

# **The Philippines**

## **A Past Revisited**

*From the Spanish  
Colonization to the Second  
World War*

**(1974)**

**by Renato Constantino**



***Liberated from  
capitalist control  
to educate the masses  
by  
Socialist Stories***

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# Preface

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In recent years, quite a number of scholars have come out with specialized studies on different areas of Philippine history. The authors of these books, brochures, articles, and research projects examined primary and original sources and distilled the results of previous efforts. I am indebted to them for many an insight into past events. But to my knowledge, no basic framework has so far been advanced which would incorporate these fresh findings into a new view of Philippine history. My work is an attempt in this direction. It is the purpose of this book to make the past reusable for present tasks and future goals. I have relied for the facts on these specialized studies as well as on the general histories. I make no claims to new findings, only new interpretations.

The Filipino reader may find it somewhat surprising that I have chosen to use the word *native* (up to Chapter 9) to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines. I trust that they will in this instance discard any pejorative associations attached to the term. It serves merely as a convenient designation until that period in history when the word *Filipino* can be used in its correct context, which is when an emerging nation appropriated for itself a name which used to apply only to Philippine-born Spaniards. In other words, I began to use *Filipino* only when the Filipino people started to think of themselves as such.

The reader will note that all foreign words — and these include those in the local dialects — are italicized only on first use.

Part of the research work for this book was undertaken while I was directing the History Series Project of the Lopez Foundation and until my resignation from the Lopez Museum. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the researchers then employed by the Foundation and of the staff of the Lopez

Museum. I am indebted to a number of academic colleagues, particularly Dr. Lilia H. Chung, for their assistance in verifying and tracing source materials not available in the Philippines.

Like my previous books, this one may be termed a family undertaking. My son and his wife spent many hours in the periodical sections of Manila libraries digging up material on the period from 1920 to 1941; my daughter and my son-in-law did research on clerical institutions and prepared the index. Above all, this book is another offspring of a lifetime of scholarly collaboration with my wife who besides contributing to the research, the organization of material, and the editing gave me the benefit of her usual perceptive and unsparing criticism. As my collaborator in this work, she deserves as much as I do whatever credit it may win. All shortcomings are my responsibility alone.

Renato Constantino  
Quezon City  
December 27, 1974

# Part I

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# LIBERATION TRANSFORMED

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# Towards a People's History

Decades have passed since Filipino historians felt the initial impulse to rewrite Philippine history from the point of view of the Filipino. The discovery that some accepted facts of history were actually apocryphal, the growing realization that certain foreign sources which used to be the staple of history books were flawed by bias, and, during periods of nationalist ferment, the Filipinos' own heightening awareness of their separate national identity — all these spurred recurring attempts to revisit the past. More recently, the intensified thrust of nationalist forces in Philippine society projected the necessity of establishing a new framework for Philippine history.

## Colonial Scholarship

By training, Filipino historians were captives of Spanish and American historiography, both of which inevitably viewed Philippine history through the prism of their own prejudices. Responding to the need to write Philippine history from the point of view of the Filipino, some of these scholars valiantly tried to transcend the limitations of their training. They deserve full credit for their many revelations and corrections of historical misconceptions. But in the main, while they made important contributions toward liberating Filipino minds from the burdensome legacy of clerical scholarship by correcting certain biases carried over from the Spanish period, they retained strong survivals of American colonial historiography. These historians refuted the more blatant defamations of the Filipinos and highlighted the abuses of Spanish frailocracy. Spanish and clerical rule were placed in better perspective. This initial success did not however extend to the correction of the prejudices nor the blasting of the myths that were implanted by



early American scholarship. Much remains to be reassessed as regards the American colonialists who still come in for a great deal of undeserved credit.

Moreover, reacting to the almost exclusive concentration on Spanish concerns of earlier colonial historiography, some scholars tended toward the opposite extreme and themselves dismissed an entire epoch of history on the ground that it was a history of Spaniards. While it is true that a Filipino history need not bother itself with matters that affected only the Spaniards, Spanish colonial policy from the beginning — and indeed even certain aspects of Spanish history and society — had profound effects on the evolving Filipino society and cannot therefore be ignored.

Other scholars demonstrated their nationalism by projecting the heroic deeds of recognized heroes and idealizing other national leaders. They failed to perceive that to give history a nationalist perspective the role some of these men played should have been critically scrutinized and evaluated. The failure to do this had the effect — perhaps unintended but none the less unfortunate — of propagating other myths and abetting the illusion that history is the work of heroes and great men. Still others have concentrated their efforts on contemporary events. So much effort has been directed toward the recording of the latest possible history that the need to reassess the past has been neglected, with the unfortunate result that critical areas of official history have remained fundamentally unchallenged.

More recently, the nationalist pressures on Filipino scholars generated a number of specialized studies that exposed some of the myths about Philippine-American relations. Their impact was however limited since the work of these scholars was still undertaken primarily in the interest of “objectivity” and for this reason did not fall within the framework of an essentially liberating scholarship. In other words, the task of correcting historical misimpressions was not pursued as part of a total effort to remove the fetters on the Filipino mind that had been forged by colonial education. Nevertheless, some of these specialized studies have provided fresh insights into specific periods or aspects of our past. There is the danger, however, that the increasing depth of a historian’s specialization may become the “means for escaping a reality too complex for his comprehension.”<sup>1</sup> Immersed in particularities, some lose sight of the general dimensions of history. Others, though presenting a general history, occupy themselves with recording a plethora

of particularities without discovering their unifying thread.

## **The Task at Hand**

But beyond writing Philippine history from the point of view of the Filipino, the task is to advance to the writing of a truly Filipino history, the history of the Filipino people. This means that the principal focus must be on the anonymous masses of individuals and on the social forces generated by their collective lives and struggles. For history, though it is commonly defined as the story of man, is not the story of man the individual, but man the collective, that is, associated man. Without society there can be no history and there are no societies without men.

Man alone, man the individual, could never have become human except in association with other men. Man interacts with nature and with other men through the intervening reality of society. Without society he would have remained like other animals, unable to consciously change his environment or himself.

It was in cooperative work that men first became human and this cooperative effort is what produced society. But cooperation is an exigency of struggle against nature and against social forces. Men must work together to fight natural or social forces stronger than their individual selves.

Struggle is therefore the essence of life, whether of an individual or a society. An individual has no history apart from society, and society is the historical product of people in struggle.

Human society is the cause and the result of people in motion and in constant struggle to realize the human potential, for the human being is the only species that has unlimited possibilities for development.

## **Motivators of History**

History, then, is the recorded struggle of people for ever increasing freedom and for newer and higher realizations of the human person. But the struggle is a collective one and as such involves the mass of human beings who are therefore the motivators of change and of history.

History is not merely a chronology of events; it is not the story of heroes and great men. Essentially, history consists of the people's efforts to attain a better life. The common people possess the capacity to make history. In fact, the historic

initiative of the masses has time and again produced social cataclysms that have changed the world.

Historic struggles provide the people with lessons in their upward march and give form and strength to the constantly changing society. In studying these struggles, a true people's history discovers the laws of social development, delineates the continuities and discontinuities in a moving society, records the behavior of classes, uncovers the myths that have distorted thought and brings out the innate heroism and wisdom of the masses. Such a history therefore constitutes both a guide and a weapon in the unremitting struggle for greater freedom and the attainment of a better society.

Since the mass of humanity is still in a state of poverty and ignorance, since a few nations have attained advancement and development at the cost of consigning others to underdevelopment, what has hitherto been regarded as history is predominantly a conscious record of the rich and the powerful but by no means the just and the correct.

The people should also have their history for they have made history through their participation in mass actions resulting in the unfolding of the social forms that seek to realize their goals. But in the recorded pages of history they have remained in the background, as if they had played only a negligible role. It is those who rule who have had their names and exploits emblazoned on these pages. The people have been taken for granted and their role has been minimized or even denied.

### The Inarticulate in History

The individuals who made history colorful could not have made history without the people. Supermen may exist in romantic minds or among those who persist in the primitive practice of deifying men; but no supermen exist, only leaders who became great because they were working with and for the people.

The various changes in society and the upward climb of civilization could not have been possible without the people playing definite and irreplaceable roles in each epoch. We marvel at the pyramids of Egypt, the Great Wall of China, the Parthenon of Greece. It was the labor of millions of slaves that gave the great thinkers of ancient civilizations the leisure and the facilities to conceive of these wonders. And it was the labor of other millions that turned conception into reality. The French Revolution and the American War of Independence

involved masses of human beings who fought, suffered and died to win the victories for which their leaders are remembered. The advances of society, the advent of civilization, the great artistic works were all inspired and made possible by the people who were the mainsprings of activity and the producers of the wealth of societies. But their deeds have rarely been recorded because they were inarticulate.

It is true that the inarticulate as individuals cannot have their deeds recorded in history. However, their collective effort can be and should be chronicled and given its deserved importance. But since the articulate, having assumed the responsibility and the privilege of writing history, have done so from their point of view, the resulting accounts present an incomplete and distorted picture which unduly projects individual men while disregarding the dynamic role of the masses. Most of the names that crowd the annals of recorded history are those of men who during certain periods held power over the people or who, because the people were behind them, were able to perform deeds of such historic magnitude as to deserve remembrance. The institutions and the personalities that history correctly celebrates were in a real sense products of the people's efforts.

All powerful leaders, and especially the tyrants, exerted efforts to insure that the history of their time would be written in their image. Their subjective attitudes were a dominant influence in the recording of events. But as people gained knowledge and as societies progressed, some individuals who were hitherto regarded as heroes began to lose their relevance; others were unmasked as villains who stood against the interests of the people. For in the final analysis, it is the people who make or unmake heroes. They are the ultimate judge of an individual's role in history.

It is only within the context of a people's history that individuals, events and institutions can be correctly appraised. In a people's history, individuals, events, and institutions as particularities will be seen in their proper perspective within the generality of a historical process and only then will these particularities be fully understood. At the same time, only by correctly understanding these particularities will the general patterns of the evolving history of the people be fully comprehended. The general and the particular constitute a dialectical relationship, an accurate perception of which deepens the study of the history of a people.

A people's history therefore has to be general in order to serve as a concrete guide for understanding a developing society.

But this generality is achieved only by the discovery of the interrelationships of particularities.

### Redressing the Imbalance

The struggle for national liberation of the peoples of underdeveloped areas has enriched the literature of history and has been responsible for new approaches, new techniques of viewing events and writing history as a reaction to the official histories which have been part of the arsenal of colonialists in perpetuating the backward conditions of their colonies. Philippine historians can contribute to this important stream of thought by revisiting the Philippine past to eliminate the distortions imposed by colonial scholarship and to redress the imbalance inherent in conventional historiography by projecting the role of the people.<sup>2</sup>

This work is a modest attempt in this direction. It does not lay claim to being a real people's history although the process of demythologizing Philippine history and exposing certain events and individuals is part of the initial work toward restoring history to the people. In pursuance of this task, the present work may appear to overstress certain betrayals and may seem to exaggerate the importance of certain events while paying scant attention to others customarily emphasized. This is necessary today in the face of the still predominantly colonial view of our past. We need to emphasize what has hitherto been glossed over.

When intellectual decolonization shall have been accomplished, a historical account can be produced which will present a fuller, more balanced picture of reality.

### Limitations and a Beginning

To obtain a comprehensive knowledge of the activities of the masses in each period of our history will require painstaking examination of documents and all available records, including folklore, as well as inspired deduction. An arduous task, it is nevertheless possible considering what anthropologists and archeologists have been able to do with societies long dead. But since such a history will surely take decades of study, it must be postponed to a period when social conditions will afford scholars the luxury of spending years on this investigation.

The immediate concern of the times is for a work that can present in a practical way not just the side of the Filipinos but

the side of the Filipino masses. Even if the study uses only the same sources open to traditional and official history, a new outlook can help to open the door towards a real people's history.<sup>3</sup>

The need for a real people's history becomes more urgent as we Filipinos search for truly Filipino solutions to Filipino problems. As it is, we habitually analyze Philippine society in the light of colonial myths and foreign concepts and values and act on the basis of assumptions and premises that only reveal our lack of understanding of the rich experiences contained in our history of struggles for freedom. History for most of us is a melange of facts and dates, of personalities and events, a mixture of hero worship and empty homiletics about our national identity and our tutelage in democracy. History appears as a segmented documentation of events that occurred in the past, without any unifying thread, without continuity save that of chronology, without clear interrelation with the present.

### Rediscovering the Past

A people's history must rediscover the past in order to make it reusable. It is the task of the historian to weave particular events into a total view so that historical experience can be summed up and analyzed. Such a history can then serve as a guide to present and succeeding generations in the continuing struggle for change. Such a history must deal with the past with a view to explaining the present. It must therefore be not only descriptive but also analytical; it must deal not only with objective developments but also bring the discussion to the realm of value judgments.<sup>4</sup>

In our particular case, history should show how a nation was born where previously there was none, and how the society that emerged suffered drastic changes and continues to change despite the apparent continuity that impresses the superficial observer. It must seek to uncover the emerging forces concealed by prevailing myths and obstructed by the forces of reaction.

A history that serves as a guide to the people in perceiving present reality is itself a liberating factor, for when the present is illumined by a comprehension of the past, it is that much easier for the people to grasp the direction of their development and identify the forces that impede real progress. By projecting the people's aspirations, a people's history can give us the proper perspective that will enable us to formulate the correct

policies for the future, liberated from outmoded concepts based on colonial values and serving only the needs of foreign powers.

## The Unifying Thread

Objective developments in society carry with them the formation of a subjective factor which becomes instrumental in realizing further developments. Consciousness interacts with material life. The superstructures that emerge are the totality of institutions, laws, customs, and prejudices that correspond to the economic structure of society.

Though the ideas of the dominant classes predominate at any given period, they are not the only ones that exist. Inevitably, dissenting ideas emerge to coexist with the dominant ones and come into confrontation with them when the economic contradictions that they reflect have sharpened to a critical degree. Thus economic struggles are often fought as political and intellectual battles.

The various revolts that broke out in the Philippines constituted practice which changed not only circumstances but man himself. These struggles were the schools of the masses; their quantitative occurrence as localized or regional actions led to a qualitative change: the birth of a nation. From blind responses to foreign oppression, mass actions against the Spaniards and later against the Americans underwent various transformations until they finally became a conscious struggle for national liberation. While these struggles took place on various levels of understanding, they developed in the participants a deeper and more intense comprehension of the nature of their society and of the changing forms of their struggle. Despite the tremendous obstacles that Spanish and American colonialism created by their subtle operations on the consciousness of the Filipinos, ever higher levels of political and economic awareness were being achieved in struggle, at least among some sectors of the population.

## The Motive Force

This rich tradition of struggle has become a motive force of Philippine history. Participation in mass actions raises the level of consciousness of the masses. The more conscious they are, the more they become active and the more telling their contribution to the changing of society and the changing of their own attitudes, until they come to realize that struggle is

their historic right and it alone can make them free.

A people's history of the Philippines must trace the continuity of the people's material and subjective growth. The unifying and divisive force of colonialism must be seen in the responses of the people through struggle. There must be no segmentation of the different stages of our history. The continuity, despite the evolution and disappearance of forms of social life and institutions, must be shown first in the appearance of a nation which was both the product of Spanish colonialism and its very antithesis, and then in the transformation of that nation under American colonialism.<sup>5</sup>

Since mass actions were also responses toward international developments which had their impact on the country, it is also essential to sift world events to find their correlation with local events.

The "liberations" which the people endured have been responsible for their awakening, for their growing awareness of the need to really liberate themselves through their own efforts. Each successive generation has contributed to the tradition of struggle, while every stage has widened and deepened the people's understanding of their own powers and their own possibilities.

In the history of these struggles, we find certain laws of development which give us a better understanding of reality and which can guide us to higher forms of struggle for the people's cause. A people's history thus unifies past with present experience.

The only way a history of the Philippines can be Filipino is to write on the basis of the struggles of the people, for in these struggles the Filipino emerged.

Filipino resistance to colonial oppression is the unifying thread of Philippine history.



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# The First "Liberation"

The Filipino people have had the misfortune of being "liberated" four times during their entire history.

First came the Spaniards who "liberated" them from the "enslavement of the devil," next came the Americans who "liberated" them from Spanish oppression, then the Japanese who "liberated" them from American imperialism, then the Americans again who "liberated" them from the Japanese fascists. After every "liberation" they found their country occupied by foreign "benefactors."

The people resisted each ruler. Although each struggle sought to change certain objective conditions, it had its most profound effect on the people themselves.

The intensity and direction of each struggle depended on the nature of the oppression and on the objective and subjective level of the oppressed people at each given time and place. The type of oppression in turn was determined by the nature of the colonizing society as well as by the objective conditions in the colony. It is therefore as essential to know the character of each society that intruded into Philippine shores as it is to study the social formations that these foreign rulers encountered at the time of conquest.

## Society in Transition

What were the circumstances surrounding the first "liberation"? What was the nature of Spanish society at that time?

There is some confusion among Philippine scholars regarding the type of society that prevailed in Spain during the age of discoveries and conquests. The general impression is that Spain was feudal and that she therefore transplanted the classical features of feudalism to the Philippines. The historically

established fact is that while Spanish society at the time of Magellan's voyage still exhibited feudal characteristics, its economic base was no longer completely feudal. Capitalist enterprise was changing the configurations of the country although the old feudal institutions persisted with few modifications, and along with these institutions, the modes of behavior, values and other aspects of consciousness which characterized the old order.

A given economic structure does not automatically produce the legal, cultural, political and other institutions corresponding to it. History demonstrates that long after a particular basic economic structure has disappeared, vestiges of its corresponding superstructures and institutions linger on and eventually become impediments to the growth of the new socio-economic base. It is the presence of these institutional vestiges that sometimes obscures perception of the advent of a new economic system.

Spain during this period was already witnessing the transformation of its social fabric with the rise of the middle class. The serfs had been emancipated; the towns were becoming centers of economic activity and a new focus of economic strength. To the old contradiction between serfs and their lords was added a new one: that between the wealthier members of the middle class on the one hand, and the nobility and the clergy on the other. The workers supported the middle class against the nobles and the clergy. This clash of economic interests did not however prevent the rich merchants from aping the manners and values of the nobility. In fact, the *letrados* among them were awarded certain distinctions by the state, some even becoming nobles.

The bases of the middle class were the towns. As these towns grew wealthy with the development of industry and commerce, the prosperous merchants clamored for legal equality and political power. Although they were jealous of their new prerogatives and strongly committed to their town charters, they nevertheless allied themselves with the monarchy and supported the centralizing and absolutist policies of the king insofar as these were directed against the nobility and the clergy. The king welcomed this alliance for financial and tactical reasons. The middle class controlled the new wealth and was practically the only group which paid taxes notwithstanding the huge landholdings of the nobility and the Church.

The monarchy successfully used the economic challenge posed by the rising middle class as a leverage against the clergy

and the nobility. By gaining dominance over the latter, the king counteracted the centrifugal tendencies within his domain and assured its unity as a state.

## Unity in Feudal Shell

Throughout Europe, national sovereignty had become an imperative, for the growth of the new economic forces required conditions of peace. Stability was impossible while a country was divided among warring feudal lords, but a well-established central authority could provide both the peace and the free access to wide territories that a burgeoning capitalism required. This was the economic imperative that spurred the establishment of the Western state system.

