

THE *INQUILINOS* OF CAVITE AND FILIPINO
CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE LATE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

SOLEDAD BORROMEIO-BÜHLER*

Zurich, Switzerland

This paper attempts to describe and analyze the manner in which a segment of nineteenth century Philippine society was structured, and offers a conceptualization of what constituted a provincial "social class" at the time, by looking at the role of the *inquilino* in Caviteño society. The study is based upon an examination of archival sources and printed material. Most ethnographic information comes from being a native of the province and from personal interviews.

Briefly stated, the three-tiered native class structure of pre-Spanish times, composed of a small chiefly class, a slightly larger class of freemen, and a mass of servile dependents, gave way to a two-tiered class system following the Spanish Conquest.¹ This was consequent to the abolition of slavery,² and the removal of the major bases of power of the native political elite: leadership by birth-right, and the possession of unfree dependents. In time status became based upon landownership,³ financial wealth, education, and skin color, as the Philippine colony made the shift from subsistence-barter economy to a Hispanized plural society lately brought upon the threshold of a money economy. Changes which transpired during the first half of the nineteenth century affecting colonial economy and society, however, appear to have led to a restoration of multiple class differentiation as indicated by the facts on Cavite Province. To wit, from a two-tiered class system composed of the *principalia* (traditional political elite) and the rest of the population, to a three-tiered class structure consisting of a tiny upperclass, an intermediate

* The author has a Ph.D. in History taken at the University of California in 1973.

¹ Alexander Robertson and Emma Blair, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, 1909, XVI, 121, hereinafter referred to as *BR*; John Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses: 1565-1700* (Madison, 1959), 114-15.

² Technically abolished in 1591, slavery appears to have only gradually petered out in different parts of the colony since references to its continued practice recur in the sources. *BR*, XVI, 124, 157, 163.

³ The concept of land as having monetary value apparently dawned early on the native elite resulting in considerable sales of communal land during the Post Conquest period. Nicholas Cushner, S.J., "Maysapan: The Formation and Social Effects of a Landed Estate in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian History* 7 (1973): 31-53.

“middleclass” of mostly *inquilinos* and a lower class of *kasamás* and *jornaleros*.⁴

I. The *Principalia* in Cavite

Apparently the nucleus of an intermediate social stratum in Cavite Province, the *principalia* in the late nineteenth century may be described as a non-exclusive town elite composed of old *principalia* families, a significant portion of Chinese *mestizos*,⁵ and some former *timawas*⁶ whose status were based upon their incumbent or past tenures as town officials, their possession of moderate wealth and some education.⁷ As *gobernadorcillos* (petty governors) and *cabezas de barangay* (village headmen) these served mainly as tax-collectors at the lowest rung of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy in which capacities they either moderated the severity of Spanish ordinances or exploited their positions to enhance their own interests.⁸ The expanded size of the *principalia* was not simply a matter of population growth but was also due to an “open” class structure where a reasonable degree of social mobility was evident.⁹ The availability of elective municipal positions after 1786 and active *mestizo* participation in provincial economy as middlemen, *inquilinos*, etc., enabled this ethnic subgroup to infiltrate the *principalia* by mid-eighteenth century, if not

⁴ *Inquilinos* are leaseholders of agricultural land; *kasamás* are tenant cultivators; *jornaleros* are dayworkers.

⁵ On the Chinese *mestizo* in general, see Edgar Wickberg, “The Chinese *Mestizo* in Philippine History.” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5 (1964): 62-100. The heaviest concentrations of *mestizos* in Cavite were in the lowland towns of Bacoor, Imus, Kawit, Santa Cruz, Rosario, San Roque, the Cabecera, and Naic. *Guia de forasteros* (Manila, 1854), 194.

⁶ The word *timawa* meant freemen or manumitted slaves in pre-Spanish times. Rizal’s annotation of Morga translates it to mean in peace, free. *BR*, XVI, 122. Today it has a pejorative connotation in Tagalog meaning impoverished.

⁷ For more on the expanded scope of the term *principalia*, see Norman Owen, “The *Principalia* in Philippine History: Kabikolan, 1790-1898,” *Philippine Studies* 22 (1974): 297-324.

⁸ These also supervised local public works, maintained peace and order, and were charged with such general “housekeeping” duties as the upkeep of the local jail and the *casa tribunál* (townhall). As bureaucratic intermediaries, *principales* petitioned the government on behalf of their constituencies for the cancellation of landrent during bad harvest, protection from bandits, etc. Yet *principalia* corruption is amply indicated in the sources, especially in the collection of *falla fees* (forced labor exemption fees) and in other impositions on the townspeople. PNA, Cavite, leg. 75, nu. 54; PNA, Terrenos Cavite, lib. I, 1797-1898; Lib. II, 1856-1890; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1957), 114.

⁹ Barrows testified on the incidence of social mobility in the native population in the early 1900s. He claimed that the “gente baja” (lowerclass) was “not without ambition” and that Filipino parents make every effort towards “social betterment”. By admitting that social mobility was a fact of the Philippine social system, Barrows implied that an intermediate stratum did exist between the upperclass and the “gente baja” inspite of his erroneous impression on a two-tiered Filipino class structure at the time. U.S., *Sen. Doc. 331*, 57th Cong., Sess., 685-686.

earlier.¹⁰ Even former *timawas* are known to have become *cabezas* in such important hacienda towns as Imus indicating that manumitted dependents could rise from one social stratum to another, and that elite status had not been confined to old *principalia* families.¹¹ Another important factor in explaining social mobility in Philippine society very often not considered is the role of Filipino women. In many cases, the improved economic situation of Filipino families is usually traceable to the industry, frugality, and enterprising spirit of its women.¹² The basically independent disposition of the Filipino woman and her will to succeed for the sake of her family is part of what seems to be a strongly matriarchal inclination in some Southeast Asian societies. This was, and continuous to be true particularly of the lower and intermediate strata of Filipino society. Women face up to the challenge of having to "make both ends meet" by running *sari-sari* stores (drygoods store), becoming *tenderas* (vendors) in the local market, or *corredoras*¹³ busily buying and selling every imaginable item of merchandise from jewelry to dried fish and firewood. In Naic, thirty per cent of the registered *inquilinos* in 1891 were women.¹⁴

