

The *Recogimiento* of Sta. Rita de Pasig: Negotiating Freedom and Authority in the Eighteenth Century

MARYA SVETLANA T. CAMACHO

ABSTRACT

In the 1740s, the Augustinian parish priest of Pasig, Fr. Felix Trillo, established a *recogimiento* for women in the town. As a multifunctional house, it served spiritual ends and social welfare. In effect, it was an alternative space for women (called *recogidas*), being a shelter, and an educational and correctional institution run by women reputed for their religious exemplariness. But this became a controversy in 1754 when colonial authorities debated about its status, value, and continuance. Although the founder, Fr.

MARYA SVETLANA T. CAMACHO is associate professor in the Department of History of the University of Asia and the Pacific.

F. Trillo, was the dominant voice defending the creation of the *recogimiento*, the documentation allows women's agency and individuality to emerge. It reflects the tension between societal norms and personal choice, and between conformity and deviation on the one hand, and the larger ethical framework in which women's familial and social roles were conceived on the other hand. In the public eye, the *recogimiento's* institutional presence represented the impact of female spirituality and ethos it inculcated in the *recogidas*, and the educational service it rendered in Pasig and neighboring localities. Within the institutional possibilities afforded by the *recogimiento*, the *recogidas* in Pasig left an intangible imprint in Tagalog society and culture.

KEYWORDS

Recogimiento, *beaterio*, Pasig, women's education, women's spirituality, Augustinians

INTRODUCTION

Originally, it was simply called *beaterio de Pasig*, founded by the Augustinian parish priest of the pueblo of Pasig. Luciano P. R. Santiago, a native of Pasig, published several works on the beginnings of the *beaterio* in relation to the origin and development of the Augustinian sisters in the Philippines.¹ In *To Love and to Suffer: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish*

Philippines, 1565–1898, he situated the foundation of the *beaterio* in the “communal stage” encompassing the Spanish colonial period, in which female religious communities—precursors of full-fledged congregations—were founded under the auspices of male religious orders but mostly with Philippine-born foundresses. Marta Manchado López wrote a survey of female religious-educational institutions in Manila which contextualized the *beaterio de Pasig* in the dynamics of civil-ecclesiastical norms and jurisdictions as well as of hispanized colonial society.² Focusing further, she studied the case involving the *beaterio* on the issue of tributes based on a close reading of the documentation it had generated.³ The material she used for that study is also used in this paper. The major difference is that this paper attempts to make the women emerge and to situate them in the local context.

Given the official nature of the documentation, i.e., reports, investigation proceedings, public official’s opinions, the predominant voices are masculine and the main interest purportedly is the public good. Nonetheless, the same documentation allows us to enter into more intimate spaces both physical and spiritual, and listen to women’s voices. The documentation affords glimpses into women’s condition in Tagalog society during this period. Sifting through the perspectives of colonial authorities on women, gender relations, and family, we may derive further insights into the politics of marriage and the place of women within the larger ethical framework that Spanish colonialism sought to establish in Philippine society. In other words, this paper focuses on women’s agency as it emerges in contexts of tension between societal norms and

personal choice, and between conformity and deviation, within the framework of existing legislation, normative practices, and ethos.

Pasig was among the first ecclesiastical circumscriptions created outside the colonial capital of Manila in the late sixteenth century and assigned to the Augustinian order.⁴ The closest neighboring towns were Taytay, Mariquina, Pateros, and Mandaloya (Mandaluyong). In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the population numbered more than 13,000. The townspeople carried on a vibrant trade with Manila and Laguna making use of the waterways. Aside from farming and trade, the inhabitants devoted themselves to fishing, pottery, and quarrying, with women participating in economic life, particularly in making pottery, weaving of cotton textiles, and trade in *ropas*. As another indicator of the pueblo's significance, there were two market days weekly.⁵ In the description of the town, the *beaterio* or *colegio para indias* is often mentioned as a center of spirituality where *beatas* followed the Augustinian third order, and of Christian education for women, where they trained in domestic arts.