The rise of various nation-states was accompanied by the decline of the papacy as a temporal power although it remained a potent ideological force. But even during the heyday of the papacy, financial and mercantile capital had already begun to insinuate itself into the interstices of feudal society. This capitalist activity was to become the solvent of the medieval world. It spurred technological progress which revolutionized navigation thus making possible the era of discoveries. It was also this capitalist spirit that was to manifest itself in revolt against the restrictive policies of the feudal order, in the celebration of the competitive spirit and of individualism, and in the Reformation, the essence of which was private enterprise in religion.

Despite its feudal shell, the Spain that sent Magellan to the East already had definite capitalist burgeons. We have described in general the class alignments and the motive forces of Spanish society. But to understand more fully those colonial policies peculiar to Spain it is necessary to examine briefly her earlier history.

## The Moorish Conquest

In the year 711, an army of Arabs and Berbers under a certain commander Tarik landed on the rock which now bears his name: Gibraltar, from Gebel Tarik or the mountain of Tarik. The Muslim invaders were able to subdue the entire peninsula with the exception of areas in the northwest which remained Christian. In these areas, the small Christian states of Leon, Castile, Navarre and Aragon, flourished.<sup>1</sup>

Individually or in concert, these states fought the Moors and steadily pushed them into the kingdom of Granada in the south. In the 13th century, the kingdoms of Leon and Castile were united as the kingdom of Castile.<sup>2</sup> Catalonia had previously joined Aragon to form the kingdom of Aragon.<sup>3</sup> Their efforts to expel the Moors received papal sanction and the support of the rest of Catholic Europe. These wars, which encompassed nearly eight hundred years, are called the *reconquista*.

The *reconquista* itself, like the subsequent voyages of discovery, was impelled by and fostered the emergence of capitalist enterprise in Spain. The year 1492 marked both the end of the *reconquista* and the discovery of America. The end of the Moorish wars and the beginning of the great voyages of discovery occurred during the reign of a royal couple who united in wedlock the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

### The Catholic Monarchs

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella resulted in the adoption of uniform policies in both kingdoms, a factor which fostered the birth of the Spanish nation. They completed pacification work within their respective realms before proceeding to the final conquest of Granada to terminate the 800-year campaign against the Moors.

Isabella of Castile ruled a kingdom that commanded the central tableland that slants away from the Mediterranean. It was a region characterized by austerity and religiosity. A daughter of a mad princess and herself the mother of a mad queen, Isabella was a woman deeply obsessed with what she conceived to be her principal duty on earth: that of being God's instrument for the propagation of the Faith.<sup>4</sup>

Ferdinand of Aragon reigned over a kingdom on the Ebro valley which sloped towards the Mediterranean. He was therefore exposed to the influence of political developments in Italy, a fact which made him ambitious for the wealth and power that conquest reaps. The two monarchs ruled on equal footing, combining religious zeal and an aptitude for political maneuvers.

The medieval crown of Aragon with its businesslike, urban aristocracy had a cosmopolitan outlook and mercantile proclivities. Castile, though predominantly pastoral, was not immune to the rising surge of capitalism; its people were acquiring their own commercial and maritime experiences. The

peasants were withdrawing from agriculture as a result of the growth of the Mesta, the sheep-farmers guild. As Spanish wool fed a growing domestic textile industry, the expansion of the wool trade with northern Europe stimulated the development of the ports of San Sebastian, Laredo, Santander and Coruña.<sup>5</sup>

## The New Tastes of Europe

The victories of the reconquista developed the city of Seville. By the 15th century, this city had become an active commercial center where Spanish traders and their counterparts in the Mediterranean lands gathered to plan new ventures.<sup>6</sup> Barcelona became Spain's greatest mercantile and industrial center. There, a wide variety of fabrics were manufactured as well as pottery, barrels, rope, glass and many other articles. Valencia was almost as prosperous as Barcelona. The wealth and grandeur of these cities attested to the magnitude of industry and commerce in their respective regions.<sup>7</sup>

These internal economic developments were the underlying factors that spurred the great voyages of discovery. The sea routes that Spain's adventurers took, however, were dictated by a fortuitous impediment.

The wars of the Crusades which had brought the people of Western Europe into closer contact with the East had created among the crusaders new tastes in food, luxuries, and other refinements of living. Europeans learned to prize cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg, ginger and other spices. These spices together with dyes, perfumes, precious stones, and other items of luxury were transported by ship or caravan to ports in the Eastern Mediterranean. Venetian and Genoese merchants brought these goods to Italy; Italian middlemen took charge of the distribution in Western Europe.

The Spaniards and the Portuguese were interested in participating in this lucrative trade, but the Mediterranean was closed to them by Venetian naval power. This forced Spain and Portugal to finance voyages in search of new routes.

The voyage of Ferdinand Magellan led to his "discovery" of the Philippines in 1521. Spain dispatched other expeditions to this part of the globe;<sup>8</sup> the one headed by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi began the colonization of the islands in 1565.

The Spanish occupation of the Philippine archipelago occurred eighty years after Spain had entered the modern era.

## Primitive Accumulation

England, Holland, and Portugal were engaged in the same expansionist ventures, for this was the era of primitive accumulation, the period when the emerging capitalist centers were acquiring the initial fund which was to launch capitalism as a world system.

This accumulation took various forms. Internally, it meant the separation of the producers from the means of production, the classic example being the enclosures in England where the demand for wool for the new textile factories encouraged the lords to fence off their lands and convert them into grazing areas for sheep, thus dispossessing the peasants.

External techniques of accumulation consisted of piracy and the plunder of colonies acquired through the voyages of discovery. Thus we see that the growth of capitalism had been inseparable from colonialism since the era of primitive capital accumulation. This period saw the conquest of Mexico and South America, the heyday of piracy and privateering when buccaneers were knighted, and the peak of the Negro slave trade. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the development of a world market for an expanding capitalism required the subjection and exploitation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America — the underdeveloped continents of today.<sup>9</sup>

The voyages conducted by the Spaniards were part of the initial efforts to develop a world economic system. When Legazpi set forth on his trip to the Philippines nearly a century after the Columban discoveries, the Spanish colonies in the Americas were already thriving satellites linked to the metropolis in Europe, and Spain had had many years of experience in dealing with her colonies in America.

But despite the fact that Spain commanded a big empire, she herself became an economic dependency of the more developed capitalist states of Europe — first Holland, later England and France. Spain therefore had no choice but to respond to the capitalist system although she was only on the margin of capitalist development. Her economic policies during this period of accumulation served the ends of her more powerful capitalist neighbors. Her colonial policies were implementations of the mercantilist system prevailing at the time.

## Mercantilism

Mercantilism was the manifestation of capitalism in the state of birth. The mercantilists believed, among other things, that the power of a country depended on the specie that it could accumulate. Thus the shipment of metal out of the country was discouraged and the acquisition of gold and silver was encouraged. The colonies served as sources of gold and silver, and if they were not producers of precious metals, a system of trade with other countries was instituted utilizing the products of those colonies to achieve a favorable trade balance for continued accumulation.

Spain's products flowed to her scattered domains while cargoes of gold and silver poured back. These precious metals were used to service Spain's mounting foreign debts to German and Italian banking houses.<sup>10</sup> The Spanish monarchs were continually borrowing from these foreign financiers to finance their wars and their voyages. Moreover, gold was sent to England in order to pay for imports which Spanish citizens were buying in increasing quantities from English merchants.

Paradoxically, the wealth of Spain's American colonies only made her more dependent on the Northern European nations. The steady flow of gold from the American colonies fostered the mercantilist impulse to discover more lands. Discovering sources of the metal became more important than establishing new industries to produce for the home market. Spain bought manufactures from the more advanced capitalist nations like the Netherlands and England and paid with gold from her colonies, thus becoming dependent on both. The vast resources of her colonies undercut the drive toward industrialization. The search for gold became a preoccupation that led to the underdevelopment of Spain vis-a-vis the developing economy of England.

## Conquest as Business

The reconquista and the occupation of the Canary islands by the kingdom of Castile provided the experience for Spain's future conquests. During the reconquista, the Crown had made it a practice to enter into contracts with leaders of military expeditions against the Moors. These contracts provided the precedent for the *capitulacion*, the typical document of agreement between the Spanish monarch and the *conquistadores* of the New World. In these contracts, certain rights were reserved to the Crown in the conquered territories while the

conquistador was assured of rewards in the form of positions, spoils of the conquests, grants of land and ennoblement.<sup>11</sup>

Expeditions were financed by the king, by public institutions, and also by private enterprise. Magellan's voyage was such an undertaking. Financed officially by the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, it was part of the king's business. It was a typical mercantilist venture, for the discovery of mines or the sources of spices would constitute an assurance of the inflow of metal into Spanish coffers, either directly from the newly discovered land or indirectly through a monopoly of the trade in spices.

### The Religious Justification

Of course, these objectives were not given as the real reason for the expeditions. As always, there had to be an ideological justification for such enterprises in order to conceal the crass motives of kings. In this instance it was religion. Religious zeal disguised the economic content of the voyages of discovery and colonization. It was also largely responsible for the survival of feudal values and institutions in the conquered lands, for the Catholic Church was a pillar of feudalism.

The theo-political nature of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines will be better understood if we review the relationship between the Spanish monarchs and the papacy.

The papacy during this period was a beleaguered state engaged in various struggles with emerging states and at the same time militantly working for the Christianization of the world. Its mission to proselytize had been given a powerful impulse by the Crusades and by the Mohammedan threat to Europe. The Spanish reconquista was part of this mission.

Although the papacy as a temporal power had lost a lot of ground with the development of the nation-state system, its religious influence on the people and on the rulers themselves allowed it to retain its status as a powerful institution in Europe. The Spanish people and their monarchs were still captives of the myth that one legitimate way of acquiring a crown was by papal grant. Despite the fact that Spain was already an emerging capitalist state, she still preserved her old ties with the papacy and sought, as other Catholic countries did, theological sanction for her activities.

After the discovery of America, Pope Alexander VI issued several bulls granting the Spanish sovereigns exclusive right over the newly discovered territory. In a bull issued on May 4, 1493, the Pope drew a demarcation line one hundred leagues west of



the Azores and the Cape Verde islands. All lands west of the line were marked off for Spain; those east of the line, for Portugal. A year later, in the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain and Portugal agreed to move the line 370 miles west of the Cape Verde islands. The so-called Alexandrian donation by Pope Alexander VI divided the world between Spain and Portugal for purposes of discovery and colonization.

## Kings and Popes

The acceptance of papal sanction over these questions, however, should not mislead us into thinking that in internal matters the monarchs of Spain were in a position of subordination to the papacy. The fact is that while the kings of Spain were the most ardent champions of Catholicism in Europe, within their domains they were most consistent and persistent in limiting ecclesiastical authority.

Kings resented the intrusions of popes into Spanish politics although they themselves exerted their influence, at times brazenly, to secure the election of popes who would favor them. In their disputes with the popes, the Spanish monarchs were often supported by the Spanish clergy. A document written by a Dominican maintained that it would be lawful to make war on the pope and further argued that since during the period of belligerence communication with Rome would be disrupted, the bishops of Spain could take over the prerogatives of the pope in deciding certain ecclesiastical questions. The popes retaliated with threats of excommunication. Many books written by Spanish churchmen defending the royal position vis-a-vis the pope were placed in the Index in Rome as writings which Catholics were forbidden to read, but they were not so listed in the Index of the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>1 2</sup>

## The Patronato Real

In the frequently stormy relations between king and pope we see the contradictions between two heads of state over mundane matters.

The Church of Spain was rich; it was the richest proprietor in the country. While we have no data on Church property during Ferdinand's reign, we may infer its extent from the fact that towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the combined rents of the clergy amounted to over \$75,000,000 a year, or half the total for the kingdom.<sup>1 3</sup>

Jealous of the enormous economic and spiritual power of the Church in Spain, Ferdinand sought to capture this vital force by attempting to subordinate the Church to himself. He saw his opportunity with the reconquest of Granada in 1492. As a reward for his zealous efforts in driving away the infidel Moors, he asked for and received from the pope a *patronato real* over all the churches to be established in Granada. This was exactly what the Crown wanted, and Ferdinand skillfully maneuvered thereafter to secure from the papacy extensions of his patronato to all his overseas dominions on the ground that evangelizing the heathen of the Indies was the same as recovering Granada for Christendom.

Evangelical work in the new territories thus came under royal supervision. Every priest who went to the Indies had to have royal permission; moreover, since the colonies were administered from Mexico and there was no papal legate in America, Rome had no direct contact with the clergy in the new lands. The monarch also had veto power over the promulgation of papal bulls and exercised through his viceroys close supervision over the ecclesiastics in the dominions. Having acquired from the pope by virtue of the *patronato real* the right to nominate bishops and priests, the king energetically used this prerogative, thus precipitating constant conflicts between the Crown and the papacy in the matter of appointments to bishoprics.

### The Religious Garb

The *patronato real* in effect gave the king vast powers which he shrewdly used to serve his ends. These ends were of course not purely religious. Ferdinand, politician that he was, saw the opportunity open to him to appropriate some of the powers and economic advantages that the Church enjoyed. Since the religious in Spain were to a certain extent under royal control by virtue of the *patronato*, this enabled him to prevent a bifurcation of power within Spain. Thus, Spain became the Church, not the Church of Rome but the Church of rising commercial interests. We must therefore remember that when we speak of the Church in the Philippines during the Spanish regime, we mean a peculiarly Spanish Church serving the ends of Spanish empire.<sup>14</sup>

This is not to say, however, that the clergy in the colony did not come in conflict with the political representatives of the Crown. While they served the same monarch, the clerics' attempts to enlarge their powers and defend their own material

interests within the colonial establishment often resulted in bitter discord between them and lay officials. In such instances, the Spanish clergy invoked the power of the papacy to reinforce their stand. One such dispute arose during the early years of colonization.

### Friars vs. Encomenderos

The immediate question concerned the collection of tributes. An annual tribute was exacted from all Christian adult males, excluding the native "nobility." (See Chapter 3) The tax was justified as a recognition of Castilian sovereignty. The agents charged with the collection of the tribute were the *encomenderos*, Spanish subjects granted this privilege by the Crown as a reward for their services. (See Chapter 4) Part of this tribute was supposed to go toward the support of missionaries who were to instruct the people in the Christian doctrine.

It was inevitable that the *encomenderos* and the religious should become rivals over the conquered territories. There was no quarrel between them over the need of a "culturally inferior" people for "guardianship." The question was who should be the guardians — the Church or the *encomenderos*. The property and the labor of the inhabitants were after all not trifling matters.

Anxious to gain the loyalty of the natives, the friars bitterly assailed the exorbitant exactions and other abuses of the *encomenderos*. No doubt some priests were voicing a genuine concern for their new flock while others protested their maltreatment because they feared this might jeopardize their missionary work. Still, the material motivations cannot be discounted. Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, for example, did not conceal his suspicion that the friars' championship of the natives was merely a pretext for ecclesiastical aggrandizement in the secular sphere. Friars complained that the *encomenderos* often withheld their stipends.

In their effort to undercut the power of the *encomenderos*, the clergy raised theoretical questions which involved the king's legal and moral authority. Bishop Domingo de Salazar held that the right to tax the natives stemmed from the supernatural character of Spanish sovereignty and, therefore, tribute could not be lawfully exacted unless the Spanish authorities provided the natives with religious instruction. In the 1580's, the friars tried to implement this view by authorizing some *encomenderos*

to collect a modest living allowance, not as encomenderos but as "deputy preachers of the Gospel."<sup>15</sup>

## The Great Debate

The material contradiction was fought in the realm of consciousness. The philosophical and theological hair-splitting that both sides resorted to disguised a very real bone of contention — the material benefactions that colonialism brought in its wake. The legal and theological debates between the clerics and the political advisers of the king expressed the respective interests of the contending parties.<sup>16</sup>

The problem revolved around the supposed dual role of the king. Within Spain, he was a natural sovereign, but in his colonies he was a supernatural monarch. This was the position taken by a number of Jesuit prelates in the Philippines in a memorandum which they submitted in 1591 to Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. The memorandum argued that as a result of the Alexandrian donation, the pope had merely transferred to the monarchy a part of his supernatural sovereignty.

Bishop Domingo de Salazar, who spearheaded the fight, later presented these same arguments more systematically, anchoring the pope's claim to supernatural sovereignty over all men on the *plenitudo protestatis* conferred by Christ upon St. Peter and his successors.<sup>17</sup> This meant that although the pope may not have had direct temporal authority over infidels, he had the right to exercise temporary jurisdiction over them in order to accomplish the spiritual objectives of his supernatural sovereignty — and this was the sovereignty he had delegated to the Castilian king. By casting doubts on the natural sovereignty of the king, the clerics were opening the door to papal intervention in the temporal affairs of the colony.

Obviously, the king's advocates could not accept the Alexandrian donation as the sole foundation for the Crown's title to the conquered territories because this would base Spain's claims to the islands upon a concession emanating from a source outside Spain. This would confer on the pope or his representative powers that might in the future erode the king's. Official circles in Spain were already de-emphasizing the importance of the Alexandrian donation by challenging its juridical value.

The controversy regarding the moral and legal basis of Spanish sovereignty was a raging question during the first forty years of occupation.

## Resolution of the Conflict

An appropriate solution to the impasse was sought. Natural sovereignty must reinforce supernatural sovereignty; this would give the king a legal right to collect tributes. But then, natural sovereignty over a territory could be acquired only as a result of a free and voluntary election on the part of the natives thereof. This had been one of the seven principles suggested by Francisco de Vitoria, *prima* professor of Theology at the University of Salamanca, as the basis by which the king might acquire a clear and just title for the exercise of political jurisdiction over the Indies.<sup>18</sup> It was therefore decided that the various chieftains of the land be induced to enter into a pact with the Spanish monarch for mutual protection against the infidels and to elect him as their natural sovereign.

In 1598, the Spanish governor received a royal order instructing him to encourage the natives of all provinces to submit themselves voluntarily to the sovereignty of the Spanish king. The governor directed the *alcaldes mayores* and the religious to gather the native chiefs of their respective areas as well as the followers of each chief so that they might elect the Castilian king as their natural lord and sovereign.<sup>19</sup>

## The Elections

In a letter to the king, Governor Francisco Tello detailed the arguments that were used to induce the chiefs to take their oath of fealty to the Spanish Crown.

They were told how God our Lord had granted them great kindness and grace in keeping them under the evangelical faith . . . Our Lord had liberated them from the blindness and tyranny in which they were as subjects of the devil . . . What is still more weighty, the most cursed and perverse sect of Mahoma had begun, through its followers and disciples, to spread and scatter through some of the islands of this archipelago its pestilent and abominable creed; but the true God was pleased at that time to bring the Spanish people into these islands, which was a cure and remedy for the mortal sickness which the said Mahometan sect has already commenced to cause in them. Besides this, the Spaniards had freed them from the tyranny with which their kings and lords were possessing themselves of their wives and goods, which was the greatest injury which could be inflicted upon them. They were also reminded of the great favor that God our Lord had granted them in giving them for their king and natural lord the Catholic king Don

Phelipe, our sovereign, to maintain them and keep them in peace and justice, with much gentleness and love. Our Lord might have deferred the conquest of these islands, and it would have been made by other kings who are not so Catholic, as a punishment for the idolatry which they practised; then they would have fallen into greater blindness and sin than before, and they would not have been so rich and well-provided as they are, nor would their property have been so safe.<sup>20</sup>

The "election" was solemnly carried out with the understanding that the king and his subjects bound themselves to render certain services to one another. The king promised to give them religious instruction, to rule them with justice, and to protect them from their infidel enemies. The chieftains agreed to pay a moderate tribute and to forgive all abusive exactions in the past.