The dramatic increase in Philippine population¹⁵ in the late nineteenth century, the removal of restrictions on internal travel, and government decision to give up the idea of requiring *cabezas* to stay within their *sacopes* (jurisdiction) seem to have had a generally salutary effect upon *principalia* fortunes.¹⁶ Relieved of the need to monitor their *sacopes* full-time, *cabezas* were able to engage in other activities, presumably economic, to augment their income. Life for many *cabezas* seems to have materially improved as noted by the

¹⁰ Some prominent mestizo families in Cavite were the Aguinaldos, Tironas, and Encarnación of Kawit; the Viratas, Ylanos, Monzons, and Topacios of Imus; the Cuencas, Mirandas, Pagtachans, Cuevas, and Narvaezes of Bacoor; the Pobietes, Bustamantes, Yubiengcos of Naic, etc. PNA, Mestizos Cavite, 1881-83; Cabezas Cavite, 1839-96. In spite of their business ability, *mestizo* potential for acquiring wealth was severely limited by the presence of the monastic estates in the province which consigned them and many others to the status of mere *inquilinos* of the friars. Recent studies on haciendas (landed estates) in colonial Philippines include Dennis Roth, *The Friar Estates of the Philippines* (Albuquerque, 1977) and Nicholas Cushner, *Landed Estates in Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, 1976).

¹¹ PNA, Erecciones Cavite, leg. 75, 1774-1809.

¹² Cavada describes the Filipino women of his time as "... being disinclined towards idleness, and are often in the forefront of many business enterprises...." Agustin de la Cavada, *Historia geografica...* (Manila, 1876), I, 33; BR, XVI, 124-125. A more contemporary statement on the Filipino woman is Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil's *Woman Enough and Other Essays* (Quezon City, 1963).

¹³ From the Spanish *correr* meaning to run since *corredoras* have to go from one place to another in their buying and selling activities.

¹⁴ APSR, Inquilinos Naic, 1891.

¹⁵ Between 1815-1881 Cavite's population increased by more than two-fold. APSR, "HCF", fols. 1-29; PNA, Cavite, 1881.

¹⁶ *Poblacion de filipinas. Censo general...* (Manila, 1883), 4-5.

census report of 1883: "With recent advances in production and trade, the [*cabezas*] have attained a measure of well-being and social uplift which many natives did not enjoy before unless they served as a *cabeza*."¹⁷ Besides relating the improved economic condition of many *cabezas* to accelerated economic change in the late nineteenth century, this statement is significant for it strongly suggests a direct connection between local political power and the enhanced economic situation of persons who held these offices, i.e., the position of a *cabeza* during this time could have been a means of economic gain. This can also be inferred from the manner in which Caviteños avidly sought election to these municipal positions, seen in hotly contested elections and the resort to various electioneering practices.¹⁸

The role of the *ilustrados* and how these fitted into Caviteño society needs some elucidation. *Ilustrados* were the native educated elite, which crossed class lines, although the majority came from the upper and middle social strata.¹⁹ Many were reformers, freemasons, and some were even members of the revolutionary *Katipunan* society, exemplified by several among the Thirteen Martyrs.²⁰ It is therefore erroneous to conceive of the *ilustrados* as a social class²¹ or a monolithic group especially with regards to their attitudes towards the idea of revolution.²²

II. Concept of a Provincial "Social Class"

If one were to visualize the structure of Caviteño society in the late nineteenth century, one could see that between an almost negli-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ PNA, Cavite, "Queja sobre la elección..." [n.d.]; *Ilustración filipina*, Dec. 15, 1859: 165.

¹⁹ Cesar A. Majul, "Principales, Ilustrados, Intellectuals and The Original Concept of a Filipino National Community," *Asian Studies* 15 (1977), 12-13. Principalia descent of many *ilustrados* is evident. However, conceptually and historically there are important enough differences between the two that keep these from being synonymous.

²⁰ Before the Philippine Revolution, the *ilustrados* were an amorphous group led by Jose Rizal, Marcelo Del Pilar, etc., interested mainly in reforms in the colony. At the Malolos Congress, a segment within the group—the urban rich—showed indications of being a social class by asserting their class interests, i.e., upperclass interests rather than *ilustrado* interests as a whole. See Bonifacio Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, 1968), 17-19. On the Thirteen Martyrs, their involvement in the *Katipunan* and the revolution, see Aguinaldo's statement on the matter in his *My Memoirs* (Manila, 1967), 82; also, Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City, 1955), I, 241, 263, 296-97, 356; José Nava, *The Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite* (Manila, 1936?); 1-14.

²¹ This paper draws essentially from the Weberian concept of social class as a status-income group with a common lifestyle, in contrast to the Marxian idea that takes into consideration the following: (a) its relation to the means of production; (b) its will to compete for political power to protect its economic interests; (c) possession of a class ideology. Z.A. Jordan, *Karl Marx: Economy, Class and Social Revolution* (Exeter, 1972), 25, 30.

²² The case of the Thirteen Martyrs belies the claim that *ilustrados* rejected the idea of revolution to protect their "class" interests. See Jonathan Fast and Jim Richardson, *Roots of Dependency* (Quezon City, 1979), 56-65.

gible number of upperclassmen in possession of an above-average wealth, and the poor landless *kasamás-jornaleros*, there was the growing intermediate class of Caviteños, drawn mainly from the numerous *inquilino* residents of the province, but different from the rest in that they "were doing better", i.e., had improved their lot materially as to have risen from the ranks of the common peasantry. Through dint of industry and sheer resourcefulness, there were some families in many towns of the province that managed to rid themselves of the shackles of wretched poverty, viz., to add some wooden parts to an otherwise plain thatch-bamboo hut, to buy that much longed-for *aparador*,²³ to make the decisive transfer to the *población* (town center), and at least, to send a child or two to the nearest parochial school. If one must designate the term "middleclass" to mean a particular group in the province, it would have to be applied to this category of Caviteños.