The *beaterio* was founded by the former parish priest of Pasig, Fr. Felix Trillo (1689–1754) and was named Inmaculada Concepción, in honor of the town's patroness. In gratitude to the benefactors Doña Maria Rita Gonzalez del Rivero y Quijano, marchioness of Monte Castro y Llanahermosa, and her husband Don Pedro Gonzalez del Rivero, the *beaterio* was renamed Santa Rita. It survived for another century and a half including the tumultuous years of the British invasion. During the Revolution the

beaterio house was taken over first by the Spanish forces, forcing the *beatas* to return to their respective families, and then by the revolutionary army. From 1902 to 1905, the building was converted into a public school but was later reclaimed by the archbishop of Manila. In the meantime, the Filipino tertiaries refounded the order after the Spanish tertiaries left for Spain. In 1908, they accepted the offer to resume the operations of the *colegio-beaterio* in Pasig, which they renamed Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo.⁶

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT EXEMPTION FROM TRIBUTE PAYMENT

The *beaterio* in Pasig was alternatively called *casa de recogimiento*, as it appears in the documentation and publications from the period. To those who knew better how to distinguish between the two, there was a significant difference of a canonical nature. Nonetheless, a grain of truth could be found in the widespread use of the term *beaterio* in that the core of the institution was made up of women who lived under a regimen of pious and ascetical practices characteristic of *beatas*.⁷ In the case of the house of Pasig, they followed the spirituality of the female branch of the Augustinian third order and wore its insignia. Thus, the identity of female institutions that practiced some degree of seclusion blurred into that of the *beaterio*, at least in the mind of the general populace. As Fr. Trillo himself explained: “En dha Cassa, aunque el Pueblo las llama *Beatas*, no haz-n votos, ni observan clausura.”⁸ Colonial authorities were careful to distinguish between real *beaterios*, that is, institutions that had been

canonically established as such by royal decree, and *casas de recogimiento* or simply, *recogimientos*, which emphasized the educational and formative character of what was in effect a shelter for women. The lay women residing in those houses were generically referred to as *recogidas*.

The crux of the abovementioned case initiated in 1754, while revolving around the question of tribute payment, was to determine the status of the women in the *casa de recogimiento* in Pasig. If they were truly lay, it followed they were not to be exempt from tribute and, therefore, should be included in the fiscal list. Furthermore, if they claimed to be lay but had actually adopted practices proper to religious orders, they were violating the law since there had been no royal permission given for a religious foundation in Pasig. Thus, for its continuance, the *beaterio-recogimiento* was doubly pressured: to prove its lay status and spiritual-social significance, and in the same breath, to aspire to have *beaterio* status without discarding its educational function. For the women and their founder, these two goals were unitary; in contrast, for many high civil colonial authorities, only the first was possible in the Philippines.

The petition to convert the *casa de recogimiento* into a *beaterio* was flatly denied through the royal decree dated in Buen Retiro, 17 November 1754, invoking the law (*Recopilación de las leyes de Indias*, law 19, title 3, book 1). Nonetheless, Fernando VI commended and thanked the Augustinian friar for his initiative which had proven to have served the public good. The government in Manila

had to be vigilant so that it would not adopt the features proper of religious houses.⁹

It must be noted that this decision reached Manila after the aforementioned case had been decided in a similar tenor. The Audiencia agreed to exempt the *recogidas* who were of legal age from paying tribute in consideration of their poverty. Nonetheless, the *recogimiento* had to contribute to the public good through its educational function, particularly in promoting literacy in Spanish. The Audiencia decreed that Fr. Trillo should propose four or five mature *recogidas* to serve as *maestras* and prohibit the use of books in Tagalog.¹⁰

As part of the investigation on the civil status of the *beaterio* in Pasig, an ocular inspection was conducted by an *oidor* (judge) of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, Francisco Enríquez de Villacorta. As was usually practiced, the visit was minutely documented, aside from recording the interviews, providing description of the house, and even listing the names of women who lived there with their places of origin.¹¹ The women listed during the visit of the Audiencia minister consisted of 42 *beatas* (the eldest was 116 years old and the youngest was 13), 10 *recogidas* “que no siguen el rigor de la obcervancia de la casa” from 14 to 19 years of age, and 25 “niñas que están aprendiendo en dicha casa” from 8 to 18 years old. In effect, it constituted a privileged channel of communication with the women housed in the *beaterio*.

