Journal of Global History (2012), **7**, pp. 364–388 © London School of Economics and Political Science 2012
doi:10.1017/S1740022812000241

Manilamen and seafaring: engaging the maritime world beyond the Spanish realm*

Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr
Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City, 1108 Philippines
E-mail: fvaguilar@ateneo.edu

Abstract

Although the Philippines is hardly known for sending out migrants prior to the twentieth century, and even among seafarers only the galleon age is remembered, this article provides evidence of transcontinental maritime movements from the late eighteenth century until the early twentieth century. These migrants were known in the English-speaking world as Manilamen. Most were seafarers, but some became involved in pearl-shell fishing, while others engaged in mercenary activities. They settled in key ports around the world, their numbers in any one location fluctuating in response to changing circumstances. Despite relocation to distant places, the difficulties of communication, and the impetus toward naturalization, Manilamen seem to have retained some form of identification with the Philippines as homeland, no matter how inchoately imagined.

Keywords Manila, migrant labour, Philippines, seafaring, whaling and pearling

Seafarers from the Philippines, who number over 340,000, constitute the largest national group in global merchant seafaring today, employed mostly on various types of tankers, passenger cruise liners, bulk carriers, and container ships. About 24% of them hold officer positions, and 37% are ratings, while 39% are classified as non-marine.[1] Despite their dominance in this ethnic labour niche, it has been said that they have been the most overlooked among Filipino overseas workers. Recently, however, Philippine seafarers have received increasing attention in the scholarly literature, with a great deal of exploration of issues of identities and masculinities.[2]

* I would like to thank two anonymous referees who gave very valuable comments, criticisms, and suggestions. I am truly indebted to William Clarence-Smith for his friendship and editorial interventions that gave this article its final shape. For excellent assistance I owe much to Pauline Khng. I have benefited from comments made by Paul Kramer, Caroline Sy Hau, and Benedict Anderson on my other papers of a related theme, and I would like to register my gratitude to them here. The reduction in teaching load granted by the School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University, in 2011–12; the support from the Oscar R. Ledesma Endowed Fund; and the Visiting Research Fellowship in 2010 at the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, are also gratefully acknowledged.

1 Philippine Overseas Employment Authority (POEA), Overseas employment statistics 2010, http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/statistics.html (consulted 16 June 2012).

2 See James A. Tyner, 'Global cities and the circuits of labor: the case of Manila, Philippines', in Filomeno Aguilar, ed., *Filipinos in global migrations: at home in the world?*, Quezon City: Philippine Migration Research Network and the Philippine Social Science Council, 2002, pp. 60–85; Helen Sampson,

Despite this welcome change, there has been little recognition of the deeper and broader history of seafaring in the Philippines. It is true that there is widespread reference to the Spanish galleons and the Philippine natives who worked on them.[3] Even Filipino seamen refer to the galleons to anchor their occupation in a longer historical frame, summon a sense of pride, and draw connections between their contemporary experiences and the courage and hardship of the natives on board the galleons: 'We're a seafaring people … but during the galleon times, *that* is when we proved ourselves as seamen'; 'The history of Filipino seafaring is long … now we are just carrying on that tradition'; 'Just imagine, the Native sailor didn't have modern instruments during the galleon times like we have now. The Native sailor was a real sailor. Their life was hard. Our life is hard too, but their life was harder'; 'Sometimes the galleons and the Native seamen come to mind when I'm at sea … They really had guts. But it's like we're the same. Filipino seamen still have to have guts today. Our lives are still hard.'[4] Such remembrances, however, occlude a richer and more extensive history of seafaring.

After the last galleon arrived in Manila in 1815, most historical accounts are silent about the remainder of the nineteenth century. The long hiatus is broken only by accounts of Filipino engagement in the US Navy, beginning in the early twentieth century. This general amnesia about a wider seafaring history may be seen as the unintended triumph of territorially bounded colonial historiography, with its inability to account for a history that exceeded the confines of the Spanish imperial realm. Interestingly, the forgetting of the wider history of seafaring has also affected Philippine nationalist historiography.

The aim of this article is to sketch a larger history by focusing on the Manilamen, labour migrants from the colonial Philippines who worked on vessels that linked the Philippines to other parts of Asia and to Africa, Europe, the Americas, and Australia and other parts of Oceania. Evidently they left of their own accord as free migrants, many settling down in ports around the world, and in other locations where they engaged in occupations tied to the sea. Even on land, their numbers in any one location were volatile as they moved in response to the changing structure of opportunities. They travelled and crossed state borders as Spanish subjects, but in the Anglophone world they were known as 'Manilamen' or 'Manilla men', and in some places were colloquially called 'Manillas'.

To understand the history of Manilamen and Philippine global seafaring, this article recapitulates some themes of the galleon trade and explores the history of Philippine seafarers beyond the Spanish realm, beginning in the late eighteenth century. The account ends in the early twentieth century, when a radically new historical context would alter Philippine seafaring, and the seafarers themselves would be known as Filipinos instead

---

'Transnational drifters or hyperspace dwellers: an exploration of the lives of Filipino seafarers aboard and abroad', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26, 2, 2003, pp. 253–77; Steven C. McKay, 'Filipino sea men: constructing masculinities in an ethnic labour niche', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35, 4, 2007, pp. 617–33; Kale Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino crosscurrents: oceanographies of seafaring, masculinities, and globalization*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011; Olivia Swift, 'Seafaring citizenship: what being Filipino means at sea and what seafaring means for the Philippines', *South East Asia Research*, 19, 2, 2011, pp. 273–91; Roderick G. Galam, 'Communication and Filipino seamen's wives: imagined communion and the intimacy of absence', *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 60, 2, 2012, pp. 223–60.

3 The classic work on the galleon trade remains that of William L. Schurz, *The Manila galleon*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939.

4 Fajardo, *Filipino crosscurrents*, pp. 42–3.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000241 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of Manilamen. The narrative presented here pulls together the available information from various sources, both primary and secondary. Although neither comprehensive statistics nor in-depth biographies are available, there is enough information to sketch the global dispersion and movement of Manilamen, and to make inferences about migrant identities in the international workplace and their identification with the homeland. Despite relocation to a distant place, the difficulties of communication, and the impetus toward naturalization where this was possible, it would appear that Manilamen retained some form of identification with the Philippines as homeland, no matter how inchoately imagined.

Trans-Pacific seafaring in the galleon age

The last galleon sailed from Manila to Acapulco, Mexico, in 1811, returning to the Philippines in 1815. From the inception of this trans-Pacific trade in 1572, natives (*indios*) from the Philippines manned the galleons along with Iberian sailors or mariners. In fact, as early as 1565, native sailors from the islands of Cebu and Bohol accompanied Urdaneta's trailblazing voyage back to the Americas.[5] In 1587 several *indios* from Luzon ('Indios Luzones') also took part in Unamuno's exploration of northern California, with many of them relied upon to be at the head of inland expeditions.[6] In regard to the galleons, in the late sixteenth century Iberian sailors comprised the majority of the crew, but by the early 1600s Philippine natives were in the majority, their proportion rising to two-thirds by the early 1700s.[7] They reached over 80% in the 370-men crew of the *Santissima Trinidad* in 1760.[8] As a key node in this trans-Pacific network, the port of Cavite served the galleons' needs and provided its labour requirements.[9] By ethnicity, the native sailors were *naturales* ('pure natives'), *mestizos de Sangley* (Chinese mestizos), and *Sangleyes* (Chinese), but in New Spain they were known simply as *chinos* (Chinese) or *indios chinos* ('Chinese Indians').[10]

The Philippine sailors were generally ratings and not officers of these vessels; 'Spaniards, too, sometimes sailed as common seamen, but their wage was very much higher than [*indio*] seamen of the same rating'.[11] This prefigured the pattern of ethnicity-based differential labour rates, which would become pervasive with the liberalization of global shipping in the late twentieth century.[12] Despite their lower wages, 'the seamanship of the natives was

5 Edward Slack Jr, 'The *chinos* in New Spain: a corrective lens for a distorted image', *Journal of World History*, 20, 1, 2009, p. 38.

6 Eloisa Gomez Borah, 'Filipinos in Unamuno's California expedition of 1587', *Amerasia Journal*, 21, 3, 1995–96, pp. 175–83.

7 Paul Taylor, 'Spanish seamen in the New World during the colonial period', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 5, 4, 1922, p. 651.

8 Edward Slack Jr, 'Sinifying New Spain: Cathay's influence on colonial Mexico via the *Nao de China*', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 5, 1, 2009, p. 8.

9 Francis A. Gealogo, 'Population history of Cavite during the nineteenth century', *Journal of History*, 51, 2005, p. 310.