In this paper, economic factors (income, property), concomitant lifestyle, and the manifestation of a "consciousness of kind" were used to determine the existence of a "middleclass" in nineteenth century Cavite.²⁴ Verifiability and relevance to the Philippine situation were the major considerations in the selection of these criteria. To begin with, the use of the term "middleclass" in this paper must be clarified. The concept of social classes has often been associated in the past with Western societies, particularly those of Europe. Originally, the "middleclass" referred to the bourgeoisie of nineteenth century Europe, basically an urban breed, suffused with Smithian liberalism and the idea of free enterprise. Lest the use of the term in this essay result in any misconception, I should state here what the Caviteño middleclassman was not.

He was not a creature of the urban areas, but rather still a ruralite just beginning to sample the congenial albeit more complex aspects of townlife. Occupationally, he was not principally a merchant, a craftsman, or a farmer. He was often a non-cultivating *inquilino*²⁵ who drew his income partly from his leasehold. As an *inquilino*, he did not directly have to tend his leasehold but sublet it to peasant cultivators called *kasamás*. Therefore he was relieved of the drudgery of tilling the soil and was able to preoccupy himself with subsidiary

²³ At that time, a status-symbol dresser and clothes cabinet is often made of *narra* wood.

²⁴ The ideas of Marx, Sorokin and Schumpeter were also useful in the conceptualization of social classes in Cavite. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, 1953).

²⁵ Doubtless there must have been poorer *inquilinos* who directly tilled their plots. However descriptions of Caviteño *inquilinos* concern the noncultivating type dealt with in this paper, suggesting that the former could have been a small minority. All Caviteño *inquilinos* interviewed by the Taft Commission were noncultivators. U.S., BIA, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, 1904), I, 186-98.

activities from which he apparently derived a substantial portion of his income.

Middleclass Caviteño income in the late nineteenth century was considerably less than that which accrued to the handful of rich upperclassmen in the province.²⁶ While upperclass income per annum on urban properties alone averaged over a thousand pesos, middleclass income was only about two hundred pesos a year.²⁷ A leasehold of a little over a hectare could have yielded approximately an eighth of an *inquilino's* income.²⁸ Another fraction could have come from holding a job as a *principal*, a teacher, etc. The rest of that income had to come from any other combination of economic activities which often involved short-term moneylending at high interest.²⁹ Middleclass resources also included some "hidden assets" in the form of jewelry and paper which were customarily not tax-declared.³⁰

One might ask if this type of income met the needs of a middleclass Caviteño family at that time. To answer this question, one should consider some facts about life in Cavite in the 1890s. At two pesos, fifty centavos a *caván* of rice,³¹ it cost twenty-five pesos a year to feed a family of five and probably double that amount to cover the rest of the daily food expenses.³² A fifth of the income could have been budgeted for clothing. In the absence of electricity and motorized transportation fuel costs on firewood and candles were minimal. Trips to Manila or the provincial capital (*Cabecera*) were not frequent and much intertown travel was by *carromata* (horse carriage) and *banca* (dugout canoe). Huge medical bills were unknown because sicknesses of any kind were referred to the local *arbulario* (herbalist). Recreation was mostly limited to cockfighting, *pangguinge*, chewing *buyo*,³³ and the religious feasts. Barring addiction to vices as gambling, such a simple lifestyle could have made the income of a middleclass Caviteño family adequate and saving even likely. Table 1 on salaries in Cavite at the time puts into perspective the income of Cavite's intermediate class.³⁴

²⁶ PNA, Cavite, 1889.

²⁷ APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

²⁸ Income from leaseholds varied according to size, quality of riceland, etc.

²⁹ Robert Macmicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines During 1848, 1849, 1850* (London, 1852), 101-02; Ramon R. Lala, *The Philippine Islands* (New York, 1898), 199.

³⁰ Rafael Guerrero, *Cronica de la guerra de cuba y la rebelión de filipinas, 1895-1897* (Barcelona, 1897), IV, 22.

³¹ U.S., BIA, "Report of the Provincial Governor of Cavite, 1902", 3222/6. *Cavan* is a unit of rice measure = 64 liters.

³² Despite fluctuating rice prices, the price of rice increased only at the rate of 1% in a century. An idea of food prices ca. 1800 is given in Joaquín Martínez de Zuniga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (Manila, 1973), 220-21.

³³ *Pangguinge* is a card game; *buyo* is a mixture of betel leaf, nut and lime.

³⁴ All tables are appended.

The most obvious indicator of class status in the province was the type and location of one's house within the *población* limits, a radius of about half a kilometer from the town *plaza*³⁵ featuring compact settlements. Manuel Scheidnagel observed that parts of the houses of Caviteño *principales* were often made of fine Philippine wood.³⁶ Middleclass lifestyle differed enough from that of humbler *kasamás* and *jornaleros* that it was noticeable to visiting foreigners. Bowring noted that "... almost every *pueblo* has some dwellings larger and better than the rest, occupied by the native authorities or mixed races"³⁷ Speaking of Chinese *mestizos* in particular, he continues that "... where they retain the native dress, it is gayer in color, richer in ornament The men commonly wear European hats, shoes, stockings, and the sexes exhibit a small imprint of dandism and coquetry."³⁸ Compare this with the situation of the *kasamá* and the *jornalero*, who dwelt in makeshift *nipa* huts camouflaged by luxuriant vegetation in the *barrios*, whose *pequeño casangcapan* (simple belongings) consisted of a *baníg* (palm mat), a pair of shirts, a cock.³⁹ "The peasant", remarked a Spanish writer, "was already happy with a bit of rice, cooked with water only and... a piece of meat or a small fish, quite salty and fried."⁴⁰

The degree to which hispanicized ways were adopted by a given family was also an index to its class status because exposure to Hispanic culture was based upon one's ability to financially afford it. Middleclass and upperclass shared an acquaintance with urban Manila in the manner that lowerclass peasants did not. Middleclass Caviteños were initiated to Manila culture either on account of periodic business trips to Manila markets or because one's family was able to defray the expenses of a Manila education.