The individual testimonies of four women were recorded in full. All affirmed that they came to stay in the

house on their own free will, and understood that they were staying permanently (“que al tiempo de entrar las preguntaba a que venian respondian todas que venian a vivir a esta casa hasta morir,” according to the oldest, Sabina de Guzman, who belonged to the original group of *beatas*). There was no ceremony of incorporation or vows. From the beginning, they knew that they had to subject themselves to a certain lifestyle that was articulated by prayer and spiritual exercises throughout the week. For this, they used printed material in Tagalog given by Fr. Trillo. Neither did non-fulfillment of spiritual exercises obligate them under pain of mortal sin. As externally corroborating their lay status, the women wore the ordinary clothes of *indias* but with the addition of the girdle/cord of St. Augustine over their garment.

Gabriela Tuason added the information that some of the *recogidas* who were sheltered by Fr. Trillo left their family homes to avoid being married off against their will, while others went to the *beaterio* to be instructed (“para educarse”). Sabina de Guzman, a widow, said that she took the initiative with the prior of the convent to establish a house for *recogidas* and that other women wanted the same as a place secure from the “riesgos que havia en el Pueblo.” In some cases, the girls whose parents had wanted them to withdraw from the place refused to do so. They generally implied that the *recogidas* were free to leave the *recogimiento* and the decision of those who chose to stay was entirely free. This emphasized the point that the house was not a cloister or a place of permanent seclusion in the fashion of nunneries.

The women's testimonies coincided in essence with Fr. Trillo's argument. The *casa de recogimiento* had begun modestly in 1740 to address the socio-moral needs he perceived in the *indias*, ignorance of Christian doctrine, and lax moral habits.

He enumerated four achievements of this initiative. First, it promoted the ideals and sanctity of marriage. Women came voluntarily three weeks before their wedding day to learn about their marital duties. Those who were not permitted to marry as they willed also sought refuge in the *beaterio-recogimiento* and, thereby, were able to get married eventually. Second, it provided education to women. Seeing the example of the *recogidas* of womanly virtue, parents who desired the same for their daughters sent them to the *recogimiento* for a Christian education. Girls came from other towns as well. Third, the house served as a place of discipline for wayward women ("inquietas y escandalosas") with a great rate of success at reforming those women, some of whom preferred to stay permanently in the house. Fourth, the *casa de recogimiento* offered spiritual exercises yearly which did numberless women—and their respective social circles—a lot of good. And deemed most important by Fr. Trillo, was the labor of catechesis which had made all the women in town—most likely in hyperbolic terms—admirably instructed in the Christian faith, an achievement that not even the most zealous clergy would have been capable of.

In his justification of the foundation, Fr. Trillo outlined the needs, the social condition, and the conceived place of women—only *indias* and *mestizas de sangley* were

admitted—sheltered in the *recogimiento*. Among the Spanish officials who were asked to give their opinion on the matter, the *asesor de gobierno*, who was the governor-general's adviser, wrote at length about the importance of moral and religious education of women in Philippine society. The self-mastery of a well-educated woman combined with her skills in domestic economy made for a stable family home. This had been proven in the many cases of prolonged absence of fathers who had been conscripted to work in the naval yards in Cavite, in timber-cutting, or in naval service. A well-brought up young woman had better chances of an advantageous marriage with Spaniards, who often chose *mestizas de sangley* as wives. From a statistical derivation to a moral application, the *asesor* took into account the moral danger presented by the uneven ratio between male and female population: the availability of so many unmarried women was an occasion of temptation to men. From this perspective, he was casting the burden of responsibility on women. This opinion was shared by the city council of Manila.¹²

The *asesor*'s conclusion was to favor status quo, that is, the women would remain exempt from tribute, provided that the *recogimiento* was governed by a prudent minister, was law-abiding, and was economically self-sustaining. Ultimately, the social good that the *casa de recogimiento* generated would likewise transcend to political life, the women being instruments of disseminating Christian values and loyalty to the Spanish nation, specifically women's counsel that could dissuade men from participating in uprisings. Fr. Trillo deserved to be congratulated for "transforming the base metal of the *Indias* into the finest

gold of virtue (whose ‘fifth’ part [*quinto*—paid to the Crown] would be given to His Majesty in the form of special prayers for the conservation and growth of his dominions).” The City Council of Manila supported Fr. Trillo’s petition in 1753 for the *casa de recogimiento* to be converted into a *beaterio*.¹³ Basing itself on popular opinion, the Council emphasized the reputation of the women educated in Pasig for being integrally Christian. Referring also to the statistical fact that women outnumbered men, there were many unmarried women who could be accommodated in—and benefit from—many more *recogimientos* that could very well be modeled after that of Pasig. In sum, the *casa de recogimiento* addressed various needs of women who were there “unas por virtud y otras por culpas.”

