protagonismo de Nueva España en la relación con Filipinas, 1587-1648* (México, D. F.: Plaza y Valdés, 2000); AGN, Contaduría, v. 897, "Libro de Raziones, 1590;" "Libro de Raziones, 1591," *passim* (1590-1591).

The will of Domingo Báez and early Inquisition records show that Coyuca, a town a few hours walk from Acapulco, seemed to have served as a point of refuge for other sailors, traders, and low-status individuals who frequented the port. The attractiveness of village residence might have been its distance from constables recruiting maritime labor and the availability of land for cultivation, due to a decreased indigenous population. Certainly, the indigenous population of the town, especially its cabecera of Acamalutla, appeared to have gradually diminished in size over the years. Its indigenous residents sold parcels of land, as did those of Tecpan. These sales gave rise to some of the largest cacao plantations in the region. Indeed, the village of Coyuca had claims on parts of the fertile Apusagualcos plain before canny Spaniards such as Pablo de Carrascosa purchased the land. The town of Coyuca was rich in resources. In addition to its proximity to Acapulco, the town sat alongside a lagoon rich in fish, and a royal road led to the cacao-rich lands of Atoyac. Cacao grew well in the adjoining plains, as well. Over time, Coyuca emerged as a central settlement for chinos leaving the galleons and for Afro-Mexican port workers in Acapulco.[27]

Over time, the more prosperous residents of Acapulco, including royal officials, moved their unofficial residences to Tixtla, a municipality higher in altitude and salubriousness than Acapulco, but close enough for periodic trouble. In Tixtla and its environs, local people and Spaniards depended on the location of the town astride the Camino de China, the commercial route that linked Acapulco and the city of Mexico. Many inhabitants of the towns between these two cities were employed in muleteering along this route. Spanish officeholders like Pablo de Carrascossa and others also established modest cattle haciendas, as well as cacao and sugar

[27] See AGN, Tierras, v. 37, exp. 1; and AGI, 492A, N. 3, R. 3, fs. 3r-4v. See "Relación de Citlatomáua y Anenecuilco," 155-156. AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 20r-22r (1643). For a Nahuatl note from Coyuca, see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 3, f. 41r (1643). Tecpan, too, claimed lands far to its east. See AGN, Tierras, v. 2827, exp. 11, f. 3r (1669); AGN, Indios, v. 11, exp. 280, f. 229r (1639); AGN, Mercedes, v. 58, fs. 197v (1680). AGN, Inquisicion, v. 461, exp. 18, fs. 463r-465v (1646).

plantations near Tixtla and north of Acapulco near the road to the city of Mexico. They were able to rely on the proximity of Acapulco for provision of chino slaves. Nonetheless, cacao culture never took off in Tixtla to the extent that it did in Costa Grande and areas close to Acapulco (Figures 9, 13, and 14).[28]

Free chinos entered Acapulco and the Costa Grande quite soon after the conquest of Luzon in 1573, though they were preceded by enslaved chinos. Eight chinos or "indios Luçones," formed part of the crew of the *Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza* that explored Alta California in 1587. Thirty-one chinos appeared in Acapulco by 1588, the remains of a crew from the galleon *Santa Ana* that the English privateer Cavendish had captured in 1587. The accounts produced by the factor provided data not just about the salaries paid to mariners, but of the origins of the latter. In 1589 several chinos arrived in a Portuguese ship that had sailed from Macao, stopping in the Philippines along the way. The captain had recruited these grumetes chinos from Parañaque and southern Luzon, like his Spanish counterparts, though the crew also included Japanese sailors and Muslim lascars from southern India. Chinos arrived in the ships *Santiago* and *San Ildefonso* as grumetes indios or grumetes chinos. In 1592, a valuable document provides the contracts signed by Vicente Paguiban and other "indios chinos grumetes" for the return voyage to the Philippines. The factor of the port did not record the ethnicity (*nación*) of the grumetes, despite *Buen Gobierno* instructions to do so. Spanish colonial officials

[28] For more on the importance of Tixtla and the transportation economy, see Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico*.

For importance of Tixtla to the vecinos and administrators of Acapulco, see Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas,* 115; and Archivo Histórico de la Parroquia de San Martín Obispo de Tixtla (Henceforth, AHPSMOT), Caja 1, *Libro de Cofradías* 1659-1827, Tomo 1,"Leonor Ysavel mugger de Juan de la Pasa vecinos del Puerto se asentó en 27 de Febrero de 1672," y "Doña Marín Ruiz Corder,o mujer de Pedro Cortes vecinos de la Costa se asentó..22 Enero 1673…." For some of these properties see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5687, exp. 60, fs. 153v-258r, and *passim*; AHPSMOT, *Libro de Cofradías del Santísimo Sacramento y Purísima Concepción de 1630-1854*, fs. 1f -2v, 5v-6f, 11f, 13f, 41v. For chinos in Tixtla, see AGN, Inquisición, 435, tomo 1, exp. 36 (1650); AHPSMOT, *Libro de Cofradías del Santísimo Sacramento y Purísima Concepción de 1630-1854*, f. 42f (1673); and AHPSMOT, Caja 2, Sección Sacramental, Bautismos, 1684-1758*,* exp. 43, f, 6f, 13v (1686, 1690).

often had simply created the surnames of chino by utilizing the names of Philippines pueblos and provinces, probably their places of origin. Thus, Acapulco treasury documents record the salary and rations accorded to the port worker and grumete Lucas Pampanga in 1591. Among the grumetes sent out from Acapulco in the first decade, the surnames of Parañaque and Dongalo commonly appeared. These pueblos were providers of laborers for ships and the docks of Cavite, as well, fishing villages which became adjuncts to the bustling port of Cavite (Figure 4).[29]

Many people populated colonial Acapulco from an early date. For more well-off Spaniards, Acapulco was a place to profit from the importation of goods manufactured in Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Japan, and China which had been consigned to merchants of Mexico City. Other Spanish merchants helped supply the ship with its provisions or provided the silver for the annual sales tax (*almojorifazgo*) paid by shippers on imported Asian goods used for administrative expenses in the Philippines. Costa Grande hacendados maintained residences

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[29]See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 64; AGI, Patronato, 25, N. 32, f. 8v (1587). AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 6, N. 38, exp. 2, f. 3r (1588). See AGI, 34, N. 79, exp. 3, *passim*, for the testimony of one of the captured *chinos*. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6729, exp. 6, fs. 15r-15v (1590). Grumetes moros appeared on this ship.

Though this dissertation explains the origin of the terms *grumete indio* and *grumete chino* in Chapters 2 and 3, I will reiterate the explanation here. Maritime workers constituted one of the most demanded components of the colonial and military largest labor force in the Spanish Philippines. Spanish administrators constantly complained about the shortage not only of qualified artisans to build ships, but of qualified mariners to man them. The need for labor extended to intra-insular traffic and in fact, the Filipino labor deployed for this practice appears to have dwarfed the requirements for the Manila Galleon. Alternatively called grumetes indios chinos or just grumetes chinos, nineteen grumetes chinos appeared on the galleon *Santiago*. See AGI, Contaduría, 897, "Libro de Raziones, 1591", (Unpaginated); AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 13r (1566-1579). AGN, Marina, v. 2, exp. 1, fs. 4-4v, 15-15V, 21r-22v (1592). By contrast, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6729, exp. 9, *passim* (1590), a series of accounts drawn up by the notary of the nao *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* that provided the names and pueblos of origin for indigenous people recruited in Manila.

Filipinos from Luzon continued to play crucial roles in the imperial exploration, contact, conquest, colonization, and missionization on both sides of the Pacific into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, serving in expeditions that traveled to the Mariana Islands, the Palau Islands, and Baja California. See AGI, Filipinas, 281, N. 1, fs. 228v-231r (1709); Augusto V. de Viana, "The Pampangos in the Mariana Mission, 1668-1684," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2005): 1-16; John N. Schumacher, "Felipe Sonson: Seventeenth-Century Filipino Jesuit: Missionary to the Marianas," *LANDAS* 9 (1995): 266-285; Francis X. Hezel and Marjorie C. Driver, "From Conquest to Colonisation: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690-1740," *The Journal of Pacific History* 23, no. 2 (1988), 141; Harry W. Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 418, 500, n. 78; and Rosa Elba Rodríguez Tomp, *Cautivos de Dios: Los cazadores-recolectores de Baja California durante el período colonial* (México, D. F., CIESAS, 2002), 183, 300.

in Acapulco where they would obtain easier access to consumer goods from Asia and Spain. This included the clothing and consumer goods that they distributed to slaves or sold on credit to free hacienda employees. The alcalde mayor, port and local ecclesiastical establishment afforded better-connected Spaniards access to offices connected to the Inquisition or treasury. As a result, these Spaniards were more likely to initiate litigation or notarized financial transactions in Acapulco than in more sparsely-populated rural Costa Grande. Consequently, hacendados and others purchased slaves in Acapulco due to the availability of notaries and the supply of Asian slaves freshly shipped from Manila.[30]

While many of the better-off Spanish inhabitants of the port vacated the premises during the hot summer months, it appeared that Afro-Mexicans, chinos, and the more humble Spanish workers stayed in Acapulco. Seventeenth-century Acapulco hosted several dozen vecinos, as well as many peripatetic resident workers. To begin, after 1615, at least fifty Spanish, mestizo, and mulato soldiers lodged in Fort San Diego, newly constructed with indigenous, Afro-Mexican and chino labor, and located on a hill just north of the western part of the harbor. Chinos often worked in the royal warehouses (*Reales Almacenes*). To attend to the matters of the hereafter, the inhabitants of the town and transpacific merchants maintained a parish church that belonged to the Archbishopric of México, an Augustinian guesthouse named San Nicolás for outgoing missionaries, and a Franciscan convent, guesthouse, and hospital for sick sailors and port workers called Santa María de la Consolación. The parochial church faced the beach, while the Franciscans located the hospital north by northwest of the main part of the town. The guardian of the Franciscan convent travel to Costa Grande haciendas to say Mass, and their hospitals served the soldiers, maritime workers and stevedores of the port. Houses clustered around the small plaza of San Francisco. The barrio of San Nicolás constituted another neighborhood,

[30] See AHMP, Colonial, caja 13, exp. 2, f. 237v (1647).

located near the Augustinian guesthouse in which missionaries for the Philippines, Japan, and China lodged on their way to and from Asia. Afro-Mexicans lived within the Barrio de Guinea, but also inhabited houses outside of it.[31]

In addition to fomenting significant commercial activity, the inhabitants of the port of Acapulco formed and maintained several Roman Catholic confraternities devoted to the Holy Sacrament, Santa Lucia and San Nicolás de Tolentino, the latter headed by a free African artisan named Anton Bran in the middle of the seventeenth-century. As in Colima, these cofradías bound together inhabitants of different ethnicities. The cofradía of San Nicolás de Tolentino opened its membership to Acapulco residents (*porteños*) of all ethnicities, including chinos. San Nicolás also extended its membership to chino sirvientes and rancheros working on the Costa Grande haciendas. Though many chinos lived in Coyuca, some chinos maintained house plots in Acapulco; at least fifty chino men resided in Acapulco in 1672 when no galleons were in port. Two years later, one chino, Juan de Rodríguez, successfully litigated against prominent municipal citizens to clarify the status of his municipal property in Acapulco.[32]

Like their counterparts in Cavite, Acapulco chinos labored in a variety of occupations. By 1591, the port authorities had begun to employ chinos in "offices" of skilled artisans, especially that of carpenter, an occupation often called by its colonial central Luzon title, cagayan. Chinos worked in skilled occupations alongside of Spanish artisans but more often

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[31] Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas,* 115. For the parroquial church, see AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 13r (1566); for the Hermita of San Nicolás, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5246, exp. 6, f. 1r (152); AGN, Tierras, v. 116, exp. 4, f. 7r (1674), AGN, Bienes Nacionales, 1332, exp. 2, f. 3r (1699); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, 1512, exp.11, f. 7r (1691).

For the *Hospital de Santa María de la Consolación*, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 0487, exp. 5, *passim* (1615-1616). FHLGSU, 1646112, AGN, Civil, 742, exp. 8 (6), f. 9v (1654). Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas,* 112-115.

[32] For the Cofradía of Santa Lucía, see AGI, Contratación, 502A, n. 6, f. 7r (1610); for the Cofradía del Santo Sacramento, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5383, exp. 76, f. 5r-5v (1675). See below for San Nicolás. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5246, exp. 6, f. 2r (1652); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1028, exp. 26, f. 2r (1691). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 104r (1645). AGN, Tierras, v. 116, exp. 8, *passim* (1674).

worked with Afro-Mexican workers. Lumberjacks felling timber for ship construction first had to travel to the mountains to the north of the city. According to Widmer, early workers floated the logs southwards through the Papagayo River, a process similar to that carried out by Filipino loggers in the mountains of Pampanga. Yet, many later sources refer more frequently to workers dragging timber to the port from outlying mountains. The royal scribes called those who performed this task, the least-documented of those in the port, sawyers (*aserradores*), and hatchetmen (*hacheros*). They worked near the ships in order to cut the lumber to the right size, but also in teams in the mountains. Residents also used the wood to construct the houses and royal buildings of the port such as the fortress and armory. Chinos, Afro-Mexicans and Spaniards alike seemed to have roofed them with thatch throughout much of the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, probably due to intensive heat and the propensity of the area to suffer earthquakes. Yet by the middle of the seventeenth century, some Acapulqueños, including chinos, roofed their houses with tile and made walls of adobe.[33]

The Ribera of Acapulco referred to the place, often just the beach, where workers pulled the boats and other watercraft out of the bay for repair and refit. Chinos worked in a variety of jobs dealing with the ship maintenance, often working alongside of skilled Afro-Mexican workers. They worked as calafates. Maintenance entailed a process of carena which required workers to drag ships onto the beach, to produce oakum, to boil pitch, and occasionally to partially dismantle the hull. During the careening, caulkers stuffed cracks with the oakum, or the fiber from worn rope, coated the ship with pitch thinned with tallow, and sealed it with lead to

[33] Records kept by the Treasury *caja* of Acapulco begin in 1590. I am hopeful that earlier records of the Acapulco caja survive among the legajos of the Caja of México or perhaps in some other location. For housing in Acapulco, see Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas,* 107. For the work regimes of shipyard workers in the Spanish Atlantic, see Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain,* 115-116, 119, 143. For Acapulco labor, see AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 324r (1635); AGI, Contaduría, 903 (Unpaginated) (1619). AGI, Contaduría, 903 (Unpaginated) (1618). AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, f. 272r-273r (1635), 318r-319r (1636), 630r (1642). AGN, Tierras, v. 116, exp. 8, f. 3r (1674); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1512, exp. 11, f. 1r (1690); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5687, exp. 60, f. 29v (1677).

discourage the growth of sea worms. Carpenters cut the required lumber to construct ships on occasion, but they mostly repaired ships, and reconfigured the construction for the new requirements of the return voyage to the Philippines by building staterooms (*camarotes*). Carpenters and cagayanes used planes, hammers, and lathes to shape their contours. Chinos like Bartolomé Siguat worked as assistants and blacksmiths themselves. In the former category, they worked the bellows and did anything else that was required. By the latter half of the seventeeth century, Acapulco port authorities had borrowed the central Luzon (both Tagalog and Kapampangan) term panday to refer to chino iron workers, blacksmiths or more generically to skilled workmen. They were needed to cast the nails, cannons, and other instruments needed for the galleons. The existence of a neighborhood named the "La Cordonería" might indicate that nearby cordoneros pleated the fiber and manufactured part of the rigging necessary to operate the galleon, although the case of Báez showed that the task did not necessarily require centralization.[34]

Factors appeared to classify pay grades due to perceived differences of skill, which often corresponded with the length of a chino's stay in New Spain. Treasury officials accorded specialized toneleros and almaceneros the same sort of unskilled status assigned to grumetes. The almacenero work force could vary year to year, although some of them persisted in their office over time. The pay rates of both were comparable, at five pesos per month. By contrast, carpenters and caulkers received annual wage rates, both aboard ship and in the port. Some

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[34] AGI, Contaduría, 902 (Unpaginated). AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 12r (1566); AGI, Contratación, 897, (Unpaginated) (1592); AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 88v (1615); AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, f. 191v, 333r (1635-1636). AGI, Filipinas, 1200, 2ª pte, 743v (1581); AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 90. f. 1002r (1590); and AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, f. 337r-338v (1636). The Costa Grande hacendado don Hernando Santotis supplied tallow for the latter task.

Though prohibited, wealthy and influential passengers often supervised the refitting of the galleon which sailed from Acapulco in order to ensure themselves a spacious stateroom or camarote. See LL, Boxer Collection MSS II, Lot 515, MS. 21528, Manuel de la Cruz, Manuel de la and Álvaro de Benavente, O. E.S. A, "Itinerrario [sic] para el procurador para España 1700," f. 52r. (1700).

AGI, Contaduría 905A, f. 851r (1644). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 531v (1641). AGI, Contaduría, 9a pieza, fs. 27v-28r (1659). AGN, Bienes Nacionales, 1332, exp. 2, f. 3v (1695).

chino carpenters stayed within the port for several years, in the case of Alonso Bato, almost a decade. The pay rates of carpenters reached as high as two hundred pesos a year, almost four times the pay rate of the grumetes chinos. Port authorities occasionally contracted carpenters and other skilled workers for work for the vecinos of Acapulco. In 1611, the chino carpenter Francisco Ensaenz traveled as far as the city of Mexico for such work. Chino and Afro-Mexican sawyers and lumberjacks, like indigenous people, received daily wages (*jornales)*, though they made higher wages, sometimes as high as twelve reales a day. Free apprentices of caulkers, the owners of slave workers, and indigenous people used for less-dignified work such as breaking rocks for the construction of fortifications also were paid by jornal.[35]

Chinos also performed a variety of tasks related to the loading and unloading of ships. Miguel Caguaje, Alonso Manipoqui, and many other chinos moved between employment as grumetes and portside employers. Those who worked as almaceneros loaded and unloaded royal storehouses, which they had packed with clothing, salted beef, salted fish, wine, as well as higher volume provisions such as sailcloth required to operate the galleon. Stevedores unloaded and loaded the ship onto the small craft that brought it to the royal storehouses or onto mules waiting to carry the materials to Mexico City and other destinations. Toneleros also helped load and unload the ships, being responsible for the tricky practice of moving the *pipas* or large containers of liquid provisions such as wine, vinegar and especially water, to and from the ship. Chinchorreros such as Agustin Chino rowed the small craft to and from the galleons which transported the crew and goods to shore. Chinos also observed the ocean in order to wait for the galleon. The colonial government and in particular, the treasurers of the royal accounts of

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[35] AGI, Contaduría, 899, (1592-1596), *passim*; and AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, fs. 8-v-81r (1616). AGI Contaduría, 902, f. 2r (1606), and AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 120r (1615). AGI, Contaduría, 902, (Unpaginated) (1611); and AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 85r (1615). AGI, Contaduría, 905a, 139r, 140r. See the case of Manuel González in Acapulco in AGN, Contratación, 899, (Unpaginated) (1594); AGI, Contaduría, 902, f. 198r (1617); and AGN, Contratación, 905ª, f. 267v (1636).

Acapulco, employed the chinos who constructed the galleons on other tasks. For example, the Crown employed chinos in the construction of Fort San Diego, as well as much larger numbers of indigenous people that numbered in the hundreds. Their employment had been prompted by the visit of the Dutch corsair Spielbergen to the Pacific Coast in 1614.[36]

As port workers employed by the Crown, initially, chinos, like African slaves, Spanish port officials, and Afro-Mexican artisans, received rations of hard tack, onions, garbanzos, salted fish, and beef distributed by port authorities. The hacendados of the Costa Grande such as Francisco Alonso Martínez, Andres Benavídes, and Hernando Toribio de Alcaráz, proved able to supply the workers of the port with salted beef (*tasajo*) in large quantities. Port authorities granted sales monopolies or concession for the provision for tasajo to merchants who lived within the port. Locals supplied salted fish for port authorities, along with merchants and local fishermen. Strangely, for an area richly provided with maize, many of the earliest workers in Acapulco received rations of hard tack. It is unknown whether merchants in Puebla supplied the hardtack or if these biscuits were locally-baked. The rations consumed by chinos and and other Acapulco workers seem to match those eaten by the sailors in the Atlantic and Pacific with fava beans, and vinegar playing prominent roles. One of the only exotic supplies seemed to be wine produced near the Pacific Coast of Peru. Spanish wine was available to residents of Acapulco but it was quite expensive. Peruvian wine was cheaper, but its price competitiveness would later pale in comparison to the potent vino de cocos later produced on the coast.[37]

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[36] See AGI, Contaduría, 902, (Unpaginated) (1608, 1615). AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, fs. 23r 85v (1615); and AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, f. 340v (1635). AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, fs. 867r-867v (1646). AGN, Contaduría, 899 (Unpaginated) (1594); and AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, f. 557r (1616). AGI, México, 371, fs. 9r-26v (1616). Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas del mar del sur*, 104-105.

[37] AGI, Contaduría, 905ª, fs. 107r, 335v, 746r, 747r, 864r-865r, 1107r, and AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 116r (1615). AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 14r (1579). Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century*, 136, 162-165. AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 22v (1615). Standard size jars of wine contained three to four gallons of wine and cost from six to eight and a half pesos in 1594, and 1607.

The Hammer and the Hoe: Coercion in the Costa Grande[38]

Soon after the 1560s, Spaniards worked hard to obtain the land and labor necessary to pursue cacao cultivation. Chinos participated in the growth of this industry, partially through their own manufacture of a complementary product, vino de cocos. Spaniards responded to the of expansion demand in the viceregal market, but as the seventeenth century began, they initiated sales to the market of the Philippines. Complaints sent by Costa Grande indigenous people to the Indian General Court (*Juzgado General de Indios*) argued that the attempts by some Spaniards to increase cultivation took the form of outright theft of land for cacao and cattle in some cases. Moreover, indigenous nobles within these communities competed for cacao land due to lucrative nature of cacao production.[39]

Epidemic disease and congregación eliminated some of the conflicts over land by the late sixteenth century, but Spanish cacao growers still demanded indigenous labor after their encomiendas had been extinguished. They nonetheless faced labor shortages due to the two factors of the expansion of cacao cultivation and the repeated epidemics among indigenous people. Thus, in 1582, Francisco Martín, a hacendado, argued that the good of the province depended on a share of repartimiento labor of indigenous people from Tecpan to act as workers in his cacao groves or *cacahuatal*. One strategy pursued by the Spanish appears to have been the importation of indigeneous labor from the more densely-settled provinces of central Mexico. A municipal magistrate recorded the attempt of one encomendero and relative of the first governor of the Philippines, don Juan García Albornoz, to import these migrants, known as *indios*

For sizes of jars and *peruleras*, see Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks*, 122-123. AGI, Contaduría, 902, fs. 36r-36v.

[38] With apologies to Robin D. G. Kelley. See Kelley's *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

[39] AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 13, fs. 3r-3v (1582); and AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 340, f. 82r (1583).

forasteros, to his cacao hacienda near Coyuca in the middle of the sixteenth century. Indigenous officials of Coyuca complained about these migrants. Coercion of the labor of local indigenous people seemed a more common tactic than importation of migrants.[40]

The scarcity of laborers prompted some hacendados to employ desperate measures. According to petitions sent to the Juzgado de Indios, some Spaniards pushed Costa Grande indigenous people into the labor market by indebting them. To begin, a land dispute in 1572 includes documents recording some of the tactics used by Spaniards between the years 1561-1572. In this case, two Spanish petty traders brought wine to the people of Acamalutla, the early head town of the jurisdiction of Acapulco, and Coyuca. Indigenous officials charged that these traders enticed indigenous people to become drunk and then sold the intoxicated villagers various goods, especially clothing, at inflated prices. In the aftermath of these debts, traders pressured indigenous people to sell their cacahuatales in order to pay off their debts. Various hacendados also tried to force local indigenous people to work as laborers on the haciendas. For example, in Zacatula, in 1582, Spanish administrators argued that indigenous people of the town were resorting to the theft of cacao in order to pay for wheat bread baked in newly-constructed ovens. In another case from the same year, Spanish authorities in Mexico complained about the excessive volume of Spanish wine being imported into the province of Zacatula, probably another attempt to force indigenous people to work in Spanish cacahuatales. In the 1590s, in the adjoining jurisdiction of Motines, Spanish attempted to indebt indigenous people by forcing goods upon them in return for cacao.[41]

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[40] AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 266, f. 65v (1582). AGN, Tierras, v. 0037, exp. 1, *passim*; Jesús Hernandez Jaimes, "El Fruto Prohibido. El Cacao de Guayaquil y El Mercado Novohispano, siglos xvi-xvii," *Estudios de la Historia Novohispana* 39 (2008): 72; and AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 266, f. 66v (1582). For immigration into Central American groves, see MacLeod, *Spanish Central America,* 77-78.

[41] Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas del mar del sur*, 86-91, and *passim*.; AGN, Tierras, v. 0037, exp. 1, *passim*. AGN, Tierras, v. 37, exp. 1, fs. 193v-199v; 202r, 277v, and *passim*; and AGI, Contratación, 479,

Most Spaniards connected with the Costa Grande cacao industry did not find wealth or power. Some of them, like those Spanish itinerant peddlers that lacked substantial mercantile backing, faced their own hardships. Traversing the vast humid plain of the Costa Grande was surely difficult during the dry season and during the summers; mobility declined as the rains filled dry arroyos, swelled the rivers, and converted the lowlands surround the lagoons into temporary marshes. The probate case of Pedro Sánchez, one such trader, illustrates some of these dangers. Pedro Sánchez died intestate in 1584 after stumbling into one of the rivers near Tecpan during a summer rain storm, and drowning. Diego, an indigenous tavern-keeper from Tecpan, witnessed his body being eaten by caimans. Inventories made of the possessions of Sánchez revealed that he sold goods on credit such as knives and hats to indigenous villagers and hacienda workers across the Costa Grande. He tallied and collected the debts in quantities of cacao. Hard currency was in short supply in the late sixteenth-century Costa Grande, so both petty traders and hacendados tended to utilize cacao for exchange.[42]

We have evidence that one of the ways that Spanish hacendados sought to make up for their labor shortfall in the Costa Grande and Acapulco was by recruiting Filipino sailors. In 1600, indigenous people from Petatlán noted that Diego de la Serna, the owner of a nearby estate named San Bartolomé de Tuxtepec, employed chinos (See Figure 9). In 1614, on the adjacent hacienda of San Pedro, an estate record documented the debt of one chino employee, for fifty-seven sontles of cacao. In 1635, the factor of Acapulco described the common usage of African slaves for works in the port and royal buildings. In previous treasury records, free laborers had

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N.3, R. 3, exp. 13, *passim.* For similar tactics in Soconusco, see Macleod, *Spanish Central America,* 73-74. AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 679, f. 154v (1583). AGN, Indios, v. 2, exp. 922, f. 210v (1583). See AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 5, *passim* (1600); and AGN, Indios, v. 4, exp. 694, fs. 186r-186v (1590).

[42] AGI, Contratación, 479, N.3, r. 3, fs. 1r-4r, 7r-8v, 18r-18v (1585); and AGI, Contratación, 509, N. 12, f. 120v (1599).

performed this labor, but as the factor noted, since no ships had come from Cavite that year, there had been a shortage of grumetes or chinos.[43]

Mayordomos and administrators of these haciendas organized their workers into several different groups. Late in the sixteenth century, hacendados recruited indigenous male and female workers from their villages or "rented" them from encomenderos. Later, the regional magistrates or alcalde mayors apportioned these laborers in the repartimientos. Mayordomos referred to these workers as *indios alquilados*. They worked in gangs of eight to twelve, bringing with them a woman from their village that performed the back-breaking labor required for the preparation of masa, tortillas, and chocolate to feed the field laborers. The hacendados or their administrators, known as mayordomos, paid these workers a daily wage of two reales and they worked from four to eight days, mainly in the harvest of cacao. The gangs also worked in the salt pans. Resident non-enslaved workers (*sirvientes*) and later, day laborers from nearby ranchos, worked alongside of slaves and received a monthly wage. Sirvientes conducted more routine maintenance of the cacao groves, such as weeding. This included cleaning up after hurricanes as well as transplanting saplings and "mothers" that provided the shade critical for the growth of cacao. Mayordomos distributed clothing and tools to slaves, but sirvientes paid for these items out of their own wages. Other servants, mainly Afro-Mexicans, worked as cowboys (*vaqueros*), managing the large herds that roamed the plains from the sixteenth century onwards. In some cases, administrators of large haciendas such as San Miguel Apusagualcos maintained a sort of enfermary in which a slave would care for sick agricultural slaves. These slaves received special food such as chickens and wine, with some money allocated for medicine such as

[43] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1109, exp. 40, fs. 11r-12v (1609). AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, Capellanias y Obras Pías, caja 98, exp. 22, f. 9r (1610-1614); and AGN, México, 189, N. 58, f. 1r-8v (1662). AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, fs. 2v, 5v-6r (1619); and AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 327r-327v (1636).

purgatives from Michoacán. The inventories of other haciendas suggested that they utilized full-time barber-surgeons. Chinos might have worked in this capacity, as Domingo de Báez owned the tools of the barber trade, including lancets.[44]

In addition to the weeding of orchards and the harvesting, drying, weighing, and bagging of cacao, Spaniards employed chinos as more specialized laborers on their haciendas. The Spanish had apparently discovered a way to extract labor more cheaply and produced a more reliable product than wheat bread, Spanish wine or even Peruvian aguardiente: vino de cocos. Chinos employed a Southeast Asian still to extract *aguardiente* or liquor from the fermented sap of coconut flower buds, called *tuba.* Pedro Chirino, one of the first Jesuit missionaries in the Philippines, explained the process in some detail. The tuba collector (*tubero*) first climbed a coconut palm and cut off a small slice of a bud of the coconut flower, attaching a small bamboo tube to collect the sap. The next day, he would collect the sap from that bud and hopefully, several others, letting the sap ferment for several hours. The inhabitants of first the Philippines and the Pacific Mexico knew and still call this fermented sap as tuba. Chinos and other vinateros consumed this slightly fermented drink in Colima, but the extent of its consumption in the Costa Grande is unknown, though it was present in the Costa Grande.[45]

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[44] AHCMO, Fondo Diocesano, Justicia, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, f. 58v (1620); AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 75r, 79r-80r (1653-1654); FHLGSU, MF# 1646112, AGN, Civil, 742, exp. 8 (6), fs. 45r-45v, AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 25v (1672). The patio process of silver refining used in New Spain required salt inputs, as did the preservation of beef and fish, See Chapter 4. Some mining regions obtained salt from Zacatula. See Díaz, *Costa de Michoacán*, 75; AGN, RCD, D5, exp. 533, fs. 129v; and Ursula Ewald, *The Mexican Salt Industry, 1560-1980* (New York: Fischer, 1985) , 359, *op. cit,*. Haciendas employed as many as sixty sirvientes. See Baltasar de Covarrubias, "Relación de la Diócesis de Michoacán," 174; AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 2v (1671); AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, fs. 75r, 77r-77v (1654); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 37r; and AGI, Contratación, 492A, f. 3v.

[45] For vino de cocos, see Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús,* 268-269. Peruvian wine prices, see above. FHLGSU, MF #0779049, f. 13v (1630). See Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 for discussions of the process as practiced in rural and urban Luzon.

Early in the seventeenth century, chinos monopolized the production of vino de cocos. Hacendados recruited them just after they debarked from the Manila Galleon (*naos de china*). In fact, in 1680, Miguel Flores Navarrete, the priest in charge of Tecpan and Atoyac said of the chinos living on the ranchos and haciendas that they "..se quedan de las naos de las Phelipinas [sic]…" meaning that chinos had remained in New Spain, after voyaging on the galleons from the Philippines. Labor brokers brokers based in Acapulco might have mediated this recruitment, as chinos often paid various individuals in the port from their hacienda accounts, including one person dubbed "the female owner," or "la ama." The transfer of chino debts and consequently, services, between creditors was consistent with practices in and between Colima, the Philippines, and other parts of the Costa Grande. Conversely, acknowledgement of debts and repeated payments of chinos to the same individuals bore a close resemblance the central Luzon and Visayan practices of reconocimiento, an acknowledgment of unpayable debts owed to a patron. The estate records suggest that at least some hacienda servant chinos acted as namamahay to Spanish patrons and higher-ranking chinos, a relationship that at least superficially resembled the debt peonage that would be increasingly be condoned under Spanish colonial law after 1632.[46]

The inventories, wills, and account books produced by hacendados and mayordomos in addition to tithe records leave no doubt that that these chinos produced vino de cocos on the Costa Grande. By 1579, we find the first evidence of coconut palms on the Costa Grande, as royal authorities had fomented their planting in Acapulco. In 1566, the factor of Acapulco explained that recently-planted tamarind and especially coconut seedlings needed to be protected

[46] See Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 439-440. For "la ama," see FHLGSU, MF 0779046, Informacion matrimonial y actas, fs. 87r, 90r-91r, 94v, 98v (1639-1641, 1644) For early work on colonial-era debt peonage, see Silvio Zavala, "Origenes Coloniales del Peonaje en Mexico," *El Trimestre Económico* 10, no. 40 (1944): 711-748, especially 728-739. See Chapters 1 and 2 for a longer discussion of the practice of debt-bondage maintained by central Luzon indigenous elites under the early colonial regime. In Chapter 4, I discuss in greater detail the similarities between relationship of alipin namahay and debt bondage on Spanish coconut estates in western Mexico.

to ensure that they would flourish. Their efforts bore fruit, though it appears that the first coconut trees were grown more for their fruit, and probably fiber, than for their sap. Muleteers carried hundreds of coconuts and shells to cities as far away as Valladolid and the city of Mexico, where consumers and workers ate them, or transformed into drinking vessels, often used for drinking chocolate. Manufacturers inlaid some of the more ornate examples with silver. This product followed general routes of exchange between the lowlands and the highlands (Figure 10).[47]

I suggest that seventeenth-century laborers on cacao haciendas might have relied on continuation of earlier forms of coerced labor. One factor in this employment might have been the production by chinos of cheap and locally-produced vino de cocos. By the early 1600s, records from cacao haciendas near Petatlán reported the routine employment of indigenous people in the cacahuatales, despite the certain need of indigenous towns for labor to produce tribute for the crown. In Motines, a complaint from several towns in 1600, alleges that the sale of vino de cocos, in conjunction with the repartimiento de mercancias or forced distribution of goods, was used to stimulate the employment of indigenous labor on cacao plantations. Local cacao hacendados might have followed other routes to vino de cocos production. In 1600, Juan Hernández de Nava, vecino of Tecpan, denounced don Diego de Ávila, the alcalde mayor of Zacatula, to Gonzalo Nuñez, a visitador for the Inquisition responsible for conducting investigations along all of the Tierra Caliente of the Diocese of Michoacán. Among his many allegations, Hernández accused Ávila of selling wine mixed with "agua de coco," imported from the Philippines (*China*), and called "vino de China." He was referring either to tuba, or vino de cocos. His tenientes sold the resulting mixture throughout the province, and supposedly even

[47] Chirino, *Història de la província de Filipines*, 268-269. AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 3v (1580). FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, fs. 90r, 93r (1639). Héctor Rivero Borrell M., Gustavo Curiel et al., *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer* (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 2002), 256-259.

used it during Mass, a diminishment of the sacrament. An inventory of the cacao hacienda of San Juan de Tuxtepec suggests that coconut palms were already growing on the Costa Grande in 1602. By 1609, we have the first recorded production of vino de cocos in the jurisdiction on a cacao hacienda.[48]

In 1600, in the Costa Grande, hacendados had started to list coconut palms in estate inventories. By 1610, the owner of San Pedro, near Petatlán, had started producing vino de cocos (Figures 5.2 and 5.6). In that year, a chino on a nearby rancho had begun to fashion new stills for the production on the estate. We have records of the production of vino de cocos by chinos across the Costa Grande. From 1610-1660, chinos produced vino de cocos near Petatlán on the haciendas of San Pedro, San Juan de Tuxtepec, and San Bartolomé Tuxtepec, and further afield, in the haciendas of San Luis and San Juan Bautista. Records from the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s show that chinos produced vino de cocos on the hacienda of Nuestra Señora de Buen Suceso and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, south of the town of Coyuca, between the lagoons of Coyuca and Mitla. Records from the 1650s document its production in San Miguel de Apusagualcos, south of Atoyac as late as the 1690s. Near Tecpan, chinos produced vino de cocos in the haciendas of San Nicolás Tetitlán, but also did so independently on the ranchos of Cayaco, Cacalutla and probably in San Jerónimo, San Francisco, and San Joseph. Mulato rancheros produced vino de cocos in Alcholoa, Cacahuatepec, and probably in other locations.[49]

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[48] AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, fs. 49v (1620). AGN, Tierras, v. 2811, exp. 2, fs. 107r-107v (1602). AGN, Inquisición, v. 264, expediente unspecified, f. 8r (1601). The comparative production rates, at least as recorded by the episcopal visitations of the Michoacán bishopric, display a production rate of five hundred and twenty arrobas in the Costa Grande versus over fifteen thousand arrobas in Colima. I derive my numbers from the episcopal visitation staged in Michoacán in 1631. See López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 100-118, 131-132, 174. The reliance of this measurement on oficial production probably signified an underestimation of vino de cocos in the Costa Grande, as the latter trade had no license. In Chapter 4, I compare vino de cocos production in Costa Grande to that of Colima.

[49] AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, fs. 37r, 49r (1620). AHCMO, Diocesano, Colecturia, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 20, f. 5r (1655); and AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, tomo 1, exp. 13, fs. 2r-2v, 6v (1714).

Perhaps one of the most dramatic admissions of chino recruitment and their ubiquity in the vino de cocos industry was voiced by Sebastián de Pineda, the factor of the port of Cavite in 1619. In a missive on the use and misuse of labor of the Philippines for maritime and ship construction purposes, Pineda noted the massive pressure imposed on the Philippines population by the polos. Pineda first reports that one of the possible consequences of overexploitation of Filipino labor had been their flight from the shipyards. He then explained that in part due to the harsh conditions of the Philippines, many chinos or "indios," as they were known in the Philippines, had been successfully recruited to work in Colima and "Apuçabalcos" (the Apusagualcos plain of the Costa Grande), where they manufactured vino de cocos (Figure 13). Pineda recommended that the Crown take drastic steps on both sides of the Pacific in order to remedy the situation. In the Western Pacific, Pineda suggested that the Crown outsource naval construction and maritime staffing needs from the Philippines to southern India where the Portuguese and local Tamil elites maintained bonded labor which could more cheaply supply Crown needs. Meanwhile, Pineda advocated that in the eastern Pacific, that the Crown cut down palm orchards in Mexico and forcibly deport chinos to the Philippines.[50]

Estate administrators or mayordomos left only scant details of the production process of vino de cocos, which they seemed to have taken for granted. The process differed from that of the Philippines in that New Spanish growers only used the coconut palm, while the indigenous people of the Philippines utilized both the coconut and nipa palm. In fact, Father Alcina suggested that Filipinos preferred the latter species. They probably preferred this species to the coconut palm because it grew to a much smaller height and thus, made tuba gathering a safer task. Nipa also produced superior thatching material for roofing and could live in swampy areas prone to high tides. Yet, Spanish administrators found it less useful because of its lack of easily-

[50] AGN, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, fs. 5r-6r (1619).

extractable oil and its useless fruit. In New Spain, then, the reliance on coconut palms meant that tuberos and vinateros constantly risked their lives to extract the liquid. Vinateros worked in teams of two. Their stills required constant provision of wood to continually distill the tuba, but the partners would need to eat and periodically gather more tuba. This cooperation also ensured a delivery of a substantial number of peruleras after the distillation process.[51]

Pineda's letter about chinos pointed to a tension in the Costa Grande economy. At times, chino flight demonstrated that the labor needs of Acapulco, as a center of royal Spanish Pacific commerce and military base, could conflict with the role of the Costa Grande as a supplier of stimulants and alchohol to central and western Mexico. Indeed, it appears that naos leaving from Acapulco carried fewer grumetes chinos than those leaving from Cavite, though Pineda appears to exaggerate the magnitude of the appropriation of the use of Filipino labor. From Pineda's comments alone we can infer that Costa Grande hacendados (along with those in Colima and la Navidad), poached grumetes from the nao and that these chinos greeted Costa Grande hacendados at their very doorstep. This seems likely given the trade connections between Colima and the Costa Grande. Also, in 1607, royal officials in Acapulco explicitly deputized an individual to capture fleeing chinos, contemporaneous with the rise of the vino de cocos internal economy within the Costa Grande. In the seventh of April of that year, port officials paid Blás de León fifty-five pesos and four tomines for his work in the apprehension of Alonso Bacan, Pedro Loc, Simon Mananpa, and don Juan, four chinos who had fled after they received their bonus for enlisting for a voyage to Peru. To save the treasury, the factor directed León to obtain money for his salary through the sale of the goods of the chinos. Gonzalo Bazán imprisoned the chinos and their wives in a hacienda store (*dispensa*) in Apusagualcos. While León searched for

[51] Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas e Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina de 1668* (Madrid, CSIC, 1974 [1668]), 258. To ensure a steady supply of naval stores, in 1635, the Spanish Crown mandated the planting of abaca and coconut palms in Filipino villages. See Chapters 1 and 2.

other chinos, the chinos and their wives escaped and de León returned to the port empty-handed.[52]

Other commissioners proved more successful in recovering wayward chinos. In 1623, royal officials paid Gonzalo Hernández one hundred and four pesos for the twenty-six days he spent searching the Costa Grande for maritime workers. Hernández found two chinos as well as three Spanish grumetes, while a colleague employed to search the Costa Chica found nobody. Chinos had successfully evaded an earlier patrol in 1617. Port officials commissioned Alonso de los Reyes for yet another reconnaissance of the Costa Grande for the same purpose in 1635. From 1654-1660, the crown appointed a Spanish vecino of Acapulco, Antonio de la Peña, to head the Zacatula detachment of the *Santa Hermandad*, the private rural police force of New Spain and other colonies. In addition to capturing thieves and highway robbers, the Crown ordered Antonio de la Peña to apprehend those soldiers and mariners who had fled impending service in Pacific Asia. Policing of chino labor, then extended beyond the port of Acapulco.[53]

The significance of the apprehension of free chino grumetes brings us beyond issues surrounding ethnicity to the extent of the ways that the wider Costa Grande economy and its society relied on state-directed forced labor. Crown officials had long forecast the problems of motivating individuals to work and travel to the Philippines. From the very origins of the port in the 1570s, the factors of the port were tasked with capturing wayward and fugitive seamen and soldiers. In fact the province of Zacatula and the jurisdictions adjacent to Acapulco had long been a problematic refuge for those fleeing forced labor. In 1582, the Crown ordered the alcalde mayor of Zacatula to apprehend the African slaves who had allegedly fled there from Mexico

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[52] See Dery, *Pestilence in the Philippines*, 37. AGI, Contaduría, 902 (Unpaginated) (1607).

[53] AGI, Contaduría, 903, f. 43v (1623). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 327r (1635). AGN, México, 189, N. 58, f. 2v (1655). Literally, "se huyen de las naos que bienen de dichas yslas assi marineros como artilleros y otros que bienen con plaças y sueldo mio [del Rey]." AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 6a pieza, f. 19v (1660).

City. The alcalde mayor was instructed to send the slaves back to Mexico City. In 1590 and 1591, several slaves working in the port fled from the royal shipyards on a number of occasions. In 1607, the viceroy of New Spain alleged that fugitive African and Afro-Mexican slaves had formed a fugitive community (*palenque*) near the port. Members of the Santa Hermandad attributed the 1607 murder of Juan Fernández in Acapulco to escaped slaves in the area at the time, though authorities were unable to prove any conspiracy between any group larger than one escaped slave and his free Afro-Mexican accomplice.[54]

People of other statuses faced impressment and coerced labor, especially the plebes in colonial service, such as soldiers and sailors. A document from 1620 suggests a quite high rate of desertion for people serving in the Pacific, with twenty soldiers fleeing on the road between Mexico City and Acapulco. The soldiers had been impressed for service in Spanish Asia. Some officials took advantage of the illegal marronage of the chinos for their own purposes. For example, in 1672, the Crown punished an alcalde mayor who had impressed chinos to act as pearl divers on the Costa Grande. Crown officials considered diving to be so dangerous a task that they issued ordinances prohibiting pearling concessionaires from hiring indigenous people for the task, even voluntarily. Nonetheless, the Crown probably punished the alcalde mayors more for their tax evasion than for their exploitation of chino labor. Other alcalde mayors and their tenientes profited from chino purchases of the goods that they sold out of their homes. This

[54] AGI, Patronato, 259, R. 68, f. 12r (1579). See AGI, Contaduría, 897, *Libro de Raciones*, 1590, 1591, *passim*. AGI, México, 27, N. 66, exp. 3, fs. 1v-2v (1609). AGI, Contratación, 514, N. 1, R. 5 (1607). AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, f. 58r (1620). As we saw in Chapter 4, fugitive slaves, mostly of African descent (*cimarrones*) from Colima fled to the Costa Grande. The Costa Grande continue to be an attractive place for cimarron settlement into the latter years of the seventeenth century, when local officials suggested the their communities be legalized in order to hold and explore western parts of the Costa Grande, probably to guard against pirates, as well as the coast beyond the Balsas River. See the proposal in AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 677, exp. 18, fs.1r-2v (1692).

appropriation of chino labor conflicted with the royal commissions of these same alcaldes mayors and tenientes for apprehension of chinos. [55]

The tendency of chino mobility continued into the period of their work on cacao haciendas. Free chino laborers did not appear consistently available on the Costa Grande cacao plantations. For example, the mayordomo of the hacienda of San Pedro reported that they were unable to produce vino de cocos for the years of 1613 and 1614, due to a lack of chinos. More firm evidence on flight and the plantations can be seen in a directive penned in 1643 for the alcalde mayor of Acapulco to clear up yet another community of fugitive slaves that lived alongside wayward "free persons," chinos among them.[56]

From the will of Báez, we know that there is a relationship between demands for labor In Acapulco and the Costa Grande, and the availability of grumetes chinos. In 1635, treasury documents recorded a massive employment of slave labor in the docks of Acapulco. The royal accountant briefly notes that a lack of grumetes resulted in royal commissioning of the slave laborers of residents of Acapulco. Báez himself probably worked on the haciendas of Apusagualcos. The documents from the area west of Coyuca make clear that the cacao haciendas, at a widespread level, employed chino laborers. These laborers undoubtedly arrived on the Manila galleons, and they helped create conflict over the employment on the haciendas and in the port facilities of Acapulco.[57]

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[55] AGN, General de Parte, v. 15, exp. 37, fs. 28v-30v (1675)

[56] AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, f. 49v (1620). Widmer, *Conquistar y despertar en la costas del mar del sur,* 139, *op. cit*.

[57] AGI, Contaduría 905ª, f. 325r (1635).

Daily Life of Chinos on Costa Grande Haciendas

Chinos on Costa Grande cacao haciendas worked alongside of Afro-Mexicans, indigenous people, and Spaniards, consuming food and goods that characterized Mesoamnerican workers and peasants, while maintaining contact with Asian consumer goods and compatriates arriving on the galleons. By far our richest record of the daily lives of chino sirvientes comes from two sets of estate account books. Members of the González de Loys family and the administrators of an estate named San Bartolomé de Tuxtepec produced the first set of records. According to the documentation generated by a petition by Juan de la Serna in 1610, San Bartolomé laid at least a league southwest of the pueblo de indios of Petatlán. The land was within a plain or *llano* that lay between the river of Petatlán and probably, the present-day river of San Gerónimito. In addition to its wet lowlands, the estate contained a saltworks called Soluchuca, probably located on the southwestern corner of the property. Its territory extended to the sea. In 1609, Juan de la Serna had petitioned the crown in 1609 to allow indigenous workers to freely work for his estate. His needs conflicted with those of the alcalde mayor and associated hangers-on, who he claimed interfered with his recruitment. In 1610, he petitioned the viceroy for the permission to run cattle on his property to feed his workers. In this year, indigenous and Spanish witnesses testified that his estate employed large numbers of Afro-Mexicans, indigenous people, Spaniards, and chinos in the cultivation of cacao.[58]

The accounts were begun by the mayordomos of the property which was owned by Antonio Gónzales de Loys. These began in 1621. After and including this time, the accounts name twenty-three different chinos, though probably a few other workers were chinos as well.

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[58] AGN, Tierras, v. 2976, exp. 22, *passim* (1610). AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1109, exp. 40, f. 11r-12v (1614).

The records set span thirty-five years, from 1621 to 1658, with the set of records between 1636 and 1652 providing the most details.[59]

Administrators for another estate produced a somewhat smaller collection of records. Administrators for the estate of San Miguel de Apusagualcos documented the labor costs, overhead, and production for a smaller number of years, from 1649-1656. The records are still valuable despite the shorter span, as these administrators produced more documents per unit of time. In contrast to the San Bartolomé records, San Miguel accounts focus on the goods apportioned to the substantial enslaved work force of the estate. These provisions included specialized rations distributed in the estate infirmary such as eggs, wheat bread, and chickens. The mayordomos of this hacienda focus more on the production of chinos than their debts. The owners of San Miguel de Apusagualcos had pieced their estate out of the multiple haciendas that once populated the coastal plain between the towns of Tecpan and Atoyac. The Crown had granted these lands starting in the 1560s, but by 1619, this estate dominated most of the central and eastern portions of this plain. In the 1640s, the hacendados Cristobal López de Osuna, Capitán Andrés de Benavides, and Melchor Rodríguez López jointly owned this estate.[60]

In 1622, Antonio González de Loys appears to have inherited or purchased the hacienda of San Bartolomé, near Petatlán (Figure 9). The records leave unclear the exact date of his death, but after 1650 his brother Diego González de Loys ran it while he acted as a guardian to the

[59] These records are found within FHLGSU, MF# 0779046 and FHLGSU, MF# 0779049. As strange as it might seem, Spaniards did not always note the ethnicity of chinos, or they noted the ethnicity of some chinos and in other cases, they would only sporadically note chino status. See FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, *passim*.

[60] These documents are AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6; and AGN, Civil, v. 742, exp. 6. I have used copies of the latter volume microfilmed from FHLGSU, MF# 1646112. See MF # 1646112, f. 165r (1654). For the scope of the hacienda population of the Apusagualcos plain in 1599, see AGI, Contratación, 509, N. 12 (1599). See Baltasar de Covarrubias, "Relación de la Diócesis de Michoacán," 174. For San Miguel de Apusagualcos in 1631, see López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 132. For San Miguel de Apusagualcos in 1643, see AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 24, exp. 677, fs. 1v-2v (1643). Also see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4; and AGN, Tierras, v. 2672, exp. 29 (1712).

children of Antonio. While cattle might have been raised on the hacienda, the records focus on the cultivation of cacao. Diego González maintained a cattle ranch named El Rosario, near Coahuayutla, which probably produced some meat that could be exported to San Bartolomé, if necessary.[61]

The cacao produced on the hacienda had several destinations. For the purposes of tithing, the Zacatula a tax-farmer responsible for tithe collection (*arrendatorio de los diezmos*) obtained this cacao, along with vino de cocos, cotton, achiote, vanilla and cattle, and brought it to Valladolid, the seat of the diocese of Michoacán. Some of the cacao might have been sold in Pátzcuaro along the way, while still more was sold in Valladolid (Figure 10). Several cargas every year went to Acapulco, in part to pay clergy and administrators there (probably to look the other way when laborers fled their hacienda or when illicit shipments of Asian goods arrived), but several cargas also seemed to have been destined for the Manila market. For example, at least one ship, the *San Antonio Padua*, carried over two tons (110 cargas) of cacao to Manila in 1607. Antonio Gónzalez also spent time and sent mule trains to Mexico City, which was voracious for cacao.[62]

First and foremost, the account books demonstrate the presence of debt among chino workers. Most ledger entries focused on a single individual, and in two pages, chronicled the material consumed and tasks against which the mayordomo tallied their debts. Each entry in the San Bartolomé ledgers recorded the credits for an entire year. The mayordomos did not date the transactions, though it appears that they tallied the debts in rough chronological order. These

[61] AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 12, f. 4r. AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 48, fs. 10v-12r (1663).

[62] The diezmatorio was the officer who purchased the contract for the collection of the tithe for the Church. Like other offices, the office was salable, and merchants who backed its purchase gambled that they would be able turn a profit from the concession, just as they did from other types of tax farming. See AHMP, Colonial, c. 12, exp. 4, fs. 131r-134r (1648). AGI, México, 26, N. 78, fs. 1v-8v (1608). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 93r; and AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 18, f. 466v (1646).

mayordomos recorded some details of the work performed by chinos, and also described their expenditures, which broadly could be conceptualized belonging to the major categories of clothing, costs of labor, socio-religious costs, and capital expenditures for autonomous labor.

Mayordomos and hacendados appeared to have maintained varying levels of debt for chinos; twenty pesos seemed to be the minimum, with most accounts maintained above twenty-five pesos. The mayordomos marked the debt against the monthly wage of chino workers, but, manufacturers of coconut brandy, called tuberos or vinateros, could use the sale of their brandy to pay down or accrue debt. On average, these workers seemed capable of manufacturing a a jar of about one Spanish wine arroba, 16.13 liters, or just over four gallons, every three to five days. A secondary container that they used, the *botijuela*, might have held about two liters. According to the account books maintained by the mayordomos of the haciendas of San Bartolomé Tuxtepec, San Juan de Tuxtepec, and San Miguel de Apusagualcos, chinos received a wage of five to seven pesos per month. Mayordomos charged fees for various services and purchases against this monthly wage. [63]

While monthly wages appeared to constitute part of the compensation of chinos, hacendados also utilized other labor arrangements for vinateros. Unfortunately, labor arrangements are somewhat unclear for chinos in the Costa Grande, as I have been not yet been unable to recover notarized labor contracts of the sort readily available for chinos in Colima. We can find circumstantial evidence in wills and estate accounts that indicate that some sort of sharecropping arrangement prevailed, though it is unclear whether these contracts stipulated that chinos produce a certain quota or whether hacendados required that they yield a certain percentage of production. In San Miguel de Apusagualcos, mayordomos referred to chinos

[63] FHLGSU, MF # 0779049, fs. 3r, 4v, 5r, 13r-14r, 18r, 25r, 26r, 27r, 31r (1626-1634); FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, fs. 85r, 87r, 88r, 90v, 91r, 94v, 95v, 97v, 100r (1639-1645); and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 24v (1671). Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500-1800*, 122, 123. AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6 (1654).

producing a certain quantity of vino for the *parte* of the hacendado, five pesos, and a share of one-third or one-half for themselves. This squared both with Colima practice and namamahay share-cropping. Elsewhere, mayordomos refer to jars of wine being sold for the food of certain chinos, opening the possibility that the labor of chino *vinateros* was so valuable that they would not be able to spend their time working provision grounds, and thus had to pay for rations instead.[64]

The sources of the chino debts varied, but generally consisted of purchases of basic goods and smaller debts contracted to other persons. On the hacienda of San Bartolomé Tuxtepec, Agustín, a chino tubero, contracted a debt of fifty-four pesos, six reales, over the course of 1634. The mayordomo transcribed no salary for Agustín but explained that that the chino would pay off debts with jars (*botijas*) of coconut brandy worth 2.5 pesos each. Agustín purchased gunpowder, soap, and yards of rough cotton and wool cloth, as well as a small jar of coconut brandy for a wedding, all with hacienda credit. Agustín also either paid off or contracted new debts with two other Spaniards. One of the creditors was one Juan Romero, a *vecino* of the nearby town of Coyuca; Agustín also paid twenty pesos to a cleric named Muñoz. Agustín ended the year with a debt of only ten pesos and six reales, suggesting a production of at least eighteen jars of brandy, each valued at twenty reales of two and a half pesos. These debts held value outside of the hacienda and some hacendados traded the debts of their workers along with the workers themselves. San Bartolomé accounts reveal that Antonio González sold the debts of the chinos Pablo, and Juan de Carranca to Juan de Labayen, a Colima hacendado. González also transferred the debts of Agustín to Francisco Martínez de Hinojosa, a local cleric. [65]

[64] FHLGSU, 1646112, AGN, Civil, 742, exp. 8 (6), fs. 40r, 61v, 165r, 180r (1654).

[65] FHLGSU, MF# 0779049, f. 31v (1634). For debts, see FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 85r, 95v (1641). FHLGSU MF# 0779049, f. 5r (1634).

The expenditures of chino cacao workers, called either cacaguateros or *tarequeros*, seemed to vary slightly from those of the tuberos. Tarequeros seemed to use significant portions of their salary for tools and field rations of various kinds. For example, in 1641, also on San Bartolomé, the chino tarequero Francisco de Ribera bought several pounds of tobacco to accompany his work in the *milpa* or provision grounds of Asuchitlán, also purchasing tobacco for the demanding labor in the saltworks at the mouth of the river. Ribera also purchased several machetes and paid tribute, as well. He expended seven pesos after traveling to the central Mexican town of Pátzcuaro, probably on clothing; and paid off small debts to the residents of nearby villages. Finally, Ribera borrowed cash for consumption of the festival of San Juan and for contributions to the wedding of Juan Baguio, another chino worker on the hacienda.[66]

The payment for clothing represents one of the largest percentages of expenditure for chinos on the hacienda, but their consumption of Asian goods also would have represented a continuation of central Luzon patterns of consumption. This might also have related to their work on the galleons. Spanish officials claim that galleon captains consistently prevented chinos from obtaining a supply of adequate clothing, and any clothing brought from home would probably deteriorated over the course of the very long voyage. In the northern latitudes, this lack of clothing could have led to hypothermia deaths, but even in tropical latitudes the lack of adequate clothing would have impeded chinos from comfortably interacting with other members of respectable society. Some grumetes entered galleon service directly from rural Luzon; the cultural requirements and fashions of New Spain, even for the most humble, would probably have significantly diverged from the milieu of the rural Filipino life. Nonetheless, as we have seen, most chinos, even those born in rural provinces surrounding Manila Bay, arrived in New Spain after considerable contact with the transcultural urban societies of Cavite and Manila. It is

[66] FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, f. 98v (1641).

probable that fashions and dress differed between New Spain and urban Southeast Asia, even in the colonial period.