The Aguinaldos of Kawit typified a Caviteño middleclass family of the late nineteenth century. Until he acquired many hectares of land under the American government at the turn of this century, Emilio Aguinaldo was a non-cultivating *inquilino principal* from Kawit.⁴¹ His mother was a common cigarette-maker who became a directress of the government tobacco factory in the *Cabecera*.⁴² His

³⁵ The municipal center which usually includes a church, the tribunal house, the homes of the elite, a store or two, and a market. See Donn V. Hart, *The Philippine Plaza Complex: a Focal Point in Culture Change* (Syracuse, 1968).

³⁶ Manuel Scheidnagel, *Las colonias espanoles de asia: islas filipinas* (Madrid, 1880), 54.

³⁷ John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippines* (Manila, 1963), 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁹ Scheidnagel, 54.

⁴⁰ E. Deverter Delmas, *La insurrección de filipinas en 1896-1897* (Barcelona, 1899), I, 223.

⁴¹ Lala, 304-35; U.S., *House Doc.* 963, 61st. Cong., 2nd Sess., 4.

⁴² Aguinaldo, 3.

father worked for years without salary in the provincial administration until he became an *oficial de mesa* (desk clerk). Not inclined towards studying, Aguinaldo only briefly attended the Colegio de San Juan de Letran.⁴³ Curiously enough, it was his mother who secured for him the position of *cabeza* in Binakayan from which he later became a *capitán municipal*. Concurrently, he also engaged in small businesses like running a *panutsá*⁴⁴ factory and in the sale of salt and bolos.

Above the middleclass *inquilinos* was an infinitesimal native upperstratum most members of which congregated in the *Cabecera*. Shops, distilleries, contractual projects, shipping, rentals on urban property, etc., provided these Caviteños with what was considered at the time to have been a sizeable fortune.⁴⁵ There was Don Luis Yangco, a legendary name in Philippine commercial shipping whose ferry service across Manila Bay provided an important link between Cavite and the capital.⁴⁶ Mestizo families like the Osorios, Inocencios, Trias, Basas and San Agustins also belonged to this group. A sprinkling of upperclassmen could also be found in other towns of Cavite whose wealth came from rural landholdings, urban properties, and/or successful business ventures. The Cuencas of Bacoor, the Papa, De Castro, Valentin, and Arenas families of Naic, the Darwins of Indang pertained to this class.⁴⁷ Whenever one or two of these families could be found in a municipality these were considered as "first families" and their domicile stood prominently as the only *bahay na bató* (house of brick and masonry) in the area, built in the style of Spanish homes of the period. Upperclass homes were located by the town *plaza*, near to the sources of power, economic and political. Customarily, the rich served as sponsors for the biggest event of the year: the town *fiesta*. The sponsorship of a *fiesta* carried with it considerable prestige and a tremendous outlay of expense. The *hermano mayor* paid for several brass bands and a sumptuous feast at his home to which everyone was welcome. One's prestige was locally gauged on the basis of how much one spent for the *fiesta* as *hermano mayor*, a conversation topic in town that far outlasted the celebration. Apropos the subject, Ventura Lopez Fernandez's description of the town *fiesta* of San Roque provides us with local color and an idea of the nature of class relations during these social functions in Cavite:

According to customs, the *hermano mayor* offered a great dinner-dance at his house . . . [which] was adorned with glazed calicos

⁴³ A lawsuit filed by the Recollects of Imus against the Aguinaldos involving land held by the latter appears to have been another reason why the young Aguinaldo was forced to terminate his Manila studies. Lala, 304-05.

⁴⁴ A conical piece of molten brown cane sugar.

⁴⁵ PNA, Cavite, 1889.

⁴⁶ Manuel, I, 481-83.

⁴⁷ PNA, Cavite, 1889; PNA, Terrenos Cavite, lib. II, 1856-90.

of various national colours and with banners everywhere. Rich dinnerware graced the table . . . There was stuffed turkey, ham in syrup, poultry . . . and the most delicious cuisine of Europe. . . . There was no lack of wines of all brand. . . . This was for the Spaniards and the distinguished persons in town, whose dinner table was located upstairs. But below, by the vestibule of the house, there was another one for the poor and the commonfolk, where all kinds of native trifles were served, without lacking the classic *lechón* [roast pig] causing such indigestion to those invited, who ceaselessly came from morning until night.⁴⁸

Middleclass Caviteños of the late nineteenth century were possessed of a "consciousness of kind" because of common economic and occupational bonds, a similarity of status in the stratified pyramid of the provincial population, and a common lifestyle. As an indicator of class Schumpeter describes this phenomenon:

Class members behave towards each other in a fashion characteristically different from their conduct towards members of other classes. They are in closer association with one another; they understand each other better; they work more readily in concert; they close ranks and erect barriers against the outside; they look out into the same segment of the world, with the same eyes, from the same viewpoint, in the same direction.⁴⁹

Locale of residence, attire, a measure of education, elite *principalia* status, a reasonable amount of income and savings set middleclass Caviteños apart from common peasants and they knew it. Towards members of the lowerclass, middleclass Caviteños appear to have been aloof if kindly.⁵⁰ A realization of common agrarian origins must have conduced towards this peculiar situation. Class differences between *kasamás* and town-dwelling middleclassmen found expression in the tendency of both groups to regard each other as different, one referring to the other as the "town-dwellers" (*taga-bayan*) or the "barrio-dwellers" (*taga-barrio*), with the usual undercurrent of mutual indifference.⁵¹ While often romanticized in old Tagalog films, it was generally considered a step backward for the son of a *principal* or a prosperous *inquilino* to marry a girl from any of the distant barrios.

At the same time, middleclass Caviteños were cognizant of the significant differences between them and the provincial upperclassmen towards whom they were emulative in everything material tempered only by the realization of the limitations of their own resources.