A WINDOW INTO TAGALOG WOMEN’S CONDITION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

One of the ills that the *recogimiento* remedied cited by Fr. Trillo was that it became a refuge for young women who had no say in their marriage. They were prevented to marry the man of their choice, or forced into marriage with the man chosen by their parents or guardians. In either case the *recogimiento* served to safeguard the essential element of free consent in Catholic matrimony. The Council of Trent’s legislation on marriage was applied in the Philippines. Important challenges on this matter derived from Philippine practices in which the parents or guardians of the contracting spouses played a key role in arranging marriages mediated by dowries and domestic service rendered by the suitor to the bride’s family. Handbooks on the sacraments and pastoral writings insisted on the

point of free consent given the weight of parental authority among Filipinos. Although a Church law guaranteed the contracting spouses' freedom to marry without parental consent beyond a certain age, Spanish legislation reinforced local tradition with the requirement of parental consent especially during the eighteenth century.¹⁴

The civil officials consulted on the matter of the *recogimiento* cited the sociological and moral impact of the demographic situation. Since the female population significantly outnumbered the male, it was likely that more women remained unmarried. The statistics drawn up by the Augustinian province in 1760 substantiated the numbers even if limited to the parishes it administered in the historical province of Tondo where Pasig was located.¹⁵

The officials concluded that such imbalance led to increasing instances of promiscuity, as men could have relationships with several women, that is, mistresses. Thus, they saw the *recogimiento* as a safe space for unmarried women to live with decency, away from the temptation of forming illicit relationships and the risk of tarnishing their reputation. Considerations of this tenor made sense in a society where female decency largely hinged on chastity.

Another factor contributing to the demographic imbalance was the prolonged absence of adult men due to conscription for statutory labor or the *polos y servicios*. Consequently, wives and daughters were left to fend for themselves. It became incumbent upon the mothers to provide stability in the home. Daughters, in turn, needed guidance and protection on account of their father's

PROVINCE	TOWN	TRIBUTARIES MEN & WOMEN	EXEMPT	YOUNG MEN	YOUNG WOMEN	CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE	YOUNG CHILDREN	SPANIARDS MEN AND WOMEN
Tondo	Tondo	1810	500	450	868	1400	1904	35
	Pasig	1520	490	400	600	1310	1450	0
	Taguig	700	308	204	310	600	702	3
	Parañaque	1025	330	300	400	820	1090	6
	Malate	512	162	135	200	416	640	2
	Tambobong	1650	500	510	650	1130	1710	12
Total		7217	2290	1999	3028	5676	7496	58

Statistics on the population and tribute payers in towns administered by the Augustinians in the province of Tondo, 1760.

absence. The *beaterio* became a reputable place of Christian education for girls, which summed up the essentials of feminine education—religious and moral instruction emphasizing virtues, piety, and skills for domestic management.

Thus, the *beaterio* in Pasig constituted a space in which societal norms for women were inculcated via education and an entire lifestyle. The gender-specific formative goals required exclusivity and partial enclosure (but not complete seclusion which the women and Fr. Trillo were quick to deny). In turn, physical integrity impinged on and shielded feminine honor, according to the socio-moral conception of Hispanized society.¹⁶

Intimately linked to the moral underpinnings of the *recogimiento's* given functions was social discipline. Aside from being a place of instruction, it was a correctional institution where deviant women were interned and subject to the house regimen of pious practices, religious instruction, and work. Among the *beatas* who followed the austere regimen of a *beaterio* were several who were described in the list of residents made during the Audiencia visit as having been admitted “por etica.” It may be surmised that such a remark implied unethical conduct as the reason for admission into the house. Fr. Trillo’s concern for women extended to the task of reforming those of ill-repute, whom he accepted in the house for lack of one similar to the *casa de recogidas* in Manila.¹⁷ The City Council of Manila likewise appreciated this need for a female penitentiary outside Manila where women of ill-repute could be securely interned and meted out punishment for “delitos

segun la calidad de este sexo.”¹⁸ Concomitant to women’s correctional seclusion was the imperative to avoid public scandal.