Hacendados seemed to have acquired textiles from several different sources. Apatzingán and other Tierra Caliente towns of western Michoacán supplied rough cotton textiles, while certain varieties of cotton blouses were supplied from further afield (Figure 10). The spouses of chinos, both Afro-Mexican and indigenous, consumed blouses woven by indigenous people called huipiles. Chinos widely consumed domestic rough woolen cloth called sayal, and a few European varieties such as *brin* also appeared in the inventories. Unsurprisingly, chinos acquired different varieties of Asian cloth, including cottons. This cloth included a few silks, but the bulk of this cloth was rough cotton woven in Ilocos, in northern Luzon; also prominent were the lampotes of central Luzon and the Visayas, as well as the mantas de Ilocos from northern Luzon. The weavers of Ilocos had long supplied the mantas or measures of rough cotton cloth, which, once sewn together, helped form the hardy sails of the galleons. The galleons and Spanish provisioners also used the material to wrap more fragile cargo, insulating it from the rough conditions aboard the galleon.[67]

Costa Grande chinos paid tribute in cash to the nearest indigenous village and also for the sacraments. Unclear is under what ethnic category they paid tribute. In 1642, the alcalde mayor of the port received tribute from Afro-mexicans and "indios extravagantes," meaning migrant indigenous people, a category that could (and often did, in the Philippines) encompass chinos.

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[67] FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, fs. 93v, 99v, 103r, 104r. FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, f. 6r; and FHLGSU, MF # 779049, fs. 8v, 24r (1631). FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, fs. 42r, 104v (1645), 122r (1649); and FHLGSU, MF# 0779049, f. 3r (1626). FHLGSU, MF# 0779046 f. 8r, 43r, 89v, 91v (1630), 124r (1650); and FHLGSU, MF# 0779049, f. 3r-3v, 6v. 49v (1634). AGI, Contaduría, 1200, f. 713v (1580); AGI, Contaduría, 1204, f. 83v (1597); and AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 632v (1643). The ubiquity of Filipino-produced and Indian cloth in the Costa Grande into the seventeeth century reinforce the importance of interrogation of the meaning of terms like "the Spanish Pacific." Certainly, the primary designation of the Philippines as an entrêpot for either American silver or Chinese silk can easily facilitate oversimplification of more complex patterns of social reproduction, social production and commercial exchange.

This was consistent with practices in western Mexico, as well. By 1679, the port had developed a separate category for chinos, but we do not yet know whether the tribute rates varied between these different classifications. As Catholics and employees under the thumb of the same, chinos paid priests, friars, and members of indigenous choirs for the Masses performed when their spouses and children died, for the weddings officiated when they married indigenous or Afromestizo women, and for the baptisms of their children. Several chinos were members of cofradías, which along with shared work spaces, enabled the development of collateral ties and signaled their close relationship of others within the hacienda, but would have also meant prolonged contact with the indigenous people of the surrounding villages, which often hosted these cofradías.[68]

The account books indicate that hacendados sent chinos to Acapulco and Pátzcuaro in order to obtain goods, but the hacendados also attempted to place limitations on resident chino mobility. Thus, in instructions written to his mayordomo, Antonio González de Loys, the owner of the hacienda of San Bartolomé de Tuxtepec ordered that his mayordomo search for and return any worker leaving the hacienda, whether slave or free. González also explained that mayordomos needed to require hacienda workers to attend Mass, including vinateros. Further, he commanded that once mayordomos recovered fugitive workers, they needed to whip them. The hacendado suggested that workers keep their houses in good order and argued that these workers should be kept inside at night, probably to reduce theft.[69]

In addition to their documentation of chino material culture, the mayordomos also documented the thick commercial and cultural connections maintained between Costa Grande

[68] AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 556r (1642). AGI, Contaduría, 906A, f. 22r (1679). FHLGSU MF# 0779049, f. 3v (1629), 8r (1630); FHLGSU MF# 0779046, fs. 103r-103v, 122r 124r (1644, 1649-1650); and FHLGSU MF # 1646112, f. 182r (1654). For weddings, see FHLGSU MF# 0779049, fs. 32r (1634)

[69] FHLGSU MF# 0779046, f. 135v (1644).

haciendas and the rest of New Spain, especially with the cities of Pátzcuaro, Valladolid, and Acapulco (See Figures 10 and 14). Indigenous Purépecha, Afro-Mexican, and Spanish populations formed the markets of central Michoacán. These relationships necessarily included the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán and Guerrero as well as including references to Manila. The accounts of González de Loys shows that his estate traded vino de cocos and especially cacao to estates and merchants of Tierra Caliente towns such as Churumuco and Apatzingán in exchange for sugar and some locally-produced textiles (Figure 10). The owners of larger estates owned their own mule trains (*recuas*) with which they transported goods. They would often send some of their servants on these trips. In return, Pátzcuaro and Valladolid merchants, sometimes relatives of hacendados, supplied goods and wheat, while receiving cacao, vanilla, vino de cocos, and occasionally cattle, in return. While hacendados supplied markets in central Michoacán, nearby markets reigned in the sale of vino de cocos. In the west, merchants and indigenous elites in the towns of la Guaba, Zacatula, and Petatlán acquired vino de cocos from estates like San Bartolomé. Further east, royal officials and clerics in Atoyac and Tecpan purchased vino de cocos. The sailors, port workers, and merchants of Acapulco, however, appeared to have absorbed the bulk of Costa Grande vino de cocos production. Many of the workers on the estate of San Bartolomé seemed to have maintained some of their own debts separately from the estate owners, paying a mysterious figure called "su ama," when in the port. On at least one occasion, a chino paid a marinero for goods consigned from Manila.[70]

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[70] See FHLGSU MF# 0779046, f. 94v (1641). The Tierra Caliente was a dry and hot region centered in the present-day states of western Michoacán and Guerrero that lay in the rain shadow of the Sierra Madre del Occidente. See Andrew B. Fisher, "Negotiating Two Worlds: The Free-Black Experience in Guerrero's Tierra Caliente," in *Black Mexico: Race Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, eds. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 51-71.

FHLGSU MF# 0779046, fs. 96r, 97v, 104r (1639, 1641. 1645). AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 12, f. 11r (1645). FHLGSU MF# 0779046, f. 60v (1629); and AHMM, Fondo Colonial, Justicia, exp. 10A, fs. 3v, 7r-8r (1630). FHLGSU MF# 0779046, fs. 84r, 92r, and 100r (1630, 1637, 1645); AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 44, fs. 1r-3rt (1673); and AHMP, c. 13, exp. 2, fs. 228r-23r

By 1610, chinos had begun work on the haciendas of Tuxtepec, and at least one appears to have worked as a sharecropper growing cacao. In another case, a chino was hired from the rancho of Ximalcota to have commissioned for carpentry on the hacienda. Even in his case, his job was tied to the production of vino de cocos. The hacienda mayordomo had commissioned the chino to produce part of a still or "*el barríl*," to ferment the vino de cocos. Other chinos appeared to have worked in a variety of jobs. One of the offices exercised by chinos, among them Francisco de Ribera and Lorenzo Tolanquin, was that of tarequero. Tarequeros used a type of hoe called a tarequa to weed the cacao groves. They also used machetes to clear the undergrowth and probably to prune the trees that shaded cacao trees (*madres*). In the latter role, in San Bartolomé, the mayordomo commended the performance of one such tarequero cleaning and pruning trees in the aftermath of a hurricane. This passage noted that one chino was the compadre or marriage sponsor of the mayordomo.[71]

If we see any frequent marketing of vino de cocos within the cacao haciendas, it was in its provision to salt workers. In the account books of the San Bartolomé estate, mayordomos recorded the supply of vino de cocos to a location referred to as Asuchitlán, where they sent workers who tended to consume large quantities of alcohol and tobacco. The *Relaciones Geográficas* of Zacatula refer to the pueblo of Asuchitlán, along with that of Xolochuca (Solochuca) as a producer of salt. As a pueblo, it apparently disappeared after the congregación. Nonetheless, its presence in the San Bartolomé estate records suggests its persistence as a geographical marker. Its location to the west of the Petatlán River likely put it on the lands of

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(1650). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 86r-86v (1637), 94r, 95r (1640), 100r (1641), and 123v (1650). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 93v (1641).

[71] AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 98, exp. 22, f. 9r (1620). The tarequa was a type of pruning and weeding tool employed to cut weeds choking the cacao groves. See Hubert Cochet, Eric Léonard and Jean Damien, *Paisajes Agrarios de Michoacán* (Zamora, México: Colegio de Michoacán, 1988), 49. AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. Exp. 17, f. 24r (1648).

the hacienda of San Bartolomé. Estate accounts of San Miguel de Apusagualcos reveal that vino de cocos were also sent to the "boca," located at the mouth of the River Atoyác. In Colima, the owners of salt well (*poza*) production (*beneficio*) indebted their workers. Vino de cocos was utilized for this purpose in Colima and this was also likely used in the Costa Grande.[72]

The sacraments and dues for cofradías constituted one of the largest costs for chinos on haciendas. These generally broke down into payments for various sacraments, alms for the salaries of the parish priests (*curas*), the collection of dues for cofradía membership, and cash granted for the social activities of feast days. Some of the pages record the payments made by mayordomos for tithes, while others record the salaries paid to curas of nearby indigenous villages. [73]

Chinos paid or were credited with paying for the annual fees of the cofradías to which they belonged. The villages of Atoyac, Tecpan and Petatlán also maintained cofradias. Some Spaniards donated money to what were putatively "indigenous" cofradías. In turn, some indigenous cofradías accepted free Spaniards, mulatos, chinos, and even chino and African slaves within their ranks. The inhabitants of the pueblo de indios of Tecpan provided one such example. The village inhabitants founded the Cofradía of Jesus the Nazarene of the Fall in 1685, accepting all members. They assessed lower rates of dues for indigenous persons and slaves, whether African or chino, than they did for free Spaniards, chinos, or Afro-Mexicans. Aside from this, cofrades and cofradas all received the same benefits and bore the same obligations. Like other cofradías, dues supported the income supplemented the rent from a small plot, in this case planted with cacao and cotton. Spaniards, mulatos and chinos had long resided in Costa

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[72] Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 207. FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 100v, 102v, and 103v (1645); and AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 80v, 82v (1654). See Reyes Garza, *Sal, El Oro Blanco de Colima*, *passim*.

[73] FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 24v (1625), 62v, 104r (1646); and FHLGSU, MF # 1646112, fs. 9v, 182r (1654).

Grande indigenous villages, and even married into their communities, so the inclusiveness of these cofradías should not surprise us.[74]

The costs of feast days and for the sacraments appears to have been more significant than the dues for cofradía membership. To begin, cacao haciendas celebrated feast days for the patron saint or name sake of the hacienda. Hacendados indebted chinos for the cash "allowances" which they requested for these feast days. In most cases, these were noted only as cash payments. In other cases, the mayordomos noted how the allowance would be utilized. The activities paid for by these debts included gambling, drinking, and the consumption of tobacco. Sacramental costs necessitated considerable sacrifice for chino laborers. The burial of a spouse could cost the equivalent of two months salary. The mayordomo noted that fees for cantores from adjacent villages constituted part of this cost, with the burial itself composing the major portion.[75]

We have different descriptions of material culture culled from post-mortem inventories. Appraisers commonly stated that the houses of the servants and slaves of the haciendas were of no consequence. These were thatched roof huts. We have little indication of the furnishings of the huts or jacales. By the seventeenth century, chino jacales were usually located quite close to their place of work. Therefore, the stands of palms would be easily accessible for ascent and descent. Chinos worked their stills close to their abodes.[76]

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[74] AHCMO, Diocesano, Visita, Asiento, c. 56, exp. 10, fs. 23r, 25v, 26v, 27v (1671); and AHCMO, Diocesano, Disciplinar, Cofradias, c. 6, exp. 23, *passim*. AHCMO, Diocesano, Disciplinar, Cofradías, c. 6, exp. 18, fs. 1r-4r (1685). The pueblo of Tecpan had maintained a cofradía and hospital earlier in the seventeenth century, paying its costs with cattle raised on land adjoining the hacienda of the chino Domingo de la Cruz. See AGN, Indios, v. 24, exp. 24, exp. 261, fs. 165v-166r (1667).

[75] FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 105v, and 123v (1647, 1650); and FHLGSU, MF # 0779049, f. 10v (1633). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 32r, 100v, 103v, and 105v (1626, 1645, 1647); and AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 150v (1655). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 25v (1671).

[76]AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 126r (1649); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 15r (1671).

The wives and female partners of chinos expended considerable labor on materials for the production of clothes and for food processing. The wives of chino workers often bought thread, quite odd considering that as mariners, chino men should have been quite adept with a needle. They would have needed to have repaired their own clothing aboard ship as well as the rigging and sails. Nonetheless, along with the essential activity of processing maize, and probably acting as field laborers, it appears that women lent some of the labor to producing clothing, though we do not know whether the clothing was for sale or household use.[77]

While free workers and slaves apparently obtained food both from rations and from the communal hacienda milpa, mayordomos devoted more ink to recording chino service in the latter. The existence of milpa labor service suggest that hacienda workers were able to provide for their own meat, maize, fish, and vegetables, but it is also possible that chinos cultivated maize in order to sell to neighboring haciendas. If other estate records are any indication, free male laborers relied on women to process the maize for consumption. Records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries inform us that each gang (*cuadrilla*) of eleven to twelve laborers required an indigenous woman who worked as a molendera. Digestible maize required soaking maize kernels in lime or *cal* and substantial time using a metate to grind the maize into masa for use in cooking tortillas or tamales. In addition, at least in San Bartolomé, it appears that some food was distributed by hacendados, in the form of maize, beef, and fish, though there is no evidence that free workers paid for this amount.[78]

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[77] AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 75r (1649), and FHLGSU, MF # 0779049, fs.3v-4v (1632). See AGI, Contratación, 509, N. 12, fs. 111v-112r (1611); FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 97v (1644); AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 6, f. 137v (1649).

[78] AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Capellanias, c. 98, exp. 22, f. 56v (1620); FHLGSU, MF# 1646112, fs. 79r-79v (1653); and AGN, Inquisicion, v. 455, exp. 18, f. 342v (1655). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 136r (1644).

Costa Grande chinos faced hazards in their daily life, including disease, carnivorous wildlife, and the brutal weather. To begin, most Spanish observers explained that the humid swamps of the Costa Grande festered with disease. The estate accounts demonstrate that chino deaths were often as a result of some disease or another. For example, in 1653 and 1654, Cristónal López de Osuna purchased chickens to feed his sick slaves and servants of San Miguel de Apusagualcos, one of which was an African slave. The next year, Juan Gaspar, a cacahuatero of San Miguel, fell ill, missing work. Next, large carnivores were still very much in evidence in the sparsely populated swamps, forests and plains of the Costa Grande. Spaniards were most impressed with the crocodiles, which they called *caimanes*. The crocodiles were ubiquitous on the rivers, especially in the rainy season. Writers of the sixteenth century spoke rather casually of Spaniards being eaten by crocodiles while they traveled the treacherous roads. Jaguars, too, inhabited the Costa Grande, and one chino, Juan Baguio, received over a month's wages after he shot one near Petatlán in 1639. Finally, the rivers swelled during the rainy season, and the muddy ground turned into true marshes during this season. Spanish travelers were unable to easily traverse the grounds during this season. This is one reason, along with the prominence of freshwater lagoons, for the prominence of canoes and rowboats in Costa Grande estate inventories.[79]

The work performed by chinos, indigenous people, and Afro-Mexicans on the estates, along with their enslaved kinsmen varied. They of course harvested cacao pods, seeded the pods, and set the seeds out to dry on reed mats, later bagging the cacao and loading it on mules for transport to other markets. Chinos also fenced huertas, probably so that the abundant cattle

[79] AGI, Contratación, 479, N. 3, R. 3, fs. 4v-5r (1585). AGN, Tierras, v. 104, exp. 10, fs. 75r, 77r (1653, 1654. FHLGSU, MF# 1646112, AGN, Civil, 742, exp. 8 (6), f. 68r (1655).
FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 94v (1641). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 5r (1646); and AGN, Tierras, v. 154, exp. 5, f. 238r (1691).

did not trample the seedlings or eat the fruit. They planted the cacao trees first in nurseries and then, transplanted the trees when they grew, in order to ensure that the fragile seedlings survived. Chinos had to ensure that cacao trees grew under the shade of other trees, called madres. They and other sirvientes continually reconnoitered the groves and replanted any fallen trees. The frequent storms and hurricanes created additional work for servants who had to replant trees and clear the groves of debris. In slack times, the hacendado required the servants to repair the thatch of their own houses and the outbuildings of the hacienda. Some chinos and other servants conducted errands for the hacendados away from the hacienda, delivering merchandise to Pátzcuaro or Acapulco, or bringing goods back to the hacienda. The frequency of the appearance of purchases of horses, mules and related riding paraphernalia in the ledgers suggests that some chino servants traveled and conducted business on their account, in addition to traveling between the hacienda and their own plots in ranchos. Chinos worked cheek by jowl with indigenous migrant workers, repartimiento laborers, and Afro-Mexicans on the hacienda, along with some Spaniards. Chinos, Afro-Mexicans, and indigenous people worked hard on the hot coast, especially in the saltworks. Their work encouraged the widespread consumption of stimulants, especially smoking tobacco, and a chewing tobacco called *piciete*. These stimulants helped suppress fatigue and the appetite.[80]

Ranchos

The most thickly-documented independent activity of chinos was their work on ranchos

[80] AGN, Tierras, v.3624, exp. 2, f. 5r (1646). AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 48, f. 9r (1663). Gónzalez de Loys explained that *pachol* was the equivalent of *almacigo*, a nursery. See *Diccionario de la lengua española*. 21st Edition. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1992), 75. Also, see AHMM, Justicia, c. 26, exp. 6A, fs. 3r-3v (1672). AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 12, f. 24v (1648). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 136r (1644); and AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 12, f. 24r-24v (1648). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 113r, 135r (1648, 1652). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, fs. 94v, 95v (1640-1641); and FHLGSU, MF # 0779049, f. 3r, 4v, and 13r (1630). FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 88r (1639); FHLGSU, MF # 0779049, f. 22r (1633); and FHLGSU, MF # 1646112, f. 81r. Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 20, 36, 171-172; Sánchez Díaz, *Los Cultivos Tropicales en Michoacán*, 104-106; and FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, fs. 97v, 103v, 112r; and FHLGSU MF# 0779049, f. 3r (1626).

in the Costa Grande. Ranchos were small agricultural settlements called ranchos. The ecclesiastical authorities preparing the episcopal padrones of the diocese of Michoacán produced between 1681 and 1683, listed at least three ranchos or barrios of chinos on the Costa Grande: San Francisco, Talnespa, and San Gerónimo (Figure 13). Several other unnamed ranchos clustered near the respective pueblos and haciendas of Atoyac, Tecpan and Petatlán. These communities had emerged at least by the early seventeenth century, but they seemed to have emerged with the largest populations only by the end of the seventeenth century. Their proliferation coincided with the fragmentation of the ownership and control of the cacao haciendas. By the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, Costa Grande haciendas, even smaller ones, appear to have lapsed more often into several joint ventures. Rentals of haciendas increased, as mortgages of the properties spiraled out of control. Significantly, the sharecroppers that increasingly dominated the tenure of haciendas cultivated increasingly larger crops of cotton. At the same time, it appears that ranchos quite willingly supplied laborers to the haciendas, and their residents might well have have begun their ranchos as *parajes* or small settlements within the haciendas that appeared in the surveys described in litigation about land ownership, but these small, dependent settlements rarely showed up in censuses.[81]

The most prominent and long-lived of these communities was the Barrio de San Nicolás, which by the middle of the eighteenth century was called San Nicolás de los Chinos, and which also by that time maintained its own chino leadership, including an alcalde, notary, and alguacil (See Figure 15). The chinos created the community out of the remains of part of the

[81] Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 339-340, 344-347; Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII,* 391-392, 440. AGN, Tierras, v.154, exp. 5, f. 238r (1673). See AGN, Tierras, v. 2830, exp. 26, f. 3r (1630); AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, f. 32v (1643); AGN, Tierras, v. 2672, exp 29, f. 500r (1643); and AGN, Tierras, vol. 2727, exp. 11, f. 2v (1636).

hacienda of San Diego, owned by Francisco Martínez de Hinojosa, which the port official Pablo de Carascossa named Nuestra Señora de Buen Suceso when he purchased the estate in 1642. This hacienda occupied the southern portion of a large humid plain that extended from the indigenous town of Coyuca in the north to the beach of Pie de la Cuesta in the south. Significantly, the hacienda bordered two freshwater lagoons fed by the Coyuca River, which provided both fish and water for irrigating wet crops like cacao and rice. To the east was the Laguna de Coyuca (formerly the Laguna de Citlala) and to the west was the Laguna de Mitla (See Figure 13). [82]

The history of the community of San Nicolás itself dated from at least 1643. In that year, four chinos of the barrio legalized their purchases of a caballería (120 acres) of land in their barrio through the payment of a small fee assessed for the support of convoys in the Caribbean. They stated that they had purchased their land within the land of San Nicolás. A contemporary complaint by a nearby landowner indicates the location of this community. Pablo de Carrascossa complained in 1645 had opened the sandbar which separated the lagoon of Coyuca (Citlala) from the sea. He suspected that that the culprits were either the nearby hacendado, Antonio de la Peña, or "unos chinos del pueblo o barrio que tienen," or one of the chinos from the pueblo or barrio that they have. Today, a barrio of San Nicolás is located near the mouth of the Coyuca River between the lagoons of Coyuca and Mitla, corroborating this location (Figure 13). The indigenous people of Coyuca had complained in 1629 about similar activities conducted by

[82] AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, *passim*. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5687, exp. 60 (1677); Francisco Martínez de Hinojosa tried to make profitable use of his estate in Coyuca, bidding on the right to supply Acapulco with *tasajo* or salted beef in 1611, but apparently he was unable to provide the requisite amount. See AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 18r (1615). He successfully sold twenty-one arrobas of tasajo in 1615. *Ibid*., 116v. *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743.* Volume 1, ed. Francisco de Solano (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), 23, 25-26; and AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, f. 2v (1757).

Spanish patrons in their fishery of Coyuca.[83]

San Bartolomé records documented the self-government of the Barrio de los Chinos. The ability of chinos in the Costa Grande to build communities on spatial lines proceeded from the constant flow of trans-Pacific migrants and itinerants, and the fact that despite efforts of cacaoteros to dominate land holdings, the quick decrease of population left much of the Costa Grande as a frontier. In 1649, Alonso Chacuaco, a vecino of the barrio, purchased two breast plates (*corrazas*) from the estate of San Bartolomé. The mayordomo records him as alguacil or constable of the chinos. Alguaciles in other communities served as intermediaries between local Spanish magistrates and their communities, and in some cases, also assisted alcaldes with collecting tribute. In the same entry, the mayordomo noted that Francisco, another chino, was the alcalde of the Barrio de los Chinos.[84]

The alcalde represented the foremost official of small indigenous municipalities or barrios in colonial Mexico, the equivalent a cabeza de barangay in the Philippines, but also represented a probable strategy for community preservation by the indigenous inhabitants of Coyuca. The same records that document Coyuca land sales record that seventeenth-century Coyuca was headed by an alcalde, perhaps a conseqence of epidemics. In fact, this population decrease points to another reason for the rise of a chino community. Indigenous landholders in other areas threatened by disease and Spanish land-grabbing had relied on integration of migrants, whether indigenous or Afro-Mexican, to secure land and act as a barrier to complete communal dismemberment. The securing of title by chinos to land as a community subordinate to an existing indigenous cabecera would help protect the diminishing number of Coyuca

[83] AGN, Mercedes, v. 44, f. 164v (1644). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 7, f. 6v (1645). AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 95, 45v (1629).

[84] FHLGSU, MF # 0779063, item 3, legajo 3, f. 8r (1649).

inhabitants. Their increasing population presumably deterred cacaoteros from taking all Coyuca land, leaving that land for the indigenous inhabitants of Coyuca to reclaim, once their population recovered.[85]

The chino barrio of Coyuca followed other colonial Mesoamerican models, such as the Nahua (*mexicano*) barrios formed in Guatemala and Valladolid after the conquest. Indigenous barrios that eventually grew into pueblos would begin with a single alcalde, adding officials over time as the barrio grew, until they formed a cabildo. They were responsible for collecting tribute within the community. Chinos had also served as alcaldes in Colima, but Coyuca differed in having a spatially-delimited and ethnically-limited community. The notation of debts incurred by Jacinto, a chino tubero from Apusagualcos on the same page of the San Bartolomé ledger demonstrate communication between chinos in communities and haciendas between the western and eastern edges of the Costa Grande.[86]

Early in the seventeenth century, the shores of the Laguna de Mitla hosted two other communities that mixed indigenous people, Afro-Mexicans and chinos. This marital exogamy was as common in the Costa Grande as it had been among Filipino men in central Luzon, and allowed cross-ethnic alliances. To the northwest of San Nicolás was the rancho of Cayaco. Unlike San Nicolás, tithe records from Cayaco demonstrates that seventeenth-century

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[85] For Coyuca's alcaldes, see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 2, fs. 33v, 35v, 37r (1643). For models of barrio resettlement, see Bernardo García Martínez, "Pueblos de Indios, Pueblos de Castas: New Settlements and Traditional Corporate Organization in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," in *The Indian Community of Colonial Mexico: Fifteen Essays on Land Tenure, Corporate Organizations, Ideology and Village Politics*, eds. Arij Ouweneel and Simon Miller (Amsterdam: Center for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1990), 103-116; and Jonathan Amith, "Place-Making and Place-Breaking: Migration Cycles and the Development Cycle of Community in Colonial Mexico," *America Ethnologist* 32, no. 1 (2005), 161, 164-165.

[86] For barrio offices in Mesoamerica, see Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "El origen y conformación de los barrios de indios," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 105-106, 109-112, 115-118, and *passim*. For alcaldes and the transition into pueblos de indios, see Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "Los indios y la ciudad. Panorama y perspectivas de investigación," Same volume, 22-23. See Chapter 4 for alcaldes chinos in western Mexico, and Chapter 6 for alcaldes of ethnic barrios in the City of Mexico.

community members, mostly chinos, raised maize, cattle, and apparently some vino de cocos. An Inquisition document indicates that one of the main royal roads that ran along the Costa Grande ran through Cayaco. Individuals from the community appeared to have used the road to travel to Acapulco and also were in contact with community members from Coyuca. They also appeared to have supplied labor to the immense hacienda of San Miguel de Apusagualcos and might have also done so for Coyuca haciendas. West of Cayaco was a former indigenous visita of Atoyac named Cacalutla. Here, too, diocesan records from Michoacán indicate that by the early seventeenth century, chinos raised maize, distilled vino de cocos, and also cultivated rice. These community members probably also worked as seasonal laborers for the extensive cacao orchards of the hacienda to the west, San Miguel de Apusagualcos.[87]

By the late seventeenth century, chinos and Afro-Mexicans had formed several more ranchos. Like San Nicolás, these communities integrated Afro-Mexicans and chinos. In 1652, San Bartolomé administrators recorded a debt to them from Jacinto, a chino from Cayaco, and a chino by the same name who was a tubero in San Miguel de Apusagualcos. Episcopal records document that for one of the payments for 1666, the "chinos and mulatos" of San José, situated near Tecpan, paid thirty-four bushels (*fanegas*) of maize for a tithe, indicating a probable production of over six hundred fanegas of corn. By 1704, the community of San José was accompanied by another multiethnic rancho, San Gerónimo, adjacent to it. By 1682, the padrones of the Bishopric of Michoacán show that San Gerónimo hosted a substantial community of chinos criollos, tied by marriage to the Afromexicans of the ranchos and

[87] AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 24, exp. 677, fs. 1v-2v (1643); AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp 18, f. 461r (1646); AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diesmos, c. 2, exp. 22, f. 5v (1657); and AGN, Tierras, v. 3656, exp. 1, f. 4r (1706). AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 18, *passim*. Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 130 (1631); AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 24, exp. 677, fs. 1v-2v (1643); and AHCMO, Diocesano, Administración Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 22, f. 6v (1657). See AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 36v (1671).

haciendas.[88]

Commerce and Communication in the Costa Grande

An Inquisition case from 1646 provides us with a glimpse of the relationships between the chinos of Acapulco, the cacao haciendas, and the ranchos of the Costa Grande. The local representatives of the Holy Office, including one hacendado, Capitán Andrés de Benavides, accused several chinos of stealing part of a load of cacao destined for the consumption of the Commission of the Inquision of the city of Mexico. Allegedly, one mule from a recua or mule train from San Miguel de Apusagualcos had strayed into the rancho of Cayaco on its way to Mexico, then inhabited by several chinos. The chino Francisco Tonog informed the commission in Acapulco that two chinos, Alonso Umali and Agustín, had entered the town with a mule burdened with a load of cacao. Tonog asked the chinos whether they owned a cacao hacienda, apparently assuming that this was an economic possibility for chinos. They replied, "no." Tonog then asked them whether they had accumulated the money necessary to purchase the cacao, and they similarly replied that they had not. [89]

As it turned out, they had lied, probably in order to avoid being prosecuted by the Inquisition. The errant mule had carried over one hundred and fifty pounds (a *tercio*) of cacao into the rancho, when it had strayed. For a subsistence farmer or even a port worker, the sale of this amount of cacao would be quite a boon. These workers could have potentially sold the

[88] FHLGSU, MF # 0779063, item 3, legajo 3, f. 8r (1649). AHCMO, Diocesano, Administracion Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 2, exp. 20, f. 2v (1655); and AHCMO, Diocesano, Administracion Pecuniaria, Diezmos, c. 24, exp. 680, fs. 1r-2v (1666). AHCMO, Procesos Criminales, Estupro, c. 833, exp. 1, (1702); and Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 342-343. Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 391, 439.

[89] This account is taken from AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 18 (1646). Tonog is a name found in Tagalog-speaking areas of central Luzon. See FHLGSU, MF# 1128393 San Miguel Bautismos, 1642-1670, f. 27v; Contaduría, 1216, f. 59r (1634). AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, f. 52r (1646); Contaduría, 1236, f. 36r (1662). The surname is also encountered in the Visayas; see Chapter 1.The surname Umali appears in the colonial southern Tagalog region and colonial Pampanga province. See AGI, México, 40, N. 8, exp. 15, f. 30r (1664); Casimiro Díaz, *Las Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 247; FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, item 2, Bautismos de Lubao, f. 11v (1673); AGI, Contaduría, 1212, f. 1632 (1630); AGI, Contaduría, 1227, f. 284r (1648). AGI, Contaduría, 1238, f. 208r (1672)

cacao to galleon passengers for onboard consumption, to a merchant who could bundle the cacao with other shipments to the Philippines, or to a mariner who would sell it for a hefty profit in Manila or Cavite. The chino *milpero* or maize farmer, Juan de la Cruz, a resident of Cayaco, had found the cacao and with another chino had tried to sell it in Acapulco to Agustín Pérez, a chino carpenter. Perez claimed that he did not buy it. Meanwhile, the chinos Juan de la Cruz and Miguel de Aragón, both residents of Coyuca, had heard about the lost cacao. Juan de la Cruz claimed that an African from Coyuca collaborated with a chino named Alonso Sicuaco, the almost identically-named Alonso Chacuaco, an alguacil of the Barrio de los Chinos. He also suggested collaboration with Matheo Desma, a chino cacaguatero in the hacienda of San Miguel de Apusagualcos, who worked with the others to sell the cacao.[90]

All in all, the episode demonstrates the connections between the various types of working environments of the Costa Grande. Chino mariners and port workers communicated with and conducted business with the more independent chino rancho communities of Coyuca, Cayaco, and probably Cacalutla. Individuals in these more independent communities, in turn, maintained connections with the enormous cacao haciendas of the Costa Grande through the sale of their labor to the haciendas. Rancho chinos also sold grain crops to the haciendas which were consumed by hacienda slaves, some of them chinos. Free chinos married some of these enslaved chinos, and also married Afro-Mexicans. Indeed, Spanish officials and clerics noted these connections, as well. In 1680, one cleric writing for the episcopal census of the Diocese of Michoacán observed that chinos inhabited the Costa Grande had remained after serving in the

[90] AHCMO, Diocesano, Justicia, Testamentos, c. 144, exp. 48, *passim* (1661). AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 18, fs. 464r-469v (1646). Desma was also a surname used in Pampanga. See AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 57, f. 4v (1622); and FHLGSU, MF# 1126936, item 1, Lubao, Bautismos, fs. 87v, 114v (1636, 1641). Sicuaco appears to be a Minnanese surname, as surnames of people from Fujian often end in –co . Sicuaco could have been a sangley or more likely, a mestizo de sangley. See Chapters 1, 2, and 3..

galleons. He explained that in their ranchos, chinos married indigenous women and maintained fields, but also worked as servants on the large haciendas. Like the chinos of Cayaco, various slaves, servants and chinos also engaged in theft and illegal commerce on the haciendas on Coyuca. This activity helped supplement their income. They might have conducted this activity to compensate for their indebted status. [91]

Marriage on the Costa Grande

In the next section, we will explore the ways that chinos forged social and familial connection within, and between the port of Acapulco, Costa Grande haciendas, and ranchos. Especially for men, marriage with indigenous women allowed the accumulation of property and social mobility, as in Colima. Of course, chinos practiced non-strategic marriage, as well. Colonial authorities were more apt to note deviant behavior than everyday practices, so we will begin our discussion by looking at the every day social and familial interaction as gleaned from colonial documents. We will proceed to examine the ways that a record of deviant chino behavior can shed light on normal interactions.

Many chinos lived their lives in the Costa Grande as bachelors or *solteros*. This might have been due to the propensity of many chinos to return to the Philippines after several months or years. Next, we know many of the earliest free chino migrants were men, though the subsequent chino creole population was more gender-balanced. Given the lack of chinas in the early years of migration and settlement, chinos were mostly likely to interact and intermarry with Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people on the haciendas, as individuals from these categories tended to be sirvientes on the haciendas. The pueblos of the Costa Grande also seemed to be

[91] Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII,* 439-440. AGN, Inquisición, v. 461, exp. 18, f. 466v (1646); and FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, f. 87r, 88r (1639). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 7, fs. 2v-3v (1678).

predominantly indigenous. Moreover, Afro-Mexicans demographically dominated the permanent population of the port of Acapulco.[92]

Marriage of chinos in colonial Mexico could have helped further goals of social and cultural mobility. We must recall that something like half of the chino population who entered Mexico did so as slaves; it was only within this population that chino women could be found, at least early in the seventeenth century. These parallel free and enslaved populations could facilitate confusion about the free status of chinos. Thus, until 1673, when the the royal regent banned chino slavery in New Spain, Spanish authorities felt necessary to append labeled non-slave chinos as libre or more commonly, *libre de cautiverio*.[93]

Costa Grande chinos, like poorer Spaniards and Afro-Mexicans, might have utilized marriage to noble indigenous women as a strategy to increase social mobility. In one case, the chino Diego de la Cruz married a noble indigenous woman named María de Aguilar who had inherited her husband's cacao holding. By 1631, he held *de facto* proprietorship and in church censuses is recorded as owning the parcel. María de Aguilar and Diego de la Cruz helped found the hacienda of San Juan Bautista, which produced impressive quantities of cacao, almost one-third the production of the largest hacienda in the region, San Miguel de Apusagualcos. While their son, Domingo de la Cruz, did not inherit the estate, he did stay on as a cultivator in the Costa Grande. Chino-indigenous marriages might have led to the eventual ability of the Barrio

[92] AGN, Inquisición, v. 561, exp. 18, f. 467v; and AGN, Tierras, v. 2830. exp. 25, f. 4r (1712). AGN, México, 46, N. 35, fs. 115r-115v (1674).

[93] Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude." AGN, RCD, v. D30, exp. 94, fs. 133r-13v (1673) "…fuesen libres, por estar resuelto así por diferentes cédulas, y en particular, por de los años de mill quinientos y cinquenta y tres, y mil quinientos y sesenta y tres." Also see Chapter 6.

of San Nicolás to exercise self rule, and the community's late-eighteenth-century version of its own history suggests this.[94]

Another case of chino marriage on the Costa Grande led to quite different results, ones that long had been forecast by Sebastián de Pineda. Pineda had warned that. as with other itinerant workers, the long-time alienation of chinos from their island homes would lead them to abandon their families and practice bigamy. On April 5, 1669, Sebastián Antonio de Benavides, the administrator of San Miguel de Apusagualcos notified the nearby commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition a report he had heard. He told Doctor Cristóbal López de Osuna, the cura and salaried benefice holder (*beneficiado*) of the port of Acapulco, that he had been informed by three vecinos of the port about a possible case of bigamy committed by a worker on his hacienda. The bigamist was one Balthasar Melchor, a chino sirviente on the cacao hacienda of San Miguel Apusagualcos, co-owned by Melchor Rodríguez López, Andrés de Benavides, and Cristobal López de Osuna. Melchor had married a mulata slave, Bernarda de los Reyes, who lived on the portion of the hacienda owned by Andrés de Benavides. Melchor was a resident laborer on the hacienda. He worked at least part of the time in cultivating the rice of the hacienda, no doubt irrigated by the Atoyac River. It is likely that he also weeded and harvested cacao.[95]

The witnesses who made the accusation of bigamy conveyed relationships not just between Acapulco and the rural Costa Grande, but between the Costa Grande and the greater Pacific. To begin, three Afro-Mexican women, free and residents of the port, helped make the initial accusation. Perhaps they maintained relationships with the Afro-Mexican woman with

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[94] AGN, Tierras, v. 2827, exp. 15, f. 2r. López Lara, *El obispado de Michoacán en el siglo XVII,* 131-132. AGN, Tierras, v. 2828, exp. 13, f. 3v (1673). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, fs. 1r-4v (1757).

[95] AGI, Filipinas, 38, N. 12, f. 5v (1619). AGN, Inquisicion, v. 612, exp. 4, r. 497r (1669). AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 25r-25v (1671).

whom Melchor had married. Domingo de la Peña, a grumete chino who had recently arrived on the galleon *San Joseph*, helped corroborate this accusation. He explained that he had known Melchor as they had both served together as sailors on a previous galleon voyage. Another chino, Felipe Cortes, born on the island sentinel post of the island of Mariveles, now called Corregidor, in Manila Bay, supported the statements of Miguel. The latter chino had heard gossip about Melchor's bigamy from soldiers and another chino who had worked in the fortress of Santiago, in Acapulco.[96]

Francisca Pineda, a free Afro-Mexican woman and vecina of Acapulco, also testified on the same day. She knew Gregorio Benavides, one of the three brother owners of San Miguel de Apusagualcos. Before Benavides tried to sponsor the wedding of Balthasar Melchor, he inquired about the status of Melchor. He asked Juan, a chino servant who was in the company of the lead guard of the fortress, Roque Rodríguez. In response, Juan wrote a letter requesting the denial of the marriage. His observers ridiculed his lack of familiarity with formal Spanish, apparently unusual among chinos, who often were ladinos. The others laughed at Juan, but Pineda felt sorry for him, as she said that he knew no better.[97]

On the same day, Gerónima Arias, another Afro-Mexican woman and vecina of Acapulco testified about the \ incident. She said that a chino who had acted as a servant to Augustinian friars had informed her of Melchor's status. He might have heard word from across the Pacific. This unnamed chino visited Gregorio Benavides on two occasions to tell Benavides that he could not officiate the wedding of Melchor as the chino had already married. He brought a letter to Melchor Rodríguez that corroborated this claim. Later that day, the chino Domingo de la Peña testified that he, like Balthasar Melchor, was a native of Lalo in Cagayan (See Figure 1). He

[96] AGN, Inquisición, v. 612, exp. 4, f. 497r (1669). AGN, Inquisición, v. 612, exp. 4, f. 498v (1669).

[97] FHLGSU, MF# 0779046, f. 88r (1639).

claimed that he knew Melchor and that both arrived on a ship in 1668 named the *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro*. Peña argued that it has been six years since Melchor had left Cagayan and he did not know whether Melchor's spouse had died. Upon the request of the Acapulco commission, a Dominican friar in Lalo examined the sacramental records and confirmed that Melchor's spouse had expired.[98]

Melchor's life story fit the general pattern of chino migrants to Mexico. First, he married an Afro-Mexican who also worked on a hacienda de cacao, a common practice that gave rise to the mixed and chino ranchos on the Costa Grande. Next, Melchor had arrived in Acapulco as a sailor. One of the witnesses explained that Melchor had been born in Lalo, the capital city of the province of Nueva Segovia or Cagayan. Though Melchor had been born in northern Luzon, the inhabitants of his birthplace maintained a central Luzon identity. Tagalog and Kapampangan conquistadores from central Luzon had founded the indigenous neighborhood of Bagumbayan in Lalo late in the sixteenth century when they had assisted the Spanish in their conquest of Cagayan. They ruled the barrio amongst themselves and maintained the barrio's finances through a Crown-protected monopoly on the production and sale of vino de palmas. It was in Lalo that Melchor had married his first wife. At least four years elapsed between Melchor's initial departure from Lalo and his first galleon voyage. It seems quite possible that Melchor would have spent the interim in central Luzon, where he would have presumably become acquainted with the Spanish colonial legal system in the transcultural port of Cavite. [99]

Finally, one last case, though horrific and atypical, sheds light on the vagaries of a chino criollo family in a rural milieu. In 1702, Blás Vargas, an Afro-Mexican fiscal of the ranchos of

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[98] AGN, Inquisición, v. 612, exp. 4, exp. 4, fs. 497v-499r (1669).

[99] AUS), MF#59, *Copia de los documentos Civiles y Eclesiásticos más antiguas en Cagayan*, fs. 249r-254r (1648).

Tecpan reported a crime to the cura of Tecpan (Figure 13). The fiscal explained that in San Gerónimo, Lucrecia Resendi, the Afro-Mexican daughter of Agustín Goubea by his first wife, Juana Resendi, had emotionally recounted how she had been raped by her father. Goubea had intercepted her after she had gone to the Atoyac River to gather water and dragged her to an uninhabited stretch of land called a *monte*. He had forced himself on her after holding a knife to her throat. In the course of the gathered testimony Ana de Vargas, the china stepmother of Resendi, confessed that Goubea had committed a similar act when she had harbored her china niece, Antonia de Guido.[100]

As shocking as the context was of the case, it confirmed that the rancho were locales for chinos that married into free Afro-Mexican families. Ana de Vargas herself was a china criolla, or an American-born chino, as was her niece, Antonia de Guido. Three other witnesses called by the priests were also chinos. Salvador Contreras testified that he had been born in the Philippines and declared that that he was a town citizen of the pueblo of San Francisco, a rancho inhabited by over twenty chinos, according to the 1683 episcopal census. This rancho had probably grown out of the hacienda of San Francisco de Apusagualcos, located north of San Gerónimo and west of the now defunct rancho of Cacalutla (Figure 13). In the late sixteenth century, San Gerónimo too had been another hacienda of the Apusagualcos plain, but *rancheros* had colonized it by the last half of the seventeenth century. Agustín de Guevara and Nicolas de Sebrero were also chinos criollos and vecinos of the jurisdiction. They were descendants of chinos who had arrived on the galleons and still identified themselves as chinos, though at least some of their ancestors might have been Afro-Mexicans or local indigenous people.[101]

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[100] AHCMO, Diocesano, Procesos Criminales, Estupro, c. 833, exp. 1, fs. 1r-11v (1702).

[101] AHCMO, Diocesano, Procesos Criminales, Estupro, c. 833, exp. 1, f. 3r (1702). Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 345; and AGN, Tierras, v. 2772, exp. 24, f. 8v (1712-1716). AGI, Contratación, 509, N. 12, f.

Miradas, Mariners, and Militias: The Call of the Sea

This chapter has mainly focused on the rural population of the Costa Grande coastal plain, but maritime and coastal service also shaped Costa Grande chino experience, just as had their service on cacao haciendas. The most reliable accounts of chino migration suggest that a large proportion of the sailors who entered colonial Mexico returned to the Philippines. According to Déborah Oropeza, the number of recorded migrants returning to the Philippines topped seven hundred and fifty chinos in the first third of our research period alone. This population was likely much higher. Several chinos were recruited in Acapulco for each return voyage. These would likely have been recent arrivals. A few chinos were recruited or impressed in the pueblo of Coyuca, and perhaps even in San Nicolás. Some were recruited in the city of Mexico, and we will explore their casesin the next chapter. [102]

Other examples prove that even chinos on the Costa Grande haciendas maintained connections to the Southern Seas, despite their flight from the galleon. One example is that of a chino slave listed in an episcopal census as residing on a Petatlán plantation. This slave is listed as having been married in Manila. We know from the bigamy cases above that ecclesiastical authorities could keep track of the marital statuses of their chino charges. A brief notation in a roster (*matrícula*) for Acapulco workers provides another example of the transpacific ties maintained by chino workers. The factor remarked that a chino cagayan named Juan Pineda, a chino cagayan, died in Acapulco in 1643, and according to his will, bequeathed left five months of salary to Andrea Guanquan, his next of kin in the Philippines. The importance of transpacific and intra-Pacific commerce to the Costa Grande necessitated these connections. Chinos served

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92r (1599), and Carrillo Cázares, *Partidos y Padrones*, 340, 344-345. AHCMO, Diocesano, Procesos Criminales, Estupro, c. 833, exp. 1, f.2v, 5r-5v (1702).

[102] Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 210-230. AGI, Contaduría, 903 (Unpaginated) (1620); and AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 32r, 32v (1653); 905B, 6a pieza, 24v, 32r (1655); 32r (1660).

in coastal shipping, joined the sentinels on the lookout for pirates raiding the sparsely-populated region, and served in militias. The documentation of the frequent appearances of ships along the Pacific coast by colonial officials alerts us to the presence of sentinels. Alcaldes mayors commissioned indigenous communities in some regions of Mexico to maintain sentinel posts. The expatriate indios of the Filipinas seemed equally influenced by their own experience in the Philippines. [103]

Chinos also found employment in the *barcos de aviso*. These small vessels moved northeast from Acapulco and met the galleon as it moved southeast along the coast from Nueva Galicia, Colima, and the Costa Grande. The crown intended these small ships not only to warn incoming galleons of danger from pirates, but also to reconnoiter the path of the galleon. The beach of Papanoa represented one points of embarcation for chinos meeting the galleon. Chinos in Coyuca maintained a sentinel to watch for the galleon as well, and probably launched their rowboats almost due west of Acapulco. A witness in one Inquisition document remarked that the chinos of Coyuca were impressed into serving on a small sailing ship or *galeota* that sailed from the port of Acapulco northward. In 1695, the alcalde mayor of Zacatula, worried about a storm, called for a special Mass in Petatlán for the chino mariners of a galeota that had deployed from Acapulco.[104]

Sentinels looked out for pirates as well as the galleon. The earliest years of the seventeenth century saw scattered Dutch and English interlopers in the so-called Spanish Lake,

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[103] Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 392. AGI, Contaduría, 905A, f. 851v (1645). See FHLGSU, MF # 0779046, f. 103v (1635). For other examples of Pacific Coast sentinels, see AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 76, 17v (1633); AGI, México, N. 35, exp. 2, f. 330v (1672); and AGI, México, 55, R. 3, N. 15, f. 181r (1685); and FHLGSU, MF# 1699925, item 2, f. 4r (1698).

[104] The definitive work on the barcos de aviso is Oswaldo Sales Colín, *El Movimiento Portuario de Acapulco*: *El protagonismo de Nueva España en la relación con Filipinas, 1587-1648* (México, D. F.: Plaza y Valdés, 2000). AGN, Inquisición, v. 694, exp. 8, fs. 415r, 441v (1694).

but the last few decades of the seventeenth century saw repeated visits from pirates on the Pacific shores of the Spanish empire. Early on, Filipinos became involved with piracy on both sides of the Pacific. In 1587, the seizure of the galleon *Santa Ana* off of Baja California by the English privateer Thomas Cavendish netted a few Filipino mariners, probably grumetes, of a total complement of thirty-one indios chinos aboard. In 1600, the visitador Antonio de Morga sailed on the *San Diego* to confront the pirate Van Noort in Manila Bay. In 1615, Joris van Spielsberghen visited the viceroyalty of Peru and also the port of Acapulco, prompting the construction of the fort of San Diego on the *morro* (or hill) of Acapulco. As stated before, indigenous people from Tlapa, Tixtla, Chilapa, Xicayan, Igualapa, and Zacatula in the main part constructed the fortress, but chinos provided part of the specialist labor for its building (See Figure 14).[105]

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, chinos confronted on two separate occasions the threat of piracy. In 1672, sentinels near Igualapa, east of Acapulco, allegedly sighted several sails. Colonial officials throughout the Pacific Coast requested further aid and deployed their own personnel when the aid never materialized. The alcalde mayor of Acapulco issued some of stern warnings, repeatedly pleading for more Spanish soldiers. In his letters to the viceroy in Mexico City, the alcalde mayor made an informal census of the men available outside of the fortress of San Diego. He stated that outside of the San Diego fortress, the male population available for the city's defense stood at only six Spaniards, with the rest of the complement given as sixty mestizos, one hundred mulatos, and fifty chinos. We know that a militia company of chinos resident in Acapulco deployed in 1674, even though the alcalde mayor slighted the

[105] AGI, Filipinas, 6, N. 6, R. 62, fs. 1v-2r (1588); and AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 6, N. 38, exp. 2, f. 3r (1588). Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 419-428. AGI, México, 371, *passim*.

fighting skills of the mulatos and chinos of the town. That year, two companies of Afro-Mexicans or mulatos from the port deployed as well.[106]

In 1718, the commanding officer of the chino militia company of Acapulco, Captain Tomás de la Cruz, testified in a case about land ownership. This chino capitán was evidently respected, as Acapulco officials requested his testimony about a Spanish will. Cruz might have been related to a don Tomás de la Cruz, who served as the principal magistrateof agricultural disputes (*juez de sementeras*) of Kawit pueblo in 1656 (See Figure 4). If Cruz had deployed from the port of Cavite or worked there any amount of time, he might have settled in San Roque, the barrio founded for the indigenous workers of Cavite. In 1686, scribes working for the Archdiocese of Manila recorded the San Roque residence of one Tomás Lorenzo de la Cruz, a natural of Cavite el Viejo, who worked in the port and might have been the very same Thomas de la Cruz. A more likely connection was that between Captain Cruz and a Filipino-born chino soldier of the same name who deployed on board the galleon in 1676.[107]

The western portion of the Costa Grande of the jurisdiction of Acapulco witnessed a very notable piratical incursion in 1685. The episcopal censuses of the Diocese of Michoacán during 1681-1685 demonstrated that dozens of chinos resided in western Costa Grande. After attacking sites in Ecuador, two parties of the pirates led by Charles Swan and Captain Townley moved westward from Huatulco and Tehuantepec. They tried and failed to assault the galleons. They landed in Ixtapa, near Petatlán (See Figure 9) where they seized fifty mules, cacao, and several cattle, which they carted off. The pirates also stopped at the hacienda of San Luis, to the east of

[106] AGN, México, 46, N. 35, fs. 115r-115v (1672); AGI, México, 47, N. 24, f. 3r (1674); and AGI, México, 47, R. 2, N. 26, f. 7r (1674).

[107] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1512, exp. 11, fs. 26r-26v (1718). AGI, Filipinas, 12, R.1, N.57, "Carta de Curucelaegui sobre división del curato de Cavite," f. 13r (1688). AGI, Contaduría, 1232, 57r (1656); AGI, Contaduría, 1253, f. 29v(14 Febrero 1699). AGI, Patronato, 463, N. 1, exp. 1, f. 44r (1676). See Chapters 2-3.

Petatlán. A response sent to the viceroy provided a more vivid account, giving special emphasis to the desecration of church images in Petatlán. In response, the alcalde mayor of Zacatula, resident in Petatlán when he had not fled to Coahayutla, mobilized militia from as far away as the city of Valladolid.[108]

Acapulco hosted shipping from the American side of the Pacific in addition to Asian shipping. These merchants plying this intra-American trade sailed their ships into the central harbor and adjacent ports far more often than allowed by the Crown. Captains of these voyages, described by Woodrow Borah, purchased Asian goods in Acapulco to deliver south to Peru in exchange for silver, timber, and wine. Some of this illicit traffic anchored in ports and off of beaches far away from Acapulco. Thus, in 1609, one such ship from Peru foundered off the coast of Zacatula. The alcalde mayor of the province accused chino and Afro-Mexican residents of the coast of stealing part of the cargo.[109]

Many of the ships appeared to have supplied substantial supplies of wine, cacao and in lesser quantities, naval stores, to Acapulco from Central American and South American ports. Officially proscribed by the Crown, Peruvian and Central American ships routinely entered New Spanish waters from at least the 1590s. Treasury records and various royal inspections show that despite the prohibition, the traffic continued thoughout the seventeenth century. Some smuggled cacao, others wine. Still others sailed on official business, helping to explain the presence of dozens of enslaved and free chinos in Lima, Peru, by 1613. Though many of the ships were crewed with Afro-Peruvians (*pardos*), chinos also joined the companies of the ships. One such

[108] Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII*, 391-393. Peter Gerhard, *The Pirates of Mexico's West Coast*, 165-173. AHMM, serie colonial, c. 1, exp. 15H, (1687). AGI, México, 55, R. 3, N. 15, exp. 2, fs. 158v-159r (1686). AGI, México, 55, R. 3, N. 15, f. 137r, 165r (1686); and AHMM, Colonial, Gobierno, c. 1, exp. 154, fs. 1r-1v (1686).

[109] AGI, Patronato, 263, N. 1, R. 2, exp. 2 (1626). AGN, Tierras, v. 2961, exp. 74 (1610); Borah, *Early Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru*; and AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 55 (1581).

case shows us the ways that chinos helped connect the transpacific and intrapacific commercial flows with the internal economy of seventeenth-century New Spain. This traffic intensified through out the 1670s and 1690s, as Jesús Hernández Jaimes and others have noted. By the 1680s, the increase in illicit shipments of Guayaquil cacao seemed to have begun putting a strain on the cacao economy of the Costa Grande. After this time period, large-scale cacao cultivation declined as a Costa Grande phenomenon in favor of other products such as cotton. [110]

The account of one contraband landing can demonstrate the ways that chino and Afro-Mexican labor served to connect coastal defense, development of rancho settlement, the intra-Pacific contraband trade, and the extension of cotton cultivation. The ship *Santo Tomás de Villanueva* landed in Zihuatanejo on April 22, 1698, a year that initiated at least a three-year-span of especially high traffic from the Viceroyalty of Peru. Two Afro-Mexican brothers, Francisco Dávila and Salvador Dávila, sighted the ship from the cottonfield in the nearby rancho of San Juan. Working alongside of them was Ignacio Puxol, a chino who, like the Dávilas, was a vecino of Petatlán. In addition to being farmers, the Davilas and Puxol were official sentinels. The Dávilas and Puxol cautiously walked towards the ship, even though Francisco Dávila had noted in his testimony that the ship appeared of Peruvian construction. After verifying the ship's crew was Spanish, the sharecroppers approached the vessel. Puxol and the Dávilas noted the vexation of the captain, don Patricio. The captain explained to them that a fierce storm had forced the crew to jettison the valuable cargo of cacao that the ship carried from Peru. In spite of the lightening of the load, the main sail ripped and battered the masts. At least twelve of the

[110] AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, fs, 22v-23v (1615); and AGI, Contaduría, 897, f. 4r (1592). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, fs. 16v, 20r (1633); AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 10a pieza, f. 102v (1658) AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5276, exp.55 (1613); FHLGSU, MF# 1652871, item 1, AGN, Civil, v. 1525, exp. 3, fs. 1r-16r (1616); AGI, 23, R. 2, N. 4, exp. 18, fs. 1r-24v (1661); AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 22v. AGI, México, 45, N. 6, f. 14v (1676). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, fs. 150r-150v (1635); AGI, Filipinas, 55, N. 8, f. 70r, (1678) and FHLGSU, MF# 1700169, Item 1, AGN, Civil 1774, exp. 9, fs. 1r-12v (1676). See Hernandez Jaimes, "El Fruto Prohibido," *passim*.

crew died. After taking a tour of the ship, the sentinels left, keeping an eye on the ship over the next eleven days to ensure that the crew had not used the shipwreck as a pretext for illegal contraband. They reported to the alcalde mayor that during this time, the crew did not illegally offload contraband, confirming the story provided by the crew members to the alcalde mayor of Zacatula.[111]

From the very beginning of the port, the residents of Acapulco had tied themselves to the ports and hinterlands of the broader Pacific Ocean of the Spanish Empire. The Crown forged the most obvious tie between Acapulco and Asia, but as we have seen, along with royal authorities, missionaries, and merchants, only humble workers, mariners, and soldiers could ensure the long-term viability of this connection. The mariners and workers of Acapulco also dealt with traffic within and across the eastern Pacific. Even before the founding of Acapulco as the most important Pacific port of New Spain, the ports of the Southern Sea facilitated the importation of cacao for the growing consumpotiuon of the viceroyalty. Merchants of Mexico and Central America imported much of this precious cacao from Sonsonate and other ports like Acajutla. The port of Realejo in Nicaragua supplied naval stores to Acapulco, as did ports in South America, such as Callao.[112]

As Woodrow Borah and other scholars have noted, Peruvian merchants quickly developed a taste for Asian products and imported silver from the newly-minted mines of Potosí in order to pay for it. Some entrepreneurs on both sides of the Pacific attempted to run ships directly between Asia and Peru. Acapulco merchants and workers also illegally consumed

[111] See Hernandez Jaimes, "El Fruto Prohibido," 76. FHLGSU, MF# 1699925, item 2, fs. 1r-40r (1698).

[112] For examples of higher-status examples of this phenomen, see Luke Clossey, "Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (2006): 41-58; AGI, Contaduría, 897, f. 4r (1592); and AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, fs. 22v-23r (1615). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, fs. 16v, 20r (1633). See AGI, 23, R. 2, N. 4, exp. 4, fs. 1r-24v (1661-1662).

