

GENDER AND WORK IN FOUR LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TAGALOG *PADRONES GENERALES*

FRANCIS A. GEALOGO

ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century in the Philippines was noted by some historians as a period marked by a remarkable transformation of local communities characterized by the formation of new social relations. This transformation, though generally acknowledged as having affected almost all Philippine societies, was also distinguished for its unevenness and noteworthy for the notable heterogeneity of historical experiences.

During the Spanish colonial period, and more pronounced during the nineteenth century the Padrones Generales (lit., general listing of inhabitants), provided the basis for the state bureaucracy to list down, classify, categorize and catalog individual inhabitants into translatable data for the bureaucracy to employ for state functions. These inhabitants' lists usually include the name of each inhabitant and age, gender, habitation, social and taxation and work status that were always regarded as important information for the colonial state to perform its function of control of its subject population. Most of these lists were constructed at the town/parish level and, together with the baptismal, burial and marriage records constitute the major record sets of most parish archives. By the end of the nineteenth century, around one thousand parishes had their own parish archives and many of them have extant Padrones Generales. The wealth

of information found in these lists is only beginning to be realized by demographic historians as methodologies utilized by the other social science disciplines are becoming available to researchers in the historical field.

This paper analyzes the Padrones Generales of four Tagalog region parishes (one urban, two arrabales or suburb, and one rural). While these sources may seem limited to the contemporary demographer, historians can make use of padrones to analyze social conditions historically in the localities covered. For the purpose of this paper, work classifications according to gender and locality are examined. Classificatory schemes reflecting historical international standard classifications (i.e., HISCO, the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations) will be applied. While limited in its scope, this paper draws conclusions that may be of significance in analyzing comparable historical and contemporary societies.

KEYWORDS: *Philippines occupation patterns; demographic history*

INTRODUCTION

The study of occupational patterns of historical populations in the Philippines has undergone significant strides in the past twenty years. Mention must be made of the pioneers in Philippine demographic and social history, particularly Doeppers (1984, 1998a, 1998b), Xenos and Camagay, who initiated studies on urban and rural social and demographic history of the Philippines and thus contributed to the methodological and conceptual dimensions of the field. Doeppers pioneered the study of urban demographic history and labor conditions in the Philippines. His study of colonial Manila remains a standard work on the social conditions of the late colonial period, particularly with regards to population, labor and social mobility. Doepper and Xenos (1998) is a pioneer in the application of demographic methods to assess social conditions, extensively utilizing the parish records that have existed in the Philippines since the establishment of the Spanish colonial administration. Camagay (1992, 1995) on the other hand, pioneered the study of urban history as well as the history women's labor and published a number of researches on the area. Her narratives on the social conditions of colonial Manila, as well as the conditions of working women, both created avenues for novel historical

interpretation by looking at the everyday conditions of ordinary people's lives, and tied them together in a historical narrative. Mention must also be made of the assessments and studies made by Michael Cullinane (1998), notably his works on colonial Cebu as well as his assessment of the sources for Philippine demographic history. Norman Owen (1998) pioneered the study of Bikol rural history, publishing work that extensively used the parish records of the region.

All of these initiatives point to the direction of the growing appreciation to the need to advance further the field, by putting forward new questions, and assessing conceptual and methodological concerns in the study of Philippine demographic history. One must mention also the realization of the emerging methodologies being used elsewhere outside of the Philippines that would merit comparative study and evaluation of the historical experiences of various societies.

The Philippine parish records as well as the numerous Philippine archival materials containing population statistics put the Philippines at a relative advantage for historical population studies compared to other Southeast Asian societies. The presence of parish records that sometimes stretch back more than three hundred years make the possibilities for statistical evaluation of demographic events comparable to what has been accomplished for the major European populations that had similar systems of record-keeping. In the Philippines population counts regularly were completed frequently for spiritual and bureaucratic reasons. Moreover, the basic religious events of the Christian population were recorded. These are births, deaths and marriages which can be combined with the population estimates to yield demographic rates. These can be obtained annually or for even shorter periods and emplotted in time series spanning long periods of time.

The annual listing of populations, labeled in different forms as *Padrones*, *Padron de Almas*, *Padron Generales*, *Planes de Almas* provide useful information on total parish populations, aggregate numerical reports on births, deaths, marriages, tax payments and exemptions, age structure, habitation patterns and occupations. The *Libros de Bautismos*, *Libros de Matrimonios* and *Libros de Entierros*, on the other hand, provide baptismal, matrimonial and burial records, respectively, and can be utilized to plot trends in fertility, nuptiality and mortality. Other information in these record systems include ethnic background and

composition of individuals; age, sex and residence information; and family and social relations. All of these provide a wealth of information that can be utilized to study the demographic history of the Philippines.

Outside of the Philippines the field of historical demography provides new approaches to measurement that can be applied usefully in the Philippines. Mention must be made of the efforts to standardize categories and classification systems to advance comparative studies of historical populations with the aim of putting forward common research questions approached in a parallel manner with common methodologies in various societies at different periods in historical time. Specific and particular concerns of different societies have also been addressed by looking into the unique characteristics of different local populations, while at the same time recognizing the need to look into universal historical parameters for understanding the different dimensions of historical populations.