The aforementioned institution was built under the patronage of a clergyman, Don Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo. Prior to the approval of that project in 1733, the Colegio de Santa Potenciana functioned as a catch-all for women who needed shelter away from their usual residence. Aside from young girls receiving instruction and wayward women, there were wives whose husbands were away for a long period, women awaiting the decision on their cases of marital separation or nullity, and women who were undergoing difficulties in marriage. All of them were generally referred to as *recogidas*. Eventually, the need to separate these different categories of women from the young girls led to the establishment of the *casa de recogidas* in Manila.¹⁹ It should be noted that while the name is generic, this institution’s specific function marked it out as different from others to which the same term was applied, including that founded in Pasig.

Within this framework of societal norms and expectations, women negotiated choices which indicated a measure of freedom. Through the *recogimiento*, the original group of fourteen *recogidas* lived out their aspiration for quasi-monastic life in the absence of an appropriate place for *indias* and *mestizas de sangley* outside Manila and its surrounding districts.²⁰ Like the other foundations in this period, the *casa de recogimiento* in Pasig was created without previous official permission in response to the demands of individuals and generally appreciated by

society as places of exemplary lives and instruction of young women. Subsequently the status of those *beaterios-recogimientos*, and consequently their continuance, came to be questioned by colonial authorities. The royal restrictions on religious foundations were consistently enforced during the eighteenth century, the high representatives of the crown being vigilant that houses that originated as women's shelters should not evolve into canonical foundations, i.e., as *beaterios* and much less as full-fledged convents.²¹

Such limitations doubly served the Crown's preference for educational institutions which were considered more useful to society. In the deliberation by high officials in Manila and Madrid on whether the *recogimiento* of Pasig merited conversion into a *beaterio*, the common opinion acknowledged the important contribution it had made in the education and shelter of women and in providing an appropriate space for cultivating virtue and curbing vice. The Audiencia of Manila asked Fr. Trillo to assign teachers from among the *recogidas*. In the end, however, the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies denied Fr. Trillo's petition, foreseeing that the educational function would be reduced to the point of serving mostly women who had the means to stay there.²²

The same period saw similar decisions handed down regarding the fate of the other *beaterios-recogimientos* in Manila. Invariably, authorities required the *recogidas* to use books in Spanish, revealing how those women's institutions were regarded as a channel for gradual hispanization.²³

The *recogimiento*, as Fr. Trillo had originally conceived, was veritably a shelter for women who found it difficult to fend for themselves. The list of *beatas* figured several women with illnesses: they had been admitted “por tísica” and “mal de lamparones,” and another “[por] enfermedad havitual.” There was even one categorized “por simple,” indicating an abnormal mental condition. A few of the girls were indicated to be orphaned.²⁴

Intrinsic to a *recogimiento* or *beaterio*’s continuance was its economic sustainability. Fr. Trillo established a pious foundation or *obra pia* using as source parcels of land to which donation and purchases of land for passive income were added.²⁵ Aside from those properties, the *recogidas* earned their livelihood with the work of their hands.²⁶ Collective living, which was austere in the case of the *recogidas*, increased their capacity for self-sustenance. This dimension of relative independence enabled women to carry out their choice to live away from their family home.