Peruvian wines. By the early seventeenth century, Spanish merchants had begun their importation of Guayaquil cacao from Ecuador. This traffic and that in Peruvian wine continued throughout the seventeenth century, with the former commodity threatening the health of the cacao industry of New Spain. Finally, we cannot ignore the fact that mariners and merchant-entrepreneurs connected Acapulco with the more northerly segments of the eastern Pacific. Mariners and administrators of Acapulco busied themselves with exploration and pearling in California. These efforts coincided with piracy. The Dutch pirate Esquemeling captured a pearling vessel in 1628 on its way to California owned by Nicolás Cardona, who ran a pearling factory (*fábrica*) in the port of Acapulco.[113]

One account, made by chinos themselves, though postdating the end of our study, serves to summarize the relationship between chino identity, service in the Pacific and the settlement patterns of ranchos. In the early Bourbon period, the citizens of the chino barrio of San Nicolás described the history of their community. Their efforts at civic history had been inititiated by a lawsuit begun by the Convent of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, who in 1757, claimed to own the land that the chinos occupied and wanted to charge them back rent. In response, the chinos deployed a history of their community in an effort to claim the legitimacy of their history of social relationships. They argued that the way the community had been founded rendered the demands for rent to be null and void.

They claimed in 1757 that by that date ancestors had found the community from time immemorial. They explained that their ancestors had been Filipinos ("*indios Filipinos*") who had sailed on the Manila Galleon and had settled in Coyuca as a convenient place to wait for a departure on subsequent galleons. In the process, several Filipinos had married some of the

[113] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5276, exp. 59 (1613). AGN, AHH, v. 2437, exp. 1, f. 22v (1615). AGI, Contaduría, 905A, fs. 150r-150v (1635); and AGI, México, 49, N. 6, f. 14v (1676). Gerhard, *Pirates*, 117; and AGN, Tierras, v. 122, exp. 3, f. 26r (1623).

indigenous women of the area. They still claimed chino heritage; in part, they did do because chinos continued to settle in the village. They argued that part of their identity stemmed from the assistance that they rendered to the Crown; the community ferried people across Coyuca lagoon on their boats and the citizens of the village served as sentinels for the port of Acapulco. Finally, the chinos of San Nicolás argued that they deserved their land in part due to the length of time that they had possessed their plots, where they grew maize, cotton, and rice, part of which they offered as rent for the sisters of the convent. In the course of this history, one interesting fact seemed to be left out. Afro-Mexicans constituted part of the population of the barrio and in fact, constituted part of the office-holding body which affixed its signatures to the letter.[114]

The patterns of the history of the rancho of San Nicolás recounted by its chino citizens provide us with some of the basic characteristics of Costa Grande communities up until the early part of the eighteenth century. Though chinos formed sizable and recognizable portions of their population, these settlements were ethnically-mixed and their inhabitants raised crops both for sustenance and for the broader market. An additional factor is that many of these communities appeared to have provided labor for neighboring cacao haciendas, but also maintained connections with the port workers of Acapulco and consequently, with communities in the Philippines.

Conclusion:

In this chapter, I argue that chinos continued their encounter with Spanish legal systems and colonial political economy in the Costa Grande that they had began on the path to maritime labor that began in central Luzon. In the port of Acapulco, they faced a familiar set of duties, centered on maintenance of the same ships that had carried them across the Pacific, and as was the case in the western Pacific, the work force within the port was highly diverse. Further, as in

[114] AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 9, fs. 1r-16r, 19r (1757).

the Philippines, Costa Grande chinos served as lookouts and contended with the pirates and contraband commerce seemingly endemic to the Spanish empire in the Pacific. Some of their activities helped support the inter-viceregal trade which emerged at the same time as the galleon trade. Here, too, Filipino mariners employed similar strategies of resistance to maritime labor, fleeing at timely opportunities to the sparsely-settled lagoons and cacao plantations of the Costa Grande, though their situation in New Spain differed from central Luzon in that they did not find communities in which they could melt into the surrounding populace. Also familiar would be the way that local communities incorporated vagamundos through marriage and local religious celebrations. Chinos married Nahua-speaking women, and Afro-Mexicans, further connecting with local populations by celebrating local patron saint festivals and joining local confraternities.

The Filipinos who constituted the majority of the migrant community of the Costa Grande faced intersecting systems of coercive labor on both sides of the Pacific. They resisted this colonial control by fleeing particularly oppressive situations, taking advantage of the fairly low population density of the Spanish Pacific. In the Philippines, the Spanish worked to collect their agricultural produce through tribute, but developed grafted new forms of labor appropriation with the advent of the wars with the Dutch. Chinos fled these demands as families in the Philippines, forming new communities of migrants. In Mexico, too, the Spanish forced Filipinos to work as mariners. Here, too, Filipinos fled, though usually as individuals. These Filipinos, called chinos by the Spanish, migrated to cacao plantations where it appeared that they first began their work as casual laborers. Later, using Asian stills, chinos made coconut brandy. Soon enough, the Spanish transferred the debt peonage system they used for Mexican indigenous people to chinos*,* trying to keep them as laborers. Almost simultaneously with the growth of debt peonage and following Afro-Mexican precedents, chinos founded small communities called

ranchos in which they controlled their own production for at least part of the year. On these settlements, chinos began criollo lineages, but also worked and formed relationships with Mexican indigenous people and Afro-Mexicans.

In other ways, the environment presented new challenges. The cattle and cacao-based economy they interacted with in the Costa Grande would have appeared to be a much wilder place than the comparatively dense populations of riverine and lacustrine central Luzon. . Epidemics had apparently devastated the Mesoamerican coastal lowlands at the same time that demand boomed for one of its most important products, cacao. Costa Grand entrepreneurs from a variety of ethnicities responded to the demand by seizure and purchase of the lands of the now-diminutive local population centers. Labor proved to be an impediment to expansion and hacendados emplyed a variety of methods to obtain labor, from employment of African and Asian slaves, to the imposition of labor drafts on local indigenous people. They attempted to take advantage of the flight of chinos, employing them on their estates, and chinos seemingly took advantage of the situation to evade a potentially-lethal trans-Pacific career. Some chinos went to work distilling alcohol with Southeast Asian technology, but many others found employment in other tasks, from muleteers to cacao harvesters.

Contact with other central Luzon people, though present, was more episodic in the Costa Grande than in Manila, and it depended on the vagaries of galleon traffic. Continuing contact helped spread news and gossip from the homeland, but these homosocial relationships, though valuable, did not allow complete reproduction of central Luzon society in the Americas. Familiar with multiethnic communities, chino men intermarried with the people that they encountered on the cacao hacienda, both indigenous women from local communities, as well as with Afro-Mexicans. The houses they built on the perimeters of the immense cacao haciendas

helped form the rancho communities that dominated Costa Grande production after South American cacao began to lower the profitability of large cacao holdings. These new ranchos became oriented towards share-cropped cotton production, but the inhabitants of the communities continued to sustain connections with the indigenous pueblos situated outside of haciendas as well as with the South Seas military-commercial complex centered in Acapulco. Finally, chinos on the Costa Grande helped create and sustain the commercial route known as the *Camino de China*, the road which linked the peripheral Pacific Coast to the commercial hub and civil and ecclesiastical administrative center of the viceroyalty, central Mexico. It is the experiences of the substantial number of chinos which traveled through and settled within central Mexico to which we will now move.

CHAPTER 6: ARTISANS, ESCLAVOS AND EXTRAVAGANTES: CHINOS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

On January 31, 1623, municipal officials in the city of Mexico began recruiting of the galleons anchored in Acapulco. By February 9, they had secured the contracts of several mariners and grumetes, including several chinos. Domingo Pérez, a chino tin worker (*latonero*) who worked near the street of San Agustín in the city of México, agreed to be the bondsman (*fiador*) of one of these chinos, Gerónimo Laya (See Figure 15). Pérez pledged to pay the Crown the full salary of Laya, should he flee. Crown officials then recorded the names, places of birth, and identifying marks of the recruits. Laya claimed to have been born in Manila to an indigenous principal, don Juan Lansangan, probably a speaker of Tagalog or Kapampangan. We do not know much about Laya, aside from his place of birth and his apparent status as one of many chino residents of the city, but we can surmise from his description that he had a tough life. He had only one eye; nonetheless, recruiters noted that he seemed rational in aspect (*cuerdo*) and fairly fit (*de buen cuerpo*), and was therefore capable of undertaking his duties. We can presume that soon after these events Laya undertook grueling two-week journey to Acapulco on the back of a mule and returned to the land of his birth.[1]

The very different circumstances of Laya and Pérez reflect part of the variety of social interactions, institutional affiliations, and mobility patterns of chino residents in central Mexico and particularly, the city of México, the center of the largest population of chinos within the mainland viceroyalty. This diversity of residence and labor performed by the chinos of central

[1] AGN, AHH, v. 1238, exp. 2, fs. 109r, 122v-124r (1623).

The generals and captains of the galleons anchored in Acapulco relied on colonial officials and newly-commissioned commanding officers in the the city of Mexico to recruit lower-status mariners. See *Ibid*., 50r-100v (1623). Treasury administrators prioritized the enlistment of soldiers, which they put to work in the fortresses of the torrid climates of the South China Sea, defending the Iberian empire in Asia.

His father was probably either Kapampangan or Tagalog, as records of the officeholders of central Luzon teemed with similar names. See, for example, AGI, Filipinas, 47, N. 57, f. 4v (1622); and FHLGSU, MF# 1126951, Lubao Matrimonios, Item 1, f. 48r (1633).

Mexico sharply differed from residence patterns, occupational preferences, and even corporate organization of chinos on the Pacific Coast. The case of Laya shows the mobility of chinos in New Spain, many of whom traveled in or through the city of Mexico. As the viceregal capital with a population approaching one hundred thousand people, the city of Mexico and more broadly, central Mexico, acted as an important terminus for goods and people traveling from the Pacific. It also served a waypoint for migrants and itinerants from the Atlantic World making their way to Asia. As we will see, chinos and other itinerant workers used the city to travel to other parts of the viceroyalty or Spanish America. Itinerant workers, both free and enslaved, moved in and out of the capital.[2]

At the same time, the example of Pérez shows that some Asian itinerants settled in the city of México. Hundreds, possibly thousands of chinos, enslaved and free, started businesses, married or formed informal unions, and raised families in the capital between the years of 1565 and 1720. A large proportion of these chinos were natives of the Philippines. This is understandable given that Tagalogs, Kapampangans, and Ilocanos formed a large majority of workers in Cavite, the pool from which were selected sailors of the galleons. The historians Oropeza and Seijas have also found that a large proportion of chinos, possibly a majority, were slaves when they arrived in central Mexico. Their offspring were chino creoles, that is to say, American-born chinos that were likely to have been freed. As the viceregal capital, the city of Mexico served as a center for the accumulation and deployment of merchant capital, administrative activity, and ecclesiastical administration (See Figures 14 and 18). The residents of México performed all of this activity in part because of the crucial role played by the city in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world. Through its primary Atlantic port, Veracruz, Mexico

[2] For the population of Mexico City in the seventeenth century, see Antonio Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, el convento* (México, D. F.: CONACULTA, 1998), 35; and Jonathan I. Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico: 1610-1670* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

served as an important consumer of slaves wrested from all parts of West and East Africa, but especially Senegambia, Guinea, the Bay of Biafra, Angola, Kongo, and Mozambique. Creole merchants and those of of Spanish, Portuguese, Genovese, Dutch, and French descent formed both temporary partnerships (*compañías*) and major firms in the capital, exchanging European cloth, wine, olive oil, and furniture for silver, dyestuffs, cattle hides. Asian commodities, too, were both consumed within and exported out of the viceroyalty.[3]

This chapter builds on previous scholarship which have documented the variety of occupations exercised by chinos, recorded the wide range of origins, and chronicled colonial

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[3] Déborah Oropeza Keresey estimates, conservatively, that over seven thousand two hundred and twenty-seven chinos traveled through, migrated through, or were brought to, New Spain, in the years 1565-1700. Of these, she suggests three thousand, three hundred and sixty were members of the ship crew, and over three thousand, six hundred were slaves. She suggests of this number, about five thousand chinos stayed in New Spain. Moreover, she posits that of these travelers, only twenty percent were women. Of these individuals, she found over sixteen hundred to have traveled to the city of Mexico. See Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 78, 107, 188. In her own study of chinos, Tatiana Seijas estimated that eight thousand, four hundred chinos arrived in New Spain during the same period. She found eight hundred and nineteen chinos in the city of Mexico, her primary region of analysis. Her estimates of the percentage of women in this population generally match that of Oropeza Keresey. See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 12, 72, 149-151. For the proportion of Filipinos to other workers in Cavite, and proportion of creoles from the Philippines compared to other origins within the city of Mexico, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 18-19, 59, 119.

For the prevalence of informal unions among the working classes and poor of the colonial city of Mexico, see Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 68.

For Spanish merchant networks and merchants in Mexico City, see Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, "From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520-1590 and Beyond," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* LVII (2000): 41-68; and Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991).

For early work on the African origins of Afro-Mexicans and other people of African descent in Mexico, see Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México: Estudio Etnohistórico* (Veracruz, México: Universidad Veracruzana, 1989 [1946]), 99-103, 115-116, 118, 121, 137-139; Love, "Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial Mexico City Parish," 79-91; and Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 19-24.

More recent work has sought to link slave origins to behavior and social practices in the New World. See for example, Jane Landers,"The Central African Presence in Spanish Maroon Communities," 227-241, and Robert W. Slenes, "The Great Porpoise-Skull Strike: Central African Water Spirits and Slave Identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro," 183-208, both in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Reis and Galotti Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina," 77-110; and Proctor, *"Damned Notions of Liberty,"* 46-56, 77-84.

For African ethnicity and social affinity in New Spain, see Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*; Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 86-90.

For analyses of the importation of Asian commodities into colonial Mexico and Peru, and the meaning of their comsumption, see Chapters 3 and 5; Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785*; Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y Perú*; and *Asia & Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850*, eds. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009).

legislation. This study traces the most important paths taken by mobile chinos into and out of the city of Mexico, and establishes routes of social mobility employed by chinos who settled in the capital. Chinos who settled in central Mexico faced different social and economic conditions than those in western Mexico and the Costa Grande where chinos were concentrated in rural spaces and occupations. Chinos in central Mexico instead took advantage of the concentration of churches and convents to construct social networks around urban religious institutions and ceremonies.[4]

Slaves made up an important part of the chino population, and this chapter will consider some of the varieties of their experiences, as well. This chapter confirms the findings of some scholars that the abolition of chino slavery in the 1670s ushered a shift in the connotations of the ethno-juridical identity of chinos and the relationship of enslaved chinos to the broader population of chinos. The proximity of urban chinos to colonial institutions made the manumission process in central Mexico more successful than emancipation in the colonial peripheries of the Costa Grande and the Philippines. It also helped contribute to the construction of a chino identity not tainted with the mark of bondage. In fact, the as the seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth century began, the term chino came to exclude enslaved individuals.[5]

This chapter also examines the ways that chinos engaged with different colonial institutions, especially the General Indian Court (*Juzgado General de Indios*), run by the Real Audiencia and the archdiocesan court for indigenous disputes (*Provisorato de Indios y Chinos*). In addition to the Inquisition, chinos also interacted in a more quotidian way with the curates and

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[4] Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 35-67; Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," *passim*; and Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'"; and Phillip Anthony Ramírez, "Asian Identities in Seventeenth-Century Colonial Mexico" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007). The latter adds an original analysis of the Japanese experience in colonial Mexico. I thank Philip Ramírez for bringing his thesis to my attention.

[5] Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 74, 111.

mendicants of the Catholic parishes of the city and the rest of central Mexico. Over the course of these interactions, chinos deployed, contested, and shaped the fictive category of "chino." Several historians have observed the arbitrariness and nebuliousness of this ethno-juridical category; it encompassed individuals from a wide range of religious, ethnolinguistic, and geographical background. In central Mexico, the term referred most often to people of Southeast Asian and South Asian provenance, but this category also included, at various moments, individuals from as widely separate regions as East Africa and East Asia.[6]

In any moment of the seventeenth century, chinos probably composed less than one percent of the population of a city reaching a population of one hundred thousand. Given their small population and impediments to mobility found in many enslaved populations, it is perhaps unsurprising that scholars have found ample evidence of relationships between chinos and people of other ethno-juridical groups. Chinos were drops in a multiracial sea. More startling, is the fact that, despite these obstacles, chinos created extensive intra-chino networks. As the first chapters of this project, and the work of Tatiana Seijas, and Déborah Oropeza Keresey have shown, despite their variety, marriage records and Inquisition records indicate that many chino individuals often shared common experiences. Even if not born there, chinos often resided in central Luzon for several years and all had to endure an arduous and often lethal transpacific passage. I show the ways chinos used these shared experiences, forming corporate groups and

[6] A few chinos actually had been born in southeastern China, but these seemed to have been recognized as different, and were labeled sangley. See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2173, exp. 10 (1631); FHLGSU, MF# 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Item 1, f. 96v (1669); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 1, f. 23r (1673). Similarly, Japanese individuals were almost always classified separately from chinos. See FHLGSU, MF# 35132, Bautismos de castas 1603-...610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 1, f. 96v (1608); and *Ibid*., Item 2, fs, 1v, 4v-5r (1617).

Seijas stresses the ethnic heterogeneity and profusion of origins of chinos, a characteristic especially true of slaves. See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 12, 16-18. Indeed, as Seijas and Oropeza show, chino and china slaves suffered under extremely harsh treatment and even torture, but they also affiliated with non-slave chinos who, while still constrained, were better able to eke out a living under colonial exploitation. Their subjugated status of chinos and their emergence from a colonial crucible of conjured ethno-juridical difference did not prevent chinos, especially "free" ones from building community. Indeed, many other colonial peoples created community and ethnic identifiers under even more trying conditions.

intra-chino social relationships of their own volition, in some cases, literally fighting for their place in this urban colonial order. Consultation of parish records demonstrates considerable numbers of families with several chino members, contradicting assertions by some scholars that suggest the invention of the category of "chino" by colonial authorities precluded the possibility that Filipinos and other Asians would identify with it. In this way, chinos behaved rather like Afro-Mexicans, who also formed marriages and informal relationships based on categories such as "negro" and "mulato" which did not exist in Africa, but nonetheless wre partially constructed by these subjects in the course of transoceanic voyages and colonial ethnic descrimination.[7]

Despite the quite small proportion of chinos as part of the total population, their far-flung settlement throughout central Mexico, and the high proportion of chino men to china women, chinos managed to form endogamous relationships, but even in exogamous marriages, they found other ways to produce chino lineages and form collateral alliances. Chinos formed corporate organizations, especially cofradías, and business partnerships that gathered together enslaved and freed chinos, as well as from Asian and American birthplaces. Chinos in the city of Mexico and the rest of central Mexico took a different approach to forging these communities than did their co-ethnics living in western Mexico and the Costa Grande. The physical spaces and social institutions of the city, especially the extensive Roman Catholic infrastructure, shaped a different set of relationships than had the more peripheral modes of economic, religious, and

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[7]For the conditions of passage, and the basis of this shipboard experience for social bonding among chinos, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 118. Such bonding based on shipboard companionship and previous acquaintance in the Philippines accords well with the testimony of chinos in western Mexico and the Costa Grande. See Chapters 4 and 5. For marital exogamy and multiracial interaction, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios chinos," 119; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 116-121, and *passim*.

For institutional histories of the Juzgado General and the Provisorato, see Woodrow Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: university of California Press, 1983): and Jorge E. Trasloheros Hernández, *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad en la Nueva España: La audiencia del arzobispado de México, 1528-1668* (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 2004). Other works seek to explain the ways that the indigenous, Afro-Mexican, and other colonial subjects viewed and utilized these institutions to further their own goals. See Brian Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 116-125, and *passim*.

political institutions of the coasts. Chinos petitioned civic institutions such as the Royal Audiencia and litigated in the Juzgado General de Indios, and Provisorato de Indios y Chinos (Figure 15). They also worked in service occupations in petty commerce and barbering, as well as artisanry and cloth manufacture aimed at supplying urban markets. The profusion of churches and convents rendered visible the widespread participation and affinities formed through through receipt and sponsoring of Roman Catholic sacraments such as baptism and marriage.

The records describing the relationship of two chinos, Pérez and Laya, indicate other characteristics of intra-chino social relationships in central Mexico. First, Mexico City was a locus of settlement for chinos. While outnumbered by non-chinos, the large concentration of chino settlement allowed chino-centered credit and social networks. The formation of these networks proceeded from the adoption of chino as an ethno-juridical category of affinity and identification. Chinos used their ethno-juridical category to obtain resources, but this identifier also had roots in common experience of residence on the Pacific Coast as a chino and experiences as "indios" in central Luzon and on the trans-Pacific passage. Two, while chinos labored in the city of Mexico, in many ways, their occupations resembled that of the surrounding multi-racial plebe more than it did the precedents of their labor in the Philippines. In this way, they diverged from their coastal Pacific brethren, who drew more obviously from insular Southeast Asian technologies such as distillation and traditions such as debt peonage. While some chinos of central Mexico exercised occupational specialties, the vast majority of chinos shared occupational categories and space with other members of the plebe, encouraging different sorts of cross-cultural relationships than those enjoyed on the coast.

Chinos were drawn to central Mexico and the city of Mexico, as this region played important roles in the Spanish Pacific empire. The inhabitants of Central Mexico helped

redistribute labor, goods, and capital to and from the Pacific periphery. We can see this in the movements of members of the clergy, imperial administration, sailors, soldiers, muleteers, peddlers, and prisoners to and from Asia. Chinos straddled several of these categories of transpacific travelers. A corollary to this movement of people and goods was that these mobile individuals, including chinos, exchanged and created information and knowledge. Chinos participated in these informational networks. Chinos came to the capital or were brought there against their will because of the economic, religious, and administrative centrality of central Mexico. For many chinos, "all roads led to the city of Mexico."[8]

Geography

Central Mexico is a product of many years of volcanic activity, with a varied topography and hydrology and correspondingly diverse microclimates. Much of central Mexico is a raised upland (*altiplano*), topped by even higher mountain ranges, and carved by rivers flowing from these mountains. The latter have created important alluvial valleys and basins which historically have been the most important areas of human settlement. Of these, the most important to the chino settlement was the Basin of Mexico. The Basin itself is surrounded by high volcanoes which prevent water from leaving the depression, allowing the formation of several important highland lakes, such as the famous Lake Texcoco, around which people have created the great

[8]For travel to and from Asia, see Clossey "Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific." For merchant capital of New Spain and its employment in the Pacific, see Guillermina de Valle Pavón, "Los mercaderes de México y la transgresión de los límites al comercio Pacífico en Nueva España, 1550-1620," *Revista de Historia - Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History,* 23, Supplement 1 (2005): 213-240; and Katherine Bjork, "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571-1815," *Journal of World History* 9, no. 1 (1998): 25-50.

For a study of a slightly later period, but one which takes into account the importance of family enterprise and the movement of information in Pacific mercantile activity, see Catherine T. Goode, "Power in the Peripheries: Family Business and the Global Reach of the 18th-Century Spanish Empire" (PhD Diss., University of Arizona, 2012). For the economic aspects of city supply and colonial road networks, see Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, el* convento; and Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society*, *passim*.

settlements and city-states of Cuicuilco, Teotihuacan, Culhuacán, Texcoco, and lastly, Tenochtitlán, and the city of Mexico (See Figures 14 and 16).[9]

The human and ecological region of central Mexico extended beyond the Basin of Mexico. A large valley to the east, known as the Valley of Puebla, contains the beds of the Atoyac, and Atlixco rivers, exploited by the important Classic period city-states of Cacaxtla-Xochitecatl, Cholula, Tlaxcala, and later, the colonial city of Puebla (See Figure 14). Northwest of these valleys of Puebla, the high plateaus of the altiplano first ascend to another high belt of volcanic mountains, among them, Mexico's highest peak, Orizaba, and later descend towards the Gulf of Mexico. On the Gulf Coast, the important river of Coatzacoalcos flows from southern Mesoamerica; around it, coastal lagoons hosted numerous resources exploited by the Olmecs, Maya, Totonac, and eastern Nahuas. The Spanish founded the port city of Veracruz (Figures 8 and 14) on the coastal plan just northwest of this area. South of the Basin of Mexico, the volcanoes descend into the rich tropical basins of Cuernavaca and Cuautla de la Amilpas, in the present-day of Morelos. These lowlands and the Valley of Puebla led to important trade routes lead southward and eastward to the lowlands of Chiapas, Soconusco, the Valley of Oaxaca, and Tehuantepec. Along with these locales, trade routes from Morelos also lead first to the dry Balsas River valley, in northern Guerrero, and then to to the Coasta Grande. The Pacific coastal lowlands yielded luxury commodities such as conches, quetzal feathers, cotton, and cacao. Finally, in the west lay the valley of Toluca, inhabited by Nahuas and Matlazinca, who guarded the western borders of the Mexica from the Purépecha of the Tarascan Empire. Northward, the Valley of Mexico led into the increasingly dry lands of the present-day state of Hidalgo and the city-state (*altepetl*), of Metztitlán. This region was inhabited by Huastecas, Otomí, and other

[9] For an overview of the geography of central Mexico, see Arij Ouweneel, *Shadows after Anáhuac: An Ecological Interpretation of Crisis and Development in Central Mexico, 1730-1800* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 67-72. For the Basin of Mexico, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 1-2.

Nahuas. Cultivation of the agave plant (*maguey*) dominated these lands. The people of the northern reaches of the Basin fermented the sap of this plant and produced the mild intoxicant, octli, or pulque, consumed by urbanites in central Mexico.[10]

The colonial-era city of Mexico represented only part of the region of central Mexico, albeit its administrative, ecclesiasiastical, and commercial hub. Surrounding the city of Mexico in the Basin of Mexico were many important indigenous towns, which grew into centers of regional commerce, agriculture, and manufacture which served as locales in which chinos resided (See Figure 14). These included Xochimilco, a rich area of small farms in the southern Basin; Texcoco, a center of manufacturing and the carrying trade with the east; Sultepec, an important town in the northern Basin of Mexico through which goods were carried to western Mexico; and Coyoacán, a center of commerce and manufacture of wool cloth in small factories called obrajes. Further south and wester were silver mining centers such Taxco and Temascaltepec. Puebla de los Ángeles was a very important center of wheat-growing, and textile

[10] For Toluca, see James Lockhart, "Spaniard and Indian: The Example of late Sixteenth-Century Toluca," in *Provinces of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution*, eds. Ida Altman and James Lockhart (Los Angeles: University of California, Latin American Center Publications, 1976); and Ouweneel, *Shadows*, 69-70. For Puebla, see Rik Hoekstra, *Two Worlds Merging: The Transformation of Society in the Valley of Puebla, 1570-1640* (Amsterdam: Centrum voor Studie en Documentaie van Latjins Amerika [CEDLA], 1993), 5-6. 15-18. For the geography of lowland central and southern Veracruz, see Antonio García de León, *Tierra adentro, mar en fuera: el Puerto de Veracruz y su litoral a Sotavento, 1519-1821* (Xalapa, Veracruz: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011), 71-73, 76-77. For upland central Veracruz, see Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz, Race, Ethnicity, and Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001 [1991]), 1-3. For Hidalgo and its severe dessication during the colonial period, see Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21-22, 25-34. For Morelos, see Cheryl English Martin, *Rural Society in Colonial Morelos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 4-5; and Michael E. Smith, "Economic changes in Morelos Households," in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 252. For discussion of postclassic trade and tributary relations between southern Mesoamerica and the "core" of central Mexico, see José Fernando Robles Castellanos, "Eastern Mesoamerica before and during the Culhua Mexica Expansion," trans. Christine Hernández, in *Astronomers, Scribes and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period* , eds. Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández (Washington, D. D.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 37-62; and Antonio García de León, *Tierra adentro, mar en fuera: el Puerto de Veracruz y su litoral a Sotavento, 1519-1821* (Xalapa, Veracruz: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011), 19, 76-78. José Fernando Robles Castellanos, *Culhua Mexico. Una revisión arqueo-etnohistórica del imperio de los mexica tenochca.* (México, D. F.: INAH, 2007), 258, 270-272, 276-281. For overviews of the geography of the middle Balsas River Valley, especially Iguala, see Amith, *The Möbius Strip*, 36-43.

manufacture. For example in 1664, the small textile factories (*obrajes*) of Puebla supplied thousands of yards of paños to Acapulco, to clothe the prisoners and sailors which sailed to the Philippines. The latter city also helped redistribute products from the Gulf Coast port of Veracruz, and the southern edges of the viceroyalty, in Oaxaca and Guatemala. Chinos also inhabited the southern hot lands of Cuautla de las Amilpas, Yautepec, and Cuernavaca, as well as towns like Huitzuco that were strung on the road which carried Asian goods (*Camino de China*) between the jurisdictions of the city of Mexico and Acapulco.[11]

Before examining the initial entrance of chinos into central Mexico, and the ways that they forged community, we need to examine how Spaniards, indigenous people, and people of African descent helped construct spaces and institutions with important consequences for chino life. We must first look look at the human characteristics of this region. Central Mexico had long been a key site of settlement, and in particular of ethnic diversity, separated into barrios. The Spanish Crown and colonial administrators built upon these traditions of multiethnic

[11] For the mining areas of Taxco, and Sultepec, and Temascaltepec, as well as their relations to the Balsas River and central Mexico, see Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain,* 252-255, 267-270; and Brígida von Mentz, *Trabajo, sujeción y libertad en el centro de la Nueva España*, 188, 197. Dehouve, *Entre el caiman y el jaguar,* 60-70. For a social history of colonial Coyoacán, see Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

For Puebla and others textile manufacturing centers, see Viquiera and Urquiola, *Los obrajes en la Nueva*, 41-144. These obrajes began by relying on indigenous slaves and debt-servants (*tlacotin*), and continued to rely on varieties of coerced labor into century. For Puebla and its relationship to the supply of men and goods for the galleon, see AGI, México, 40, N. 8, exp. 3, f. 2r (1664), and below.

For the importance of the Camino de China, see Edurné Farías Escalera, "Los caminos de tierra adentro del suroeste novohispano y el comercio de la Nao de China en el siglo XVI" (Master's Thesis, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2007. Biblioteca Virtual de la Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo. http://bibliotecavirtual.dgb.umich.mx:8083/jspui/bitstream/123456789/8457/1/LOSCAMINOSDETIERRAADENTRODELSUROESTENOVOHISPANOYELCOMERCIODELANOADECHINAENELSIGLOXVI.pdf), 91-122. For the Camino as a locus of chino settlement, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios chinos,'" 105-107; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 129.

For Cuernavaca's role in the Camino de China, see AGN, Indios, v. 9, exp. 130, f. 65r (1619); and AGN, Indios, v. 13, exp. 169, f. 157r (1641). As an important Franciscan parish on the road to Acapulco, the friars of Cuernavaca commemorated the sixteenth-century martyrdom of Japanese Catholics and Franciscan missionaries on a mural in the cathedral which still stands. See María Elena Ota Mishima, "Un mural novohispano en la cathedral de Cuernavaca: Los veintiseis mártires de Nagasaki," *Estudios de Asia y Africa* 16, no. 4 (1981): 675-697. For Balsas River communities' role in supply and labor for the Camino de China, see Chapter 5. For Xochimilco, see Richard Conway, "Nahuas and Spaniards in the socioeconomic history of Xochimilco, New Spain, 1550-1725" (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 2009).

management, urbanism, communal labor, and tributary economies, adding their own concerns with ethnic segregation, administrative control, fiscal administration and religious conformity. It was on this scaffolding that chinos, as colonial subjects, constructed their own range of circumscribed relationships.

Tributary Empires

From a very early time, various populations occupied the Basin of Mexico and the surrounding valleys and lakes of central Mexico. These inhabitants helped create multilingal and diverse communities which exchanged ideas and attracted migrants for centuries. They formed communities first based on gathering, but later added agriculture and fishing to take advantage of the lacustrine amenities of the Basin. Linguists and archaeologists contend that these groups came from a variety of ethnolinguistic backgrounds. They included, but were not limited to speakers of Oto-Pamean languages such as Otomí and Matlatzinca, as well as Mayan and Nahuatl speakers. The agriculturalists who founded cities and communities in Mesoamerica relied on a mix of game, foraged food, and crops such as beans, maize, and squash. They were reliant on obsidian tools, which yielded fine edges, though fragile blades.[12]

By the second century of the Common Era, a number of groups had constructed the multiethnic city of Teotihuacán, in the far northeast of the Valley. The extent to which later

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[12]For a summary of the different groups which peopled the Basin of Mexico over time, see in, Jorge Angulo, "The Government of Early Teotihuacan," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica: Transformations during the Formative and Classic Periods,* eds. Vernon L. Scarborough and John E. Clark (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 84, 88-90; and Frances F. Berdan and Michael E. Smith, "The Evolution of a Core Zone: The Basin of Mexico,"in *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, eds. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 238-242.

For the classic and epiclassic period, see, among many others, Christopher Beekman, "Comments on Kaufman and Justeson: 'The History of the Word for Cacao in Ancient Mesoamerica,'" *Ancient Mesoamerica* 21, no. 2 (2010): 415-441.

For the peopling of Teotihuacan and its settlement patterns, see Jeffrey R. Parsons, "The Development of A Prehistoric Complex Society: A Regional Perspective from the Valley of Mexico," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (1974): 93, 96, 98; and George Cowgill, "The Urban Organization of Teotihuacan, Mexico," in *Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007): 261-295.

societies sought to imitate and emulate this state, like that of the Olmecs before them, mark Teotihuacán as a "charter state," after which subsequent societies. In fact, its fluorescence and later decline would mark for Western archaeologists the beginning of the "Classic Period" of Mesoamerican civilization. This city, full of monumental architecture, might have been the largest city in the Western Hemisphere, until its decline in the sixth century CE. Settlers and inhabitants of the city inhabited barrios and districts divided by ethnicity, occupations, and divisions as yet unknown. These barrios included Tlaitlocan, inhabited by Zapotecs; an eastern "merchants' barrio," with apparent ties to communities in the Gulf Coast; and residents from Michoacán. In turn, the Zapotec center of Monte Albán housed inhabitants from Teotihuacan.[13]

In the wake of this city's decline, in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Common Era, and through Spanish contact, new urban and ceremonial centers gained influence, exhibiting influences from a number of different regional artistic styles and iconographies. These languages of rulership and religiosity demonstrated by artists of different city-states manifested in their writing, art, and architecture the interactions of people from a variety of ethnicities and cultural heritages. Urban centers, among them Tula, in Hidalgo, named their settlements after the term Tollan, which referred to "a place of the reeds" or "a place where men are as numerous as reeds." Consequently, when this smaller center of Tula declined in the twelth century CE, it was succeeded by a number of urban centers referred to as Tollan, located in eastern central

[13] For the foreign barrios of Teotihuacan, see Evelyn Childs Rattray, "Nuevas interpretaciones en torno al Barrio de Comerciantes," *Anales de Antropología* 25, no. 1 (1988): 165-180; and Michael W. Spence, Christine C. White, Evelyn C. Rattray, and Frederick J. Longstaffe, "Past Lives in Different Places: The Origins and Relationships of Teotihuacan's Foreign Residents," in *Settlement, Subsistence, and Social Complexity: Essays Honoring the Legacy of Jeffrey Parsons*, ed. Richard E. Blanton (Los Angeles: Coten Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2005), 155-197.

For Teotihuacan residence in Monte Albán, see Arthur A. Joyce, *The Mixtecs, Zapotecs and Chatinos: Ancient Peoples of Southern Mexico* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 203-206. For charter states, see Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830, Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 23, 25.

Mexico, such as Cholula, Coixtlahuaca, and Anáhuac, on the Gulf Coast. [14]

Social interactions during the twelth-century decline of Tula helped lead to the more familiar ethnic configurations of the contact era. The inhabitants of north-central Mexican civilization fled from an increasingly dry climate, and migrated southward. Their descendants would form the nuclei of the groups and polities which ruled central Mexico at the time of Spanish contact. These peoples, many of them who became speakers of Otomí and Nahuatl, founded settlements, and over time, states, in the lush valleys and lakes of the wetter areas of central Mexico. These migrants brought with them their own religious traditions and modes of warfare, but also settlers adopted pan-Mesoamerican symbols and modes of political comportment, which enabled them to assimilate subsequent migrants. In the process, these groups created a set of distinctions between themselves and the newcomers from the arid north, who they dubbed as "Chichimecs." In the coming years, they tended to label anyone behaving in proper (i.e. settled, Mesoamerican) ways as Toltec, or heir to Tula, and the other city-states which had preceded them in central Mexico. One of the most important sites in the Valley of

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[14] For highland-lowland interaction during the early Postclassic, or Epiclassic, period, see Geofrey G. McCafferty, "So What Else is New? A Cholula-Centric Perspective on Lowland/Highland Interaction during the Classic/Postclassic Transition," in *Twin Tollans: Chichen Itza, Tula & the Epiclassic to Early Postclassic Mesoamerican World,* eds. Jeff Karl Kowalski and Cynthia Kristan-Graham (Washingtington D. C: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), 449-479.

For the multiple "Tulas" that predated that of Hidalgo, and a treatment of Postclassic migrations, see José Fernando Robles Castellanos, "Eastern Mesoamerica before and during the Culhua Mexica Expansion," trans. Christine Hernández, in *Astronomers, Scribes and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period*, eds. Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 37-62.

For an interpretation that suggests that the Coyotlatelco pottery were Nahuas, see Christopher S. Beekman, and Alexander F. Christensen, "Controlling for Doubt and Uncertainty Through Multiple Lines of Evidence: A New Look at the Mesoamerican Nahua Migrations," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 10, no. 2 (2003): 111-164.

For the settlement of Tula and its fluorescence as an urban center, see Dan M. Healen, "The Archaeology of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico," *Journal of Archaeolgical Research* 20 (2012): 53-115, especially 74-83, 100-102.

Mexico was the lakeside town of Culhuacán, whose ruling familias proudly traced their lineage to the Tula of northern central Mexico.[15]

One of the incoming groups were the Mexica, who traced their origins to areas of northwestern Mexico. They were relative latecomers to the Valley of Mexico, and settled land in the hinterland of Culhuacán between 1100 and 1200 CE. Ever marginal, the Mexica hired themselves out as mercenaries. They divided themselves into the Tenochca, who founded the city of Tenochtitlán, and the Tlatelolca, who built the smaller polity of Tlatelolco; the Tenochca were more powerful. The Tenochca began to intermarry with prestigious ruling families of "Toltec" city-states (*altepeme*) such as that of Culhuacán. According to legend, the Mexica in some way offended their patrons and relocated to an island in the center of Lake Texcoco, which they expanded, building large temples to the god that they had brought from the northwest, Huitzilpotchli, and the rain or water god, Tlaloc, long part of religious activity in central Mexico.[16]

The colonial-era organization of the city of Mexico drew on the fourteenth-century organization of the city of Tenochtitlán, which was divided into five districts. The sacred center harbored a twin-temple devoted to Huitzilpotchtli and Tlaloc. The leaders of the city (*huey tlatoani*) built their palaces next to this precinct. Four districts (*campan* or *ynauhcanpaixti*)

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[15] For discussion of early Nahua migration, see Christopher Beekman, "Multiple Lines of Evidence." Jorge Angulo, "Early Teotihuacan and Its Government," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica: Transformations during the Formative and Classic* Periods, eds. Vernon L. Scarborough and John E. Clark (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 83-99. For Culhuacán, see Sara L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 3-6. For discussions of the origins and ambiguities of distinctions made between Toltecs and Chichimecs, see Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*, Third Edition (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 2012): 39; and Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 15-16, 23, 362; and Carlos Viramontes Anzures, *De chichimecas pames y jonaces. Los recolectores-cazadores del semi-desierto Querétaro* (México, D. F.: INAH, 2000), 33-48, cited in Christopher Beekman, "Comments on Kaufman and Justeson," 415, *op cit*.

[16] For the Culhua, and their Mexica alliance and conflicts, see Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*, Third Edition (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 2012): 45-48. For Huitzilpochtli, Tlaloc, and twin temple architecture, see *Ibid*., 42-45, 205-206, 208

surrounded the central district, which followed the four cosmic directions: Cuepopan, to the northwest; Atzacualco, to the northeast; Moyotlan, to the southwest; and Teopan, to the southeast. Each of these, following previous Mesoamerican models, seemed to have been divided into neighborhoods (*tlaxilacalli*). Each district had a corresponding temple complex, and tlaxilcalli hosted shrines for neighborhood deities. By using canoes rather than human porters (*tlameme*s/*tamemes*), and through military victories, the Tenochca were able to transform the Basin of Mexico into an engine of expansion. They instituted a system of tribute which enabled them to collect all the foodstuffs and bulky goods that they needed from lakeshore towns, so that they could transform the city into a producer of finished goods. They also conquered markets and expanded the reach of an indigenous class of long-distance merchants (*pochtecas*), who made Tenochtitlán the center of consumption of luxury goods in Mesoamerica. This made the island kingdom indispensable as a source of finished goods for the rest of Mesoamerica. [17]

A king or "great speaker" (*huey tlatoani*) ruled over the Tenochca. The Tenochca forged powerful alliances, and eventually an empire, beginning from their familial alliance with Culhuacán and demonstrations of their martial prowess. In 1428, they founded the "Triple

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[17] For an extensive analysis of the importance of lacustrine transportation for the growth of Nahua polities in the Valley of Mexico, see Ross Hassig, *Trade, Tribute, and Transportation: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 1-150.

For a discussion of the tlaxilacalli, and the four subdivisions of Tenochtitlán, see Smith, *The Aztecs*, 190-193; William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1530-1730* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 17, 193, n. 1, 203-204, ns. 64-65; Jonathan G. Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan: Religious Practice and Faith and La Capilla de San Josef de los Naturales, 1523-1700" (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 2011), 14-15, n. 3, 16-20, 65-66; Luis Reyes García, *¿Cómo te confundes? ¿Acaso no somos conquistados? Anales de Juan Bautista* (México, D. F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2001), 182-183, 185; Emily Umberger, "Art and Imperial Strategy in Tenochtitlan," in *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, ed. Frances Berdan (Dumbarton Oaks: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 86; and Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "Los territorios parroquiales de la ciudad arzobispal, 1325-1981," *Gaceta official del Arzobispado de México* (1982): 152-157. Hassig, *Trade, Tribute, and Transportation*, 145-156. For the common presence of neighborhoods in Mesoamerican societies, see Michael E. Smith and Juliana Novic, "Introduction: Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Mesoamerica," in *The Neighborhood as a Social and Spatial Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*, eds. M. Charlotte Arnauld, Linda R Manzanilla, and Michael E. Smith (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

Alliance," a grouping of three altepeme: Tlacopan, the old Nahua cultural center of Texcoco, and Tenochtitlán, the most powerful ally.[18]

The Triple Alliance began their conquests early in the fifteenth century, conquering states in the present-day state of Morelos, a region of rich agricultural production, especially of cotton. Over time, the Triple Alliance extended its conquests into the present-day states of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Veracruz, on the Gulf Coast. Later, the Mexica conquered Pacific territories, including Soconusco, a cacao producing province on the border with Guatemala, as well as Cihuatlán, an area that included most of the present-day Costa Grande. Several confederations and states thwarted the more grand conquests of the Tenochca. To the south, the Yopes around present-day Acapulco thwarted the unification of the southern Pacific Coast. To the east, the Nahuatl states and altepeme of Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, and Cholula similarly resisted the expansion of Triple Alliance hegemony (See Figure 14). Finally, in the fifteenth century, the Tarascan Empire defeated the westward expansion of Triple Alliance, and the Nahua-ruled Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, also resisted Mexica dominance.[19]

It was the successful Triple Alliance, and in particular the powerful altepetl, Tenochtitlán, which faced Hernando Cortés, his Mesoamerican allies and assorted Spanish adventurers in 1519. For his part, Cortés necessarily emphasized the importance of gaining allies, and also

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[18] For the formation of the Triple Alliance, see Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*, 49-50, 163-164. Other scholars see the term "alliance" as a fiction which masked Tenochca dominance. See José Fernando Robles Castellanos, *Culhua Mexico. Una revisión arqueo-etnohistórica del imperio de los mexica tenochca.* (México, D, F.: INAH, 2007).

[19] For the conquests of the Triple Alliance, see Smith, *The Aztecs*, 50-59; Frances F. Berdan and Michael E. Smith, "The Aztec Empire," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica: Transformations during the Formative and Classic Periods*, eds. Vernon L. Scarborough and John E. Clark (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 67-72; and Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

For resistance to Aztec expansion by the Yopes, Purépecha, Tlaxcala, and Metztitlán, see Dehouve, *Entre el caiman y el jaguar*, 33-38; Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation; Pollard, "The Tarascan Empire," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica*, 79-80; Frances F. Berdan, "Borders in the Eastern Aztec Empire," in *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica*, 76; and Wayne Smyth Osborn, "A Community Study of Metztitlán, New Spain, 1520-1810" (PhD Diss., University of Iowa, 1970), 5-8.

obtaining skilled translators, a tactic used by Iberian interlopers across the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Malintzin, a Maya Chontal woman from eastern Mesoamerica fluent in Nahuatl, proved crucial to the efforts of Cortés in courting allies. After a few important battles, first the Cholutecans, then, the Tlaxcaltecans and other unconquered eastern Nahuas, allied with the Spanish. Even with the strength of tens of thousands of Huejotzincas, Cholultecans, and Tlaxcaltecans, Cortés and his allies had some setbacks. Cortés lost his captive, the huey tlatoani, Moctezuma, to stones thrown by his subjects, and the Tenocha drove Cortés from the city. Only after a prolonged siege, an outbreak of smallpox, and the construction of a small inland fleet, were the Tlaxcaltecans and Spanish able to defeat the Tenochca.[20]

Early Colonial Political Institutions

Cortés devoted the earliest years after the conquest of Tenochtitlán to erecting a municipal government, and reconstruction of Tenochtitlán, renamed after its Mexica inhabitants as the city of México. The redesign and reorientation of the economy of México-Tenochtitlán required the labor of thousands of Nahuas, both inside and outside of the Basin of Mexico. Spanish missionaries and civil officials ordered the destruction of the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlán, with its twin temple dedicated to Tlaloc and Huitzilpotchtli, as well as the palace of the tlatoani. Indigenous workers built a new Spanish-ruled city over its ruins. Missionaries, municipal councilmen, viceroys, and encomenderos, though often at odds, all appropriated indigenous labor. Around a large central plaza (*Plaza Mayor*) Nahua laborers constructed the buildings which housed colonial institutions: the metropolitan cathedral, the building housing the Spanish municipal council (*Ayuntamiento*), the viceregal palace, in which the highest civil

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[20] For Iberian negotiation and offensive strategies, and various indigenous responses, see Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil: 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006); Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da Gama* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

court (*Audiencia*) met, and later, the arcade under which merchants carried out important transactions (*los portales de los mercaderes*) (Figure 16). The ayuntamiento distributed solares to the new Spanish vecinos of the city. They designated the several square blocks at the urban center as the traza. Indigenous people were evicted from the center of the city, which was designated for Spanish settlers.[21]

Nahuas built civil buildings, but they also constructed ecclesiastical buildings, many of which were staffed by the missionary orders, regulars; the diocesan or secular clergy had its greatest strength in the cathedral. Nahuas built for the Franciscans an enormous convent and church just west of the central plaza. Within it, the parish of San Josef spiritually administered the Nahuas in the western sector of the city, and formed the titular head of the Nahua congregation of the city. Other missionary orders followed suit; most notably, the Dominican order commissioned a huge complex to the northeast of the Plaza Mayor (See Figure 15). It included a monastery and after 1571, the building in which the Spanish Inquisition conducted its investigations. The Augustinians built their main monastery to the south of the Plaza Mayor. Women, mainly Spanish, religious occupied other convents in the city. For example, women of the Franciscan order occupied the Santa Clara convent a few blocks from the Plaza Mayor, donated to them by Nahuas. Hospitals, in this period, locales for easing the passage of the dying to the hereafter, were also an important feature of the new colonial city. Missionaries founded schools for indigenous elites to learn about indigenous culture and inculcate leaders with colonial Catholic mores. The Franciscan order ran the most famous school, Santa Cruz, in Tlatelolco. In the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits erected a school and chapel called San Gregorio, in the

[21] See Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Reshaping New Spain: Government and Private Interests in the Colonial Bueraucracy, 1535-1550*, trans. Julia Constantino and Pauline Marmasse (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), on conflicts. See L. Mier y Terán Rocha, *La primera traza de la ciudad de México, 1524-1535* (México, D. F.: Fondo Cultural Económico, 2005).

western part of San Sebastián Atzacualco, to the east of the traza, also to educate the sons of indigenous principales. Churches, convents, and civic building often anchored plazas which hosted weekly markets, called tianguis.[22]

Spanish missionaries and civic leaders attempted to build a new colonial society in central Mexico on the social foundations of late postclassic Mesoamerica. As much as possible they based the jurisdictions of encomiendas, which were also the basis of tribute collection, on the altepeme that had supplied tribute to the Tenochca. Many of the urban indigenous residents of Tenochtitlán lacked access to arable land. So, like the indigenous inhabitants of Manila, founded later, the artisans, domestic servants, and other inhabitants of Tenochtitlán purchased agricultural produce and supplied the rest of their tribute in cash. The office of huey tlatoani of Tenochtitlán no longer existed, but after some years of tumult and dislocation, colonial officials replaced him with an indigenous gobernador which indigenous scribes at first labeled as *tlatoani*, though the gobernador had more circumscribed powers than the huey tlatoani. Colonial officials imposed a cabildo on Tenochtitlán and other central Mexican altepeme. Within the city of Mexico, nobility and leaders of the four subdivisions rotated in and out of the gobernador spot, and other offices, such as alcaldes, and regidores, composed the rest of the cabildo. Colonial

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[22] For the congregation of San Josef, see Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 3-4, 8, 20-22, 26-28, 30-35, 38-46, and *passim*.

For the negotiations and indigenous labor required for construction of monasteries, see Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Building a Visible Church: The Mexican Mission Enterprise in the Early Spanish Atlantic, 1521-1600" Volume II (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2009), 563-582. For the Colegio de Santa Cruz, in Tlatelolco, see Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Historia de la Educación en la Época Colonial: El mundo indígena* (México, D. F.: Colegio de México, 1990), 111-132. For San Gregorio, see *Ibid*., 163-169.

For the Dominican convent and Inquisition Tribunal building, see Daniel Ulloa H., *Los predicadores divididos: Los dominicos en Nueva España* (México, D. F.: El Colegio de México, 1977), 133.

For the Augustinian convent, see Alipio Ruiz Zavala, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesus de México* (México: D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 1984), 336; and Antonio Rubial García, *El convento agustino y la sociedad novohispana: 1533-1630* (México, D. F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1989), 158-159. For the donation of Santa Clara, see Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 34-35, 41, 44.

For the layout of civic buildings, including the markets, see Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, el convento,* 37-45.

For the roles of Catholic-run hospitals, convents, monasteries, and churches in the urban life of seventeenth-century Mexico, see *Ibid*., 121-161.

authorities used the title, tequitlato, to refer to officials who collected the tribute, and mobilized repartimiento labor for corvée tasks (*coatequitl* or *tequios*) such as the construction of municipal civic buildings, churches, and convents.[23]

Just as neighborhood temples had served as anchors for the identity of tlaxilacalli, so, too, did new Catholic parish churches, convents, and religious hierarchies serve as barometers of the pride and elements of social cohesión for the indigenous vecinos and migrants in the colonial tlaxilacalli and newly-reorganized pueblos. Churches and civic buildings anchored informal and formal social and economic activity, such as markets. Similarly, missionaries and curates assigned authority to a new set of indigenous officials, the fiscalía. They were responsible for instructing youth in Catholic doctrine and for ensuring that they attended Mass and turned catechizing out for religious festivals, a kind of mirror of pre-Hispanic religious practice. Even while they destroyed the sacred district of the center, colonial officials kept the quadripartite pre-Hispanic divisions, replacing the double-pyramid with the cathedral. Clerics reannointed the four subdivisions with patron saints, which also stood as the namesakes of the the new indigenous parish churches which served each parcialidad. These divisions were important because Spanish officials recognized them, and they helped set parameters for chino residence and organization in the city. The new Catholic rulers only partially renamed the following subdivisions, which they called barrios or partes: San Sebastián Atzaqualco, San Pablo Teopan, San Juan Moyotlán and Santa María de Redonda de Cuepopan. A range of lay indigenous

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[23]For the relationship of altepeme and encomiendas, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 49-78. Of course, Spanish administrators often confused indigenous political arrangements, or manipulated their configuration for their ends. So, too, did some subordinate polities use the conquest as a way to obtain autonomy.

For tlatoque and gobernadores, see Connell, *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1530-1730, passim*.

For the cabildo of San Juan Tenochtitlán, see *Ibid*., 3, 5, 7-9, 18-55, and *passim*.

For indigenous tribute collection in central Mexico, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 194-219. For specific tribute collection routes and institutions in San Juan Tenochtitlán, see Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 5, 19, 23, 25, 48, 52, and *passim*.

officers supported Spanish missionaries. Indigenous notaries recorded baptisms, deaths, and marriages, often in Nahuatl.[24]

In addition to the imprint of the Spanish colonial space and Renaissance urban planning, the city retained some features of Tenochca urban planning and governance. The Spanish continued to rely on the canals that crisscrossed the insular city, though they attempted to fill in some of them and drain some of the surrounding lake, an effort which they intensified after a series of floods in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Viceregal authorities called this draining project the Desagüe, which required the labor of tens of thousands of indigenous repartimiento and free laborers over several decades. Canoes continued to prove efficient ways to bring provisions to the city, though the use of horses and mules by the Spanish resulted in much more efficient terrestrial transportation than had been enjoyed under the Triple Alliance. Floods frequently threatened the capital, resulting in thousands of deaths, and the near abandonment of the capital for years after 1628, the year of an especially damaging flood.[25]

Lay religious leaders and organizations also acted as intermediaries between the colonial government and the indigenous inhabitants of central new Spain. In addition to religious

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[24] For transformation of the parcialidades into parishes, see Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "Los territorios parroquiales de la ciudad arzobispal, 1325-1981," 157-163; and Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 5, 9.

For churches as centers of Nahua neighborhood and altepetl pride, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 236-237, 257.

For fiscalias, see: Lidia E. Gómez García, "Las fiscalías en la Ciudad de los Ángeles, siglo xvii," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 173-195.

For indigenous officials, see Moreno de los Arcos, "Los territorios parroquiales de la ciudad arzobispal, 1325-1981," 156-163; and Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," *passim*.

[25] For Renaissance-era urban planning, see Jay Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2005), 23-27, 127-130; and Alberto Enrique Canchola Romero, "La Traza Novohispana de la ciudad de México: Herencia de una idea renacentista" (Master's Thesis: Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana, 2011, http://201.147.150.252:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/1775/1/ARTICULO%20FINAL.pdf).

For the floods and the response, an immense drainage program called the Desagüe, see Richard Boyer, "Mexico in the Seventeenth Century: Transition of a Colonial Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 477-478; Louisa Hoberman, "City Planning in Spanish Colonial Government: The Response of Mexico City to the Problem of Floods, 1607-1637" (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1972); and Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, el convento,* 11-14, 17, 22-23, 40, 49.

instructions, missionaries (*doctrineros*), and priest-administrators of parishes (*curas*) all facilitated colonial goals. These included incorporating indigenous nobility into the colonial hierarchy, policing the behavior of parishioners, subordinating indigenous labor to Spanish needs, and collecting tribute. Missionaries instituted offices for lay people, usually nobles; these indigenous nobles, enhanced with ecclesiastical prestige, assisted in the administration of the parishes. Fiscales were the most important officers. So high was this prestige that by the late sixteenth century, indigenous nobles in central Mexico often found the office of fiscal interchangeable with high-ranking civil offices. Alguaciles assisted the fiscales, helping to discipline parishioners. Additionally, indigeous nobility held the highest-ranking offices in the cofradías which celebrated the festivals of saints, paid for funerals, and in other ways expressed religious and community identity. Here, too, the highest-ranking officials in these religious organizations often succeeded civil officials, exercising authority in both realms.[26]

Indigenous civil officials retained authority. After a hiatus of several years, the cabildo elected its leader, first called a tlatoani, and then a gobernador, via a rotational scheme, with each parcialidad lending its leader for a span of time. Regidores and alcaldes rotated between the four subdivisions. Over time, the cabildo grew in size, with new officers added to the cabildo to cope with increased responsibilities. Among the officers added in the seventeenth century was the *alguacil de congregaciones and extravagantes*. This official collected tribute from *extravagantes*, a word that technically referred to indigenous people not incorporated into community tribute lists, but like its analog, vagamundo, seemed to refer to indigenous migrants,

[26]For Spanish religious organization, see John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

For religious offices, see Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest*, 210-218; and Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 46-64.

For Nahua confrathernities, see Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 176-226; and Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest*, 218- 229.

For fiscalias, see; Lidia E. Gómez García, "Las fiscalías en la ciudad de los ángeles, siglo xvii," 173-195.

mobile workers or vagrants. As was the case under the huey tlatoani, some colonial tlaxicalli had their own religious center, often small chapels (*ermitas*). Instead of temples, each subdivisión hosted a parish church. The Nahua cabildo of San Juan Tenochtitlán met in a royal palace (*tecpan*) in San Juan Moyotlán (See Figure 15).[27]

The traza had parishes, designed to minister to its Spanish residents, as well as the servants and artisans of Afro-Mexican, indigenous, Asian, and people of other ethnicities who labored and produced for Spanish patrons. In fact, *castas*, the multiracial residents of the city, provided the majority of the parishioners of these churches, which included the Sagrario, the parish church of the cathedral; Santa Veracruz, a parish associated with the castas of the campan of San Juan; and to the northeast, Santa Catarina Mártir. Of these, the jurisdiction of the Sagrario was the largest. The boundaries of these parishes extended beyond the limits of the city, encompassing the suburban enterprises of Spaniards. In 1635, for example, clerics in Santa Veracruz recorded the marriage of the Manuel de la Cruz, a slave in the Coyoacán obraje of Pedro de la Sierra, to Ana María, another slave who worked in the same obraje, and a widow of the chino worker Ventura Díaz. The jurisdictions of these "Spanish" parishes overlapped with those of the indigenous churches. Chinos, Afro-Mexicans, and indigenous migrants baptized

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[27] On the symmetries and asymmetries between the meanings of tlatoani and gobernador, see Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 10-16. For operation of the San Juan Tenochtitlán indigenous cabildo, see *Ibid*., *passim*.