An important example is HISCO, the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations, which was developed to provide historians, demographers and sociologists and others with a tool to help them in their research by enabling them to apply a parallel classification methodology in different historical populations. It is important to note that HISCO was developed by utilizing exclusively European materials, and the potential for application of HISCO to non-European societies remain unrealized to this day. One possible reason is the absence of comparable historical data (perhaps the Christian populations of Asia, Africa and Latin America with their voluminous sets of parish records provide an exception to this observation) that can be analyzed in parallel with the European systems of record keeping. The Philippines, with its predominantly Christian population and relatively intact parish archival record in some parishes therefore provide an occasion for the advancement of such a comparative project. These parish records provide the materials that can at least establish equivalent categories and classificatory systems comparable to those of international classification systems like HISCO. At the same time, the unique and particular characteristics of the Philippine setting, with the presence of particular categories and terms that are unique to the Philippines can be viewed as an opportunity to further enrich the classification system and provide a modest contribution to HISCO.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

The study of categories of occupation in the Philippines has always been part of demographic historical research in the country. The pioneering study by Doeppers (1984) illustrated for Philippine historians the enormous possibilities for labor history, given the emergence of new methodological tools. Doeppers' study (1984), however, is focused on the late colonial conditions of early twentieth century Manila and does not provide the reader with data on the nineteenth century, and also does not assess as well labor conditions in rural versus urban areas.

The different sources of demographic historical analysis provide us with the perspective to follow the lead provided by Doeppers (1984). The use of parish records and the various listings of the colonial bureaucracy and church hierarchy are initial materials that can be utilized for extensive analysis of labor conditions and social mobility, in the manner initiated by European scholars who have applied HISCO in their research.

The initial impetus provided by the HISCO researchers in Europe gave inspiration to this author to do parallel work on labor categories and social mobility in the Philippines. The initial project was intended to analyze the matrimonial records of selected parishes providing not only information about the names of brides and grooms, their parents and their godparents, but also some usable information on the labor and employment background of the individuals registering in the matrimonial records. This approach had been employed by Owen (1998) in his assessment of select Bikol parishes in the southern Luzon area of the Philippines. Owen (1998) observed, however, that since he was studying a predominantly peasant population, most of the data pointed to a predominantly agricultural labor classification, with most of the brides and grooms, as well as their parents reporting mostly agricultural occupations. Considering this homogeneity in the population, there is very little potential for seeing variability in occupational types and categories.

The author attempted to identify urban, "suburban" and rural parishes that would best exemplify the heterogeneity of occupational types, and perhaps yield some information on marital mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unfortunately, after going through almost one hundred matrimonial records of almost the same number of parishes, no single parish yielded the required recording pattern – showing the occupations of

brides and grooms as well as the occupations of the parents and their godparents. While it may still be possible to locate parish matrimonial records with the ideal information in the near future, time and logistical limitations forced the author to reorient the study and look into other topics supported by the available records.

Fortunately for this study, the author was able to locate four relatively complete taxpayer and neighborhood lists that include information on age, sex, and occupation of inhabitants. The archival records at the Philippine National Archives houses a significant number of unutilized bundles of documents mostly written in the nineteenth century that include tax registers, neighborhood lists, and parochial lists of inhabitants arranged according to *cabecera* or household headship, with categories of ethnic and racial background as well as place of birth and social and political position also provided. These records became the basis of the assessment in this paper. The paper is limited to the assessment of one urban neighborhood (Intramuros, the walled city of Manila), two "suburban" localities (Tondo and Quiapo, historically considered to be different entities outside the walls of Manila, but now districts of the expanded metropolitan Manila area), and one rural parish (San Jose, Batangas, an agricultural community around 100 kilometers south of Manila). These four parishes have complete listings of inhabitants with occupational categories provided relatively great detail. Moreover, the years 1854 (Intramuros), 1884 (Tondo) and 1887 (Quiapo and San Jose) were chosen as these years provided the most complete recording of occupational types. For the early twentieth century, the Metropolitan Manila data provided in the modern censuses, as examined by Doeppers (1984), will largely form the basis of analysis.

Once these localities were decided upon, the recording, classification and categorization of their working populations commenced. Utilizing HISCO in the tabulation of the results provided some interesting observations. One of these was the relatively easy "translatability" of major occupational categories and types, compared with the occupational categories and types found in HISCO. Most of the terms in the records are in Spanish and easily translated into the HISCO codes. While HISCO's base is English, van Leeuwen, et. al. (2002) provided translations in various languages. In its initial publication, alphabetical coding indexes were also provided in Dutch, French, German, Norwegian and Swedish. Contributions from other language categories found

in the website (http://historyofwork.iisg.nl/list_hiswi.php) now also provide alphabetical coding indexes in Catalan, Danish, Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish. For the purpose of this paper, the Spanish categories were first consulted in the website, with the occupational codes used before referring to the English codes and its translations for cross referencing and comparison of codes.