### Conquest Legitimized

Thus was conquest "legitimized" as a contractual agreement, and submission transformed into "liberation."

The oath of fealty of the chiefs was used as the supposed legal basis for the exaction of tribute to support the Church and the Spanish outpost in the Philippines. It also influenced to a large degree the evolution of native institutions during the first century of rule. Quasi-feudal practices and institutions were established although feudalism in its classical European form did not materialize in the islands, for the kind of feudal relations that eventually took root in the country were conditioned by other factors.

### III.

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## Baranganic Societies

Spanish colonization was an alien force which interrupted and redirected the course of development of indigenous societies.

It is futile to speculate on the particular characteristics of the Asian societies that might have emerged in the archipelago if the laws of development operating within the social units then existing had not been drastically modified by colonialism. It is however essential that as we tried to analyze the nature of Spanish society at the time of conquest, we should likewise examine the nature of the indigenous societies and their level of economic development at the moment of confrontation with Spanish colonialism.

### Proto-Anthropologists

Spanish clerical chroniclers left a legacy of proto-anthropological observations which have to a very large degree formed the basis for present views and conclusions regarding the pre-Hispanic past of the Philippines. Three factors impaired the accuracy and reduced the value of their observations: (1) their lack of training as social anthropologists, (2) their natural tendency to view and describe the situation in terms which would justify their missionary presence, and (3) their inability, re-enforced by their conviction of racial superiority, to evaluate an Asian society on its own terms.<sup>1</sup>

These limitations resulted in chronicles which often recorded the minutiae of life in indiscriminate fashion, tended to generalize on the basis of limited observations, disparaged native customs and values because these did not conform to Christian norms or offended personal tastes, and above all, consistently viewed pre-Spanish society from the vantage point of the

European experience.

Influenced by these Spanish sources, Filipinos have tended to regard all pre-Spanish native communities as having reached more or less the same level of development. A more pernicious result has been the acceptance of Western analysis which equated pre-Spanish institutions with European models.

While it is true that Filipino historians have endeavored to counteract derogatory estimates of pre-Spanish culture by highlighting its achievements (sometimes to the point of idealization), they have taken few steps to free the study of early history from bondage to European stereotypes.

Anthropological studies of early Asian societies give ample evidence of a distinctly Asian development which should be explored further for new insights into the Philippine past. This is a task other scholars would be better qualified to undertake. It is sufficient for the present that we are aware of the existence of these different levels of social development and of the danger of forcing these early institutions into a European mold.

Neither shall we attempt to describe the customs and practices, economic and artistic accomplishments, religious beliefs and values of all communities in all their variety and detail. Rather, we shall limit our discussion to the fundamental aspects of social organization and economic development which formed the foundation on which Spanish colonialism was erected.

### Aborting Historical Trend

Of various linguistic groups that inhabited the Philippines at the time of Spanish conquest, the Muslims of the South had the most developed social organization. This was due mainly to the Islamization of Mindanao and Sulu. These Muslim communities already exhibited social stratifications reflecting concepts acquired from their economic and religious contacts with Muslims of neighboring regions. The fact that they could adopt some of the institutions of their more advanced neighbors proves that their economies had reached levels capable of supporting an emerging ruling class.

If history had taken its course undisturbed, the Muslims might have Islamized the whole archipelago. They could have seized the leadership in nation-building. As a matter of fact, Manila and its environs were already outposts of Bornean principalities.

But the development of the Philippines took a reverse course.



Instead of the more developed society expanding its influence over the others and diffusing its culture and social organization throughout the less developed ones, Spanish conquest aborted this historical trend, developed the other regions, and froze the evolution of what had once been the more advanced society — the Muslim South.

It should be a source of pride for the Filipinos to point out that the Muslim South was never fully conquered by Spain. This sector of the archipelago remained free by virtue of its higher social and economic development and its better organized and more tenacious resistance. It must be admitted, however, that other factors were partly responsible for this region's relative freedom from Spanish occupation.

For one thing, Manila's geographic position gave her more prominence in the mercantile development of the colony. Luzon, therefore, occupied the focus of Spanish attention. Then, too, the Spaniards were kept so busy defending their settlements from the Dutch and the Portuguese that for many years they could not spare a force strong enough to completely conquer the Muslims. Nevertheless, Muslim resistance and the heroes of that resistance should be celebrated in Philippine history. Instead, they are largely ignored and misunderstood. For example, the Muslim attacks on Luzon and the Visayas which the Spaniards called piratical wars must be viewed as part of the Muslims' continuing resistance to Spanish colonialism.

The Muslim south became a beleaguered fortress, a sizeable segment of indigenous society that tenaciously resisted Hispanization and colonization. Because of its consequent isolation, it was able to preserve its indigenous customs and culture as well as to continue to receive Muslim influences. Throughout the Spanish occupation, the Muslims were not considered part of the developing society and the Muslim region was treated as foreign territory. Needless to say, the Muslims shared the same attitude. Religious differences became a basic alienative factor between Christianized "*indios*" and "*Moros*." Whatever ties of race and culture had previously existed were replaced by suspicion and antipathy since Christianized natives were regularly conscripted for the wars against the Muslims and, in retaliation, the latter also raided the Christianized communities. Thus Spanish colonialism left a legacy of alienation between Christian and Muslim. American colonialism continued the process of pacification with greater success only to add an economic dimension to the old animosities when Christian settlers began to encroach on Muslim ancestral lands.

No Philippine history can be complete without a study of Muslim development. For that matter, a history of the Filipino people should include as well the experience of all other groups now lumped together under the term ethnic minorities. Fortunately, a number of scholars have begun the task which in the future will make possible the integration of the experiences of these Filipinos into a real people's history of the Philippines.<sup>2</sup>

But since it was on the social structures of the communities of Luzon and certain parts of the Visayas that the Spanish colonizers successfully superimposed their own system, a study of their state of development is of primary importance. The evolution of the national community proceeded from these geographic sectors. Among these groups, the Tagalogs and the Pampangos had attained the highest level of development prior to Spanish conquest.

### Pre-Spanish Settlements

At the time of conquest, the population of the islands was estimated at about 750,000. This figure is based on the census of tributes ordered by Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. The tributes totalled 166,903. Assuming that there were three dependents for each tribute, the population would come to a total of 667,612.<sup>3</sup> This was the figure that appeared in the *Relacion de las Encomiendas* of 1591. Of course, this census was confined only to the lowlands of Luzon and Visayas, but were we to include the free inhabitants of the uplands and even the unsubjected Muslims, the pre-conquest population would still have been less than one million.<sup>4</sup>

The social unit was the *barangay*, from the Malay term *balangay*, meaning a boat. The barangays were generally small. Most villages boasted of only thirty to one hundred houses<sup>5</sup> and their population varied from one hundred to five hundred persons. According to the reports of Legazpi, he found communities of from twenty to thirty people only.<sup>6</sup> Many Visayan villages fringing the coasts consisted of no more than eight to ten houses.<sup>7</sup> There were however some giant barangays. Manila had about two thousand inhabitants at the time of conquest, but this was the exception rather than the rule.

Most communities were coastal, near-coastal or riverine in orientation. This was because the principal sources of protein came from the seas and the rivers, the people relying more on fishing than on hunting for sustenance. Although pork, carabao meat, and chicken were eaten, they were mainly ritual and

festival foods. Moreover, people travelled principally by water. The movement of the population was up and down rivers and along the coasts. Trails followed the streams; no roads bisected the countryside, nor were there any wheeled vehicles. Rivers were also the major source of water for bathing, washing and drinking although some communities settled around springs. However, it was in the coastal and near coastal communities more accessible to traders where a higher degree of development emerged. Dealing with traders meant coming in contact with Chinese, Arabian and Indian civilizations. Thus, the coastal communities in Manila, Cebu, Jolo, and Butuan attained a higher cultural level.

Pre-Spanish settlements were in the main far from each other, with houses of renewable materials usually aligned along a riverbank or on a shore. There were no houses of stone and no public buildings, indicating a fairly low level of political and social organization. The custom of burning or abandoning a dwelling when a member of the family died suggests that these houses were regarded as temporary shelters rather than life-long homes. The impermanence was no doubt dictated by the demands of shifting cultivation which was the predominant method of rice culture, although the change to wet-rice agriculture had already been made in the lowlands of Luzon.

Most of the members of a community were related to one another by blood or marriage. Besides kinship, common economic interests and shared rituals formed the bases for community cohesion. The barangay was a social rather than a political unit, each one a separate entity with only informal contacts with other villages.<sup>8</sup>

### Subsistence Economies

The autonomous barangay communities that the Spaniards encountered were in the main primitive economic units with a system of subsistence agriculture which provided them with barely enough for their needs. Proof of this is that Legazpi himself had to move his main camp repeatedly from Cebu to Panay to Luzon for the simple reason that there was not enough to eat. The mere addition of a few hundred Spaniards seriously strained the resources of native communities. Even the Spanish soldiers had to scrounge around for food. The eyewitness account of Diego de Artieda who came to Cebu in 1567 as a captain on the ship *Capitana* attests to the absence of a food surplus. He writes:

Rice is the main article of food in these islands. In a few of them people gather enough of it to last them the whole year. In most of the islands, during the greater part of the year, they live on millet, *borona*, roasted bananas, certain roots resembling sweet potatoes and called *oropisa*, as well as on yams (*yuñames*) and *camotes*, whose leaves they also eat boiled. The scarcity of all kinds of food here is such that – with all that is brought continually from all these islands, in three frigates, one *patache*, and all the other native boats that could be obtained – each soldier or captain could only receive [as his rations] each week two *almudes* of unwinnowed rice – which, when winnowed, yielded no more than three *cuartillos*. This ration was accompanied by nothing else, neither meat or fish.

They are but ill supplied with cloth. They use a kind of cloth made of wild banana leaves which is as stiff as parchment, and not very durable. The natives of Panay and Luzon manufacture a cotton cloth with colored stripes, which is of better quality. This cloth is used by the Spaniards when they can find it; otherwise they use the cloth above-mentioned. Both kinds are so scarce, that we are suffering great privations for lack of clothing. The people are very poor.<sup>9</sup>

A 1576 account describes the wet-rice agriculture practised by the more advanced lowland villages.

They put a basketful of it into the river to soak. After a few days they take it from the water; what is bad and not sprouted is thrown away. The rest is put on a bamboo mat and covered with earth, and placed where it is kept moist by the water. After the sprouting grains have germinated sufficiently, they are transplanted one by one, as lettuce is cultivated in España. In this way, they have an abundance of rice in a short time. There is another crop of rice, which grows of itself, but it is not so abundant.<sup>10</sup>

The upland technique is described by Fray Diego de Aduarte. It is more or less the *kaingin* method as practised to this day.

... when Indians desire to plant their rice they only burn over a part of the mountain and, without any further plowing or digging, they make holes with a stick in the soil, and drop some grains of rice in them. This was their manner of sowing; and, after covering the rice with some earth, they obtained very heavy crops.<sup>11</sup>

## Transitional Societies

At the time of Spanish conquest, the *barangays* were societies

in various levels of transition from the primitive communal state to an Asiatic form of feudalism in the Muslim South. Even the least advanced of the established communities exhibited the beginnings of social stratification while the most developed, the Muslims, showed a more elaborate system of social divisions. Generally speaking, however, these stratifications were not rigid, pointing to a recent post-communal development.

Since the Philippine settlements were subsistence villages, all of the inhabitants, with the possible exception of chieftains in the larger communities, were self-sufficient farmers. Although agriculture was their principal occupation, these farmers were also part-time craftsmen. There was no separate artisan class.<sup>1 2</sup> All made their own ornaments but the chiefs and their families displayed a wider and more valuable collection of trinkets. In the matter of clothing, however, not much differentiation was visible. There was no separate group of literati in the barangay although many individuals in the more advanced communities could read and write. Syllabic writing was however confined to seventeen indigenous groups, all coastal or near coastal.<sup>1 3</sup> Writing, according to historian Horacio de la Costa, was more for sending messages than for recording purposes. There was no parchment and there was a lack of writing implements. This is an indication of the low level of technology and the low productivity of labor.<sup>1 4</sup>

The following observation of Legazpi provides an important insight into the type of economy which prevailed at that time:

More or less gold is found in all these islands; it is obtained from the rivers, and in some places, from the mines which the natives work. However, they do not work the mines steadily, but only when forced by necessity; for because of their sloth and the little work done by their slaves, they do not even try to become wealthy, nor do they care to accumulate riches. When a chief possesses one or two pairs of earrings of very fine gold, two bracelets, and a chain, he will not trouble himself to look for any more gold. Any native who possesses a basketful of rice will not seek for more, or do any further work, until it is finished. Thus does their idleness surpass their covetousness.<sup>1 5</sup>

Legazpi faults the Filipinos for not trying to accumulate riches, not even the chiefs. He concludes that they were lazy. The reason for such behavior, so incomprehensible to one belonging to a class society, is precisely the absence of an exploitative class as such. Everyone worked for an immediate need and that was all. The means to systematically exploit the

labor of others were not yet at hand.

### Administrators not Rulers

The village chief was the administrative leader of the community; he was not an absolute ruler. First, the scope of his authority was limited by a traditional body of customs and procedures. Second, although his position had become hereditary it was originally attained by an exhibition of greater prowess and valor, traits useful for the community's survival. His usefulness to the community earned him respect so that services were willingly rendered to him and more severe penalties were imposed for injuring him or his family. Since the original basis for leadership was his superior personal attributes, he could be replaced if for some reason his position weakened. This was a possibility especially in the larger communities where there were several kinship groups, each with its own chief.

Finally, unlike the rulers of class societies, chieftainship was not his exclusive occupation. Although the chief exercised executive, judicial and military functions when these were required, in most communities he remained a farmer and wove his own cloth like the rest of the barangay members.<sup>16</sup>

Next in rank to the barangay head and his family were the so-called freemen.<sup>17</sup> They helped the chief in endeavors that required common efforts such as going to battle, rowing when the chief set out to sea, planting his field or building his house. During such times, the chief fed them, a fact which calls to mind the provincial custom of *bayanihan* still practised today.

In other words, the freemen generally assisted the chief in chores that involved the welfare of the community. When they helped him personally such as in building his house or planting his field, this was as much a service rendered in consideration for his own services to the group as for his position as leader. Moreover, others in the community could likewise benefit from such cooperative efforts and host families also undertook to feed all participants.<sup>18</sup>

### The Dependent Population

Below the freemen were the dependent population whom Spanish chroniclers, reflecting their European experience, called slaves. Actually, these dependents — and there were many gradations of dependency — were debt peons rather than chattel slaves in the classical European sense.<sup>19</sup> Their peonage was not

permanent; release from dependence was possible by paying back debts.

Individuals became dependents by being born to dependents of a certain type, by being captured in battle, by failing to pay a private debt or a legal fine. Many crimes were punishable by fines. If the guilty party did not have the wherewithal to pay his fine, he borrowed and repaid the amount with his labor, thus becoming a dependent. Moreover, those who for some other reason found themselves in straitened circumstances also borrowed and became dependents. The usurious rate of interest charged insured the existence of a large group of dependents in the larger communities since it took a long time to repay debts.

Although the charging of interest may appear to us as incongruous in a subsistence economy, accustomed as we are to associating interest with commercial dealings, this practice had in fact a reasonable basis. Since the natives did not use money, what they lent and borrowed was rice. Rice was precious stuff; loaning it could mean some reduction of consumption, and even if the lender had some surplus he was still depriving himself of that much seed for planting. Since such rice if planted would yield more than double its quantity, it was only fair that the borrower repay double what he borrowed or more, depending on the local custom. In a subsistence economy where primitive methods made sufficient harvests uncertain, lending rice entailed both risk and sacrifice, hence the high rate of interest.

Barangay stratification was not rigid. A chief could be deposed, freemen and even members of chiefs' families could be reduced to dependence, and debt peons could become freemen once they had paid their debts. Moreover, these dependents underwent a form of servitude that was generally benign. In his annotations on Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Jose Rizal, citing Argensola, notes that master and "slave" ate at the same table and that the latter could marry a member of his master's family.<sup>20</sup> We can well believe this, for where there is hardly any wealth, how can marked differences in status be expressed? Moreover, since the barangays were kinship units, the hardships of dependence must have been mitigated in most cases by the blood relationship.

### Slavery — a Misnomer

Even among the Muslims whose society was more markedly stratified, debt peonage was still mild and not the cruel and inhuman institution that we know slavery to be.

Although it refers to the status of dependents in Muslim society of recent date, the following passage from a study by Victor S. Clark provides a useful insight into pre-Hispanic practices:

The domestic slaves of the Moros corresponding to the "criados" of the Christian provinces, are said usually to be quite contented with their lot, and would probably consider emancipation a hardship. Their duties are not heavy, and they live with families of their masters on a familiar footing, almost of social equality, rather as minor sons than as slaves, in the more common sense of the word. There are certain conditions of society where slavery exists, so to speak, in its natural environment, and as an institution strikes no social discords. Probably in those early Roman days when the word "familia" came to have the double signification of family and body of slave dependents, or among the early Germans, when men carelessly gambled away their freedom in a game of chance, little thought of social degradation was associated with this status. It was only when the institution had outlived this period and survived into a period of more complex industrial development that it became an instrument of exploitation, all social sympathies between the free and servile classes were estranged, and the system was universally recognized to violate our sentiment of natural right and justice. Our ideas of slavery are derived from this period of moral revolt against it and do not apply very aptly to the kind of slavery that exists among the Moros . . . . They do not regard slaves as wealth producers so much as insignia of honor.<sup>21</sup>

All the foregoing considerations indicate that the institution of debt peonage cannot be equated to slavery as it existed in Europe. However, a more thorough investigation of the forms of dependence and the relations between debtor and lender in all their variety must be made by the social anthropologists. Such a study may derive some insights into the relation between the subsistence economy and the benign characteristics of debt peonage in pre-Spanish communities from a study of ancient Greek society by George Thomson which differentiates between two types of slavery: "patriarchal slavery, in which the slave is a use-value," and that which supersedes it: "chattel slavery, in which the slave is an exchange value, and slavery begins to 'seize on production in earnest.'"<sup>22</sup>

It should be remembered that most of the early Spanish chroniclers were actually not describing pre-Spanish societies but those they came in contact with several decades after Spanish occupation. It is possible that such societies already reflected to some extent relations influenced by the class-



imposed values of the conquerors themselves. John Alan Larkin, for example, suggests that the tribute imposed by the Spaniards may already have had an effect on these relations. Attempts must be made to isolate the truly indigenous features of these societies.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Spanish writers confined their observations mainly to the large communities that had become trading centers and had therefore been subjected to Bornean and Muslim influence — and these societies were certainly not typical.