On the formation of visitas and ermitas, especially grouped by ethnicity, see Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 16-21, 31, 44-45, and *passim*. These might have corresponded to ethnic "congregaciones" which in some cases acted as bases for collective action for non-Mexica indigenous people such as the Tlaxcaltecans, Otomí, and Purépecha. See FHLGSU, MF# 37908, San José y Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón, Defunciones 1640-1740, Item 1, fs. 24r, 26r, 27v (1648); and "México, Distrito Federal, registros parroquiales y diocesanos, 1514-1970," FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1-11129-17339-53?cc=1615259&wc=M99K-LYV:n1080864339 : accessed 06 Jan 2014), Mexico, Distrito Federal, Catholic Church Records, 1514-1970 > Mexico, Distrito Federal, Catholic Church Records, 1514-1970 > San José y Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón (Centro) > Defunciones 1640-1740 > image 68 of 468.

On the collection of extravagante tribute by indigenous cabildos and alguaciles de extravagantes, see FHLGSU, 1857319, item 2, AGN, Indios, v. 10, Tomo II, exp. 155, fs. 267r-267v (1632); and FHLGSU, MF# 1857325, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 25, exp. 231, f. 193v (1677).

For the definition of extravagante, see Natalia Silva Prada, "Impacto de la migración urbana en el proceso de 'separación de repúblicas.' El caso de dos parroquias indígenas de la parcialidad de San Juan Tenochtitlán, 1688-1692," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 24 (2001): 80, n. 8, 80-82.

their children in these parishes, received their last sacraments there and also got married in these churches. The casta population of the barrios also patronized the chapels of convents and schools in the traza, further complicating the equation of space with parochial jurisdiction. The casta population of the city occupied a wide range of occupations. As artisans, they helped supply manufactured goods. As laborers, traders, porters, domestic servants, and messengers, they supplied services, all to staff the growing economy of the city of Mexico.[28]

During their earliest rule of Tenochtitlán, Spaniards vecinos continued the Tenochca traditions of collecting tribute, but they also strove to create and invest in other profitable industries away from the city and across the viceroyalty. These connections increased the centrality of the city in the viceregal economy. They also increased the ethnic diversity of the city. As in western Mexico, shortly alter the conquest, Spanish vecinos put indigenous slaves to work in gold and silver mines, though later, and unlike the north, central Mexican mines relied on corvée labor for such work. Encomienda workers supplied mine workers with maize and cloth. The vecinos of the city of Mexico also began other enterprises including textile manufacturing factories called obrajes. Spanish entrepreneurs raised cattle as well, employing some of the growing numbers of African slaves as cowboys. Encomenderos and officeholders actively used their prerogatives to acquire mercedes for new livestock-raising enterprises. They sold the hides, tallow and meat to new mining concessions; these products also met internal needs and provided exports to Europe. Spanish residents also brought African slaves to the city, some to work in new agricultural enterprises and ranches, and others to staff new urban industries. Most were imported by Portuguese merchants contracted to import slaves

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[28] For the jurisdiction of the Sagrario, see Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination:* 16, 24; Moreno de los Arcos, "Los territorios parroquiales de la ciudad arzobispal, 1325-1981," 174, 176.

For an extended discussion of the breakdown of chino occupations, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 149-152. See FHLGSU, MF # 35848, Santa Veracruz, Matrimonios de españoles 1568-1666, Item 3, f. 161r (1635).

(*asentistas*), first from Iberia and West Africa, among them, the Mande, Mandingo, Zape, and Bran; and then from West Central Africa, in the present-day states of Angola, Cameroon, and Democratic Republic of Congo. Spanish artisans and entrepreneurs employed many indigenous people from Tenochtitlán in their shops over the course of the sixteenth century, often working alongside slaves as shoemakers (*zapateros*), hatmakers (*sombrereros*), weavers (*sastres*), metalworkers (*herreros*), and in obrajes as carders (*carderos*) and weavers (*tejedores*).[29]

Extravagantes and Alguaciles

Spanish colonial officials worked hard to secure indigenous laborers to work in communal projects, constructing important buildings and public works, supplying its food, and contributing to the drainage projects surrounding the Desagüe and the maintenance of the canals. They levied these repartimientos from the city's indigenous barrios, but also from the indigenous communities that filled the Basin of Mexico. As a result, many indigenous people from outside the city settled there. They were generally referred to as extravagantes. In his study of the history of immigration into the city of Mexico from Chalco, Tomás Jalpa demonstrates that repartimientos were one mechanism which indigenous migrants entered the city. Other indigenous people arrived and left the city as muleteers and wagon drivers. A small percentage of these workers opted to stay in the city, freeing themselves from having to fulfill future corvée

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[29] Ruiz Medrano, *Reshaping New Spain*, *passim*.

For Iberian slaves, see A.C de C. M Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). For studies on slaves and freed people of African descent in Mexico, see Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México*; and *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times,* eds. Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009). For work on Afro-Mexicans in the city of Mexico, see Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*; and María Elisa Velásquez, *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, D. F.: INAH, 2006).

For indigenous artisans in the city of Mexico, see Luis Reyes García, *¿Cómo te confundes? ¿Acaso no somos conquistados? Anales de Juan Bautista* (México, D. F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2001), 33; Rebeca López Mora, "Entre dos mundos: Los indios de los barrios de la ciudad de México, 1550-1600," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 76-77; and Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*. For artisanry more generally in central Mexico, see Von Mentz, *Trabajo, sujeción y libertad*, *passim*.

drafts. Free chinos formed part of this migrant population who likewise married and were added to the tribute rolls (*matriculado*) in ways similar to those of other extravagantes. Indigenous communities incorporated some of these migrants as municipal or barrio vecinos, a term used to designate community approval and permanent membership in the community. For example, in 1670, Nahua officials of the parcialidad of Santa María Redonda noted the vecinidad of the chino Pedro Vásquez, a native of Manila, in this indigenous parish when he married a locally-born indigenous woman. Over time, these migrants, some a result of the repartimientos, and others the result of more individual choices, began to fill up the more sparsely-settled barrios, such as San Sebastián (See Figure 16).[30]

Civil and ecclesiastical administrators created a number of new institutions to mediate between the King and his indigenous subjects, who interacted from a number of corporate bodies. The Juzgado General de Indios, set up by the Audiencia of Mexico in 1592, helped perform this function, responding to indigenous complaints about Spanish private interests and

[30] For analysis of the consequences of indigenous migration to the city of Mexico, see Tomás Jalpa Flores, "Migrantes y extravagantes. Indios de la periferia en la ciudad de México durante los siglos xvi-xvii," in *Los indios y las ciudades de Nueva España*, ed. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez (México, D. F. : Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 79-104; and Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, "El origen y conformación de los barrios de indios," 105-122, in the same volume; Margarita Vargas Betancourt," Santiago Tlatelolco y el sistema hidráulico de la ciudad de México colonial (1523-1610)," in the same volumen, 123-140. For the transportation industry leading to both immigration and emigration, see FHLGSU, MF# 1857319, item 3, AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 155, fs. 75v-76r (1632).

For Vásquez, see FHLGSU, MF# 036168, Santa María Redonda, Matrimonios 1647-1735, 1775-1836, Item 1, f. 54v (1670). The same Vásquez, perhaps drawing from decades of experience with Nahua politics, might have been elected gobernador in the indigenous town of Huitzuco, south of Mexico City. The inhabitants there complained of the selection of a chino gobernador of the same name for their town in 1696. See AGN, Indios, v. 32, exp. 337, fs. 297v-298r (1696); and AGN, Indios, v. 32, exp. 350, fs. 386v-387r (1696). Part of a larger phenomenon in central Mexico of "foreign caciques," Vásquez, and chinos like Mateo de Jáen, elected in 1682 as gobernador of the indigenous cabildo of Puebla, and others were seen as usurpers and puppets of Spaniards trying to take control of indigenous governance. For Jáen, see *Here in this Year: Seventeenth-Century Nahuatl Annals of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley*, ed. and trans. Camilla Townsend., with an essay by James Lockhart (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 120-121, 131. See Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 119-132, 148-153.

For the prominence of extravagantes in San Sebastián, see FHLGSU, MF # 1857324, item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 23, exp. 290, f. 262r (1659); a FHLGSU MF# 37376, Items 1-3, San Sebastián Martír, Bautismos, 1681-1750; and Natalia Silva Prada, "Impacto de la migración urbana en el proceso de 'separación de repúblicas'. El caso de dos parroquias indígenas de la parcialidad de San Juan Tenochtitlán, 1688-1692," 83, 89-90, 93. This certainly did not seem the case when it was first settled, as the eastern boundary of this subdivision was water. See Dionisio Victoria Moreno, *Los carmelitas descalzos y la conquista espiritual de México, 1585-1612* (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 1966), 71-73.

the abuse of indigenous people by Spanish officials. Indigenous people used this court, but so did chinos. For example, in 1591, Juan Alonso, a chino, petitioned the Audiencia, through the Juzgado, for the license to ride a horse, a privilege ordinarily withheld from indigenous people. Juan Alonso and other chinos would continue to claim their indigenous status in colonial courts through the the eighteenth century.[31]

Colonial officials in central Mexico and the city of Mexico developed other institutions to mediate between the King and his indigenous subjects. First, various Spanish officers ensured that indigenous people outside of the oversight of their indigenous communities both paid tribute and attended Mass. In 1617, they appointed Pedro Castro to collect the tribute of such workers in the houses of Spaniards and in places of work such as bakeries (*panaderías*) and obrajes, which often detained their workers behind closed doors. Collecting tribute helped maintain the indigenous relationship with the king, but also ensured that indigenous workers, even ones attached to Spanish households, continued fulfilling their obligations to their indigenous community. Spanish officers called alguaciles amparadores arbitrated between an appointed Spanish officer appointed by the viceroyalty called the amparador de los naturales, and the indigenous cabildos. Alguaciles amparadores were also tasked with providing judicial relief (*amparo*) to indigenous people abused by Spanish employers and other colonial officials. In tension with these roles, alguaciles amparadores also worked to ensure tribute collection from indigenous people.[32]

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[31] For the establishment of the Juzgado General de Indios, see Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian* Justice, 7, 43-44. For some of the first examples of its use by chinos, see AGN, Indios, v. 5, exp. 1022, f. 331v (1591). See also Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 130-132; and Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 138, 192-193.

[32] For extravagantes, see Natalia Silva Prada, *La política de una rebelión* (México, D. F.: El Colegio de México, 2009). For the collection of tribute from indigenous people employed by Spaniards, see FHLGSU, 1857319, item, 2, AGN, Indios, v. 9, exp. 28, fs. 15v-16r (1617).

Free chinos were part of the república de indios, and as such, were incorporated under the jurisdiction of both the indigenous cabildo of San Juan de Tenochtitlán, and the Juzgado de Indios. A 1655 complaint by indigenous officials of Tenochtitlán shows that they were treated as a corporate group by indigenous officials and Spanish administrators alike. The officials complained of the abuses imposed by a wayward alguacil amparador, who had imprisoned in that year numerous indigenous officials, charging them with failure to supply the required tribute. The officials replied with a counter-allegation, telling officials that the alguacil amparador was nothing but a "thief" (*ladrón*) who had abused his authority and embezzled tribute funds. The amparador had approached several extravagantes and "the chinos," extorting money from them, despite the fact that these subjects provided receipts which confirmed their payment of the tribute. Along with the presence of the office of alguacil de vagamundos, this presentation made by the cabildo of San Juan de Tenochtitlán and translated from the Nahuatl, indicates that free chinos and the extravagantes of mainland New Spain were both viewed as the "constituents" subject to the jurisdiction and mediation of the indigenous government of San Juan Tenochtitlán. The difference in the reference to the extravagantes, as individuals, "algunos," and "los chinos," shows that the latter were viewed as a coherent and corporate group.[33]

Indigenous migrants, though a small portion of the earliest population of the city, soon built their own institututions, setting organizational precedents for chino governmental and tribute-collection authorities, like those found in the Costa Grande and Colima. Purépecha migrants, perhaps part of the larger diaspora that thronged the roads between Michoacán and the

For alguaciles amparadores, see the extended discussion in Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 95-96, 128-146, 266-270, 273-274. For the process of amparo and its ambiguous effects, see Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*, 43-44, 49-66.

[33] FHLGSU, MF# 1857322, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 18, exp. 220, f. 161v (1655).

Bajío, settled in the city. By 1591, they had formed a religious brotherhood in one of the indigenous hospitals. In 1597, the Audiencia and viceroy granted them the ability to elect a captain and several alguaciles to collect tribute for them in lieu of the foreign Nahua ruling classes. Indigenous migrants also came in from the north. Labeled with the blanket term "chichimec," they likely came from a variety of different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Some were freed slaves, some of the thousands taken during the Chichimec wars. Still others might have been warrior allies of the Spanish, merchants, or perhaps even descendants of those who had come long ago from the North to settle in central Mesoamerica, cousins of the Mexica who also proudly traced their lineage to so-called "savage" warrior migrants from the North. For example, in 1673, the chino Agustín de la Cruz married Angela de San Antonio, a "chichimeca" from New Mexico. By 1595, four Chichimec alguaciles served in the city of Mexico, collecting tribute. Francisco Luis served as the alguacil mayor, while Juan Luis, Miguel Bantieta and Anton Martínez served as alguacil ordinarios. Seventeenth-century parish records referred to a *congregación* (settlement and religious body) of chichimecs within the city.[34]

Ecclesiastical sources also enable us to trace the emergence of a Mixtec or Ñudazahi immigrant community within the city of Mexico, who, along with the Zapotecs, created a hierarchy of civil offices. Their history shows the ways that corporate organizations of migrants to central Mexico could build civic leadership bodies from ecclesiastical origins. By 1613, the

[34] For Chichimec and Purépecha authorities, see FHLGSU, MF# 1857318, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1070, fs. 290v-291r (1595); and FHLGSU, MF# 1857318, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1074, fs. 269v-291r (1595).

For Purépecha and other indigenous non-Nahua cofradías, see Jonathan G. Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 37, 184, 283-284; and Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 83.

For chichimecas, see Virginia González Claverán, "Un documento colonial sobre esclavos asiáticos," *Historia Mexicana* 38, no. 3 (1989): 524, 526-527; and Zavala, *Los esclavos indios en Nueva España*.

For examples of chichimecas and the Congregación de los Chichimecos, see FHLGSU, MF# 035267, Sagrario, Matrimonios de Espanoles, 1575-1589…, Item 1, fs. 8v-9r, 88v, 100r, 102r (1576, 1580, 1581); FHLGSU, MF# 035848 , Santa Veracruz, Matrimonios de españoles 1568-1666, f. 93r (1589); FHLGSU, MF# , 035251, Información Matrimonial, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Información Matrimonial de castas, 1672-1706, Item 1, f. 15r (1673); and FHLGSU, MF# 037420, San Sebastián Martír, Matrimonios de indios, 1663-1693, Item 2, f. 75v (1686).

Nahua chronicler Chimapahin chronicled the procession of their cofradía, Our Lady of the Rosary, through the streets of the city of Mexico. By 1623, these migrants had secured their own curacy, administered by the Dominicans from their main convent in the traza. In 1629, the Mixtecs, along with Nahuas from the altepeme of Metztitlán, and the Zapotecs, another ethnic group from Oaxaca, secured their own chapel in the Dominican convent. The Dominicans used the Mixtec community as a base to create an at-large parish, the Chapel of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, which served Mixtecs and other migrant indigenous populations within the city.[35]

The Order of Preachers had probably assumed this authority based on their preeminent role in the administration of Oaxaca, where Zapotecs and Mixtecs formed an overwhelming majority of their parishioners. In addition to being constructed around a migrant group, the Mixtec chapel was unique in another respect. Its formation, approved by ecclesiastical and civil authorities, departed from regular practice in that it had no territorial bounds beyond the border of the city itself, whereas every other parish within the city had definitive and limited boundaries. Despite the aterritorial jurisdiction of Santo Domingo, marriage records produced by clerics in the Nahua parishes of San José, San Sebastián, and Santa María de Redonda, and San Sebastián demonstrated that the parishioners of the Capilla of Our Lady of the Rosary constructed a spatialized community. The fiscales and notaries of the parish documenting marriages of Mixtecs living in the city generally referred to Mixtecs as hailing from the "Barrio de los Mistecos," "Barrio de Mixtecapan," or "Barrio de Santo Domingo Mixtecapan". This

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[35] For the Mixtecs, see Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca, passim*. For their cofradía and curacy, see Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca*, 333; Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 373, 276, and 574, ns. 35, 40; and Prada, "Impacto de la Migración Urbana," 81-83, 101.

For the real cédula granting the curacy, see AGI, Indiferente General, 450, L. 7, f. 131v (1623). For the chapel of the extravagantes, see FHLGSU, MF# 1857319, item 3, AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 125, f. 67r (1629). For confirmation of their steadily expanding jurisdiction of the chapel, see FHLGSU, MF# 037420, San Sebastián Martír, Matrimonios de indios, 1663-1693, Item 2, f. 116vbis (1688).

designation matched that of those barrios officially given legitimacy as barrio subcomponents of Santa María Redonda such as San Juan Tianguiztengo. [36]

In 1639, Franciscans and Augustinians complained before ecclesiastical courts about the reach of the Order of the Preachers into their own territories and competencies. The Franciscan and Augustinian territories of San Josef, Santa María de Redonda, and San Sebastián were founded on the Nahua ethno-linguistic foundations of the four campan of San Juan Tenochtitlán. The Augustinians and Franciscans alleged that migrants and their descendants mainly spoke Nahuatl, a charge confirmed by the prevalence of marriage between Mixtecs and Nahuas in the city, as well as the long residence of migrants in the Nahua-majority city. As such, they argued, these migrants did not require ministers competent in preaching in Zapotec and Mixtec. Moreover, a number of Nahua-speaking migrants claimed to be parishioners of the extravagante parish, freeing themselves from the more intensive surveillance provided by the traditional indigenous parishes centered in the four campan. The viceroy confirmed the right of Mixtecs and Zapotecs to maintain their special chapel, but stipulated that the Order of Preachers had to confine their chapel only to the descendants of Oaxacan migrants. Allegations in subsequent decades and records from other parishes suggest that this stipulation was not honored.[37]

A document produced in 1681 shows that a civil governing body grew out of the Mixtec and extravagante congregation. The document shows the potential level of civic organization reached by chinos and other indigenous migrants to the city of Mexico. In 1681, officials of the "Mistecos, Zapotecos y de Mestitlán," who were vecinos of the city filed a request for support to

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[36] For documentation of the barrio of Mixtecapan, see FHLGSU, MF# 037790, San José y Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón, Matrimonios, 1659-1738, fs. 19v, 21r (1661); FHLGSU, MF #36168, Santa María de la Redonda, Matrimonios, 1647-1735, 1775-1836, item 1, fs. 49v, 56r, 57v (1670, 1672). For San Juan Tianguiztengo, see *Ibid*., f. 96v (1684).

[37] For disagreement about the jurisdiction of this parish, see FHLGSU, MF# 1857320, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 11, exp. 122, fs. 98v-101v (1639). For further litigation about this parish and its tribute collection duties, see Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 147; 262, n. 8; and 273, n. 104; FHLGSU, MF# 1857325, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 25, exp. 80, fs. 68r-68v (1675); and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5569, exp. 117 (1686).

refurbish portions of the Convent of Santo Domingo that they used. These officials included cofradía officials and tribute-collecting officials: a major constable (*alguacil mayor*), a second constable, a rector, mayordomo, and diputado mayor. Yet among the petitioners were an alcalde ordinario and alcalde, civil officials. Such an arrangement might have emerged from the fact that tribute-collecting officials for the extravagante community had been elected in their chapel from at least 1658, facilitating the use of the space for additional civic functions.[38]

Chinos were able to draw on both central Mexican and central Luzon precedents to begin organization of their own sets of communities in central Mexico. Like the Japanese and Tagalogs who attended Mass in the Jesuit colegio in Manila, chinos in the city of Mexico also organized self-government around ecclesiastical loyalties. As we have seen, this practice also drew on the examples within the city of Mexico. Like the Purépecha, Ñudazahi, and "Chichimecs," chinos also formed community around a "congregación" in the city of Mexico. In 1610, the viceroy don Luis Velasco, Marquee of Salinas, sent a decree that observed that migrants, "of various nations" from the Philippine islands to the city of Mexico had "attached themselves to" (*aquerenciado*) a congregación in the city of Mexico. They had created this congregation in the church of the Colegio de San Gregorio, a Jesuit school for educating the sons of indigenous nobles (Chapter 15). He selected four alguaciles, since they attended the church "in good order" and to further encourage their good organization.[39]

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[38]See FHLGSU, MF# 1857325, Item 2, AGN, Indios, v, 26, exp. 38, fs. 103v-106r (1681); and Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 146-147.

[39] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5257, exp. 14, fs. 1r, 2r (1610). For other indigenous congregaciones and their difference from other cofradías, see Susan Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death Society, 1710, 1767," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2000): 43-76, especially, 43-46, 53. For Jesuit congregaciones organized in early seventeenth-century Manila, see Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (1604), 44-45, 128.

The viceroy explained that ethnicity (*nación*) had not been a criterion in the selection of the migrant leaders. Instead, they had been chosen due to their good character. Nonetheless, the notary documented the ethnicity (*naturaleza*) and origin of the alguaciles. The viceroy selected four alguaciles: Andrés de Ortega, Juan de Peralta, Miguel Carrillo, and Alonso Pérez. Miguel Carrillo and Juan de Peralta were naturales of Manila, and probably either Tagalogs, or mestizos with Tagalog mothers. Andrés de Ortega was Japanese, and Alonso Pérez, a Kapampangan. The notaries and Spanish officials did not describe whether the chinos were free or enslaved, but given the examples of the Chichimec alguaciles, we can assume that they were free. The alguaciles were charged with ensuring that migrants from the Philippines attended Mass, especially during feast days. Those found absenting themselves from their Christian duties could be sent to the jail of the tecpan of San Juan. As we have seen from previous examples, the nomination of leaders for this migrant congregation could easily become the basis of further ecclesiastical or civil organization, including the formation of cofradías, the collection of tribute, and even the formation of a sort of migrant cabildo, as was the case for the congregation of Chapel of the Rosary of Santo Domingo.[40]

The congregación of San Gregorio appeared to have laid on the southeastern boundary of the Sagrario parish, and raises the question of where chinos were residing in the city of Mexico. Certainly, many enslaved chinos accompanied their masters populating the traza that surrounded the central plaza of the city. Scholars of the social history of chinos point out that during the first half of the seventeenth century, a significant population of free chino vendors and merchants also populated San Juan Moyotlán, to the west of the traza. Burial records (*entierros*) produced in the parishes provide more precise indications of the residence patterns of chinos in the last quarter of

[40] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5257, exp. 14, fs. 2r, 3r, 4r (1610). Unfortunately, I have not gathered further evidence of the organization of this congregación and how it evolved over time.

the seventeenth century and during the first decade of the eighteenth century than were available early in the seventeenth century. Ecclesiastical notaries often noted the address of the people whose burials they recorded. Their records suggested that in the last half of the seventeenth century, chinos maintained, or perhaps, reconstituted their community around the Colegio de San Gregorio, and in the surrounding parcialidad of San Sebastián (Figure 15). Large numbers of chinos also resided within the limits of the Sagrario, especially its southern section, near the Acequía Real, and near other areas of commerce, such as the Calle San Agustín, Calle de Mesones, and the Barrio of Merced (Figure 15). Regardless of residence, the population of chinos was roughly split between free and enslaved chinos. Not surprisingly, these differences in status made for vastly different experiences. We will look at the some of the constraints under which the latter group lived in the next section.[41]

Asia, Africa and the Two Republics: Asian and African Slaves and Commodities

From a very early date, Spanish administrators of the city realized that the existing divisions between a Spanish Republic, and a república de indios, based on the existing Mexica Nahua population, would not suffice. One reason was that by the seventeenth century, freed and enslaved people of African descent constituted tens of thousands of the population of the city and surrounding provinces. Merchants also imported commodities from Asia, bringing them from Acapulco to central Mexico. Free chinos traveled with these commodities, as did human chattel from Asia. Free chinos in particular actively negotiated the uneasy space they occupied between castas and migrant indigenous people.

Spanish owners generally supervised African slaves, but once freed, some Africans settled in the barrios that surrounded the traza, and the countryside of central Mexico. The king

[41] For chinos of San Juan, see Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 118; and Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 43. These results are drawn from FHLGSU, MF# 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, Items 1-5. For chino slaves in the city of Mexico, see Seijas, 'Transpacific Servitude," *passim*.

and Audiencia worked to prohibit their settlement within indigenous communities, and found other ways to control them. Colonial authorities worked to restrict their movements, especially after a riot led by Afro-Mexicans in 1612. They also instituted a tribute for negros and mulatos after 1580. Nonetheless, in addition to forming unions and marrying people of African descent, Afro-Mexicans married indigenous people. In fact, several scholars argue that the category "mulato," often used through to exclusively refer the children from African-Spanish relationships, actually frequently designated the offspring produced by unions between indigenous people and African descent. This mixture did not mean that individuals refrained from identifying as Afro-Mexican. Indeed, in both marriages and in ethnic-based confraternities, Afro-Mexicans chose to identify as deriving from African ancestors and chose to socialize with other Afro-Mexicans. One of the first, San Benito de Palermo, was founded before the end of the sixteenth century. As acculturated Africans and mulatos became more numerous, they started their own cofradías as well.[42]

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[42] For the importance of mulatos as the products of African-indigenous unions, see Robert C. Schwaller, "*Mulata, Hija de Negro y India':* Afro-Indigenous *Mulatos* in Early Colonial Mexico," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (2011)*:* 880-914; and Robert C. Schwaller, "The Importance of Mestizos and Mulatos as Bilingual Intermediaries in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (2012): 713-738. For colonial legislation directed against Afro-Mexicans, see María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: *Limpieza de Sangre*, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2004): 479-520.

For African-indigenous interactions in New Spain, see Andrew B. Fisher, "Creating and Contesting Community: Indians and Afromestizos in the Late-Colonial Tierra Caliente of Guerrero, Mexico," *passim*; and García Martínez, "Pueblos de Indios, Pueblos de Castas," 103-116.

For the importance of marriage and other relationships in creating Afro-Mexican social and familial ties, see Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico, passim*; and Frank T. Proctor III, *"Damned Notions of Liberty,"* 52-56, 60-67.

For sixteenth-century marriages and baptisms in the city of Mexico, see FHLGSU, MF# 35167. Asunción Sagrario, Bautismos de españoles 1536-1546, 1552-1589, Item 3, f. 3v (1570); and Love, "Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial Mexico City Parish," 79-91.

For the growth of the mulato and Afro-Mexican populations, see Israel*, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 22, 63, 67-72; and Proctor, *"Damned Notions of Liberty"* 14-17, 21-24. Proctor argues by 1650, the proportion of the Afro-Mexican population that was mulatto, and creole, that is American-born, became a majority of the population. See, *Ibid*, 60. For mulatto tribute, see Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule,* 205.

For the cofradía of San Benito, see Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 83-84, 89-90, 96; and Cristina Manferrer León, "Por las animas de negros bozales. Las cofradías de personas de origen africano en la ciudad de México (siglo XVII)," *Cuicuilco* 18, no. 51 (2011): 86, 91-92.

Spaniards themselves, as heirs to a series of composite of confederated kingdoms, also identified themselves at times by ethnicity, and through lay brotherhoods. Spaniards often used religious brotherhoods as institutions in which they could express the strong regional identities of the Iberian peninsula. For example, Basques (*viscaínos*), and northern Castile (*montañes*), migrants patronized their own characteristic religious brotherhoods. The diverse identities of "Spaniards," then, helped constitute a diverse city that was divided by lay corporate bodies.[43]

Chino slaves helped create an important part of this diversity. Many were gathered by Portuguese slave traders whose *Estado da Índia* and informal influence spanned from Mozambique to Macau. Yet, Asian merchants from a variety of backgrounds also sold slaves to Portuguese and Spanish merchants in Asia. Spanish and Filipino military élites also obtained large numbers of captives from campaigns both inside and outside of the Philippines. Slaveholders within the colonial Philippine included sangley fishermen, Kapampangan principales, and Spanish clergymen. Merchants, clerics, administrators, and sailors sold, carried, or consigned their human cargo across the Pacific to waiting buyers in New Spain. Some chinos and chinas were smuggled across, while still others openly worked their Pacific passage as grumetes or served their masters within their cabins. As in the Pacific Coast, Spanish observers did not consistently label these slaves, so a slaves, for example, from the *Estado da Índia*, was alternately be labeled as "negro" (*black*) or chino. For example, in 1593, clerics in the parish of Santa Veracruz, in the city of Mexico labeled Francisco, a "free negro" from Portuguese India, as they documented his marriage to Catalina, a black slave of Francisco Gonzales. In 1594, in the same parish, ecclesiastical notaries labeled as an "indio," a word equivalent to chino, an

[43] See Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 86.

individual named Lucas de Castilla, a slave from Portuguese India. So, the use of the word chino to designate slaves, even from Portuguese India, was laden with ambiguity.[44]

Though these slaves appeared to have entered New Spain under the criteria of slavery well-known to the administrators of the Americas, at times their "enslavement" was also highly dependent on criteria of bondage prevalent in the Philippines and Asia. That is, the apparent control exercised by Iberians over Asians relied on an active denial of Asian practices of servitude, a practice which was also followed by indigenous elites. Bondage might have been tied to circumstances of servitude at birth, but Filipino authorities also brought Filipinos and other Asians into bondage through war, debts, and civil and criminal penalties. The Franciscan chronicler Fray Juan de Plasencia documented elements of a Kapampangan legal code apparently present at contact which provided for enslavement as a punishment for a variety of infractions. For example, Kapampangan judges demanded enslavement for certain offenses, such as the insult of a principal. Such punishments were consistent with legal practice across insular Southeast Asia. Extant legal texts from Melaka show that the legal authorities of the sultanate also required enslavement for several breaches of the law, including theft. A recently reexamined Malay document in pre-Jawi script also documented such punishments, suggesting that they derived from Malay customary legal practices (*adat*).[45]

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[44] See Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this dissertation. Also see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 11, 69; and Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "La esclavitud asiática en el virreinato de la Nueva España, 1565-1673," *Historia Mexicana* LXI, no. 1 (2011): 9-17, 29-35. See FHLGSU. MF # 35848, Santa Veracruz, Matrimonios de españoles 1568-1666, Item 1, fs. 129v, 145r (1593-1594).

[45] For Kapampangan law, see AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 60, fs. 22r, 22v (1599). For Melaka, and other examples of early modern Southeast Asian slavery and debt-bondage, see Anthony Reid, " 'Closed' and 'Open' Slave Systems in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, eds. Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 156-160; V. Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Slavery in the Malay Texts: Categories of Dependency and Compensation," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, eds. Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 184-185, 188, 193-195; and Uli Kozok, *The Tanjung Tanah Code of Law: The Oldest Extant Malay Manuscript* (Cambridge: St. Catharine's College, 2004), 35; and Uli Kozok, *The Tanjung Tanah Codes of Law*, 73, 78, 84, 99-

Other examples show the importance of Asian legal and customary practices in shaping the experience of bondage under Iberian law. As in the Philippines and western Mexico, Spanish notaries and self-serving masters translated these practices as slavery, conveniently transforming a system more open to mobility into a "closed system," which prevented escape. These bills of sale suggest that the sales referred to by Spanish notaries were viewed as various Asians as transfer of debt and services, instead of their bodies. For example, the bill of sales Francisco de la Cruz record that he was sold in Macau for an indenture slated to last for thirty-five years. Subsequent bills of sale notarized in Manila and Mexico noted the indenture. Bills of sale of other Chinese captains, along with chronicles, suggest that indenture was long-practiced in Guangdong, and perhaps also, Fujian. Yet, notarial documents drawn up at the behest of slave "owners" in New Spain insisted on the identity of these bondsmen and bondswomen as slaves.[46]

More closely-tied to Filipino practices was the slavery of the chino Nicolás Tolentino de la Cruz. A creole born in Pampanga, and of the "Bengali caste," he sued for his freedom in 1673 in the wake of the 1672 chino manumission decree, in the northern city of San José de Parral (See Figures 3, 4, and 8). His trial left us with one of the few bills of sale for Asian slaves yet found written in Kapampangan, a language of central Luzon. The first records the sale in the Phillipines of Tolentino de la Cruz by Lucía Mayao of twelve years of service of Nicolás. The Kapampangan notary of Arayat, don Juan Saquit, witnessed the transfer of the services of

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100, 103, 105, 110, 112, 114, 230-231 . For debt, repayment, and interest, see *Ibid*., 74, 110, 226. http://ipll.manoa.hawaii.edu/shared/12102011.pdf (Accessed September 10, 2013).

[46] For "closed" versus "open" systems of slavery, see James L. Watson, "Slavery as an Institution, Open and Closed Systems," 6-7, 9-13, in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). For Francisco de la Cruz, see Edmundo O'Gorman, "El trabajo industrial en la Nueva España," 96-104. For other examples see AGN, Civil, 564, fs. 22r-22v (1626).

In this case, Ventura, a Chinese of nine to twelve years of age, was indentured for thirty-five years. For the practice of indenture in Guangdong, see Sucheta Mazumdar, "Rights in People, Rights in land: Concepts of Customary Property in Late Imperial China," *Extrême Orient, Extrême-Occident* 23 (2001): 92. For more on the enslavement of Chinese and the gendered nature of the indenture of Chinese girls, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 41-42, 46, 53-55.

Tolentino de la Cruz for the price of fifty pesos to Lorenzo Sunting, a sangley, probably Catholic, and his noble Kapampangan wife, doña Inés Calac for the price of fifty pesos. In the second document, don Marcos García, a gobernador or perhaps teniente of the municipality of Santor, recorded a transaction made in 1650. The second document recorded the sale of sixteen years of service of Nicolás Suleiman by Lorenzo Sunting for the amount of ninety pesos to an unnamed prior of a convent, probably an Augustinian. His sentence, though progressively lengthened over time, followed more closely Filipino modes of debt bondage than the heritable status generally imposed on captives in the Spanish empire.[47]

Such practices could have been consistent with some Spanish practices of "just war." Spanish administrators in the Philippines probably borrowed from the practices of New Spain in this regard. Chichimecs seized in wars in Nueva Galicia, Nueva León, and Nueva Viscaya were accorded similar sentences of ten or more years of forced service. This time limitation, likely often ignored, still placed Chichimec slaves in a precarious position, at least in the colonial center.[48]

Chino slaves faced a wide range of forms of oppression. As we have seen from examples in Manila, violence from the state and from their owners provided an omnipresent threat. Viewed in status as akin to Afro-Mexicans, the enslaved status of a large proportion of chinos

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[47] For Nicolás de la Cruz, see Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), AHP, *Nicolas Chino de la Cruz Tolentino, "Por Nicolas Chino, Contra Felipe Catalan Sobre Su Libertad," 3-22-1673* San Joseph del Parral. Film 0318. Roll 1673B FR. 0734-0755, fs 1r, 2r (1644, 1650). I draw my interpretation of the Kapampangan text of the document from translations made by Father Venancio Samson. I thank him, and Joel Pabustan Mallari, Robert Tangtingco, and Dr. Lino Dizon of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies (Personal Communication, September 9, 2009).

For the location of Santor, probably a barangay of Candaba or Arayat, near Bongabon, see AGI, Escribanía 440A, f. 1220r (1652); and AGI, Contaduría, 1245, 3a pieza, f. 643v (1685). In 1649, don Juan Saquit served as a teniente of the gobernador of Parañaque, again showing the social mobility of Kapampangans in central Luzon. See AGI, Contaduría, 1228, Parte 1, f. 31r (1649).

[48] For enslavement of Chichimecs, see Silvio Zavala, *Los indios esclavos en la Nueva España* (México: Colegio Nacional, 1967), 187, 191-193, 197, 213-223. For Chichimec slaves in service for "ten years," see FHLGSU, MF# 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonio de Castas 1661-1699, Item 1, f. 97r (1669).

left chinos subject to the Inquisition. The association of chinos with slavery also caused colonial authorities to subject them to legislation targeting castas such as the banning of the possession of arms, the riding of horses, and other sumptuary regulations. The precarious state of familial and marital relations of chino slaves was also due to their bonded status. Chino slaves constantly faced the possibility of familial separation. For example, in 1634, Juan de la Cruz, the chino slave of Juan del Valle, an encomendero of the port of Acapulco, wrote the to the Provisorato de Naturales y Chinos to complain that he had been separated from his wife, Inés de Valderrama, due to the machinations of his mother-in-law, Leonor de Portal. Perhaps suffering from decreased mobility due to his enslaved status, Cruz asked for relief, which the provisorato granted, by demanding the return of his wife to his household. These burdens were so acute, that some chinos fled their masters. In response, the provisorato issued decrees throughout the seventeenth century, demanding the return of this human property under threat of excommunication. Tatiana Seijas has shown that chinos obtained liberty far more often from manumission than flight, though manumission was relatively infrequent, and masters imposed onerous conditions that stood in the way of any easy path to liberty. Nonetheless, enslaved chinos joined the population of free chinos throughout the seventeenth century.[49]

The city of Mexico was both an important consumer of goods and a center of redistribution of goods. It became a destination or major transit point for many chino slaves entering the viceroyalty. Some merchants and religious corporations, such as the Jesuits, managed to accumulate sizeable numbers of slaves. Yet, for the most part, they were about as

[49] For the relationships of chinos to the Inquisition, see Oropeza,"Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 141, 144. For the casta status of chinos see Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 138-141, 151-152, 191-192; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 131-132. See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2034, exp. 21, fs. 1r-1v (1634); and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 126. For persuasive analysis of chino slave flight and manumission, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 231-238.

distributed across the city in locality and occupation, as were the human cargoes brought from Africa.[50]

The presence of chino slaves in the city of Mexico materialized political and social commentary about the relationships between the Americas and the Philippines. In fact, Nahuatl chroniclers from the sixteenth century onward began to note the connections between Asia and colonial Mexico. In an entry in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, an indigenous noble writing in Nahuatl noted the 1564 departure of the expedition, probably that of Miguel de Legazpí, for conquering "China" (the Philippines). In 1609, the chronicler don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quahtlehuanitzin referred to the operations of the altepetl of Manila. Subsequently, he made several references to Asian connections with Mexico in his chronicles. These included documenting the departure of don Rodrigo de Vivero, "Gobernador de China," and troops for the Philippines. Chimalpahin also was a witness to the entry of a Japanese embassy to the city of Mexico.[51]

Spanish chroniclers residing in Mexico also assiduously documented the relations between Asia and central Mexico. The late-seventeenth-century chroniclers Gregorio de Guijo and Antonio de Robles noted the comings and goings of the Manila galleon, and also described the movements of people connected with their passage. They recorded the tolling of the bells of city churches when new first arrived of the arrival of the galleon from western Mexico, news of the mooring of the galleons in Acapulco, and the departure of missionaries, prisoners, soldiers,

[50] For chinos bought by Jesuits, see AGN, Historia 406, fs. 150r, 184r, 191r (1621, 1638)
For the asiento, see Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977).

[51] See Reyes García, *¿Cómo te confundes?*, 161, 191; and Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quahtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time*, eds., and trans. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder and Doris Namala (Stanford: Stanford University press, 2006), 156-157, 168-171, 174-175, 236-237, 250-25, 274-275, 296-297, 304-307.

and administrators to Asia, who often left from the city of Mexico. Also noted were delays in the passage of the galleon, due to piracy and weather.[52]

The household of Antonio de Morga helps demonstrate the connections between the presence of Asians and the creation and distribution of knowledge about Asia in colonial Mexico. In 1609, Morga published in the city of Mexico *Los Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas*. This work was drawn from the experience of Morga as an *asesor* and lieutenant governor in the Philippines between 1594 and 1601, which included unsuccessful efforts at repelling Dutch attacks in Manila Bay in 1600. His work is acknowledged by historians of the Philippines as one of the most useful of any seventeenth-century Spanish civil chronicler of the archipelago. After Morga's tenure in the Philippines, he traveled to colonial Mexico. No doubt his work profited from interviews and conversations in both Manila and Mexico with Spanish clerics, administrators and soldiers. It is also likely that his work benefited from individuals with even more intimate knowledge of the Philippines and Asia. Morga brought with him a number of "indio chino" slaves with him from the Philippines. In 1606, two of them, Pedro and Felipa, had their child, Pedro, baptized in the Sagrario (See Figure 15). Two indios chinos, Pedro and Magdalena, served as godparents to the boy, though the baptismal records leave unclear whether the godparents were other slaves of Morga. In 1608, Lucian and Felipa, two other chino slaves of Morga, had a child, Tomás, baptized in the church. In 1609, the year that *Los Sucesos* was published, Catalina, the daughter of two other chino slaves, Antón and Gracia, was baptized.

[52] For Guijo, see Gregorio M. de Guijo, *Diario, 1648-1664*, *Volume 1,* ed. Manuel Romero de Terreros (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 1953), 3, 5, 35, 84, 86, 103, 193, 202, 209, 212, Gregorio M. de Guijo, *Diario, 1648-1664*, *Volume 2,* ed. Manuel Romero de Terreros (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua,1953), 114-115, 131, 158-159, 166, 193-194, 207. For Robles, see Antonio de Robles, *Diario de Sucesos Notables*, *Volume 2*, ed. Antonio Castro Leal (México, D. F.: Editorial Porrua, 1946), 62, 77, 106, 138, 153-154, 156.

The presence of at least six and likely more, chinos, in Doctor Morga's entourage likely allowed for considerable insight in the understanding of the Philippines.[53]

The imperial government differentiated between free chinos and enslaved chinos. Like slaves with origins in the *Estado da Índia* living in the Philippines, enslaved chinos in Mexico were exempt from tribute, which separated them from other tribute-paying subjects. Predominantly male free chinos, by contrast, intermarried with indigenous, Afro-Mexican, and later, Asian women. This allowed them to be matriculados, and to become vecinos. This tribute-paying status and likely status as former indigenous tribute-payers in central Luzon facilitated chino organization, and early on free chinos in the capital made demands as a community for corporate privileges such as exemption from the colonial sales tax or alcabala. Chino slaves came from more diffuse origins than did free chinos, and were less able to form a corporate body recognized than colonial officials. Nonetheless, through the formation of social networks, individuals connected these two communities through shared Asian and transpacific experiences, as well as through manumission, intermarriage, and the deployment of the new category of "chino."[54]

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[53] For the career of Morga, see Hidalgo Nuchera, in Morga, *Los Sucesos*, xvi-xix.
FHLGSU, MF# 035132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 1, fs. 73v. 96v, 115r (1606, 1608, 1609).

[54] For matriculation, see Connell, *After Moctezuma,* 91, 119, 147, 262, note 8. For chino arguments about matriculation and vecinidad, see FHLGSU #1857320, Item 1, AGN, Indios, v. 11, exp. 166, fs. 137r-137v (1639); FHLGSU, MF# 1857322, Item 3, AGN, Indios, v. 13, Exp. 112, fs. 92r-92v (1631, 1641); FHLGSU, MF# 1857322, Item 3, AGN, Indios, v. 13, exp. 126, f. 111v-112v (1641); and FHLGSU, MF# 1857321, item 1, indios, v. 13, exp. 248, fs. 219r-219v (1641).

Seijas and Oropeza offer solutions to the problem of the label "indio chino." They both observe that Spanish administrators in the Philippines used the category "indio" to refer to the indigenous tributaries speaking Tagalog, Kapampangan and other Austronesian languages. Since communities in central Luzon integrated outsiders of different ethnicities, including Hokkiens, Africans, mainland Southeast Asians, and South Asians into their communities, such a category became more inclusive over time. "Indio chino" thus referred to the members of this broad group who migrated or who were brought from Asia as slaves to the Americas. The seepage in meaning between the use of the label "indio chino" for tributaries and for slaves mirrored the blurring of the meaning "indio" in the Americas, which Spanish administrators and clerics also used to label non-tributary enslaved indigenous

From the Atlantic to the Pacific: Routes of Asian Prosperity and Identity

One of the zones in which chinos defined their status and settled was Veracruz and the region around it. Most chinos favored settlement and labor near transportation routes that linked central Mexico with the Pacific. Maritime labor undoubtedly drew some of them there, but others were attracted to commerce near the port and near Puebla, the second-largest city in New Spain. Still other chinos were brought against their will to Puebla and the Tierra Caliente of Morelos, brought there to staff the bakeries and obrajes of Puebla, as well as the sugar plantations of Morelos (See Figure 8).

Veracruz was the primary outlet of central Mexico to the Atlantic. Chinos moved from the capital to Veracruz and then onward to Spain as sailors, servants, and supplicants. Clerics and civil authorities traversing the empire often took their servants with them. Among these servants were people like Antonio, a chino from the Philippines who in 1628 obtained a license to travel with his master Doctor don Juan Cebiços from Spain to New Spain. Antonio had served don Juan Cebiços for at least eight years. There were many more like him. Some chinos also crossed the Atlantic working as mariners. Their numbers were more modest in the seventeenth century than in the the eighteenth, when hundreds probably worked as sailors and settled in locales near Veracruz, but they were still recognized as part of this maritime work force. For example, in 1695, a Kapampangan named Alonso Coronel testified that he had traversed the Atlantic several times, also working in the Costa Grande and in the Mexican north. Chinos worked transatlatic routes as a way to pay their fare in order to reach the Spanish court and file in-person petitions. Don Nicolás de Ángeles, a Kapampangan principal living in the central

people such as “indios chichimecos.” See Seijas, “Transpacific Servitude,” 30, 127-128; and Oropeza, “Los ‘indios *chinos*,” 2, 47.

Luzon town of Mahayhay, crossed the Atlantic at least three times, 1599, 1605, and 1628, in order to obtain a pension for his military service.[55]

A few Asians settled near Veracruz. Though centered in an Atlantic world, these chinos referred to their Pacific experience in petitions sent to the Juzgado General. In 1654, don Marcos de Villanueva, a Kapampangan chino principal, authored a petition near Coatzacoalcos, a visita of the alcaldía mayor of Ayacuca, a swampy area east of Veracruz. Villanueva had settled and married a local principala. He complained about the cattle of local Spaniards, who threatened the fields. Villanueva served in the local militia, and like local Afro-Veracruzanos, he helped defend the coast during a period of intensified Caribbean piracy. While acknowledging serving Spanish imperial goals in the Atlantic, Villanueva placed special emphasis on his membership in the prominent ethnic soldiering elite from Pampanga. Villanueva stressed that Kapampangans had received special privileges as inhabitants of central Luzon particularly loyal to the Spanish Pacific empire. He gave a generic record of their services. Kapampangans had deployed in the invasion and conquest of Maluku, as well as in relief expeditions for the islands. They had helped to quell the 1603 Hokkien revolt in Manila, and they had defended Iberian Asia from several attacks from both "moros," and the VOC.[56]

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[55] For an overview of Atlantic routes and products, and the structure of transatlantic commerce, see Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite,* 26-29, 33-43; Robles, *Los sucesos notables, Book 1,* 3. See above for Atlantic connections. For Antonio, see AGI, Contratación, 5402, N. 54, fs. 3r-3v (1628). For other servants, see Chapters 3, 4, and 5, as well as AGI, Contratación, 5276A, N.60, fs. 1v-2v (1603); AGI, Contratación, 5348, N. 10, fs. 1r, 2r-3r (1615); and AGI, Contratación, 5351, N.37, fs. 19v-20v (1616).

For Coronel, see AGN, *Inquisición*, v. 528, exp. 6, fs. 452r.-452v, 464v, 474r, 484r (1695); FHLGSU, MF#604943, Mexico, Durango, Catholic...Church Records, 1604-1985, Súchil, Inmaculada Concepción, Matrimonios, 1663-1848, Item 1, f. 23v (1692); and Carrillo Cázares, *Michoacán en el otoño del siglo XVII,* 391. For Ángeles, see AGI, *Filipinas*, 40, N. 11, fs. 2v-12v. For Veracruz and Coatzacoalcos, see García de León, *Tierra adentro, passim*. For Filipino sailors in the eighteenth-century Atlantic, see María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "La Marinería filipina en los movimientos intercontinentales del siglo XVIII" Paper presented at the *53rd Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, July 23, July 2009.

[56] For Villanueva, see AGN, *Indios*, v. 17, exp. 19, fs. 31r-32v (1654). For Barranca, see AGN, Indios, v. 24, exp. 21 (1666). For the Japanese embassies, see Knauth, *La Confrontación Transpacífica*, *passim*. Likewise, in 1666, in Veracruz, the children of a Japanese ambassador, Juan de Barranca, that had arrived in 1614 referred to the

In general, chinos deployed Kapampangan identity widely in New Spain during the time of this study, and in ways similar to those used by Kapampangans within the archipelago. Indigenous élites of Pampanga had conscripted peasants from their villages to fight against what they saw as sangley rebels, indigenous revolts, VOC attacks, South China Sea pirates and a wide variety of Islamicate polities in Maluku, Mindanao, and Brunei. Kapampangan élites adroitly used colonial military service as a means for social mobility and as a basis for petitions for various privileges. They carried the fame of Kapampangan service with them to the Americas. Among the first claimants for perquisites was Melchor de los Reyes, from "Lapanpanga," who in 1602, the year before Kapampangans helped Spaniards in their suppression of Minnanese inhabitants of the Parián, asked for exemptions from colonial rules which prevented indigenous people from carrying weapons. Kapampangans used the services of their "nation" as guarantees of their loyalty. Given their prominence in defending Spanish Asia, it is not surprising that among the first alguaciles of chinos in Mexico would be a Kapampangan, Alonso Pérez. Kapampangans like Lorenzo de la Cruz married mestizos and other castas in the city of Mexico. While other chinos most often described their place of birth as Manila, Kapampangan chinos like Nicolás de Santiago, confident in the renown of the people of their province, provided the name of their hometown, in this case, Apalit, to clerical notaries when participating in sacraments such as marriage.[57]

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transpacific journey and noble status of their father, demanding licenses to brandish weapons, probably katanas, in their city.

Juan Jerónimo, another Kapampangan, also lived in Coatzacoalcos. See AGN, Indios, v. 17, exp. 40 (1654); and García de León, *Tierra adentro, mar en fuera*, 421.

[57] See Chapter 1-3. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5713, exp. 57, fs. 1r-1v (1602). For don Nicolás de Ángeles, see AGI, *Filipinas*, 40, N. 11, fs. 2v-4v, 6v, 8v-12v (1619). For Cruz and Santiago, see FHLGSU, MF# 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 3, fs. 31v, 90v (1682, 1686).

Most chinos, whether Kapampangan or otherwise, entered central Mexico through the *Camino de China*, or road from Acapulco to Mexico City. The examples of Domingo Baéz and Domingo de Villalobos showed the ways that poorly-capitalized chinos could accomplish this. A number of chinos living in the city of Mexico acted as peddlars as well, and some arrived as merchants. For example, the chino Gabriel Amanicalao, arrived in 1592 registered as a merchant. In 1594, an individual named Tomás Pangansinan, paid tariffs (*almojarifazgo*) on cloth that he had imported from the Philippines on the navio *San Pedro*. This sort of activity was consistent with peddling conducted by Filipinos in Manila, as well as the sort of trips undertaken by Filipinos in the early decades after the conquest of Manila. For example, in 1582, don Juan Lumanlan, a son of Raja Soliman, and resident of Quiapo, traveled to the Islamicate Malay sultanate of Brunei in order to settle accounts for a slave purchased years before. Other Tagalog traders, mainly from Balayan, had been detained by the Sultan of Brunei in the 1570s, in part provoking the raid by Francisco de Sande in 1578. That being said, chino traders seemed to have found a more hostile environment in New Spain than they encountered in the South China Sea.[58]

Chino traders and peddlers in New Spain utilized local legal regimes to protect their privileges. In these legal petitions, chinos demonstrated considerable knowledge of colonial law and carefully represented their foreign and indigenous status. In 1608, Marcos García, a chino from the Philippines, filed a complaint with the General Indigenous Court. He wanted the Audiencia to vow that it would protect him when he traveled from the city of Mexico to Acapulco. García apparently was selling goods to the sailors of the galleon, as he declared that

[58] For Pangasinan, see AGN, AHH, v. 1291, exp. 228, f. 234v (1594); and Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 75. For Amanicalao, see AHH, v. 1291, exp. 228, f. 234v (1594); and Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 108. He might have learned about this merchant from relatives who were exiled to New Spain in 1588. A don Luis Amanicalao had been executed in 1588 as part of the general conspiracy of Tondo principales against Spanish rule. See AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 24, exp. 2, f. 47v (1581); AGI, Filipinas, 84, N. 36, f. 1r (1582); and AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 7, N. 47, f. 4r (1590). On the continuation of trade between central Luzon Tagalogs and Malay Southeast Asia, even through the early colonial period, see AGI, Patronato, 24, R. 48, fs. 1r-1v (1578); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 126, exp. 3, f. 132r (1582).

he would arrive in the port when the galleon arrived. He might have been selling to mariners, as the goods he brought included soap, cloth, and provisions. García claimed that when he had previous visited Acapulco, he had been impressed into "servicios personales," probably the same sort of work imposed on chino grumetes summering in Acapulco. In 1591, Juan Alonso obtained a license from the Real Audiencia to mount a horse, prohibited to other castas and indigenous people. In 1597, this license was renewed.[59]

Other chino merchants requested as indigenous persons, though from a different kingdom, exemptions from the alcabala. They charged that Crown officials unjustly tried to charge them for selling his wares. Alonso had previously obtained the right to wear arms and ride a horse, activities prohibited to indigenous people under various statutes intended to create the separate repúblicas. Alonso followed the course of other indigenous élites in the Philippines, such as Kapampangans, and in the Americas, who chose to wear Spanish clothing, brandish arms, and ride horses as indications of status. Officials also excused Alonso on the grounds that he was not a native of New Spain, and therefore did not have to follow the same rules as the indigenous people of Mesoamerica. Alonso also requested, in 1597, that he be allowed to freely conduct commerce, as a married vecino of the mines of Sultepec, with a recua of twenty mules. He promised that he raised his own maize for the mule, but depended on his mules, rather than on his milpa for his sustenance (*granjería*).[60]

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[59] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3724, exp. 22, f. 1r (1608). On Juan Alonso, see AGN, Indios, v. 5, exp. 1022 fs. 331v (1591); AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1200, fs. 330 (1597); and AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1202, f. 331r (1597).

[60] AGN, Indios, v. 5, exp. 1022 fs. 331v (1591). AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1202, f. 331r (1597). For Juan Alonso and recuas, see AGN, Indios, v. 6, exp. 1200, f. 330r (1597).

For the dilemmas faced by indigenous élites adopting Spanish clothing and manners, see Chapters 1-3, and Chapter 5, as well as Steven J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 59; Kathryn F. Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 79; Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 131, 268, n. 50, and 282, n. 101; and Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-Between*, 36-37.

Chinos routinely rode horses in the Costa Grande and in western Mexico, but the density of legal institutions in central Mexico, and worries about casta boundaries there, made riding difficult. In 1612, a group of five chinos riding horses were stopped by the teniente of the indigenous city of Texcoco (See Figure 14). They were detained for their failure to respect the prohibition of horse-riding to indigenous people. One of the chinos replied to the accusation with a license that he had obtained from the viceroy. The viceroy's license granted him the privilege to ride the horse, despite the law, because the chinos were from a different kingdom and depended on their horses to move between central Mexico and Acapulco with their goods. Nonetheless, the teniente retained the goods of the remaining chinos, Pedro de Gamboa, Alonso Pérez, Juan de Vera, and Gaspar de los Reyes, despite their protestations, because of their need to follow the rules of New Spain.[61]

After 1612, chino traders and peddlers emphasized their connections as settlers. This might have been an effect of the founding of the Consulado of New Spain, a merchant cartel started in 1593 under royal auspices which worked to pool capital, organize as a corporate group, and also to guard its privileges. In 1612, the members of the group successfully lobbied to prevent foreigners from operating as merchants within New Spain without residence and probably vecindad. As we have seen, Villalobos promoted his marriage to a local cacica, residence in the colony, and status as a vecino. Others in central Mexico followed similar strategies. On August 20, 1619, Pablo Pérez, a migrant from the Philippines, lobbied the

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[61] For chinos on horses, see AGN, Civil, v. 258, exp. 5 (1612). Chinos continued freighting goods to the viceregal capital despite the action by Texcoco officials. In 1615 and 1620, Alonso Gutiérrez carried dozens of cargas of cacao from Colima to the city of Mexico. Pedro de Gamboa, perhaps the same chino whose goods were impounded in Texcoco, acted as a muleteer in Colima. See AHEC, Registro 1319, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, Fondo Colonial (FC), PEP, caja 10, carpeta 4, ff. 81-81v (1615), and AHEC, Registro 1768, Escribano Pedro de Espinosa, FC, PEP, caja 11, carpeta 1, ff. 58v-59r (1620). Pedro de Gamboa is named as a muleteer plying the same route. He might be the same chino arrested in Texcoco. See AHEC, registro 1359, Escribano Gaspar de Lugo, FC, PEP, c. 10, c. 05, ffs. 1 (1615). See continued petitioning for this right in AGN, Tierras, v. 2956, exp. 52 (1658).