10 Slack, '*Chinos*', pp. 35–8.

11 Taylor, 'Spanish seamen', p. 649.

12 Tony Lane, 'The social order of the ship in a globalised labour market for seafarers', in Rosemary Crompton, Duncan Gallie, and Kate Purcell, eds., *Changing forms of employment: organisations, skills and gender*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 83–106.

universally accorded high praise'; they were 'dexterous helmsmen' and knowledgeable with the 'mariner's compass'.[13]

The galleons were governed by a set of rules that sought to impose order and strict discipline on board. This maritime law regulated the hiring, remuneration, and dismissal of mariners, and stipulated the duties and responsibilities of mariners and managing owners. All mariners had to make an oath of loyalty, after which they 'could go nowhere except with the consent of the managing owner'.[14] However, the penalty for desertion was mild, if not unenforceable: 'The mariner was bound to make compensation to the owner for all losses incurred as a result of the desertion, and in case he was unable to do so, he could be imprisoned until such time as he was able to pay.'[15] A further measure was to withhold payment in the Americas, with about four-fifths of a seaman's wages (in vouchers, not money) paid in the Philippines on the galleon's return.[16]

Nevertheless, large numbers absconded. In 1618 seventy-five natives were on board the *Espiritu Santo* as common seamen, but only five returned.[17] In the course of the galleon's run of two and a half centuries, innumerable natives from the Philippines deserted and settled in the Americas, married local women, and created a stable population in Mexico City, Acapulco, and surrounding areas, which acted as a magnet that attracted other seamen to desert and remain in the Americas.[18] These former seamen took up occupations as farmers, distillers of *tuba* (palm wine), craftsmen, militiamen, barbers-cum-phlebotomists, peddlers, and so on. The Philippine natives and their descendants formed a mixed-race, low-caste enclave in Mexican colonial society, which nonetheless left a mark on mainstream Mexican culture and gave it an 'Oriental heritage'.[19] There were other Asians there, as about 600 slaves arrived in Mexico from across the Pacific each year from 1600 to 1673.[20] After the emancipation of *chino* slaves in 1672, fewer Asians arrived during the period from 1700 to 1815, perhaps only 30–40% of earlier arrivals.[21]

Taylor posits that, despite the hardships of the trans-Pacific voyage, 'shipping as seamen was merely the chance to escape from captivity or worse conditions in the Islands'.[22] But many also passed themselves off as sailors who 'secured the position through favouritism in order to gain passage, and to share in a profitable trade'.[23] It appears that a mixed set of motivations impelled natives to join the galleons' crews, and later to decide to settle in

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 649–50.

14 Taylor, 'Spanish seamen', p. 632.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 635.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 647, 654.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 652.

18 Slack, '*Chinos*'.

19 Slack, 'Sinifying new Spain', p. 5.

20 Jonathan Israel, *Race, class, and politics in colonial Mexico, 1610–1670*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 76.

21 Slack, '*Chinos*', p. 65.

22 Taylor, 'Spanish seamen', p. 650.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 652–3.

the Americas. From Mexico, some of these men are believed to have made their way to Louisiana where they established settlements.[24]

A scientific expedition to collect botanical specimens from the Spanish colonies, commanded by Alejandro Malaspina, left Cadiz in the summer of 1789 with a crew of about 200 – at least four of them natives of the Philippines – who manned the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*. As it explored the Americas, at least one Philippine native seaman, who had sailed on the galleons three times, joined Malaspina's expedition in Lima, Peru.[25] In Acapulco, about half of the crew deserted; several of the replacements were Philippine mariners, who had been on the galleons. This crew sailed to Alaska in 1791 in a vain search for the Northwest Passage.[26] The expedition returned to Acapulco, whence it sailed for the Philippines.

Before the close of the galleon age, natives of the Philippines had spread beyond the Spanish realm, reaching other parts of the Pacific Basin. The trade in fur in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which traversed the Pacific Northwest, provided the opportunity for a number of Philippine natives to board American and British ships engaged in obtaining fur from Alaska for sale in China. It appears that, in June 1788, the first Philippine native reached Alaska on board the *Iphigenia Nubiana*, a 200-ton British-owned ship.[27] The *Iphigenia*, which flew Portuguese colours,[28] had sailed from Canton earlier in January of that year. A damaged foremast made the captain, the fur trader William Douglas, decide to take the stricken vessel to Zamboanga ('Samboinga'), not to Batavia on Java, which was further south, or to Manila, which had not officially been opened to non-Asian ships. For a fee, Zamboanga's Spanish governor allowed the repairs to be made, which were completed in February. The *Iphigenia* had a crew of forty men, mostly Europeans, but there were also some Chinese. At least one was a native of the Philippines, whom the captain described as his 'servant, who was a Manilla man', who 'spoke the [Spanish] language very well'.[29] It is assumed that he could communicate sufficiently in English for him to be the 'servant' of the British captain, but it is not known whether this Manilaman boarded the ship in Canton or in Zamboanga. His language skills suggest, however, that this would not have been his first contact with the English-speaking world.

In December 1788 another fur trader, Simon Metcalfe from New York, is reported to have brought his 190-ton brig, the *Eleanora*, to Manila for repairs. He was escorted by a Spanish ship, whose captain offered to help after the *Eleanora* had been ransacked and burned by pirates while anchored near Macau. In Manila, Metcalfe purchased a new longboat as well as a smaller boat. He also hired thirty native mariners, but in Macau one was dismissed for being a troublemaker. Thus twenty-nine Manilamen, together with

24 Marina Espina, *Filipinos in Louisiana*, New Orleans, LA: A. F. Laborde and Sons, 1988; Floro Mercene, *Manila men in the new world: Filipino migration to Mexico and the Americas from the sixteenth century*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2007, pp. 1–42.

25 Thelma Buchholdt, *Filipinos in Alaska, 1788–1958*, Anchorage, AK: Aboriginal Press, 1996, p. 16.

26 *Ibid*., pp. 17–18.

27 *Ibid*., pp. 3.

28 Rhys Richards, 'The "Manilla-men" and Pacific commerce', *Solidarity*, 95, 1983, p. 48.

29 Buchholdt, *Filipinos in Alaska*, p. 5.

American, Chinese, and Portuguese seamen, were with Metcalfe trading for sea-otter furs in Alaska during the summer of 1789. Presumably the Manilamen stayed on with Metcalfe, who made further voyages to the Pacific Northwest, where, in 1794, local inhabitants killed him and his crew.[30] The British brig *Gustavus III* traded for sea-otter skins in Alaska in 1789 and again in 1791, with a thirty-one member crew that included at least one Manilaman ('Minilia man'), whose name was mentioned in the journal of a sailor from Boston as 'John Mando, Cabbin Steward'.[31] These fur-trading ships would often sail from Alaska to Hawaii, a destination that Manilamen also reached.

In fact, the trade in fur and sandalwood connected the Spanish Philippines to various ports in Oceania. Richards summarizes the available evidence from several 'stray references' in travel journals:[32]

> 'Anthoney, a Manila-man' died at Maui early in 1790, 'John Mando' visited Hawaii during that year, in 1793 the explorer Malaspina took [Manilamen] to New Zealand and Australia, while the '*Mercury*' from Manila probably did the same in 1797. 'Tommy Manila' was living wit[h] the Maoris soon after that, while yet another 'Charley the Malay' was at Tonga from 1802 to 1804 or longer. Some contacts between Manila based sandalwood traders and Fiji began in 1804 and seem to have continued to bring some [Manilamen] to Fiji for some decades.

Some Philippine sailors moved even further west from Manila through the network of British-controlled ports. In the 1790s Amasa Delano described seamen who were 'well known under the title of *Manilla-men*' as 'said to be peculiarly savage':

> The English will not insure a ship if she has as many as five or six of those people on board. Many sufferings and losses have been experienced from them, and they are often associated with the Malays in piratical attacks upon ships. I have seen many of them gibbeted at Bombay, and other English ports. They have murdered several of the Chinese at Macao since my acquaintance with them.[33]

The galleon age enabled Philippine native sailors to span the Pacific, settle in the Americas, and even make it all the way to Spain. By the late eighteenth century, some mariners had also ventured beyond the Spanish world, becoming known as Manilamen, participating in multi-ethnic crews, and registering a small presence in southern Chinese ports linked to European and American commerce, various points in the South Pacific and Australasia, and key ports in British India. In the course of the nineteenth century, after the galleon age had come to a close, and as Manila was gradually opened to world trade from the 1790s to the 1830s, a rising number of Manilamen would find employment on American, British, French, Japanese, and other foreign vessels, and engage in other activities related to seafaring.

---

30 *Ibid*., pp. 9–10.

31 *Ibid*., p. 11.

32 Richards, '"Manilla-men"', p. 55.

33 Amasa Delano, *A narrative of voyages and travels, in the northern and southern hemispheres: comprising three voyages round the world; together with a voyage of survey and discovery, in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental islands*, Boston, MA: E. G. House, 1817, p. 167.