Nevertheless, one must note that some of the reported occupational types and categories are uniquely Filipino and can be translated into the HISCO framework only with caution. For example the term *banquero* (from the Spanish *banco*, bank) can be impulsively, but incorrectly translated into “banker”, but must be correctly translated into “boatman” (from Tagalog *banca*, small boat). The presence of indigenous terms like *anloague* (old Tagalog,) must also be recognized as a type of carpenter. Other terms that present some challenge to the researcher include *mediquillo* (Spanish, junior doctor), but must be treated more like an indigenous healer and herbalist; *toldero* (Spanish, salt vendor) *bolojero* (Tagalog, bolo, indigenous knife—therefore bolo maker). Localization of spelling patterns also provides minor challenges to researchers. Variants of the same occupation types must never be created as a result of variations or localizations of spelling, although a computer program would most likely decide that these are different categories. Thus the differences between the following terms were disregarded as mere differences in the localization of spelling forms: *carpentero*, *carpintero*, *karpintero*; *viajero*, *viagero*, *biyahero*; *escriviente*, *escribiente*; *banquero*, *bankero*; *laborista*, *lavorista*; *musico*, *mosico*; *labandera*, *lavandera*; and *serviente*, *serbiente*.

One must also note that some of the occupational categories are gender-specific, but not gender exclusive. Correlating with the names and the categories will help in establishing gender specific occupations. Examples of these are *zapatero-zapatera*; *jornalero-jornalera*; *estanquero-estanquera*; *viajero-viajera*; *platero-platera*. Since the occupational labels in Spanish are more gender-specific than many other languages, this paper also took cognizance of the gendered nature of some work. This was facilitated by looking at the nominal listings of the *padrones* used and linking them with the accompanying occupations reported in the lists to determine whether a type of work is either considered male- or female-oriented work. Nonetheless, since the HISCO provides specific coding numbers for particular types of specific occupations, such gender-specific work titles were already inputted

in the Spanish codes and are “translatable” into other languages by simply using the same number codes. For example, while the Spanish code separately listed *zapatero* and *zapatera* as gender specific work categories, both were coded 8-01.10, the same code as the English language shoemaker. The recorded occupations and their English translations are found in Appendix 3. A column was added to note the Spanish equivalent of a Filipinized Spanish term (e.g., Harinero for the recorded Filipinized Arinero, flour producer) or the Hispanized term with an obvious Tagalog root (e.g., Banquero, from Tagalog banca).

As noted earlier, the writer found it difficult to find a suitable parish with records having the characteristics necessary to carry out mobility studies using occupational patterns. Given the limitations of the sources, two basic approaches were employed in this paper. The first is the comparison of career patterns in parishes of Manila and the suburbs during the nineteenth century as indicated in the neighborhood lists, with the general characteristics of occupational patterns in Metropolitan Manila as reflected in the census data of the early twentieth century. This provides a way of looking at changing patterns of occupation in urban Manila. The other approach is with regard to couple’s career and occupational patterns. Since the author was unable to find a suitable set of *libros de matrimonios* for the analysis of marital mobility, the paper simply utilizes the neighborhood lists which provide occupational data for some identifiable couples. While these may not really qualify as comprehensive indications of marital mobility, the data yield important details on the occupational patterns of partners among nineteenth century married couples. One limitation is that the data do not tell us whether the identified couples were newly married or not, given the author’s inability to carry out nominal record linkage in these data and ascertain dates of marriage of the couples. Nonetheless, the data reveal much about the potential for using HISCO in the assessment of married couple’s occupational patterns, in the context of data like those found in the four parishes under study.

FOUR PHILIPPINE COMMUNITIES

The four communities examined in this study are Intramuros, Quiapo and Tondo and San Jose (Batangas). These four were chosen for pragmatic reasons. These were the parishes and communities with relatively intact and reliable data on occupations, as indicated in their neighborhood and taxation

lists. The lists were relatively complete and detailed for the information on occupations according to gender, age, ethnic and racial categories, as well as social and political positions in society and government. In all cases, information can be gathered on the birthplace of the inhabitants, as well as the taxes they paid to the government.

Moreover, these communities were chosen with the expectation that they broadly represent the trends and tendencies of urban, "suburban" and rural occupational patterns. Intramuros was the old walled city of Manila and harbored a concentration of urban oriented occupations during the nineteenth century. Although long considered as a Spanish city because of the numerous Spanish inhabitants, there was a significant local population listed in the *gremios de naturales* or lists of local peoples residing in the area. For the purpose of this analysis, the lists indicating the Spanish population in the area were not considered.

Quiapo and Tondo have long been considered part of the *arrabales* (suburbs) of Manila. Located to the east and north of the Pasig river, respectively, separating the areas from the walled city, the two *arrabales* had a very interesting relationship with the colonial city. On the one hand, proximity to the walled city provided numerous commercial, social, economic and financial opportunities for the inhabitants of the *arrabal* to maximize and create new prospects for occupational advancement and job creation. On the other hand, such a relationship also demanded that these opportunities create new avenues for the multiplication of resource opportunities for the communities to prosper. In a way, these conditions of mutual dependence between the walled city and its suburbs created the dynamic interchange of goods, capital and labor that would be essential in sustaining the viability of these communities.

The parish of San Jose in Batangas, around 100 kilometers south of Manila was chosen to represent rural occupational structure. The community was essentially agrarian in orientation, with the opportunities created by the coffee boom of the mid nineteenth century paving the way for the development of new agrarian tracts of land. Cash crop production, though, did not replace the old inward looking, subsistence pattern of economy, but instead developed alongside it. The occupational pattern of this community reveals a lot about the nature of late nineteenth century agrarian society.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Utilizing the HISCO manual, the data on occupational types of the four parishes were categorized and classified according to the nine occupational groups identified. The following are the occupational groups considered in this study: Group 0/1 professional, technical and related workers; Group 2, administrative and managerial workers; Group 3 clerical and related workers; Group 4, sales workers; Group 5, service workers; Group 6, agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters; and Group 7/8/9, production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers.