Audiencia for a license to travel throughout New Spain with a recua of twelve mules. Pérez resided in Izucar, a village in southern Puebla which had long been a crossroads between central Mexico and Oaxacan merchants (See Figures 8 and 14). Pérez had married doña Juana Velásquez, a local cacica. Like García, Pérez obtained his license in order to avoid harassment from others. In the same year, Luis Pérez, another chino, petitioned the Juzgado General, for a license to move with his family from Justlahuaca, Oaxaca, a small town in western Oaxaca, to Puebla de los Ángeles, a town with much more extensive commercial connections. Pablo Juárez, another chino, married an indigenous principala named doña Isabel María in Tlaxcala. Like Diego de la Cruz in the Costa Grande, this marriage secured access to land. Nonetheless, most chinos in central Mexico did not draw their living from agriculture.[62]

In the city of Mexico, chino peddlers acted collectively to demand privileges as indigenous, though foreign residents. They built on the actions of previous chino migrant merchants, who had apparently deployed the new categories of indios and chino to good effect in 1591. In 1631, Juan Alonso, Juan Salvador, Simón López, Domingo de Pastrana, Bartolomé Díaz and other chinos filed filed an appeal with Melchor López de Haro, an advocate in the Juzgado General to argue that Juan Correa, the tax farmer responsible for collecting the sales tax (*alcabala*) was unjustly collecting it from them. They said that a 1592 cédula, probably requested by early central Luzon traders like Gabriel Amanicalao, guaranteed their exemptions from the alcabala, due to the small scale of their vending, and their status as chinos. The 1631 petitioners requested the same, and also explained that they, as a group, had matriculated as taxpayers into the local community, and that they all, as a group, maintained small stalls

[62] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4829, exp. 33, fs. 1r-2v (1619) for Pablo Pérez. For Luis Pérez, see AGN, Indios, v. 9, exp. 155, f. 73v (1619); and AGN, Tierras, v. 0087, exp. 2, fs. 189r, 192r, 196r, 208r, 212r (1627) for Pablo Juárez.

(*tendejones*) from which they sold cloth in the main square (*Plaza Mayor*) of the city of Mexico (Figure 15). The viceroy confirmed their privileges in 1631 and in 1640.[63]

In 1639, Antonio de la Cruz, a chino peddler living in Puebla de los Ángeles, asserted that he did not have to pay alcabala. The alcalde mayor of the city had declared that he needed to pay the alcabala, but Cruz believed that his local connections suggested otherwise. Cruz had lived in the indigenous barrio of Analco for thirteen years, and had been married to an indigenous woman, Magdalena Luisa, within the community. Cruz had been added by local officials to the tax rolls (*matriculando*) and as a vecino, by the indigenous people of the city. Moreover, Cruz sold locally-made products: reed mats (*petates*), cotton and anis, which were normally exempt from sales taxes. So on these grounds, Cruz suggested that he was exempt. Despite the dispensation from the viceregal government, Cruz still faced harassment from local authorities. Nine years later, Cruz petitioned the Ayuntamiento of Puebla in order to reduce his alcabala liability. In this case, Cruz argued that he already paid over one hundred pesos in tribute and the unjustly imposed alcabala, and he should be spared further obligations.[64]

A variety of other *poblano* chinos interacted with local legal institutions. In 1636, the chino Pablo Tremiño appeared in front of a notary to record the mortgaging of a plot he held in the Barrio of San Francisco in favor of Juan de la Rea. In 1642, the chino Mateo de Córdova appealed to the cabildo to overturn the judgment of an alcalde ordinario for the punishment of paying a fine of one hundred and fifty-three pesos. The cabildo denied his request. Meanwhile, the large enslaved chino population of Puebla was subject to the justice system. In 1657, the

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[63] AGN, Indios, v. 13, exp. 112. fs. 91v-92v (1640). For more on the alcabala, see Oropeza Keresey, “Los ‘indios *chinos*,’” 191-192; Seijas, “Transpacific Servitude,” 135-136; and Slack, “The *Chinos* in New Spain,” 47-48.

[64] For Antonio de la Cruz, see AGN, Indios, v. 11, exp. 166, f. 136v-137v (1639); and Archivo General Municipal de Puebla, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Puebla (henceforth, AAP), Actas de Cabildo, volumen 22, f. 153v (1648).

notary Diego Arias Gónzalez recorded the sale for one hundred pesos of the chino slave Domingo by doña Catalina de Graxeda to Captain Diego de Andrada Peralta. Chinos also interacted with the church. In addition to attending to the sacraments, chinos might have also have formed a chino cofradía in Puebla.[65]

Most chino residents of central Mexico occupied more humble and servile occupations. Some staffed the obrajes of Puebla. For example, in 1620, the cura of the Cathedral of Puebla presided over the marriage of three such chinos employed by the obrajero Pedro Gómez. These included Anton de Armijo and Gracia, as well as Juan Alejo, a chino who married Ana Francisca, a mestiza. In 1620, Domingo de Mercado, a chino from Manila, married María de Carbajal, an indigenous woman who worked as a domestic servant in Lucas de Carbajal. In 1626, Luis de Peña, a chino esclavo, who worked in the Puebla obraje of Gaspar de Herrera testified in front of the Inquisition.[66]

The prominence of Puebla as a secondary commercial capital, population center, and wheat producer ensured its indispensability as a center of supply and demand for the Manila galleon route. The wheat of its rich valley of Atlixco furnished the busy ovens of the city with the raw material for hundreds of cargas of hardtack (*biscocho*). For example, municipal records from Puebla produced in 1642 and 1643 Puebla showed that nearly a year was required to secure bids, haggle, and deliver the nine hundred and fifty quintales of biscocho for the nao that left

[65] Archivo del Registro Público de la Propiedad de Puebla (ARPP), v. 6, f. 98v (1636); AAP, actas de Cabildo, v. 19, f. 334r (1642). Other chinos owned property within the city. See AAP, Actas de Cabildo, v. 24, fs. 467r-467v (1659). For the sale of Domingo, see Archivo General de Notarías del Estado de Puebla (AGNEP), Escribano Diego Arias Gonzalez, caja 108, Escribanía 3, f. 352r (1657). For the Puebla cofradía, which in 1714, maintained the chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the church of Santa Veracruz, see Hugo Leicht, *Las calles de Puebla: estudio histórico*, 4th edition (Puebla: Junta de Mejoramiento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipio de Puebla, 1986 [1934]), 112.

[66] For Puebla chinos, see FHLGSU, MF# 227696, Mexico, Puebla, Catholic Church Records, 1545-1977, Matrimonios de indios 1585-1624, Item 2, fs. 64v, 68r (1620); and AGN, Inquisición, v. 356, exp. 20, f. 161r (1626).

from Acapulco in the spring of 1643. Meanwhile, the large population of Puebla and its hinterland, as well as its importance as a node for commerce in eastern Mesoamerica, made it an important gathering place for the soldiers, sailors, and forced conscripts traversing the viceroyalty. These, too, departed on muleback for the port of Acapulco.[67]

The evidence provided here shows that chinos resided in substantial numbers in the city of Puebla. Other aspects of the history of Puebla tied it to Asia. A Catholic mystic named Catarina de Juan was brought to the city, it is alleged, from Northern India. Her name was Catarina de San Juan, and the writings made about her visions and spiritual experiences earned her local fame. Her hagiographers wrote her biography, which Tatiana Seijas and other scholars have convincingly demonstrated help us understand something of the experiences of chino slaves. As a real individual, she connected the city of Puebla to Spanish Asia. Others have tried to link her life story to nineteenth-century archetype of costume and bearing in Puebla, the *china poblana*. San Juan was most famous for her connections with Spaniards, especially high-ranking clerics. Nonetheless, she, too, maintained intrachino social networks. In 1670, the free china Antonia María told ecclesiastical notaries that she had been raised by San Juan after her chino father, Domingo Juan, died. [68]

Similarly, the justly-famed ceramics of the city were widely consumed in the viceroyalty and imitated the style, decoration, and colors of Chinese "Blue-and-White" porcelain. These

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[67] AAP, AGM, Expedientes, volume 151, fs. 13r-18v (1643). For other biscocho orders, see AGI, Filipinas, 23, R. 2, N. 4, exp. 18, fs. 21r-21v (1662); and AGI, Mexico, 45, N. 20, f. 4v (1672).

[68] For the story of Catarina de San Juan, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'"141; and the especially insightful analysis by Seijas, in "Transpacific Serrvitude," 1-9, 243. For evidence of the Puebla residence of Catarina de San Juan, see FHLGSU, MF# 227800, Puebla, Sagrario, Defunciones 1673-1699, Item 1, f. 246r (1688). For evidence of the contact of Catarina de San Juan with other chinos, see FHLGSU, MF# 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas 1661-1699, Item 1, f. 107v (1670). For a well-documented explanation of the modern origins of the *china poblana*, see María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, "*La* china *Mexicana, major conocida como* china poblana," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 77 (2000): 123-150.

features have led some scholars to posit the residence of the city of an Asian artisanal colony. This hypothesis drew me to work in the archives of the city. The evidence of such a colony is scant. Nonetheless, I do think that a few factors help explain the prominence of chinos within the city. These include the status of Puebla as the second-largest city in the viceroyalty, its economic role as a nexus between Atlantic trade and commerce with the Eastern part of the viceroyalty, and the role of the city as a center of cloth manufacturing, which required modest numbers of migrants to staff the looms of its obrajes.[69]

Finally, the vecinos used the riches of America's first City of Angels to purchase Asian goods imported from Manila and other areas of Asia. Both ship manifests and customs house (*aduana*) records from 1665, 1666, 1667, and 1668 in the town of Acahuizotla, near Tixtla and Chilpancingo (Figure 14), and one of the key collectors of alcabalas on the Camino de China, documented the destinations of several muleloads of goods intended for vecinos of Puebla from Manila. On April 8, 1667, Joseph Hidalgo, a poblano muleteer, delivered forty-two half marquetas of Asian wax, and several dozen crates with unidentified contents, probably filled with Asian cloth, to don Jerónimo de Cháves and other vecinos of Puebla. So, Puebla both consumed exotic textile imports and produced course cloth for the growing domestic market of New Spain, sustained by the new markets of urban New Spain and the growing populations of its northern mines.[70]

[69] For the speculation about Asian artisanry in Puebla and central Spain, see Edward Slack Jr., "The *Chinos* in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image." *Journal of World History* 20, no. 1(2009): 44; and Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 164. Similarly, while the art historian Emma Yanes Rizo, in her study of the formation of the ceramics industry in Puebla, found chino slaves working in ceramics workshops, they seemed to have no prominent role in them, as Spanish, Afro-Poblano slaves and indigenous people all worked within them, as well. See Emma Yanes Rizo, "La loza estannífera de Puebla, de la comunidad original de loceros a la formación del gremio (1550-1663)" (PhD Diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013), 132, 137, 139-140, 143, 172-173, 191, 221, 241, 244, 267, 323-344, 367, 427, 433-434.

[70] For Acaquisotla, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5214, exp. 45, fs. 18v-19r (1669). See Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 105, for the location of Acahuizotla.

Debt and Deception: Chinos in Textile Manufacturing

A dynamic internal market was one of the general characteristics of the economic history of seventeenth-century central New Spain. The textile industry was one of its star producers for this growing market, staffed by penal, indigenous, enslaved laborers, and a few free workers. First, coerced indigenous, and then, enslaved African workers provided most of the labor for these factories, chinos also were part of the work force.[71]

Like Puebla, Mexico City also boasted a textile industry. Some of these obrajes were located in the city proper, in locales like San Sebastián. Rivers in nearby municipalities such as Texcoco and Coyoacán afforded cheap power to the obrajes. Coyoacán also had the advantage of being located in the Marquesado del Valle, the entailed property of Hernán Cortés, who left extensive records. Crown officials viewed this territory with disdain and at times, alarm, perhaps because the Marqués controlled vast and rich properties (See Figure 14).[72]

A series of records show the participation of chinos within the obraje industry, some slaves, and some not. They also provide examples of the sort of debt servitude present along the coast, partially a hallmark of chino labor, but also a mode of labor procurement seemingly more common as the century progressed. As Proctor has indicated, obrajes in the second half of the seventeenth century relied more heavily on enslaved and non-indigenous labor than had their

[71] For debt and obrajes in central Mexico, see Viquiera and Urquiola, *Los obrajes en la Nueva España,* 41-144. For chinos in poblano obrajes, see FHLGSU, MF# 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas, 1661-1699, Item 1, f. 65v, 77v, 84r, 118r (1665, 1667, 1671).

[72] For a social history of colonial Coyoacán, see Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan.* For the Marquesado and inspections of obrajes, see Richard E. Greenleaf, "Viceregal Power and the Obrajes of the Cortes Estate, 1595-1708," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 3 (1968): 365-379. For the slaves of Contreras, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5272, exp. 4, fs. 1r-2v (1635); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5740, exp. 17, fs. 1r-2v (1638); and AGN, Indiferente, v. 0179, exp. 2, fs. 1r-2v (1641). For other chinos in obrajes in the city of Mexico and its surrounding municipalities, see FHLGSU, MF 36124, Santa Catarina Martír, Defunciones, Entierros, 1616-1727, Item 2, f. 3v (1664), f. 16r (16r) (1667), 25v, Item 3, f. 16v (1673) (1669); FHLGSU, MF# 35261, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas 1646-1662, 1670-1782, Item 4, f. 42r (1671); FHLGSU, MF # 35261, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas 1646-1662, 1670-1782, Item 5, f. 32r (1671); and FHLGSU, MF# 238052, San Jacinto, Defunciones, Defunciones 1671-1738, Item 1, fs. 3r, 4r, 9r, 13v, 14v-16v. 17v, 22v (1673, 1675, 1677-1680).

forebearers. This helps explain the presence of chino slaves, but not that of free persons, who were more often in debt. One additional factor in the presence of chinos was the observation of Tatiana Seijas that the Crown desposited many freed chino slaves in obrajes after their emancipation. This situation showed the slippage between freedom and slavery, as well as the unease with which the Audiencia viewed emancipation. Chinos were also commonly found in the obrajes before manumission. For example, the obrajero Diego de Contreras owned the chino Francisco Brito, and Pedro Flores, the latter a slave from Portuguese India. Marriage records show that the chino slave Andrés Hernández worked in the obraje of Pedro Sierra in 1638. In 1671, the chino slave Martín de la Cruz, working in the obraje of Bartolomé Cardoso, married a mulata slave, Ana de la Cruz.[73]

Royal inspections of obrajes documented chino participation in textile manufacture. The Audiencia sent inspectors to ensure that work conditions were tolerable, and also to confirm that obrajes were obeying royal instructions which sought to prevent indigenous people from being illegally imprisoned in obrajes. In 1660, one such inspection, conducted by the oidor Doctor Andrés Sánchez de Ocampo, uncovered the conditions under which several chinos entered and endured in the obrajes. Only two chinos, Nicolás de Soría, working in the obraje of Pedro de Sierra, and José de Montemayor, who worked the looms of Antonio de Ansaldo, were free to come and go as they pleased.[74]

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[73] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5272, exp. 4, fs. 1r-2v (1635); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 179, exp. 2 (1641): AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5740, exp. 17, fs. 1r-1v (1638); FHLGSU, MF # 35261, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de castas 1646-1662, 1670-1782, Item 5, f. 32r (1671). For obrajes, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 128-129; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 153-156, 158. For an analysis of manumission, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 219-231. For the deposit of freed chinos in obrajes, see *Ibid*., 239-240. For the reliance by obrajes on slaves, see Proctor, *Damned Notions*, 18-19, 21.

[74] Edmundo O'Gorman, "El trabajo industrial en la Nueva España a mediados del Siglo XVII: Visita a los obrajes de paños en la jurisdicción de Coyoacán 1660" *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* XI, no. 1 (1940): 84, 86.

The Real Sala de Crimen, or criminal court, of the city of Mexico had condemned many of the chinos working the obrajes as either a criminal punishment or to pay off debts. This situation paralleled the importance of debt in chino employment in the Pacific, but chinos were not the only victims of peonage. In 1658, the Sala de Crimen condemned the free chino Fabián Álvarez to work in the obraje of Ansaldo for six years. The chino Agustín Pérez was sent to the obraje of Juan de Olivares in order to work off a forty-peso debt, while Diego Juárez worked off forty-seven pesos in the obraje of Melchor Díaz de Posadas. Juan de Vega, another chino imprisoned for debt, used his inspection as an opportunity to dispute his status. Like the chinos of Colima and early seventeenth-century Querétaro obrajes, a patron advanced cloth to Vega. In this case, it had been a clergyman in the city of Mexico, who had purchased a suit of clothes (*vestido)* for eighteen pesos, and obligated Vega to work for him at two pesos a month to pay off the debt. Vega found the work intolerable, and fled after two months. A constable soon caught him, sent him to the Sala de Crimen, where he was sentenced, too, to work for Melchor Díaz de Posadas. Vega had been beaten by his supervisors and flogged for his slowness in learning his craft. Moreover, he claimed that his proper daily wage of four reales had never been paid. He sought amparo, and the oidor found his complaints to be reasonable.[75]

Since the oidor and royal ordinances concentrated their supervisory discretion on cases involving free and indigenous workers, they did not interview the lion's share of the enslaved work force of the obrajes. Nonetheless, some chinos who spoke with the oidor had slave status. Benito de la Cruz, a chino slave, worked in the obraje of Melchor Díaz de Posadas. His indigenous wife, Francisca Magdalena, complained that they were never allowed to leave the obraje. Francisco de la Cruz, another chino, claimed that he was actually a freeperson, and thus,

[75] O'Gorman, "El trabajo industrial," 70-72, 75, 78, 83, 84, 86, 88. For the 1687 inspection, see AGN, Hospital de Jesús, v. 318, exp. 46, fs. 1r-24v (1687).

unjustly held as a slave by Melchior Díaz de Posadas. Doctor Sánchez de Ocampo demanded that Díaz de Posadas provide his documents of ownership. These documents seemed to have demonstrated the legitimacy of the claims of the obrajero. Francisco, of "Chinese caste" might have been that rare case of a chino that had come from the territory of the Ming Empire. He had been sold at the age of ten into "thirty-five years of service" in the city of Macau, to a Portuguese owner, Jorge Pinto de Acevedo, who brought him to Manila, where he was sold to Alférez Francisco de Figueroa (See Figure 3). Sometime afterwards, the wife of Figueroa sold him in the city of Mexico. After several owners, a bakery owner (*panadero*), Marcos de Casaos Tamarís, acquired Francisco, selling him to Melchior Díaz de Posadas in 1647, when Francisco was sixteen.[76]

Two other cases of forced labor showed the varieties of free and enslaved labor faced by chinos in seventeenth-century Mexico City. In 1661, the the Commission of the Holy Inquisition charged the chino slave Lucas de Araujo with denying his faith. Lucas de Araujo had been hired out as a day laborer (*esclavo de jornal*) by his master and worked in a bakery (*panadería*). Several indigenous workers reported that Araujo had rebuked the saints. As was customary, Araujo explained his biography. His father, Gonzalo de Olaso, was a slave of the Spanish Maestre de Campo of the Philippines, don Lorenzo de Olaso. Olaso worked as a carpenter in the shipyards of Cavite, and his mother, Dominga de Araujo, was a slave of Alférez Francisco de Araujo. His other relatives showed the active incorporation of non-indigenous people by the Tagalogs and Kapampangans of central Luzon. Francisco Rodríguez, a Kapampangan sailor, married his aunt. María de Araujo. His brother, Domingo de Araujo, became free, and married a

[76]See O'Gorman, "El trabajo industrial en la Nueva España," 96-104.

Kapampangan woman. In 1645, Lucas traveled to New Spain, and he was bought and sold via a number of owners before he came to work in the panadería.[77]

Another obraje inspection in Coyoacán in 1687 revealed something of chino labor immobility and mobility that showed the ways that consumers of chino labor chose to manipulate the 1673 chino manumission decree. The inspectors found four chinos who were treated as slaves by the obrajero, don Pedro de Ávila.   Many of their questions focused on whether their employer maintained proper quality control in his production of woolens, or whether the obrajero obeyed regulations requiring the provision of reasonable working hourse and adequate sustenance for their workers. Yet, inspectors also wanted to ensure that the workers had been not been improperly vound to Ávila. They asked two chinos why they had been unable to secure their freedom in the wake of the 1673 manumission of chino slavery. One slave, José de la Cruz, explained that he had made a solicitation for his freedom, but when he did Ávila appeared and claimed that Cruz was no chino, but a mulato, who his father don Juan de Ávila, had purchased from an oidor in Manila. Apparently satisfied with the testimony of Ávila, the court sent him back to the obraje.[78]

Vicente de Salazar, another chino native of Manila, also appeared in court, successfully proving that the manumission ordinance applied to him, and left the employ of Ávila. He received a copy of the testimony which proved his liberty from a lawyer named Juan Pérez de Salamanca. Salazar quickly traveled to the Pacific, where he labored as a sailor on two maritime voyages between mainland New Spain and the Philippines. While sailing, he fatefully lost his copies of the testimony confirming his manumission. After the ship returned to Acapulco, he returned to the city of Mexico, looking for his brother Nicolás de Salazar whom he found in an

[77] AGN, Inquisición, v. 583, exp. 5, fs. 520v-523r, 539r (1661).

[78] AGN, Hospital de Jesús, v. 318, exp. 46, fs. 14v, 19r-20r, 21r-22v, 23v-24v (1687).

obraje in Santo Domingo Mixquic, near Coyoacán. As soon as he entered the obraje to greet his brother, don Pedro de Ávila, its owner, quickly ensnared him, setting him to work for two years. Salazar was at the mercy of Ávila, as he had lost his supporting documentation. The inspectors failed to ask why two other chinos, Pedro de Morales, and Vicente de Castro, apparently did not contest their slavery. Perhaps Ávila had "legitimately" encumbered them with debt; or perhaps interviews with Salazar and Joseph de la Cruz left the inspectors discouraged with challenging the bondage of the chinos. The routine relationship between debt, deception and recruitment encountered by chinos in central Mexico echoes the findings of R. Douglas Cope about pervasiveness of the use of debt encumbrance by the owners of obrajes and panaderías in seventeenth-century Mexico City.[79]

Some chino slaves also worked in sugar cultivation in the hot lands of Morelos, forming part of the enslaved work force on these estates. Perhaps some of these slaves might have worked on the sugar estates in Luzon, but they were more likely to have joined estate work forces as part of the general slave population. In 1659, Josefa Juárez, the daughter of one such slave in the Morelos jurisdiction of Cuautla de la Amilpas, lobbied the Juzgado General for manumission. Still others worked as slaves and putatively free servants in the households and churches of Puebla. Sugar cultivation was pervasive in the Cuautla de las Amilpas area (See Figure 14). There, Tomás, a chino, worked on the estate of Santiago Tenestepango. His work caused him some amount of distress, as in 1663, several Afro-Mexicans informed on him. They reported him to the Inquisition for denying God and the saints, a charge of blasphemy confirmed by the chaplain of the ingenio. Yet, his case was not forwarded to the Holy Office for greater scrutiny, as a commissar only referred to the case in 1680. Perhaps the blasphemy was of too

[79] AGN, Hospital de Jesús, v. 318, exp. 46, fs. 14v, 19r-20r, 21r-22v, 23v-24v (1687). See Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 98-102.

routine a nature, or perhaps the chino, as in other cases, was not considered subject to the Inquisition. In any case, the Inquisitor did not make any charges, and the memorial in 1680 notes that Tomás had died by the time of his writings.[80]

Early sugar cultivation was generally geared towards an internal market. Only in the eighteenth century did sugar producers help convertí chinguirito, or sugarcane spirits, into an important component of their manufacture. In the short term, maguey products dominated the consumption of consumers of colonial Mesoamerica.[81]

The Maguey Moment and the Barber Shop: Social Networks and Entrepreneurship

The last years of the 1620s brought a phenomenon that illustrates the connections between itinerancy and occupation among chinos in central Mexico. In these years, several chinos, at least one who had spent time in Colima, brought a new industry, the production of aguardiente de maguey, to central Mexico. This industry, in the end, failed, but its failure alerts us to one of the historical possibilities of chino employment in central Mexico. Shortly afterward, chinos sought to hold a prominent place in a service industry, barbering, but this, too, faced resistance, as Spanish barbers balked at what they saw as a loss of control. Both sets of examples show how the variety of colonial institutions in the city of Mexico prompted very different relationships between occupation and social interactions for chinos than was the case in the Costa Grande and Colima, even though chino movement between all three two regions, connected them.

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[80] For Josefa Juárez, see AGN, Indios, v. 23, exp. 375, fs. 351r-351v (1659). For Tomás, see AGN, Inquisición, v. 598, exp. 15, fs. 169-171v (1680). For a chino purchased for the Jesuit sugar hacienda of Santa Lucía, see AGN, Historia, v. 406, f. 184r (1638). Chinos were also recruited in Morelos for soldiering and as maritime laborers for the Manila Galleon. See AGI, Contaduría, 905B, 3a pieza, f. 19r (1653).

[81] See Teresa Lozano Armendares, *El chinguirito vindicado: El contrabando de aguardiente de caña y la política* (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), *passim.*

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The chino Tomás López is one more example of the way that chino movement, labor, and knowledge helped tie New Spain together. In 1622, Antonio Carrillo, an administrator in Colima, noted that on his inventory the chino Tomás López owed him twenty pesos. From the last decade of the sixteenth century forward, vino de cocos constituted an important part of the economy of the province. Given the prominence of chinos in vino de cocos production in Colima, we can assume that Tomás López was involved in the vino de cocos industry, if even as a creditor or labor broker. López apparently brought his distillation technology, already adapted from Southeast Asia, further east to central Mexico.[82]

In 1628, Tomás López and Nicolás García, two chinos "from the Philippines," sought to obtain a city of Mexico monopoly on a certain method of alcohol production from the Royal Protomedicato, a board of Crown-appointed supervisors of medical practitioners, pharmacists, and purveyors of drugs in the viceroyalty. To get the license, the chinos had to demonstrate their new production method in front of the watchful eye of Doctor Gerónimo de Herrera, appointed in 1603 and the most senior member of the Protomedicato. Doctor Diego de los Rios, another protomédico, also supervised the test. Garcia and Pérez had requested to perform the demonstration in order to secure a license to produce and sell this particular liquor, known as aguardiente de maguey. They also appealed to the role of the colonial government as a protector of justice. They suggested that their poverty also made them eligible for the license; they required livelihoods for their large families, that they deserved their license. Such a license would also provide them with a monopoly, well-deserved from their standpoint for developing an innovation which would enhance life for the residents of the viceregal capital. They also explained the importance of their distillation method in that it converted pulque, a beverage viewed with ambivalence by colonial authorities, into a medicine, a healthy food endowed with

[82] For Tomás López, see Reyes Garza, *Por mandato de su Magestad,* 139.

curative properties. Their efforts succeeded and the impressed authorities granted licenses and a monopoly; anyone caught distilling aguardiente de maguey would be fined and have their still destroyed.[83]

They demonstrated a distillation process almost identical to that of producing vino de cocos in Colima. López and García replaced the tuba with pulque, a mild intoxicant fermented from agave sap (*aguamiel*), and called *octli* in the prehispanic period. They boiled the low-alcohol pulque in bowls, collecting and channeling the condensed alcohol. This was a method distinctive from western Mexican manners of producing the distillate mezcal, though here, too, ethnohistorians and botanists have argued that the colonial inhabitants of of western Mexico adapted distillation technology from chinos. The production of mezcal required first the location of an agave (*maguey*) ready to flower. Workers then cut off the leaves, leaving the heart of the agave, called the *granada* in the seventeenth century, and the *piña* among contemporary producers of tequila. Distillers roasted the granadas in large pits and then extracted the juice, fermenting it. Only then, did they distill the ferment into mezcal.[84]

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[83] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4139, exp. 27, fs. 1r-3v (1630).

[84] See *Ibid.*, fs. 1r-2v (1630).
For protomedicatos, see John Tate Lanning, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 14-29, 31-36, 47-54, 58-69. For the appointment of Herrera, see *Ibid*., 28-29, and 400, note 32.
For mezcal production, see Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Descripción de Nueva Galicia*, ed. Francois Chevalier (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1946), 27, 50.
For botanical and ethnohistorical argument about chinos and mezcal, see Henry J. Bruman, *Alcohol in Ancient Mexico* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 12-30, especially 21-22 (mezcal y sotol); 61-82 (pulque), 4-6 on stills Filipinos sailors, and vino de cocos. See Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Patricia Colunga García Marín, "Early coconut distillation and the origins of mescal and tequila spirits in west-central Mexico," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 55 (2008):499-501, 504.
For discussions of the cultural and social history of pulque consumption, see Daniel Nemser, "'To Avoid This Mixture': Rethinking Pulque in Colonial Mexico City," *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 19, nos. 1-2 (2011): 98-121; María Aurea Toxqui Garay, "'El recreo de los amigos.' Mexico City's pulquerias during the liberal Republic (1856-1911)" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2008).; Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, *El fraile, el indio y el pulque: Evangelicalización y embriaguez en la Nueva España (1523-1548)* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991); William F. Connell, "'Because I Was Drunk and the Devil had Tricked Me': Pulque, Pulquerías, and Violence in the Mexico City Uprising of 1692," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 14, no. 4 (2005): 369-401; José Jesús Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque en Nueva España,*

The new method of producing liquor saved fuel costs when compared to the mezcal-roasting methods. The process then was better suited to the requirements of urban production, and was adapted from a Southeast Asian technology reliant on easy access to fuel. The protomedicato recognized the novelty of the chino method of distillation in his memorial, and declared it superior to stills that used lead or copper tubing. Similarly, Nicolás García and Tomás López both extolled the medicinal properties of the alcohol, much as had the vecinos Colima nearly twenty years before.[85]

Chino involvement in maguey aguardiente in the city of Mexico extended beyond these two men. At least two other chino men received licenses to sell and manufacture the liquor in 1630, Melchor de los Reyes and Juan Ramos. The license granted to Melchor de los Reyes was typical. The license was awarded by Doctor Diego de Barrientos, a representative of the Juzgado General de los Indios. Reyes, a native of the city of Manila, complained that he was harassed by Spanish judges when he went about his livelihood, making aguardiente de maguey and then selling it in the pueblos and cities of New Spain. The Juzgado awarded the license on March 20, 1630, rendering illegal any interference from authorities. Like the protomedicato, Barrientos praised the product as medicinal. Juan Ramos received a similar license on May 30, 1630. Like other chinos who were vecinos, Ramos argued that his status as a tribute payer merited the consideration of his request by the Juzgado.[86]

Another case from this period shows the growth of the mezcal-producing industry and the intra-chino credit networks that enabled it to flourish. In 1630, the chino Domingo de Salazar

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1663-1810 (Sevilla: Escuela de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1979); and William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide & Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).

[85] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4139, exp. 27, fs. 1r-2v (1630).

[86] See AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 212, fs. 116v-117r (1630); and AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 249, f. 143r (1630).

had the Provisorato de Indios y Chinos, the ecclesiastical court, jail don Lucas de Miranda, a chino principal, for failure to pay his debts of over two hundred pesos. Miranda filed a brief with the judge (*juez provisor*) Doctor don Luis de Sifuentes that claimed that he had paid off most of the debt. In order to clear his reputation, he asked that the provisor call witnesses to the transaction in order to clear his name. The provisor ordered under threat of excommunication that witnesses appear to explain the transactions. He issued the the denunciation to several churches in the parish. This threat prompted several witnesses to appear in order to explain what happened. The chinos party to the transactions exercised several occupations, but knew each other and in their testimony, confirmed the existence of a social network which helped mediate credit and lending arrangements.[87]

Miranda called several witnesses in order to confirm his account of events. The number of witnesses indicated the complexity and range of some chino social networks. On December 23, 1630, Diego de Mendoza appeared before the court. A chino, Mendoza lived in the Alcaicería (Figure 15) and worked as a stocking weaver (*calcetero*). Mendoza explained that he had been in the house of Miranda when the latter had been ill. Miranda insisted on calling up a royal notary, Luis Servilla Duarte, to draw up a notarized contract with the chino Domingo de Salazar that recorded the debt that he owed. Some time after the first contract, Miranda supplied to Salazar, via another chino, Vicente Ferrer, thirty arrobas of "vino de maguey," at eight pesos per arroba. He called another royal notary, Ventura de Cárdenas, who witnessed the payment of most of the debt with this liquor. Another chino, Tomé del Valle, and Mendoza served as witnesses for Miranda. Domingo de Salazar also supplied a witness, Melchor de los Reyes.

[87] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5087, exp. 36, fs. 1r-2r (1631)

Reyes served as his compadre, probably serving as a godfather during a wedding or perhaps a baptism. He also was likely the same chino who filed to sell aguardiente de maguey in 1630.[88]

The records of these transactions prompt questions about the consumers of this liquor and the nature of credit in chino social networks. The high price of the "vino de maguey," at eight pesos an arroba, is highly suggestive that the "vino" involved was mezcal. Wholesale pulque was available for purchasers for considerably cheaper prices, at only a few reales per arroba, and the much higher alcohol content made mezcal more potent. Coupled with the recent demonstration of mezcal distillation by chinos, we can assume that chinos produced this liquor. Next, two other chinos testified about the making of this contract, one that involved the interaction of several chinos, from various occupations. Marcos García, one of the chinos, worked as a calcetero in the Portales de Mercaderes, on the west side of the Plaza Mayor of the city of Mexico (Figure 15). He also witnessed the transaction, as well as another notarized contract noting the debt owed by Salazar after he received. García placed the transaction in a larger context. He noted that Miranda originally owed four hundred pesos to Salazar. He had begun his repayment by paying Reyes one hundred pesos in cash, and only later paid the bulk of the debt off with aguardiente. Vicente Ferrer, another chino, in this case, testified that Melchor de los Reyes acted as a guarantor (*fiador*) for Salazar, demonstrating the complexity of the credit networks required to fund production and marketing of this aguardiente. He confirmed that he had received the shipment of vino de maguey. Ferrer worked as a barber near the cathedral and was literate.[89]

The contemporary entry into this monopoly by Pablo de Santiago, an indigenous person from Atocpán and a resident in the city parish of Santa María de la Redonda, showed the frailty

[88] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5087, exp. 36, fs. 3r-3v (1631).

[89] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5087, exp. 36, fs. 4r, 5v (1631).

of the chino monopoly, due to the speed of the sharing of technical knowledge. In western Mexico, chino dominance in the vino de cocos industry in part stemmed from their knowledge of three crucial steps of the production process of vino de cocos: harvesting the coconut flower sap, fermentation of it into tuba, and the distillation of tuba into vino de cocos. In central Mexico, chinos demonstrated new knowledge in distillation, only one of the steps necessary to produce this distillate. Nahuas, Otomí, and other indigenous groups were far more skilled than chinos in maguey cultivation and harvesting, steps that preceded distillation, and they also held control of maguey plots. As we saw in western Colima, indigenous people of colonial Mexico quickly learned and adapted distillation of vino de cocos, probably ever to the extent of adapting these techniques to the distillation of mezcal in western Mexico, the precursor to the famous tequila.[90]

Who constituted the market for this expensive beverage? Perhaps, given its medicinal value, pharmacists (*boticarios*) might have stocked this aguardiente. At eight pesos per arroba, it might have proven too expensive for many other consumers. We will never know how the market might have fared because in 1631, the viceroy issued orders banning the production and marketing of aguardiente de maguey, among other illicit intoxicants and liquors. While the ban in pulques proved almost impossible to enforce, we have not yet located licenses for chino producers and sellers of this beverage past the 1631 ban. The ban was part of a broader program of legislation in which the viceregal government sought first, to curb alcohol consumption in the colony, especially among indigenous people and later worked to fiscalize the revenues of alcoholic beverages. The limitation of production and marketing to a small group such as the chinos, and in an urban setting must have prevented this very visible group from carrying out production. Despite this limitation, in the last years of the seventeenth century, Gemelli Carreri, and in the in the eighteenth century, the famous chronicler Alexander von Humboldt described

[90] AGN, Indios, v. 10, exp. 235, fs. 115r-115v (1630).

"aguardiente de maguey" in central Mexico as being distilled from pulque in a way similar to that described for vino de cocos distillation.[91]

Tatiana Seijas has demonstrated that despite the failure of the aguardiente de maguey industry, chinos continued to carry out intra-chino lending and borrowing of the pattern common to small businessmen and women around the colonial world.   In 1633, Agustín de la Encarnación borrowed money from Pablo Jiménez, a chino barber. In 1648, Antonio Cebiços, a chino barber, lent money to Juan Gómez Vélez, another chino barber. Cebiços was probably the same chino who had traveled with don Juan Cebiços to Spain decades earlier. In 1652, Jacinto de la Cruz was owed 100 pesos by Tomás López, perhaps the former distiller, as part of a contract of apprenticeship to learn the trade of barbering. In 1659, Juan Francisco, a chino resident of San Cosme, lent money to Jacinto de la Cruz, a chino barber. In 1661, Miguel de Ribera and Juan Pérez, two chinos, lent over five hundred pesos to Ana de Aranda.[92]

As we can see, chino barbers seemed to have been a stable source of credit in the city. This suggests that they were successful. Yet, chinos found opposition to occupying the loftiest heights of the industry.   Barbering was considered by Spanish elites to be a low-ranked career. Nonetheless, Spanish barbers successfully fought to limit the participation of chinos in this industry. Thanks to the scholarship of historians such as Edward Slack Jr., Tatiana Seijas, and Déborah Oropeza Keresey, we can trace the social history of these conflicts.[93]

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[91] For sources on debates about taxing and prohibitions of pulque, see note 57, *supra*. See Francisco Gemelli Carreri, *Viaje a la Nueva España*, trans. José María de Agreda y Sánchez (México, D. F.: Libro-Mex Editores, Biblioteca Minima Mexicana, 1955 [1927]), 223. For Humboldt, see Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político Sobre el Reino de Nueva-España, Por Alej. De Humboldt. Volume 2*, trans. Don Vicente Gonzalez Arnao. (Paris: Casa de Rosa, 1822), 350-351. Also see Lozano Armendares, *El chinguirito vindicado,* 30.

[92] Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 174-175. Seijas uses notarial records to provide a detailed discussion of credit. She demonstrates its importance for chinos and other people of humble means. See *Ibid*., 160, 171-178.

[93] See Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 122-124; Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 161-171; and Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 44-46.

Between the 1620s and the end of the seventeenth century, the Juzgado General de Indios and Audiencia received many petitions by chinos requesting licenses to open barber shops. Slack Jr. and Oropeza Keresey argue that Asian hygienic traditions account for this rise. Low capital requirements for entering this industry might also account for their prominence. Chinos working on the galleons and in shipyards might have already owned some of the tools used in barbering before they arrived in the city of Mexico. The inventories of Domingo Báez, Domingo de Villalobos, Lorenzo de Aguilar, and Costa Grande estates suggest that chinos who worked in New Spain retained the tools that they used while in plying their maritime occupation. Some of them, used for sewing sails and repairing the rigging, might have been useful for barbering, which, depending on the license provided for the occupation, required fewer tools than surgery. Since they already owned their tools, chinos next had to find a place to purvey their occupation. From the requests, it appears that chinos most often barbered in either their houses or the Plaza Mayor of the city of Mexico (See Figure 15).[94]

Various scholars have shown that throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century, Spanish barbers fought to first bar, and then limit chino participation in the industry. They did so by petitioning the audiencia and curtailing the number of shops within the city limits. They eventually curtailed to twelve chino-operated shops from a probably exaggerated total of over one hundred. Throughout the years, Spaniards fought to limit chino apprenticeships with Spanish barbers. For example, in 1636, Spanish barbers harassed another barber, Diego de Ayala, for working with three chino apprentices. Chinos were also excluded from the more

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[94] For theories of barbering origins for chinos, see Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 45; and Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*," 124. For the presence of barbers' tools among Asian populations of the Pacific coast, see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 4, f. 11r (1671). For the contents of a typical "barber's chest," see: AGI, Contratación, 503B, N. 13, f. 77r (1607); and AGI, Contratación, 354, N.10, f. 7r (1621). For a surgeon's inventory, see AGI, Contratación, 543, N.1, R.3, f. 31r (1623).

lucrative aspects of barbering imbued with markers of "skill," especially blood-letting. In 1660, a final accord was reached between representatives of the Spanish barbers and chino barbers that forced them to pay dues for the cofradía of barbers, surgeons, and phlebotomists, the cofradia of the Santísima Trinidad, though Seijas has shown it was unclear whether they enjoyed rights as cofrades within the group. Despite the prominence of chino-dominated occupations among chino settlers, chinos constantly circulated within different regions of colonial Mexico, and also constantly moved between mainland New Spain and the Philippines. We should not romanticize this mobility. Chinos existed as a pool of mobile workers at least in part because of colonial demands and to suit the needs of the colonial core. Peonage, coercion, and violence was a fact of colonial life, and one that, as we will see, shaped the lives of chinos and other colonial subjects within central Mexico.[95]

Central Mexico: Violence and Redistribution

Though much of this narrative has focused on chinos who settled in New Spain, a variety of documents make clear that Asians, especially non-enslaved individuals, moved between Asia and colonial Mexico. The treatment of Salazar and Cruz demonstrates the precariousness of chino mobility in and between Asia and the Americas. Creole Spaniards, peninsulares, Afro-Mexicans and indigenous people harbored similar ambiguous attitudes towards travel to the Philippines. Luke Clossey, Tracy Goode, Katherine Bjork, and other scholars have called attention to the important draw that the Philippines had for merchants, missionaries, and other individuals in New Spain. Its climate, distance from New Spain, and position as a center for military conflict also repelled would-be migrants and travelers. For example, the English Dominican Thomas Gage explained in his chronicles that Dominican missionaries slated to

[95] See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 161, 163, 168-169. For Diego de Ayala, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5509, exp. 6, fs, 1r-2v (1636). On the requirement of payment into the barber's cofradía, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 170-171.

travel to Asia would often find excuses to stay in their guesthouse of San Jacinto de los Chinos, or la China, located near Coyoacán. There, outbound and resident friars exchanged information about Asia. Augustinian friars who refused their commission to the Philippines infamously thronged the monasteries of Mexico. The demand for maritime and military labor in the Philippines was nonetheless acute. As Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez have shown, it was the need to pay for a large standing army, strings of fortifications and an extensive support system which served as to diminish the substantial potential for profit of the Philippines for the Spanish Empire.[96]

The thousands of Kapampangans, Tagalogs, Ilocanos, and other indigenous militiamen deployed by their principales aided, but did not completely satisfy, Spanish requirements. In the end, Spanish imperial needs required dozens of fortresses, standing armies, and invasion fleets to defend the Philippines. They required thousands and probably tens of thousands of Spaniards, mestizos, and other recruits because indigenous and Spanish forces also defended Maluku, Taiwan, northern Sulawesi and a variety of other locations from fugitives and uplanders, the Dutch, Hokkien privateers, Japanese armies, rebellions, and the raiding fleets of the sultanates of Maguindanaw, Jolo, Ternate, Brunei, and their various allies. Social elites obtained commissions to raise military companies for service in the Philippines, and used their own

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[96] See Clossey, "Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific."; Bjork, "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish." ; and Catherine T. Goode, "Power in the Peripheries."

For the Dominicans, see Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (Henceforth, AHDF), Fondo Ayuntamiento, Gobierno del Distrito Federal, Aguas, Litigios, v. 62, exp. 1 fs. 18r-18v (1609); Chapters 1, 2, and 3; Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies, 1648: The English-American*, ed. A. P. Newton (New York: Robert McBride & Company, 1929 [1648]), 60, 82, 84, 110-112, 114-116 ; and Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, el convento,* 15-18.

The Augustinian Descalzos also sent missionaries to Asia. They maintained a guesthouse in the center of the city of Mexico called Santo Tomás de Villanueva, which no doubt also served as a center of knowledge creation about Asia. See Arturo Guevara Sánchez, *Los agustinos descalzos. Breves noticias de su vida y logros en México y Filipinas* (México, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2006), and Figure 15.

For a discussion of the costs of the war in Maluku, which represented a large, but not the only, portion of defense expenditures in the Philippines, see Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Spanish Profitability in the Pacific: The Philippines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" in *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History since the 16th Century*, eds. Dennis O. Flynn, Lionel Frost and A. J. H. Latham (New York: Routledge, 1999), 23-37, especially 30-34.

money, and that of the Crown to pay recruitment bonuses to those willing to defend the empire. They filled the ranks at first through recruitment of other members of the elites for the positions of officers such as alferéz and teniente.

Yet, military officers were unable to fill the requirements through incentives alone. Given the circulation of sailors, soldiers, servants, and other people between the Philippines and mainland New Spain, we can expect that the plebe of New Spain had probably heard much about the difficult conditions suffered by soldiers in the fortresses: disease, hunger, severe weather, and the embezzlement of resources by their officers, ecclesiastical personnel, and civil officials. Thus, the Crown worked to create coercive mechanisms which would supplement the supply of "freely-recruited" soldiers with forcibly-conscripted cannon fodder. These conscripts (*forzados*) were often seized from jails, or, as time went on, were sentenced by colonial judges with exile in the Philippines. Service in the Philippines became a fairly routine punishment levied by colonial officials by the seventeenth century. Military officials also obtained commissions for their impressment of maritime laborers, including grumetes. Like the military forzados, they obtained grumetes from the streets of Mexico and other colonial cities of New Spain. Some of their numbers included chinos, a product of knowledge about the important percentage of chinos serving aboard the galleons.

The Nahua-Texcocan chronicler, don Domingo Chimalpahin, descibed a case of resistance by some of the forzados. He wrote of a caravan of prisoners to be delivered to the the Philippines in 1613. The prisoners included indigenous, Spanish, mestizo, and mulato criminals and vagabonds, that is, people without the necessary patron-client relationships to insulate them from exile. As was customary, these forzados and soldiers in assembled in the city of Mexico before they traveled on muleback, some in chains, southward. They stopped again in

Cuernavaca before taking the road to Acapulco. In this year, a group of forzados overpowered their guards and escaped. The viceroy issued a decree ordering their apprehension, which was read aloud in public squares by criers (*pregonero*s). Troops and alguaciles also searched for them. A small group of the seventy who fled were found. They opened fire on their pursuers. Despite their resistance, the local militia was able to defeat them and executed them. Viceregal authorities later placed their heads on pikes. Later leaders, like Captain don Lorenzo Olaso, were ordered to be on their on guard when bringing the recruits to Acapulco. They told the recruits that flight was punishable by death. Commanding officers also were instructed to prevent the soldiers from harassing communities on the road for food or supplies. Troops more often fled in smaller numbers, probably in the treacherous country between Cuernavaca and Acapulco, where they melted into the countryside.[97]

Records left by royal notaries and officials recruiting chinos like Gerónimo Laya and soldiers within the city of Mexico show us that the chinos and others moving through New Spain from Asia did not simply melt into the multiracial plebe of the city and forget their heritage. Notaries recorded the place of borth of these chinos and their physical characteristics. In 1621, officials in the city of Mexico recruited Agustín de Espino for the galleon. Agustín, twenty-four, had been born in Pampanga. In 1625, Pedro de Palacios signed up for the return voyage to Asia. The notary described him as having a "round face" and being a native of Korea. Juan Nuñez, twenty-seven years old, a native of Cebu, and a child of Pedro Nuñez, also agreed to return

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[97] See Chimalpahin Quahtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time*, 237-238, 296-299; Gregorio Guijo and Antonio Robles also took notice of the recruits assembled in Mexico for the Philippines companies, and which later headed to Acapulco. See Guijo, *Diario, 1648-1664*, *Volume 1,* 3, 202, 209; Guijo, *Diario, 1648-1664*, *Volume 2,* 114, 131, 207; Robles, *Diario de Sucesos Notables*, *Volume 2*, 62. For chains, see AGI, Filipinas, 23, R. 2, N. 4, exp. 18, f. 19r (1663).

For recruitment, and the route between the cities of Mexico and Acapulco, see AGI, Filipinas, 50, N. 45, f. 14r (1620); AGI, Filipinas, 57, N. 6, fs. 24r-25v (1626); AGI, Filipinas, 54, N. 9, exp. 2, fs. 55r-55v (1646); AGI, Filipinas, 52, N. 3, fs. 59r-65v (1650); AGI, Filipinas, 55, N. 4, exp. 2, fs. 5v-7r (1662); and AGI, Filipinas, 55, N. 10, fs. 31v-37r (1673). For flight, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3897, exp. 32, fs. 1r-1v (1620); AGI, Filipinas, 21, R. 12, N. 66, exp. 4, fs. 21r-21v (1636); and AGI, Filipinas, 23, R. 2, N. 4, exp. 18, f. 12v (1663).

home. Described as “brown” and of “medium height,” the notaries noted that he had a mole on his eyelid and many smallpox scars. Nicolás de Faría, the namesake of his father, was twenty-five years old, and had been born in Parañaque, a long-time center for mariners in central Luzon. Faría had a beard and pierced ears. Antonio Bisadas, a twenty-year-old from Manila, signed on for the return voyage of the Manila galleon, as did another chino native of Manila, Lucas Laymon, the son of Juan Guisana, and just seventeen. Juan Taytay, was evidently a veteran, being thirty-six years old. He could have been named after the town of the same name in central Luzon (See Figure 4). Like the chino Bartolomé Tenorio, recruited two years earlier, Tomás Pérez was a native of the arrabal of Dilao, but was described as “tall.” He was also a smallpox survivor. Some chinos, like Juan de Aeta, were from descended from nobility. Aeta had been born in Ilocos to the principal don Juan Calen (See Figure 1).[98]

The resistance of Spanish and chino grumetes and sailors forced the semi-regular institution of the recruitment of maritime laborer. Grumetes jumped ship or fled with their advance payments to the cacao plantations of the coast and the anonymity of the city of Mexico, requiring the recruitment of other sailors for the trip back to Asia. Chinos also acted collectively after they arrived in the city of Mexico, helping to form social networks which drew on common experiences in the Pacific and Asia, while maintaining openness to interethnic relationships. We will look at a few such examples, especially those of religious brotherhoods, in the following section.

[98] See AGN, AHH, v. 1245, exp. 1, f. 104v (1621); AGN, AHH, v. 1238, exp. 2, fs. 108v-109r, 122v, 124r (1623); and AGN, AHH, v. 1238, exp. 3, fs. 71r, 73r, 80v, 82r, 84v (1625). For the continuing importance of Parañaque as a supplier of migrants and mariners, see FHLGSU, MF # 227694, Puebla de Zaragoza, Sagrario Metropolitano, Matrimonios de Castas 1661-1699, Item 2, f. 107v, (1682, 1688) ; and *Ibid*., Item 3, f. 73v (1688).

Brothers and Litigants

In 1697, the Neapolitan traveler Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Carreri spent time in the viceregal capital of New Spain. In his observations of the kingdom, he noted many exotic sights, and he greatly praised the opulent civic architecture and ecclesiastical buildings of the city. He also described social practices of the colony. One of the most important was the Corpus Christi procession, a religious festival which celebrated the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross. In Baroque cities, the corporate bodies of the society used this time to remind their fellow subjects of their place in the society. Guilds, contemplative and mendicant Catholic religious orders, university students and religious confraternities each had their own part in the procession. In the city of Mexico, clergy and plebe alike divided their confraternities by ethnicity, race, occupational specialty and municipal subdivision. Carreri found noteworthy among these divisions a chino cofradía, which he declared to be based in the convent of San Francisco, but which was more likely that of Santo Cristo y Lavatorio, which sometimos marched from the Franciscan monastery, but was based in the convent of Santa Clara (See Figure 15).[99]

Gemelli Carreri indicated the importance of social bodies as locations that chinos maintained, and even fought for, within the colonial order. On one hand, colonial authorities worked to construct the processional order in order to maintain ethnically-based social subordination, a structure which admirably served their purposes. On the other hand, chinos used this structure as a means to challenge certain features of the social order, albeit in socially and politically circumscribed ways.

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[99] See Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaje a la Nueva España* (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002 [1976]), 73.

For Corpus Cristi, see Silva Prada, *La política de una rebelión*, 136-151; and Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in* Mexico, eds. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, Delaware; Scholarly Resources, 1994), 1-26.

Chinos played prominent roles in at least three religious brotherhoods in the city of Mexico. The Spanish barbers integrated them into their guild structure by forcing chinos to pay dues to the occupational cofradía, the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Trinity (*Santísima Trinidad*) headquartered in the church of the same name. As casta members, chinos were probably excluded from office-holding. Nonetheless some may have been cofrades, as several chinos were buried within the church, a normal privilege of cofradía membership. Chinos like Lázaro de Salazar, buried in the Church of Santísima Trinidad in 1693, might well have been barbers exercising their prerogative as cofrades of this lay organization.[100]

Chinos also founded a prominent cofradia earlier in the seventeenth century. This cofradia was known as the brotherhood of the Santo Cristo y Lavatorio, and honored the washing by Jesus Christ of the feet of his apostles during his early ministry. The name of the cofradia followed Hispanic traditions regarding the honoring of certain points in the lives of Jesus, his mother, Mary, and the saints. By 1647, the members of this cofradía had made it an acknowledged part of the religious landscape of the city of Mexico. A document from that year noted the presence of the cofradía in the city, founded by chinos in the monastery of Santa Clara, a convent founded first as an ermita by the Nahuas of San Juan Tenochtitlán in the sixteenth century (See Figure 15). In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Nahuas donated the hermita to the Franciscans to be used as a convent for nuns wishing to live a contemplative life. Like many convents, Santa Clara evidently had a church attached, which was patronized by nearby residents.[101]

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[100] For the Santísima Trinidad, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 145, 174; above; and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 4, f. 15r (1693).

[101] While we do not have documents indicating the year of the founding of this cofradía, the writer of the 1647 document did not indicate that the cofradía was new. See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, fs. 1r-1v (1647). For prior writing on the Santo Cristo cofradía, see Oropeza, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 144, 174; Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 54; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 228-229.

Santa Clara was located close to the center of the city, the plaza mayor, where several chinos are known to have plied their trade of peddling (Figure 15). To the west lay San Juan Moyotlán, where several chinos resided in the first half of the seventeenth century. This part of the city also lay close to both the pre-Hispanic and present-day ceremonial centers of the city, making it convenient for those interested in participating in the Baroque pageantry essential to the creation of colonial meaning within the viceroyalty. The Dominican convent and its Inquisition annex lay a few blocks to the northeast. The Alameda, an important location for autos da fé and the paseos of the élite, lay to the west. Just to the east of the Alameda was the great Franciscan convent of San José, an important indigenous parish and a central place for the exercise of Nahua élite authority.[102]

The grandeur and authority displayed by the cathedral, as well as the Dominican, Franciscan, and later, Augustinian convents, ensured that they were important nodes for the processions which moved through the streets of the cities. Chinos engaged in pageantry which marked important patron saints of the colony, but also important civil events and religious figures which tied together the parts of the Hispanic and greater Catholic world. Famines, invasions, floods, and other disasters occasioned public and processional petitions to the exiting array of patron saints, but also to newer members of the saintly order, which could attain new prominence if their favor proved auspicious to the city, and whose favor was pleaded in public processions.[103]

[102] For Santa Clara and Nahua authority in San Juan Moyotlán, see Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan," 19, 34-35, 44, 278. For chinos of San Juan, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*'", 118; and Slack, "The *Chinos* in New Spain," 43.

[103] See Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism, and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (1996): 367-391. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, fs. 1r-1v (1647).

The importance of processions and their public role helps explain the litigation engaged in by the chino confraternity of Santo Cristo starting in 1647, and extending through the early decades of the eighteenth century. In 1647, the cofradia filed a brief with the Provisorato de los Indios y Chinos in order to defend their right to an orderly procession. Behind the suit were the rector Marcos de la Cruz Guerrero, the diputado mayor Francisco Burgueño, and the mayordomo, Juan de la Cruz. The litigants petitioned the provisorato to prevent other castas (*naciones*) from screaming or rioting during the religious procession. Further, the chinos suggested that this disorder was aimed at them, and that the provisorati should protect them from attacks levied by other "nations" within the major processions.[104]

Cruz Guerrero and the other officers decried the informal participation of members of the castas in their portion of the Easter penitential procession just before Good Friday. Penitence required flagellation and other bodily punishment, but the chinos accused members of other castas, and by implication, Afro-Mexicans, of doing so in a spectacular and unseemly fashion. By contrast, the chinos argued that they undertook penitence in a disciplined and modest way. They had done so for some years. The chinos also complained that non-cofradia members and cofrades alike had tried to take their place in the procession and to control the members of the cofradia in the procession. They requested a license to protect them from undue interference. Their complaint drew its force from a set of criticisms directed against Afro-Mexican cofradias in the seventeenth century. Nicole von Germeten has observed that such criticism stemmed from Spanish uneasiness with displays of violence, even if penitential, emphasized by free and

[104] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, fs. 1r-1v (1647). Chinos also marched in the cofradía procession in 1666 mourning the death of King Philip III. See Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 82-83.

enslaved Afro-Mexican cofrades. Accusations of disorder, then, related to broader discourses relation to the legitimation of the subordination of people of African descent in the colonies.[105]

Chinos in the viceregal capital strategically cooperated with members of the castas when it suited their interests. They cooperated in litigation during the eighteenth century proposed by no fewer than three Afro-Mexican cofradias. In 1702, the members of the cofradía of the Coronation of Christ and Saint Benedict of Palermo, a black cofradía based in the Convent of San Francisco, filed suit against another cofradía, the Assumption of the Virgin and Tears of Saint Peter. The rector of the cofradía explained that the Brotherhood of the Assumption, originally founded as an Afro-Mexican cofradía in the Spanish parish of Santa Catarina Mártir, had since been refounded as a Spanish cofradía. The cofrades of the refounded confraternity of the Assumption had moved themselves forward from the lines of the casta cofradias, by moving to the back of the line of the Spanish cofradias. The cofrades of San Benito complained that since the Spanish cofradias had precedence in the processions, the Assumption brothers had effectively skipped to the front. They noted the injustice of this new place, as many of their members were actually castas, including mestizos, mulatos, and indigenous people.[106]

The chinos of the cofradía of Santo Cristo supported the lawsuit of their San Benito brothers. For the 1702 lawsuit, Nicolás Tello de Guzmán led the cofradía as the rector of the cofradía. Josef de Baeza, another chino, served as the head of the primary group of brothers.

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[105] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47 fs. 1r-1v (1647). For penitential (*de disciplina*) cofradías, see Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 23-29, 33-37, 78. See also Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain," 479-520.

[106] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, fs. 2r-3r, (1703). For San Benito, see Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 20-22.