Transcontinental seafaring after 1815: from whaling to wider horizons

By the 1840s Manilamen had become active in the American whaling industry. Centred in Massachusetts, this industry saw its golden age commencing in 1835 and lasting for about two decades, until the onset of decline in the 1857 depression.[34] Whaling in the Pacific began in 1818, and between 1820 and 1821 whaling vessels had gone all the way to the Japanese coast.[35] Apart from the whaling grounds along the South American coast, whaling took place around several Pacific islands, in the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, 'Java, Malacca Straits, and into the Pacific about Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand'.[36] Although Americans were the officers, the crews (which on average consisted of thirty-two men) were made up of different ethnicities. Manilamen 'were usually the steersmen, or quartermasters, on American sailing ships in the Pacific'.[37] Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, first published in 1851 and based on the author's own sailing experiences, gave recognition to Manilamen in the whaling industry, at least as oarsmen, who were part of a multi-ethnic force: towards the end of the book, in chapter 100, we read: 'In a moment [Ahab, the captain of the *Pequod*] was standing in the boat's stern, and the Manilla men were springing to their oars'.[38]

Although there are no estimates as to numbers, Manilamen figured prominently in Pacific whaling, whereas few were involved in whaling off the coast of Alaska. The latter had a late start, in 1848, with the peak registered in the early 1850s, although whaling there continued until the early 1900s. The crew lists of whaling ships that sailed to Alaska positively identified eight Manilamen, who were sometimes known by their Anglicized aliases: two sailing in 1865 ('John Francis' and Hosea Nupay), one in 1870 ('Don Miguel'), two in 1871 (Eligio Duriques and 'William Andrews'), one in 1873 ('John Cross' – Juan de la Cruz?), one in 1875 ('Pedro Money'), and a final one in 1884 ('Charles Concordia'). The sailor from 1875 was identified as from the 'Sulu Islands', while in 1884 the seaman's origin was listed as the 'Philippine Islands'. The ages of these men ranged from eighteen to thirty.[39]

At the Philippine National Archives (PNA) one set of documents from 1852 reveals that nine men worked as auxiliaries on an American whaling ship, the *Aussell Gibbs*. Their names were listed as Ventura Rojas, Agustin Alarcon, Dionicio Cedillo Jorge, Marcelino Rojas, Hermogenes Francisco, Higinio Ferrer, Matias Torres, Jose Javier, and Marcos Carrion. The first eight were from Zamboanga, and the last was originally from Cavite, but had become a resident of Zamboanga.[40] Their names suggest that they were not Muslims.

34 Walter Tower, *A history of the American whale fishery*, Philadelphia, PA: John C. Wiston Co., 1907, pp. 50, 67.

35 *Ibid*., pp. 58–9.

36 *Ibid*., p. 92.

37 Josephine Craig and Austin Craig, *Farthest westing: a Philippine footnote*, Philadephia, PA: Dorrance, 1940, p. 158.

38 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, New York: Modern Library, 1926, p. 439.

39 Buchholdt, *Filipinos in Alaska*, pp. 21–32.

40 Philippine National Archives (henceforth PNA), Consulados Estados 1792–1896, Bundle 1, Spanish Documents Section (henceforth SDS) 2404, S810, Inquiry regarding seamen, natives of Zamboanga … serving on board the American whaler 'Ausell Gibbs', United States Consulate, Singapore, 10 November 1852; PNA, Consulados Estados 1792–1896, Bundle 1, SDS 2404, S818–818B, D. Miguel de Mortola, Ministro Ynterventor y Subdelegado de Haciencia y Gobernador Politico interinamente por enfermedad del

Their remuneration was supposed to have been based on a share of the oil produced: for three of the men, it was a barrel for every 160 barrels of whale oil; for the remaining six, the pay was lower, at one barrel for every 170 barrels. In the argot of whaling, these 'lays' (the share in the proceeds of a voyage) were at the lowest end, just a notch above what an inexperienced foremast hand would earn, at one barrel for every 175 barrels. At the highest end, a captain could earn one barrel for every twelve.[41]

The employment of these men was supposed to have been for a year, and the captain was to bring them back to Zamboanga at the end of the contract period, but apparently not everything went well. The men lodged a complaint with the US consulate in Singapore, asserting that they had been short-changed. As a result of this incident, the Spanish colonial government in Manila issued a directive to provinces 'especially in the Visayas' not to grant a passport to anyone intending to board a ship 'to go to Europe, America, and other distant places' unless there was a contract that stipulated the 'corresponding guarantees'.[42]

This was not the first time that an American whaling ship had recruited in Zamboanga, and it was done by whaling ships that operated specifically in this part of the world. The Philippine natives were probably meant to fill up or complete the roster of the ship's crew, for they were hired near the whaling grounds for only a year, whereas from Massachusetts a whaling expedition to the Pacific was reckoned as lasting three years.

This case also indicates that, in the Spanish Philippines, passports could be processed and granted at the provincial level, where seafarers were being directly recruited by foreign shipping concerns. This practice was consistent with the localized control over population movements all around the world until the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by an era of limited border controls in the second half.[43] In the Spanish Philippines, however, localized issuance of passports apparently persisted until the century's end, despite the attempt at centralization of the colonial state towards the end of the nineteenth century.[44] It is noteworthy that, by mid century, men in Philippine port towns, especially in the Visayas and Mindanao, were being recruited for work in the oceans of the world, even before the first three provincial ports (Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Sual in Pangasinan) had been opened to world trade for the first time in 1855.[45] Foreign-owned ships could go to a provincial port such as Zamboanga and Iloilo to recruit seamen, even before it was legal to export commodities from those same ports.

Nevertheless, Manila was the main recruitment centre for Manilamen seafarers. In 1851 forty vessels – twenty American, eleven English, four French, one Spanish, one Portuguese, and three of different South American nationalities – hired 221 native seamen to work on board

---

Sor. propietario de esta plaza de Zamboanga … Concedo libre y seguro pasaporte a Ventura Rojas, Agustin Alarcon, Dionicio Cedillo Jorge, Marcelino Rojas, Hermogenes Francisco, Higinio Ferrer, Matias Torres, Jose Javier y Marcos Carrion.

41 See Tower, *American whale fishery*, p. 91.

42 PNA, Consulados Estados 1792–1896, Bundle 1, SDS 2404, S849–850, Da cuenta con testimonio sobre la medida adoptada para el modo de prestar los auxilios de gente a la tripulaciones de buques extrangeros … Manila, 1 Junio 1853.

43 Adam McKeown, *Melancholy order: Asian migration and the globalization of borders*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 29–42.

44 Eliodoro Robles, *The Philippines in the nineteenth century*, Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1969.

45 See Filomeno Aguilar Jr, 'Beyond inevitability: the opening of Philippine provincial ports in 1855', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 25, 1, 1994, pp. 70–90.

these ships.[46] Twelve of the vessels hired either just one or two locals, but one Ecuadorian frigate hired eighteen local seamen, and two English barks (*barcas*) each hired seventeen. The ships' destinations stretched across Asia, Australia, Europe, and the Americas. Twenty-seven legible contracts specified the following ports as the final destination: Boston (seven), New York (five), San Francisco (three), Liverpool, London, and Sydney (two each), and New Bedford, New Orleans, Peru, France, Singapore, and Calcutta (one each).[47]

The contracts identified the hired workers, except for a handful from the Manila area, as natives of different provinces outside Manila. Among the most frequently cited provincial origins were Camarines Sur, Ilocos Sur, Pangasinan, and Albay, in Luzon; Cebu, Negros, Iloilo, Antique, Leyte, Capiz, and Antique, in the Visayas; and Zamboanga in Mindanao. It is possible that these men had either migrated to Manila or had been on board a vessel previously. Rather than return to their home provinces, they had probably stayed on in Manila for the opportunity to board another ship. In any event, the diversity of provincial origins suggests the extent to which international seafaring had penetrated various localities in the Spanish Philippines.

The seafarers were paid 11 or 12 pesos per month, usually with an advance equivalent to two months' work to be paid before the journey. They were to be provided rations on board, and the employer was responsible for defraying the cost of passage back to the Philippines. Anticipating desertions, the contracts that these men signed, usually with a crude cross after their names, barred them from leaving the ship until it had reached its final destination. Most were hired as seamen (*plaza de marineros*), although a few were employed for the position of steward (*mayordomo*), such as the lone Manilamen on the New York-bound frigate *Ana Maria*.[48]

Writing in 1851, after residing in the country for three years, Robert MacMicking in his *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines* enthused over the literacy of Manilamen sailors in comparison to British seamen:[49]

> There are very few [natives] who are unable to read, and I have always observed that the Manilla men serving on board of ships, and composing their crews, have been much oftener able to subscribe their names to the ship's articles than the British seamen on board the same vessels could do, or even on board of Scottish ships, whose crews are sometimes superior men, so far as education is concerned, to those born in other parts of Great Britain. This fact startled me at first; but it has been frequently remarked upon by people very strongly prejudiced in favour of white men, and who despise the black skins of Manilla men, regarding them as inferior beings to themselves, as strongly as many of our countrymen often do.[50]

46 PNA, Protocolos de Manila – Marina 304, año de 1851, SDS 20076, Contratas. This bundle contains a rare summary and table of contents of mariners' contracts for the year.

47 The port in Peru is unspecified. The port in France, Madre de Gracia, is probably Honfleur in Normandy. The ship for Calcutta had Singapore as an intermediate destination.

48 PNA, Protocolos de Manila – Marina 304, año de 1851, SDS 20076, S159–159B, Contrata, 2 Junio 1851.

49 Many Manilamen sailors were illiterate. See also the subsequent statement that some of these men learned to read and write while overseas in Graciano Lopez Jaena, 'Discurso pronunciado por D. Graciano Lopez Jaena el 25 de Febrero de 1889 en el Ateneo Barcelonés (Speech delivered by D. Graciano Lopez Jaena on February 25, 1889 at the Ateneo Barcelona)', in *La Solidaridad*, trans. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon, vol. 1: 1889, Pasig City: Fundación Santiago, 1889/1996, pp. 30–1.