The places of origin of the women residing in the *beaterio-recogimiento* in 1754 were within the civil jurisdiction of Pasig while a handful of the *beatas* came from other Tagalog towns. Expectedly almost all of the girls who were there for instruction came from Pasig. Three *beatas* came from outside the civil jurisdiction of Pasig: Meycauayan, Guingua (probably both in the province of Bulacan), Binondo, and Tambobo (in the province of Tondo). The students were identified by name and that of their parent (head of household, whether male or female) or guardian. The places of origin of a few of the *recogidas*

and most of the *niñas* were known place names in Pasig (the barrios of Rosario, Caniogan, Pinagbuhatan, Sagad, Maybonga, Polo).²⁷ Gaspar de San Agustin mentioned several of them among the twelve *visitas* that comprised the earliest ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Pasig which extended beyond the municipal boundaries: Pinagbuhatan, Polo, Palatiu, Meybonga, Sagad.²⁸

The geographical reach of the institution's capillary influence might not seem vast as Fr. Trillo and civil authorities claimed and envisioned it to be. Nonetheless, based on this summary evidence, the local impact was undeniable and reflective not only of individual women in their respective homes and communities but also of the institutional presence representative of a feminine model that civil and ecclesiastical leaders sought to promote.

CONCLUSION

The stone edifice of the *beaterio* would have easily caught the public eye in a *pueblo* like Pasig where buildings of such materials and dimensions would be imaginably few in the mid-eighteenth century. Adding to the impressiveness of the house were its nature and purpose, and, therefore, its residents. It became the material signifier of the feminine ethos idealized in hispanized society and the tension resulting from the societal processes of putting those ideals into practice. The degree of alignment with social prescriptions on feminine conduct ranged from the *beata's* spirituality to the deviant lifestyle, both of which necessitated seclusion to flourish in the former case and to arrest and reform in the latter. Instruction in religion and

womanly tasks and responsibilities in a regimen of pious practices and work formed the substance of the Christian education the *beaterio* offered.

Paradoxically, the semi-cloistered life in the *beaterio-recogimiento* allowed the moral freedom to live one's chosen state in life. For Tagalog *beatas*, this institution afforded the possibility of a quasi-monastic life in the community which hitherto had been possible to them only in Manila and its immediate environs. For marriageable women it was a place of refuge from an unwanted union arranged by their families, or from where they could defend their right to marry the man of their choice. Even if the male Augustinian order exercised jurisdiction over the house, as happened in similar foundations, the women themselves practiced ordinary governance.

Early on, the *beaterio* acquired a public image of feminine exemplariness and as a center of spirituality. It foregrounded women's perceived function in colonial society built on family solidarity and loyalty to the Crown. Its significance to the locality, as conveyed by public opinion and Spanish authorities, opens a window into the *indias'* role in the interconnected dynamics of Christianization and inculcation of civic virtue.

NOTES

- ¹ He inserted this early history in *The Living River: A History of Colegio del Buen Consejo* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2013). His extensive study was published as

“*Beaterio de Sta. Rita de Pasig: A Precursor of the Congregation of the Augustinian Sisters of Our Lady of Consolation (1740-1909).*” *Unitas* 65 (1992): 49–66.

- 2 “Un espacio para la mujer: notas para el estudio de los *recogimientos* y *beaterios* filipinos.” *Revista Hispanoamericana* 2 (2012): 1–16.
- 3 “La controversia sobre la tributación de las mujeres *recogidas* en Filipinas a mediados del siglo XVIII. El caso del *recogimiento* de Santa Rita de Pásig.” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 41 (2015): 223–247.
- 4 San Agustín includes the creation of the *convento* of Pasig during the term of Fr. Martín de Rada as Augustinian Provincial (1572–1575). *Convento* does not refer necessarily to a parish but it is more likely that it was a mission station. Neither does San Agustín refer explicitly to Pasig as a *pueblo* or township that had been established previously.
- 5 Francisco Villacorta, OSA, *Administración espiritual de los Padres Agustinos Calzados de la provincia del dulce nombre de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas* (Valladolid: Imp. de H. Roldán, 1833), 29–32.
- 6 Luciano Santiago, *To Love and to Suffer: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish Philippines, 1565–1898* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2005), 148, 150–153.
- 7 Pedro Borges describes the *beaterio* as a “group of matrons or maidens who lived in a private house ... in different degrees of enclosure and following the norms of a female religious order that they might have chosen. The *beatas* were always pious women... who aspired to live out their religión more deeply by adopting the forms of female religious orders but without making official vows.” Translation mine. *Religiosos en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, 1992), 642.
- 8 AGI, Filipinas 300. Letter of Fr. Felix Trillo to the King, no. 197, no date.

