

LETTERS

We received the following letter from Peter Carey of Trinity College, Oxford:

Dear Editors,

I have just received my copy of the second number of *Itinerario* for 1984 (fascinating and useful as ever), and have had the chance to read Professor Alistair Hennessy's interesting article on the Colonial Wars in Cuba and the Philippines in the Nineteenth Century. For someone who has to teach Filipino history as I do at Oxford, yet who knows little about what was happening in Cuba, I found this article particularly helpful. However, I would like to correct a couple of misconceptions which seem to have crept in: first, Professor Hennessy's statement on p. 63 that "unlike expanding imperialisms, Spain had not developed a colonial military elite - there were no zouaves nor did it recruit a mercenary elite - there were no Spanish Gurkhas" completely ignores the fact that almost from the beginning of their occupation of Luzon in the late sixteenth century, the Spanish made use of mercenary soldiers from the province of Pampanga (later renowned for its sugar production) to the north of Manila. Indeed the term "Pampangueno" became virtually synonymous with mercenary soldier in the Spanish empire in the East, and men from this region could be found throughout Southeast Asia, even in non-Spanish possessions such as Batavia. The élite unit of Macabebe scouts from Pampanga served with distinction (and ruthless brutality) alongside the Spanish regulars in their fight against the Filipino revolutionaries between 1896 and 1898, and were later taken over and reformed by the Americans after 1900 (see the pictures of this unit in John Larkin's classic *The Pampangans. Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972). The following is what this author has to say about the role of the Pampangans in then seventeenth and eighteenth century (pp. 27-28):

"... the Pampangans helped defend Manila during the threatened invasion of Limahong (a Chinese pirate) in

1574. In 1603 they not only took a major part in what amounted to a Spanish-led massacre of the Chinese population around Manila but also joined the looting of the Chinese quarters afterward. As a result of their role in suppressing the Chinese, some Pampangans were awarded captaincies in the Spanish army, although it is perhaps ironic that Pampangans were thus honoured not solely for participation in the slaughter but also for being the most "reasonable" and "civilized" of the native groups. From 1603 to the end of the Spanish regime, a Pampangan contingent served in the colonial army. In the seventeenth century it fought against the Dutch and served as an occupation force in the Moluccas, took part in campaigns against a rebel group in Panay, and against the Moros (Muslim pirates in the south), and participated in another massacre of the Chinese in 1640. In the eighteenth century, besides opposing the marauding Muslims, Pampangans turned out in full strength to defend the Spanish regime against the invading British (1762)."

In view of what Professor Hennessy writes about the almost complete lack of an effective militia at the time of the British occupation of Manila in 1762, this last point is of particular interest. Indeed, the Spanish authorities retreated to Pampanganga for a time during the British occupation of the colonial capital and raised a large number of additional recruits there not only to fight the invaders, but also to put down the local revolts against them which had broken out in the Ilocos region in the north of Luzon and in the neighbouring province of Pangasinan (see Teodoro A. Agoncillo & Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia, 1980), pp. 121-22).

The second point is a more minor one and concerns Professor Hennessy's description of General Emilio Aguinaldo's being "exiled" to Hong Kong in 1898 (p. 70). The sense of this phrase is that the General was forced into exile on Spanish terms, when, in fact, the stalemate which Professor Hennessy talks about between the Spanish and the Filipino revolutionaries had resulted in the Truce of Biak-na-Bato (15 Dec. 1897) under which Aguinaldo and his senior lieutenants agreed to go into voluntary exile abroad on the payment

of 400,000 pesos by Governor-General Primo de Rivera, with a further 400,000 pesos being promised once the revolutionaries had turned in their arms (the latter sum was never in fact paid by the Spanish authorities because the Filipinos did not keep their part of the bargain about arms). Thus, in effect, the Spanish authorities had to "buy out" the Filipino leadership in order to gain a temporary breathing space in a war which was going increasingly badly. Aguinaldo and his companions went into temporary and honourable exile abroad, where, incidentally, they used some of the money paid to them by the Spanish to purchase modern weapons, weapons which were obtained for them by the U.S. Consul in Hong Kong and later used against the Americans after February 1899 (see Agoncillo and Guerrero, *op. cit.*, p. 219). This was one of the reasons, but not the only one, for the superior armaments enjoyed by the Filipinos over their American adversaries in the early stages of the Filipino-American War as noted by Professor Hennessy (p. 73). Aguinaldo, of course, showed startling naïveté in his negotiations with the Americans and thought that he had obtained a promise from them that they would allow the Filipinos their independence after they had intervened to help them defeat the Spanish (as with Cuba, American seapower was decisive in the Spanish defeat, although on land the Filipinos had the upper edge over the Iberians who, at the end, were virtually bottled up in Manila). But that is all another story ...