50 Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines during 1848, 1849, and 1850*, London: Richard Bentley, 1851, pp. 45–6.

As Morton Netzorg who produced an annotated edition of MacMicking's book in 1967 noted, 'The Manila men were known worldwide as highly capable crewmen aboard merchant vessels'.[51] These seafarers from the Philippines probably covered the major sea-lanes of the world.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, some of these men would have acquired formal nautical training from the Escuela Náutica de Manila. This school for seamanship was inaugurated on 5 April 1820 in Intramuros, although in 1898 it relocated to Binondo.[52] Similar schools were reportedly established in Ternate, Cavite, and in Zamboanga.[53] The Manila school was originally intended to train young Spanish creoles and *peninsulares*, as well as children of Europeans (students had to be at least thirteen years old), but probably by the 1850s it had opened its doors to the native population to sustain its enrolment. The nautical school's most famous graduate was Juan Luna, who enrolled there in 1869 as a thirteen-year-old. After five years of theoretical courses and practical sailing to Asian ports such as Hong Kong, Amoy, Singapore, and Batavia, he obtained the certificate of *piloto de altos mares tercer clase* ('pilot of the high seas, third class'). While in port he took up landscape painting and eventually, in 1877, he left for Madrid to study at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, distinguishing himself by winning the gold medal in the 1884 Madrid Exposition of Fine Arts for his *Spoliarium*.[54] The Escuela Náutica de Manila survives today as the Philippine Merchant Marine Academy, located in San Narciso, Zambales Province.

The transcontinental diffusion of Manilamen seafarers was notable not only in mid century, but also in the late nineteenth century. At the Philippine National Archives, one document executed in Manila concerns the request for permission to board an English ship in 1893, involving two men who hailed originally from the Visayas – Benedicto Ynfanta of Antique and Pedro Belitacio of Panglao, Bohol.[55] Other documents pertain to the application for passports by seafarers returning to the Philippines, granted by Spanish consulates at the point of embarkation. For instance, in Newcastle upon Tyne a passport was granted to an unmarried male, a native of Dagupan, on 24 October 1888.[56] In Hong Kong, on 3 December 1888, the Spanish consulate granted a passport to a forty-six-year-old seafarer from Capiz, who had disembarked from an American vessel and was then about to return to the Philippines.[57]

---

51 MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla*, ed. M. J. Netzorg, Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967, p. 31, n. 4.

52 Philippine Merchant Marine Academy (PMMA), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippine_Merchant_Marine_Academy (consulted 20 March 2010).

53 Evergisto Bazaco, *History of education in the Philippines*, Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1953, p. 150; Dalmacio Martin, *A history of education in the Philippines, 1861–1961*, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1980, p. 26.

54 'Juan Luna', in *Kulay Diwa: Gallery of Philippine contemporary art*, 2009, http://www.kulay-diwa.com/juan_luna (consulted 11 May 2010).

55 PNA Pasajeros Llegados 1892–1893, SDS 3148, Bundle 2, S292–293, Dn. Carlos Rovinson, Capital de la barca Ynglesa 'Anne Stafford' … exponer: Que deseando embarcar de dotacion á los individuos …, Manila, 18 May 1893.

56 PNA Pasaportes: Españoles y Filipinos 1864–1889, SDS 14470, S665, El Consul de España en Newcastle on Tyne: concede pasaporte a D. Crisostomo Villamil, natural de Dagupan provincia de Pangasinan (Filipinas) de estado soltero, para que pase a Manila, Newcastle on Tyne, 24 October 1888.

57 PNA Pasaportes: Españoles y Filipinos 1864–1889, SDS 14470, S716, El Consul de España en Hongkong concede pasaporte al filipino Alejandro Bernardo, natural de Panay, Capiz, marinero desembarcado de la Barca americana 'Armenie' para pasar a Manila, Hong Kong, 3 December 1888.

The fiery Filipino patriot Graciano Lopez Jaena, in a speech delivered at the Ateneo Barcelonés on 25 February 1889 and published in *La Solidaridad* in its issue of 28 February 1889, offered a transatlantic view of these seafarers:

> In a town near Barcelona live quite a number of Filipino sailors. I also know that in almost all the ports of England, France, and America, particularly in New York and Philadelphia there are many Filipino sailors, from 15 to 20 thousand. Poor sailors! Simple people, frank, and humble. They left our islands, their homes, without any rudiment of civilization … Some who did not read and write learned these skills.[58]

The exact basis of Lopez Jaena's figure of 15,000 to 20,000 sailors may be questioned, but he was correct about New York and Philadelphia as large ports with seafarers from the Philippines. No doubt there was a sizeable colony of 'Filipinos marineros' in Barcelona, but his statement that there were Philippine sailors in almost all the ports of England, France, and the United States relies on a bit of exaggeration. Nevertheless, in some of those ports Manilamen had in fact settled down. For instance, a seafarer from Cebu, whose name appears in the archival record as Alberto Patino (Patiño?), left the Philippines in the late nineteenth century 'before the Spanish American War and established his home in England', married an Englishwoman, and lived in Liverpool. They had five children, two of whom moved to the United States. Patino died in an accident in 1917.[59]

Patino would not have been the only seafarer who opted to settle down in a foreign location rather than return to the Spanish Philippines, as innumerable native seamen did during the galleon age. Netzorg's annotation of MacMicking, citing Brady, stated that 'a member of the crew of the Confederate raider *Alabama* visited Cape Town in 1863' and decided to stay there permanently and live as a 'fisherman' at Kalk Bay.[60] As Manilamen 'among the crews of other vessels touching' at the southern tip of Africa found out about him, they reportedly saw his pioneering success and also decided to jump ship to live and work in Kalk Bay.[61] Amid their trans-Pacific voyages, some Manilamen had also settled in Hawaii by the 1850s.[62]

Manilamen as mercenaries: from California to Shanghai

In the course of the nineteenth century, a few hundred Manilamen engaged in naval adventurism and mercenary activities. The first known engagement of this nature occurred in November 1818, when Hypolite Bouchard, a Frenchman who had taken Argentine citizenship, led two ships in a siege of Monterey, California, for thirty days. The goal was to liberate California, then a relatively isolated possession of Spain ruled through Mexico.

58 Lopez Jaena, 'Discurso'.

59 US National Archives and Records Administration (henceforth NARA) Record Group (henceforth RG) 350, Entry 5, File 26526–38, Gregorio R. Oca, New York City, to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 3 December 1923; US NARA RG 350, Entry 5, Box 1085, File 26526-40, Secretary of State to Secretary of War, 8 January 1924.

60 MacMicking, *Recollections*, 1967, p. 31, citing C. T. Brady Jr, *Commerce and conquest in East Africa with particular reference to the Salem trade with Zanzibar*, Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1950, p. 21.

61 MacMicking, *Recollections*, 1967, p. 32.

62 Franklin Ng, ed., *The Asian American encyclopedia*, vol. 2, New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1995, p. 429.

One of the two privateers, the *Santa Rosa*, commanded by the American Peter Corney, had a crew of about a hundred men: thirty were Sandwich Islanders (Hawaiians), with the rest made up of Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Creoles (Mexicans), Manilamen, Malays, and a few Englishmen.[63] Anchored near the shore, the *Santa Rosa* was fired at and abandoned the following morning, the men fleeing to the *Argentina* commanded by Bouchard, which remained in the middle of the bay. The force eventually captured and sacked Monterey, but reinforcements from San Francisco and Santa Barbara forced the privateers to flee.[64] What eventually happened to the Manilamen is unknown. However, Mercene conjectures that they were recruited in San Blas, Mexico, where the *Santa Rosa* had originated, San Blas being an alternative port to Acapulco during the galleon trade, where several *indios* had settled.[65]

The involvement of Manilamen seafarers in mercenary activities came to the fore in Frederick Townsend Ward's militia, which he put at the service of the Qing government to defend the key treaty port city of Shanghai, and quell the Taiping rebellion (1850–64). This was a private army, initially known as the Foreign-Arms Corps. In February 1862, the governor of Kiangsu christened it the *Changsheng Jun*, the Ever-Victorious Army.[66] Born in 1831 in Salem, Massachusetts, Ward came from a family of ship-owners and sailors. He first went to China in 1847, and again in late 1851 and 1857. In 1860 he was in China together with his younger brother Henry, who went into commission trading, while Ward was employed on the American 'Admiral' Gough's pirate-suppression steamer *Confucius*.[67] As the Taiping rebels pushed into Shanghai, leading Chinese officials sought some form of foreign military assistance. Ward's acquaintance with a local businessman named Charles B. Hill, together with Gough's endorsement, were instrumental in his introduction to Yang Fang, a banker and former comprador of Jardine Matheson and Company. Yang, who would become Ward's father-in-law and business partner, was a close associate of Wu Hsü, who in turn was the right-hand man of Hsüeh Huan, governor of Kiangsu in 1860, who controlled Shanghai's foreign affairs from 1857 to 1862.[68] Forming the well-funded Foreign-Arms Corps, 'Ward found himself in an ideal position to engage in a little filibustering'.[69] As a mercenary, he was rewarded with a regular and substantial salary, and promised large bonuses for the capture of rebel-held towns.[70]

In Shanghai in 1860, Ward initially hired a group of American and European adventurers from among discharged seamen, deserters, and other drifters, but they proved to be undisciplined. In searching for better men, he 'took to the waterfront once again' and there made the acquaintance of someone who immediately became his aide-de-camp, 'Vincente [Vicente?] Macanaya. He was twenty-three in 1860 and one of Shanghai's large population

63 Mercene, *Manila men*, p. 52.

64 *Ibid*., p. 53.