### Insights from Other Experiences

The fact that there were chiefs, freemen and dependents did not indicate that a class society had already emerged. The chief was the head of a social unit, not the head of a state, for the *barangay* was not a political state.<sup>24</sup> Ritual and administrative distinctions did not connote a class society. There can be no real classes when there is not enough surplus to feed a parasitic ruling class. As we have previously demonstrated, agriculture had not progressed appreciably from the subsistence level. What appeared to be a hierarchical system which Spanish chroniclers identified with either the classical slave society or with European feudalism was perhaps no more than a societal division of labor among the members of the community. The following observation on "primitive" societies is pertinent:

In some cases there are divisions into social groupings the names of which were translated by early observers as "nobles," "commoners," and "slaves." Two points need clarification here. First, a distinction must be made between social ranking of various sorts and a system of classes based on differential relations to the basic sources of subsistence and production; rank per se does not indicate the existence of classes. As Fried puts it, in "rank societies" marks of prestige are not "used to acquire food or productive resources." They do not "convey any privileged claim to the strategic resources on which a society is based. Ranking can and does exist in the absence of stratification."<sup>25</sup>

It is therefore improper to speak of kings and nobles and *baranganic* confederations. As Larkin writes:

There is no evidence in Plasencia's writing of *suprabarangay* organization prior to 1571. Raja Soliman, who led a combined force against the Spaniards, has been called by one writer, "the most

powerful of the chiefs of the region," but his strength lay in his ability to convince rather than command other *datus* to fight with him.<sup>26</sup>

Recent anthropological studies have established certain characteristics of Asian societies that were not present in the European schema. Although the Asiatic mode of production is still a relatively unexplored field, students of pre-Spanish society may find it fruitful to study the work done on other early Asian societies for possible insights. Clark's observation that Moros "do not regard slaves as wealth producers so much as insignia of honor" calls to mind the Chinese experience.

Prof. G. Lewin, a scholar on the Asiatic mode of production, points out that although there were numerous slaves in China, that country never developed what could properly be called a slave-owning society. The slaves were not employed in production; they served as household slaves and for ostentation. In fact, peasants, who were the real producers, complained about "the lazy, idle slaves" that they had to feed. Such a situation would be unheard of in the classical slave society.

Instead of automatically equating the chief to the European feudal lord just because members of the barangay performed services for him, it may be useful to examine the studies made of similar phenomena in other primitive Asian societies. In his study of Melanesian tribes, Peter Worsley, a British social anthropologist, suggests that members of these tribes used their food surpluses as a means of acquiring prestige. Blessed with a fertile soil, the Melanesians despite their primitive methods often harvested more than they needed. In their primitive society,

surpluses could not be stored, they could not be used to extend trade, or to acquire capital equipment: instead they were used as means of acquiring prestige. A man's personal material wants in perishable commodities like yams and taro were soon satisfied; he therefore gave it in a manner which created an obligation on the part of those who participated in the feast to render him respect, service or some return in the future. Feasting was thus the avenue to political success and even to religious authority; it was the means by which one humbled one's rivals.<sup>27</sup>

Spanish chroniclers have remarked on the great number of occasions the natives found for feasting. At such feasts, the whole community was invited and eating and drinking were indulged in for days. In fact, this custom persists and it

certainly still confers prestige on the host.

Even more to the point is the Javanese experience. In the *kampongs* of Java, each villager who used part of the village's communal lands paid for this use in personal services to the community. The headman apportioned these services among the men in the community. Villagers also rendered personal services to their headman, cultivating his field, bringing in fuel, repairing his house.

These appear to be essentially the sort of services the barangay members performed and it is probable that like the Javanese they rendered services primarily to the community and served the chief as the symbol of the community.<sup>28</sup> That this practice eventually developed into service for the chief himself is understandable considering that the symbol at times is more real and intimate than the thing represented.

### Concepts of Property

The idea of personal private property was recognized in the more advanced communities. In Pampanga, for example, such property could be forfeited for crimes, inherited by one's children, or used as dowry. However, private property in its most significant sense, in its exploitative sense, did not exist. In an agricultural society, land is the primary source of wealth, the principal means of production; therefore, if a real concept of private property had existed, land would have been privately owned.

Baranganic society had one distinguishing feature: the absence of private property in land. The chiefs merely administered the lands in the name of the barangay. The social order was an extension of the family with chiefs embodying the higher unity of the community.<sup>29</sup> Each individual, therefore, participated in the community ownership of the soil and the instruments of production as a member of the barangay. In the more advanced communities, however, use was private although the land was still held in common.

Generally speaking, the societies that were encountered by Magellan and Legazpi were primitive economies where most production was geared to the use of the producers and to the fulfillment of kinship obligations. They were not economies geared to exchange and profit. The means of production were decentralized and familial and therefore the relations of dependence were not created within the system of production.

Save for occasional exchanges, the tendency was to produce

for the direct consumption of the producers. Surpluses were exchanged between groups or members of groups. Control of the means of production and labor was exercised by the producers themselves, and exchange was an exchange of labor and its products. The simple system had not yet been replaced by one in which the means of production were in the hands of groups that did not participate in the productive process — a leisure class backed by force.

## Disintegration of Communalism

This is not to say, however, that these communities were not in the process of evolving a class structure. There is every probability that the Muslim societies were already at the threshold of class society. They were evolving an Asiatic form of feudalism where land was still held in common but was private in use. This combination of communal ownership with private possession is clearly indicated in the Muslim "Code of Luwaran." The code contains no provision for the acquisition or transfer of lands by private individuals. Neither is there any mention of cession or sale of lands, yet there is a provision regulating the lease of cultivated lands.<sup>30</sup>

The chiefs were the administrators of the communal lands but were now assuming political functions as the embodiment of the community. They were therefore the recipients of tributes which formerly pertained to the communal funds. The productivity of the land enabled them to appropriate part of the surplus product contributed by other members. This was the Muslim development which already had its influence among the larger and more developed communities that were in contact with them.

Such barangays were passing through a higher stage of development characterized by the gradual disintegration of village democracy. Spanish colonialism accelerated the disintegration of communalism and the breakdown of the collective spirit. While there were embryonic social cleavages in baranganic society, it was not until the conquest that a Europeanized class structure began to develop and was superimposed on indigenous kinship structures.

The primitive, self-sustaining communities customarily surrendered labor service to the collective unity represented by the heads of families, the chiefs. However, the rule of the early chiefs was not supported by a coercive apparatus, nor did it need to be, for they were performing social functions for the

higher unity of the community.

Just when the point of transition was being reached when the chiefs were being transformed from social functionaries to superstructures of domination, the Spanish conquest accelerated and modified the process. A new superstructure was imposed within which the chiefs became part of the exploitative apparatus that served the colonial state. The excesses that accompanied slavery in the classic sense began to be practised only under the Spanish regime.

### The Resultant Social System

The pre-conquest forms which were later incorporated into the exploitative institutions adopted by the Spaniards became the basis for the evolution of a society with feudal characteristics. Many former communal lands were transformed into private property as Spanish colonialism manipulated the indigenous form of social organization to make it part of the exploitative apparatus. Debt peonage and sharecropping which have blighted Philippine agrarian society for centuries had their roots in the pre-Hispanic period, but it was under the Spaniards that their exploitative aspects were institutionalized.

Although, as we pointed out earlier, the Spaniards encountered communities at various stages of development, they subsequently adopted the mores and institutions of the more advanced societies for utilization in the integration of other native groups. Spanish pacification campaigns and conquest of the rest of the country facilitated the diffusion process.

### Summary

To summarize: The generally small communities that the Spaniards found and subdued were societies in transition. Some were still in the communal state, others because of their higher level of production were in transition to class society. Those that were in the post-communal state already had quasi-class lines as a result of the diffusion of the culture of the more advanced Muslims who were establishing settlements farther north or were trading with certain communities.

Some trading went on between communities and with Muslim and foreign traders, but such trading seems to have been on the whole accidental and irregular and therefore was hardly a boost toward an economy of exchange.

In the more advanced societies, the beginnings of a division of labor had been established but bondage took forms different from the classical slave or serf types and may be loosely termed proto-feudal. The Spanish conquerors reinforced these proto-feudal structures and incorporated them into their colonial apparatus. The Hispanized adaptations have been carried over into the present, but with modifications reflecting the historic stages they have undergone.

Thus, the set-up which emerged was an artificial one, an imposition from without, a transplantation of decaying institutions of a feudal nature from a conquering country with a growing capitalist base. Therefore, while feudalism in Europe antedated capitalism, in the Philippines feudal relations similar to the European experience were a consequence of capitalist incursion.

Spanish colonialism arrested the natural development of the native communities, but it also laid the basis for a unification of the archipelago which was to be the very cause of an awakening that would end the days of Castilian overlordship in this part of the world.

The processes of colonialism accelerated the formation of classes and by doing so triggered new struggles and new levels of consciousness among the people. Spanish colonialism became the force that transformed post-communal relations into relations of exploitation.

Spanish administration created a new class of native beneficiaries of colonialism and thereby made possible, from time to time, the awareness of the masses of their own dispossession, an awareness indispensable to their further progress.

## IV.

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# Pacification and Exploitation

Magellan's voyage to the East Indies fired the ambition of many Spaniards for similar expeditions of discovery and conquest. The Spanish monarchs themselves were anxious to expand their empire and to protect their claimed domains in the East from their rivals, the Portuguese. They were equally interested in bringing back to Mexico and Spain the gold and spices thought to be abundant in the Isles of the West — *Las Islas del Poniente* — the Spanish name for the East Indies from the Philippines to New Guinea. When King Philip of Spain decided to finance an expedition to the East Indies, both his mercantilist motives and his concern with the rivalry between Spain and Portugal were evident in his instructions.

### Crown and Conquistador

Charged by the King to organize the expedition, the Spanish Viceroy in Mexico gave its command to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, a Spanish colonist who had arrived in Mexico in 1530 and made his fortune there. The Viceroy told his friend Legazpi that the purpose of the voyage was to secure a foothold in the Indies outside the area granted the Portuguese under the Alexandrian donation. Legazpi was also charged with the task of finding a way back to Mexico by sailing eastward so that the gold and spices of the region could be brought back without running afoul of the Portuguese who by papal edict had jurisdiction over the Western parts of the Indies. Legazpi was further informed that although this expedition was being financed by the royal treasury, some demands on his private fortune were expected. However, if he succeeded in founding a settlement in the Indies, he was to be rewarded with 4,000 ducats and with concessions for trade, mining, and pearl

fisheries as well as with other honors.<sup>1</sup>

Agreeing to the terms, Legazpi began to spend his own funds in the course of the preparations, even selling his *hacienda* in Mechoacan for 40,000 pesos. By the time his fleet of ships sailed from the port of La Navidad, Mexico on November 20, 1564, he had already spent 100,000 pesos of his own.<sup>2</sup> The voyage was something like a high-risk business venture with the possibility of tremendous profits. Hunger for riches was the strong motivating factor for such expeditions, from the Spanish monarchs down to the last sailor on the ships. Thus, Legazpi sought not just honor but great wealth as a conquistador.

This type of contractual agreement for exploration and colonization which had its origins in the practices of the reconquista (See Chapter 2) in turn provided the basis for the exploitative policies of the officers sent by the Crown to newly-conquered lands. Legazpi and his successors instituted certain measures for the pacification of the people the better to pursue their private goals of enrichment while at the same time consolidating the rule of Spain in what was to be an outpost of empire in this part of the globe. The instruments of pacification thus served the dual purpose of strengthening Spanish sovereignty and of enriching the men who had made possible the annexation of the territory.

The terms of agreement drawn up in 1578 between Philip II and Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa reveal this dual purpose clearly. Ronquillo bound himself to finance an expedition of six hundred men in consideration for which he was appointed governor of the Philippines for life, promised an *encomienda* in each major town, and empowered to fill certain administrative positions with men of his choice.<sup>3</sup> In effect, he had royal sanction to recover his investment — and more — through the use of his public office. Barring a few exceptions, subsequent governors and other officials regarded public office as a golden opportunity to make their fortune as quickly as possible. Needless to say, this attitude spawned rampant graft and corruption, much injustice, and cruel exploitation of the people.

### Origins of the Encomienda

One institution that served both as an instrument of pacification and of personal enrichment during the early part of the conquest was the *encomienda*. Etymologically, the word *encomienda* is derived from the verb *encomendar* meaning to



commend or to commit or charge to one's care.<sup>4</sup> A definite number of "souls" or inhabitants of a territory were entrusted to the care of an encomendero.

Originally, the encomienda was a feudal institution used in Spain during the reconquista to reward deserving generals and conquerors.<sup>5</sup> But since the reconquista itself was part of the capitalist impulse of the time, it is not surprising that after its introduction in the West Indies, this feudal institution underwent several transformations reflecting the development of the Spanish economic base from feudal to capitalist.

The Crown delegated to the earliest encomenderos in the West Indies the power to collect tribute and to use the personal services of the inhabitants of their encomiendas. In return, the encomenderos were supposed to look after the welfare of the natives and to give them some education. The encomenderos exercised their powers and prerogatives to the full but for the most part ignored their duties and treated the natives as their slaves.

### Taming the Encomiendas

Because of the abuses of the encomenderos, advocates of the suppression of this institution succeeded in persuading Charles V to decree the abolition of the encomiendas in 1542.<sup>6</sup> But the encomenderos protested and, supported by royal officials in the colonies, were able to extend the life of the institution under a compromise which forbade the use of Indians in the mines and the commutation of the tributes into personal services of whatever kind. Tribute was to be paid in money or in produce. Additional decrees had the intention of further humanizing the encomienda, thus prompting historians to refer to it in its last period in Hispanic America as the "tamed encomienda."<sup>7</sup>

It is of course doubtful that these prohibitions against the inhuman abuses of encomenderos were complied with to a significant degree. However, the attitude of the Crown towards this institution and the regulations it tried to enforce provide us with a useful background for understanding the various regulations governing the encomienda as subsequently established in the Philippines.

It should be noted that although the encomenderos in the New World behaved as feudal lords, the enterprises they headed and the gold mines they operated were in furtherance of the mercantilist objectives of Spain. The establishment of the feudal structure was thus induced by the capitalist impulses of

mercantilist Spain. Evidently, the Crown was aware of the natural affinity between the encomienda and the fief, for it took pains to avert the rise of feudal principalities which could challenge the royal jurisdiction. The limitations which Ferdinand and Isabella originally placed on the encomiendas in the New World clearly indicate this objective.

Although the Spanish monarchs allowed encomiendas in the New World, they were careful to preserve the rights of the Crown. They did not want the encomienda system to give rise to a feudal aristocracy. They decreed that all uninhabited lands should be reserved for the Crown, thus forestalling a repetition of what happened during the reconquista when nobles extended their domains without royal authority by simply taking possession of unoccupied lands.

The royal couple was quite niggardly in granting titles of nobility and carefully limited the amount of land under the jurisdiction of each encomendero. Encomiendas were not hereditary beyond the third or at most the fourth generation and when they fell vacant, most of them were supposed to revert to the Crown, thus insuring the eventual demise of the institution.<sup>8</sup>

### Philippine Encomienda not a Land Grant

In view of the foregoing, it is not surprising that Legazpi's instructions did not bestow on him any encomiendas nor empower him to grant the same to his men. However, when Legazpi arrived in Cebu, he found a people whose primitive economy produced barely enough for their subsistence. Certainly the booty that had made the fortunes of the Spanish conquistadores of the New World was not to be had in the islands. Pleading the poverty of his men, Legazpi asked for a just reward for their services to the Crown.<sup>9</sup> The King granted his request. By the time Legazpi died in 1572, he had assigned 143 encomiendas to his men. Guido de Lavezares, his successor, not only assigned new encomiendas but even reassigned those that fell vacant, thus disregarding explicit orders that such vacant encomiendas should revert to the Crown.<sup>10</sup>

Like its Latin American model, the encomienda in the Philippines was not a land grant.<sup>11</sup> It was an administrative unit for the purpose of exacting tribute from the natives. Theoretically, each encomendero in whose care a native settlement was entrusted had a threefold responsibility: (1) to protect the natives by maintaining peace and order within the encomienda,

(2) to support the missionaries in their work of converting the people to Catholicism, and (3) to help in the defense of the colony. In return for these services, the Crown authorized the encomendero to collect a tribute of eight *reales* annually from all male inhabitants of his encomienda between the ages of nineteen and sixty. His share was not supposed to exceed one-fourth of the total collection. Part of the tribute was to go to the friars, the rest to the government. This tribute was payable in money or its equivalent in kind. The chiefs, now called *cabezas de barangay*, were usually charged with the duty of collecting the tribute and forwarding it to the encomendero who lived in the *pueblo* or even in the capital.

The Laws of the Indies contained a provision forbidding encomenderos to own a house in the native settlements within their encomiendas or even to stay there for more than one night.<sup>12</sup> While this prohibition was supposedly intended to minimize abuses by encomenderos, the rule also served to prevent them from consolidating their control over the area inhabited by natives under their jurisdiction, a royal precaution that helped to insure the primacy of the king in his Latin American colonies. The Laws of the Indies were supposed to apply to the Philippines. However, in his instructions to Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, King Philip II did urge that encomenderos be encouraged to reside near their wards, the better to care for the latter's welfare. But the amenities of urban life and the lure of profits to be made from the China trade made most encomenderos prefer to locate themselves in the city.<sup>13</sup>

An encomendero did not own the land inhabited by "his indios." He and his heirs could hold the encomienda for only two lifetimes, sometimes three, after which it reverted back to the Crown. When a native died, the encomendero had no right to his property; the right descended to the heirs of the native. In the event that he had no heirs, the property was given to the town or village to which he belonged so that the community could use it to help pay its tribute assessment.<sup>14</sup>

### Abuses of the Encomenderos

But these limitations on the encomenderos did not prevent them from committing abuses. The encomienda system was generally characterized by greed and cruelty. The benevolent tenor of the terms of the encomienda concealed the basic purpose of this grant — as the grantee saw it. For the

encomendero, this grant was nothing more than an opportunity to enrich himself, and he used every opportunity open to him whether in the collection of tributes or in the unlawful exaction of numerous services.

Despite the prohibition against draft labor, the encomenderos invariably required the people in their encomiendas to serve them in various ways. Antonio de Morga writes:

They employ the Indians in building houses and large vessels, grinding rice, cutting wood, and carrying it all to their houses and to Manila and then pay them little or nothing for their labor.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the collection of tributes, Fray Domingo de Salazar in his memorial to the king in 1583, described the brutalities inflicted by the encomenderos in these words:

... I can find no words, to express to your Majesty the misfortunes, injuries, and vexations, the torments and miseries, which the Indians are made to suffer in the collection of the tributes . . . if the chief does not give them as much gold as they demand, or does not pay for as many Indians as they say there are, they crucify the unfortunate chief, or put his hand in the stocks – for all the encomenderos, when they go to collect, have their stocks, and there they lash and torment the chiefs until they give the entire sum demanded from them. Sometimes the wife or daughter of the chief is seized, when he himself does not appear. Many are the chiefs who have died of torture in the manner which I have stated . . . one who was collecting the tributes . . . killed a chief by . . . crucifixion, and hanging him by the arms . . . Likewise I learned that an encomendero – because a chief had neither gold nor silver nor cloth with which to pay the tribute – exacted from him an Indian for nine pesos, in payment of nine tributes which he owed; and then took this Indian to the ship and sold him for thirty-five pesos . . . They collect tribute from children, old men, and slaves, and many remain unmarried because of the tribute, while others kill their children.<sup>16</sup>

As agents of Spanish power and for their own personal gain, the encomenderos, like the various government officials who would later take over their functions, made so many cruel exactions from the population that they reduced the natives to a state of degradation such as these had never experienced before. As far as the colonized areas were concerned, instances of actual slavery in the classic sense were a Spanish transplantation.<sup>17</sup>

## Administrative Agencies

The *encomienda* was an integral part of the early Spanish administrative machinery. Besides being rewards for supposedly deserving individuals, the *encomiendas* were established as a means of hastening the pacification of the Philippines and to give some measure of local government and control. These *encomiendas* served as political units along with regular provinces, *corregimientos* and other agencies for administration. In the beginning, it was the *encomenderos* who performed the functions of provincial officers.