While HISCO provides broad categories of occupational clusters, HISCO also offers more detailed description, classification and categorization of specific occupational types by providing minor category groups and subgroups of particular work titles. It thus becomes easy for the researcher to locate particular and specific work labels under the general major work groups, subgroups and even minor work units and sub units by looking at the HISCO “family tree” of occupational titles.

Since the data can be disaggregated into sex categories, the analysis of male oriented work versus female oriented work was facilitated as well. Table 1 provides a summary of these occupational patterns in the four communities.

Several points of analysis can be advanced on the basis of this table. For male workers, one obvious characteristic of the occupational patterns of the four parishes was in the degree of concentration of some occupational types according to the kind of community under consideration. For example, Intramuros had a concentration of professional, technical and related workers, compared to the other parishes. Sales workers were concentrated in the suburbs of Quiapo and Tondo, but were also found in Intramuros. While production and related laborers were noticeably more common in both the urban center as well as the suburbs, the concentration of these workers was more pronounced in the suburbs than in the walled city. One obvious point of analysis was the absence of significant agricultural work in the three communities, while San Jose had three out of four men working in the agriculture sector. The number in this sector was relatively higher in Tondo, not because of land-based agriculture work, but because of the relative concentration of fisherfolk in the area of the parish bounded by Manila Bay.

Table 1. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes

According to HISCO groups, gender and community type								
Occupation/ Gender	Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
MALE								
Group 0/1 professional , technical and related workers	42	11.90	24	2.63	29	5.29	8	1.37
Group 2 administrative and managerial workers	2	0.57	0	0.00	1	0.18	0	0.00
Group 3 clerical and related workers	20	5.67	22	2.41	14	2.55	12	2.06
Group 4 sales workers	30	8.50	117	12.83	24	4.38	5	0.86
Group 5 service workers	40	11.33	3	0.33	19	3.47	28	4.80
Group 6 agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	2	0.57	72	7.89	0	0.00	440	75.47
Group 7/8/9 production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	217	61.47	674	73.90	461	84.12	90	15.44
Total (Male)	353	100.00	912	100.00	548	100.00	583	100.00
FEMALE								
Group 0/1 professional , technical and related workers	7	1.61	0	0.00	12	1.18	1	0.17
Group 2 administrative and managerial workers	0	0.00	10	0.82	0	0.00	0	0.00

Table 1. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes (continued)

Occupation/ Gender	Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Group 3	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
clerical and related workers								
Group 4	35	8.05	304	24.98	108	10.59	11	1.88
sales workers								
Group 5	63	14.48	0	0.00	108	10.59	2	0.34
service workers								
Group 6	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters								
Group 7/8/9	329	75.63	903	74.20	792	77.65	572	97.61
production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers								
Total (Female)	435	100.00	1217	100.00	1020	100.00	586	100.00

Sources: Philippine National Archives, Vecindarios (Quiapo, Tondo); Censo de la Poblacion (Intramuros); Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomas. San Jose Batangas Padron General.

For women workers, it must be noted that a significant number of women workers in all communities were also reported to be involved with one of the last three occupational categories. Three out of every four women workers belong to these categories in the urban and suburban areas of Intramuros, Quiapo and Tondo, while almost all of the women workers (more than ninety seven percent) were reported to be in these categories in rural San Jose.

Looking at actual occupational types listed in Appendix 1 also reveals interesting patterns. For the male occupational types among sales workers, the generic type *tendero* was most common among sales workers in the suburbs of Quiapo and Tondo, but the more specific salt peddler (*toltero*) (had) a greater number in seaward Tondo, while the landlocked San Jose, as well as the urban center of Intramuros did not record a single salt peddler.

Male service workers like cooks, servants, barbers and sacristans were most numerous in Spanish dominated Intramuros, though there were significant numbers of barbers in Quiapo as well. Among production related workers, tailors were most numerous in Tondo, reflecting the many tailor shops there, while construction related workers like carpenters and painters were numerous in Intramuros. Day laborers, though, had double digit aggregate figures, with Quiapo having more than four out of every ten workers in this category belonging to this type.

Among women workers, vendors, laundrywomen, cigar factory workers and seamstresses were most numerous in Intramuros, Quiapo and Tondo. The numerous cigar and cigarette factories in the *arrabales* would account for this significant number of women workers of this type, while laundrywomen were most numerous in both the walled city of Intramuros and the suburb of Quiapo. But equally significant is the number of seamstresses in all four areas. As a matter of fact, seamstresses outnumber all other occupational types, with a ratio of 9 to 1, in rural San Jose.

Other observations can be advanced based on these data. One is the observable diversity of work categories and occupational types in urban and suburban areas compared with rural areas. The types of work available in the urban centers tend to emphasize specialized skills, while the rural areas had occupational patterns that are more homogenous and agrarian in character. Another general observation relates to the actual involvement of women and men in the workforce. Women workers outnumber men in all three areas, but the difference is more observable and significant in the suburbs than in the rural areas. In Quiapo, for example, women workers outnumber men by almost 2 to 1.