65 *Ibid*., p. 54.

66 Richard J. Smith, *Mercenaries and mandarins: the Ever-Victorious Army in nineteenth century China*, Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978, p. 52.

67 *Ibid*., p. 28.

68 *Ibid*., p. 13.

69 *Ibid*., p. 28.

70 *Ibid*., pp. 56–7.

of "Manilamen" – Filipinos who were handy on board ships and more than a little troublesome on land', as Carr journalistically put it.[71] By the middle of the nineteenth century a considerable number of Manilamen were found in this part of China. Smith recounts that they were 'Reputed to be brave and fierce fighters' and 'were plentiful in Shanghai and always eager for action'.[72] That there was a sizeable number of Manilamen in Shanghai is also attested by reports that appeared in 1862 in the *Daily Shipping and Commercial News* of 'stabbings and murders in the run-down rooming houses where the derelicts congregate, such as those run for the "Manilamen" in Bamboo Town'.[73] In the siege of Huzhou, which ended in August 1864, along with the Qing army was 'a strong force known as the Ever-Triumphant Army, a mixed band of Chinese and Filipino mercenaries, commanded by French officers'.[74] Working for the Taiping side were, according to the British governor of Hong Kong, 'a host of filibustering cutthroats and deserters (subjects of the Queen) who, under the pretense of joining the patriots, are committing every species of robbery and outrage'.[75] In addition to British and other European deserters, there were 'at least five "Manilamen", longhaired and dressed in Chinese style, and worshipping God the Taiping way, also stationed in Zhenjiang. They serve as executioners for their Taiping masters, one of them being assigned to kill women found guilty of breaking the Taiping laws'.[76]

There are reasons to believe that the Spanish authorities were aware of the filibustering activities of Manilamen on the southern Chinese coast. Archival evidence indicates that, at least from August to December 1860, Vicente Macanaya was one of a six-man Cuerpo de Policía of the Spanish Consulate in Shanghai, with a monthly salary of $30.[77] Whether Macanaya was simultaneously a police officer of the consulate and Ward's aide-de-camp cannot be ascertained. However, despite a neutrality agreement, the Spanish consulate in Shanghai allowed Manilamen during the 1850s and early 1860s 'to accept random mercenary employment with virtual impunity'.[78] In fact, 'One consul, Señor Infante de Murroz [Muñoz?], not only refused to block the employment of Spanish subjects, but actually encouraged mercenaries to enter the Chinese military service.'[79]

Extant accounts of the building of Ward's Foreign-Arms Corps indicate that Macanaya recruited other Manilamen, some of whom were probably already on the crew of the *Confucius* captained by Gough, on which Ward had worked and which had a crew of Chinese, Manilamen, and Americans. During the late 1850s Gough's mercenary enterprise 'operated under semi-official auspices', given that he was employed by an organization

71 Caleb Carr, *The devil soldier: the story of Frederick Townsend Ward*, New York: Random House, 1992, p. 91.

72 Smith, *Mercenaries and mandarins*, p. 29.

73 Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese son: the Taiping heavenly kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1996, pp. 310, 370 n. 59.

74 *Ibid*., p. 328.

75 *Ibid*., p. 238.

76 *Ibid*.

77 PNA, Consulados Estados 1804–1898, Bundle 4, SDS 2407, folios S676–S681, S781, Contaduría General de Ejército y Hacienda de Filipinas, Manila, 5 February 1861.

78 Smith, *Mercenaries and mandarins*, p. 25.

79 *Ibid*.

known as the Pirate Suppression Bureau, which seemed acceptable to Beijing and to the American authorities until well into 1860.[80] Earlier, in 1853–1855, during the Small Sword Uprising, when secret-society militia gangs mounted a coup and took over Shanghai for seventeen months,[81] Manilamen as well as French, British, and American sailors had fought 'as mercenaries on both sides without appreciable consular interference'.[82] In July 1860 Ward's force of 'somewhere between one and two hundred Manilamen' successfully assaulted Sung-chiang.[83] Subsequently, many 'deserted in a dispute over pay, but replacements were quickly and easily found'.[84]

Ward's Foreign-Arms Corps included Manilamen, Americans, and Europeans, but, because of rigid discipline (which included capital punishment), there were many desertions.[85] Called *Lüsong Yiyong* (foreign militia from Luzon) by the Chinese, Manilamen remained a major part of Ward's army, even after the recruitment and training of Chinese fighters.[86] Several dozen of them, under Macanaya, comprised Ward's corps of personal bodyguards, until Ward died in battle in September 1862.[87]

Manilamen in the Straits Settlements

British Singapore, founded as a free port in 1819, served as an important node in the global maritime network in which the Manilamen circulated. There must have been a sizeable number of them in the economically vibrant Straits Settlements since the mid nineteenth century, but their presence began to be recorded officially only with the first modern census in 1871. In the 1891 census, the category of 'Manilamen' – alongside groups labelled as 'Achinese', 'Boyanese', 'Bugis', 'Dyaks', and 'Javanese' – fell under the broader classification of 'Malays and other Natives of the Archipelago', a practice that persisted until the 1901 census.[88]

Census data show over a hundred Manilamen in the Straits Settlements in the 1880s and 1890s (Table 1). Their numbers fluctuated, but by 1901 over a hundred of them were again enumerated. In Malacca, their numbers dwindled to virtually nil, as this port faded into insignificance and became a mere shadow of its ancient glory. In Penang, the number of Manilamen rose from seven in 1881 to thirty-two by the 1891 census. The largest concentration of Manilamen was found in Singapore, where ninety were recorded in 1881. Although this number would decline to thirty-four in 1891, it would rise steadily in the course of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

80 *Ibid.*

81 Bryna Goodman, *Native place, city, and nation: regional networks and identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 72–83.

82 Smith, *Mercenaries and mandarins*, p. 29.

83 Carr, *Devil soldier*, p. 107.

84 Smith, *Mercenaries and mandarins*, p. 29.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

86 See *ibid.*, p. 31.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 85. For an exploration of Manilamen as mercenaries and filibusters in relation to the person and work of José Rizal, see Filomeno Aguilar Jr, '*Filibustero*, Rizal, and the Manilamen of the nineteenth century', *Philippine Studies*, 59, 4, 2011, pp. 429–69.

88 Charles Hirschman, 'The meaning and measurement of ethnicity in Malaysia: an analysis of census classifications', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 46, 3, 1987, pp. 555–82.

Table 1. Selected census data on Manilamen and Filipinos in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States (FMS), 1881–1921

	1881	1891	1901	1911[a]	1921[b]
Straits Settlements					
Singapore	90	34	94	157	146
Penang	7	32	17	85	134
Malacca	22	2	0	2	2
Total	**119**	**68**	**111**	**244**	**282**
FMS	n.d.[c]	43	61	n.d.	121
Total Manilamen	–	**111**	**172**	–	**403**
Straits Settlements					
Number of females	8	9	32	93	96
% female	7%	13%	29%	38%	34%
Number < age 15	8	11	21	n.d.	n.d.
% under age 15	7%	16%	19%	–	–
FMS					
Number of females	n.d.	10	29	n.d.	50
% female	–	23%	48%	–	41%
Straits Settlements					
Floating population	67	9	0	n.d.	n.d.
% Floating	56%	13%	0	–	–

[a]Philippino Race [b]Filipinos [c]no data

Sources: Straits Settlements, *Population: according to the census taken in 1881*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1881; E. M. Merewether, *Report on the census of the Straits Settlements taken on the 5th April 1891*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1892; J. R. Innes, *Report on the census of the Straits Settlements taken on the 1st March 1901*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1901; Hays Marriott, *Report on the census of the Straits Settlements taken on the 10th March 1911*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1911; J. E. Nathan, *The Census of British Malaya, 1921*, London: Waterlow and Sons Ltd., 1922.

Undoubtedly, the majority of labour migrants from the Spanish Philippines were single men, a pattern consistent with the dominant trend of Asian migrations during this period. Yet, subsumed under the Manilamen category were a number of women, who were counted in the 1881 and 1891 censuses of the Straits Settlements, indicative of a settled population (Table 1). That these migrants had families could be inferred from the population of children aged below fifteen, which made up nearly one-fifth of all the 'Manila people' recorded in 1901.

Deducing the occupations of Manila women and men from the available census data is, unfortunately, not possible. Certainly many would have been involved in seafaring as their current or previous occupation. Transient seafarers were probably accounted for by the 57% of Manilamen who were recorded in the 1881 Straits Settlements census as belonging to a 'floating population'. A curious observation is the decline in this floating population in the 1891 census, and its total disappearance in the 1901 census. Unless this was a result of changes in census enumeration techniques, it would appear that more Manilamen settled down in British Malaya, coinciding with the increased arrivals of Manila women from the late nineteenth century to the early part of the twentieth.