Certain *encomiendas* were reserved for the Crown. These were under the care of the *alcaldes mayores*, the heads of the *alcaldias* or provinces. They supervised the tax collection from the Crown *encomiendas* and were responsible only to the royal officials in Manila. As more and more private *encomiendas* reverted to the Crown, the power of the *alcaldes mayores* increased.

No exact date for the abolition of the private *encomienda* can be given. However, it had already declined by the middle of the 17th century, and in 1721 a *cedula* provided that henceforth *encomiendas* that fell vacant were not to be reassigned to private persons or to charitable institutions but were to revert to the Crown.

## Encomienda and Hacienda

It is appropriate at this point to differentiate between the *hacienda* and the *encomienda* in order to dispose of the ancient myth that the Philippine *hacienda* grew out of the *encomienda*. While both were forms of colonial appropriation, they were not the same and one did not necessarily lead to the other.

The exploitative practices of the *encomienda* system were not based on land ownership.<sup>18</sup> The exactions of the *encomendero* were incidental to their positions as representatives of the king. In the *hacienda*, the exploitative relations are based on and grow out of the ownership by the landlord of the tracts of land from which the tenants derive their livelihood. By virtue of his ownership of the land, the *hacendero* has the right of inheritance and free disposition, two rights not covered by an *encomienda* grant.

The exploitation by the *encomenderos* was direct and undisguised. They extracted tribute and drafted labor. The *hacendero* on the other hand disguises his exploitation with the

fiction of partnership, hence the term *kasamahan* to denote a joint venture and the reference to the tenant as a *kasama* or companion. Moreover, whereas the amount of tribute was a fixed amount, the fiction of a joint undertaking is maintained in share-cropping in terms of a sharing of risks. It may also be pointed out that tributaries generally regarded the tribute as an unwarranted exaction but tenants until politicized recognized the right of the hacendero to a lion's share of their produce by virtue of his ownership of the land.

To determine the real historical origins of the hacienda and of the feudal practices that adhered to it, one must not look to the *encomienda* as its progenitor. The vast haciendas were products of a later development and not of the *encomienda* system. Proof of this is that while the number of private *encomiendas* had rapidly declined by 1755, large *latifundia* did not become significant until the nineteenth century. (See Chapters 9 and 10)

Furthermore, the habitual absence of the *encomenderos* from their *encomiendas* militated against their acquiring ownership of land occupied by their tributaries. This was not however true of the religious. Unlike the *encomenderos*, the religious lived with their flock and thus had better opportunities to acquire landholdings, whether within the area of *encomiendas* or outside them, from the royal domain as well as from the natives. They acquired their estates through various means. (See Chapter 6)

From all the foregoing, it may be safely concluded that the *encomienda* was not the origin of the present system of land tenure.

### Instruments of Pacification

Both the *encomenderos* and the government officials were instruments of pacification and exploitation. This exploitation, basic to all colonization, was made more cruel and onerous by the personal greed of Spanish colonial administrators. Exactions took various forms such as the tribute, forced labor, the *bandala* (see below), and military conscription. All these exactions assumed greater urgency and were therefore collected or enforced with greater severity during those periods when Spain was at war.

During the early years of the occupation, Spain was at war with the Portuguese and the Dutch. Since Spain was using the islands as a base for operations against her rivals, the Philippines

was under constant attack or threat of attack from these other powers. The Portuguese harassed Legazpi in 1567 and asked him to leave Cebu on the ground that the Spaniards were violating Portugal's rights in the area. When Legazpi refused to heed their warnings, the Portuguese under the command of General Gonzalo de Pereira attacked Cebu in 1568 and blockaded its harbor. In 1570, the Portuguese again tried to land but were repulsed. Such harassments ended only after the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580.

The eighty years' war between the Dutch and the Spaniards began in 1568. After the union of the Crowns of Portugal and Spain, the Dutch seized Portuguese colonies in the East. The Dutch under Admiral Van Noort first attacked the Philippines in 1600. Dutch incursions into Philippine waters continued up to 1647. A year later, the Treaty of Westphalia ended the war between Spain and the Netherlands.

To finance the expeditions of Spain against her enemies, tribute had to be exacted at all costs. Labor had to be recruited for the building of ships, rowers had to be forced to man these ships, and fighting men had to be conscripted to beef up the Spanish forces. In addition, the government commandeered rice supplies, giving in return mere promises to pay which were honored only partially, if at all.

The social and economic distress that each of these Spanish impositions inflicted on the population can be fully appreciated only if it is borne in mind that both labor and produce were being forcibly extracted from an economy that had hardly any surplus of either. Social units largely dependent on subsistence agriculture were suddenly being compelled to yield a surplus to support a group of people who did no work at all.

Colonial exploitation was therefore intensified to a critical degree by the exigencies of war, by the avarice of the colonizers, and by the low productivity of the local economy — an economy which the Spaniards did very little to develop in the first three hundred years of their rule.

## The Tribute

Because it was exacted throughout the archipelago and was collected from Legazpi's time until 1884, the tribute was the imposition most consistently complained of. It was levied on all Filipinos from nineteen to sixty with the exception of incumbent *gobernadorcillos* and *cabezas* and their families, government employees, soldiers with distinguished service,

descendants of Lakandula and a few other native chieftains, choir members, *sacristanes*, and porters of the churches. Also exempted: government witnesses.

The tribute-collectors — *alcaldes mayores*, *encomenderos*, *gobernaldorcillos*, and *cabezas* — often abused their offices by collecting more than the law required and appropriating the difference. The act itself of collecting was the occasion for much cruelty. Since the people did not regard the exaction of tribute to be justified, they often defied the authorities and refused to pay it. Historical accounts contain numerous references to communities which refused to submit to this imposition. *Encomenderos* often had to send soldiers to collect the tribute by force. Many who did not pay, or could not pay, were tortured or imprisoned. Others fled to the mountains only to have their houses looted or burned down by the Spaniards in punishment for the defiance.<sup>19</sup>

A more sophisticated method of abuse took advantage of the proviso that the tribute could be paid in cash or in kind. By depriving the people of their right to choose the form of payment, the tribute collector could increase the profits from his office. During periods when money was scarce or produce plentiful, the *alcalde* or the *encomendero* required payment in cash. When there was scarcity of goods and prices were high, he insisted on payment in goods which he then sold at the prevailing high prices. Goods offered as tribute payments were invariably underpriced.

The amount of tribute may seem small to us who take a money economy for granted, but it was a heavy load for a people who were just evolving a money economy. On the other hand, the fact that the amount of tribute required rose from the original eight reales to only twelve in 1851, and fourteen by 1874 — a total span of almost three centuries — surely reflects the lack of economic progress in the islands.

### Forced Labor

In addition to the tribute, men between the ages of sixteen and sixty except chieftains and their eldest sons were required to serve for forty days each year in the labor pool or *polo*. This was instituted in 1580 and reduced to fifteen days per year only in 1884.

Regulations on the *polo* provided for a payment of 1/4 real a day plus rice to each *polista*. In addition, the *polista* was not supposed to be brought to a distant place nor required to work



during the planting and harvesting seasons. Private enterprises and public works of a non-military nature were not to use polo labor. Also, the government was not supposed to use polistas if voluntary Chinese labor was available. All these conditions were violated with impunity especially when the exigencies of war required the impressment of large labor pools to fell trees for the construction of ships. Polistas were also recruited to man these vessels, a duty which took them far away from their homes for many months. Others were forced to work in mines.

Forced labor often resulted in the ruin of the communities the men left behind. Since polo laborers were seldom paid, their villages were forced to provide them with a monthly allowance of four pesos worth of rice to keep them alive. This burden was made doubly onerous by the fact that the absence of these men caused a manpower shortage. Shortage of manpower meant abandoned fields; as a consequence, many people died of hunger.

Fray Pedro de San Pablo, writing in 1620 to the Spanish king regarding compulsory service, revealed other evil consequences of the practice in these words:

When personal services are commanded, the Indian, in order not to go to the forests to cut and haul the wood, subject to the cruel treatment of the Spaniard, incurred debt, and borrowed some money at usury; and for the month falling to him, he gave another Indian six or seven reals of eight at his own cost, in order that the other should go in his stead. He who was taxed as his share one-half arroba of oil went, if he did not have it from his own harvest, to the rich man who gathered it; and, not having the money wherewith to buy it, he became the other's slave or borrowed the money at usurious rates. Thus, in the space of ten years, did the country become in great measure ruined. Some natives took to the woods; others were made slaves; many others were killed; and the rest were exhausted and ruined . . . .<sup>20</sup>

The corruption and greed of alcaldes compounded the misery of the people. Alcaldes often drafted hundreds more men than was necessary for woodcutting or shipbuilding. They then pocketed the money that many draftees paid to be exempted from work. Gobernadorcillos made money too by cornering the business of supplying the work gangs with their needs. Work gangs averaged a thousand a month but sometimes numbered as many as six to eight thousand men.

## The Bandala

Another exploitative device was instituted by Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera during the first half of the seventeenth century. This was the bandala. It consisted of the assignment of annual quotas to each province for the compulsory sale of products to the government. Provincial quotas were subdivided among the towns. Since the government claimed not to have enough funds, the bandala meant virtual confiscation. All that the people got were promisory notes which were seldom redeemed in full. To compound the abuse, the prices the government set were lower than the prevailing prices of these products so that if a person could not fill his quota with his own produce, he had to buy at a higher price in order to sell at a lower rate to the government, which seldom paid anyway.

The bandala caused the people a great deal of suffering. Even if rats or drought destroyed their crops, they still had to buy rice in order to give it to the government on credit. Moreover, Spanish officials often collected more than was assessed and pocketed the difference. The excessive assessments forced many natives to become indebted to the chiefs thus entrenching the socio-economic position of these local leaders. By the first decades of the 17th century, the government already owed the different provinces millions of pesos.<sup>21</sup>

## Divide and Rule

The Spaniards never had a large military contingent in the Philippines. Spanish soldiers had to be backed up by locally recruited forces. Applying the age-old technique of divide and rule, the Spaniards were able to avail themselves of the services of local mercenaries. Recruitment was facilitated by the lack of a national consciousness. Each locality regarded itself as separate and apart from the others so that invariably the Spaniards were able to use native troops from one region to put down revolts in other regions. It would take centuries of common grievances to develop a consciousness of national solidarity.

Meanwhile, the native constabulary was a reliable source of strength for the Spanish colonialists. The Spaniards set up a separate army modeled after the Spanish military organization, with native officers bearing high-sounding ranks such as *capitan* and *maestre de campo*. Trained in European military science,

these troops formed the bulk of the Spanish fighting force against Spain's foreign enemies as well as against domestic rebels.<sup>22</sup>

### The Intermediaries

The encomienda system was the first administrative agency of Spanish colonization. It was augmented and later supplanted by an administrative network which took over its functions of pacification and exploitation. These interrelated colonial goals could hardly be achieved, however, by the small Spanish community alone. As the Spaniards conscripted native mercenaries for pacification, so did they enlist, through a combination of coercion and accommodation, the participation of the traditional native leaders in the exploitation of their communities. The roles assigned to them in extracting the tribute, the polo and the bandala inevitably contraposed them to their countrymen. When they took advantage of their positions to enrich themselves, the cleavage became both political and economic.

These leaders of the native communities were thus transformed into pillars of colonial administration and intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled.

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# The Colonial Landscape

Spanish conquest eventually wrought fundamental changes in the lives of the native population. The Spaniards introduced new customs and a new religion. They brought over new practices and institutions from their earlier colonial experiences in Latin America. And even when they chose to retain certain indigenous social institutions to serve colonial ends, the use of these institutions for purposes alien to native society transformed them in a profound way.

Then, too, the presence of the new colonizers stimulated the influx of the Chinese who by their activities in catering to the needs of the Spaniards became another factor for change in Philippine social and economic life.

Spaniards introduced new plants and animals which not only modified the eating habits of the natives but also affected economic development since some of these plants and animals were later produced commercially. Over the years, the galleons from Mexico brought Mexican corn, arrowroot, cassava and sweet potato, cotton and maguey, indigo and achuete, tobacco, cacao, peanut and cashew nut, pineapple, avocado, pepper, squash, tomato, lima bean, turnip and eggplant. They also brought over from Mexico horses, cows, sheep, and goats while water buffaloes, geese, ducks, and swans were imported from China and Japan.<sup>1</sup>

## Colonial Outpost

Although initially there were high expectations that the new colony would yield for the Crown financial gains as bountiful as those extracted from America, these hopes were soon dissipated. The Spaniards did not find the same rich mines as they

did in South America; there were no temples of Montezuma, nor edifices that housed vessels of gold; nor did they find an abundance of spices. In fact, as early as the year after Legazpi's arrival in Cebu, the abandonment of the archipelago was already being proposed.

The colony was retained despite its lack of economic promise because the religious were able to convince the royal court that the Philippines would be a valuable stepping stone to China and Japan. Besides being a prospective staging ground for missionary efforts in Asia, the islands were also useful as an outpost of empire.<sup>2</sup> Spain was then engaged in continuous wars with the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese. With ships built and manned by natives, the Spanish fleet sailed out of the islands to do battle in defense of the empire. Moreover, eager to duplicate their feat in the New World, the Spaniards entertained dreams of carving out an Oriental empire. The Philippines was to be the base for the conquest of neighboring nations.

The lack of riches ready to hand and the preoccupation with war and further conquest relegated the Philippines to the role of a mere missionary and military way-station. This attitude was a factor that initially discouraged serious effort for economic development. A more basic factor was the mercantilist philosophy of the time with its emphasis on trade. But for this purpose the Philippines also suffered from a disadvantage. Its geographic isolation from Europe precluded the growth of direct trade with the rich countries of the continent and required that the islands be administered through Mexico.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, therefore, the Philippine colony was not much more than a defense outpost in the East ruled by a group of military administrators. These received a *situado*, an annual subsidy from Mexico;<sup>3</sup> the rest of their needs had to be extracted from the population.

## Economic Neglect

For two hundred years, the Philippine colony remained largely undeveloped economically except for the limited effects of the activities of encomenderos and Spanish officials and of the friars who settled in the provinces.

One institution that also contributed to the relative lack of interest in developing the economy of the country was the galleon trade. This trade which lasted for over two centuries up to 1815 involved only the Spaniards who were concentrated in the city of Manila. It was essentially a trade between China and

Mexico, with Manila as the transshipment port. Goods from China brought to Manila by junks were loaded on the galleons and sent to Acapulco. The returning galleons brought back silver which was highly appreciated in China. Very little of the produce of the country made its way to the Mexican market, hence the galleon trade did little to develop the islands. On the contrary, because of the quick returns from this trade, the Spaniards were further dissuaded from productive work and therefore neglected to develop the agricultural potential of the colony.<sup>4</sup>

### Moves for Abandonment

The early proposals to abandon the Philippines were raised once more, this time for more definite financial and commercial reasons.<sup>5</sup> One point made was that the colony was not self-supporting inasmuch as the duties collected on imports into New Spain via the galleons rarely compensated for the situado that the Crown sent to Manila. In answer, proponents of the retention of the colony countered that a large part of the situado was used to finance the expeditions against the Moluccas, which was certainly not a legitimate expenditure of the Philippine colony.<sup>6</sup>

A more serious and significant objection to the retention of the colony was that of powerful commercial interests from Spain, particularly from the Andalusian cities. They supported the move for the abandonment of the Philippines because the Chinese silks brought to America by the Philippine galleons competed with their own exports to that region, thus seriously threatening the profits of the Spanish silk industry.<sup>7</sup>

### The Compromise

In line with her mercantilist policy and responding to pressure from the merchants of Cadiz and Seville, Spain tried to save the trade of the American market for Spanish manufactures and to limit the outflow of silver from Mexico and Latin America to the East. Consequently, the galleon trade was restricted to only two ships a year and it was granted only one port of entry in Mexico: Acapulco. Exports from Manila were pegged at P250,000 worth of goods (later raised to P500,000) and imports from Mexico were not supposed to exceed double the value of the exports. The intention was obviously to limit the revenue from the galleon trade to an amount adequate to

maintain the Spanish establishment in the islands.

As on previous occasions, the most powerful advocate of retention was the Church which by then had, besides its missionary undertakings, substantial material interests in the archipelago. The idea of a base for future maneuvers in the region continued to be a factor favoring preservation of the colony.<sup>8</sup> There was also the prestige of the Crown to be considered as well as the pride of the Spanish kings in being the sovereigns of a city as prosperous as Manila was at that time.

The prosperity of Manila and its development as the single metropolis of the country was a by-product of the galleon trade. The profits from this trade enabled Manila to construct its solid walls and imposing buildings. Some of the money made on the galleon trade was bequeathed to religious orders to finance pious works — *obras pias* — such as the establishment of schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions. Of course, the friars also borrowed heavily from the *obras pias* funds to finance their own participation in the lucrative galleon trade. Prosperity was evident in the abundance of luxury items for the persons and homes of the rich.<sup>9</sup>

By 1650, the population of the walled city and its *arra-bales*<sup>10</sup> was approximately 42,000. Most of the Spaniards in the islands were concentrated in Intramuros<sup>11</sup> while a thriving Chinese community occupied the Parian<sup>12</sup> in the suburbs. By the standards of the times and of the region, Manila could indeed qualify as a principal city.

## Plural Economies

The prosperity of the Spanish community in Manila encouraged the influx of fairly large numbers of Chinese. These Chinese constituted another factor which shaped the course of the colony's life and which was to have an enduring influence on the history of the country.

Some historians contend that during the early part of Spanish rule three distinct economic systems existed in the Philippines: a Western economy, a native economy, and a Chinese economy.<sup>13</sup> The principal preoccupation of the Western or Spanish economy was the galleon trade which transhipped through Manila Chinese luxury goods to Mexico and Mexican silver to China. Some of these goods remained in the Philippines to satisfy the needs of the local Spanish community.

Inasmuch as Philippine products were not in great demand in either China or Mexico, Philippine Spaniards did not find it

profitable to develop local products for export. The native economy remained locally oriented and undeveloped. This is not to say, however, that the Spanish economy had no effect on it, for in the regions surrounding Manila and wherever there were Spanish communities, the mere fact of having to provide for the needs of these Spaniards certainly altered the native economy in various ways.

The Chinese engaged in maritime trading between China and the Philippines both as an adjunct to the galleon trade and to provide the local Spaniards with the luxuries they required. Others worked as artisans. But the most important function of the Chinese and the one with the greatest long-range impact on the country was their role as intermediaries between the Western and the native economies. They distributed Chinese imports to the Philippine villages and gathered in return local products which they sold to the Spaniards.

