

Qu'il me soit permis de faire une petite remarque au sujet de l'interprétation que donne l'auteur à certains textes. Il traduit «*quia illi conceptus sunt...*» (1 Sent., d. 3, q. 1, art. 2; fol. 43 M-N) à la page 183, note 128 par «*Die Dinge werden durch Begriffe nur verschwommen und ungenau erkannt*». Il n'est pas assez clair qu'il s'agit ici de certaines conceptions (*illi*). On pourrait en conclure qu'aucune conception ne soit capable de représenter d'une manière bien distincte. La traduction suivante aurait été plus correcte: «*Die Dinge werden durch solche Begriffe...*» Mais cette remarque n'amoindrit point l'importance de l'ouvrage d'Eckermann, dont la lecture est rendue agréable encore grâce à sa présentation soignée. Grâce à cet ouvrage l'auteur nous a fait mieux connaître la personnalité marquante de Grégoire et, en même temps, il a montré combien originelle était sa pensée.

M. SCHRAMA, O.S.A.

Luis MERINO, O.S.A., *Studies on the Municipality of Manila*. Translated from the Spanish original by Raphael López, O.S.A. Views, The University of San Augustin Journal, Iloilo City, Philippines.

I. Municipal Government and Society: A socio-demographic analysis of the Spanish population of Manila (1571-1800). Views, Vol. 5, no. 1, June 1978, page 1-96. II. Alcaldes and Regidores: Accession and Succession to the positions in the Cabildo and the sale of municipal office in Manila (1571-1816). Views, Vol. 6, no. 1, January 1979, page 1-78. III. Propios Y Arbitrios: the municipal economy and public service. Views, Vol. 6, no. 1, January 1979, page 79-146.

The history of the Philippines as a Spanish Colony and the history of the Spanish Augustinians are closely linked. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and his soldiers arrived at the shores of Cebu in 1565, Fr. Andres Urdaneta and four other Augustinians were in his company. The monument to honor the memory both of Legazpi and Urdaneta also perpetuates the alliance between the sword and the cross so typical for Spanish colonisation. When Legazpi officially established the city of Manila in 1571, Fr. Diego Herrera OSA was with him. And in Legazpi's plan of what later would be known as Intramuros, The Walled City, a lot was assigned to the Augustinians. Herrera immediately set out to build a church and a monastery, which within a few years were demolished by fire. The second church and monastery very soon suffered the same fate. But in 1587 building started again and the new church and monastery, which were completed early in the 17th century, till this very day bear witness of centuries gone by.

The founder of Manila, Legazpi, was laid to rest in one of the chapels of S. Augustin. In the old vestry of the church Governor Jaudenes signed the capitulation of Manila to the Americans in 1898. In the monastery a memorial chapel was erected to the victims of the second



world war: all the members of the Augustinian community but one were killed together with many others by withdrawing Japanese forces in February 1945. Part of the old monastery today houses a very fine museum of religious art in colonial times. In 1954 the first National Council of the Catholic Church was convened at the choir of S. Augustin. Part of the old monastery, to which a new wing was added after the second world war, still houses an Augustinian community and the church is still in use for worship. But the parish of S. Augustin hardly numbers any parishioners, because the Walled City never regained its function as residential area after its destruction during the second world war.

Within the outlined historical perspective it is quite understandable that Spanish Augustinians in Manila take an interest in the history of the city. Yet, in writing a history of Manila, Fr. Luis Merino OSA, does not do so from the point of view of the Augustinian Order, but from the point of view of the history of the municipal government of the city.

In the first article the author gives a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the Spanish population of Manila. Generalities regarding the Spanish colonial population in the Philippines are all too familiar in historical literature. Fr. Merino undertook extensive research in archives both in the Philippines and in Spain. The evidence resulting from research in primary sources became the basis for the analysis given. The author made use of the methods developed in historical demography and sociology.

During colonial times Manila never numbered more than some hundreds of Spaniards. The city began with about 250 Spanish inhabitants. The Spanish population remained at the same level till the middle of the 17th century. In the second half of the 17th century the number of Spanish inhabitants dropped to so low a level (30 Spanish householders), that Manila ceased practically to function as a city. The 18th century shows an increase: at the end of this century the Philippines numbered 800 Spanish householders. But in this period the population became more heterogeneous and the Spaniards were less concentrated in Manila. The high mortality rate and the low birth rate prevented the growth of the Spanish population. There are even periods when the Spanish population decreased notwithstanding immigration. Hardship and early death were the lot of the Spaniards in the Philippines. In one instance the authorities asked the King to send 160 additional missionaries to carry on the Christianization of the Islands and insisted that the Religious be recruited and embarked even in greater numbers than the 160 required by the plan, because by the time they would be arriving one fourth of the 140 missionaries in the Islands would already be dead. The low birth rate cannot be attributed to the lack of Spanish women, but has social and economic causes. Besides, marriages with Philippino women were socially accepted.