The shifting patterns of work and occupation types in the Metropolitan Manila area were most pronounced in the period of the first decade of the twentieth century, as revealed by the census data for 1903 and 1939. As indicated in Table 2, the intercensal period saw a remarkable tripling of the share of professional, technical and related workers, and the share doubled for administrative and managerial workers as percentage of total workforce. Moreover, a significant increase is also noticeable in the service sector. While the production and manufacturing sector still outnumbered other categories by 1939, there was a marked decrease of the labor share in this sector of 13 percentage points.

Table 2. Occupational Structure of Metro Manila 1903 and 1939

Occupation		Percent of labor force	
		1903	1939
Group 0/1	Professional, Technical and Related Workers	2.4	7.7
Group 2	Administrative and Managerial Workers	1.7	3.8
Group 3	Clerical and Related Workers	3.6	6.5
Group 4	Sales Workers	15.1	14
Group 5	Service Workers	17.4	19.7
Group 6	Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	3.1	4.7
Group 7/8/9	Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers	56.7	43.7
		100	100.1

Source: Doeppers, 1984

The transformation of the occupational patterns in the pre-war period in the Philippines coincided with the expansion of the two most important colonial projects of the American occupation. The first was the implementation of an aggressive educational campaign to supply the necessary labor force requirements of the colonial establishment. The second is associated with the expansion of Filipino involvement in the colonial bureaucracy where some of the positions previously reserved to the colonial functionaries were turned over to their Filipino counterparts. Significantly, this resulted, at least in the Metropolitan Manila area, in the development of an emerging middle class that soon found itself extremely dependent on the colonial system, while at the same time serving as the major source of labor recruits for the projects of the colonial administration.

WIFE'S AND HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONS

The neighborhood and tax lists also yielded significant information on the occupational types of husbands and wives in the four communities. Using HISCO categories, the wife's occupational category is compared with that of her husband in Table 3.

One must exercise caution in assessing these data as they are rather different from the usual data on the career patterns of individuals which typically support studies of marital and intergenerational mobility. Since the main source of data was the neighborhood lists rather than the matrimonial records, there is the possibility that some women and men in the lists who were included in this list of couples could have started their occupations after and not before marriage. That is, we might be examining, at least to a degree, the occupational choices of men and women who are already married.

For the four communities in the late nineteenth century, it is observable that most couples actually were married to individuals belonging to the same or similar occupational categories. Most of the married women workers were reported to belong to the seventh category as *tendera*, *costurera*, or *cigarrera*. A greater number of these married working women tend to be married to husbands who belong to the same occupational category. Very few women were recorded to belong to occupational categories that are higher than their husband's.

Looking at actual occupational types as manifested in Appendix 2 is even more revealing. The rural pattern is usually for a seamstress to be married to a farmer. In fact, much of the pattern of category seven working wives marrying category 6 husbands reflects the many couples in San Jose parish exhibiting this pattern. On the other hand, most numerous among married couples in the suburbs were women cigarette makers being married to tailors.

One may also consider, albeit speculatively, the degree to which domestic housework went unrecorded in the formal neighborhood or taxation lists. Unemployed partners in the lists were recorded as belonging to occupational category "x" and marked as such. Most of these are unemployed wives whose husbands were employed in a particular category of the classification scheme. These unemployed wives were recorded to have husbands in almost all occupational categories from professional, managerial classes to the production related categories, save one listed in category 8. The most

numerous, though, were the unemployed wives whose husbands were in the production or sales categories. Across the four communities only one unemployed husband was reported to have been married to a working wife; she was categorized as belonging to the production related category.

Table 3. Wife's and Husband's Occupations in Four Late 19th Century Philippine Parishes

Categ	Husband											Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	
0												0
1		1										1
W	2											0
i	3											0
f	4				1			2				3
e	5					1		1		1		3
6						1						1
7		7		9	7	3	107	29	2	41	1	206
8								1	1			2
9										2		2
X	1	2	1	6	8	3	1	10		17		49
Total	1	10	1	15	16	8	108	43	3	61	1	267

Sources: Philippine National Archives, Vecindarios (Quiapo, Tondo); Censo de la Poblacion (Intramuros); Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomas. San Jose Batangas Padron General.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

The application of HISCO categories in the study of historical occupations presents tremendous opportunities for Philippine demographic history. Even with a limited source of data such as the one presented here, one can still generate important conclusions and add to our understanding of the social history of the Philippines.

With the four communities under study, the application of HISCO categories has yielded some clarifications on the nature of colonial society, both in the rural and urban sectors, and as experienced by female and male workers. The degree of variability of occupational types in urban and suburban areas and among occupations available to men in these areas, were contrasted with the degree of relative occupational homogeneity among women workers and among both sexes in the rural setting.

The shifting trends in occupational patterns are most pronounced in Metropolitan Manila where in the early twentieth century opportunities for new careers were being opened to the Filipino population. The social change created by these new occupational opportunities, particularly in the administrative and managerial sectors, but also in the service and clerical sectors was noted in the other studies on the subject and have been amplified in this paper.

The challenge now is to find other areas of evaluation, and perhaps with more luck, to find suitable parish registers that will yield a greater range of data on marital, intergenerational and career mobility in order to better apply in the Philippines the tools provided by the HISCO system.