### The Chinese Role

Although the Spanish, Chinese, and native economies impinged upon one another, they remained identifiably separate to the same extent that the three races lived as distinct cultural communities. This fact was recognized by the colonial administration which classified residents as Spanish, indio or Chinese. When, by the eighteenth century, racial inter-marriage had produced a sizeable group of Chinese-*mestizos*, they, too, were classified separately as *mestizos*.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of these apparently separate economies did not negate the fact that all three were in varying degrees beginning to respond to a single underlying propulsive factor: the growing linkage of the country to world capitalism, although this connection was not to become a compelling reality until the middle of the eighteenth century. In this development, the Chinese were to play a more vital role than the Spanish colonialists, for it was mainly the commercial activities of the Chinese in numerous towns and villages all over the country that accelerated the dissolution of the pre-conquest social patterns of the Filipinos. While the Spaniards were trying to graft their administrative institutions onto the indigenous social structures, the Chinese were wreaking havoc on the primitive economy of the natives.

A case in point was the economic deterioration of the Pampanga and Manila areas in the late sixteenth century. Rice production had fallen off and the local textile industry had



declined disastrously. An investigation of the situation revealed that a sizeable part of the rural population, attracted by the money wages paid by the Spaniards, had moved to the city to enter domestic service or provide such other services as the Spaniards required. Instead of planting rice and weaving their own cloth, they were now buying their staple food and their clothing from the Chinese. Since the Chinese were also selling Chinese textiles in the province, the competition caused many local weavers to abandon this occupation.<sup>15</sup>

## Reducciones

It must not be concluded, however, that official neglect of the colony's internal economy was accompanied by administrative indifference. While the mercantilism of that period dictated in large part emphasis on trading activities rather than on internal economic development, the extraction of tribute and forced labor and the proselytizing tradition of Spanish colonization required the systematic extension of administrative control.

For these reasons, the barangay had to be integrated into the colonial framework. Obviously, a few hundred friars and Spanish officials could not carry out their colonialist plans while a population of approximately 750,000 lived in thousands of small communities scattered all over the islands. The remedy lay in a policy of resettlement or *reduccion* which would consolidate population in larger villages.

The *reduccion* was part of the Spanish colonial experience in Latin America which demonstrated that the Indians were more rapidly and efficiently organized for colonial purposes once they had been resettled in compact villages. This experience became the model for the Philippines, with the difference that whereas in Spain's American colonies resettlement was carried out jointly by Church and State, reduction in the Philippines was mainly the work of the friars.

But what seemed logical and desirable to the friars or to the government functionaries, given their own urban tradition and the requirements of colonization and conversion, was not so to the native population. They were subsistence, not surplus farmers. They needed to live close to the land they tilled and amid surroundings where they could easily hunt and fish to supplement their diet. To move to compact villages was highly impractical and contrary to their traditional life pattern. No wonder there was much hostility to the resettlement program of

the Spaniards.

The friars used a variety of techniques to gain native assent to resettlement. Some offered gifts of "shirts, salt, needles, combs and tibors." Others promised free housing within the *reducciones*. The novelty of mass participation in colorful church rites was another attraction. The government added its own blandishments in the form of high-sounding titles and honors for the chiefs. If these enticements were insufficient to overcome *barangay* reluctance, friars were known to resort to threats and other pressures.<sup>16</sup>

Quite often, *barangays* would elect resettlement out of fear of either *encomenderos* or soldiers. Aware of the power of ecclesiastical authorities, some sought protection from the oppression and cruelty of *encomenderos* and soldiers by joining settlements under the charge of the religious.<sup>17</sup>

### Population Centers

Although the persistence of the friars did effect some urban concentration, Filipino opposition to reduction, besides delaying the process, also induced a compromise: the *poblacion-barrio-sitio* system which prevails to this day.

The Church was the nucleus of each settlement complex and the community in which it was located was called the *cabecera*. Due to the importance of the Church in the Spanish colonial scheme, not only as a religious institution but as an economic and political force as well, it was to be expected that population would gravitate toward the edifice that symbolized its power. *Cabeceras* invariably became principal population centers or *poblaciones*. Surrounding each *poblacion* were subordinate villages or *barrios* and still smaller communities called *sitios*. Their existence was evidence of the resistance of the Filipinos to settle far from their fields. The friars adapted themselves to this fact of Philippine life by constructing chapels in the larger villages. These came to be called *visititas*, from the practice of the friars of making periodic visits to these villages to say Mass and impart the Christian doctrine.<sup>18</sup>

### Acceleration of Stratification

Besides facilitating Catholic indoctrination, resettlement opened the way for closer administrative control and supervision. It was not long before the growing population centers were given political and economic functions. In the process of

consolidating their religious and political control of these reducciones, religious and civil authorities put into effect policies that accelerated the process of stratification which had already begun operating in pre-conquest society.

Reduction itself was achieved in part through the application of positive inducements or pressures on the chiefs and their families, thus acknowledging and therefore confirming their higher status and authority. Missionaries worked on chiefs and their families to move to the cabeceras so that they might set the example for others. Their presence at the cabecera, that is, at the center of colonial power in the locality, provided these chiefs with opportunities to further entrench themselves in positions of dominance within the native community.

Spanish administrative policy, being itself the expression of a hierarchical society, was committed to the preservation of the traditional authority of the chiefs within the barangay, but this time under Spanish direction and control. Spanish colonial experience in Latin America had demonstrated the efficacy of incorporating the native hierarchy of authority within the colonial administration. This insured a measure of social continuity which facilitated acceptance of foreign rule.

Using the barangay as the basic unit of local administration, the Spaniards recruited barrio and poblacion officials from the ranks of the chieftains or cabezas de barangay. By confirming their political authority, the Spaniards converted most of the local chieftains into willing allies and useful intermediaries between themselves and the people. These chieftains and their families formed a ready reservoir of reliable minor civil servants whose former status was now bolstered by colonial recognition, as evidenced by their title of *principales*.

### Colonial Intermediaries

The highest position open to Filipinos in the civil government was that of *gobernadorcillo* (petty governor), a position roughly equivalent to that of town mayor today.<sup>19</sup> In return for exemption from paying tribute and from rendering forced labor, the *gobernadorcillo* was entrusted with the duty of collecting the tributes within his jurisdiction. Such tributes were supposed to tally with census estimates which, not being regularly up-dated, often included persons already dead. This was an additional burden which had to be shouldered by the *gobernadorcillo* unless he could pass it on to the relatives of the deceased. Needless to say, he was also held accountable for

unpaid tributes or delayed payments inasmuch as the law set a definite date for their turn-over. Failure to deliver the required sum subjected the *gobernadorcillo* to a fine or imprisonment. It was also his responsibility to spend for the maintenance of the municipal guards and the jail, feed the prisoners, and supply the municipal government with personnel and supplies. The entertainment of visiting functionaries was likewise borne by him.

Although many a *gobernadorcillo* ended his term in penury because of the expenses he had to shoulder and the unpaid tributes he had to make good, it was likewise true that the situation was made to order for others who wished to enrich themselves by exacting more tribute than was required and by other illegal means such as granting tribute exemptions in consideration of gifts or personal services.

Another function the *gobernadorcillo* discharged was that of mobilizing labor for government construction projects. This power was also susceptible to abuses such as the confiscation of the wages of polo laborers and the utilization of their labor for his personal benefit.

The foregoing also held true, though on a smaller scale, for the *cabezas de barangay*.

### Third Prop of Power

To the twin supports for their leadership; namely, their traditional *barangay* authority and the political privileges granted by the Spaniards, the *principalia* soon added a third prop: that of economic power. Beginning their economic rise by exploiting the possibilities of their administrative offices, these intermediaries between the Spanish colonizer and the masses of the people further consolidated their economic position by taking advantage of the opportunities opened to them by the concept of private property in land which the Spaniards introduced.

In the pre-conquest *barangays*, land was communally owned and was not regarded as a source or a measure of wealth. While Spanish laws initially recognized the communal system of land ownership, the fact that the colonizers introduced the concept of individual land ownership and regarded the land itself, not merely its use, as a source of wealth, was bound to change native ideas on this point.

## Appropriation of Communal Holdings

By virtue of their position as administrative and fiscal middlemen between the Spaniards and their own people, the *principales* were the ones most likely to become aware of this concept and to recognize its financial advantages to themselves. Furthermore, they already had some experience with the administrative and legal machinery. Since they retained their traditional authority over the communal lands, it was relatively simple to secure formal ownership of these landholdings or at least of those portions which their dependents habitually cultivated. Mindful of the *principalia's* usefulness as the conduit of colonial power, the Spaniards seldom placed any obstacle to such acquisitions, unfair to the people though these might be.

A pertinent example was the Jesuit purchase in 1603 of land in Quiapo, then a village in the suburbs of Manila. The Jesuits bought the land from some local chiefs, whereupon the villagers protested since the land, they claimed, belonged to the *barangay*, not to the chieftains. But despite the support of Archbishop Benavides, the villagers were not able to annul the sale and expel the Jesuits.<sup>20</sup>

The trend toward individual ownership with legal title accelerated during the seventeenth century when more and more chieftains appropriated the lands cultivated by their dependents and these tillers were institutionalized as tenants.

## Resultant Stratifications

Economic and political standing conferred social prestige. Moreover, the *principalia* sought perpetuation of its dominant status through intra-class marriage. The physical expression of this socio-economic ascendancy was the existence of *principalia* residences in the *plaza* complex. The buildings around the town plaza of each *poblacion* nicely reflected the hierarchy of status in colonial society with the church-convent and the *municipio* or seat of civil authority dominating the square. That residences of *principales* were more and more frequently located at or near the plaza was suggestive of their growing importance as well as of the increasing stratification of native society. The intermediaries between the colonizer and the native population were becoming more closely identified with the colonial power as wealth separated them from the rest of their countrymen.

By 1800, rural society was characterized by a three-tiered hierarchy consisting of Spanish priest, *principalia*, and masses. In

Manila and its suburbs the hierarchy had five levels: Spaniards, Chinese mestizos, native principales, Chinese, and the people. The five social groups in that order also represented the stratification in terms of economic power.<sup>21</sup> This stratification persisted well into the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the Spanish clergy constituting the leading instrument of power and vehicle for exploitation.

## VI.

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# Monastic Supremacy

The Spanish empire was deemed to be in the service of "both Majesties": God and the king. This concept was the basis for the union of Church and State into one structure which, in the words of de la Costa, "might be viewed either as a civilizing Church or a missionary State." The royal authority over the Spanish Church was based on the patronato real under which the king had secured from the pope the right to make nominations to most of the bishoprics and abbacies in Spain and in her dominions.

Any dual authority, however, is bound to give rise to jurisdictional disputes and to goad one or the other power into extending certain favors to individuals or groups jointly controlled in order to gain the upper hand in the rivalry for allegiance. In their struggle with the popes for jurisdiction and control over the Spanish Church, the kings granted the Church lands and other privileges and extended certain personal immunities to the clergy and even to their servants. As a rule, therefore, the clergy were inclined to favor the king to whose generosity they owed their rents and dignities. Many clergymen became royal counsellors.

### Spiritual and Temporal Sovereigns

The Spanish Church became a powerful and influential factor in the theo-political enterprise that included among its ventures the colonization of the Philippines. But despite its uniquely national character, the Spanish Church still drew its sanction from the pope who exerted moral dominance over Church affairs all over the world. The religious missionaries who accompanied the conquistadores represented the spiritual sovereign, although they owed their benefices to the temporal one.

The religious orders came to the Philippines on the strength of an understanding between the pope in Rome and the king of Spain. To bring the light of Christianity to the natives was to be the primary justification for the Spanish presence in the islands. The pope stipulated that the Spanish king, as an ardent patron of the Church, should see to it that everything was done so that the religious orders could effectively carry out their mission in the islands. In exchange, the pope recognized the king as the legitimate arm of the Church west of the Indies. Under the patronato real, the king as patron of the Church in these islands was to have the authority to determine the limits of the mission territories and to have a voice in the assignment of missionaries. He also had the duty to protect the missionaries and provide for their support. This made the friars salaried employees of the Spanish king as well as representatives of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

### Clerical Ascendancy

The setup in the Philippines reflected the situation in Spain. In the colony, the Church was even more completely under the king's control although, paradoxically enough, the clergy in the islands were more powerful than the king's official administrators because the latter were so few in number and because the friars played such an important role in the pacification campaign.

There is no doubt that many of the early missionaries were sincere and zealous in their priestly duties, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century there had already occurred a decline in morals and in missionary enthusiasm.<sup>3</sup> This may have been due in part to the deterioration of the clergy in Spain itself.

The great demand for priests in the new dominions of the Spanish empire and the economic and social privileges granted to the clergy by the king were two factors which brought about a lowering of the standards of the priesthood. The urgent need for more priests caused the training period before ordination to be reduced. The clergy's power and wealth made priesthood an attractive career rather than a spiritual calling.<sup>4</sup>

Since entry into the religious orders had become comparatively easy, the number of ecclesiastics increased although many of them continued to be businessmen, lawyers, administrative officers, and even jugglers and buffoons. Decadence set in; many religious led licentious lives. Even the mendicant orders lost their early ideals of poverty and self-sacrifice and devoted



themselves to the pursuit of wealth. The practice of *barrangamiento* (concubinage) was rampant; the nuns of Seville and Toledo even held beauty contests.<sup>5</sup>

### Mission Rivalries

In the Philippines, one indication that considerations more worldly than missionary endeavors occupied the friars' minds was the inter-order rivalry. The Augustinians, who having arrived with Legazpi were the first religious in the islands, tried hard to prevent the coming of the other religious orders. The Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and finally the Recollects nevertheless succeeded in establishing their own missions, although the entry of each one was opposed by all those who had previously established their foothold in the colony. They were assigned different territories but still frequent quarrels occurred among them. These animosities among the various orders doubtless had their origins in Spain.<sup>6</sup>

Other factors conducive to moral decline arose from the local situation. The very enormity of the task of Catholicization in comparison to the small numbers of missionaries bred discouragement and apathy. The dispersal of the missions made supervision by superiors difficult, while the increasing administrative duties the friars took on in the native communities soon relegated proselytization to the background. The assumption of administrative functions by the clergy was both an expedient dictated by the small number of Spanish officials and an expression of the union of Church and State.

### Property Acquisitions

But the fundamental cause for the waning zeal and ensuing corruption of the friars was their acquisition of property.

A letter to Governor Dasmariñas from Bishop Domingo Salazar dated March 21, 1591, recounts in passing how the religious in Mexico obtained the revocation of a royal prohibition against their owning property.<sup>7</sup> The religious contended that there were too many disadvantages in having the friars live alone. They proposed the establishment of houses to be manned by at least four ecclesiastics. But this raised the problem of their support. Declaring that they did not want their missionaries to be a burden to their flock, the Dominicans and the Augustinians suggested that the best solution would be for the king to grant them some estates in the native villages so that the missionaries

could become self-supporting. This proposal ran counter to a royal order that the clergy should not own lands in the Indian villages; but the religious, through Bishop Salazar himself, succeeded in persuading the king to revoke his decree.<sup>8</sup>

The friars in the Philippines had the same privilege to own lands in their parishes for their support. Since the pope had exempted them temporarily from their monastic vows so that they could man the parishes until such time as a secular clergy was available in sufficient numbers to take their place, the combination of these two factors provided the religious corporations with the opportunity to amass large tracts of land.<sup>9</sup> Soon enough, the clergy were replacing the encomenderos whose cruel exactions they used to denounce.

### Mode of Acquisition

How did the friars become wealthy landed proprietors? One of the earliest means by which the friars acquired their landholdings was by royal bequest. They also bought lands from the State.

Later, when the concept of individual property in land had become established among the inhabitants, the clergy benefited from this development in a number of ways. They received donations and inheritances from pious Filipinos — a large portion in the form of deathbed bequests — in gratitude for their religious ministrations and as a sort of down payment for a place in heaven. It was often said that friars were wont to whisper into the ears of their dying parishioners that a timely donation to the Church would secure for them a shorter tenure in purgatory. There must have been more than a grain of truth in this popular belief for in the American colonies, for example, the Crown issued a royal order prohibiting the friars from drawing up wills for members of their flock. The king likewise barred priests and their convents from inheriting property from those they habitually confessed.

The friars also bought land from the natives with the money they obtained from church fees, from trade, or from the profits gained from the produce of lands which utilized forced labor. With their prestige and power, it was easy for them to pressure villagers into selling them their lands at very low prices.<sup>10</sup>

### From Partners to Landlords

Other landholdings were acquired through the foreclosure of

mortgages. The story of how friars became mortgagees often began innocuously enough. Living as they did among the people, the religious were in the best position to appreciate the possibilities of agricultural development. Seeing that the obstacle to more extensive cultivation was lack of capital, many priests entered into partnership with farmers, advancing them money for seeds, work animals and tools. The priests received half of the harvest.<sup>11</sup>

Although this arrangement favored the money lender who received a fat share without working, at least he ran the same risk as the farmer of getting little if the harvest was poor. But when the dependence on priestly capital had become more or less established, the friars began to demand that their advances be regarded as loans payable at a fixed rate of interest whether the harvests were good or bad. The risks were now borne by the tillers alone, and in bad seasons they ran into debt.

When such debts accumulated, the friars forced the farmers to mortgage their land to them and eventually foreclosed the mortgage. The friars then obtained title to such lands and the farmer-owners were either driven away or became tenants.

It is interesting to note that as early as the reign of Philip II (1556-1598), a law had been enacted forbidding such mortgages and setting a limit to the amount that could be lent to the natives. This law, like so many other similarly well-intentioned ones, was virtually a dead letter. It was later revoked at the instance of the friars.

Another statute that was also ignored was the one that reserved all lands "within one thousand meters of the principal market place of every town" as the communal property of the town residents. Many pieces of real estate within this perimeter became friar lands.<sup>12</sup>

### Outright Land-grabbing

Some friar lands were obtained through outright usurpation. With the help of corrupt surveyors and other government officials, religious corporations were able to expand their landholdings. Additional hectares of land outside original boundaries of friar property were simply gobbled up each time a new survey was undertaken. Many times, the priests just claimed pieces of land, drew maps of them, had them titled, and set themselves up as owners.

The original native settlers who had tilled the land for years were summarily declared to be squatters. When the natives

protested, they were asked for legal proofs of ownership of the land in question. More often than not, they could not show any legal document attesting to their ownership of the land. The natives did not have "*titulos reales*" since their claim to the land was based on *de facto* possession.<sup>13</sup>

### Patterns of Land Tenancy

The friars were in the main absentee landlords. Supervision was usually entrusted to a lay brother of the order. The estate was parcelled out to lessees or *inquilinos* who themselves had sub-tenants to work the land. The *inquilinos* paid a fixed lease or canon in money or in kind.<sup>14</sup>

The *kasamas* or sub-tenants received half of the harvest after the fixed rent was deducted while the *inquilino*, the middle man, received the other half.<sup>15</sup> As is usual in a hierarchy of exploitation, the fellow at the bottom bore the brunt of it since only he actually worked the land and therefore supported with his labor both *inquilino* and clerical landlord.