⁴⁸ Ventura Lopez Fernandez, *El filibustero* (Manila, 1892), 87-88.

⁴⁹ Bendix and Lipset, 77.

⁵⁰ Barrows noticed that the relations between different classes in the Philippines were "kindly", generally not antagonistic. *Sen. Doc 331*, 686.

⁵¹ This behavioral-attitudinal complex is so deeply-rooted and commonplace in Cavite that it must have been a part of the Caviteño mentality as long as the *barrio-bayan* dichotomy has been there.

Beyond the boundaries of the San Roque-Cabecera area, a shortage of upperclass families often necessitated the participation of the most prosperous middleclassmen as *hermanos mayores* during fiestas. From November to June a series of religious festivals were and continue to be dominated by upper and middle classes in which barrio people are peripherally involved. Cooperative efforts needed to set up these ritual celebrations must have helped reinforce ties among class members even as these fiestas dramatized the gap between townspeople and barrio people. The participation of some middleclass families in the sponsorship of fiestas could have only abetted middleclass aspiration for more wealth in their efforts to emulate the upperclass. It is noteworthy that in the town of Bacoor the current slate of *hermanos mayores* still includes families bearing nineteenth century *principalia* names.⁵² Sustained by religious tradition and materialist values, the cycle of the fiestas in Cavite has persisted for if these drained middleclass savings, these also replenished middleclass resources in the amount of local business they generated.

Besides the religious festivals, Spanish Catholicism enhanced class differences in other ways. The town elite attended weekly church services in their Sunday best: frock coat, top hat, and tasselled cane for the *gobnadorcillo*, *barong tagalog* or *camisa de chino* for other *principales*, and for women, *barò at saya* and beaded *zapatillas*.⁵³ The front pews in church were reserved for its richest patrons, while the rest crowded themselves behind. Church fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals varied in accordance with one's ability to pay for simpler or more elaborate rites. In a very important sense, the Church conveyed to its parishioners the idea that salvation was directly related to one's ability to pay for propitiatory masses, candles, indulgencies, etc.⁵⁴

A set of photographs in Monteverde y Sedano's *La campaña de filipinas, división lachambre* (Madrid, 1898),⁵⁵ provides a clear proof of the existence of more than two social classes in nineteenth century Cavite. A close scrutiny of these pictures also unmistakably reveals a "consciousness of kind" among members of Cavite's propertied classes. From these photographs (a) see how an upperclass family went to a photographer's studio, grandly attired to pose stiffly before the camera against a painted garden backdrop typical of the times; (b) look at a well-scrubbed, up-and-coming family of the *clase media*, simply but properly dressed, and just as engrossed about posing before

⁵² Interview with Mr. Jose Gazo of Bacoor, 1 June 1983.

⁵³ *Barong tagalog* and *camisa de chino* are men's shirts made of native fiber; *barò at saya* means blouse and skirt; *zapatillas* are ladies' footwear.

⁵⁴ These maybe gleaned from the novels of Rizal.

⁵⁵ The same set of photos are reproduced in Soledad M. Borromeo, "El Cadíz Filipino: Colonial Cavite, 1571-1896" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1973), 129-32.

a local photographer; (c) compare these with a snapshot of a group of neighborhood jornaleros, dressed in loose, homespun gauze shirts and blouses, relaxed, squatting or barefeet on the ground.

III. Empirical Evidence

Several documents in the Philippine National Archives and the Dominican archives in Manila provide vital empirical support for this study of native class structure in nineteenth century Cavite. Since records are fairly well preserved for Naic but fragmentary for the rest of the province, the writer took this town as representative for other towns in Cavite.

For the year 1895-1896, the town of Naic had the following persons serving as town officials: Cristobal Bustamante, *capitán municipal*; Blas Cayas, Melencio Valenzuela, Francisco Nazareno, Matías Poblete, Mauricio Vasquez, Nicolas Toco, Rafael Jocson, Potenciano Papa, Blas Cena, Daniel Pilpil, Leoncio Yubiengco, Julio Cayas, and Leoncio Velasco, *principales*.⁵⁶ The financial status of these *principales* and the electors who voted them into office are shown on Table 2. These names are repeated in the lists of donors to the local church and tribunal in terms of money or *cavans* of palay (unhusked rice) and indicates that these were all *inquilinos*.⁵⁷ When the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896, practically the same people were active contributors to the cause of the revolution.⁵⁸ A fairly comprehensive list of *inquilinos* in Naic in 1891 shows that it had 460 individual *inquilinos* (equivalent to an *inquilino* population of 1840 persons).⁵⁹ *Inquilinos* thus constituted some twenty per cent of Naic's population of 8079 in 1896.⁶⁰ We could assume that in the major hacienda towns of the province the size of the *inquilino* population was about the same, although it could have been slightly larger in Imus and in San Francisco de Malabon.⁶¹

The following may be inferred from the above data. In the town of Naic, there were about three persons at the outbreak of the revolution rich enough to have been able to contribute one thousand pesos each to the cause: P. Valentin, Potenciano Papa, and Epifanio Arenas, all of whom may be considered as the town's upperclassmen. Most contributors to the church and/or the revolution were *inquilinos* who formed a significant percentage of its population. Their ability

⁵⁶ APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

⁵⁷ APSR, *Inquilinos Naic, 1891*; APSR, Telesforo Canseco, "Historia de la revolución filipina en Cavite, 1896", mss., 46.

⁵⁸ APSR, *Katipunan Contributors, Naic, 1896*.

⁵⁹ APSR, *Inquilinos Naic, 1891*.

⁶⁰ U.S., *Sen. Doc. 280, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 37*.