Ramón de Medina worked as mayordomo. The members named Francisco de Baeza as a founder.[107]

The chinos vociferously filed motions calling attention to the injustice they felt had been commited by the cofradía of the Assumption. In response, Diego de Merlo, the mayordomo of the opposing cofradía, asked for the account books of the cofrades of Holy Christ and Saint Benedict, in order to determine whether the cofradías had standing to contest the place of the cofradía of the Assumption. These books provided the caste of the officers, the status of the officers in terms of paying their dues, and information about the foundation and constitutions of the cofradías. The books confirmed the standing of the plaintiffs, and the lawsuit continued.[108]

In the midst of the lawsuit, the chinos of the Holy Christ provided copies of other documents which verified their place in the important processions of the city. One incident in particular showed their legal acumen. In 1673, the rector of the chinos argued that the officers of the Brotherhood of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Tears of Saint Peter, a moreno cofradía founded in the Spanish parish of Santa Veracruz, had failed to appear for an important procession, the celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Remedies, an important patron saint of the city. Given the antiquity and responsibility of their own cofradía, the chinos argued, in a motion filed with the ecclesiastical court, that they deserved their place in the processionary order. The provisor agreed with their reasoning, assigning them a place, as a casta confraternity, between the cofradía of San Roque, an Afro-Mexican confraternity founded in the Hospital of San Lázaro, and a confraternity of Afro-Mexicans founded in the Spanish parish of Santa Catarina Martír. The cofradía filed separate motions to have its place confirmed for several processions,

[107] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, fs. 4r-6v (1703).

[108] *Ibid.*, fs. 11r-24r (1702).

including a series of prayerful processions (*rogaciones*) that moved between the Cathedral and the convent of San Francisco, the Corpus Christi procession, and the transfer of the sacrament from the cathedral, to the Capuchin convent of San Felipe de Jesús, a convent honoring a Franciscan born in the city of Mexico who had been martyred by Japanese officials near Nagasaki (See Figures 3 and 15).[109]

In 1709, the chinos had their place challenged by the Santa Veracruz confraternity, now refounded by a mixed-casta membership. The officers of the newly-refounded confraternity argued that their place had been unjustly usurped by a younger confraternity. They further argued that the chinos had taken advantage of their status as litigants in the general indigenous court, filing petitions in a court inaccessible to castas, when they should have adjudicated their dispute in the Spanish courts of the city. The cofradía rector argued that they had been ignorant of the litigation depriving them of their position. By contrast, Josef de Baeza, the new rector of the Santo Cristo cofradía, explained that the members of the cofradía had followed the proper protocol. Further, the rector demonstrated that their claim had remained unchallenged for over three and half decades. The provisor ended up supporting the position of Baeza and the cofradía of chinos, though it took three years, and the continuation of the lawsuit by several other rectors of the cofradía.[110]

This successful case had been preceded by the defeat of the chinos and Afro-Mexican cofradías in their litigation against the Tears of Saint Peter. This cofradía, at first unresponsive to the motions of the Afro-Mexican and chino cofradías, soon counterattacked. One of their two

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[109] *Ibid.*, fs. 6v-10r (1673). On San Felipe de Jesús, the New Spanish missionary martyred in Japan, as well as the founding of the convent by the same name in the city of Mexico, see Conover, "Saintly Biography and the Cult of San Felipe de Jesús in Mexico City, 1597-1697," 441-466, especially 464-465.

[110] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, fs. 41v-44v, 46r, 47v-48v, 50r, 51r-52v (1712).

primary arguments was that the new place of the Tears of Saint Peter within the Spanish processional order had no effect upon the casta cofradas. They observed that the current processional order had originated from the just distinctions made by ecclesiastical authorities between Spaniards, indigenous people, and castas within the colonial system. Arguments based on antiquity, they argued, had effectively debased the sensible distinctions between cofradías based on ethnicity. Nevertheless, the orders were still mainly separate, and their departure from the casta procession order had no effect on the casta cofradías.[111]

Then, the officers of the confraternity of the Assumption and Tears of Peter drew on their trump card. They explained that the casta cofradías had overstepped the bounds of honor. In trying to argue that the casta identity of their leaders invalidated their claims, both Nicolás Tello de Guzmán and the rector of San Benito had tried to name the ethnicity of several of the members of the Tears of Saint Peter. The lawyer for the defendants alleged that the rectors had misidentified Diego de Merlo, one of the principal members, as a mulato. As a Spaniard, Merlo recoiled at this accusation, proving his Spanish heritage and successfully declaring this false accusation an attack on his honor. Spanish honor in part relied on identifying with a "pure lineage" (*limpieza de sangre*), free from the taint of Muslim, Jewish, and more recently, African, contamination. The use by members of the casta groups of these arguments was a fatal miscalculation, unsettling Spanish superiority over their ethnic subalterns.[112]

Finally, we should note that at least one other cofradía of founded, in part, by chinos and as chinos as a corporate group identity, emerged in the city of Mexico by the late seventeenth

[111] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, fs. 25r-27r (1702). For discussions of race and *limpieza de sangre* in colonial Mexico and Spanish America, see Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*; and *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, eds. María Elena Martínez, Max Sebastián Hering Torres, and David Nirenberg (Münster: Verlag, 2012).

[112] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, 25v, 32r-26r (1703).

entury. In 1694, chinos and Nahuas in the parish of San Sebastián, one of the four primary indigenous parishes of San Juan Tenochtitlán, jointly founded the Cofradía of the Most Holy Solitude and Agonies of Mary (See Figure 15). The bishopric of Aguiar y Seixas promoted the foundation of cofradías in the archbishopric of Mexico, just as had previously been the case in Michoacán, where parishes as far away as the Costa Grande saw important cofradías founded.[113]

Several chinos from the Sagrario parish helped to found the cofradía, which they did so in cooperation from Nahuas (*naturales*) from the parish. These included Felipe de Jesús Amuro, and Nicolás de la Serna. Other founder with no identified ethnicities had names that might have indicated that they were chinos, but the commonality of surnames like "de la Cruz" makes it nearly impossible to definitively identify them. In any case, the founders of the cofradías were identified as "natives of the Philippines islands," though in many cases, they seemed to have been chino creoles, just as had been many of the officers of the Santo Criosto de los chinos. There were exceptions. Antonio Navarro, a chino official who served as mayordomo of both Santo Cristo de los Chinos, and of Our Lady of Solitude, was a chino born in Manila. In 1694, he married an indigenous extravagante, probably a vecino of San Sebastián. As in the case of Santo Cristo, chinos in the cofradía of Our Lady of Solitude married non-chinos. San Felipe de Jesús Amuro married a mestiza named Antonia de Cervantes in 1679. The son of Jesús Amuro, Josef Antonio de Amuro, was also identified by a chino by curates when he married the castiza María de la Trinidad in 1703. Similarly, Nicolás de la Serna, who had served as the rector of Santo Cristo de los Chinos in 1672, helped cofound the San Sebastián cofradía. He married a mestiza, María de Rodríguez, in 1700, a mere six years after he had helped found a cofradía

[113] The foundation of this cofradía is described in AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1028, exp. 28. I would like to thank Jonathan Truitt for the reference for this document. I thank Edward Polanco and Dominique García for locating this document at the AGN and obtaining copies for me. For Aguiar y Seixas, see Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 15-17.

notable for its partially-chino foundation. Francisco de la Serna, the son of Nicolás, was identified as a chino when he married in 1702. He had also shown his chino pride by fathering Francisco de la Serna and enabling the curate to label him a chino in 1679.[114]

Despite the supposed exclusion of non-indigenous inhabitants from the four parcialidades, all cofrades, including chinos, claimed to be vecinos of San Sebastián, a claim substantiated by the Augustinian cura of San Sebastián. Chinos therefore constituted an essential part of this pueblo de indios in the city of Mexico, though this might have come from the fact that colonial administrators considered chinos to be indigenous, albeit foreign ones. The cofradía might have been organized around the small chino community centered on the indigenous college of San Gregorio that had formed in the early part of the century, though it is unclear how the community lasted so long. For example, Nicolás de la Serna lived behind this college in 1700. Other chinos declared residence there at the turn of the eighteenth century. Josef Antonio Amuro y Galicia died in 1702 in San Sebastián.[115]

The Jesuits had founded the college of San Gregorio in 1586, educating the children of indigenous principales (Figure 15). Chinos were some of these principales. One example we have is Ignacio de Mójica, a Kapampangan chino from the municipality of Silang, in central Luzon, a Jesuit-run parish located midway between the shores of Laguna and the port of Cavite (See Figure 4). Mójica was the son of doña Juana Salapi, a Kapampangan principala, and don

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[114]For Antonio Navarro, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, f. 46r (1709); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1028, exp. 28 (unpaginated) (1694); and FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 3, f. 64r (1694)).   For Felipe de Jesús Amuro, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 1, f. 103r (1679); and the arriage of Josef Antonio de Amuro, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 4, f. 55r (1703). For Nicolás de la Serna, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 1, f. 101v (1679); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, v. 1028, exp. 28 (1694).

[115] For Nicolás de la Serna and Jesús Amuro, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 4, f. 13r (1700); FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 5, f. 80v (1702).

Pedro Mójica, a militiamen who had been a cabeza de barangay and gobernador of the municipality. On the eve of his departure for New Spain with a Jesuit missionary, Ignacio testified about the service provided by his father in the militia and in civil service. Mójica arrived in New Spain in 1674 on the galleon, *Nuestra Señora de Buen Socorro*, and lived in San Gregorio. He probably attended the colegio as an indigenous, though migrant, noble, just as Kapampangan nobles attended the Colegio de San José in Manila. Nicolás de la Peña, a Kapampangan native of Apalit, was another alumni of the Colegio de San José. In 1691, he attended the Royal University of Mexico (Figure 15). Like other high-ranking chinos, Ignacio Mójica married a Spanish woman. He died in 1696 next to San Gregorio.[116]

The cofrades of San Sebastián defended the ethnic leadership of their cofradía, just as the chinos of Santo Cristo had done. In 1722, Juan de Messa, a Spaniard, y Cayetano de Aragón, a complained to the provisorato about the behavior of Antonio Navarro, then the mayordomo of the cofradía. Navarro, who they said claimed to be a chino, excluded them from leadership positions, which they argued they deserved as dues payer to the cofradia. Navarro, on the other hand, countered that the confraternity had been founded by chinos and indigenous people, who therefore reserved the privilege of governing the confraternity.[117]

Navarro worked to defend the leadership prerogatives of chinos within the confraternity, but he also must have worked with the approval of the Nahua officers that had cofounded the

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[116] For the foundation of San Gregorio and its misión, see Ileana Schmidt-Díaz de León, "El Colegio Seminario de Indios de San Gregorio y El Desarollo de la Indianidad en el Valle de México, 1586-1856" (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 2001), 1, 12, 31-38, 40-44; AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 52, fs. 1r-2r, and *passim* (1676/ See AGI, Filipinas, 43, N. 52, fs. 1r-2v (1676); Santiago, "The Lineage of Mójica: The Super-Principalia of Cavite," 93-106; FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 4, f. 114r (1696). See FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 3, f. 92v (1696); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 5, fs. 80v, 94v, 104v (1702-1704). Margarita Menegus Bornemann and Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España, siglos XVI-XVIII* (México, D. F.: Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, 2010), 65-68.

[117] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2623, exp. 34, fs. 1r-1v (1722).

cofradía. The cofounding had probably resulted from deeper roots sunk by chinos with San Sebastián, perhaps through intermarriage dating from the days of the Congregación of San Gregorio. Even if of recent derivation, chinos within the San Sebastián maintained other sorts of social relationships with the indigenous inhabitants of the parcialidad, just as parish registers show that chinos had married into Afro-Mexican and mestizo families within the city. In 1692, Nahuas of the city of Mexico led an urban riot in the city of Mexico, joined in by individuals of various ethnicities. The rebels looted stalls within the public plaza and burnt down the viceregal palace. Colonial administrators reacted swiftly, carrying out an inquiry and executing suspected perpetrators. The testimony of several indigenous participants indicated that several chinos, including a shadowy individual named "Juan Delgado" had worked with indigenous leaders of San Sebastián to catalyze the rebellion, even leading a group of people dancing a dance indigenous to Mexico known as the "tocotín." Another chino named Juan, perhaps the same individual, was said to have helped light the barracks of the palace afire during the riot. Like the Nahuas, chinos usually found less violent ways to form social networks.[118]

Casamiento and Compadrazgo

The lineage of cofradia officers provide clear cases that late seventeenth-century chino self-identification was in no way dependent on marital endogamy. They also indicated the strength of the creole portion of the chino population. They were often the parents of ethnically-

[118] Silva Prada, *La política de una rebelión*, 76-77, 285, 288, 296-297, 302, 371, 398, 400, 416-417. Chinos returning to the Philippines might have brought the dance across the Pacific, as chroniclers of the middle colonial Philippines record that Filipinos danced this form. See Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 127. Other chroniclers and historians have recorded other chino participants in social disorder. In 1624, a chino helped lead a demonstration in the main plaza of the city of Mexico, which thereafter helped lead into a mutiny and near riot. See Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 149.

In 1657, Gregorio de Guijo recorded that "an old chino" was led to the pillory and flogged two hundred times alongside an indigenous pulque seller, for an unnamed offense. In 1658, a large fire that engulfed the main plaza of the city of Mexico began at a stall of an unnamed chino barber. In 1662, a chino as one of several led to public penitence in the city of Mexico after being accused of various crimes by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. See Guijo, *Diario, 1648-1664*, *Volume 2*, 77, 108, 178.

mixed couples. Nonetheless, these individuals, who had the possibility of affiliating with a variety of casta labels, including that of their non-chino parents, chose the identifier of chino. Chinos also used other forms of social affinity, such as godparentage, to buttress the strength of intra-chino networks, as well as extending families to include people of many ethnicities.[119]

The example of the lineage of Francisco de Baeza, the named founder of the cofradía of Santo Cristo Lavatorio, showed the strength of chino identity, but also indicates the apparent importance of chino paternity in determining chino lineage. A chino named Francisco de Baeza had at least two children with an indigenous woman named Gracía. Their children were named Nicolás, Juan, and María; they were baptized in the Sagrario parish in 1624, 1625, and 1635. Juan de Baeza, the chino son of Francisco de Baeza, married Antonia de San Nicolás, a mestiza. They had several children, all identified as chinos. These included Francisco de Baeza, José de Baeza, and Tomasa de San José. The two sons of San Nicolás and Juan de Baeza exercised leadership roles in a cofradía which proudly proclaimed its chino identity. Like their father and probably grandfather, they also married non-chinos, as did their sister, San José. Francisco de Baeza married María de Córdova, a mestiza. Josef de Baeza married a Spanish woman, Antonia de la Cruz. Finally, Tomasa de San Josef married a mulato named Francisco Xavier Saavedra.[120]

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[119] R. Douglas Cope noted examples of chinos choosing this identy when born to chino fathers, and non-china mothers. See Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 57.

[120] For Francisco de Baeza and Gracía Enríquez, see FHLGSU, MF # 35132, Item 2, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, f. 84v (1624); FHLGSU, MF # 35132, item 4, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, f. 33v (1631); and FHLGSU, MF # 35132, Item 5, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, f. 17r (1635).

For Juan de Baeza, and his children, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 2, f. 122v (1687); FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 4, f. 18v (1693); FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 3, f. 71v (1695)); FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 4, f. 34v (1701); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 5, f. 107v (1704) For the leadership roles of the Baezas, see above, and AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 1241, exp. 26, fs. 4r, 48r (1709).

Other members of the cofradía of Santo Cristo de los Chinos also descended from chino fathers who entered into exogamous marriages. Nicolás Tello de Guzmán had been born the son of a chino, Salvador Tello de Guzmán, and of Antonia de la Cruz, a woman of unidentified ethnicity. Josef Tello de Guzmán, the brother of Nicolás, was also a chino. Josef married Josefa de Silva, another china criolla. Nicolás married Margarita Ortiz, a mulato from Tlaxcala. He served as the rector of Santo Cristo de los Chinos. Juan Pablo de la Serna, another chino officer of the cofradía, had been born to a chino father, Josef de la Serna, and an indigenous mother, Elena de la Cruz, an indigenous woman from Campeche, in the Yucatán. In 1688, Juan Pablo de la Serna married Nicolasa de Ayala, a Spanish women. After his wife died, Serna married another Spaniard, Gertrudis Alvear, in 1695. Neither marriage prevented him from energetically serving as an officer in a cofradía which jealously guarded its corporate privileges. Josef de la Serna and Elena de la Cruz had another avowedly chino offspring, María de los Santos, who in 1683 married a mestizo from Pátzcuaro. In 1677, Ramón de Medina, another officer, married a mulata, Josefa de la Cruz. The mother of Medina, Josefa de la Encarnación, had been a chino, though the ethnic identifier of his father, Bartolomé Flores, was unknown**.** In 1684, Tomás de la Serna, the chino rector of the cofradía in 1672, married Juana de San Antonio, a mulata slave of the Convent of the Incarnation.[121]

Officers of the cofradía from earlier years seemed just as committed to their identity, as we have seen. Their numbers provide a much smaller sample size, but they seemed more

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[121] For Nicolás Tello de Guzmán, and José Tello de Guzmán see FHLGSU, MF# 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 1, fs. 59r, 111v (1676, 1680).

For Juan Pablo de la Serna, and María de los Santos, and their parents, see FHLGSU, MF# 35 251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 2, fs. 46v, 143v (1683, 1688); and FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 3, f. 84r (1695). For Ramón de Medina, see FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 1, f. 66r (1677). For Tomás de la Serna, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 2376, exp. 23, fs. 1r-3r (1672); and FHLGSU, MF # 35251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Informacion matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, item 2, f. 61r (1684).

committed to marital endogamy than later officers.   Francisco Burgueño, a chino slaveowner from Chittagong, Bengal, and diputado mayor of Santo Cristo de los Chinos in 1647, married another china, Francisca de Silva (See Figure 3). Similarly, Marcos Guerrero, probably the same as Marcos de la Cruz Guerrero, the rector of the Santo Cristo de los Chinos in 1647, was also married to a chino, Josefa de Ortega, when ecclesiastical notaries recorded his his death. In 1637, Marcos Guerrero also had served as a padrino for Pedro, the chino child of two chinos, Juan Agustín, and Barbola de la Cruz. One Juan de la Cruz was buried in the convent of Santa Clara in 1674. Unlike most chinos, Cruz left a will, and provided enough money in it to pay for the saying of several Masses to mark his passing.[122]

Though the officers were verifiably chino, the cofradía of Santo Cristo, like other cofradias, included members of other castas. One piece of evidence we have for this is the will of Catalina de los Ángeles, a moderately prosperous mulata who died in 1683. She left money to the cofradía of "Santo Cristo de los Chinos" in her will, a strong indication that she was a cofrada.[123]

Other circumstantial evidence indicates the sphere of chino social activity. Burial records produced in the Sagrario indicate that several of their parishioners, nearly all chinos, were buried in the church of Santa Clara. Nor was membership in the cofradía limited to free chinos, a wise policy in light of the importance of the enslaved population before the 1670s. In 1659, the

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[122] For Burgueño, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 207; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, f. 1r (1647); FHLGSU, MF# 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas, 1671-1707, Item 1, f. 2r (1671); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 2, f. 98v (1684). For Porto Grande as Chittagong, see Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce,* 141.   For Marcos de la Cruz Guerrero, see FHLGSU, MF # 35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas 1603-1610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, item 5, f. 155v (1637); AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, f. 1r (1647); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 2, f. 6r (1681)). For Juan de la Cruz, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 5593, exp. 47, f. 1r (1647); Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 228-229; and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 1, f. 46v (1674).

[123] For Catalina de los Ángeles, see Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 101.

cofradía petitioned an owner of Juan de la Cruz, perhaps the very same official who served the confraternity, for the opportunity to purchase his freedom, due to his age and his membership in the cofradía.[124]

The realm of intra-chino lending networks and cofradías has shown the importance of intra-chino networks in central Mexico. Chinos developed corporate groups along different patterms in western Mexico and southern Mexico, but still drew upon a common, mutually-created ethno-juridical identity. Yet, several historians claim that other manifestations of ethnicity were more pertinent during the colonial era. One of the issues most debated by historians of the urban areas of colonial Mexico has been the pervasiveness and significance of marital exogamy. Some historians have suggested that calculating rates of endogamous marriage can act as a sort of proxy for analyzing the salience of racial identity. Several have criticized this equation, and the application of this factor to chinos, as with other very small groups, is fraught with challenges. Most prominently, historians like R. Douglas Cope have shown that the smaller the group, the less value some of these calculations have, as endogamy becomes, by default, of low likelihood. Such measurements are, in essence, artifacts of the sample size.[125]

Chinos were vastly outnumbered within the population of colonial city of Mexico and central Mexico. Marital exogamy was normal. For example, in her survey of the marriage banns of one hundred and twenty-five chinos, Tatiana Seijas found that less than twenty-four percent of chinos married chinas. This exogamy was not surprising given the ubiquity of the practice in

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[124] For Santa Clara chino burials, see FHLGSU# MF 35769, Asunción Sagrario, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, Item 1, fs. 46v, 58v, 63v, 143r, 169r, 192r (1674-1675, 1678-1680,); *Ibid*., Item 2, fs. 14r, 65v, 171v (1681, 1683, 1698); and *Ibid*., Item 3, f. 73v, 125r, 126r (1702, 1704); and FHLGSU, MF # 35770, Asunción Sagrario, Defunciones de castas 1707-1733, Item 2, f. 73r (1716). See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 228-229.

[125] For the equivalence made between group identity and marital endogamy, see John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Estate and Class in a Colonial City: Oaxaca in 1792," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19, no. 4 (1977), 477-482. Also, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 108. The former article was one of many in a scholarly discussion about the salience and primacy of categories of ethnicity, race, and class to everyday life in colonial Spanish America. See Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 80.

central Luzon, but material limitations also help explain marital exogamy. Even within this scattered chino population, sex ratios were extremely skewed. Even if china slaves were brought in equal numbers as chino slaves, chino mariners were almost all men, leading to much high proportions of chino men compared to chinas, especially in the earliest eras of chino sojourning and settlement in New Spain. Oropeza demonstrates that chino women were considerably outnumbered by chino males. Therefore, it is not startling to see that chino exogamy rates were much higher than indigenous people, Spaniards, and even Afro-Mexicans. Oropeza suggests that skewed gender ratios best explain low rates of marital endogamy by chinos. Blessed with better gender ratios, chinas had a better chance to practice marital endogamy than chinos. Consequently, when Oropeza analyzed the marriages of seventy-five chinas, she found endogamy rates of forty-seven percent, twice that of chino marital endogamy. This is not the end of the story, since as we have seen for cofradia formation, peddler networks and small businesses, chinos still formed intra-chino networks and affinities.[126]

Any examination of chino endogamy relies on sacramental records produced in the Sagrario parish, which covered the majority of the traza of the city of Mexico, but also the two Spanish and casta parishes of Santa Catarina Mártir and Santa Veracruz, as well as areas under the administration of the five major indigenous parishes. These records are particularly valuable because they include ethnic labels imposed by the officiating curate, provide ethno-juridical interpretations produced by curates during different sacraments, including marriage banns,

[126] See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 109-120. See Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 119-120. . In my own cursory examinations of chino marriages found in parish registers recording marriages and burials from the Sagrario, Santa Veracruz, Santa Catarina Mártir parishes in the city of Mexico, and the parish records of San Juan Bautista and San Jacinto, near Coyoacán, I found that marital exogamy rates of chinos lay in between the respective exogamy rates of chinos and chinas found by Seijas and Oropeza Keresey. I found inadequate time to verify these initial findings and consistently cross-reference these records, which document hundreds of chino marriages. As I have shown above, marriages represented only one way of identification and construction of networks by chinos. Nonetheless, more fully-realized analyses of these records could better illuminate this particular facet of chino social interaction.

baptisms, marriages, and burials, and even record information from sacraments performed in other Mexico City parishes. They also allow us, in some cases, to follow individuals over time, locate them in space, and even to trace generations of chinos.

Yet these records also have important limitations. Certain curates failed to provide ethnic labels. This means that for a given series of records, not all betrothed were labeled, and the same was true for sponsors, and the baptized. The next problem is that there are significant gaps in the records. For example, burial data (*entierros*) of castas only contain references to places of residence after 1672. Marriage records are lacking between 1662 and 1672. Baptismal records stop providing ethnic labels after 1646. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, R. Douglas Cope, in his own study of middle colonial Mexico City, found that the marriage records do not always accurately record the ethnicity of marriage partners. The racial and ethnic identities of colonial castas were flexible and this flexibility was made manifest in these records. For example, Cope found that the ethnicity of spouses in interracial couples changed over time, with curates changing the ethnic label that they affixed to one of the spouses to conform to the label of the other.[127]

Depending on the study, examination of parish registers show varying rates of marital endogamy and exogamy, but as we have seen, chinos found a variety of ways to create intra-chino networks while still maintaining the interethnic relationships and alliances necessary to flourish in colonial society. Sacramental records show that individuals used godparentage (*compadrazgo*) to reinforce self-identification and the reproduction of chino community. These ties complemented those already formed when chinos selected other chinos to act as witnesses to their marriages, which being of humble means, chinos could not always afford. Chinos also

[127] For the challenges of working with parish registers, see Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 7, 58, 69-71, 76, 83.

acted as padrinos and madrinas of non-chino children, strengthening ties with non-chinos. Since many chinos were born of these multi-racial marriages and unions, it meant that chinos enlarged their community. We can compare this to Tagalog communities in the arrabales of Manila, or to Kapampangan municipalities in central Luzon. Both integrated outsiders through intermarriage and also through godparentage of baptized children. Chinos followed a similar profile in Mexico. Chinos acted as godparents to non-chino children. For example, in 1635, the chino Francisco de la Cruz served as the godfather of Diego, the son of Juan and María, both Afro-Mexicans. In 1638, the two chinos Francisco and María served as the godparents of Antón, the son of two Afro-Mexicans named Juan and Francisca.[128]

An impressive number of chinos also acted as godparents to chino children of exclusively-chino and mixed-race couples with chino spouses. Though seventeenth-century sacramental records produced by curates and their assistants did not consistently provide the ethnicities of the participants in baptisms, a run of two sets of records, spanning from 1622 to 1642, record over fifty-five cases of chinos acting as godparents to other chinos, while other parish records contain scattered references to intra-chino compadrazgo before and after this time. For example, on August 5, 1605, Diego Tamayo, a chinom served as a padrino to Simón alongside doña Agustina Porser, probably a Spaniard. The officiating curate listed as the parents of Simón two chinos, Antonio and Mónica. The following year, curates in the Sagrario parish recorded compadrazgo ties among enslaved chinos. On July 9, two enslaved chinos, Luis, and

[128] For the significance of witness selection for chinos marrying, see Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 109, 123. In her survey of the marriage banns of one hundred and twenty-five chinos, Tatiana Seijas found that less than twenty-four percent of chinos married chinas. See Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 109-120. See FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637; Item 2, f. 49v (1635); and FHLGSU, MF# 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas, 1637-1642, Item 1, f. 64v (1638).

Felipa, brought their son, Pedro, to the Sagrario to be baptized. Magdalena, an enslaved chino, and Pedro, another chino, served as his godparents.[129]

A number of chinos also acted as godparents to illegitimate chino children and foundlings, referred to in sacramental records as *hijos de la iglesia* (children of the church). Thus, in 1631, the chino Andrés served as a godfather to the chino Sebastián, a child of the church. In 1637, the chinos Felipe and Esperanza pledged to be godparents to José, a chino hijo de la iglesia. Compadrazgo of foundlings and other non-chinos also proved to be an opportunity for cross-ethnic social relationships. Such might have been the case on July 8, 1632, when the chinos Pedro and Juan stood as the godparents of Juan, an Afro-Mexican hijo de la iglesia. In 1637, when clerics baptized the African Antonio, an adult and a slave of Francisco de Aguirre, the chino Lázaro de Torres acted as his grandfather.[130]

These godparents were drawn from a variety of profiles. Some of the chino godparents who oversaw baptisms were most prominent as padrinos. Others, however, sponsored children while having children of their own. For example, Manuel de Baeza, and Angelina de Aguilera, two chinos, had their child Pascual baptized in 1632. The chinos Gerónimo and Juana sponsored the child as godparents. In 1635, in turn, Baeza and Aguilera served as godparents to Joaquin, the child of the chinos Manuel and María. Similarly, after the birth of their son Salvador in 1635, the chino barber Antonio Cebiços and his wife Mónica Gómez, selected as godparents two

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[129] The twenty-year span of unusually strict attention to casta labels can be found in FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637; Items 1-3; and FHLGSU, MF # 35133, Mexico, Distrito Federal,...Church Records, 1514-1970, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, Items 1-3.

For Agustina, see FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637; Items 1, f. 60r (1605).

[130] FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 3, f. 21v (1631); FHLGSU, MF# 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas, 1637-1642, Item 1, f. 11v (1637); FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 4, f. 84v (1632).

chinos, Domingo López and Elena. They had chino godparents for at least two more of their children. His son Antonio, born in 1638, had the chino vendor Francisco García as a godfather, as did Simón, born in 1639. In 1642, Cebiços acted as godfather to María, the daughter of Francisco García. Other chino godparents provided compadrazgo despite not occupying visible roles as parents. In 1636 and 1639, the chino Domingo de Ortega volunteered to be the godparent for Lorenzo and Julián, the children of the identically named chino Domingo de Ortega, and his chino wife, María de la O.[131]

Some chinos served as godparents in two different parishes. In the Sagrario parish, in 1638, the china Clara de Alarcón served as a godparent, alongside with the chino Domingo de Arías for Antonio, the son of Antonio Sebicos. Yet, Alarcón also traveled to Los Altos of San Gerónimo, which, along with the other Coyoacán-area obrajes of San Jacinto and San Gerónimo, lay under the administration of the parish of Santa Veracruz. There, Alarcón provided her services as a madrina to children of chinos born in the chapels of the obrajes, such as Manuela, the china daughter born in 1648 to the chino Rodrigo López and his mulata wife, Juana de San José, both in the service of Pedro de Sierra. The chino Pascual de Ontiveros served as the padrino. In 1651, Alarcón and Ontiveros were padrinos for Pedro, another child born to the same chino couple.[132]

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[131] FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 2, f. 82v (1632); and FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 3, f. 16r (1635). For Sebicos and Francisco García, see AGN, Civil, 258, exp. 5, f. 5r (1611); AGN, Indios, v. 13, exp. 126, f. f. 111v (1633); FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 3, f. 36r (1635); FHLGSU, MF # 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, item 1, f. 83r (1638); MF # 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, item 2, f. 79v (1639); and FHLGSU, MF# 35134, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1642-1646, Item 1, f. 53r (1642). For Domingo de Ortega, see FHLGSU, MF#35132, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de castas 1603-..610, 1617-1625, 1630-1637, Item 3, f. 115v (1636); and FHLGSU, MF # 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, item 2, f. 6v (1639).

[132] For Alarcón, see MF # 35133, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Bautismos de Castas, 1637-1642, item 1, f. 83r (1638); FHLGSU, MF# 35811, Santa Veracruz, Bautismos de castas 1646-1685, Item 1, fs. 52v, 149r

Parish records are especially useful in documenting another crucial group. One hundred and thirty-seven single chinos appeared in colonial burial records. Single people with no children would have little occasion to appear in most parish records. Being unmarried, they were excluded from the banns and records of marriages. They also were not found in baptismal records, as many were migrants, while still others had no noted ethnicity at their baptism. As we previously noted, these documents also recorded the last place of residence of the deceased. Next, they provided insights into the lives of the married; scribes and curates occasionally recorded the names of the spouses of widowers, and they were especially diligent in annotating the ethnicity of the deceased. Finally, these sacramental registers recorded the burial place of many chinos, a surprising number of whom were not buried in the main chapel. A few were buried in the Convent of Santa Clara. In 1674, the year of the death of Juan de la Cruz, Ursula de la Cruz, a china slave, and probable cofrada of Santo Cristo, was put to rest in Santa Clara. In 1683, the china libre María de la Concepción, single and a resident of Calle de los Mesones (Tavern Street) was buried in the convent of Santa Clara. In 1702, the chino Diego Antonio, a resident of the Tacuba Street, also chose to be buried in Santa Clara. The entierro registers also records other clusters of chino residence, especially the streets of los Mesones, and the Real Acequía, and the plazas near the churches of San Gregorio and San Sebastián (Figure 15).[133]

Slavery and Chino Identification

Despite the flexibility of caste, chino men in exogamous marriages had several chino children. As the records of the cofradía officers make clear, even after they had left the custody

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(1648, 1651).

[133] Numbers for defunciones of chinos solteros were drawn from FHLGSU# MF 35769, Asunción Sagrario, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, Items 1-3; and FHLGSU, MF # 35770, Asunción Sagrario, Defunciones de castas 1707-1733, Items 1-2. See FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 1, f. 58v (1674); FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 2, f. 65v (1683); and FHLGSU, MF # 35769, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1671-1707, item 5, f. 73v (1702).

of their parents, chino and china children of chinos retained their chino ethnic identifier, and some even had their own chino children, despite the distance from Asian colonial experiences. One reason for the the continuity of a chino ethnic category was continuing chino migration from Filipinos who identified themselves as originating in Ilocos, Manila, Pampanga, and other concrete locales in the Spanish colonial Empire, especially in the last half of the seventeenth century. Another explanation for this continuity was the maintenance of chino as a juridical category by chinos themselves.

Yet it is also clear that the category of chino changed over time. One axis of change in the city of Mexico was that the identification of "chino" individual, which initially described individuals connected with slavery, over time became more closely tied to free chinos. Again, the Sagrario sacramental registers help us plot some of this change. Chinos found in the rolls, and within the testimony verifying the freedom of spouses to marry (*amonestacione*s), were seen as tied with slavery between 1580 and 1680. Many of the marriages found in the Matrimonios documents, even between chinos, were between slaves. Even after the 1640s, when more chinos identified themselves as free, they specifically identified themselves as free. So in 1629, during testimony about the ability of a mulato, Sebastián de Áviles, to marry, Bartolomé Díaz, a chino trader of Asian cloth (*sinabafas*) declared that he was "free of servitude" (*libre de cautiverio*). This suggested the exceptional nature of the free chino or a juridical assumption of their unfreedom.[134]

Though after the 1670s, curates administering the sacraments continued to label chinos as "free of captivity;" over time, they neglected to use this phrase. Corresponding with the decrease in the frequency of its use was another phenomenon, the disappearance of the term chino to

[134] See FHLGSU, MF# 1481767, Matrimonios vol. 8 (cont.) 1800 vol. 9 1793, 1794, 1773, 1770, 1774, 1811, 1741, 1765, 1743, 1726, 1741, 1751 vol. 10 1629, exp. 41, fs. 96-97v (1629).

designate slaves from Asia. From the 1680s forward, curates producing records in the "Entierros" and "informaciones matrimoniales" series in the parish of the Sagrario defer from labeling as chino enslaved individuals moving through the Pacific from Malabar, Mozambique, and more generally "India de Portugal." According to Déborah Oropeza, in the period from 1580-1680, such individuals represented almost one-third the chinos with identifiably Asian origins. I suggest that slavery increasingly became estranged from chino identity over the last two decades of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century.[135]

Oropeza documents that the initiative for chino manumission in New Spain began fairly early, in 1658. Simultaneously, the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, in Guadalajara pushed an effort to end slaving on the northern frontier (See Figure 10). The Queen Regent Mariana issued the decree freeing both chinos and chichimec slaves in 1672, reminding her subjects of an earlier antislavery decree issued in 1669, and by 1676, the Audiencia of México had begun extensive proceedings to legally free chinos in the city, manumitting at least sixty-one in that year alone. At the same time, ecclesiastical notaries provided more descriptions of the backgrounds of petitioners in their amonestaciones. For example, in 1676, ecclesiastical notaries observed that the free chino Antonio Silvestre married Petronila Rosa, an indigenous woman from Toluca, in central Mexico (See Figure 14). A free chino, he was the offspring of Nicolás de la Cruz and Ana María. He explained that he had been born in the port of Cavite, and had resided in the city of Mexico since he had been a child. Pedro Gutiérrez, a Kapampangan from Lubao, had arrived in the city of Mexico in 1674 (See Figure 4). He married the poblana and china Antonia de la Cruz, in 1680. Of more common origins was Juan de la Cruz, a free chino from the city of

[135] Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos,*'" 111. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3044, exp. 8, fs. 1r-3v (1718).

Manila. He arrived in the city of Mexico in 1700, marrying Luisa de la Cruz, a mestiza native of the same city, in 1704.[136]

Conversely, ecclesiastical officials appeared to have narrowed their definition of chino from most people hailing from Asia to persons of a certain physiognomy or non-enslaved individuals. We have several examples of chinos deploying these observations. In 1678, the chino Domingo de la Cruz, when suing for freedom in Nueva Galicia, declared that his face appeared like that of a chino "and not that of a mulato nor of any other kind of slave." When being examined by the Inquisition of Durango in 1693, the examiner of the Kapampangan chino Alonso de Coronel noted that he had the skin color and facial appearance of "those that are called chinos in the city of Mexico." In parish registers, the classification of chino became more exclusive. For example, ecclesiastical notaries recording marriages in 1693 noted the presence of Miguel de los Santos, a free black of Portuguese India. The notaries labeled him a black, rather than a chino, despite the fact that he hailed from Asia. In 1688, Martín de Lesarzar, called by the notary a "black" from the Portuguese Estado da Índia, married Francisca, an Afro-Michoacana from the city of Valladolid, in Michoacán (See Figure 10). Previously, many slaves from Portuguese India had been classified as chinos. In the same year, Lorenzo de la Cruz, a "black" slave who had been born in Manila married María de la Cruz, a mulata born in the city of Mexico. Despite being born in the Philippines, ecclesiastics did not call him a chino.[137]

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[136] For the decree, and its effects, see Oropeza Keresey, "Los 'indios *chinos*,'" 135-137; and Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude," 236-239. For antislavery litigation in Guadalajara, see Zavala, *Los indios esclavos*, 228-229. For Silvestre, see FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 1, f. 50v (1676); and see FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 2, f. 2v (1676); and FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 5, f. 84v (1704).

[137] BPEJ, Real Audiencia, Civil, c. 9, exp. 9, progresivo 134, f. 1v (1678); AGN, Inquisición, v. 528, exp. 6, f. 461r (1693); FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 4, f. 49r (1693). FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro),

Ecclesiastical notaries producing death records corroborate this shift in understanding. In 1708, notaries of the parish of the Sagrario documented the death and burial of Luis Pera, the black Malabar slave of don Juan de Garay Coechea. In 1720, María de Zavala died in the parish of the parish of the Sagrario. A slave of the "moro nation", owned by the Maestro de Campo don Domingo de Zabalburu, the governor of the Philippines, she probably spoke a language such as Samal spoken in the southern Philippines, and as such would have probably qualified as a chino a few years earlier, before the 1672 chino manumission decree had been widely implemented. For example, in 1682, ecclesiastics had labeled as a free chino, Inés de la Encarnación, a native of the Sultanate of Jolo, one of the centers of Islamicate "moro" resistance to Spanish rule in the southern part of the archipelago and a population which had earlier been vulnerable to Spanish slavers (see Figures 1, 2, and 3).[138]

What had happened to the more ambiguous and inclusive notion of chino? This category had previous encompassed freed and enslaved people who derived from areas as widely separated as Makassar and Mozambique. I suggest that this notion had narrowed in part due to the 1672 manumission decree, but also in part because of the activity of free chinos, especially those hailing from the indigenous peasant and maritime peoples of the archipelago. A document produced in 1718 helps endorse this conclusion.

In 1718, Juan de Valenzuela, an individual hailing from Cavite, was brought to New Spain from the Philippines on the ship *Santo Cristo de los Burgos* by his master, Doctor Francisco de Valenzuela. He was brought to the city of Mexico where his master died.

Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 3, fs. 137r, 138r (1688). See also, *Ibid*., Item 4, f. 111r; (1697); and *ibid*, Item 5, fs. 28r, 66v (1701, 1703).

[138] FHLGSU, MF# 35770, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano, Defunciones de castas 1707-1733, Item 1, f. 35r (1708); and *Ibid*., Item 2, f. 23v (1720). For Encarnación, see FHLGSU MF# 035251, Asunción Sagrario Metropolitano (Centro), Información matrimonial de castas 1672-1706, Item 2, f. 17v (1682). For the compatibility of "moro" and "chino" labels in the early Costa Grande, see AGN, Tierras, v. 3624, exp. 6, fs. 15r-15v (1677).

Valenzuela insisted that he was a chino, and therefore a free man, though local authorities disputed his identity. He brought his case before the Real Audiencia. In his defense, he mustered testimony from two Afro-Mexicans, Simona de la Cruz, and Juan. Cruz had served Doctor Francisco de Valenzuela in the Philippines, and when she had met Juan de Valenzuela, he had been presented as a free man. Juan, a native of Spain and resident of New Mexico, had served in the militia brought to the Philippines. He had met Valenzuela when returning to New Spain, as the chino was serving Valenzuela, who had been called to New Spain to serve as an oidor in the Audiencia. In the end, the fiscal insultingly noted that the supporting testimony was provided by people of African descent. Nonetheless, he noted that so important was the notion of liberty that by showing through his own appearance "it was enough" that Juan de Valenzuela, seemed to be a "native of the islands" or "Kapampangan." As such, Valenzuela was free.[139]

Conclusion:

Like so many other early modern cities, Mexico acted as a center of redistribution and a "node" which tied together many other municipalities, hinterlands, and regions. Mexico served as a stopping place and perhaps city of settlement of chinos from the Costa Grande, and from Acapulco, the even more distant reaches of the Philippines and Maluku. Mexico proved to be an important center for goods, ideas, and people imported the Pacific, including Perú, the Spice Islands, India, Japan, and the peripheries of New Spain, especially the Costa Grande and Colima. Second, the city of Mexico served as a key link, and in fact, destination, for the goods, people, and ideas flowing across the Atlantic. Members of American and Asian noble families used the Atlantic to connect with the Spanish court, but so too, did chino mariners found themselves serving in the Atlantic and Pacific worlds. Merchantes, sailors, soldiers, and administrators connected Mexico with the Pacific world, Caribbean, and Spain, but also with the western

[139] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 3044, exp. 8, fs. 1r-3v (1718).

European ports and south Atlantic cities like Pernambuco and Luanda. Further, as a viceregal capital, the city of Mexico anchored the civic institutions of the viceroy, the Audiencia, the cabildo, and merchant corporate bodies. As a capital of a Catholic kingdom, Mexico also hosted the Inquisition episcopal courts, and the flagship monasteries, monasteries, and charitable institutions of the viceroyalty. Finally, this viceregal kingdom stood tall as an important center of cultural, social, religious, and economic activity which included artisanal production, transportation and sale of goods from across the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa. The residence of such a diverse population and the role of the city as a stop for peripatetic individuals such as peddlers, arrieros, missionaries, soldiers, and sailors ensured that the city served to facilitate exchange and even production of knowledge about various parts of the world, including Asia.

This chapter examined the variety of labor performed by chinos in central Mexico. It further analyzed the ways that chino patterns of social interaction, negotiated routes of social mobility, and changed their strategies of ethnic representation over time. The labor patterns and modes of mobility of chinos in the city of Mexico differed markedly from chino status and conditions in both western Mexico and the Costa Grande. Unlike the latter regions, chinos made up a negligible portion of the population of the city of Mexico. Further, chinos were not restricted in the same way to a narrow band of occupations, as they were in the western Mexico, and Costa Grande. Such variety ensured that chino plebes remained dispersed around the city compared to their rural concentrations. The importance of the city as an area of artisanal production and consumption helped create a diverse set of occupations for chinos to exercise. The richness of the élites of the city also helped create a large demand for slaves, so chino slaves formed a much larger portion of the overall population than was the case in Colima and the

province of Zacatula. This prominence of chino slaves made for a much larger foreign-born china population, and they were distinctive for showing the degree to which marital endogamy prevailed when enough chino marriage partners were available.

The ecclesiastical institutions of the city of Mexico were especially important for chino ethno-juridical identification and the formation of intra-chino social networks. In the absence of specific "ethnic" occupational categories and chino settlements, chinos used various ecclesiastical institutions to organize and deploy their ethno-juridical identity to full effect. Chinos used formal institutions such as cofradías and congregaciones to form social networks and a formally articulated "chino" identity. They also used informal networks formed through compadrazgo and marriage to form alliances with non-chinos, but also to socially reproduce chinos. It is upon these bases that chinos built other relationships, as a protected group of indigenous tribute payers and vendors, affiliating with the Nahua leadership of both San Juan Tenochtitlán and its components, such as San Sebastián Atzacualco.

Despite the diversity of the city, chinos followed some patterns comparable to their rural rhythms. Being mostly men, they intermarried with local non-chinos, just as they had in the Philippines, the Costa Grande, and Colima. Chinos put to good use in the city of Mexico their familiarity with colonial Spanish language, culture, and institutions that they had acquired in urban Luzon. Several chinos formed economic and social relationships with other chinos, having shared histories of colonialism in Luzon, and bonded over even more intimate quarters on the Manila galleons. Finally, despite their dispersion and marital exogamy, they expressed colonial Filipino ethno-linguistic identities in documents produced in the city of Mexico. The city offered and chinos availed themselves of some of the bewildering array availability of a bewildering array of modes of ethnic performance. In addition to self-ascription, documents

showed chinos demonstrating ethnic-based cofradia membership, compadrazgo ties, and credit extension. Nonetheless, chinos were small islands of colonial Asia in a sea of Iberian, African, and especially indigenous populations in the city.

Conclusion:

This research relies on qualitative historical analysis of colonial archival sources to reconstruct the careers of chinos, and to portray the diversity of chino experiences. I use records from over thirty archives in five different nations, drawing from various documental genres. I created databases to catalog and link transcribed records, employing these references for three different purposes. First, I employed records generated in different locales to confirm the identity of individual chinos and track their movements over space and time, and within social hierarchies. I showed that chinos emerged from within a wider cohort of populations moving within early colonial Luzon, and the colonial Philippines, traversing provinces and ports within the Philippines and Asia, across the Pacific, and within New Spain. Second, I documented chino interactions with different political economies and labor regimes. This project demonstrates the importance of pre-Hispanic social patterns and colonial interactions for setting patterns of interactions for chinos within New Spain. Finally, I tracked how chinos deployed varying ethnic identities in the course of engaging with the colonial legal system and creating social affiliations, whether these were marriages or commercial partnerships. In the process, I show that though enslaved chinos were an important part of the chino population, free tribute-paying chinos were most successful in utilizing the colonial ethno-juridical category of "indio" in the course of writing petitions and litigation in order to create social networks and attenuate patterns of extreme exploitation from those collecting their surplus.

Within colonial New Spain, chinos carved ethnic spaces and livelihoods even within the urban societies of central Mexico. In areas of sparser settlement, such as the Costa Grande, chinos joined pueblos de indios and formed their own barrios. In western Mexico, they had the most impact, remaking the local political economy to create a new industry dependent on their

importation of central Luzon harvesting techniques, distillation technology, and modes of debt servitude. The acquaintance of chinos with colonial institution stemmed from their experience of decades of colonial rule in the Philippines. The indigenous people of the Philippines had become acquainted with many colonial institutions before they set foot on the galleons, especially forms of indigenous governance, colonial court systems, and ethnic-based lay brotherhoods. They developed repertoires of negotiation, resistance, and accommodation from a history of interaction in the Philippines, a colonial society which they played a large role in building.

I illustrate that chinos brought several Southeast Asian practices with them, some of which differentiated them from the creoles, indigenous people, and people of African descent in New Spain, while other forms, especially patterns of debt servitude converged with colonial Spanish American institutions. Most recognizable of these practices were patterns of debt bondage, which linked interest in borrowed capital or goods to continuing services owed by chinos to creditors. Varieties of this practice were common across Southeast Asia, and its manifestations in colonial Mexico loosely followed the modes of saguiguilid and namamahay seen in central Luzon. Chinos in western, southern and central Mexico also practiced distillation methods and harvesting techniques, such as the use of tree bridges, directly imported from Southeast Asia. They adapted these to the practices of New Spain, using the coconut palms of Pacific New Spain, themselves imported from Austronesian and Melanesian societies to the west. Further, chino applied their distillation methods to agave ferments in western and central New Spain; these methods were later adapted by the indigenous and Afro-Mexican peoples of western Mexico linked to chinos through friendships, intermarriage, and other social networks.

In the realm of political organization, chinos imported to New Spain from the Philippines the role of cabeza de barangay, and re-imported the use of the office alcalde. These offices had

been derived in part from colonial American offices present in many indigenous municipalities, but still consistent with Austronesian practices. The roles of chinos alcaldes mirrored those of the cabezas de barangay. Their traditional duties included collecting tribute and mediating disputes. The expressions of the Philippines and "indio" provenance of these practices of governance can be seen in the identification by chinos of their practices in Colima as consistent with election practices in the Philippines. Further, Spanish and chino individuals alike identified the founders of lay religious communities and communities in the city of Mexico and the Costa Grande as being constituted by "natives [indios] of the Islas Filipinas." As mentioned above, chino marital exogamy in New Spain was also reminiscent of practices in the South China Sea and Indian Ocean. Chinos extended these practices to mainland New Spain, though they modified them due to the fact that they were almost almost exclusively men. Enslaved chinos were gathered into chino communities through godparentage, adoption, intermarriage, and even manumission.[804]

An analysis of the colonial history of the Philippines also helps us understand modes of chino social interactions in colonial New Spain. Documents produced in New Spain by and about chinos indicated that many free chinos were conversant in Hispanic culture and even the Spanish language. Indio status and the patterns of coerced labor in the colonial Philippines also help explain paths of spatial and social mobility employed by chinos, and their creation of a common colonial culture. Non-military Spanish migrants were scarce in the Philippines. As a result Tagalog and Kapampangan labor was in great demand. The vast ranks of Filipinos served in shipyards, intra-insular shipping, and in convents and workshops, often supervised by Spanish

[804]More generally, practices of exogamy as constitutive of Southeast Asian practice were maintained. For example, the rulers of Brunei, and Melaka, though allegedly of foreign extraction, nonetheless proudly practiced Malay customary law (*adat*) and a variety of island Southeast Asian tradition. Other "hybrids" of Luzon, such as mestizos, and Tagalog-Kapampangan families also formed through the use of cognatic kinship patterns for alliance production.

overseers, and skippers. Examples like those of the cortes show that indigenous elites helped serve as labor brokers for “non-skilled labor” demanded in corvée drafts like the mita and repartimiento in Mesoamerica, Central America and the Andes.

Members of the Tagalog, Kapampangan, and Visayan indigenous nobility served as intermediaries, mediating between the voracious tribute and labor demands of Spanish colonial administrators, and the needs of indigenous communities. So, too, did peasant Filipinos fleeing the demands of their communities become closely tied with private, ecclesiastical, and public Hispanic patrons. These connections affected later interactions between colonial maritime laborers and Spanish administrators in New Spain. Similarly, indigenous principales from central Luzon developed alternative modes of civic engagement with colonial administrators that freed them from ties to indigenous communities. Kapampangan and Tagalogs served as soldiers equipped the same as their Spanish comrades. Tagalog and Kapampangan notaries and clerks staffed the chambers of the Audiencia, the Treasury, and the Chancillery of the Philippines. Tagalog and Kapampangans served as head shipwrights and even architects. Ladino Kapampangans and Tagalogs supplied Spanish testimony in a variety of contexts. In other contexts, the same nobles used baybayin script to sign colonial documents, and even wrote colonial documents, wills, testimony, and bills of sale in indigenous languages. The shape of Filipino and Asian leadership in New Spain took a different form than in the Philippines. The leaders of Asian communities in New Spain rarely descended from noble lineages, as evidenced by the lack of “don” in the names of individuals named as officers.

This project analyzed, through the use of trans-Pacific lenses, the routes traveled by chinos within and between areas of the Iberian Pacific. It examined the spatial and social mobility exhibited by the inhabitants of central Luzon in several different regions of the

archipelago of the Philippines and within Asia, as well as western Mexico, the Costa Grande and Central Mexico. Chinos interacted within in different ways different regional political economies. They altered or in some ways, shaped or even created these political economies. Work experiences and patterns of social and spatial mobility shaped chino social interactions and communication with the colonial state within and between different regions. Chino labor and settlement patterns also changed over time, as the inhabitants of each region adapted methods of production, and altered their relationship to different centers of the colonial economy.

The inhabitants of the Philippines had long interacted within a broader multi-cultural social and commercial world, as part a larger Island Southeast Asian world which traded with South Asia and East Asia. In terms of social ecology, most of the chino migrants hailed from lowland peasant communities which paid tribute to chieftains and the rajas of port states. These farming communities also engaged in trade, serving as intermediaries between outside traders and marketers of products from the highlands, especially gold, beeswax, and various forest products. The organization of Austronesian communities was somewhat cellular, in that smaller communities were not always governed by rajas or sultans. But connections between bayans and kingdoms had long been in place across Island Southeast Asia. The people of central Luzon had long communicated and traded with more centralized ethno-linguistic kin, as evidenced by their vassalage to Brunei, the production of tenth-century Malay writing in central Luzon, and an extensive array of Malay loanwords in Tagalog, and most probably, Kapampangan. More concretely, Luzon traders worked with Bruneians in intra-Filipino trade with local datus such as those of Butuan, making voyages to Brunei. Luzon merchants, soldiers and other itinerants traveled through Brunei to Melaka and other parts of the extended Malay world. All of this suggested that the people of Central Luzon were accustomed to tribute, as well as cross-cultural

trade and communication. The connections between central Luzon and other parts of the intra-insular world also revealed the mobility of these peasants and élite, as documented by fray Juan de Plasencia.

Low population densities prevented the easy access to peasants and tribute found in more densely-populated societies in East Asia, South Asia, and Europe. As a result, rulers and élites in central Luzon used various ways to gain access to labor, including raiding, purchase, and debt bondage. As in Melaka, the datus and traders of Luzon exercised authority over their tributaries, slaves, and debt-bonded servants. In Melaka, debt servants (*orang delatan* and *ulu*), had their status governed by laws passed by the sultan. The use of interest payments and profit from the loan principal violated Islamic law, but was observed under Malay customary law (*adat*) enabling canny entrepreneurs to obtain risk-free investments.

My comparisons between Luzon debt servitude and Malay practices suggest that debt servitude extended to the maritime realm. While participation in raids and trading ventures theoretically allowed social mobility, it also could immobilize people encumbered by debt or enslavement. Crew members of trading vessels often had stakes in their cargo, captains and other highly-capitalized merchants could also advance credit and ensnare sailors for years as debt servants. These rights were protected under Melaka law codes, which were observed in Brunei, and it is likely, Luzon. Early colonial documents like the Boxer Codex suggest that indebted bondsmen and slaves alike were obligated to serve aboard the boats and ships of datus. Debt bondage, then, was an important part of central Luzon labor arrangements.

Central Luzon peasants and cultivators made creative use of this flexibility and long history of dealing with outsiders via commerce and incorporation when the Spanish arrived. They did not respond to colonization in a singular way. Many principales resented Spanish

intrusion and efforts to curtail local customs such as debt slavery, slavery, and close and lucrative relations with Brunei, and wider commercial mobility. Local traditions of bravery and power connected with warfare enabled Filipino élites to gain purchase with their new rulers through their service to Spanish imperial goals in the archipelago and beyond.

Spanish interlopers in the Philippines also used a wide variety of tactics learned from their activities in Africa, the Americas, and Asia. Legazpi brought a Malay translator from New Spain, and worked hard to establish alliances once he arrived. Spaniards also strived to exploit fractures and conflict among the leaders and polities of central Luzon, after taking advantage of similar disunity in the Visayas. As in the Andes and Mexico, "Spanish" victories depended on indigenous allies. They required the coordination and labor of thousands of Filipino commanders, warriors, porters, rowers, and paddlers. Leaders like Francisco Tupas led some of their followers. Still others sold or "lent" their slaves and debt bondsmen to Spanish for service beyond the immediate campaigns.

Spanish administrators changed the demography, ecology, and spatial layout of central Luzon as well. They founded the city of Manila as a Spanish city, sending the nobility and their followers to dwell in the new alcaldía mayor of Tondo. Nonetheless, the city required thousands of domestic servants and workers, most of whom were Filipinos. Hokkiens and enslaved South and Southeast Asian artisans and workers added to their ranks in later decades. The king set up the richest rice lands and nearby villages aside as Crown encomiendas, which would help supply the growing population of the city and its port Cavite. In other rural locales, the Crown rewarded the military service of Spanish military commanders and a few indigenous ones with grants of indigenous labor called encomiendas. Crown administrators of the colony set up an audiencia and town council for the city of Manila. The first required re-foundation years later.

Spanish administrators also organized a monopolistic trade system, moving away from the marketing of Filipino products and towards directing ships sent to mainland New Spain to sell mainly Chinese cloth and porcelain, alongside cloth from South Asia, and spices, forest products, and smaller quantities of cloth produced in Southeast Asia. Royal and private encomiendas alike collected tribute from indigenous people. To help feed this system, and allocate labor for colonial needs, colonial administrators engineered a new indigenous leadership structure with gobernadores, their lieutenants, constables, and stewards. Tribute and labor was collected by the leaders of pueblo subsections called cabezas de barangay. Increasing labor demands led to intensified polos, and even forced seizure of large volumes of foodstuffs called vandalas.

New forms of religiosity and Roman Catholic institutions also shaped the interactions of the indigenous people of central Luzon and the archipelago, and the chinos that migrated to New Spain from these regions. Augustinians, Franciscans, and other missionary orders forced resettlement of the hamlet-oriented populations of the archipelago in order to enhance surveillance for the conversion to Catholicism. Missionaries set up schools to indoctrinate the leaders of the nobility, who often became allies in conversion efforts. Nobility led lay brotherhoods, directed the powerful indigenous choirs and served bilangos and fiscales to enforce Mass attendance and new Catholic behavioral standards. These measures seemed especially influential in the urban spaces and arrabales of central Luzon. While some clerics served to protect some Filipino peasants from the abuses of civil encomenderos and administrators, even the most humanitarian clerics sought the forced construction of churches, collection of church fees, the extirpation of indigenous religious practices, the ostracizing of female religious practitioners, and the staffing of convents and churches with free labor.