The *inquilino* served much the same purpose as the *cabeza* and the *gobernadorcillo*: that of facilitating the exactions of his master. Like his counterparts in the political hierarchy, the *inquilino* as economic intermediary shared in the benefits of exploitation and could sometimes manage to amass enough wealth to buy some lands from impoverished native farmers and become a landowner himself while retaining his lucrative position as *inquilino* of a religious corporation.

### Seeds of Discontent

The royal bequests by which the religious acquired their original landholdings already wrought an injustice on the natives since each bequest meant that they were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands. When in addition the friars used a variety of questionable means to enlarge their estates, one can well understand the smoldering resentment of those who tilled the soil.

One can imagine the feelings of those driven away from lands they had tilled for generations or forced to work as tenants on their own lands simply because a mortgage had been foreclosed or the land had been fraudulently resurveyed in someone else's favor. For that matter, even deathbed donations and straight sales of lands could also be sources of grievance if

these lands had been obtained by the use of the moral influence and the power of the friars.

## Friar Abuses

Taxes, tributes, exorbitant rents and arbitrary increases of the same, forced labor and personal services — all these intensified the hardships of natives who now had to give up a good part of their produce to their landlords. In addition, some administrators practised other petty cruelties which caused much suffering among the people.

In 1745, in the Jesuit ranches of Lian and Nasugbu, Batangas, for example, the people accused the religious not only of usurping the cultivated lands and the hills that belonged to them but also of refusing to allow the tenants to get wood, rattan and bamboo for their personal use unless they paid the sums charged by the friars.<sup>16</sup>

In Bulacan, villagers complained that the religious cheated them out of their lands and then cruelly proceeded to deny them the right to fish in the rivers, to cut firewood, and to gather wild fruits from the forests. The friars would not even allow their carabaos to graze on the hills since the religious now claimed all these areas as their own.<sup>17</sup>

In Cavite, Manila and Bulacan, small landholders complained that since the friars owned the land through which the rivers passed, they had to agree to the friars' terms if they wanted water for irrigation purposes.<sup>18</sup>

Lessees of friar lands protested bitterly that their landlords raised their rents almost every year and particularly whenever they saw that through the farmers' labor the land had become more productive. In some cases, they even imposed a surtax on trees planted by the tenants. When they accepted rental payments in kind, the administrators of the friar estates arbitrarily fixed the prices of these products, naturally at lower than prevailing prices.<sup>19</sup>

## Side-lines and Other Abuses

Aside from institutional exploitation, exactions of a personal nature were rampant. Curates charged a bewildering number of fees for all sorts of rites, from baptism to burial. The natives paid even if it meant selling their last possessions because they had been taught that such rites were indispensable to the salvation of their souls.

Friars made money selling rosaries, scapulars and other religious objects. They required from their flock all kinds of personal services and gifts of food for the convent table.

Priests often administered corporal punishment, usually whippings, on natives who dared disobey their orders or disregard their caprices. Unmarried girls were compelled to report to the convent to pound rice and sweep the church floors.<sup>20</sup> The large number of Filipinos today who have a priest somewhere in their family trees attests to the frequency with which the vows of celibacy were transgressed.

Of course, the cruelty, capriciousness and frequency of abuses depended on the character of the individual priest — and there were good and bad. However, it cannot be denied that the virtually unchallenged power of the friar in most communities had a corrupting influence on most.

The people's mounting resentment led them to commit various acts of defiance, to refuse to pay the unjust taxes imposed by friar estate administrators, and finally to resort to armed rebellion. So serious were the clerics' abuses that by 1751, the king was moved to issue a royal decree ordering local government authorities

to exercise hereafter the utmost vigilance in order that the Indians of the said villages may not be molested by the religious, and that the latter should be kept in check in the unjust acts which they may in future attempt . . . .<sup>21</sup>

But by that time such a directive could hardly be enforced. The friars had become too powerful not only because of their spiritual hold over both the Spanish officials and the natives, but also by virtue of their established economic power. In addition, they had become a ubiquitous presence in the local machinery of administration.

## Economic Power

Against the power of his friar landlord, a tenant found it impossible to prosecute his interests or have his complaints heard. A poor tenant could not afford the costs of a lawsuit, granting that he knew the first thing about litigation procedures. Besides, what chance had he against such a powerful figure as a friar? If a friar wanted a tenant evicted, the cleric could easily prevail upon a judge to issue the order, and he could just as easily avail himself of government forces to

execute the decision. Recalcitrant tenants were often evicted en masse; there were so many landless peasants to take their places, anyway.

Exploitation, with its concomitant personal cruelties and abuses, was part and parcel of the imperative of property expansion once the friars' right to property had been recognized. Economic power enhanced political power, and political power was used time and again to expand economic power and to oppose any attempts by government to frustrate economic expansion.

By the end of the Spanish occupation, the friars were in possession of more than 185,000 hectares or about one-fifteenth of the land under cultivation. Of this total, around 110,000 hectares were in the vicinity of Manila.<sup>22</sup> The Dominicans held the estate of Naic in Cavite; in Laguna, the estates of Calamba, Biñan and Santa Rosa; in Bataan, the estates at Lomboy, Pandi, and Orion. The Agustinians held estates in Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya, and property in Manila, Cavite, and Bulacan. The Recollects owned an estate in Imus, Cavite and another in Mindoro.

The approximate areas of these religious estates were as follows: 49,293 hectares in Manila; 15,961 hectares in Bulacan; 1,999 hectares in Morong (now Rizal); 404 hectares in Bataan; 19,991 hectares in Cagayan; 6,642 hectares in Cebu; 23,656 hectares in Mindoro; and 22,838 hectares in Isabela. The largest of the friar haciendas was Calamba (where Jose Rizal's parents were inquilinos) with 16,414 hectares, and the next largest was Pandi with 9,803 hectares.<sup>23</sup>

## Commercial Activities

Besides being large landowners, the clergy participated prominently in the commercial life of the country. One conduit for this participation was the obras pias, foundations which derived their funds from bequests of wealthy churchmen and lay persons. The earliest charitable foundation was the *Hermanidad de la Misericordia* originally endowed in 1596.<sup>24</sup>

These funds were to be invested in commerce and the income therefrom used for the pious and charitable purposes designated by the donor. With such a capital, which was periodically augmented by new donations, it is easy to see how influential the clergy were in the commercial field. These foundations financed trading ventures to China and India. Alcaldes and governors borrowed money from the obras pias to engage in

business within their jurisdictions. Even the government had recourse to these institutions when it found itself short of funds. Shippers on the galleon trade were financed by these foundations. In fact, while the galleon trade existed, this institution invested most of its funds in the venture not only as a financier of others but as an authorized recipient of a definite number of *boletas*, i.e., licenses for lading space in the galleons. In effect, the *obras pias* functioned as commercial banks and insurance companies.

Religious corporations and other Church organizations also participated in the galleon trade and in fact did so even before a royal decree gave them this right in 1638. Even the Manila Cathedral had an annual quota of *boletas*. Clergymen in their individual capacities were stringently prohibited by law and papal ban from trading, but they did so anyway, hiding their participation behind lay proxies. In fact, the trading activities of clergymen, both regular and secular, were so flagrant that in 1737, the Archbishop of Manila was compelled to expel from the country a large number of priests who had been devoting their time as agents for Dutch, Portuguese and French merchants. These clerics, however, were not Spaniards.<sup>25</sup>

The friars were also monopolists in the internal trade of their districts and were often powerful enough to fix the prices at which produce was to be bought and sold.<sup>26</sup>

## Political Power

The early ascendancy of the Church over the State was made possible by the success with which the friars undertook, almost single-handedly, the pacification of the country.

Since this success was due in large measure to the native's acceptance of the new religion, Spanish power in most communities rested on the influence of the religious. The prevalent opinion at that time that "in each friar in the Philippines the king had a captain general and a whole army" is a recognition of this fact.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, in more than half of the villages in the islands there was no other Spaniard, and therefore no other colonial authority, but the friar. This state of affairs obtained almost to the end of Spanish rule.<sup>28</sup>

## Union of Church and State

Other factors contributed to friar ascendancy. The friar's



knowledge of the land and of the people was invariably superior to that of the government functionary. The Spanish *alcaldes mayores* were dependent on the religious not only because the latter spoke the native dialects but also because the tenure of these government officials was temporary while that of the parish priest was more or less permanent.

A more fundamental basis of the great political power of the religious was the Spanish concept of the union of Church and State. The friar was entrusted with an ever-growing number of civil duties within the community until there was no aspect of community life in which he did not have a hand.

He was inspector of primary schools, and of taxation; president of the board of health, of charities, of urban taxation, of statistics, of prisons; formerly, president, but lately honorary president of the board of public works. He was a member of the provincial board and the board for partitioning crown lands. He was censor of the municipal budget, of plays, comedies, and dramas in the native language given at the *fiestas*. He had duties as certifier, supervisor, examiner, or counsellor of matters in regard to the correctness of *cedulas*, municipal elections, prison food, auditing of accounts, municipal council, the police force, the schools, and the drawing of lots for army service.<sup>29</sup>

### “Warehouse of Faith”

Economic power through landholding and through investments in foreign and internal trade, political power through extensive participation in government, and spiritual control over both the native population and fellow Spaniards — all these combined to make the friar the principal figure in each community, and the Church the dominant power in the country. As W.L. Schurz says:

... the colony took on more and more the character of a vast religious establishment. Manila had become a “warehouse of the Faith” — “*almacen de la Fe*” — from which missionaries issued forth to labor at the conversion of the infidels of the surrounding regions. In 1722 there were said to be over 1500 priests in the islands, or more than the total of the Spanish lay population at that time.<sup>30</sup>

### Friar Supremacy

Friction between the two colonial authorities existed almost from the very start. It was naturally exacerbated by the growing

importance and consequent arrogance and abuses of the religious authorities.

The friars were always conscious of their indispensability in the perpetuation of Spanish rule. This awareness of their power was aptly summarized in the following boast made by a friar:

If the king sends troops here, the Indians will return to the mountains and forests. But if I shut the church doors, I shall have them all at my feet in twenty-four hours.<sup>31</sup>

### Official Complaints

Time and again, governors complained of the abuses of the clergy and appealed to the Spanish monarch to curtail their powers. As early as 1592, Governor Dasmariñas was already railing against friar power. He wrote:

And the friars say the same thing – namely, that they will abandon their *doctrinas* (i.e., Christian villages) if their power over the Indians is taken away. This power is such that the Indians recognize no other king or superior than the father of the doctrina, and are more attentive to his commands than to those of the governor. Therefore the friars make use of them by the hundreds, as slaves, in their rowing, works, services, and in other ways, without paying them, and whipping them as if they were highwaymen. In whatever pertains to the fathers there is no grief or pity felt for the Indians; but as for some service of your Majesty, or a public work, in which an Indian may be needed, or as for anything ordered from them, the religious are bound to gainsay it, place it on one's conscience, hinder it, or disturb everything.<sup>32</sup>

In 1636, Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera wrote the king objecting to the increase in the number of religious in the islands. According to him, the friars had reduced the natives to virtual slavery by forcing them to sell to the religious all their rice and cloth at prices set by the latter who then monopolized the business in these items. And yet, the governor complained, when assessments of rice, cloth and wine were levied on the people by the government, these same friars objected on the ground that the natives were too poor to pay what was demanded.<sup>33</sup>

As a representative of the government whose concern was the exploitation of the natives, Corcuera was of course merely expressing the resentment of one who had discovered a formidable rival in this colonial appropriation. Like Governor

Dasmariñas, he complained to the king that the friars were infinitely more powerful than the Crown's representatives.

### Gubernatorial Casualties

But monastic supremacy was a fact of life that the king's representatives had to live with. Those who dared oppose the religious courted humiliation and even death. Governor Diego de Salcedo was imprisoned by the Inquisition and died a broken man while he was being shipped back to Mexico in 1669.

The dispute between Church and State flared up with particular violence during the term of Governor Juan de Vargas in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. When Vargas was no longer governor, his implacable foe, Archbishop Pardo, forced him to stand each day for four months in Manila's streets wearing sackcloth and with a rope around his neck and a candle in his hand. He, too, died a prisoner on a galleon bound for Mexico.

Governor Fernando Manuel de Bustamante came into conflict with the Church when, after finding out that the friars had borrowed heavily from the government and from the obras pias, he ordered them to return the money.<sup>34</sup> The governor's assertion of his official authority in this and other matters put him on a collision course with the clergy. Their mutual hostility culminated in the arrest and imprisonment of the Archbishop on charges of having conspired against the government. The friars, at the head of a mob, forced their way into the governor's palace and stabbed Bustamante to death.<sup>35</sup>

### Competing Exploiters and Oppressors

Of course, there was no lack of complaints to the king from the friars against the civil authorities. The latter's abuses and corruption were just as blatant. The dispute was between competing oppressors and exploiters with the king sometimes inclined to favor one and at other times the other.

The friars, however, were often as impervious to royal mandates as they were to the rulings of local officials. For example, the king at one time ordered the clergy to stop inducing dying men to bequeath their property to the Church. He also warned them against forcing women to render domestic service in their convents and instructed the priests not to charge the people for the sacraments administered to them. These and other similar orders were issued in response to numerous

complaints about their conduct, but the friars paid scant attention to such royal admonitions.<sup>36</sup>

## Conflict over Land Titles

To curb the land-grabbing propensities of the friars, the king ordered at various times the examination of land titles. Such investigations had minimal effect, for some religious orders either forged land titles or simply refused to show evidence of ownership, claiming ecclesiastical immunity.

As early as 1578, the Crown ordered the governor general and the president of the Royal Audiencia to examine land titles in the islands. Nothing however came of this. In 1697, an *oidor*, Juan Sierra,<sup>37</sup> came all the way from Mexico, charged with the task of determining the validity of the titles to all lands in the colony.<sup>38</sup> The friars vehemently refused to show their titles to Sierra. Claiming exemption, they presented their case to the Royal Audiencia which promptly ruled against them. The friars then appealed to Archbishop Camacho but the latter was somewhat hostile to the religious orders because of their refusal to submit to episcopal visitation.

When they saw that they could not expect anything from Camacho, the friars turned to Bishop Gonzales of Nueva Caceres. Gonzales took their side but the Audiencia subsequently ruled against them. However, Sierra was later replaced by another *visitador*, Don Juan Ozaeta y Oro, who proved more tractable.

The conflict between the civil authorities and the friars over land titles dragged on for many years, with the friars successfully parrying every attempt of the government to make them submit to its authority. In later years, other *oidores* simply refused to tangle with the religious orders, saying that the latter were too firmly entrenched and that anyway the government would have to give in to them since it could not dispense with their religious, social, and educational work in the colony.

The religious orders also came into conflict with the pope over their refusal to submit themselves to the authority of the bishops. The friars claimed that they were under the exclusive control of the superiors of their own orders. Inasmuch as this was merely an intramural between two sectors of the Spanish clergy, it is of little concern to us until such time as the dispute began to involve the native priests.

## From Individual to Common Grievance

During the early years of Spanish rule, most of the abuses committed by the friars were incidental to their proselytization and their role in resettling their converts in more compact communities. Such abuses were therefore committed by them in their individual capacities (as religious missionaries) and inflicted on natives also as individuals who in some way or another proved recalcitrant or slow to accept the new religion.

The work of conversion, however, required a degree of rapport with the natives. The early missionaries — the more earnest among them at least — applied themselves to learning the language of their flock and even their customs and traditions. They lived among the people, establishing themselves as the fathers and mentors of the community. At times, they took the side of the natives and tried to mitigate the exactions of the State. Moreover, they did not disturb the traditional hierarchy of authority in the village but instead worked through the chiefs and established themselves as an additional authority. Acceptance of the Catholic religion meant acceptance of the friars' authority as well as the development of a measure of personal loyalty to him.

Later, when the communities became more established and the administrative prerogatives of the friars increased, greater power together with the decline in missionary zeal occurring at the time gave rise to greater abuses.

Abuses such as the friar's excessive interference in the natives' daily life, personal insult, corporal punishment such as whipping and lashing of both men and women for the slightest offense, onerous fees for confessions and other religious rites, sexual offenses against native women, and the native's virtual reduction to a slave and servant of the friar — all these were being committed as early as the second or third decade of occupation. But these wrongs were still inflicted and also accepted on an individual basis and they varied in intensity and frequency depending on the personality of each priest. Furthermore, since punishments were meted out on a variety of individual offenses, there was no common grievance strong enough to call forth united action, although there is no doubt that resentments were building up.

## Transformation in Consciousness

But when the religious orders began to acquire property,

their abuses took on a different complexion. As landlords, they became economic exploiters whose abuses threatened the economic survival of the natives. Such abuses were no longer inflicted by an individual on separate individuals. Neither were they occasional or dependent on a particular friar.

Exploitation was basic and permanent, and enforced by an institution on groups of men constituting practically the entire community. Moreover, this kind of exploitation could not be justified in any way as part of the friar's religious mission. All these factors transformed isolated resentments into common and bitter grievances that erupted in revolts against the friars.

That native disaffection with the religious orders had a profoundly material basis is proved by the fact that discontent exploded in revolts precisely in areas where friars were known to hold large tracts of agricultural land. In the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Manila, Bulacan and Morong (now Rizal), the religious owned more than one-half of the total agricultural land. It is not mere coincidence that these provinces experienced many agrarian uprisings and became the strongholds of the Philippine Revolution.

As John Foreman succinctly put it:

... it was not the monks' immorality which disturbed the mind of the native, but their Caesarism which raised his ire. The ground of discord was always more infinitely material than sentimental.<sup>39</sup>

Objective changes in the existing relationship lead to changes in the perception of this relationship. In the case of the friars and the natives, when the supportive relationships actually began to wane as a consequence of blatant economic excesses that could no longer be legitimized by religious sentiments, certain demands, overlooked or justified as return favors in the past, began to be perceived as intolerably abusive impositions.

In other words, in the context of changed circumstances, past actions or behaviors of the friars acquired new meaning for the natives. The economic ascendancy of the friars not only gave rise to a new form of awakening; it also became an additional factor in unifying the people.

### From Accessory to Principal Apparatus

To summarize: the attitude of the natives to the Church in the course of its economic and political ascendancy changed from initial obedience due to awe and fear; to loyalty and

subservience arising from acceptance of the Catholic religion and experience with the power of priests within the colonial hierarchy, but accompanied by personal resentments; to generalized or group hostility because of common experience with economic exploitation by the friars; and finally, to the violently anti-friar sentiments of the masses during the Revolution (see Chapters 9 and 10) which resulted in demands for their expulsion and in the rise of an indigenous Church.

It is very clear that this transformation in the realm of consciousness was a response to a material stimulus — the transformation of the Church from a colonial accessory to the principal apparatus of colonial appropriation and exploitation.

## Part II

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# THE CRUCIBLE OF PRACTICE

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## VII.

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# Patterns of Struggle

The most fundamental aspect of Philippine history is the history of the struggles of its people for freedom and a better life. It was in the course of the anti-colonial struggles against Spain that the native inhabitants of the archipelago gradually became conscious of their identity as one nation. But because colonial rule was established at an early stage of the people's social development and was maintained with but a short interregnum up to the twentieth century, the people's rebellions were for the most part negative responses to colonial oppression, rather than positive movements for the attainment of national goals.

The nature of these responses was primarily determined by the main features of the two societies at each period of confrontation. Each resistance must therefore be viewed within the context of the society of the oppressor and the society of the oppressed.