Tropical Australia's pearl-shell industry

Commencing in 1869, the pearl-shell industry on Thursday Island, in the Torres Strait of north Queensland, Australia, obtained divers and crew from Singapore. This was after an earlier attempt to import labour through Batavia in the Dutch East Indies had fallen through. As John Douglas, the Government Resident on Thursday Island, recalled:

> The shallow waters had been pretty well picked over, and in them the shell was less abundant: the deeper waters must be tried, and for them more men were wanted. And thus it came about that Malays and Manila men were recruited. The steamers then plying between Brisbane and Singapore proved to be convenient vehicles for the introduction of those men, and the men turned out on the whole to be very suitable for the work.[89]

It is not clear whether the Manilamen were recruited in Manila, or perhaps Hong Kong, and then trans-shipped to tropical Australia via Singapore, or whether recruitment was made among the population of Manilamen in Singapore. One study has suggested that recruitment in the 1870s was carried out in Singapore and Hong Kong.[90] Whether any recruitment was made directly in the Spanish Philippines cannot be ascertained. However, in 1912, in the early part of the American colonial period, there is reference to the use of the merchant house of 'Messrs. H. W. Peabody and company, an influential firm at Manila' to recruit Filipinos, although the venture was said to have been unsuccessful, because by this time Australia's pearl-shell industry could not compete with the Hawaiian plantations' aggressive recruitment of Philippine labour.[91]

It may be conjectured that, at the outset in the 1870s, some Manilamen left behind their occupation as seafarers to try out the Australian pearl-shell industry, where their contracts continued to refer to them as 'seamen'. In Singapore these early groups of Manilamen would have undergone medical examination, been vaccinated, and signed a three-year contract, although two-year contracts became quite prevalent by the late 1890s on Thursday Island.[92] They could extend their contracts or sign with another employer, but the last employer, having paid a bond, was compelled to repatriate the workers to Singapore.[93]

Not having been previously involved in pearl-shell diving, the early batches of Manilamen on Thursday Island learned from the handful of 'white divers' the techniques of deep-sea 'dress-diving', which relied on crude and heavy breathing equipment. The recruits, reported Douglas, 'soon learned to work in the diving dress, and some of them proved to be

89 John Douglas, 'Asia and Australasia', *Nineteenth Century and After*, 52, 1902, pp. 43–54. On John Douglas, see Jeremy Hodes, 'John Douglas and Aborigines in Torres Strait', http://queenslandhistory.blogspot.com/ (consulted 30 June 2012).

90 Regina Ganter, *The pearl-shellers of Torres Strait: resource use, development and decline, 1860s–1960s*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1994, p. 101.

91 F. W. Bamford, 'Progress report, Royal Commission on the pearl-shelling industry', *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 3, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1913.

92 J. Hamilton, 'Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the general working of the laws regulating the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fisheries in the colony', *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, vol. 2, Brisbane: Government Printer, 1897, pp. xxxvi, 2.

93 M. S. Warton, 'Report by M. S. Warton, Esquire, Resident Magistrate and Sub-collector of Customs, Broome, on the pearl-shelling industry in north-west Australia', *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 2, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1902, p. 3.

excellent divers'.[94] Manilamen, as well as Malays, South Sea Islanders, and Japanese, began to increase in number as the few 'white divers' left, because the latter were said to have found the work 'too hard, the life monotonous and rough, and the climate and other conditions too trying'.[95] Until the turn of the twentieth century, Manilamen continued to receive training as deep-sea divers with each fresh arrival. For employers, training new divers was more economical than relying on expensive, experienced ones: 'Many owners will not sign on well-known divers, but prefer to break in men and make divers of them than take a man with a reputation.'[96] Manilamen found 'much favour as "excellent divers and excellent citizens"'.[97]

By the early 1890s, however, the Japanese 'began to be appreciated as a better class of diver than the Manila men', probably because the Japanese were seen as 'fatalists, and will dive in deep waters and take all sorts of risk'.[98] With the depletion of the accessible seabed, the demand for Japanese divers to fish in deeper waters mounted. The Japanese eventually came to form the core of pearl-shell divers and crew, and by the 1880s they were recruited directly in Japan.[99] By agreement of the Queensland colonial government and the Japanese imperial government, Japanese workers were contracted for three years.[100] By the late 1890s, however, they had begun to be seen as 'a menace to the white community'.[101] Their presence raised the spectre of Japanese domination and control of the pearl-shell industry. In 1898 the issuance of new pearling licenses was restricted to British subjects. In 1900 the Queensland and Japanese governments agreed to limit the number of Japanese in the colony through joint action in the issuance of passports.

The Manilamen seemed more cautious, bringing in lower profits, than the Japanese. Still, a Manilaman known as 'cranky Francis' was commended for having 'done a lot of deep sea diving at Darnley Island'.[102] Another suggested that

> Some Manilla men – and they probably are the most skilful of all divers – have dived perhaps a little over 30 fathoms [at a time when the extreme limit with the available apparatus was set at 20 fathoms], but of course they remain down a very short time, and are exceedingly careful. It is seldom you hear of the death of a Manilla diver.[103]

In the Torres Strait in 1895 and 1896 there were, respectively, 49 and 66 Manilamen who were deep-water divers and masters ('persons in charge'), and the number in such responsible positions rose to 90 in 1899 (Table 2). A few amassed wealth to become 'employers or owners'

94 Douglas, 'Asia and Australasia', p. 48.

95 C. J. Dashwood, 'Report by His Honour Judge Dashwood, Government Resident, Palmerston, on the pearl-shelling industry in Port Darwin and Northern Territory', *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 2, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1902, pp. 9, 11, 84.

96 *Ibid*., p. 53.

97 Hamilton, 'Report', pp. xxxv, 19.

98 Dashwood, 'Report', p. 38.

99 Ganter, *Pearl-shellers*, p. 101.

100 Dashwood, 'Report', p. 55.

101 Hamilton, 'Report', p. 27.

102 *Ibid*., p. 53.

103 Hamilton, 'Report', p. 2.

Table 2. Manilamen and Filipinos in the pearl-shell fishery of the Torres Strait, Queensland, Australia, 1895–1914

Year	Employers or owners	Masters or persons in charge	Deep-sea divers	Crew[a]	Total[b]
1895	n.d.[c]	49[d]		n.d.	–
1896	n.d.	66		146	212
1897	9	12	52	118	191
1898	15	34	42	175	266
1899	15	36	54	229	334
1900	10	33	57	147	247
1901	12	28	51	174	265
1902	7	15	26	192	240
1903	n.d.	18	44	215	277
1904	n.d.	20	29	175	224
1905	n.d.	18	32	52	102
1906	n.d.	16	5	42	63
1907	n.d.	22	4	59	85
1908	n.d.	19	0	44	63
1909	n.d.	22	1	35	58
1910	n.d.	13	2	18	33
1911	n.d.	15	1	21	37
1912	n.d.	14	3	18	35
1913	n.d.	14	0	21	35
1914	n.d.	10	0	16	26

[a]Includes crew engaged in bêche-de-mer and tortoise-shell fishing; data for 1896 and 1903–14 are from Evans, 'Thursday Island'. Evans' figures on the number of crew members from 1897 to 1902 are much higher than those found in Dashwood, 'Report', which are shown in the table above.
[b]Total figures for 1896 and 1903–14 do not include the number of employers or owners.
[c]no data
[d]Number of masters and divers combined for 1895–96; sourced from Hamilton, 'Report'.
Sources: Dashwood, 'Report', p. 4, Table 2, p. 26, Appendix O; Hamilton, 'Report', p. 35, Appendix P; Evans, 'Thursday Island', table between pp. 111–12, unnumbered pages.

engaged in pearl-shell fishing.[104] However, most Manilamen served as crew members, who were in unskilled occupations, such as deckhands, pump hands, cooks, shell-cleaners, swimming-divers, and assistants of dress-divers. In total, Manilamen in the Torres Strait's pearl-shell industry numbered 191 in 1897. The number peaked at 334 in 1899, and it hovered around 250 until 1902 (Table 2). At the century's turn, the aggregate number of labour migrants from the Philippines in pearl-shelling in the whole stretch of tropical Australia totalled well over 600, counting 319 in Western Australia in 1901[105] and 49 in Darwin in the Northern Territory in 1902.[106] This was more than three and a half times the number of Manilamen on the Malay peninsula at around this time.