NOTE

¹ Where the number on the left refers to the occupational category of the wife, while the number on the right refers to the occupational category of the husband; x refers to unemployed

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- Philippine National Archives. *Vecindarios*. Tondo(1884), Quiapo(1887).
- Philippine National Archives. *Censo de Poblacion* (various years).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN 4 PHILIPPINE PARISHES

		Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887		
Occupation	Code	MALE	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	3250	Delineante	0	0.0	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
	6105	Medico	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	6710	Boticario	6	1.38	0	0.00		0.00	0	0.0
	7210	Practicante	23	5.29	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	7310	Partero	3	0.69	2	0.22	0	0.00	0	0.0
	7990	Mediquillo	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	12110	Personero	1	0.23	7	0.77	4	0.63	0	0.0
	13320	Maestro	4	0.92	2	0.22	0	0.00	1	0.2
	16000	Artista	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
	16120	Escultor	0	0.00	0	0.00	11	1.74	0	0.0
	17000	Musico	2	0.46	5	0.55	9	1.42	5	0.9
	17140	Organista	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	17145	Cantor	0	0.00	8	0.88	1	0.16	2	0.3
Subtotal	Group 0/1		42	9.66	24	2.63	29	4.58	8	1.4
	22000	Mayordomo	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	22510	Campirador	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	22620	Ensayador	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 2		2	0.46	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
	32100	Escribiente	18	4.14	20	2.19	14	2.21	12	2.1
	33135	Cobrador	2	0.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
	37030	Cartero	0	0.00	2	0.22	0	0.00	0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 3		20	4.60	22	2.41	14	2.21	12	2.1

Appendix I. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes (continued)

		Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
41010	Estanquero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
41025	Comerciante	5	1.15	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
41030	Librero	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
41030	Tendero	7	1.61	50	5.48	16	2.53	4	0.7
42220	Negociante	2	0.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
42220	Traficante	6	1.38	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
43200	Agente de Neg	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
43220	Viagero	2	0.46	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
44140	Corredor	3	0.69	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.0
45220	Aguador	3	0.69	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.2
49090	Tardero	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
49090	Toldero	0	0.00	66	7.24	1	0.16	0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 4	30	6.90	117	12.83	24	3.79	5	0.9
53100	Cocinero	10	2.30	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
54010	Serviente	9	2.07	0	0.00	0	0.00	27	4.6
55140	Sacristan	8	1.84	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.2
55290	Barrendero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
56010	Lavandero	3	0.69	2	0.22	1	0.16	0	0.0
57025	Peluquero	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
57030	Barbero	6	1.38	1	0.11	11	1.74	0	0.0
58110	Bombero	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
58340	Peon de Albanil	2	0.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
59990	Despertador	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 5	40	9.20	3	0.33	19	3.00	28	4.8

Appendix I. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes (continued)

		Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
61220	Labrador	1	0.23	18	1.97	0	0.00	440	75.5
62690	Patero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
64100	Pescador	0	0.00	54	5.92	0	0.00	0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 6	2	0.46	72	7.89	0	0.00	440	75.5
71110	Cantero	5	1.15	4	0.44	6	0.95	0	0.0
73210	Serrador	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
75622	Tintolero	0	0.00	16	1.75	0	0.00	0	0.0
77610	Arinero	3	0.69	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
77610	Dulcero	1	0.23	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.0
78200	Cigarrero	4	0.92	49	5.37	4	0.63	0	0.0
79100	Sastre	24	5.52	478	52.41	10	1.58	0	0.0
79310	Sombrerista	1	0.23	1	0.11	1	0.16	0	0.0
79510	Costurero	1	0.23	1	0.11	2	0.32	0	0.0
79560	Bordador	1	0.23	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
79590	Holatero	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
79590	Ojalatero	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
80110	Zapatero	6	1.38	8	0.88	14	2.21	0	0.0
83110	Herrero	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.63	0	0.0
84220	Relojero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
84915	Maquinista	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
87105	Tobero	0	0.00	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.0
87340	Latero	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.79	0	0.0
88010	Cristalero	1	0.23	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
88050	Platero	12	2.76	1	0.11	37	5.85	0	0.0
88090	Quilatero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
92110	Impresor	5	1.15	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
93120	Pintor	38	8.74	29	3.18	15	2.37	0	0.0

Appendix I. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes (continued)

		Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
93990	Barnisero	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
94990	Bolojero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
94990	Plumario	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.63	0	0.0
95120	Albanil	6	1.38	0	0.00	3	0.47	0	0.0
95145	Marmolista	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.32	0	0.0
95415	Anloague	0	0.00	1	0.11	2	0.32	0	0.0
95415	Carpintero	31	7.13	6	0.66	16	2.53	6	1.0
96175	Parolero	5	1.15	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.0
97125	Paginante	0	0.00	2	0.22	0	0.00	0	0.0
97190	Cargador	11	2.53	0	0.00	1	0.16	0	0.0
97205	Aparejador	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
98100	Banquero	3	0.69	0	0.00	7	1.11	0	0.0
98135	Marinero	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
98620	Carretero	2	0.46	11	1.21	8	1.26	0	0.0
98620	Carretonero	3	0.69	0	0.00	4	0.63	0	0.0
98620	Carroero	1	0.23	8	0.88	5	0.79	0	0.0
98620	Cochero	1	0.23	1	0.11	1	0.16	1	0.2
99910	Lavorista	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	1.26	0	0.0
99920	Ganiador	2	0.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
99920	Jornalero	44	10.11	55	6.03	287	45.34	83	14.2
Subtotal	Group 7/8/9	217	49.89	674	73.90	461	72.83	90	15.4
FEMALE									
7310	Partera	3	0.69	0	0.00	1		1	0.2
7315	Comadrona	1	0.23	0	0.00	1		0	0.0
11010	Contadora	3	0.69	0	0.00	10		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 0/1	7	1.61	0	0.00	12	0.00	1	0.2