I hope the above comments are useful.

With best wishes,

Peter Carey

We received the following letter from our correspondent in Japan, Akira Nagazumi.

JAPAN

1) A forthcoming publication in English on the East-West trade contacts

The Section 7: "The cultural and economic relations between East and West" of the XXXI International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, currently abbreviated at CISHAAN but better known by its previous name, the Orientalist Congress, held in Tokyo in August-September 1983, has been busy editing the full texts of the papers read at its "sea routes" subdivision. The volume which is expected to appear by the end of 1985 will include, among others, the following papers:

- OAYAGI, Yoji (Sophia University, Tokyo), "The flow of Chinese ceramics found in the Philippines: primarily during the 500 years before Magellan."
- BURNS, Peter L. (Adelaide University) *et al.*, "Ceramic production at Sisatchanalai, Thailand."
- DAS GUPTA, Ashin (Visva-Bharati University), "The Indian maritime merchant in early 18th century."
- HALL, Kenneth R. (Tufts University), "Maritime trade and state development in early Java."
- ITO, Takeshi, "Dutch Malacca and the Sultanate of Aceh, 1641-1670."
- KAWATOKO; Mutsuo (The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan), "Archaeological finds from Egypt and East Africa relating to international trade."
- MIKAMI, Tsugio (The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan), "Ceramic Road: Economic and cultural relations between East and West as seen through the seaborne trade of ceramics."
- Id.*, "Chinese ceramics from medieval sites in Egypt."
- NAGASHIMA, Hiromu (Nagasaki Prefectural University of International Economics), "Merchants and rulers in Gujarat during the 17th century."
- ONA, Yasuyuki (Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo), "The French and the Mughal Empire."

SAKUMA, Shigeo (Aoyama Gakuin University), "Japan-China relations during the Ming period."

VILLIERS, John (British Institute in South-East Asia, Singapore), "The English factory at Makassar: 1613-1667."

YAJIMA, Hikoichi (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), "An Arabic manuscript on the history of Maldiv Islands."

The authors and titles are subject to change. More information will be available on request by writing to: The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, 10-31 Osawa 3-chome, Mitaka City, Tokyo, 181 Japan.

This Center was established in 1979 with His Imperial Highness Prince Misaka as the President. Its main purpose is to promote the studies of Middle East and Near East, but from 1985 onward the Center intends to expand its scope by launching the following three projects for ten years under the leadership of Dr. MIKAMI Tsugio, Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo. The English titles of these projects are preliminary.

- 1) Studies of Muslim cities: Their structure and function.
- 2) Studies of Egyptian material civilization.
- 3) Studies of maritime trade between the East and the West.

These were motivated by the archaeological excavation done some years ago in Fustat and other places on the Lower Nile, where the team unearthed an unexpectedly large amount of Chinese ceramics from several centuries. Each group plans to hold symposia, workshops, field trips, etc. according to necessities. Their final results will be published both in English and in Japanese.

2) The Activity of the Japan Society for Southeast Asian History

This society was established in 1966 with less than one hundred members, but as of December 1984 it enjoys a membership of 275. Aside from its biannual congresses, one in Tokyo and the other elsewhere in Japan, the Society's two branches organize their monthly meetings. Its publication, *Tonan Ajia: Rekishi to Bunka* or Southeast Asia: History and Culture, has been published up to Vol. 13 so far more or less on a yearly basis, while Vol. 14 is to appear in June 1985. Although the main texts are in Japanese, articles and

notes are furnished with an English summary of one to two pages each. Unfortunately, the recent volumes do not contain many articles on the specific topic of European expansion, even though the interest may return in the future. Since the earliest volumes are already out of print, those who are interested may find it advisable to inquire at Heibonsha Ltd., Publishers, No. 5 Sanbancho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 102 Japan.

Just for the sake of reader's interest, I shall introduce the topics for the symposia during the past one and a half years:

The 30th Congress, December 4, 1983: "Study of Southeast Asian history and its source materials."

The 31st, June 10, 1984: "The Leadership in contemporary Southeast Asian history."

The 32nd, December 9, 1984: "The Chinese in Southeast Asia."

The discussion of the 32nd Congress centered more or less around the post-independence period. The only paper related to European expansion was IKUTA Shigeru's "The Portuguese maritime empire and Southeast Asia at the end of the 16th century" at the 30th Congress.

Since the headquarters of the Society move from one place to another every two years, the readers may find it more convenient to write directly to my office: Akira NAGAZUMI, Faculty of Letters, The University of Tokyo, Hongo 7-3-1, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, 113 Japan, rather than to Professor ICHIKAWA Kenjiro, its President until fall 1985.