The earnings of Manilmen depended on their level of skill. Crew members were paid fixed wages, but deep-sea divers were offered an incentive system that raised their pay

104 See Table 2.

105 Warton, 'Report', p. 14.

106 Dashwood, 'Report', p. 4.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000241 Published online by Cambridge University Press

according to the catch. One source reported, 'I have a Manilla man to whom I am paying £24 a ton, two others £20, and two others £18, according to their degree of merit'.[107] Since 'white divers' were said to have earned £25 per ton,[108] the Manilamen were comparatively cheap labour. In general, divers worked six hours a day, in what contemporaries described as 'hard work', with many retiring and 'walking about maimed'.[109] It was reported that 'coloured divers' took stimulants, including 'a great deal of opium'.[110] While out at sea for some six weeks in a row, divers and crew were supplied with basic provisions, as stipulated in the contract. The diving gear, which was worth £140 ('the pump might last for years, the dress perhaps not more than six weeks'), was apparently at the employer's expense, as £6 or £7 per month were put down for depreciation.[111]

Although most Manilamen in northern Australia worked in the pearl-shell industry, some were involved in other activities. In the bêche-de-mer industry in the Torres Strait, Manilamen and Japanese were placed in charge of Aborigines and Torres Strait and South Sea Islanders in the collection of sea slugs off the Great Barrier Reef, at depths of two to three fathoms.[112] In 1902, in Perth, Western Australia, a lone Manilaman, 'Peter Marris', was reported as a 'foreigner' who engaged in 'wood-cutting', which earned him £3 to £3 10s per week.[113]

To minimize the threat of connivance among pearl-shell divers, employers made it a point to send out a lugger with a multilingual crew. When the invaluable Japanese became too much of a problem, one employer admitted that Manilamen served as a foil: 'by all means keep two or three crack Manilla men even if they do not pay us as well as the Jap [*sic*] hirers. It was only by putting a Manilla-man into the *Cissy* and threatening to do likewise with other boats that I induced the Japs [*sic*] to accept my improved hiring agreement of January, 1897.'[114] However, the overall effect of a racially and culturally mixed labour force in the pearl-shell industry was said to be one of relatively peaceful coexistence. On Thursday Island, 'There is scarcely a corner of the earth that does not contribute its quota to the ethnological mosaic. Specimens of nearly all the European and Asiatic nationalities are in evidence. … Amid all this racial diversity there is a well-maintained average of orderliness.'[115] The practice of employing a mixed migrant workforce, which ran counter to the sentiment of White Australia, has been traced to the 'pragmatic racism' of colonial capitalists and authorities, as Noel Loos aptly termed it.[116]

107 Hamilton, 'Report', p. 24.

108 Dashwood, 'Report', p. 45.

109 *Ibid*., p. 53.

110 *Ibid*., p. 39.

111 *Ibid*., p. 45.

112 *Ibid*., p. 13.

113 Commonwealth of Australia, 'Report of the Commission on Foreign Contract Labour in Western Australia', *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 2, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1902, p. 53.

114 Cited in Ganter, *Pearl-shellers*, p. 30.

115 Hamilton, 'Report', p. xxx.

116 Noel Loos, 'The pragmatic racism of the frontier', in R. Evans, K. Saunders, and K. Cronin, eds., *Race* relations *in North Queensland: a history of exclusion, exploitation, and extermination*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1988.

In addition to the largely contractual, maritime workforce, a number of Manilamen and their families settled down in tropical Australia. On Thursday Island it was reported that 'Of the Philippinos [*sic*] also a few are married women, for it is the custom of Manila men, when he is sufficiently well off, to order a wife from the conventual schools at Mecao [*sic*]'. Those who could not afford to import wives from Macau or Hong Kong intermarried with 'a few aboriginal women'.[117] Some Manilamen on the island also married Melanesians.[118] The practice of settling down in families was associated with that of applying for naturalization as British subjects (which, however, was not transferable from one British colony to another). Unlike the Japanese ('there does not seem to be any demand on their part for naturalisation') but like 'Malays who are British subjects, and South Sea Islanders', the Manilamen were said to be 'very eager to become naturalised'; 'A good many of them … who are married and have been here for a certain time apply for letters of naturalisation, and generally receive them'.[119]

Manilamen and migration at the turn of the twentieth century

The reasons for migration during this period cannot be ascertained, but Philippine labour continued to move amid the revolutionary ferment from the mid 1890s to the early 1900s. As part of the usual comings and goings, some Manilamen based overseas returned to the Spanish Philippines. Among them were Candido Iban and Francisco del Castillo, who returned from Australia in 1894 or 1895, joined the Katipunan, and 'donated 400 pesos of their 1000 pesos Australian lottery prize' for a printing press.[120] These funds were probably used to print the only issue of the movement's organ, *Kalayaan*, which began clandestine circulation in January 1896 and caused a surge in the revolutionary movement's peasant membership.[121]

Information seems to have flowed through migrant networks, directly linking the origin to the destination. Moreover, specific migration chains appear to have existed at the turn of the century. In Kalk Bay, 'In the period of the Filipino revolt against Spain still more came and their descendants … now number several hundred'.[122] In the Straits Settlements there were 111 Manilamen in 1891, and 244 in 1911. Reflecting the changed political status of the Philippines under American rule, the 1911 census changed the classification of Manilamen to Filipinos, a category subsumed under 'Other races'. The number of Filipinos rose further to 282 in 1921 (see Table 1), and if the Federated Malay States are added there were over 400 Filipinos on the Malay Peninsula. Amid the throes of the revolution against Spain and the Filipino–American War, the number of Manilamen in pearl-shell fishing on Thursday

117 Douglas, 'Asia and Australasia', p. 40.

118 Gaynor Evans, 'Thursday Island 1878–1914: a plural society', BA Honours thesis, School of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland, 1972, pp. 51–3.

119 Hamilton, 'Report', pp. 2, 19.

120 Reynaldo Ileto, 'Philippine–Australian interactions: the late nineteenth century', in Reynaldo Ileto and Rodney Sullivan, eds., *Discovering Australasia: essays on Philippine–Australian interactions*, Townsville, Queensland: James Cook University, 1993, p. 30.

121 Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and revolution: popular movements in the Philippines, 1840–1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1979, p. 82.

122 Brady, *Commerce*, p. 21, cited in MacMicking, *Recollections*, 1967, p. 32.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000241 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Island rose from 212 in 1896 to peak in 1899 with a headcount of 344 (see Table 2). Subsequently the figures fluctuated but remained at over 200 until 1904. From 1905, numbers steadily declined. Restrictive immigration rules and structural changes in pearl-shell fishing resulted in the Filipino population in Australia dwindling to insignificance by the start of the First World War.

There is no information on the overall number of Filipino seafarers in the early twentieth century. Overseas employment opportunities elsewhere seem to have shut down, stagnated, or undergone very modest growth, and the crewing of vessels entered a period of nationalization inimical to foreign seamen. However, with the Philippines under American imperial rule, a new labour emigration stream that saw unprecedented numbers move commenced in the early twentieth century, with Hawaii and the US mainland as the destination. In 1903 nine Filipinos were recruited to join the US Navy; by the First World War their number had risen to 6,000.[123] Although in some ways a continuation of earlier patterns of migration, the movement of Filipino migrants to the United States is an altogether different story,[124] and that of Filipino seafarers in the US Navy remains to be told.

The maritime world as international workplace

Sometimes singly or in pairs, at other times in larger numbers, Manilamen joined multi-ethnic, multiracial, and polyglot workforces on board vessels that crossed the major oceans of the world. Being the only Philippine native in a mixed workplace did not seem too daunting as to deter a Manilaman from becoming a crew member. Even if they retained their ethnic enclaves, Manilamen evidently knew how to engage with other cultures, including the underside of port life, as in Shanghai. The Manilamen's cross-cultural experiences would have made them into cosmopolitans, who contributed to the vibrancy of world maritime cities such as Philadelphia, Singapore, Liverpool, and Barcelona. The exposure to Spanish colonial culture had prepared them to engage with other cultures and to adapt to new circumstances, and their Anglicized aliases were a sign of this cosmopolitan sensibility. Cosmopolitanism need not be associated exclusively with the highly educated, especially those in the managerial and capitalist classes, for even highly mobile workers, particularly those in world maritime ports, can be cosmopolitans.[125]

The immersion of Manilamen in the global maritime world would have differentiated them from other Philippine natives who did not have these sailing experiences. In what ways were those experiences unique? Seafaring by its very nature was very specialized, 'an occupation with significant psychological and social ramifications for its workers'.[126] Because of the distinctive maritime culture of sailors, 'it is quite appropriate to regard men socialized in those shipboard usages as at least bicultural, as having available simultaneously

123 Veltisezar Bautista, *The Filipino Americans from 1763 to the present: their history, culture, and traditions*, Farmington Hills, MI: Bookhaus Publishers, 1998, p. 110.

124 See Filomeno Aguilar Jr, 'The riddle of the alien-citizen: Filipino migrants as US nationals and the anomalies of citizenship, 1900s–1930s', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 19, 2, 2010, pp. 203–36.

125 Carolyn Cartier, 'Cosmopolitics and the maritime world city', *Geographical Review*, 89, 2, 1999, pp. 278–89.

126 W. Jeffrey Bolster, '"To feel like a man": black seamen in the northern States, 1800–1860', *Journal of American History*, 76, 4, 1990, pp. 1174.

two or more distinct yet intertwined cultural systems or resources, based on their origins and on their international occupation'.[127] This was unlike the fluidities of Spanish colonial society, and the constant negotiations of social relations that it engendered.[128] The vessels on which Manilamen worked were a type of 'total institution' that emphasized roles and positions, hierarchy, and order:

> Boundary maintenance – between officers and men, between larboard and starboard watches, between idlers and watch standers, between skilled and greenhands [sic] – was the essence of life aboard ship, for boundaries delineated privileges, perquisites, and punishments … and essentially defined the social combinations and conflicts at the heart of seafaring life. Racial boundaries certainly existed, but they were often secondary to those established by the institution of the ship.[129]

These rigidities could explain some of the desertions, and the venturing into other sea-based occupations such as pearl-shell diving.