Appendix I. Occupational Patterns in 4 Philippine Parishes (continued)

		Intramuros 1854		Tondo 1884		Quiapo 1887		San Jose 1887	
22430	De Casa	0	0.00	10	0.82	0		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 2	0	0.00	10	0.82	0	0.00	0	0.0
32100	Escribienta	1	0.23	0	0.00	0		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 3	1	0.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
41010	Estanquera	1	0.23	0	0.00	0		0	0.0
41030	Tendera	33	7.57	304	24.98	108		11	1.9
43220	Viagera	1	0.23	0	0.00	0		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 4	35	8.03	304	24.98	108	0.00	11	1.9
53130	Cocinera	1	0.23	0	0.00	2		1	0.2
54010	Serviente	6	1.38	0	0.00	0		2	0.3
56010	Lavandera	55	12.61	0	0.00	106		0	0.0
57025	Peloquera	1	0.23	0	0.00	0		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 5	63	14.45	0	0.00	108	0.00	3	0.5
	Group 6	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0
75430	Tejedora	1	0.23	0	0.00	1		42	7.2
78200	Cigarrera	30	6.88	783	64.34	266		0	0.0
79510	Costurera	282	64.68	119	9.78	438		529	90.3
79560	Bordadora	12	2.75	0	0.00	4		0	0.0
80110	Zapatera	0	0.00	1	0.08	5		0	0.0
88050	Platero	2	0.46	0	0.00	2		0	0.0
99920	Jornalera	2	0.46	0	0.00	69		1	0.2
99930	Operaria	0	0.00	0	0.00	7		0	0.0
Subtotal	Group 7/8/9	329	75.46	903	74.20	792	0.00	572	97.6

APPENDIX 2. WIFE'S AND HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONS

Code ¹ (Wife - Husband)	Intramuros 1854	Quiapo 1887	Tondo 1884	San Jose 1886
.11 Contadora-Personero		1		
.44 Viajera-Viajero	1			
.55 Labandera-Serviente	1			
.57 Labandera-Cigarillero	1			
.59 Labandera-Jornalero	1			
.65 Pescadore-Escribiente			1	
.70 Costurera-Delineante		1		
.71 Costurera-Musico		1		3
.71 Costurera-Artista		1		
.71 Cigarrera-Personero		1	1	
.73 Tendra-Escribiente			1	
.73 Costurera-Escribiente		3		2
.73 Cigarrera-Escribiente			3	
.74 Costurera-Tendero		1		
.74 Costurera-Comerciante		1		
.74 Cigarrera-Traficante		1		
.74 Cigarrera-Toldero			1	
.74 Cigarrera-Tendero			1	
.74 Cigarrera-Corredor	2			
.75 Tejedora-Domestico				2
.75 Costurera-Barbero		1		
.76 Tendra-Pescador			1	
.76 Tendra-Labrador				1
.76 Tejedora-Labrador				4
.76 Costurera-Labrador				99
.76 Cigarrera-Pescador			2	
.77 Tendra-Tendero		1		1

Appendix 2. Wife's and Husband's Occupations (continued)

Code ¹ (Wife - Husband)	Intramuros 1854	Quiapo 1887	Tondo 1884	San Jose 1886
.7.7 Tendera-Sastre			3	
.7.7 Costurera-Sastre			1	
.7.7 Cigarrera-Sastre			23	
.7.8 Costurera-Platero		2		
.7.9 Tendera-Jornalero			1	
.7.9 Costurera-Pintor				
.7.9 Costurera-Marmolista		1		
.7.9 Costurera-Lavorista		1		
.7.9 Costurera-Jornalero	1			31
.7.9 Costurera-Cochoero				1
.7.9 Costurera-Carretero		1		
.7.9 Costurera-Carpentero				2
.7.9 Cigarrera-Parolero			1	
.7.9 Cigarrera-Jornalero			1	
.7.x Costurera—*		1		
.8.7 Platera-Sastre	1			
.8.8 Platera-Platero		1		
.9.9 Jornalera-Jornalero	1			1
.x.0 *—Practicante	2			
.x.0 *—Mediquillo	1			
.x.1 *—Personero		1		
.x.1 *—Maestro	1			
.x.2 *—Mayordomo	1			
.x.3 *—Escribiente	4	1		
.x.3 *—Cobrador	1			
.x.4 *—Traficante	1	1		
.x.4 *—Tendero	2			1

Appendix 2. Wife's and Husband's Occupations (continued)

Code ¹ (Wife – Husband)	Intramuros 1854	Quiapo 1887	Tondo 1884	San Jose 1886
.x.4 *—Comerciante	1			
.x.4 *—Aguador	1			
.x.4 *—Agente de Neg	1			
.x.5 *—Cocinero	2			
.x.5 *—Barbero		1		
.x.6 *—Labrador			1	
.x.7 *—Sastre	6		2	
.x.7 *—Cantero	2			
.x.9 *—Pintor	5			
.x.9 *—Jornalero	5			
.x.9 *—Impresor	1	1		
.x.9 *—Carrotenero	1			
.x.9 *—Carpintero	3			
.x.9 *—Banquero	1			
Total	51	25	44	148

Sources: Philippine National Archives, Vecindarios (Quiapo, Tondo); Censo de la Poblacion (Intramuros); Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomas. San Jose Batangas Padron General.