This colonial implementation of the Spanish colonial offices of gobernador, principal, and cabeza de barangay helped transform indigenous leaders into appendages of the colonial state, a role which chinos brought with them to the Americas. Datus and principales used their power to transpose themselves between Spanish demands for goods and labor from Filipino peasants and the needs of their peasant debtors and subjects. Such an intermediary stance was easier to hold in the first years of colonialism, but as these needs increased, Filipino élites held a tenuous hold on their privileges and the loyalty of central Luzon peasants. Some circumvented their role in indigenous communities by participating more directly in Spanish rule, serving as religious acolytes, notaries, scribes and interpreters. One of the most successful ways that maguinoo gained status, or at least slowed its erosion, was through military service. Initial Spanish attempts at conquest required extensive alliances and indigenous manpower, provided by maguinoo. We should see the participation by maguinoo in these efforts in central Luzon, as in the Visayas, as an extension of Austronesian traditions respecting martial prowess as key attributes for leadership and increase in rank, rather than interpreting this as "collaboration." Escalating threats from various "rebellious subjects," southern sultanates, Hokkien merchants-pirates, and the VOC only amplified Spanish needs for indigenous assistance, which required further elite recruitment, especially of Kapampangan élites, but also of Tagalogs. Their service would be invoked across the Pacific as well.

Still other maguinoo worked to gain a slippery purchase on the new more mobile community; they incorporated new subjects and non-Filipino kabalangays through godparentage, and worked to show leadership over multiethnic communities. Still others fell out of the principality in all but name. While some rebelled against Spanish authority, still more joined the migrants, corvée laborers and skilled professionals dependent on the maintenance of Spanish rule

in the Philippines. Nonetheless, these efforts and the incorporation of Filipino élites within the Spanish colonial system enabled a template for chinos to follow when they arrived in New Spain. The presence of nobility, even though its privileges were in many ways eroded, provided a precedent for chinos looking to form communities in New Spain and provided them with leadership.

Peasant commoners of central Luzon used new colonial political economies to employ new strategies of spatial and social mobility, helping to birth the migrants that would become known as chinos. Filipinos were increasingly enmeshed in an aggressive corvée system under Spanish colonialism. But Spanish demand for labor early on also took fishermen, farmers, bailers, debt bondsmen and slaves that had been controlled by the principales, who then availed themselves of opportunities to negotiate new allegiances and new ways of making a living. At the same time, we have evidence that Spaniards also adapted to local modes of using labor. They seemed to have indebted people as well, aided by the new and increasingly weighty tribute system. Corvée projects also brought thousands of Filipinos away from their villages at the same time, and put them to work with others. Though under the putative oversight of village elders, some tributaries apparently used these cortes and drafts as an opportunity to shift patrons, fleeing to work for the Spanish state, or to local Spanish patrons in the growing colonial cities of Manila, Iloilo, and Cavite.

Even as exploitation of peasant labor intensified, Filipinos servants and others attempted to use new colonial institutions like the courts, in order to open up spaces in which to maneuver. The complaints of some of these early Filipino laborers showed that Spanish patrons abused their new charges. Nonetheless, the evidence of these complaints and other efforts at redressing grievances within colonial courts documents that Filipino peasants, servants, and domestic

servants rapidly gained knowledge of Spanish legal institutions. For their part, ecclesiastical and civil administrators repeatedly clashed about what to do with these new migrants. Civil officials and entrepreneurs used them to staff new agricultural and trade ventures. Civil administration tried to control migration by requiring migrants to carry passports called *boletas* or *polizas de vagamundos*. Barrios and barangays emerged as arrabales of Manila composed of workers for allocated to specific institutions. Simultaneously, other barrios were organized by their inhabitants on an ethnic basis. For example, the pueblo of San Miguel had a Kapampangan barangay and a Japanese one. The pueblo of Dilao had barangays composed of freed slaves (*morenos*) and also had a Japanese component. Other bayans such as Parañaque and Santa Ana de Sapa incorporated the inhabitants of estates as barangays. The barangay – bayan system showed considerable flexibility in adapting to new colonial forms of organization.

These new colonial political economies and commercial relationships changed the demography of central Luzon, and helped give rise to the cultural diversity of chinos in New Spain. Hokkien merchants and agents composed one of the largest groups. They included fishermen, stevedores, and farmers. Overwhelmingly male, some indigenous élites sought alliances with these sangleyes through marital alliances. Nonetheless, the size of the sangley community, its resources, and its mobility across the South China Sea made its members often independent from indigenous élite patronage. On the other hand, the large number of Christianized and commoner morenos, criollos, vagamundos, and Japanese made them more likely targets of indigenous noblesse oblige. In addition to residence and kinship, many Filipinos also worked alongside of these plebes in the workshops, convents, and forests of colonial Luzon.

The nobility and indigenous peasants of central Luzon communities in both rural and urban residents developed ways to incorporate the growing numbers of non-indigenous people, including compadrazgo and intermarriage. Sponsored by maguinoo, freed slaves, slaves, and Japanese migrants were welcomed into the new communities. These practices had parallels elsewhere in the Austronesian world, where communities often integrated outsiders as servants or fictive kin to increase the size of patron-client networks.

The victims of the sacas in the the forests and shipyards of central Luzon lived in spheres of cross-cultural interaction. Many people of different linguistic origins had to work side-by-side. The polos also funneled Filipinos into urban areas where, again, they became conversant with Spanish cultures and institutions, from the courts to the choirs. Civil administrators tapped these workers as needed to man the oars, paddles, and rigging of the rapidly increasing naval forces of the Philippines.

Chinos emerged from the routes that connected colonial labor drafts and the urban economy of central Luzon. A large number of paddlers had been requisitioned and recruited overseas a result of numerous Spanish campaigns in Maluco, Mindanao, Taiwan, and Singapore. Some were recruited as debt laborers, and the payment for them by Spaniards was a way of shifting patrons. Still others followed the timber they had cut in the mountainsides of Laguna and the hinterlands of Pampanga. Once in Cavite, they formed a pool to staff the high-board ships of the transpacific trade. The number of sailors who sailed to Mexico were dwarfed by the far larger numbers of mariners and carpenters needed for intra-Asian trade and transportation. Those manning intra-Asian shipping channels transported rice from the encomiendas to Manila, transported workers to the fortresses and shipyards of the archipelago, but also voyaged to Macau, Maluku, Guangzhou, Melaka, Siam, and the Coromandel Coast.

The port of Cavite connected parts of Asia with each other and with the Americas. It was a multicultural port, with large numbers of Hokkien laborers, Spanish sailors, and Indian Ocean mariners called lascars. Nonetheless, Filipinos constituted the vast majority of the transient and permanent population of the port. I demonstrate that, in Cavite, a majority of the earliest recorded Asian sailors that sailed to New Spain had origins in central Luzon pueblos dominated by Kapampangans and Tagalogs. Smaller numbers were Visayans, Bikolanos, and Ilocanos. Even fewer sailors were Japanese and sangleyes. The bulk of the earliest recorded grumetes had surnames similar to their central Luzon counterparts. Late-seventeenth-century Kapampangan sailors and soldiers maintained ties with the agrarian pueblos of their province, but the Tagalog emigrants of the port set down local roots. By the middle of the eighteenth century, sailors of the galleons were drawn almost exclusively from the permanent residents and natives of Cavite.

Though many chinos arrived in New Spain as slaves, putatively free chinos were more influential in creating corporate institutions; many of them were trans-Pacific mariners. Administrators called the indigenous sailors boarding the Manila galleons in Cavite grumetes indios, and later, grumetes sencillos. Administrators in New Spain called the same mariners grumetes chinos, when they arrived on the eastern side of the Pacific. Veteran sailors took several voyages across the Pacific. Some of these grumetes used the trips as opportunities to sell small cargoes of goods in New Spain. Mariners used stays in both Cavite and Acapulco to rest and accumulate capital in between their voyages. While later sailors were salaried, evidence from the Costa Grande and similarities of the transpacific voyages with trips made in the South China Sea suggests that it is likely that the first grumetes were indebted to the Spanish captains of the galleons. The transfer of debt would either force exhausted grumetes to stay aboard for their return trip to the Philippines or allow captains to broker laborers to new patrons in New

Spain. Nonetheless, by the late seventeenth century, the population of free mariners and laborers of the Cavite and its nearby town, San Roque, was large enough to fully crew the galleons.

Starting with western Mexico, this work compares the very different ways that regional political economies shaped chino labor regimes, settlement patterns, and modes of interaction. Chinos on the nao de china stopped first in Colima, or traveled there from Acapulco. They encountered an indigenous population already strongly shaped by colonialism. The inhabitants of the region had interacted with central Mexican populations, but had also inherited strong ties to the Purépecha highland peoples. The latter pueblos had a long history of local traditions and long-range commercial exchange with areas as far away as the American Southwest and the Andes. As in the rest of Mexico, Spanish settlers in western Mexico implemented the encomienda system, after taking slaves for employment in mines. Encomenderos gradually transformed the economy into one based on the export of salt and cacao. Epidemics caused a constant demand for labor only partially satisfied by the importation of slaves and the indebting of local laborers.

Chinos revived and transformed the political economy of Colima, bringing new ways of exploiting the newly-introduced coconut palm. Distinctive modes of chino debt servitude merged with existing practices of debt peonage practiced in western Mexico. Quite soon after their introduction, chinos entered the local work force, and began production of vino de cocos, a local aguardiente. Though they began their work in the region as entrepreneurs, with valued labor and autonomy, Southeast Asian and western Mexican customs of debt soon gave way to a new mode of production "the partido chino," that proceeded from the labor arrangements of the namamahay. Spanish vecinos utilized these new patterns of production in existing marketing routes which connected their province to western Jalisco and western Michoacán. A small group

of chinos retained autonomy in northwestern Colima, in Nahualapa, but the majority were ensnared through advances of cloth and goods. They distilled thousands of gallons of vino de cocos every year, making local vecinos wealthy. Along the way, they married local indigenous and Afro-Mexican women. The example of Domingo de Villalobos, Alonso Gutiérrez and others shows that some chinos managed to enter the transportation industry, moving vino de cocos, cacao, and other goods the highlands of central and western Mexico, fitting into a longer history of mobility.,

Chinos imported political traditions from the Philippines, as they formed community in Mexico. They formed political bodies in Colima, and held elections in Nahualapa, declaring that these annual elections were carried out the same way that had been in the Philippines. The most powerful position was that of alcalde, followed by alguacil, the standard unit of indigenous governance in Mexico of communities between fifty and one hundred individuals in size. The alcaldes de los chinos and the chino community that elected him differed from American indigenous communities in that they explicitly drew from elective traditions in the Philippines. Like cabezas de barangay and gobernadores, they policed conflicts and collected tribute. Like the gobernadores in the Philippines, they were often oversaw a multi-ethnic group of laborers, in this case, producers of vino de cocos which included Afro-Mexicans and indios naborios. Later officers might have been chino creoles, as chinos produced creoles with their indigenous and Afro-Mexican wives. Criminal records demonstrated that chinos also adopted colonial creole understandings of male honor as well.

Chinos reshaped political economies in New Spain over time. However, chinos ceased to be a large part of the local population labor force in western Mexico by the beginning of the eighteenth century. A wide variety of factors probably accounted for this decline. These

included: competition from agave-based liquors, which chinos helped develop; the prohibition of chino slavery in the 1670s; the eclipse of Salagua by more northern ports of Nueva Galicia; and the broad dissemination of knowledge of vino de cocos distillation techniques.

Chinos studies in the Costa Grande encountered a very different political economy than that of western Mexico. The sparsely-settled coast allowed more occupational variety than that dominated by Spaniards in western Mexico, and the legal status of Acapulco as a port of entry from Asia produced more constant interaction between chino migrants and settlers. Chinos made an early appearance in the work force of the Costa Grande, an area which, like Colima, developed a cacao-based economy by the late sixteenth century. Chinos settled an area which had long maintained ties with upland polities in Michoacán and central Mexico, to which they supplied lowland commodities such as exotic shells, cacao, and cotton. Tenochca conquests in the Coyuca area and almost as far west as Zacatula enabled more direct tributary relations, especially with the settlement of Nahuatl-speaking colonists that formed communities like Citlala or Coyuca. The Costa Grande, through Acapulco, remained the primary connection between Mexico and Asia through the eighteenth century. As a result, even when a local chino creole population emerged, sojourners and settlers from the Philippines constantly moved through the region, interacting with residents. Local administrators helped maintain the port as a center of intra-American traffic, as well, first with Central America and the Andes for the importation of wine and specie. The eighteenth-century advent of Acapulco as a center for the cacao importation from Ecuador forced the residents of Costa Grande to convert it into a center of cotton share-cropping.

Acapulco connected chinos to Asia and New Spain in various ways. Chinos transformed the port into a space for work and habitation, a node for travel along the Pacific Coast, and an

embarkation point for overland voyages to central Mexico. Chino grumetes and mariners working on the galleon often spent time in the port helping to refit the galleons. Some chinos spent several years there, working as carpenters, borers, and caulkers. Some settled in Acapulco proper. A large number, starting in the late sixteenth century, settled a far-off barrio of an indigenous town, Coyuca, inhabited by Nahuatl-speaking villagers, probably the descendants from Tenochca colonists sent in the fifteenth century.

Chino residents of the Costa Grande worked a variety of jobs to maintain their subsistence, exhibiting far more occupational diversity than chinos in Colima, though less so than chinos in central Mexico. Chino occupations included making pitch, fishing, and working local transportation routes between the large cacao estates of the nearby plain of Apusagualcos. These cacao estates mixed cacao-growing with the collection of wild vanilla, fishing, cattle-raising, corn production, and distillation of coconut flower brandy. The need of the plantations for labor was even more acute than the estates of Colima, as very few indigenous settlements had survived the virgin-soil epidemics brought by Spanish conquistadores.

The conjuncture of low population density and a constant, if small, supply of labor from Asia helps explain the prominence of chinos in Costa Grande economic and social interactions, as well as their ability to obtain large measures of autonomy in their work routines and in their residential communities. Costa Grande hacendados purchased African slaves and worked hard to attract workers, among them chinos, by advancing liquor, tobacco, and cloth. Their efforts induced chino sailors to flee galleon service, some of whom helped populate the haciendas. Others, but not a majority, produced vino de cocos. And some worked as carpenters, field laborers, or even hunters. The diversity of chino occupations reflected the low population density of the coast and the difficulty of policing labor. Nonetheless, we should not overstress

the autonomy of local chinos. Considerable evidence suggested that hacendados obtained chinos bonded to local authorities, transferring services from authorities on the galleons themselves. Such practices resembled the practices of indebted laborers and captains of ships of Makassar and Malay origins in the South China Sea. Hacendados tracked expenses of indebted laborers, enabling us to track their marriage to local Afro-Mexican and indigenous women, as well as their participation in local cofradias, and consumption of imported cloth and stimulants such as tobacco.

The size of local estates, transportation difficulties, and competition with local cacao made the operating of Costa Grande haciendas a precarious business indeed. These circumstances encouraged Afro-Mexicans and chinos to create small communities called ranchos on the ample coastal plain of the Costa Grande. Laborers exercised increasing autonomy as the parajes of the estates gradually came to resemble pueblos de indios. Chinos and Afro-Mexicans alike founded settlements such as San Miguel Apusagualcos. I show that the organizations of chino settlements and ethnic barrios under pueblos de indios resembled both central Luzon municipalities and the colonial Mexican indigenous communities on which they were modeled. The most famous settlement was the barrio of San Nicolás de los Chinos, formed from the local Buen Suceso cacao estate and proceeding from a joint purchase of land made by four chinos in 1645. This barrio elected alcaldes and alguaciles, and ostensibly lay under the jurisdiction of the indigenous pueblo of Coyuca. Indigenous inhabitants of Coyuca and local cacao estates interacted with each other, and also communicated with chinos summering after their sailing stints on the galleon. By the middle of the eighteenth century, chinos of San Nicolás had enjoyed over one hundred years as a community. When a mortgage-holder from Mexico tried to evict them, these chinos wrote an impassioned plea safeguarding their community which extolled

their proud history. Other late seventeenth-century Costa Grande chino institutions, such as the militia, survived into the eighteenth century, no doubt a result of the reinforcement of chino identity through continuous immigration. The formation of an ethnic militia, like intermarriage with local indigenous women to obtain lucrative landholdings, opened up routes of upward social mobility.

Chinos began their connections with central Mexico via the Acapulco-City of Mexico road, called the Camino de China. Sailors and aspiring merchants traveled between Acapulco and the city of Mexico with small inventories of goods. Other chinos settled along the Camino de China, settling in towns near Tixtla, Chilapa, and the southern limits of the city of Mexico. The goods of Asia traveled on the road alongside of chinos, and the chroniclers of the cities of Mexico paid close attention to news of the arrival and departure of the galleons. Chinos traveling to central Mexico were still liable to forced impressment and forced return to the archipelago. Soldiers of a variety of ethnicities also faced the threat of state coercion, a process which brought thousands of people from New Spain to Asia. Some resisted this process, fleeing service.

Despite the continuous influx of chinos into central Mexico, patterns of chino interaction with non-chinos and chino labor in central Mexico more closely resembled the experiences of local indigenous migrants than they did chino activity in Colima and the Costa Grande. Here, the size and influence of populations of local indigenous people, Afro-Mexicans, and Spanish dwarfed that of migrant and native-born chinos, largely setting the terms of economic and social interactions. Chinos moved in and out of the cities of Puebla and Mexico. Those deciding to permanently reside in the city of Mexico formed part of a multiethnic population which included

Afro-Mexicans, Spanish creoles and migrants, and a large indigenous population, some descending from longtime residents of the city.

Chinos also interacted with a growing number of indigenous migrants to the cities of Puebla and México. The Spanish government allowed some degree of self-government for migrant populations, allowing groups such as the chichimecs and Purépecha to officers to adjudicate intra-ethnic disputes, and to collect tribute from their own communities. These groups also had ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Otomí had their own chapel, and the Purépecha had a cofradía. Groups of Oaxacan migrants, both Ñudzahui (Mixtec) and Zapotec, had a chapel in the convent of Santo Domingo. The chapel and its cofradía served as a base for a group of civic officers, who collected tribute and probably reported to the alguacil de extravagantes, an indigenous officer serving the Nahua indigenous cabildo of San Juan Tenochtitlán. One of the earliest sets of officers for chinos, mostly free, in the city of Mexico, was a Congregación of the Jesuit College of San Gregorio, recorded in the early seventeenth century. Asian migrants selected for their officers a Japanese alguacil, as well as a Kapampangan and two residents of Manila, probably Tagalogs, to police their conduct. This organization likely served as a nucleus of civil relationships with the colonial government.

Chinos also utilized the General Indian Court, a court for the indigenous claimants of Mexico, as an arena of collective action. Chinos contested their identification as Hispanicized foreigners, instead claiming their ethno-juridical identity as tribute-paying indigenous subjects of the empire of the Habsburgs. Chino vendors in the main plaza of the city of Mexico worked to demand exemptions from sales taxes enjoyed by other indigenous residents of the city. Chino claimants in central Mexico, both in the city of Mexico, and in Puebla, articulated their demands both as members of local indigenous communities and as indigenous natives from Asia. Chino

vendors faced bullying from Spanish collectors of tribute and alguaciles amparadores, but they fought back through the courts and through their indigenous rulers.

Not all chinos were free in Mexico. In fact, the work of other historians suggests that many, possibly a majority in the first decades, were slaves. They constituted an important part of those working in urban manufacturing in central Mexico. Many of these slaves worked in the nascent textile factories found within the communities of Mexico, Puebla and Coyoacán. Still others worked in sugar estates or as domestic servants in central Mexican villages, pueblos, and cities. Other chinos, ostensibly free, also worked in the obrajes. As in western Mexico, some of these appeared to have succumbed to debt advances, which they had long been acquainted with in Luzon. The status of enslaved chinos as chattel severely constrained their choices and hampered their ability to publicly represent themselves within the corporate group, preventing them from exercising leadership.

Free chinos were prominent in other occupations, such as barbering. Chinos entering this occupation faced stuff competition from Spanish barbers who worked to monopolize the industry. In the end, chinos managed to acquire a niche, but their numbers were limited through the law. Several other chinos sought to apply vino de cocos distillation method to the indigenous intoxicant pulque, creating a hybrid beverage similar to mezcal. Chinos successfully obtained a monopoly through the Protomedicato, but the nascent industry was soon banned by viceregal decree, only the latest example of viceregal ambivalence towards the role of indigenous consumption of alcohol consumption.

Despite these few examples, chinos of central Mexico could be found in many other occupations, and in fact, this work demonstrates that central Mexican modes of chino ethno-juridical organization largely rested on non-occupational bases. One of the most promising

avenues for the expression of communal solidarity was in the organization of cofradías. The most prominent of these lay organizations was Santo Cristo Lavatorio and Crucifixo, more popularly known as Santo Cristo de los Chinos. Organized in the Santa Clara convent by the middle of the seventeenth century, the chino rectores, mayordomos, and diputados of Santo Cristo worked hard to earn a public place in the colonial order. They litigated to obtain their proper rank in colonial processions. Their pleas required the acceptance of legal segregation based on ethnic distinctions. Chinos faced off against Spanish litigants, and allied themselves with Afro-Mexican cofradía allies, but they also contested the claims of newly-formed casta lay brotherhoods. Chinos in the cofradía used their membership to assure their place in the colonial order even after death, marking their colonial identity with burial places within the convent. Chinos also cofounded a cofradía with indigenous people in the campan of San Sebastián, part of a longer relationship with the Nahuas of this subdivision which probably stretched back to the early seventeenth century. Here, too, chinos worked with their Nahua cofrades to defend their ethnic perquisites within the ecclesiastical realm of the city.

As in the Costa Grande and Colima, chinos in central Mexico cemented their cross-cultural alliances with marital connections. Members of the male-dominated chino migrant population often married non-chinas. Nonetheless, as the marriage and baptismal records of the officers of Santo Cristo de los Chinos demonstrate, marital exogamy in no way precluded the advocacy of chino ethno-juridical identity, nor the reproduction of the chino ethno-juridical identity through the growth of a vocally chino chino creole cohort. Baptismal records also show that chinos were quite active in supporting the children of other chinos, and by extension, their parents, through godparentage, ensuring yet another mode of producing intra-chino social networks, ones already buttressed by chino credit networks and business partnerships. Free

chinos and enslaved chinos acted as godparents to enslaved and free chinos. Through the formation of these social networks and others, such as cofradías, socially-isolated enslaved chinos could be brought into the more mobile, but still circumscribed free chino community. Such networks helped facilitate further intra-chino connections after enslaved chinos gained manumission. The activity among this small minority in no way precluded chinos from reaching out to non-chinos. Chinos also sponsored the baptism of non-chino children, bringing them into the Catholic community of the city.

The importance of slavery among chinos in central Mexico appeared to have diminished over time. Nonetheless, the implementation of chino manumission based on royal decrees proceeded slowly through the 1670s. Several masters tried to keep hold of their slaves, and some chino slaves died after the decree before they could obtain ámparo in colonial courts. Nonetheless, by the 1690s, the boundaries of chino status had contracted, leaving enslaved South Indians and East Africans which had previously been called chino, excluded from a new identity which connoted freedom. In fact, by 1718, chinos successfully argued the limited nature of the category chino, and the new association of chino with the category of "free" ensured that some chinos could essentially argue that they were free if they "appeared Kapampangan." Many chinos, in fact, claimed Kapampangan ethnicity. They made this claim because the presence of chinos and other travelers from Asia made central Mexico a region which functioned as a center of production of knowledge about Asia. Chinos could thus successfully appeal to Spanish administrators because they shared substantial, if imperfect, knowledge about Asia.

Directions of Future Research

This project has opened up avenues for future research on trans-Pacific trade and social history, particularly within the Spanish Empire. One of the most obvious tasks is taking a fresh

look at contact-era and pre-Hispanic Filipino social structure. Such investigation would depart from the well-leafed colonial chronicles, and the flawed translations of the Blair and Robertson collection to include new documental genres and sources. I would like to begin this task by investigating treasury accounts which date from the early contact era, and those reimbursing different individuals, including Filipinodatus and maguinoo, which assisted with the Legazpi expedition and conquests of the Visayas and Luzon. Reading these sources in conjunction alongside contact-era administrative correspondence and early indigenous-language dictionaries might allow us to better understand contact-era social hierarchies and labor arrangements. This would also enable us to compare Filipino social configurations with societies and states in nearby island and mainland Southeast Asia, as well as to understand which elements were used by the inhabitants of central Luzon and the Visayas when they settled in the colonial Americas.

Interpretation and analysis of indigenous-language sources would greatly assist the task of understanding contact-era society in Luzon, the cultural categories valued by the indigenous maguinoo of Luzon and Visayas, and the changes in categories and social networks over time. I have located several Tagalog and Kapampangan-language documents in the course of my research, and through study of Tagalog, I hope to map and better understand the categories used by early colonial élites. Such study has flourished in the study of colonial Mexican history and helped historians and anthropologists to ask new questions about Mesoamerica. I believe that working more intensively in the ecclesiastical archives created by the missionary orders active in the Philippines is a crucial task in this effort. The available archives for these searches include the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental (AFIO) in Madrid, Spain; the Archivo de la Provinciana Agustiniana Santísimo Nombre de Filipinas (APAF), in Valladolid, Spain; and Archivo de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas (APSR), in Ávila, Spain. Outside of Spain, records for

missionaries in the Philippines include valuable copies of APSR records in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomás, in Sampaloc, in Manila; the Archivo Recoleto, located in Bulwagang, Quezon City; and the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library, at St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. Other Tagalog language documents are located at the Lilly Library at Indiana University, in Bloomington,, Indiana.

The social history of the early Philippines would also benefit from better attention to the service records of indigenous solders, clerks, carpenters, and sailors who worked in Spanish service in the Philippines. Future scholars can create databases of the names found in colonial treasury records, correspondence, and the transcripts of the testimony from various investigations. Scholars should employ nominal record linkage with available parish sacramental records in order to piece together the consequences of this royal employment on patterns of godparentage, birth, and office-holding within indigenous pueblos in the Philippines.

Such work could help us understand the impact of chino returnees on the society of the Philippines. This is a crucial question. Returnees might have helped introduce new American crops which are traditionally attributed to beneficient Spanish clerics and colonists. Chinos had experience cultivating maize, tobacco, and cacao in mainland New Spain, crops that later acquired importance in the agricultural toolbox of the residents of colonial Philippines. Did returning chinos bring with them other practices, such as new religious devotions, and perhaps vocabularies enriched with words learned from interaction with Nahuas, Afro-Mexicans and other denizens of colonial Mexico? Questions such as this could be answered by combing through missionary archives, the Philippines National Archives, parish sacramental registers, and newly consulted records at the AGI.

Maritime social history of the Pacific and Indian Oceans also needs an overhaul. Again, consultation of the AGI will be necessary to write this new history. Such historians should examine the chronicles of the *méritos y servicios*, service records of colonial authorities, which often include copies of regulation aimed at curtailing bad practices in the conduct of transpacific and intra-Asian voyages. Also in need of consultation are inspections of ships conducted by the Inquisition and royal authorities, and the transcripts of the testimony provided during royal investigations of aborted voyages (*arribadas*) and shipwrecks. Inquisition records, wills, post-mortem estate inventories, and notarial records would also provide insights into the social hierarchies and interactions present on the galleons. I have already obtained lists of crew members from such records and the uncovering of more such documents would facilitate the reconstruction of the careers of Filipinos and enable me to better trace their movement back and forth across the Pacific.

In the eastern Pacific, we still have a great deal to investigate. We can again start in western Mexico. I was unable to consult the Archivo Histórico Estatal de Colima (AHEC) during my stays in Mexico; it was being renovated. Authorities within Colima have since reopened the archive. Preliminary consultation of an extract of the notarial records from this archive, made available on CD-ROM, have provided significant insights into the way that chino pay and contractual arrangements changed very early in their residence in Colima. I suspect far more insights remain to be gleaned from these records. Notarial records in Michoacán also hold the potential to provide more insights on labor relations in Colima, as well as on the Costa Grande, as hacendados of coconut and cacao plantations often transacted business with merchants and vecinos in the more centrally-located cities of Michoacán. Finally, Colima investigations would profit from more consultation of the records of the AHCMO, located in Salt

Lake City. I have already begun to located scattered parish records there which have have enabled insights into chino social networks that had origins in Philippines.

Future investigators should also use notarial documents from the AHEC to investigate Asian influences on the genesis and early history of mezcal and tequila production in Mexico. Qualitative analysis of archival documents and comparison of seventeenth-century distillation techniques will allow us to better understand the genesis, diffusion, and changes in the production of this important food-drug, and marker of regional and national identity. Historians should compare data gathered from the AHEC with descriptions of stills, labor arrangements, and production methods in centers of early mezcal production in western Jalisco, Zacatecas, and the Bajío. Post-mortem estate inventories, laand correspondence would assist in determining the technology employed in the nascent mezcal industry in western and central Mexico.

The AHCMO and notarial records would also benefit further investigations of Costa Grande social history. These yielded estate records from the Costa Grande, especially Petatlán. Further finds would further our knowledge. Perhaps the most tantalizing lacunae exist in the knowledge about the pueblos and haciendas of the eastern half of the Costa Grande, an area which was the locus of autonomous Afro-Mexican and chino communities. Plantations near Coyuca, and the barrio of San Nicolás de los Chinos were located within the archbishopric of Mexico. Inquisition records and those from the Ramos of Civil and Tierras, found in the AGN, as well as tithe records found in the AHCMO, document elements of Coyuca plantation life. Nonetheless, I hope that we can find further documentation of the social history of San Nicolás and Coyuca plantation life, as well as the port of Acapulco, from notarial records of the city of Mexico and various records produced by the archdiocese of Mexico. With one small exception, we have so far not found any records on the order of the estate records of San Bartolomé

Tuxtepec for Coyuca. Perhaps the AGN Ramo of Civil, now entire catalogued, but relatively unused, as well as archdiocesan tithe records, will yield a better picture of San Nicolás and the other ranchos, both chino and Afro-Mexican, found in the Costa Grande.

Not surprisingly, the city of Mexico, with its dense concentration of administrative jurisdictions, seems the place with the greatest potential for future research. As for sources, the lowest-hanging fruit seem to be sacramental registers, now provided online at no charge by the Genealogical Society of Utah. Parish documentation of the banns of marriage, marriages, baptisms and in some cases, death records, enable historians to potential recreate chino social networks from "cradle to grave," and even to trace chino lineages over several generations.

I have begun to create a database of over five thousand individuals identified as chinos within these records, and sets from archives in Spain and Mexico. The best documented are those of the Sagrario parish of the city of Mexico, but I have also begun transcribing records documenting the presence of chinos in two "Spanish" parishes, Santa Catarina Martír, and Santa Veracruz, as well as within at least one indigenous parish, that of Santa María de la Redonda. I have begun transcribing the records of other suburban parishes with significant numbers of documented chino parishioners, such as that of San Jacinto, in present-day San Ángel, and San Juan Bautista, in Coyoacán. I have begun to make similar databases from the parish registers of Puebla, as well, potentially allowing me to trace movements between these two colonial population centers. I have already used nominal record linkage between these registers and other records from the AGN documental corpus in order to look at the formation of chino and china social networks. I will soon employ new network analysis tools specifically designed to assist in tracing these connections and reconstruct more networks. Cross-referencing these names with

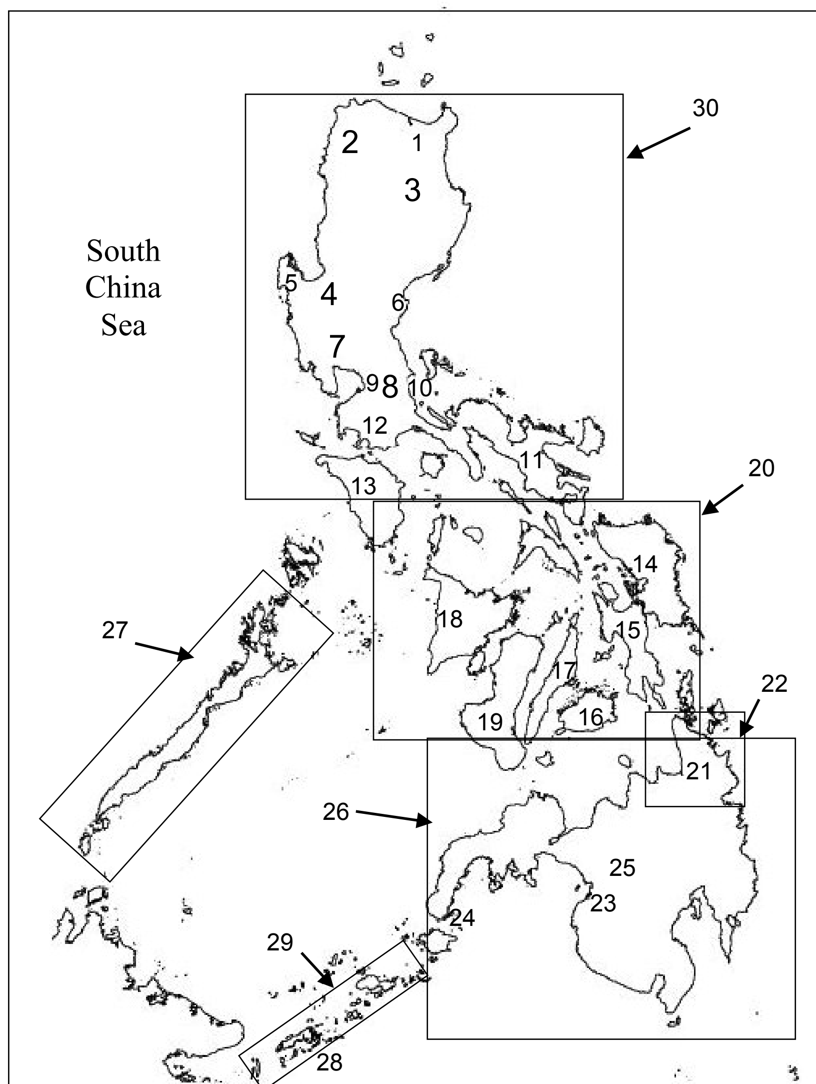
crew lists might enable us to better understand why some chinos chose to settle and still others remained mobile over time.

The use of other new sources within the archives of Spain and Mexico promise still more insights. For example, the newly-opened Ramo de Indiferente Virreinal in the AGN seems likely to hold still other sources for research on chinos in central Mexico. The latter ramo holds unexamined documents that discuss the activities of the members of the Santo Cristo de los Chinos cofradía. Documents from the Cofradías and Bienes Nacionales sections of the AGN probably hold more clues to activity of chinos under ecclesiastical administration, including the drawing of wills, litigation through the Provisorato de Indios y Chinos, and the relationships in parishes between chinos, indigenous people, and other residents of the cities of Mexico and Puebla.

I would like to follow up on the path-breaking work of Tatiana Seijas in the notarial archives of the city of Mexico. I have uncovered references to the drawing of wills by chinos of high status in the city of Mexico. Various sets of records list the dates of death and even the names of the notaries transcribing the wills of chinos, invaluable details which should enable me to quickly locate and interpret such documents from the notarial archives. I can use these newly-located records to uncover further chino social networks, learn about chino material culture, and even learn about the dynamics of chino family formation. Notarial records could also shed further light on chino credit networks. Credit in other parts of Mexico and the Philippines served as instruments of debt bondage. Did chinos use credit as a way to encumber other chinos? Wills can also be associated with post-mortem inventories, a source which could yield further sources of chino religious proclivities and patterns of consumption with central Mexico.

These questions and many others await many scholars of the Iberian Pacific. My conclusions will doubtlessly be revised by future scholars who bring fresh insights and an enlarged contextual understanding gleaned from the consultation of a wider array of sources. I look forward to reading this scholarship, generated by those writing from the Philippines, Mexico, Portugal, Spain, the United States and other nations. I hope that these scholars can use this project to spur further scholarship.

Figure 1. Map of Entire Philippines

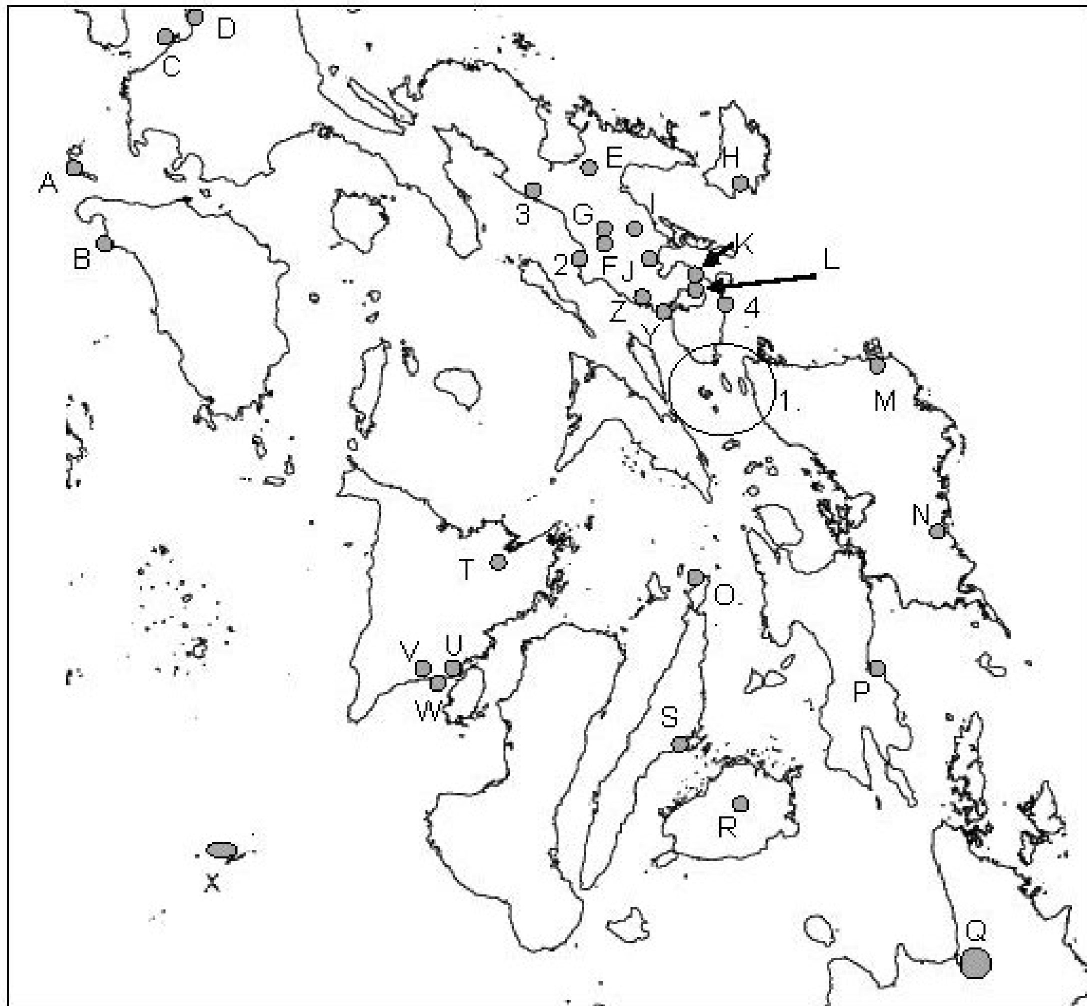


Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013.

Key:

1. Laloc/Lalo, Cagayan
2. Ilocos province
3. Cagayan (Nueva Segovia) Province
4. Pangasinan Province
5. Bolinao
6. Casiguran de Baler
7. Pampanga Province
8. Laguna de Bay Province
9. Manila
10. Lampon
11. Provinces of Camarines and Albay (Kabikolan)
12. Province of Balayan
13. Mindoro Island
14. Samar Island
15. Leyte Island
16. Bohol Island
17. Cebu Island
18. Panay Island
19. Negros Island
20. Visayan Islands
21. Butuan
22. Caraga Province
23. Cotabato/Maguindao
24. Zamboanga
25. Upper Pulangi Valley
26. Mindanao Island
27. Palawan Island
28. Tawi-Tawi Islands
29. Sulu Archipelago
30. Luzon Island

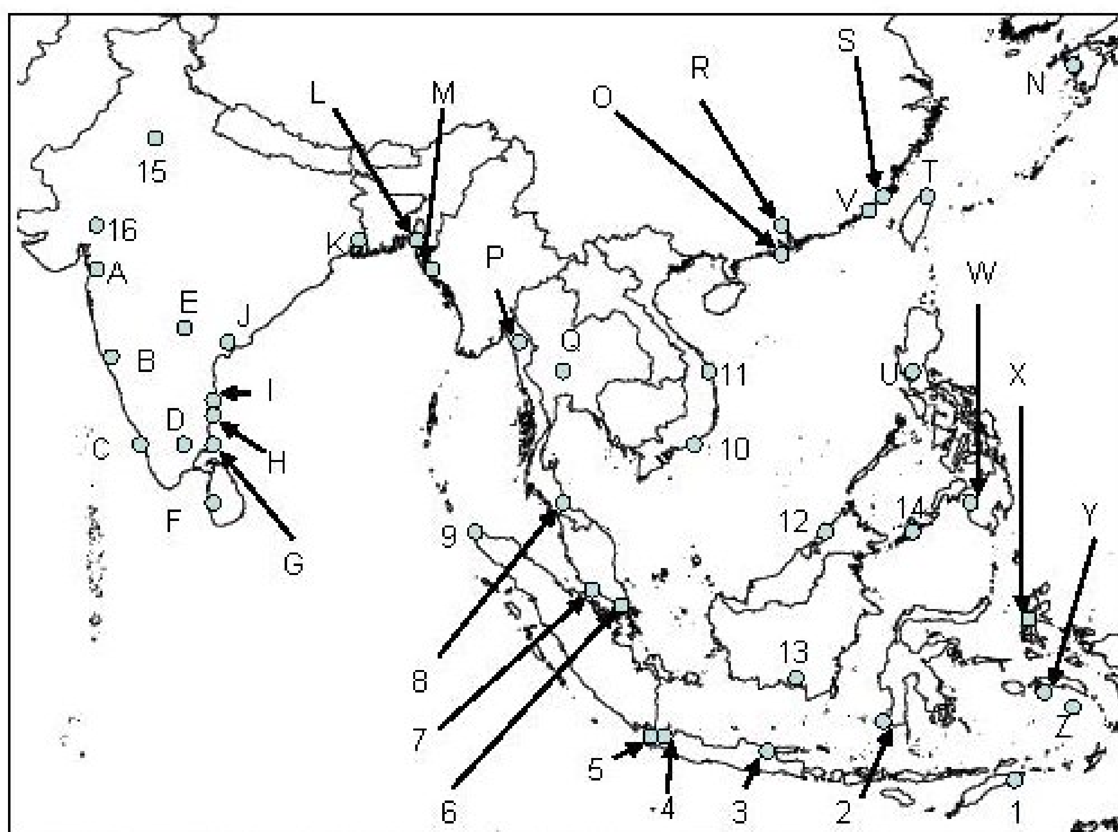
Figure 2. Southern Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao



Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013.

Key:

A. Luban, Mindoro.
B. Mambusao, Mindoro.
C. Cavite, Port
D. Manila.
E. Villa de Nueva Cáceres, Camarines.
F. Guas (Oas), Camarines.
G. Libon, Camarines.
H. Virac, Catanduanes.
I. Iriga, Camarines.
J. Ibalon, Camarines.
K. Bacon, Sorsogon.
L. Sorsogon, Sorsogon.
M. Palapag, Samar.
N. Boronga, Samar.
O. Bantayan, Cebu
P. Abuyog, Leyte.
Q. Butuan, Mindanao.
R. Bohol Island
S. Cebu, Cebu
T. Dumarao, Panay.
U. Iloilo, Panay.
V. Putotan, Panay.
W. Arévalo, Panay.
X. Cagayan Islands.
Y. Bagatao
Z. Pilar
1. San Berrardino Strait
2. Pantao (Pantaon)
3. Pasacao
4. Gubat



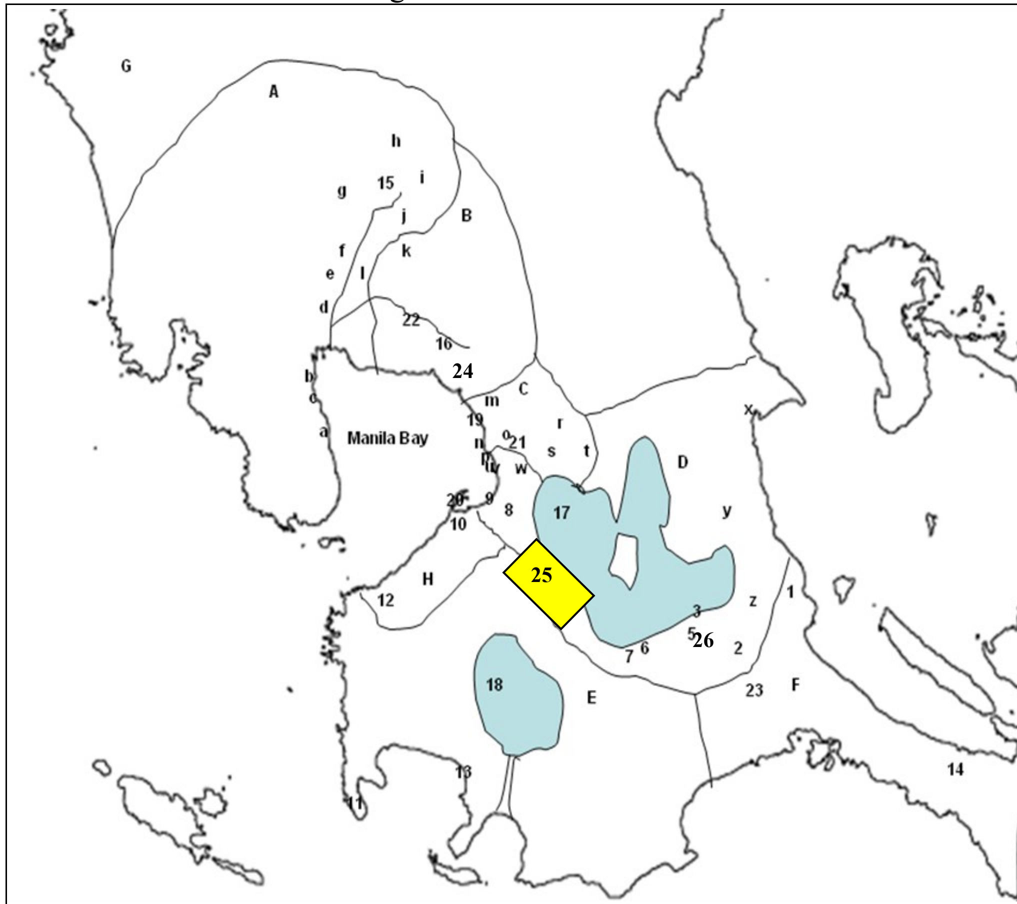
Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS . NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013.

Figure 3. Indian Ocean and South China Sea Trading Zones

Key:

A. Surat
B. Goa
C. Cochin
D. Tanjavur
E. Hyderabad (Golkonda)
F. Colombo
G. Nagapatnam (Coromandel)
H. Madraspatnam / Sao Tome (Coromandel)
I. Porto Novo (Coromandel)
J. Masulipatnam (Coromandel)
K. Hughli (Bengal)
L. Chittagong (Bengal - Porto Grande)
M. Mrauk-U (Arakan)
N. Nagasaki
O. Macau
P. Martaban (Pegu)
Q. Ayutthaya
R. Guangzhou (Canton)
S. Quanzhou (Fujian)
T. Fort San Salvador (Taiwan)
U. Manila/Cavite
V. Zhangzhou/Chincheo (Fujian)
W. Maguindanao
X. Ternate/Tidore (Maluku)
Y. Ambon (Maluku)
Z. Banda (Maluku)
1. Timor
2. Gowa (Makassar)
3. Gresik (Java)
4. Batavia (Java)
5. Banten (Java)
6. Johor
7. Melaka
8. Patani
9. Aceh
10. Champa
11. Hoi-An / Faifo (Cochinchina)
12. Brunei
13. Banjarmassin
14. Jolo
15. Delhi
16. Ahmadabad (Gujarat)

Figure 4. Central Luzon



Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013.

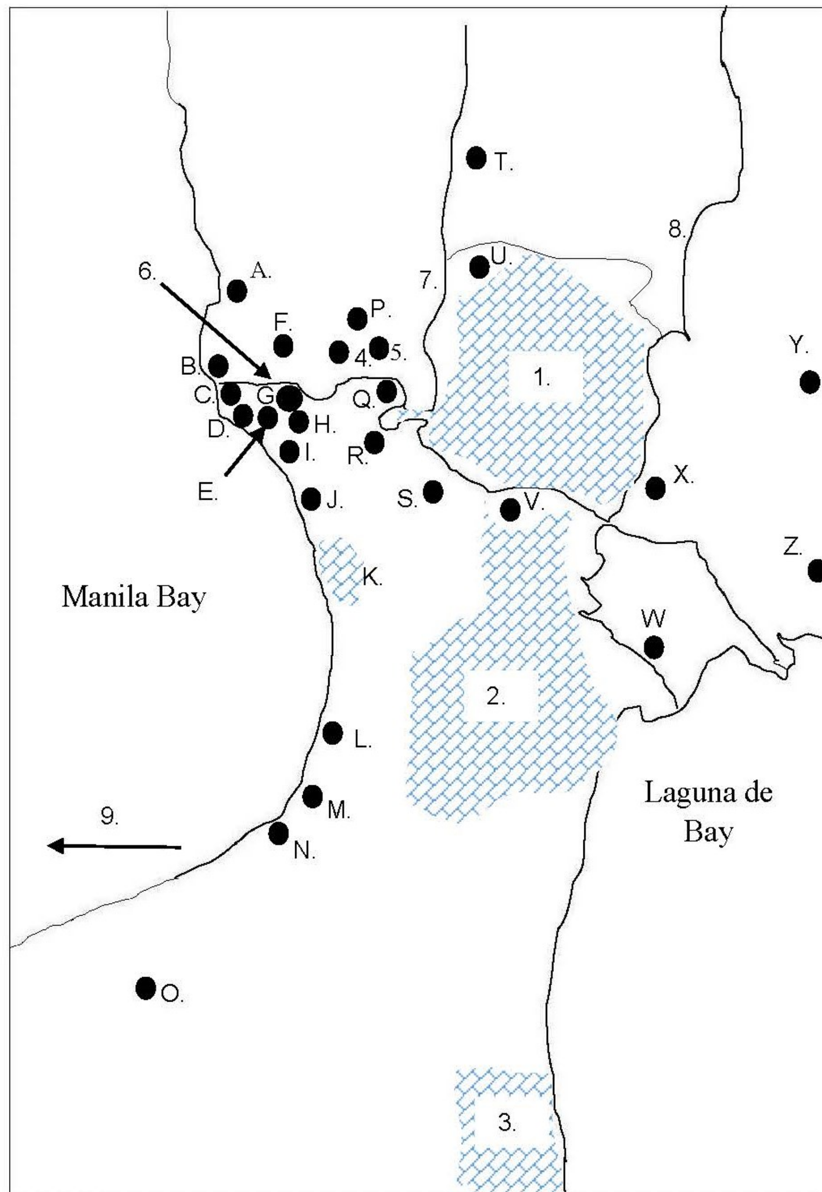
Key:

A. Pampanga Province
B. Bulacan (Tagalog Province)
C. Tondo (Tagalog Province)
D. Laguna de Bay (Tagalog Province)
E. Balayan (Tagalog Province)
F. Tayabas (Tagalog Province)
G. Pangasinan
H. Cavite (Tagalog Jurisdiction)

Municipalities

a. Orion
b. Abucay
c. Samal
d. Lubao
e. Guagua/Quilao
f. Bacolor
g. Mexico
h. Arayat
i. Candaba
j. Apalit
k. Calumpit
l. Macabebe
m. Polo
n. Tondo
o. Quiapo and Santa Cruz
p. Manila
r. Cainta
s. Taytay
t. Antipolo
u./v. Hermita and Bagumbayan
w. Santa Ana de Sapa
x. Binangonan de Lampon
y. Panguil
z. Cavinti
1. Mauban
2. Mahayhay
3. Santa Cruz
5. Pagsanjan
6. Pila, and Lumban
7. Bay
8. Parañaque
9. Dongalo
10. Kawit (Cavite El Viejo)
11. Calatagan
12. Maragondon
13. Taal
14. Gumaca
15. Rio Grande de Pampanga
16. Angat River
17. Laguna de Bay
18. Taal Lagoon (now a lake)
19. Bangkusay
20. Port of Cavite
21. Pasig River
22. Hagonoy
23. Lucban
24. Lolomboy/Bocave, Bulacan
25. Haciendas of San Pedro Tunasan, Tabuco, Biñan, Calamba, Santa Rosa
26. Lilio

Figure 5. Tondo Estates and Manila Arrabales

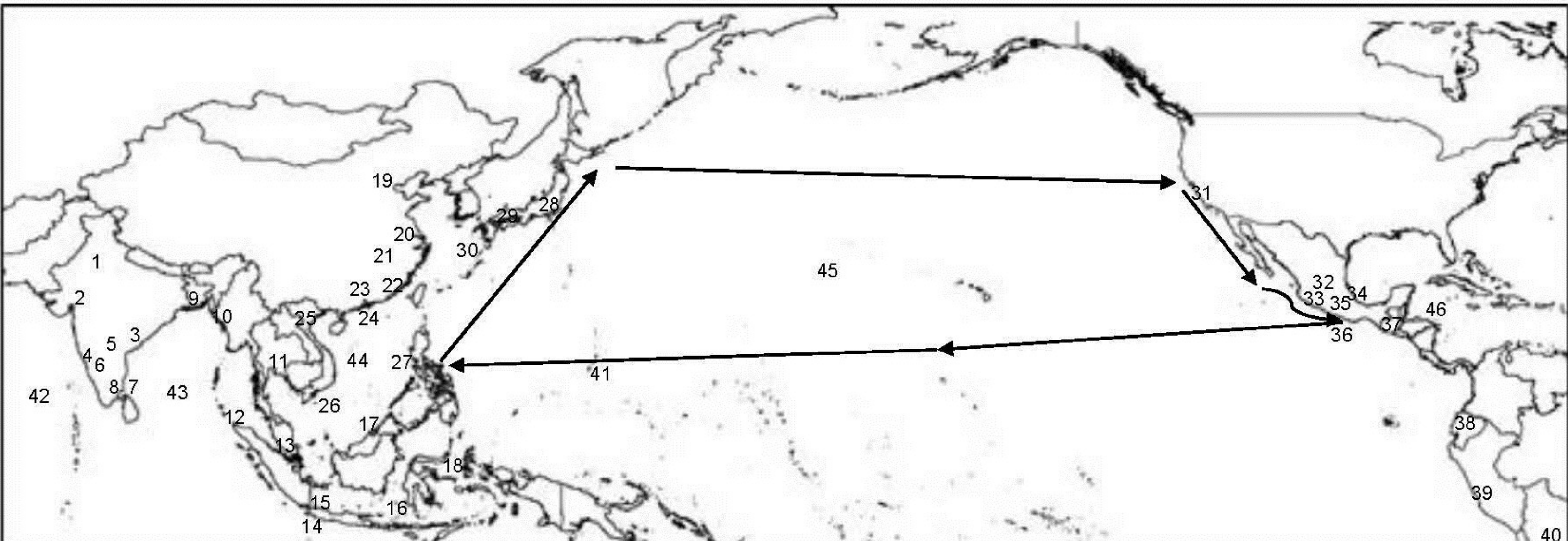


Based on Nicolas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1976), 31.

Key:

A. Tondo.
B. Baybay.
C. Manila (Intramuros).
D. Bagumbayan (San Juan Bautista / Santiago).
E. Dilao.
F. Binondo.
G. Parían.
H. San Miguel.
I. Ermita.
J. Malate.
K. Pasay.
L. Dongalo.
M. Parañaque.
N. Las Piñas.
O. Bacoor.
P. Sampaloc.
Q. Pandacan.
R. Santa Ana Sapa.
S. San Pedro Makati.
T. San Francisco del Monte.
U. San Juan del Monte.
V. Guadalupe.
W. Taguig.
X. Pasig.
Y. Cainta.
Z. Taytay.
1. Mandaluyong Estate.
2. Maysapan Estate.
3. Laguna Estates.
4. Santa Cruz.
5. Quiapo.
6. Pasig River
7. Sapa River
8. Marikina River
9. To Cavite

Figure 6. Manila Galleon Route

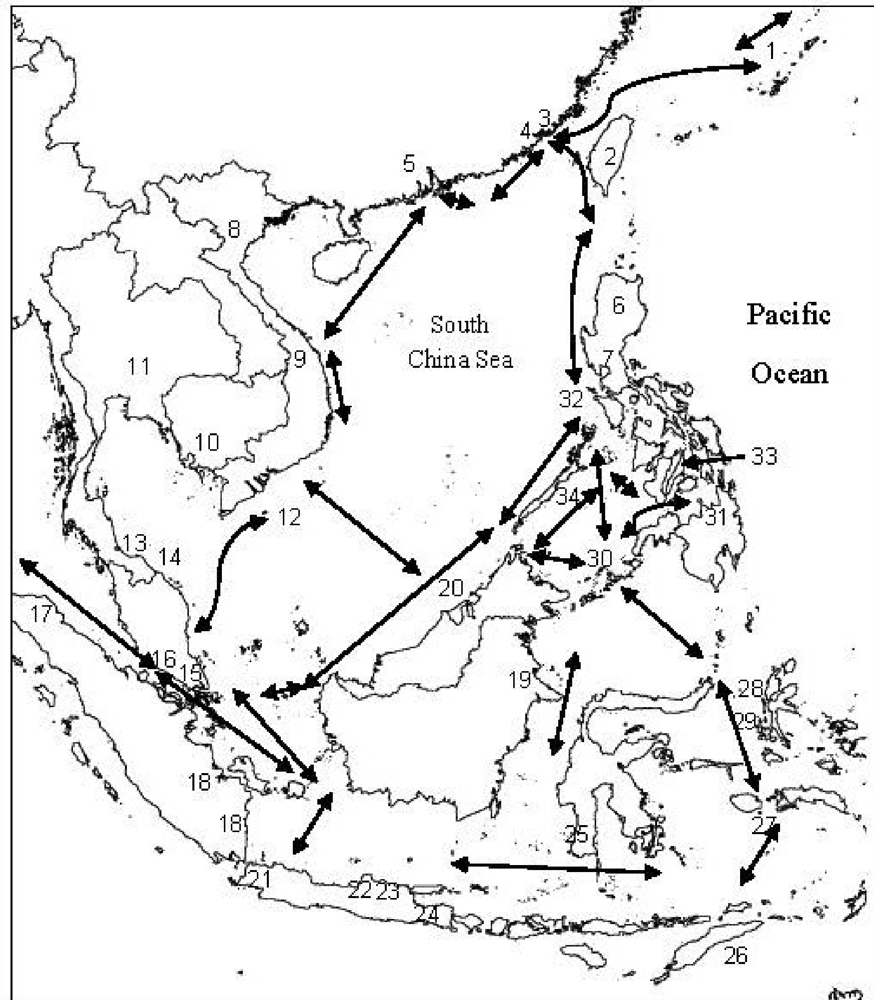


Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013, based on George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 12.