Historical sources do not leave any doubt about the quality of the Spanish population in the Philippines in general: «only the riff-raff come



here»; «the sort of people who get here are the poorest and the most down-trodden». In another commentary is stated that there were no economic incentives to attract anyone to the islands: «not enough people go there, and those who go of their own will and fully aware of what to expect, are not mature, honorable and courageous people, willing to work, but rather juveniles running from their parents, or mestizos, or people forced into exile, or criminals with a bad reputation». The statistical classification of the population, which the author provides corroborates what was written in letters or reports. In consequence one cannot expect much good of the influence which the Spaniards exercised on Philippines society in general.

It is interesting to note here one of the specific points the author makes in his qualitative analysis. He shows that the Spaniards were not interested in agriculture or cattlebreeding. As a social group it was the religious orders that kept agriculture going through the 16th and 17th centuries. The reason is, that it was the religious, alone among the Spaniards, who continued to stay close to the land and here lies the origin of the «friar lands».

In the second article the author describes in detail the inauguration and functioning of the city municipal government of Manila. One of the first problems encountered originated from the difficulty of adapting to the civilian life on the part of men who had been soldiers too long. A second source of problems lay in the tensions between the municipal government of Manila and the government of the Philippines. The most remarkable feature of the development of municipal office in Manila was the system of the sale of offices, which here went far beyond Spanish custom: those who had bought a public office had the right to sell it. The author points out that an advantage of this system was the relative autonomy of the city municipal government. Manila was spared the embarrassment of having to accept some equerry of the King's stables or some damsel in the Queen's retinue. The municipal officers, secure in their positions by virtue of their contracts obtained through auction and purchase, felt more free and confident in the discharge of their duties, limited as these were.

Although the system worked to the advantage of the moneyed and influential classes, it did in fact not result in a monopolistic control of Manila municipal government by a small clique of oligarchs. The author concludes his article by pointing out that the system limited the populist basis of representation. It would, however, be a mistake to criticise unfavorably the prevailing system because of this on account of the conception of the State at the time.

In an appendix are given chronological lists of the Mayors Ordinary and Aldermen of the city of Manila as well as a list of sales and resales of municipal offices.

The third article dealing with the municipal economy extends from the founding of the city to the middle of the 19th century. Legazpi in founding the city of Manila had omitted to provide the city with real



estate («propios») and consequently the city depended for its income solely on taxes, transactions, permits and licences which the city government imposed («arbitrios»). Fundamentally this state of affairs obtained throughout the colonial period. The author explains Legazpi's omission by pointing to his respect for the rights of the natives and to his awareness that a newly founded seaport was by law the King's property. That subsequent Governors did not redress this situation has its background in the tension between the autonomy of the city and the centralistic tendency of the colonial government. In their view endowing the city with real estate would be on a par with providing the enemy with ammunition.

As a result of the prevailing situation one hears continually the citizens complaining about the poor state of municipal services and about the compulsory contributions which had to be imposed for lack of other sources.

One of the most important sources for this article is a report on the income, investment and expenses of the municipality of Manila through one hundred consecutive years (1592-1691). This report does not only inform us about the financial situation of the municipality, but gives over and above valuable insight into the economic life of the city at the time. A point of general interest here is, that over the entire period 34% of the expenses were spent on salaries, services and court expenses, 26% on public works and 34% on religious and civic ceremonies. The details of this last group reveal that 22% went into religious ceremonies. The author remarks, that the minds of that time did not at all think religious ceremonies expensive or superfluous, and that it is precisely the deeply religious sense of the time that justifies those expenses. In the 18th century Manila suffered greatly by the occupation by the British in 1762; the sack of the city and the ransom exacted left the municipality practically broke.

In the 19th century the municipality could provide better and more extensive services to the city, due to a more efficient administration of «arbitrios», the introduction of new services as public lighting, the tax of four reales on the Chinese shops, the purchase and sale to the public of such staples as rice and meat, and the revenue from the minting of copper coin. Here again, the details that the author provides give an insight into the economic life of the city.

An extensive documental supplement completes this article. For the present reader one cannot refrain from quoting about the celebration of the «Feast of San Augustin, Patron Saint against locusts»: «In the afternoon on (August) the 27th, the City attends Vespers at the San Augustin Church; on the 28th, the City attends in the morning at the same church».

Fr. Merino is well on his way in giving us in his «Studies on the Municipality of Manila» a valuable and interesting work on an intriguing city in the Far East, a city which also today captivates the attention of a casual visitor.

EUGENE ROEBROECK, O.S.A.