⁶¹ Indicated in the proportionately larger numbers of *inquilinos* in these towns who bought/leased more than 16 hectares of land in 1902. *House Doc. 963, 4-9*.

to contribute money and/or goods to these causes implies that *inquilinos* were definitely better off than the impoverished *kasamás* and *jornaleros*. *Inquilinos* may then be properly positioned as an intermediate class between the truly rich and the *kasamá-jornalero* group. Finally, many of these *inquilino* middleclassmen were Chinese *mestizos* like the Yubiengcos, the Pobletes, etc. We may thus conclude that by the late nineteenth century, the town of Naic and presumably most other towns in Cavite had a developing middleclass composed primarily of non-cultivating *inquilinos*, which included the town *principalia* and many *mestizos*.

As a newly emergent intermediate stratum, this group exemplifies social classes in the historical sense: unstable, changing, transitional.⁶² It cannot be considered a social class in the Marxian sense of permanent, massive, solidary groups, e.g., the bourgeoisie, the proletariat. Signs of class cohesiveness and militancy are not evident in the enunciated goals of the *inquilino*-led revolution of 1896 which focused upon political independence from Spain.⁶³ Obviously, Cavite's middleclass was unable to articulate its own class ideology and thereby missed the chance to "evolve," in the words of Z. A. Jordan, from being a "class in itself" to being a "class for itself,"⁶⁴ i.e., this group failed to become truly "revolutionary" in Marxist terminology. The absence of a class ideology among Cavite's middleclassmen maybe interpreted in various ways. Common sense dictated that any program aimed at promoting middleclass *inquilino* interests would have doomed the revolution from the start because of the need to rally mass support. With a view to eliciting this type of support, the goal of the revolution was phrased in terms of freedom from Spanish rule, whereas its implications for the future of the different social classes were conveniently left unspecified. In certain isolated instances, during the initial phase of the revolution in Cavite, leaders like Ariston Villanueva and Mariano Alvarez exhorted fellow Caviteños across class lines to support the movement in exchange for certain specific socio-economic advantages which could accrue to them.⁶⁵ Speaking before the townspeople of Naic, Villanueva talked about the abolition of the tribute⁶⁶ and miscellaneous license fees (on fisheries, houses, cockfighting, *carromatas*, etc.). In an obvious bid for *kasamá* support, a promise was made that actual cultivators of hacienda land were to acquire ownership of their farm plots if they joined the movement.⁶⁷

⁶² Jordan, 30.

⁶³ Cesar A. Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City, 1960), 71-73.

⁶⁴ Jordan, 29.

⁶⁵ Canseco, 29, 64.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* He probably meant the *cedula personal* and the *contribución industrial* which replaced the tribute in the 1880s. Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life: 1850-1898* (New Haven, 1965), 140.

⁶⁷ Canseco, 29.

One wonders whether this *inquilino* appeal was made because of a real perception of overlapping interests between them and their *kasamás*, or it was mere revolutionary rhetoric. Besides these speeches and the *First Manifesto of the Hongkong Junta*⁶⁸ there is no proof in the revolutionary literature which indicates that revolutionary leaders did seriously address themselves to the problem of redistributing wealth in Caviteño society on a mass basis.⁶⁹ After the Revolutionary Government confiscated friarlands during the interregnum prior to the American advance, that government proposed a scheme of land redistribution which gave priority rights of parcel selection to ranking revolutionaries and the families of rebel casualties.⁷⁰ If such a scheme had been implemented, it would have been tantamount to a betrayal of previous promises to *kasamás*. A similar denial of rights to cultivators of their farmplots in the Cagayan Valley would have taken place had Aguinaldo been able to fulfill his promises to some followers during the course of his northward retreat.⁷¹ One should note, at any rate, that when the Americans offered to sell or lease former friarlands in Cavite early this century at nominal prices, those who took advantage of the opportunity were mostly *inquilinos* led by Emilio Aguinaldo. By special concession from the new government, Aguinaldo was allowed to acquire 1055 hectares of land in Imus.⁷²

A less harsh view of the failure of this *inquilino*-led movement to formulate a class-based ideology may be sought in the dynamics of class relations in Cavite at the time. The nonexistence of militant class consciousness among Cavite's *inquilinos* might be better understood by elucidating primarily on the nature of *inquilino-kasamá* relationship in the province rather than the relationship of the *inquilinos* with their friar *hacenderos*. Implicit in the *inquilino-kasamá* relationship were latent feelings of interclass antagonism due to its inherent exploitative nature where the major economic interest of the *inquilino* would have been to derive maximum profit from the labor of his *kasamá* after having fulfilled land rent requirements to his friar landlords. However, Table 3 suggests that the possibilities of exploitation by *inquilinos* in this case might have been limited. This table gives the ratio of total palay production to population for the same year and tells us that except for Imus and Dasmariñas which had significant palay surpluses, most of lowland Cavite could hardly cope with supplying its population their nutritional needs which is about 365 *chupas* per person per year or nearly two *cavans*.⁷³ These facts are

⁶⁸ Quoted in Majul, *The Political*, 131.

⁶⁹ Milagros C. Guerrero, "Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine History, 1899-1902" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), 100.

⁷⁰ Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina* (Manila, 1931), I, 111.

⁷¹ John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City, 1971), V, 47.

⁷² *House Doc.* 963, 4.

⁷³ 8 *chupas* = 1 *ganta*; 25 *gantas* = 1 *caván*.

further substantiated by the prevalence of small-sized leaseholds in lowland Cavite which averaged a little over a hectare in 1877 and had a yield of about fifty-six cavans per harvest.⁷⁴ Following the Bunzalan sample, landrent was thirty percent of the harvest, expenses incidental to planting and harvest were twenty-eight per cent, and the remainder was equally divided between the *inquilino* and the *kasamá*. With two yearly harvests,⁷⁵ the *kasamá*'s share amounted to twenty-four *caváns* from which twelve *caváns* provided a year's food supply. The rest was used to pay off his debts, feed his helpers, buy other necessities of life, etc. From these set of facts the following maybe deduced. In the friar estates of Cavite leaseholds were generally small resulting in significantly high nutritional densities. Fragmentation of Cavite's haciendas into minuscule farmplots meant that the yield was just enough to support a peasant family. If this was the case, the *inquilinos* could not have been able to exact as much as he would have wanted from his *kasamá* without such adverse consequences as a frequent turnover in subtenancy.⁷⁶ Since the paltry income from a Cavite farmplot made it difficult for both *inquilino* and *kasamá* to live on this source of livelihood, the *inquilino* might have preferred to spend his time in pursuit of other means of earning a living and to have considered his agricultural income as merely supplementary. It would have been advantageous then for the *inquilino* to keep his