The maritime world, however, also had a liberating dimension. Linebaugh and Rediker have argued that the 'motley' crew of workers in the eighteenth-century Atlantic was an incubator of revolutionary ideas and practices, inventing the strike (1768) and helping to instigate the American Revolution (1776).[130] By the nineteenth century, this aspect of earlier Atlantic maritime culture resonated with the readiness of Manilamen to assert the terms of their contract, as did the nine seamen from Zamboanga on the whaling vessel *Aussell Gibbs* and the Manilamen involved in mercenary activities in Shanghai. Indeed, while the *indio* was renowned for submissiveness for most of the colonial period, the shackles seem to have been loosened in the greater maritime world. Although it could not be said for all, the revolutionary dynamic was apparent in returning migrants (such as Candido Iban and Francisco del Castillo) who joined the revolution against Spain, and those based overseas who nonetheless contributed to the revolution. For instance, in January 1898, an intelligence report by the Spanish consul in Hong Kong suggested that three of the leading Manilamen on Thursday Island (M. Evangelista, G. Evangelista, and Mariano Reyes) had formed an extension of the 'revolutionary junta' based in Hong Kong, and were collecting financial contributions from among the Philippine natives there.[131]

State, nation, and migrant identities

The burgeoning studies on contemporary Filipino seafarers highlight the role of the Philippine state in promoting seafaring as an ethnic and gendered niche and providing the framework for narratives of masculinity and identities. Even without the sort of direct intervention that the Philippine state has resorted to since the 1970s, states do impact on their

127 *Ibid*., p. 1179.

128 Filomeno Aguilar Jr, *Clash of spirits: the history of power and sugar planter hegemony on a Visayan island*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

129 Bolster, '"To feel like a man"', p. 1180.

130 Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The many-headed Hydra: sailors, slaves, commoners, and the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic*, Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000.

131 Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Madrid), Sección de Ultramar, Filipinas, 1894–99, legajo H–2964. I am indebted to Xavier Huetz de Lemps for sending me a digital copy of these documents.

migrant populations. As John Torpey has argued, the imperatives of territorial rule are evinced in the way that states put into effect the 'embracement' of their subjects: that is, states 'register' their populations and render them 'legible'.[132] They monopolize the right to authorize and regulate movements, and devise systems of registration, along with standardized documents such as passports, travel certificates, and identity cards. States seek to identify individual persons uniquely and unambiguously, in their personal and collective identities.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of the Spanish colonial state, its very existence and attempts to regulate cross-border movements left a stamp on the social identities of migrants from the Philippines, from the galleon age through to the early part of the twentieth century. Despite relocation to a distant place, the difficulties of communication, and the impetus toward naturalization where this was possible, it would appear that Manilamen retained some form of identification with the Philippines as homeland, no matter how inchoately imagined – were they in Thursday Island, Hawaii, Singapore, Kalk Bay, Liverpool, or New Orleans.

This observation is illustrated by the simple fact that, on the Malay Peninsula, they and their descendants could be enumerated as Manilamen, when the modern censuses of British Malaya relied on the respondent's subjective identity.[133] The persistence of the category, starting from the first census of the Straits Settlements in 1871, is indicative of a sizeable group of migrants, who continued, from one generation to the next, to regard themselves as somehow associated with 'Manila'. In various other ports they were known and subsequently registered in texts and documents as Manilamen. Today, for instance, the descendants of Manilamen in Kalk Bay recognize their Filipino roots.[134]

The label 'Manila' was emblematic of a place of origin. It could be deemed as a centralizing code within the colony as well as a cartographic shorthand for Las Islas Filipinas outside its borders, the effect being to aggregate the islands under one conceptual umbrella. In Australia in 1897, Manila was deemed to be the 'nationality' of migrants, even if 'Philippine Islands' was also recorded as 'country' of origin.[135] Although not every migrant was ethnically Tagalog, almost all identified with the capital Manila, even then a 'global city'[136] that was known and recognized by the rest of the world outside the Spanish realm. Thus, tobacco from Ilocos became known internationally as 'Manila cigars', and abaca from Bicol was processed to produce 'Manila hemp' and 'Manila paper'. Even José Rizal, who met Suehiro Tetchō on board a ship from Yokohama to San Francisco in 1888, introduced himself, when he was mistaken for a Japanese, as from Manila (*Manira*), rather than from Las Islas Filipinas. In his writings, Suehiro referred to Rizal as the 'gentleman from Manila', that is, as a Manilaman.[137] A convenient label that enjoyed brand recognition, Manila appears to have been applied to and appropriated as a social marker by the men and women

132 John Torpey, *The invention of the passport: surveillance, citizenship and the state*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

133 Hirschman, 'The meaning', pp. 565–6.

134 Belinda Olivares-Cunanan, 'Saga of Filipino settlers in South Africa', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 16 May 2005, and 'Pinoy fishermen rescued SA town', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 17 May 2005.

135 See, e.g., the appendices in Hamilton, 'Report', pp. 32–6.

136 Tyner, 'Global cities'.

137 Caroline S. Hau and Takashi Shiraishi, 'Daydreaming about Rizal and Tetchō: on Asianism as network and fantasy', *Philippine Studies*, 57, 3, 2009, pp. 342, 347, 350.

who travelled or migrated overseas, regardless of their exact origin in the islands. In that sense, the category showed glimmers of an emergent national community.

Nonetheless, 'Manilamen' could well have been a mere geographic designation, emblematic of Manila's colonial status. This was akin to 'Filipino' during much of the Spanish period, a term that referred to creoles born in the Philippines, to distinguish them from Spaniards born in Europe. 'Filipino' began to be appropriated as a collective label in the 1860s, in conjunction with the creole nationalism that began to crystallize amid the struggle over the control of parishes between the Spanish friar orders and the secular, mainly native, clergy.[138] This nationalist current, however, was extinguished with the suppression of the 1872 Cavite mutiny. The distinctions of colonial society in the Philippines – whether one was *indio natural* or *mestizo*, creole or peninsular, Tagalog or Ilocano – were what mattered 'inside' the Philippines. These distinctions, including the island or province of which one was reckoned to be a native, were indicated on the contracts and passports of seafarers. Colonial Manila's direct embracement was largely at the local or provincial level.

Nonetheless, many Manilamen demonstrated their patriotism when the 1896 revolution against Spain finally erupted. Their cosmopolitan politics did not necessarily exclude nationalism. Indeed, their being 'Filipino' began to be stamped on their identities overseas. In the record of passports issued *outside* the Philippines, although not consistently, available records show that returning residents who applied for passports from Spanish consulates, whether in Hong Kong, Shanghai, or Newcastle upon Tyne, were identified in these documents as 'filipino', at the same time that the person's town and province of origin in the Philippines were also mentioned, as was traditionally done.[139] Even the migrant domestic worker, external to the colony, was a 'criada filipina' (Filipina maid).[140]

The terms 'filipino' or 'filipina' in these Spanish documents were still largely geographical labels, and whether the individuals who carried these passports identified themselves with that label cannot be determined. Nonetheless, the Spanish consulates seemed to have echoed unwittingly the nationalizing label of 'Filipino' that the *ilustrados* (educated youth) had began to appropriate in Spain as a badge of national identity since the 1880s.[141] If we are to go by the census categories in the Straits Settlements, the Manilamen outside the Philippines continued to be known collectively as Manilamen in 1901, even as the revolution against Spain that commenced in 1896 had begun to assert the founding of a Filipino nation, a monumental undertaking to which many Manilamen as long-distance nationalists contributed while overseas. It would not be long, however, before Manilamen as a whole would identify themselves and be known by the world as Filipinos.

---

138 John Schumacher, SJ, 'The Burgos *Manifiesto*: the authentic text and its genuine author', *Philippine Studies*, 54, 2, 2006, pp. 153–304.

139 For example, PNA Pasaportes: Españoles y Filipinos 1864–1889, SDS 14470, S697, El Cónsul de España en Hongkong concede pasaporte al filipino Donato Atienza natural de Taal provincia de Batangas para que puede pasar a Manila … este individuo es un marinero desembarcado del Vapor Japonés 'Saikio Maru', Hongkong, 27 Noviembre 1888.

140 For example, PNA Pasaportes: Españoles y Filipinos 1864–1889, SDS 14470, S719, El Cónsul de España en Hongkong concede pasaporte a Da. Luisa Basa de Cucullo, española filipina, que pasar a Manila acompañada de una criada filipina, Hongkong, 6 Diciembre 1888.

141 See Benedict Anderson, 'Forms of consciousness in *Noli me tangere*', *Philippine Studies*, 51, 4, 2003, pp. 505–29.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000241 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Conclusion

The current prominence of Filipinos in global merchant shipping rests on earlier foundations, which have been largely occluded in the existing historiography. The Philippines sent out migrant seafarers throughout the islands' colonial history, with no hiatus between the ending of the galleon age in 1815 and recruitment into US naval forces from the dawn of the twentieth century. Manilamen served on whaling ships, and more generally on ships of every kind, and they settled in port cities in many continents. They further became involved in pearl-shell fishing, and in naval or port-based mercenary activities. Dispersed around the world, Manilamen apparently continued to identify with the Philippines as their homeland, and many sympathized with the revolution against Spain in 1896. They provide an interesting case study of the interface between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr is Professor of History and Dean of the School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University. He is editor of Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000241 Published online by Cambridge University Press