Key:

1. Delhi
2. Cambay
3. Masulipatnam
4. Goa, Estado da Índia
5. Bidar, Bahmanid Sultanate
6. Vijayanagara
7. Nagapatnam
8. Tanjavur
9. Bengal
10. Mrauk-u, Arakan
11. Ayutthaya
12. Aceh
13. Melaka
14. Bantam
15. Batavia
16. Makassar
17. Brunei
18. Maluku
19. Beijing
20. Nanjing
21. Jingzheden
22. Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, Fujian
23. Guangzhou, Guangdong
24. Macau
25. Vietnam
26. Cochinchina
27. Manila
28. Edo
29. Ikuno, Iwami. Silver Mines
30. Nagasaki
31. Morro Bay
32. Zacatecas
33. Colima
34. Veracruz
35. City of México
36. Acapulco
37. Santiago, Guatemala
38. Quito
39. Lima
40. Potosí
41. Mariana Islands
42. Arabian Sea
43. Bay of Bengal
44. South China Sea
45. Pacific Ocean
46. Caribbean Sea

Figure 7. Pre-1500 Southeast Asian Trade Routes

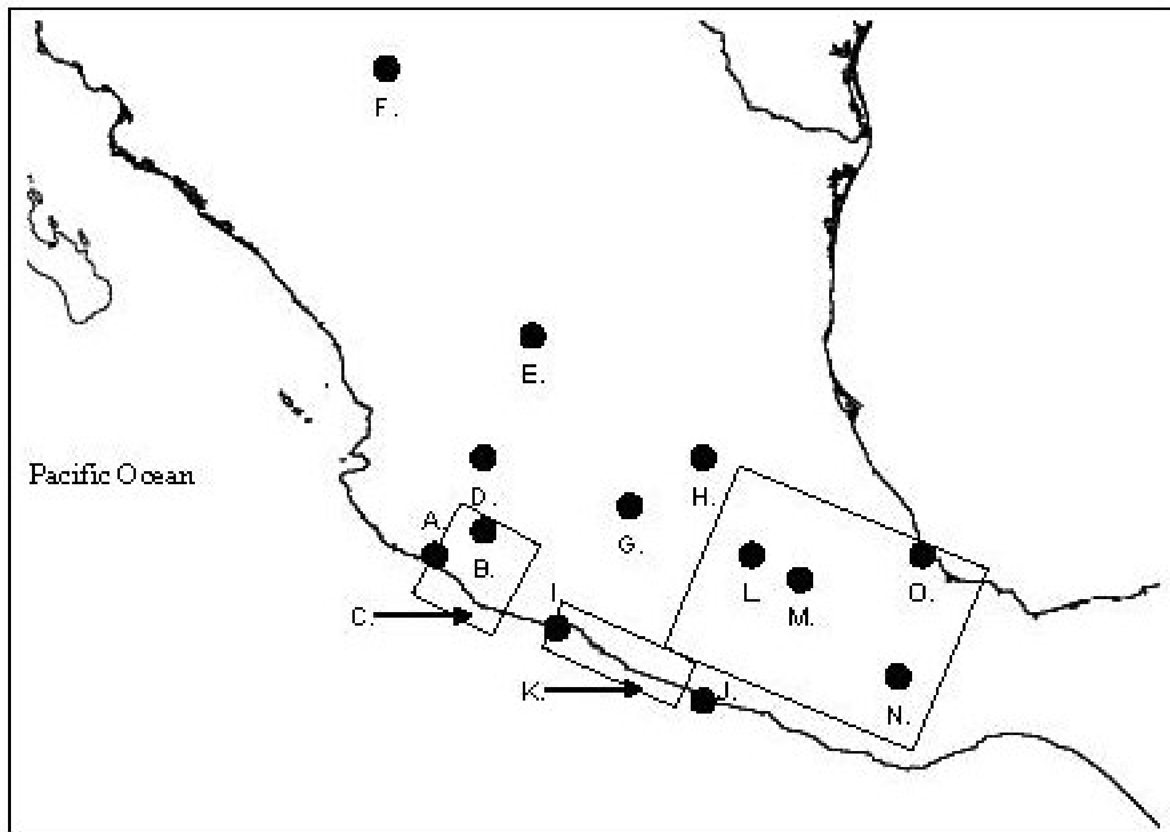


Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013, based on Kenneth Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 318.

Key:

1. Ryukyu Islands
2. Taiwan
3. Quanzhou, Fujian
4. Zhangzhou (Chincheo), Fujian
5. Guangzhou, Guangdong
6. Luzon
7. Manila/Tondo/ Laguna
8. Hanoi
9. Champa
10. Cambodia
11. Ayutthya
12. Pulau Condor
13. Patani
14. Tambralinga
15. Temasek/Johor
16. Melaka
17. Pasai
18. Srijivaya/Melayu
19. Kutai
20. Brunei
21. Kelapa/Banten
22. Demak
23. Tuban
24. Majapahit
25. Gowa/Makassar
26. Timor
27. Ambon
28. Ternate
29. Tidore
30. Sulu
31. Butuan
32. Mindoro
33. Cebu
34. Palawan

Figure 8. The Viceroyalty of New Spain

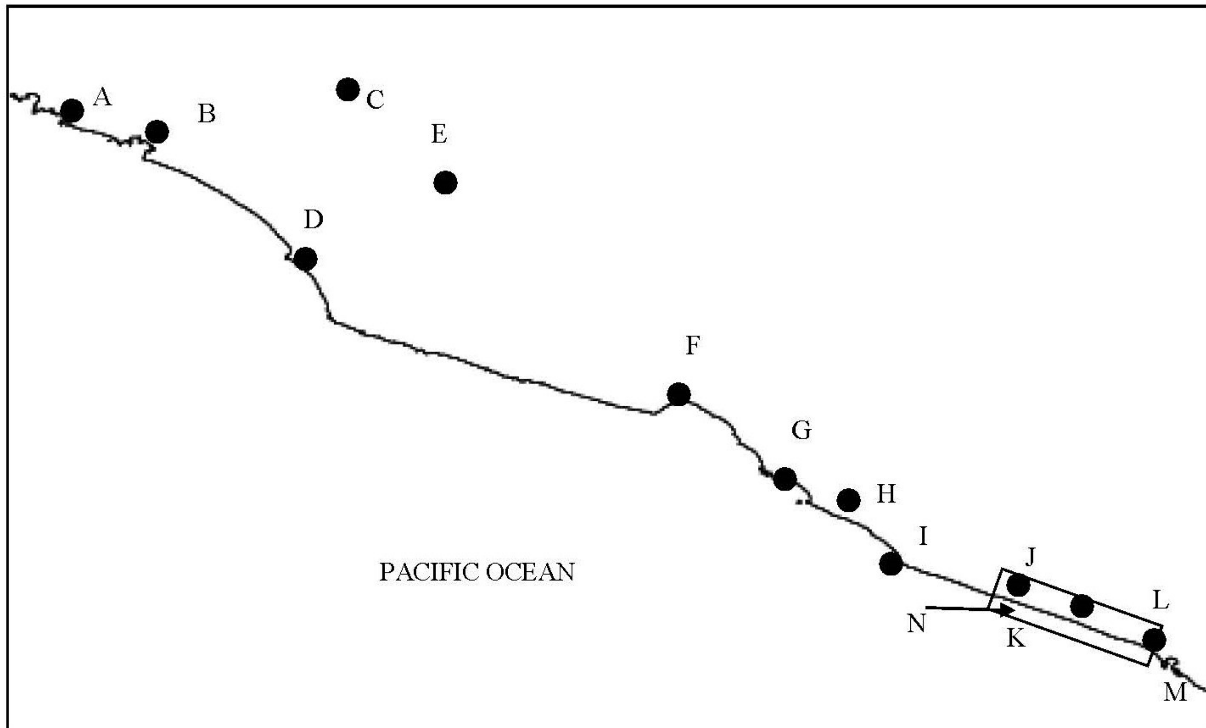


Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center. NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor 2013.

Key:

A. Port of Salagua
B. Colima
C. Provinces of Colima and Motines
D. Guadalajara
E. Zacatecas
F. Parral
G. Valladolid
H. Querétaro
I. Zacatula
J. Acapulco
K. Province of Zacatula (Costa Grande)
L. City of Mexico
M. Puebla
N. Oaxaca
O. Veracruz
P. Central/Southern Mexico

Figure 9. Maritime Pacific New Spain

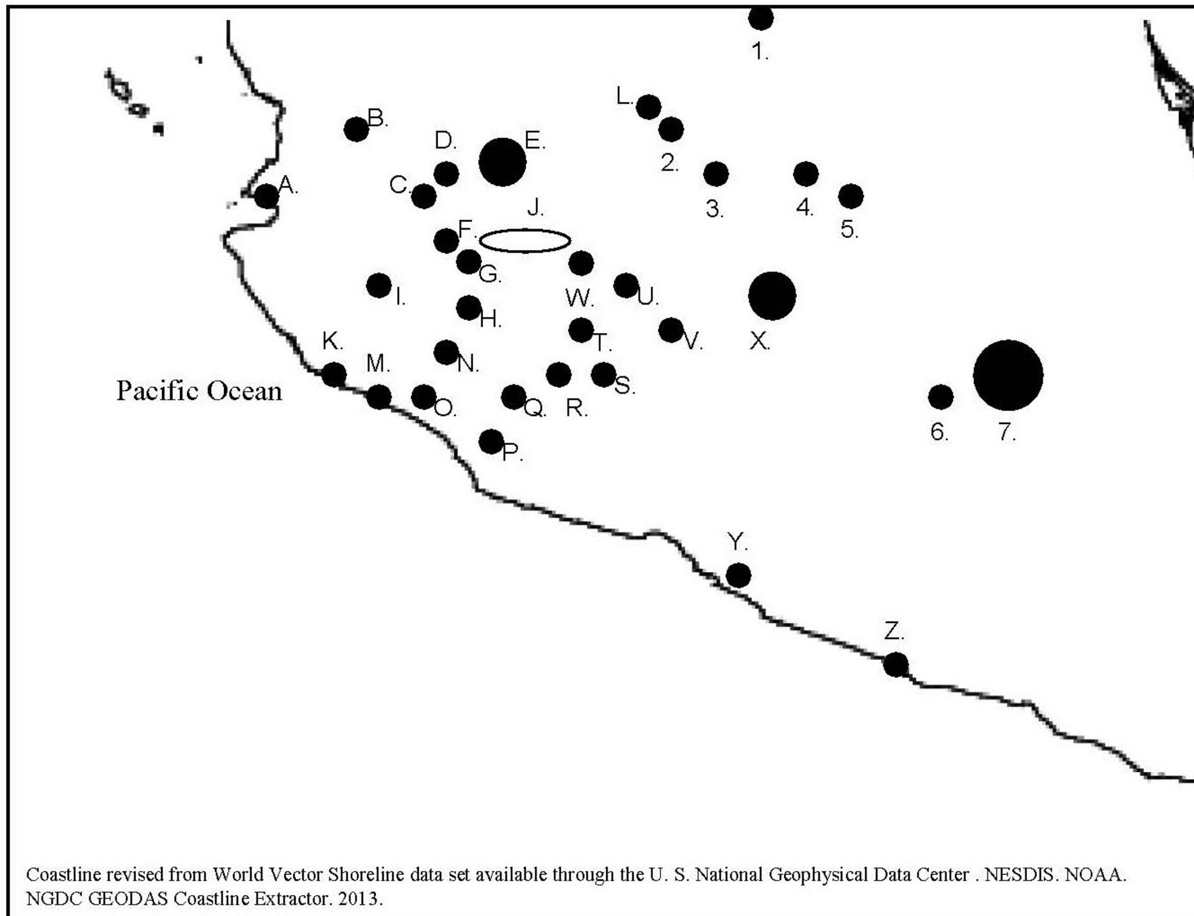


Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U.S. National Geophysical Data Center, NESDIS, NOAA, NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor, 2012.

Key:

A. Puerto de Navidad
B. Puerto de Salagua/Manzanillo
C. Colima
D. Punta de Suchitzi
E. Maquilí
F. Zacatula
G. Zihuatanejo
H. Petatlán
I. Punta de Papanoa
J. Tecpan River Valley
K. Atoyac River Valley
L. Coyuca River Valley
M. Puerto de Acapulco
N. Apusagualcos Plain (Eastern Costa Grande)

Figure 10. Western Mexico and the Bajío



Key:

New Galicia

A. Banderas
B. Chimatitlán
C. Ahuacatlán
D. Agualulco and Tala
E. Guadalajara
F. Zacoalco and Cocula
G. Sayula
H. Zapotlán and Tuxpán
I. Autlán
J. Lago de Chapala
K. Port of Navidad
L. Lagos

Colima / Motines

M. Salagua
N. Villa of Colima
O. Tecolopa/Caxitlán
P. Maquilí

Tierra Caliente

Q. Coalcamán
R. Tepalcatepec
S. Apatzingán and Pinzándaro
T. Tancitaro

Highland Michoacán

U. Arantzán
V. Pátzcuaro
W. Jiquilpa and Zamora
X. Valladolid

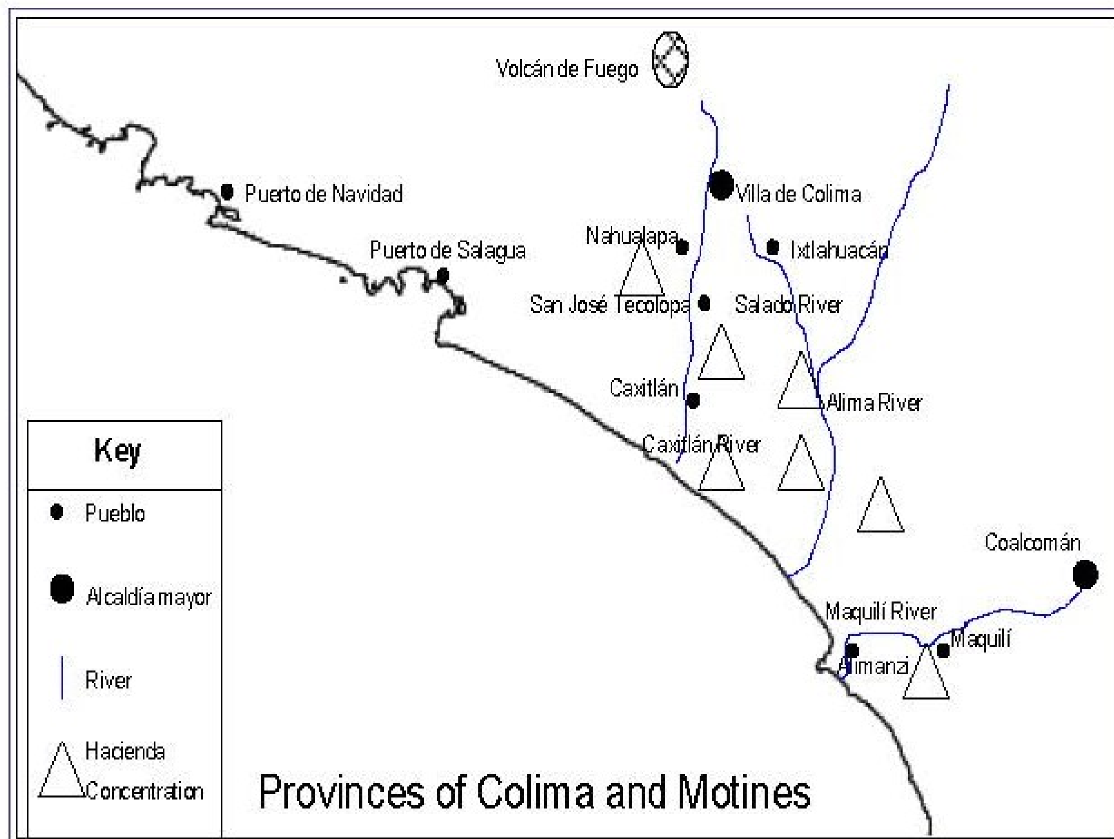
Costa Grande

Y. Petatlán
Z. Acapulco

Bajío and Central Mexico

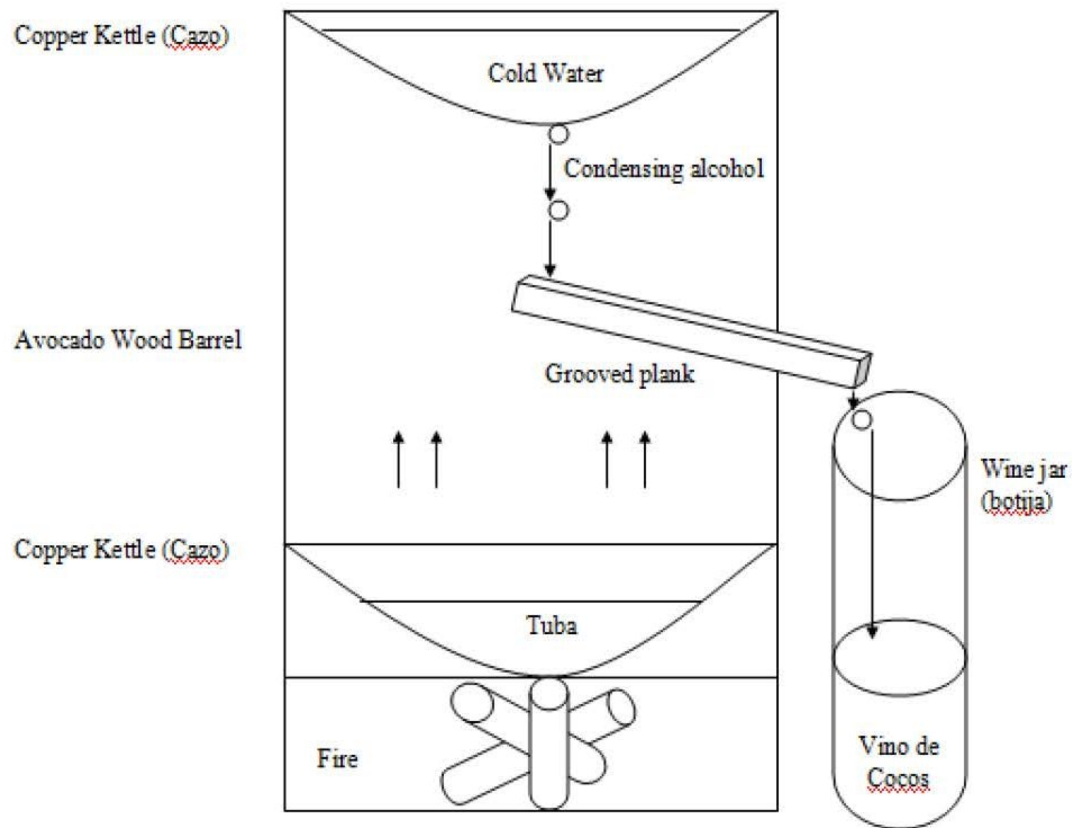
1. San Luis Potosí
2. León
3. Guanajuato
4. San Miguel
5. Querétaro
6. Toluca
7. City of Mexico

Figure 11. Colima and Motines



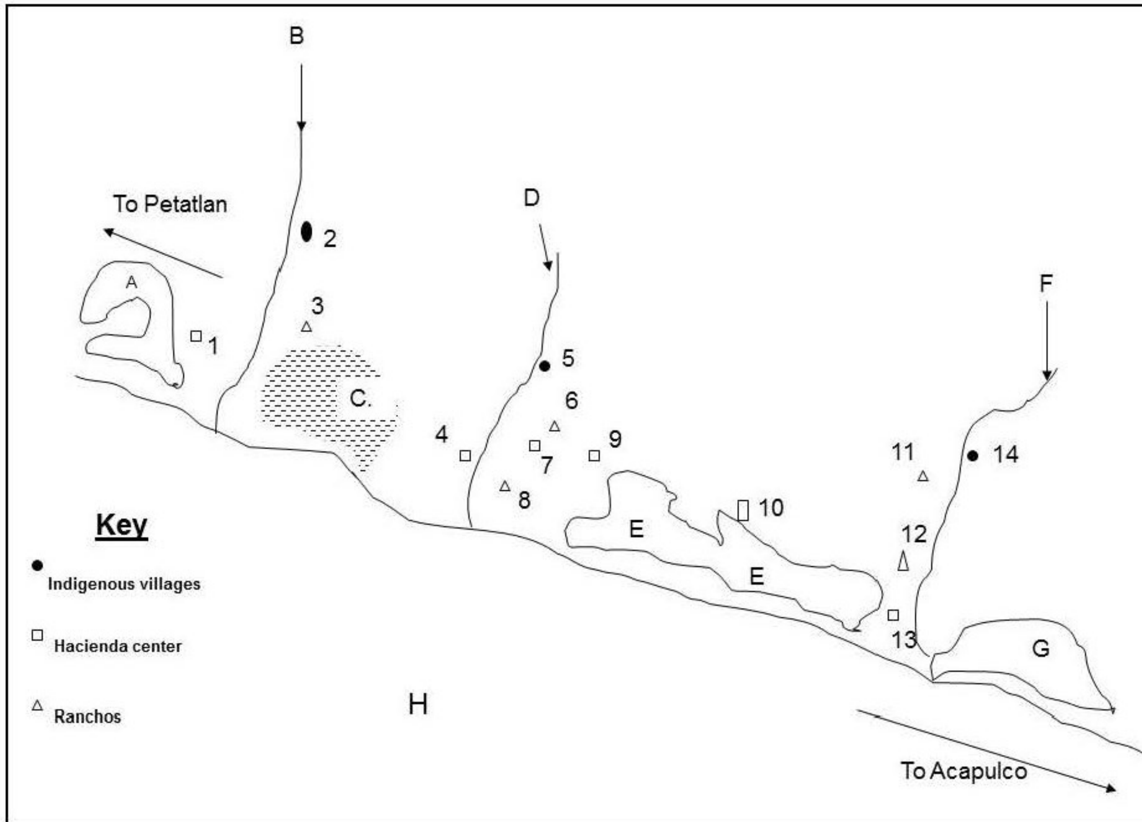
Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U.S. National Geophysical Data Center, NESDIS, NOAA, NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor, 2013

Figure 12. Vino de Cocos still



My diagram has been based on Henry J. Bruman "The Asiatic Origin of the Huichol Still," *Geographical Review* 34, no. 3 (1944): 418-427, especially 425-426; and Daniel Zizumbo-Villareal and Patricia Colunga-García Marín, "Early Coconut distillation and the origins of mescal and tequila liquor in western Mexico," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 55 (2008), 505.

Figure 13. Plain of Apusagualcos

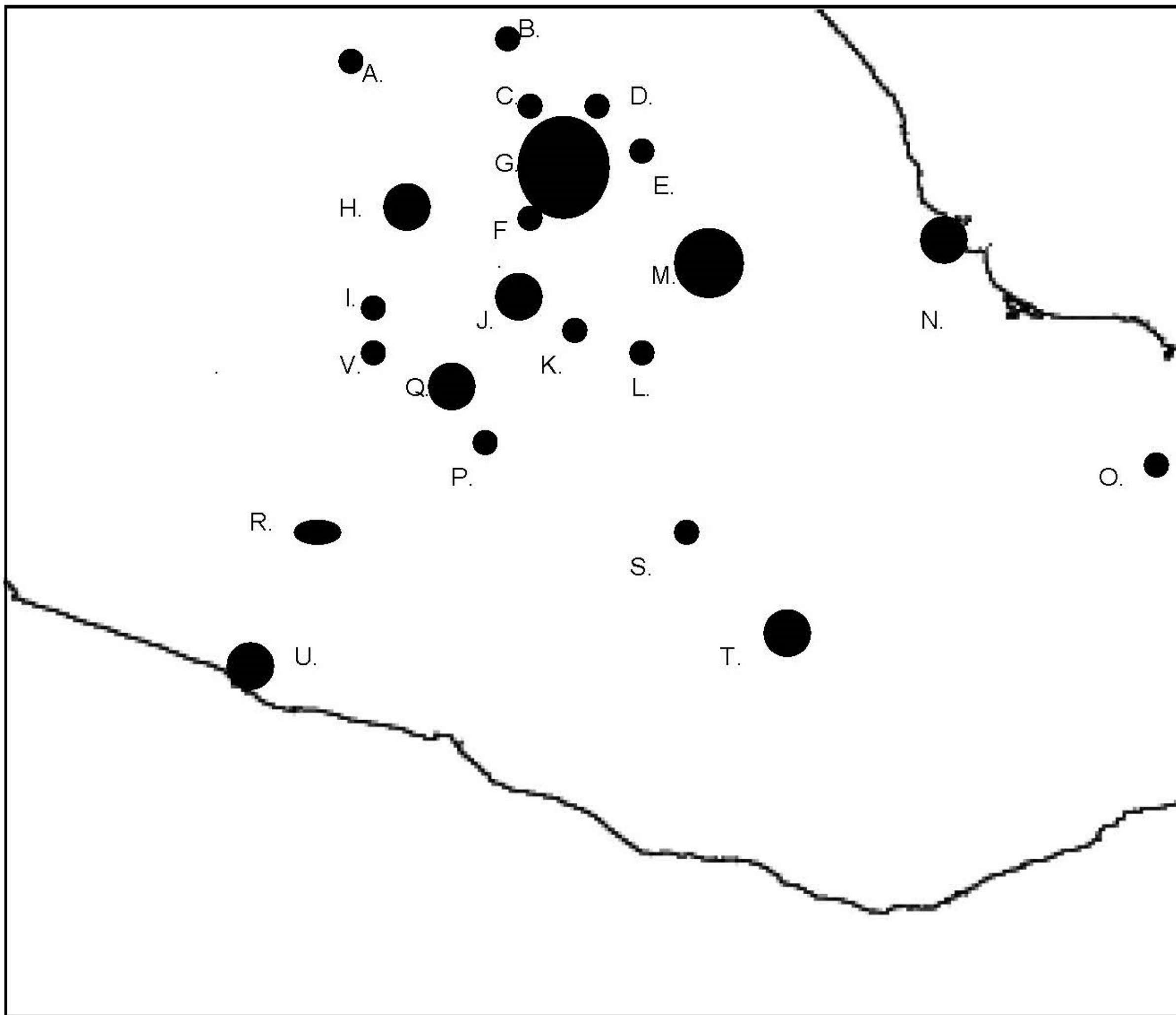


Key:

Land Forms
A. Laguna de Nexpa
B. Tecpan River
C. Marsh
D. Atoyac River
E. Laguna de Mitla
F. Coyuca River
G. Laguna de Coyuca
H. Pacific Ocean

Pueblos, Ranchos and Haciendas
1. Tlanexpa
2. Tecpan
3. Tetitlán
4. San Gerónimo
5. Atoyac
6. San Francisco de Apusagualcos
7. Rancho de San Francisco
8. San Miguel de Apusagualcos
9. Cacalutla
10. Cayaco
11. Nuestra Señora de la Concepción
12. Nuestra Señora de Buen Suceso
13. Barrio de San Nicolás de los Chinos
14. Coyuca

Figure 14. Central Mexico



Coastline revised from World Vector Shoreline data set available through the U. S. National Geophysical Data Center . NESDIS. NOAA. NGDC GEODAS Coastline Extractor. 2013.

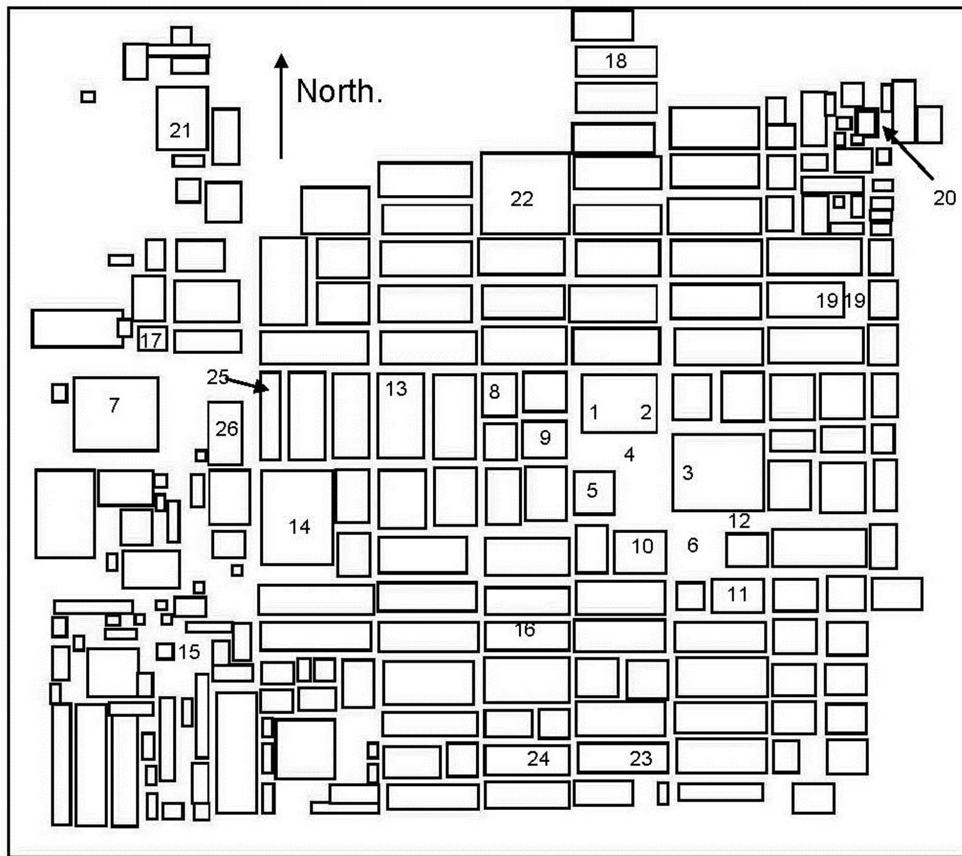
Key:

A. Atlacomulco
B. Tula
C. Zumpango
D. Teotihuacan
E. Texcoco
F. Xochimilco
G. City of México
H. Toluca

I. Temascaltepec
J. Cuernavaca
K. Cuautla de las Amilpas
L. Izucar
M. Puebla de los Ángeles
N. Veracruz
O. Ayacuca/Coatzacoalcos
P. Huitzuco/Iguala

Q. Taxco
R. Tixtla/Chilapa/Acahuizotla
S. Justlahuaca
T. City of Oaxaca
U. Acapulco
V. Sultepec

Figure 15. City of Mexico



Based on Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "Los territorios parroquiales de la ciudad arzobispal, 1325-1981." *Gaceta oficial del Arzobispado de México* (1982): 171.

Key:

1. Cathedral
2. Sagrario Parish
3. Viceregal Palace and Audiencia
4. Plaza Mayor
5. Parián
6. Plaza del Volador
7. Alameda
8. Alcaicería
9. Portal de Mercaderes/Slave Market
10. Cabildo/Ayuntamiento
11. Real Universidad de México
12. Real Acequía
13. Santa Clara
14. Convento de San Francisco/Parish of San José (Moyotlán)
15. Tecpan and cárcel de San Juan Tenochtitlan
16. Calle de San Agustín
17. Parish of Santa Veracruz
18. Parish of Santa Catarina Martír
19. Colegio and Plaza of San Gregorio
20. Convent and Parish of San Sebastián (Atzacualco)
21. Santa María de la Redonda (Cuepopan)
22. Convento de Santo Domingo/Capilla de Nra. Sra. Del Rosario/Holy Office of the Inquisition
23. Convento de San Felipe de Jesús
24. Calle de los Mesones
25. Hospedería de Santo Tomás de Villanueva/Resthouse for Descalzos Agustinos de Asia
26. Convento y Hóspital de San Hipólito

GLOSSARY

abintestato. Dying without a will.

acequia. Irrigation ditch.

adapati. Deputy ruler/governor.

adat. Malay customary law.

aduana. House of customs.

advenidizos. Pejorative term for mobile indigenous people.

agregados. Indigenous migrants incorporated into the tribute lists of indigenous municipalities.

aguamiel. Agave sap.

aguardiente. Hard liquor.

ahon. Collector and fermenter of palm sap. See *tubero*.

alac. Hard alcohol distilled from the tuba drawn from nipa or coconut palms. See *vino de palma*, *vino de cocos*, *lambonag,* and *tuba*.

alambique. Still. See *pagaalacan*, *tinotoog*, and *horno*.

alarife. Architect.

alcalde. Leader of small indigenous communities.

alcalde mayor. Provincial magistrate.

alcalde ordinario. City judge.

alcabala. Sales tax placed imposed on every transaction.

alcancía. Cash box used to collect alms or dues.

alcancía. Cash box used to gather alms.

alesna.. Leather-working needle.

alfoor. Non-Muslim tributaries or allies of Muslim sultanates.

alférez. Bearer of the company standard. Military office.

alguacil. Constable.

alguacil de vagamundos. Indigenous officer responsible for administering indigenous migrants.

alipin. Slave or servant.

almacen. Warehouse.

almaceneros. Warehouse workers.

almacigo. Nursery for plants. See *pachol*.

almendra. Cacao seed.

almiranta. The last ship in a convoy.

almojárifazgo. Import taxes imposed on Asian goods imported into New Spain.

altepetl/altepeme. City-state(s) in Nahua lands.

amonestaciones. Investigation and testimony verifying that prospective spouses are marrying out of free will.

amparo. Judicial relief.

aparejo. Carrying gear of mule.

arancel. Fee schedule.

arcabuz. Matchlock firearm.

arrabal. Suburb.

arraez. Commander of boat or galley.

arrendatorios de los diezmos. Farmers of the tithe.

arriero. Muleteer.

arroba. A volume measurement of approximately four gallons.

arroz en cáscara. Un-hulled rice

arroz limpio. Polished, or husked, rice.

artillero. Gunner.

aserradores. Sawyers.

asiento. Royally-sanctioned monopoly.

asturiano. Spaniard from Asturias.

atambor. Drummer. Military office.

atarraya. Fishing net

atole. Corn gruel.

ausentado. Fugitive or absent tribute-payer.

awak perahu. General seamen.

awat. The morning collection of tuba.

ayudante. Adjutant. Military office.

ayuey. Debt slave. See *saguiguilid, esclavo entero, esclavo dentro de la casa.*

Ayuntamiento. Municipal council.

Bachiller. Lower-level university graduate.

bagontao. Young unmarried man.

baguio. Typhoon.

bahay. House.

balsas. Rafts made of timber floated down rivers for use in Cavite.

bangkas. Outrigger canoes.

baoghali. Slicing coconut bud to extract sap.

barangay. Small community, and in the colonial era, a unit for collecting tribute. See *pook*.

barrio. 1. Urban neighborhood. 2. Rural hamlet.

bayan. Larger municipalities and settlements in central Luzon. Synonymous with indigenous municipalities in colonial records.

baybayin. Filipino writing system. Different languages had different variants of baybayin.

bendahara. Prime minister.

beneficiado. Clergy who held benefices.

bengala. Individual from Bengal, or obtained from one of its ports. It could refer to Bengalis or people from a wide range of ethno-linguistic groups.

bilango. Filipino legal deputies and constables.

biscocho. Hard-tack

bogadores. Rowers, or more commonly, paddlers.

bonote. Fibers extracted from palms.

borrachera. Drinking party. See also *tibao*.

boticario. Pharmacist.

botija. Jar.

botijuela. Small jar.

braza. A measurement of length of 2.4 meters

brea. Pitch or tar.

buyo. Betel nut. A food stimulant combining betel and vines from the bonga vine.

caballería. Measurement of land area, 105 acres.

caballita. A measure of land, just over half a hectare.

cabangcas. Subjects of a barangay, or fellow inhabitants of a barangay.

cabecera. Head town.

cabecilla. Foreman.

cabellos. Long hairstyle worn by sangley men.

cabeza de barangay. Barangay head, responsible for collecting tribute and allocating laborers..

cabildo. Municipal council.

cacahuatero. Cacao worker.

cacaotal. Cacao grove.

cacaotero. Cacao grower.

cacique/cacica. Indigenous nobles.

cafre. From the Arabic *kaffir,* means unbeliever. In the Philippines, it most often referred to African slaves obtained from Mozambique and the Swahili Coast. It occasionally referred to dark-skinned slaves obtained from the highlands of eastern Indonesia and New Guinea.

caja marinera. Liberty chest.

cajas de polo. Funds from which indigenous municipalities paid for the corvée laborers sent on polos. See *polistas.*

cal. Slaked lime used for processing corn for consumption.

calafate. Caulker.

calçetones. Short pants.

calidad. Status and reputation.

camarote. Staterooms aboard the galleons.

Camino de China. Road between the port of Acapulco and the city of Mexico.

camisa india. Blouses marketed to indigenous people.

campan. District.

camucón. Orang tidong, maritime raiders from eastern Borneo.

canarí. Konkani.

candado. Lock.

cantor. Singer in a church choir.

capangpangos. Kapampangans.

capellanía. Annuity-yielding investment used to pay for Masses after a person's death.

capitán. 1. Formal military rank of captain. 2. Informal name for a leader of an expedition or settlement.

capitana. The lead ship of a convoy.

carabao. Water buffalo. See *damulag*.

caracoas. Large outrigger vessels.

cardero. Wool carder.

carena. Careening. Repair and overhaul of a vessel hull, requiring its removal from the water.

carga. About fifty pounds.

cargador. Stevedore

carit. Knife used to cut slices of coconut buds for tuba production.

casa. Two cacao trees.

Casa de Contratación. The Board of Trade for the Spanish Empire, headquartered in Seville.

casados. Married people.

casas grandes. Literally, "big house," but refers to housing complexes in immediate post-conquest Iberian Asia and the Americas resided in by powerful Iberians, which housed their extended families, retinues, slaves, and all of their families.

casta. Non-Spanish, non-indigenous people of color.

Castellano. 1. Garrison commander. 2. Native of Castile. 3. Spanish language.

castiza. Mixed-race woman.

catalan. Immigrants to the Americas from Catalunya, or their descendants.

catalonan. Priestess or female shaman in central Luzon.

cavan. Measure of rice, 24-25 gantas.

cédula. Royal order.

calcetero. Stocking weaver.

celemín. Dry measure, 4.6 liters.

censo. Ecclesiastical mortgage.

chancaça. Brown sugar cake.

chichimeca. 1. Indigenous person from Northern Mexico. 2. Pejorative term to refer to so-called "uncivilized" indigenous people in colonial Mexico.

chinampa. Raised-field cultivation system.

Chincheo. Spanish pronunciation of Zhangzhou, the primary trading port of the province of Fujian between the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

chinchorrero. Boat-rower.

chino. 1. Migrants and slaves born in Asia, but resident in the America 2. The descendants of 1.

chino criollo. American-born individual of Asian descent.

chinguirito. Cane liquor.

chupa. One-eighth of a ganta, .231 liters.

cimarrones. Escaped slaves.

coa. Digging stick

cobradores. Payment collectors

cocinera. Cook.

cofrade/cofrada. Member of a cofradía

cofradía. Lay religious sisterhood or brotherhood.

comedia. Play.

commenda. Long-term commercial partnership between merchant and agent.

compadre. Godfather or sacramental sponsor.

compañía. Short-term commercial partnership between merchant and agent.

congregación. 1. The grouping together of dispersed indigenous settlements for surveillance by missionaries. 2. Lay religious organizations overseen by Jesuits.

Coromandel. The southeastern coast of India.

corraza. Cuirass.

cortes. Timber-cutting expeditions. See *polo.*

costal. Sack or bag.

criado. Servant.

criollo. 1. American-born person. 2. A native of an area. 3. In the Philippines, a descendant of foreign-born slaves. See *Moreno.*

cuartillo. 1.16 liters, 1 dry quart.

cuchillo carnicero. Butcher knife

cura de indios. The curate responsible for responding to indigenous complaints.

cura. Supervising parish priest.

cántaro. Kettle.

dalaga. Young unmarried woman.

damulag. Water buffalo. See *carabao*.

datu. Leader.

de buen cuerpo. Physically-fit.

defensor de los esclavos. Royally-appointed lawyers responsible for defending the rights of slaves imported into the Philippines.

derrama. Extortionate exaction of money or goods.

Descalzos. Unshod missionaries, generally from the Franciscan and Augustinian mendicant orders.

descontar. Pay deduction.

despacho. Mail sent upon the arrival of the galleon off the coast of New Spain.

diligencia. Affidavit.

doctrinero. Missionary.

dulohan. Following or retinue.

embarcaciones. Trips aboard ships.

empadronado. Enrolled on the tribute list.

encomendero. Recipient of grant of indigenous labor.

encomiendas. Royal grants of indigenous labor.

hermita. Small church.

escribiente. Secretary or scribe.

esclavo adentro de la casa. Debt slave. See *saguiguilid, esclavo entero, ayuey.*

esclavo afuera de la casa. Debt servant. See *namamahay, esclavo medio, tuhay.*

esclavo de jornal. Slave hired out as a day laborer.

esclavo entero. Slave. See also *guiguilid.*

esclavo medio. Debt servant. See *namamahay, esclavo afuera de la casa, tuhay.*

escribano. Notary.

escritura. Writing or receipt.

escudilla. Shallow drinking cup.

esquipazones. Draft labor on maritime journeys, often as rowers.

Estado da Índia. The Portuguese empire and trading network of Asia.

estancia. Cattle or livestock ranch

estanco. Royal monopoly.

estero. Canals and tributaries.

extravagante. Indigenous migrant.

factor. Quartermaster or provisioner.

falla. Sick day.

fanega. Dry volume measurement, 1.3 bushels.

fiador. Bondsman.

fiscal. 1. Spanish legal supervisor. 2. Indigenous ecclesiastical or civil deputies. See *bilango*.

forzado. Conscript.

frazada. Coverlet.

fuego y sangre. Literally, "War of fire and blood." No-quarters battle prosecuted by the Spanish and their allies.

gallego. Immigrants to the Americas from Galicia, or their descendants.

gabi. Tuber.

ganta. 2.31 liters, or .5 dry gallons

gastador. Military forager.

gatong. Mariners in charge of rigging.

gentio. Non-Christian or non-Muslim people from India.

gobernador. Head of an indigenous municipality. In the Philippines, after 1650, Spaniards begin to call them *gobernadorcillos*.

Grán Reino de China. The empires of the Ming and Qing.

granada. Agave heart.

grumete. In the Atlantic, referred to a sailor's apprentice, but also connoted experienced mariners of non-Spanish descent , i. e. Africans, Asians, or indigenous Americans.

grumete chino. Indigenous mariner's apprentice. See *grumete indio* and *grumete sencillo*.

grumete indio. Indigenous mariner's apprentice. See *grumete chino* and *grumete sencillo*.

grumete español. "Spanish" maritime apprentice, which included Filipino mariners.

grumete sencillo. Indigenous mariner's apprentice (After 1650). See *grumete chino* and *grumete indio*.

guardianejo. Indigenous supervisor and foreman of indigenous sailors aboard the galleons.

hacheros. Lumberjacks using axes.

hapua. The afternoon collection of *tuba*.

harigis. The pillars supporting the elevated houses of the Visayas and Luzon.

herrero. Ironworker. See *panday*.

hijo de la iglesia. Foundling, or child of parents unwilling to acknowledge an illegitimate child.

hilada. Part of a grove.

hilador. Spinner of thread.

Hokkien. Speakers of Minnanese languages from Southern Fujian, or their descendants. See

sangley.

horno. Oven or still. See *pagaalacan*, *tinotoog*, and *alambique*.

huerta. Garden plot, orchard, or hacienda.

India de Portugal. The *Estado da Índia* or areas of Asia inhabited by Portuguese or Portuguese mestiços. See *India Oriental*.

India Oriental. The *Estado da Índia* or areas of Asia inhabited by Portuguese or Portuguese mestiços. See *India de Portugal.*

indio. A term used by colonial Spanish authorities to refer to indigenous people, whether of the Americas or of Asia. This term connoted the *república de indios* and *república de españoles*.

indio Luçón. Tagalog or Kapampangan.

indio Tarasco. Indigenous person from lands ruled by the former Purépecha empire.

indios alquilados. Repartimiento laborers.

indios naborios. Indigenous people permanently assigned to Spanish employers.

infiel. Non-Christian.

ireta. City-state. See *altepetl.*

jacal. Hut.

jarcía/xarcía Cordage.

jolo/xolo. Slaves obtained from the Sultanate of Jolo

jornal. Daily wage.

jubón. Doublet.

juez congregador. Administrator responsible for reducción.

juez de palma. Indigenous official responsible for the supervision of the palm groves of Filipino municipalities.

juez de sementera. Indigenous official responsible for the supervision of the farmlands of Filipino municipalities.

juez provisor. Ecclesiastical court judge.

juez repartidor. Official responsible for allocating repartimiento laborers.

junta. Councils held aboard the galleons, usually consisting of officers.

jurabatu. Anchor officer

jurumundi. Navigator.

kaigin. Swidden risiculture and agriculture.

katana. Japanese swords

ladino. Fluent in Spanish.

Lakan Dula. The title of the ruler of Tondo.

lambonag. Hard alcohol distilled from the tuba drawn from nipa or coconut palms. See *alac*, *vino de palma*, *vino de cocos*, and *tuba*.

lanquin. Silk and cotton textiles produced in the Yangtze River valley.

lascar. Mariners from South Asia or the Middle East, who usually worked on Portuguese ships.

latonero. Tin worker.

legajo. Paper sheaf or bundle.

legua. 2.6 to 3.4 miles.

libranza. Promissory note.

"*libre de cautiverio*." A non-slave.

Licensiado. Title of someone who earned the lowest-level post-graduate university degree.

Limahon. Lin Feng, a Hokkien pirate trader in the late sixteenth century.

limosnas. Alms or other ecclesiastical dues.

"*limpieza de sangre*." Literally, "purity of blood." A certification that a person lacked ancestors of Jewish, Muslim, or African descent.

Luçoes. Merchants from pre-colonial Luzon present in insular Southeast Asia.

macasar. Slaves purchased from the Kingdom of Gowa (Makassar)

madres. Trees that shaded growing cacao plants.

madrina. Godmother, or female sacramental sponsor. See *padrino*.

Maestre de campo. Field marshal or general. Referred to indigenous or Spanish commanders.

magaalac. Worker who distilled *vino de palma*. See *vinatero* and *mananguet*.

maguey. Agave.

maguinoo. Indigenous elite of central Luzon.

maharlika. Free person.

malabar. People of South India. Often referred to presumed speakers of Telugu, Tamil, or Malayalam.

Malucas/Maluco/Maluku. The Spice Islands.

mananguet. Worker who distilled of *vino de palma*. See *magaalac* and *vinatero*.

manta de Ilocos. Cotton sailcloth produced in Ilocos province.

mapa. Chart.

Mar del Sur. Pacific Ocean.

matriculado. Enrolled in tribute rolls.

mayordomo. Treasurer.

media annata. Fee paid to purchase an asiento or office, often equal to one-half of a year's expected profit or pay from the office or monopoly.

merced. Royal land grant.

merdica. Christian immigrant to the Philippines from Maluku.

méritos y servicios. Dossiers of royal service which include certificates and affidavits, usually compiled to obtain an office, encomienda, or pension.

mestiço. Luso-Asian people in Portuguese, British, and Dutch Asia.

mestizo. A person of mixed descent in Spanish America or Asia.

mestizo de sangley. A person with sangley and Filipino parents, or descendant of such a person.

mestizos de Japón. Inhabitants of the Philippines with Japanese and Filipino heritage, or their descendants.

mezcal. 1. Low alcohol ferment of roasted agave hearts. 2. Hard alcohol distilled from fermented roasted agave hearts.

milpa. Field.

milpero. Maize farmer.

mindanao. Subjects of the Maguindanaw sultanates of Buayen, Cotabato, or Danao, or slaves captured from these areas.

molendera. Maize grinder and cook. See *teçines*.

montañes. Referred to people from northern Spain.

monte. 1. Area uncontrolled by colonial authorities. 2. Uncultivated area, usually open for communal use, or sale.

moreno. 1. In the Philippines, a free descendant of foreign slaves. 2. In the Americas, a person with darker skin.

morisco/a. Person of mixed descent.

moro. 1. Early colonial term referring to the indigenous peoples of central Luzon. 2. A reference to the subjects or allies of the Islamicate sultanates of Southeast Asia.

morro. Hill.

mosquete. Heavy matchlock firearm.

mulato. Person of African descent.

nación. Ethnicity or origin.

nahuatato. Interpreter.

naipes. Playing cards.

nakhoda. Sea captain.

namamahay. Semi-autonomous debt servants.

Nanyang. Southeast Asia.

Nao de China. The Manila Galleon.

natural. 1. A native of a city, province, or kingdom. 2. An indigenous person.

Nāyaka. South Indian kings

nipa. Nipa fructicans. Palms thriving in brackish water, yielding thatching material, vinegar, and alcohol.

nipal. A cultivated stand of nipa palm.

obraje. Small textile mill.

Oidor. Judge of an audiencia.

Orang laut. Maritime nomads in insular Southeast Asia.

pachol. Nursery for plants. See *almacigo.*

padrino. 1. Godfather, or male sacramental sponsor. 2. The general term for sponsor of the Roman Catholic sacraments of baptism or marriage.

padrón. Census for tribute.

pagaalacan. Still. See *tinotoog*, *alambique*, and *horno*.

paje. Page, cabin boy, or military servant.

palenque. Fugitive slave community.

palmera. A palm grove. See *vinatera*.

pampango. 1. A speaker of Kapampangan, a central Luzon language. 2. A native of the province of Pampanga in central Luzon. 3. The Kapampangan language. 4. A descendant of speakers of Kapampangan or of natives of Pampanga. 5. A claimant to the latter status.

panadería. Bakery.

panadero. Worker in a bakery.

panday. Metal worker.

parao/perau. A small Malay trading vessel.

pardo. Afro-Mexican.

padrón de vagamundos. Migrant tribute list.

parroquía. Parish.

partido chino. Crop share.

pasisir. The trading city-states of the north coast of Java.

patache. Small ship.

pérol. Copper kettle.

perulera. Jar for storing fluids. Usually contained one arroba of fluid.

peso. Eight reales.

petate. Reed mat.

pífaro. Fife-player. Military office.

piçiete. Tobacco ground and used with cal for chewing.

pipa. Large barrel.

Plaza de Armas. Public square.

Plaza Mayor. The central public square in the city of Mexico. See also *Plaza Pública*.

Plaza Pública. The central public square in the city of Mexico. See also *Plaza Mayor*.

población. Cabecera.

poblano. Inhabitant of Puebla de los Ángeles.

polistas. Laborers drafted on a polo.

poliza. Vouchers for vagamundos which confirm tribute payment.

polo. A corvée draft, usually imposed at the barangay or pueblo level. See also *saca* and

repartimiento.

pozo. Salt-producing "well."

pregonero. Town crier.

principales. Members of the indigenous mobility. See *caciques/cacicas.*

protector de los naturales. Official responsible for responding to indigenous complaints and preventing their exploitation.

Provisorato. Episcopal court.

Provisorato de Indios y Chinos. Ecclesiastical court for indigenous people and people of Asian descent.

pueblos de indios. Nucleated indigenous municipalities established under Spanish colonial law.

pulque/octli. Fermented agave sap.

quiñón. A measurement of land, just under six hectares.

Real. Mining settlement.

reata. Traces.

recogimiento. Cloister or place of confinement for women

reconocimiento. Acknowledgement of adjudication of debt servitude.

recua. Mule train.

reducción. The process of creating congregaciones.

regidor. Municipal councilman.

regulars. Clerical members of missionary orders.

repartimiento. A corvée draft. See also *saca,* or *polo.*

Reparto de bienes. A forced sale of goods. See also *vandala.*

requerimiento. Proclamation of conquest.

reservados. Indigenous tributaries exempt from tribute demands and *servicios personales.*

reservas. Exemptions from tribute and *servicios personales for* indigenous people.

Ribera. Shipyard.

rogación. Praying procession. .

ropa de Castilla. Cloth produced in Europe and imported into Asia or the Americas.

ropa de China. Cloth produced in Asia and imported to the Americas.

ropa de la tierra. Cloth produced in colonial lands.

saca. A corvée draft. See also *polo,* or *repartimiento.*

sacapines. Repartimiento laborers.

sacristanes. Indigenous assistants who helped administration of the Catholic sacraments.

sago. The dried starches extracted from the palms of sago palms.

saguiguilid. Debt slaves, domestic slaves.

salapi. Cash.

salinas. Salt pans.

sandugo. Blood-sharing ceremonies which created fictive kinship ties between two individuals.

sangley. Term referring to Hokkien migrants to the Philippines, or their descendants. Spaniards and Filipinos later applied the term to Cantonese migrants to the Philippines.

Santa Hermandad. Private rural security force.

sarangui. Serang, foreman of a group of lascars. See *serang*.

sasa. Nipa palm.

sastre. Tailor.

sayal. Sackcloth.

seculars. Clerics not from missionary orders.

serang. Lascar foreman and recruiter. See *sarangui*.

servicio personal. Free services owed to ecclesiastical and civil officials as part of the obligations of indigenous tributaries.

shahbandar. Port authority, and/or leader of ethnic polities in Southeast Asian ports.

sinabafa. Silk textiles produced in Bengal.

sirvientes. Resident free workers.

sisa del vino. Excise tax imposed on alcohol.

situado. The annual subsidy and taxes on Asian goods sold in New Spain, the proceeds of which were sent to the Philippines.

socorro. 1. Advance wage payment. 2. Relief expedition.

solar. Urban lot.

soldado sencillo. A private. Military.

soltero. Unmarried person.

sombrerero. Hatmaker.

sombrero indio. Hats marketed to indigenous people.

specie. Goods.

tael/tae. Chinese silver money or weight of 1.3 ounces.

tagbaloy. One of several ethnic groups from the upland interior of eastern Mindanao.

tlaxilacalli. Neighborhood.

tambobo. Silo for storing rice.

tameme. Porter.

tanor. Unpaid agricultural or domestic labor.

tapa. Salted beef or water buffalo meat.

tapextle. Filter used to extract salt.

tasajo. Salted beef.

tecpan. Royal palace.

tejedor. Weaver.

temenggong. Head of law enforcement.

tendero/a. Storekeeper

teniente. Lieutenant office-holder.

teniente de gobernador. Deputy mayor of an indigenous municipality.

tequio/coatequitl. Communal labor task.

tercio. About one hundred and fifty pounds.

terrenate. Subject of the Sultan of Ternate, in northern Maluku, or slave obtained from said sultanate.

teçines. Women who soaked corn and ground it, preparing tortillas, tamales, or corn gruel.

thalassocracies. Maritime polities controlled by, or catering to, merchants.

tibao. Ceremonial drinking party. See also *borrachera*.

Tierra Fría. Highlands.

tigis. The collection of palm sap.

timagua. Commoners and peasants in the Philippines.

tinaja. Jar. See *perulera.*

tingues. Uplands.

tinotoog. Still. See *pagaalacan*, *alambique*, and *horno*.

tlatoani/tlatoque. Leaders of *altepeme*.

tonelero. Stevedore responsible for moving casks and barrels

tostón. One half of a peso.

trapiche. Small sugar mill.

traza. Urban core.

tributo entero. Tribute-paying household.

tuba. 1. The fermented sap of the flowers of the *nipa* or coconut palm. 2. Occasionally refers to the product made from the distilled fermented sap of the coconut flower.

tubero. Collector and fermenter of palm sap. See *ahon*.

tubigan. Irrigated rice agriculture. From *tubig*, Tagalog for water.

tucqil. Container which collects palm sap.

tuhay. Debt servant. *S*ee *namamahay, esclavo medio, esclavo afuera de la casa.*

tukang agong. Chief petty officer.

tukang janana. Starboard petty officer.

tukang kiri. Port petty officer.

vagamundos. Indigenous migrants in the Americas and the Philippines.

vandala. Underpaid or unpaid procurement of bulk goods. See also *reparto de bienes.*

vaquero. Cowboy.

vara. Measurement of little over a yard.

vasco. Basque.

vecino. Citizen of barrio or municipality.

vinatera. Palm grove. See *palmera*.

vinatero. Worker who distills of *vino de palma*. See *magaalac* and *mananguet*.

vino de cocos. Hard alcohol distilled from the tuba drawn from coconut palms. See *alac*, *lambonag*, *tuba*, and *vino de palma*.

Vino de mezcal. Distillant produced from mezcal.

Vino de palma. Hard alcohol distilled from the fermented sap, or *tuba*, drawn from nipa or coconut palms. See *alac*, *lambonag*, *tuba*, and *vino de cocos*.

Visita. 1. Royal or ecclesiastical inspection or investigation. 2. Subordinate parts of a municipality or parish.

Visitador. Official commissioned to perform a royal investigation.

Zaiton. Quanzhou.

zanja. Canal.

zapatero. Shoemaker.

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