⁷⁴ Computation of the average size of leaseholds in lowland Cavite was based upon data from the *Censo de las islas filipinas...1877* (Madrid, 1883), and Cavada, I, 172. Cultivated land in lowland Cavite was divided by the total number of lowland cultivators. The number of lowland cultivators was determined by (a) establishing the ratio of lowland family heads to total provincial family heads in all the agricultural towns of the province and then (b) multiplying this ratio (.56) by the total number of cultivators in Cavite: 14566. Thus, $14241 \div 25198 = .56 \times 14566 = 8157$; $8783 \div 8157 = 1.08$ hectares per cultivator. Cultivated area in the lowland was determined on the basis of the upland-lowland dichotomy in Cavite. Certain assumptions had to be made in view of meagre statistics: that (a) most lowland family heads were cultivators, excluding the population of the San Roque-Cabecera area, and half from Bacoor; (b) except for a negligible percentage, practically all lowland cultivators were tenants of the friars and that nearly all cultivated land in the region was friarland. The generally diminutive size of Cavite's cultivated arms is confirmed by the *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903 (Washington, 1905), IV, 180. Yield per hectare was based upon the statements of several *inquilinos* from Imus in the early 19th century and those given to the Taft Commission. PNA, leg. 75, 1774-1809, v. 1; *Fourth Annual*, I, 186-98. Giving allowances for a possible *inquilino* bias, the Bunzalan interview was used which elucidates on a three-way partition of harvest between landlord, *inquilino* and *kasamá*. The Taft interviews indicate that planting and harvesting expenses were borne either solely by the *inquilino* or shared with the *kasamá*.

⁷⁵ Although evidence are conflicting, it seems that two harvests a year were possible in Cavite's irrigated ricelands. *Ibid.*; *Census* 1903, IV, 93.

⁷⁶ Roth's opposite view on *inquilino-kasamá* relationship is based upon facts relating to the Hacienda de Pandi (Bulacan). Roth, 131. It is worth-noting that peasant unrest did not flare up in Cavite during the revolution the way it did elsewhere in Luzon. Tension was observed in some towns in Cavite only during the late revolutionary period because of uncertainties over these farm leases after the Revolutionary Government had confiscated the friarlands. M. Guerrero, 83-84, 124, 135, 216-17.

kasamá on the land to retain his leasehold and derive some income from it while doing something else. It is the belief of this writer that in Cavite the diversified earning capacity of the *inquilino*, partly induced by the tiny size of his leasehold, mitigated rather than exacerbated *inquilino* demands on his *kasamá*. If these observations are correct, the lack of any evidence suggesting the incidence of strife between Caviteño *inquilino* and *kasamá* before and during the early phase of the revolution could have been the result of a fairly benign relationship between them. Furthermore, the *kasamá* worked his field in the isolation of the *náyon*,⁷⁷ with little or no direct supervision from either *inquilino* or friar *hacendero* that could have reduced opportunities for friction and inhibited the development of horizontal ties of solidarity among peasant cultivators. *Inquilino-kasamá* relations must also be seen in light of more positive patron-client relations based upon rules of reciprocity or *utang-na-loob* and a pervasive social sanction in lowland Philippines called *hiyá*,⁷⁸ which could have restrained -- or facilitated exploitation of the *kasamá*. Aided by the blurring of ethnic difference between Chinese *mestizos* and *indios* (native Filipinos), latent *kasamá* hostility towards *inquilinos* was redirected to the friar *hacenderos* as both classes saw in the anti-colonial struggle a means to dismantling monastic estates in the province.

IV. Summary

In conclusion, the following maybe said of Cavite's *inquilino* middleclass in the late nineteenth century. Socio-economic change during that century was an important catalyst in the formation of an intermediate social stratum in the province in which the *principalia* merged with a growing number of moderately prosperous *inquilinos* instead of maintaining its previous class position "on top of the heap" at the onset of the Spanish rule (See *Schematic Illustration of Class Stratification in Cavite Province*, in the Appendix). We have noted how its *principalia* element held a pivotal position vis-a-vis the colonial government and the native population, and how it had promoted its own class interests. By every criterion of what constitutes a "social class" in the Weberian-historical sense, Cavite's nineteenth century middleclass was one. The tainted records of its *principalia* segment as a part of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy should not, however, obscure the fact that this class was perhaps the most dynamic force in the province at the time, seen in its ability to absorb groups of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds (the *mestizos* and the earlier

⁷⁷ These are very distant barrios close to the rice fields.

⁷⁸ Frank Lynch, S.J., comp., *Four Readings on Philippine Values* (Quezon City, 1964), 15-17, 22-49. To undermine the effects of these values upon *inquilino-kasamá* relationships in Cavite is to ignore the realities of Southern Tagalog behavioral patterns.

timawás). Election to *principalía* status on the basis of property and education, an "open" social structure which made upward mobility possible, if difficult, and the easy-going character of the population suggest a state of flux in the group. Spurred on by its economic gains and its increasing access to education, "things were looking up" for the members of this class whose obvious materialist values⁷⁹ and self-interest were indicative of more changes to come. Relegated to the bottom-rung of the government, *inquilino-principales* were not dissuaded from keeping a lively interest in town politics. True to character, Caviteños voiced their grievances, filed complaints, avidly sought municipal positions, if only to satisfy at times, a desire for status and meaningless titles to which the government responded by proliferating petty local offices labelled with such titles as "supervisor" of the grainfields, the coconut groves, the betel nut plantations. "So numerous are these petty officers," remarked Charles Wilkes, "that there is scarcely any family of consequence that has not a member who holds some kind of office under the government."⁸⁰ Such an interest in participant politics indicates that town and village communities of nineteenth century Cavite were far from having been "untouched by the storm-clouds of the airy region of politics"⁸¹ and augured well for the possibility of a Caviteño revolution against Spain before the century was over. It was an *inquilino-principal* who led Cavite to rise up in arms in 1896; many other *inquilino-principales* in its various towns rallied their tenant *kasamás* to follow suit, proclaiming an end to friar rule and Spanish domination,⁸² and hinting at the start, that a measure of socio-economic relief for the poor could be expected.