- 9 Isacio R. Rodríguez, OSA. *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, vol. 11, Monumenta Provinciae Philippinarum OSA (V) Cedulaire Real (2) (Valladolid, 1979), 268. The archival source of this royal decree is AGI, Filipinas 335, 233v–235v.
- 10 The documentation of this case is titled “Año de 1754. Testimonio Authentico del expediente formado a representacion del Promotor fiscal de la numeracion de los Reales Tributos de la Provincia de Tondo sobre las Mugerres que se hallan *recogidas* en una Casa del Pueblo de Pasig si deven o no ser empadronados y lo demas, que incluye.” I have found two copies in two different sections under the Audiencia de Filipinas in the *Archivo General de las Indias* (henceforth, AGI) (Filipinas, 196 and 470). I use Filipinas 470 in this paper. Judging by the ages of the *recogidas*, very few were of legal age to pay tribute, i.e., 25 and above. In the initial count by the fiscal officer, 15 women were exempted owing to exceptional circumstances, 14 because of illness, and another because of old age; the others were underage (135v).
- 11 Since the issue concerned the regal right of tribute, the fiscal of the Audiencia as crown attorney played a dominant role in the case. He ordered the investigative visit to be performed (29r). The investigation focused on gathering the following information: number of women residents; the rules and statutes they have been given to live by, which were to be shown; how long the women had lived in the house; and the types of vows made and in whose presence (“Testimonio,” 52v–67r). Evidently, such information was vital to verifying whether the institution had acquired the features of an honest-to-goodness *beaterio* and, therefore, whether it deserved exemption from tribute.
- 12 AGI Filipinas 300, Letter of the City Council of Manila to the King, 10 July 1753, no. 200.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 See Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, “Refashioning Matrimony in the Colonial Order,” 12th Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day

“Explorations and Transformations: Creating Texts, Shaping Identities,” University of the Philippines Diliman, 7–8 October 2014.

- 15 “Report of the villages, tributes, those exempted by age and sickness, unmarried men and girls, schools for boys and girls, infants, missions, catechumens, and those newly baptized, of the provinces and ministries of the Order of our father St. Augustine, in these Philipinas Islands, this present year of 1760” by Fr. Pedro Velasco, provincial April 16, 1760; in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803*, 48, no. 52.
- 16 See Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, “Woman’s Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines.” *Philippine Studies* 55, no. 1 (2007): 53–87.
- 17 AGI, Filipinas 470, “Testimonio,” 120v–133r.
- 18 AGI, Filipinas 300, Letter of the City Council of Manila to the King, 10 July 1753, no. 200.
- 19 Marta Maria Manchado, “Poder y vidas licenciosas en Manila en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,” *Fronteras del mundo hispánico: Filipinas en el contexto de las regiones liminares novohispanas*, coords. Marta María Manchado López and Miguel Luque Talaván, 135–163 (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2011), 135–137.
- 20 The so-called *beaterio* de la Compañía under the auspices of the Jesuits was located inside the walled city, while that of San Sebastián under the Recollects was in an *arrabal* just across the river from Manila.
- 21 Manchado, Marta, “Notas,” 4–5.
- 22 AGI, Filipinas 300, Fiscal’s opinión, Madrid, 3 September 1754, no. 196.
- 23 See Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, “Los *recogimientos* y *beaterios* en Manila en el siglo XVIII: Acomodación religiosa y aportación social.” In *Historias compartidas. Religiosidad y reclusion femenina en España, Portugal y América. Siglos XV–XIX*, ed. Ma. Isabel

Viforcós Mariñas and Rosalva Loreto (León [Spain]: Universidad de León and Universidad de Puebla de los Angeles [Mexico], 2007), 367–390.

- 24 AGI, Filipinas 470, “Testimonio,” 120v–133r.
- 25 Santiago, *To Love and to Suffer*, 148.
- 26 AGI Filipinas 470, “Testimonio,” declaration of Fr. Trillo, Pasig, 28 February 1754, 69r–69v.
- 27 AGI Filipinas 470, “Testimonio,” 120v–132v. When the barangay is the place of origin indicated, as was the practice then, the name of individuals (presumably the *cabezas*) appear, which makes it difficult to locate the individual barangays. Nonetheless, barrios had place names and could be located within townships or provinces.
- 28 San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 373.

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