**APPENDIX 3 RECORDED OCCUPATIONS AND
THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS**

Code	Recorded Occupation	Spanish Equivalent/ Tagalog	English Translation
MALE			
	Group 0/1		
3250	Delineante		Draftsman
6105	Medico		Doctor
6710	Boticario		Pharmacist
7210	Practicante		Medical Practitioner
7310	Partero		Accoucheur/Male midwife
7990	Mediquillo		Local Doctor
12110	Personero		Trustee/Attorney
13320	Maestro		Teacher
16000	Artista		Artist
16120	Escultor		Sculptor
17000	Musico		Musician
17140	Organista		Organist
17145	Cantor		Singer
	Group 2		
22000	Mayordomo		Bulter
22510	Campirador	Campero	Land superintendent
22620	Ensayador		Assayer/Mint Collector
	Group 3		
32100	Escribiente		Clerk
33135	Cobrador		Accounts Collector
37030	Cartero		Postman
	Group 4		
41010	Estanquero		Reservoir keeper
41025	Comerciante		Trader
41030	Librero		Bookseller
41030	Tendero		Seller
42220	Negociante		Businessman
42220	Traficante		Trader

Appendix 3 Recorded occupations and their English translations (continued)

Code	Recorded Occupation	Spanish Equivalent/ Tagalog	English Translation
43200	Agente de Neg		Business Agent
43220	Viagero		Traveling trader
44140	Corredor		Broker
45220	Aguador		Water vendor
49090	Tardero	Tindero	Seller
49090	Toldero		Salt trader
Group 5			
53100	Cocinero		Cook
54010	Serviente		Servant
55140	Sacristan		Sacristan
55290	Barrendero		Sweeper
56010	Lavandero		Laundryman
57025	Peluquero		Hairdresser
57030	Barbero		Barber
58110	Bombero		Firefighter
58340	Peon de Albanil		Bricklayer
59990	Despertador		Watchtower maintenance
Group 6			
61220	Labrador		Farmer
62690	Patero		Duch farmer
64100	Pescador		Fisherman
Group 7/8/9			
71110	Cantero		Stonecutter
73210	Serrador		Sawyer
75622	Tintolero	Tintorero	Dyer
77610	Arinero	Harinero	Flour producer
77610	Dulcero		Confectioner
78200	Cigarrero		Cigarmaker
79100	Sastre		Tailor
79310	Sombbrero		Hatmaker
79510	Costurero		Seamster
79560	Bordador		Embroiderer

Appendix 3 Recorded occupations and their English translations (continued)

Code	Recorded Occupation	Spanish Equivalent/ Tagalog	English Translation
79590	Holatero	Ojaladero	Buttonhole maker
79590	Ojalatero	Ojaladero	Buttonhole maker
80110	Zapatero		Shoemaker
83110	Herrero		Smith
84220	Relojero		Watchmaker
84915	Maquinista		Machinist
87105	Tobero		Plumber
87340	Latero		Tinsmith
88010	Cristalero		Crystal/Glassmaker
88050	Platero		Silversmith
88090	Quilatero		Gem Appraiser
92110	Impresor		Printer
93120	Pintor		Painter
93990	Barnisero		Varnish painter
94990	Bolajero	fr. Bolo (Tagalog)	Bolo Maker
94990	Plumario	Plumajero	Plume maker
95120	Albanil		Bricklayer
95145	Marmolista		Marble maker
95415	Anloague	(old Tagalog)	Carpenter
95415	Carpintero		Carpenter
96175	Parolero	Farolero	Lighthouse keeper
97125	Paginante		Carrier/Porter
97190	Cargador		Carrier/Porter
97205	Aparejador		Rigger
98100	Banquero	fr. Banca (boat, Tagalog)	Boatman
98135	Marinero		Sailor
98620	Carretero		Coach driver
98620	Carretonero		Coach driver
98620	Carroero		Coach driver
98620	Cochero		Coach driver
99910	Lavorista		Laborer
99920	Ganiador		Wage worker
99920	Jornalero		Day laborer

Appendix 3 Recorded occupations and their English translations (continued)

Code	Recorded Occupation	Spanish Equivalent/ Tagalog	English Translation
FEMALE			
	Group 0/1		
7310	Partera		Midwife
7315	Comadrona		Midwife
11010	Contadora		Auditor/Accountant
	Group 2		
22430	De Casa		Housekeeper/Home manager
	Group 3		
32100	Escribienta		Clerk
	Group 4		
41010	Estanquera		Reservoir keeper
41030	Tendera		Seller
43220	Viagera		Travelling trader
	Group 5		
53130	Cocinera		Cook
54010	Serviente		Servant
56010	Lavandera		Laundrywoman
57025	Peloquera		Hairdresser
	Group 7/8/9		
75430	Tejedora		Weaver
78200	Cigarrera		Cigarmaker
79510	Costurera		Seamstress
79560	Bordadora		Embroiderer
80110	Zapatera		Shoemaker
88050	Platera		Silversmith
99920	Jornalera		Day laborer
99930	Operaria		Laborer