Judged by any yardstick, the consequences of the Philippine Revolution fell short of having been truly revolutionary.⁸³ The vow

⁷⁹ Early Spanish writers commented on this particular Filipino trait. *BR*, XVI, 79; "Anon. Report, dated Manila, 1572" quoted in Taylor, I, 11; Lynch, 18, 74-86.

⁸⁰ Charles Wilkes, *Travel Accounts of the Islands* (Manila, 1974), 52.

⁸¹ Karl Marx, *Capital* (Moscow, 1960), I, 352.

⁸² The effort to minimize the anti-friar sentiments of Caviteños in connection with the revolution is contradicted by (a) Aguinaldo's proclamation which vehemently denounced the friars and their landed possessions. See APSR, "Aguinaldo's Proclamation, 7 July 1897"; (b) the rapid spread of Aglipayanism in such hacienda towns as Bacoor and Imus because of intense anti-friar attitudes among their inhabitants. U.S., BIA, "Report of the Provincial Governor, Cavite, 1903", 3222/13; John Shumacher, S.J., "The Religious Character of the Revolution in Cavite, 1896-1897," *Philippine Studies* 24 (1976): 410-413.

⁸³ Besides ousting the Spaniards, the only other significant result of the Philippine Revolution was the formation of the Philippine Independent Church whose membership did not exceed three million at its peak. It has, since then, lost much of its support. The P.I.C., also known as the Aglipayan Church is just one of several minority religious groups in the Philippines today, a country that remains predominantly Roman Catholic. Mary Dorita Clifford, B.V.M., "Iglesia Filipina Independiente" in: Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca, 1969), 247., 251.

of its leadership to abolish all forms of impositions on the people was immediately nullified by the practical need of raising funds for the movement.⁸⁴ A truce with Spain was followed by defeat in a war against the superior power of the United States. The class which presumed to lead its people to freedom had to settle for something less than political emancipation, and the promise to bring social and economic justice to their less fortunate countrymen was soon forgotten, as the elite became the actual beneficiaries of the demise of the monastic estates in the province,⁸⁵ and Caviteño *principales* were coopted anew under still another colonial regime.⁸⁶

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Salaries for Certain Occupational Groups
in Cavite Province, 1850-1903

OCCUPATION	SALARIES (in pesos and centavos)		
	Daily	Monthly	Yearly
Teachers			46.-96.
Gobernadorcillos			24.
Choir Members & Church Assistants			20.-22
Jornaleros	.25		
Dressmakers	.20		
Fishermen	1.00		
Carpenters	1.00		
Boatmen	.50	6.	
Barbers	.50	10.	
Bakers		70.	
Boatbuilders		20.	

SOURCES: PNA, Salarios Cavite, 1851, 1858; PNA, Memoria de Cavite, 1881; *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, IV, 434-435.

TABLE 2

Financial Status of Some Principales and Electors
Naic, Cavite, 1895-1896

SOURCE: APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

Names	Yearly Income (in pesos)
Don Leoncio Velasco	₱1,750.
" Ciriaco Nazareno	950.
" Potenciano Papa	890.
" Anselmo Antagan	690.
" Nicolas Toco	400.
" Francisco Catigasan	270.

⁸⁴ Taylor, IV, 309-316.

⁸⁵ Roth, 1; *House Doc.* 963, 4-9.

⁸⁶ U.S., BIA, "Report on the Establishment of Civil Government in Cavite, 4 July 1901"; "List of the Present Municipal Officers of ... Cavite Province, 1901."

" Cipriano Benedicto	250.
" Marcial Vazquez	240.
" Damian Anuat	220
" Julio Cayas	195.
" Andres Gonzales	170.
" Pedro Poblete	160.
" Saturnino Cordero	150.
" Maximo Oduña	140.
" Lorenzo Cena	120.
" Vicente Nazareno	110.

SOURCE: APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

TABLE 3

Nutritional Densities in Cavite, 1884
(Cavans of Palay per Population)

Towns	Cavans Total	Cavans Rent	Cavans - Rent	Population	Nutritional Density
Novleta	2993	1197	1796	1760	1.02
Bacoor	18780	7512	11268	13196/2	.85
Kawit	15116	6047	9070	6599/2	1.37
Santa Cruz	31900	9570	22330	12524	1.78
Imus	120000	48000	72000	* 12142	5.9
Naic	21000	8400	12600	8700	1.4
Rosario	10000	4200	63000	5264	1.19
Dasmariñas	10000	4000	6000	2876	2.08
Silang	2500	0	2500	7149	.34
Indang	1000	0	1000	11851	.08
Carmona	2212	0	2212	3242	.68

SOURCES: PNA, Cavite, 1884; * There is something obviously wrong with the enumeration for Imus in the PNA source; this figure is for 1887 from U.S., *Sen. Doc 280*, 57th Cong., 1st. Sess., 50. Computing nutritional densities by subtracting landrent from total palay production and dividing the remainder by the population eliminates the problem of ascertaining yield per hectare since it varies according to the type of riceland used. Although Martinez de Zuniga claims that landrent was usually 5 cavans per cavan of seed sown (corrected by Roth as 6.25 cavans), in most of Cavite landrent averaged 30% of the harvest. Roth, 139; PNA, Cavite, 1881; PNA, Cavite, leg. 75, 1774-1809, v. 1.

SCHMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF CLASS STRATIFICATION
IN CAVITE PROVINCE OVER TIME