### The Landscape Reviewed

A brief recapitulation of the main features of native society and Spanish society at the time of colonization by Legazpi in 1565 is necessary at this point for an understanding of the type of exploitation imposed, the true extent of the suffering it caused, and the nature of the resistance it generated.

Although the indigenous societies encountered by the Spaniards were in various levels of development, as a general rule they were based on subsistence economies, produced no surplus, and therefore had no basis for the existence of an institutionalized exploiting class.

Certain communities, however, were in transition to class society, having attained a relatively higher level of development because of the diffusion of the values and practices of the Muslim communities and also because of occasional contacts with traders from the Asian mainland. This was true of the Tagalog and Pampango areas where there were Muslim outposts.

But even in those communities where the beginnings of class stratification were discernible, the chiefs were still entrusted with communal responsibilities. There was as yet no real concept of private property in the sense of ownership of the means of production, and identification of the chiefs with the rest of the tribe was still buttressed by common activities redounding to the welfare of the group.

Spain at the time of the conquest was at the mercantilist stage of capitalist development although Spanish society still exhibited strong survivals of feudal values and forms. Mercantilism emphasized immediate extraction of wealth — particularly mineral wealth — for trading purposes, rather than long-range development of natural resources. Unlike the Latin American colonies, the Philippines had no rich hoards of gold and silver ready to hand. Since the Spaniards who came to the Philippines had neither the inclination nor the technical know-how to develop the natural potential of the islands, they made their fortunes by extracting what they could from the marginal economy of the native population.<sup>1</sup>

The union of Church and State was the most salient feature of Spanish rule in the islands. This union meant active participation by the friars in the colonial administration. The limited mercantilist objectives and the great distance of the colony from Spain dictated that only a small administrative machinery be sent over. This fact increased the importance of friar participation in government affairs and also led to initial reliance on encomenderos for administration. It was likewise a consideration (though not the most important one) in the early use of the native chiefs in the lower rungs of colonial administration. The use of the chiefs as colonial intermediaries was responsible for the development of baranganic social stratification.

### Early Resentments

Although some communities had initially welcomed the Spaniards, the very intrusion of the latter into the hitherto free and self-sufficient societies was bound to produce attempts by

some native groups to drive the intruders away. The earliest of such attempts, that of Lapu-lapu, chief of Mactan, resulted in the death of Ferdinand Magellan. As Lapu-lapu and his men had fought Magellan's expedition, so did other chiefs like Lakandula and Soliman lead their barangays in resisting the invaders under Legaspi.

Another attempt in 1587 brought together in alliance the chiefs of Tondo, Pandacan, Polo, Catangalan, Castilla, Taguig, Candaba, Navotas, Maysilo, Bulacan, Bangos and Cuyo. The leaders were Magat Salamat, son of Lakandula, and Agustin de Legazpi, Lakandula's nephew. The chiefs solicited help from the Bornean rulers to whom they were related as well as from a Japanese captain who was supposed to bring arms and soldiers to help them drive the Spaniards away. If successful, the chiefs would give one-half of the tribute customarily collected by the Spaniards to their Japanese allies. The plan remained a secret from the Spaniards for fifteen months, but before it could be put into operation, it was betrayed by another chief. Most of the chiefs involved were sentenced to death or exile and their property confiscated.<sup>2</sup>

### Early Resistance

The underlying cause of most of the early resistance was the tribute and its cruel method of collection. (See Chapter 4) Whole communities would fight off soldiers sent by encomenderos to collect the tribute. A higher levy invariably aroused the people to rise in revolt. Even the King's own encomiendas were not exempt from resistance. No tribute was collected from the king's encomienda in Cebu for a period of three years because the natives were in revolt. In fact, the abolition of the tribute would be a principal demand of practically every uprising throughout the Spanish occupation.<sup>3</sup>

Forced labor also led to a number of uprisings. In 1583, many natives of Pampanga were sent by the Spaniards to work in the gold mines of Ilocos. They were not allowed to return home in time for the planting season. As a result, there were grave food shortages in Pampanga and Manila the following year. Over one thousand were said to have starved to death in Lubao, Pampanga alone.<sup>4</sup> Because of the famine of 1584, the Pampangos decided to revolt. They sought the help of the Borneans for their plan to enter Manila one dark night to massacre all the Spaniards. Unfortunately, a native woman married to a Spanish soldier betrayed the plan. Many Pam-

pangos were arrested and executed.<sup>5</sup>

The policy of reduction (see Chapter 4) was also resisted. There was, for example, the rising of natives of Zambales and their subsequent retreat into the rugged mountain ranges of the province. The alcalde-mayor charged with pacification beheaded twenty Zambals to intimidate the rest into accepting resettlement.<sup>6</sup> A similar rebellion also occurred in Nueva Segovia (Ilocos) in the wake of the resettlement efforts of the religious.<sup>7</sup>

### Winning the Chiefs

There were, indeed, many instances during the first fifty years when the people demonstrated their resistance to the impositions and exactions of the colonizer. Although these were separate actions, each one a response to a particular grievance, they were all struggles in which whole barangays acted as one. This unity would, however, be slowly undermined by the techniques of colonization which deepened the stratification within the barangay communities, thus hastening the formation of classes in a full-blown colonial society.

The early colonizers tried to win over the more influential chiefs. This was easier to do in the more developed barangays around Manila where stratification was more marked. For example, the Spaniards rewarded Lakandula for his loyalty to them by exempting him and his descendants from tribute and forced labor. But when, after Legazpi's death, the new governor withdrew these personal privileges, Lakandula threatened to revolt. Mollified by the restoration of his privileges and by a promise of better treatment for his people, Lakandula again became a loyal subject and even aided the Spaniards in driving out the Chinese pirate, Limahong.<sup>8</sup>

The Hispano-Dutch war greatly increased the demands on the material and human resources of the colony during the first half of the seventeenth century. Abuses and corrupt practices were condoned so long as they helped to produce the supplies and manpower so urgently needed.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, since the earlier resettlement and pacification drives had established colonial control over a wider area, more communities were now subject to the increased exactions of tributes and forced labor. Resistance to the intensified exploitation was correspondingly widespread and took various forms depending on the level of development of the communities concerned.

## Economic Roots of Nativism

In the more backward areas, the expression of protest took the form of a return to the old native religion. Given their limited consciousness, the only ideological basis for protest that the people could offer was a contraposition of the power of their old gods to the power of the new religion. Nativism was no doubt reinforced by the importance of the Church in colonial administration and by the frequent invocations by the friars of the awesome powers of their God in order to cow the natives into submission.

In Bohol, for example, while the resistance took the form of a religious war, its economic root is readily visible in the claim of the rebels that their old gods guaranteed them relief from tributes and church dues. Thus, material resentments were reflected in the realm of consciousness.

### Tamblot

In 1622, a babaylan or native priest named Tamblot reported the appearance to him of a *diwata* or goddess who promised the people a life of abundance without the burden of paying tribute to the government or dues to the churches if they would rise against the Spaniards and reject the Catholic religion, go to the hills, and there build a temple. Two thousand Boholanos from four out of a total of six villages supervised by the Jesuits revolted. They burned the four villages and their churches, threw away all the rosaries and crosses they could find, and pierced an image of the Virgin repeatedly with their javelins.<sup>10</sup>

It took an expedition of fifty Spaniards and one thousand native troops from Pampanga and Cebu to put down the revolt, but not before they had been fiercely attacked by 1500 Boholanos using a variety of crude weapons such as pointed stakes, stones and crossbows.

The Spaniards regarded this revolt as a dangerous one for there was some evidence that it would spread to other communities. And in fact, before the Bohol revolt was quelled, the natives of Carigara, Leyte also rose.

### Bankaw and Tapar

The Leyteños were led by their old chief, Bankaw, who had received Legazpi in 1565 and had been baptized. Here, too, the uprising had nativistic features. The rebels erected a temple to their diwata and church property was destroyed. Women and

children, emboldened by the usual superstitious beliefs, fought side by side with the men. After their defeat, Bankaw's head was placed on a stake as a public warning, a son of his was beheaded, and a daughter taken captive.<sup>1 1</sup>

Another nativistic uprising which reflected the people's desire to escape their economic deprivation occurred in Panay in 1663. A man named Tapar attracted many followers with his stories about his frequent conversations with a demon. Tapar promised that if the people abandoned the Catholic religion and attacked the Spaniards, the demon would help them in various ways. Mountains would rise against their enemies, Spanish muskets would not fire or if they did, the bullets would hit the gun-wielders themselves, and any native who should die in the rebellion would live again. The demon also promised that the leaves of trees would turn into fish, the fiber of coconuts into fine linen, and that they would have all they wished in abundance.<sup>1 2</sup>

This revolt had one new characteristic: the adoption of certain features of the Catholic religion. Tapar proclaimed himself God Almighty and designated from among his followers a Christ, a Holy Ghost and a Virgin Mary. He also appointed popes and bishops. This new development reflects the strong hold that Catholic doctrine already had on the people by that time. After all, proselytization had been going on for a century.

The adoption of some features of Catholicism did not however prevent the rebels from killing a Spanish priest. This act provoked a series of bloody reprisals which finally stamped out the revolt. Tapar was executed.

## Labor Conscription

Since the Hispano-Dutch war in the Far East was essentially a naval conflict, the demand for woodcutters, shipbuilders and crewmen rose sharply. A rash of shipwrecks in the galleon trade route compounded the crisis. Because of the urgent need to step up labor conscription, all the regulations designed to protect the polistas (see Chapter 4) were discarded, giving rise to grave abuses. Furthermore, it became necessary to extend manpower levies to villages that had not contributed this kind of forced labor before.

In order to partially relieve the Tagalogs and Pampangos who had been bearing the brunt of the conscription, Governor General Fajardo in 1649 ordered the alcaldes of Leyte and other Visayan provinces to step up labor conscription in their

areas to supply the shipyards of Cavite, Bohol and the Visayas.<sup>13</sup> This new exaction which separated families and took the men to far-away places for long periods of time caused deep resentment.

Since the decree conscripted one man per village, all villages now had a common grievance. But here, again, the struggle had to take a religious form, not only because Church property was the only material evidence of the Spanish presence, but because the return to the native religion was the clearest notice the rebels could give of their rejection of Spanish rule. Then, too, a consciousness imbued with the need to rely on supernatural support could not just abandon one powerful god without invoking the aid of another. Thus the revolt had to find some supernatural sanction before it could start.

## Sumuroy

The first resistance engendered by forced labor occurred in Samar. Its leader, Sumuroy, significantly enough a ship's pilot, was ordered by his father who was a babaylan to kill a priest in the convent. This he did on June 1, 1649.

On *Corpus Christi* day, all the people marched to the convent, sent the other priests away, and sacked and burned the church. They took the church vestments and cut these up into drawers and turbans for themselves.<sup>14</sup> This act was probably deemed to be part of the declaration of rebellion. Common grievances quickly sparked similar actions in many other villages. As though on cue, almost all the coastal villages of Samar revolted. Churches were burned, the friars fled, and the rebels regrouped in the mountains where they built a fort.

The simultaneous actions alarmed the Spanish officials, especially since these involved even villages very close to Catbalogan, the seat of jurisdiction in the province. Emboldened by their successes, the Sumuroy forces even mounted daytime assaults on Spanish troops. When the Spaniards demanded Sumuroy's head, the rebels contemptuously sent them the head of a pig.

The first force the Spanish alcalde mayor of Leyte was able to muster proved ineffectual as it consisted of collectors of tribute who were not used to fighting and natives who were relatives of the rebels. A general had to be sent over from Manila, only to be placed in a dilemma by the wide popular support for the revolt. To crush the rebels, he had to have a large number of native boats to ferry provisions and arms; on

the other hand, he was afraid of the consequences of a large concentration of natives, because even those uninvolved in the revolt regarded the rebels as their liberators and rejoiced over their victories.

The Spaniards finally used their newly converted former enemies, the Lutaos of Zamboanga, to assault the rebel fort. The revolt ended in individual surrenders, and the rebels themselves killed Sumuroy and carried his head to the Spanish commander.

The most significant aspect of this revolt was the spontaneity with which the other coastal villages of Samar initiated their own actions and joined the rebellion. Similarly, other provinces around Samar followed suit, with the people committing various acts of rebellion against abusive Spanish authorities. A Franciscan father was banished from Sorsogon, an *alferez* (chief ensign) was put to death in Masbate, an officer was killed in Cebu, natives of Camiguin tied up the father prior and humiliated him by placing their feet on his neck, several priests were killed in Zamboanga, and the entire coast of Northern Mindanao revolted.

### Tricky Dabao

The uprising in Northern Mindanao which was led by a Manobo chieftain named Dabao is worth noting. The revolt was caused by the controversial decree to send carpenters to the Cavite shipyard.

Dabao was a cunning fighter with a bagful of tricks. Once, pursued by Spanish soldiers, he quickly presented himself before a friar and asked to be baptized, thus forcing the priest to protect his new convert. He allowed the father prior of the convent in Linao to believe that he had been won over and, to prove it, entrusted the education of one of his sons to the priest. But this was just a ruse to enable him to move more freely among the new Christians whom he successfully convinced to join him in his plan to kill the religious and all the Spanish soldiers in the fort.

Dabao's opportunity came when some men stole a quantity of maize and rice. He volunteered to catch the men and then set about preparing his own version of the Trojan horse trick. He chose eight strong followers of his and bound their hands behind their backs, but in such a way that they could untie themselves at his signal. Their weapons concealed on their persons, the "prisoners" were taken by Dabao to the fort. Just



when the men were going to be set in the stocks for their punishment, Dabao drew his dagger and attacked the captain. This was the signal for the supposed prisoners to untie themselves and for the villagers armed with lances to join in the fray. The Spanish garrison was wiped out.

Governor Fajardo offered an amnesty to end the unrest in northern Mindanao, but the rebels who surrendered were either hanged or enslaved and taken to Manila where they were bought by Spanish households. A number were subsequently sent back home through the intercession of the Recollect fathers.<sup>15</sup>

### Opportunities for the Chiefs

The nativistic revolts which involved entire communities without regard to social strata later gave way to struggle in which chiefs took advantage of mass unrest to advance their own interests. This development became noticeable by the middle of the seventeenth century in the more economically advanced provinces. By this time, the chiefs had already begun to enhance their economic status by taking advantage of the opportunities open to them as minor officials in the colonial administrative structure. Some of them now also made good use of their position as colonial intermediaries by exploiting the grievances of their followers to extract concessions for themselves from the Spaniards.

Although the chiefs had definitely become participants in the exploitative process, the people continued to follow their chiefs, though sometimes grudgingly. Traditional respect for the chief was reinforced by Spanish inculcation of feudal values with emphasis on acceptance of a hierarchical society. The people were constantly exhorted to obey their "betters."

The period of intense exploitation of the natives was also the period of accelerated consolidation of principalia control. The job of requisitioning supplies and recruiting manpower for the war was delegated to the local chiefs. This task proved very lucrative. Cabezas often confiscated the wages of polo laborers. Others who did not want to be conscripted had to pay for substitute workers. If they had no money, they borrowed at high interest rates from the local cabeza and became his debt peons.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the war emergency strengthened the pre-conquest practices of debt peonage and share cropping.

## New Stage in Native Resistance

Their growing wealth and a new awareness of their own prestige and influence nurtured in some of the chiefs ambitions of seizing power for themselves outside of the colonial framework. The middle of the seventeenth century thus marks a new stage in the pattern of native resistance.

Though the masses were gaining more experience and education in struggle, though they were participating actively in the historic process that would eventually lead to unification and awareness of national identity, class interests were emerging which would definitely undermine the integrity of their future struggles. For whenever the sufferings of the people from colonial abuses reached a peak which made the outbreak of violent resistance imminent, some chief or other would assume the leadership for the purpose of installing himself as the new authority in place of the Spaniards. He thus made use of the people's libertarian impulses to satisfy his own ambitions.

The intensified exactions which had provoked the series of nativistic uprisings in the Visayas and Mindanao also inflamed the people of the more advanced provinces of Luzon to rise against Spain. The higher level of consciousness of these communities, however, needed no magical mask to conceal the material reasons for their discontent. The nature of their grievances, the goals and conduct of their uprisings, and the outlook of their leaders clearly indicate a different level of economic and social development. The revolts of 1660 in Pampanga and Pangasinan illustrate the new features of native resistance.

### The Maniago "Revolt"

The provinces were reeling under the exactions of forced labor for shipbuilding, bandalas, and other duties and services. Being one of the traditional suppliers of goods and services, Pampanga was particularly hard hit.

To provision the Spanish fleet and the garrisons, Pampanga was assessed 24,000 *fanegas* (bushels) of rice each year at two or two and one-half reales per fanega, a rate much lower than the market price. By the time the province revolted, the government owed the people 200,000 pesos.<sup>17</sup> This was a great deal of money indeed by the standards of that time and, given the low prices, must have represented a very large amount of produce unpaid for. If, on the one hand, the large yearly

assessment on the Pampangos was indicative of the amount of surplus they now produced, the size of the accumulated debt should also give us an idea of the resentment that was building up.

In addition, the war and the series of shipwrecks that plagued the galleon trade in the last few years forced large and repeated requisitions for timber cutters and shipbuilders. Ships were also needed for the naval units in Zamboanga and the Visayas and to convoy the Chinese junks engaged in the lucrative trade between Manila and Canton. Thus, even after the war with the Dutch was over, labor drafts remained as large as ever.

The harassed Pampangueños also had to contend with military conscription. The Spaniards had come to rely on the fighting prowess of the Pampangos and used them extensively to quell revolts in other provinces. The Dutch-Spanish war intensified recruitment.

The immediate cause of the Pampanganga rising was the ill-treatment to which timber cutters were subjected by the chief overseer of timber cutting in the province. One thousand Pampangos had been working for eight months under oppressive conditions. These men mutinied and signified their intention to revolt by setting fire to their camp site. They chose as their leader, Don Francisco Maniago, a chief from the village of Mexico who had previously been appointed *maestre de campo*.<sup>18</sup>

The Spaniards were alarmed by this development for two reasons: first, because they knew that the Pampangos, having been trained in the military art by the Spaniards themselves, could become formidable enemies and second, because the Spanish force in the Philippines at the time was greatly reduced. It was therefore resolved to try conciliatory methods, but initially these proved fruitless.

Meanwhile, armed rebels gathered in Lubao under Maniago and another group made preparations in Bacolor. They closed the mouths of rivers with stakes to deny the use of these waterways to the Spanish forces. The chiefs involved then sent letters to other chiefs in Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan informing the inhabitants of those provinces that the Pampangos had risen with such force that they could take Manila, and asking these provinces to join them in revolt and to kill all Spaniards in their regions so that together they might throw off the Spanish yoke and elect a king of their own.

## Lara's Maneuvers

How Governor Manrique de Lara managed to defuse the dangerous situation is a minor masterpiece of colonial maneuvering. The shrewd governor was able to exploit the fundamental division between the native elite and the people which Spanish colonialism itself had created. He also managed to play off one chief against another.

Governor de Lara began his maneuvers with a show of force. With three hundred men he went to Macabebe, a rich and populous town in Pampanga. People there were getting ready to join the rebels but on seeing the well-armed Spaniards, they became frightened and pretended friendliness, which pretense was returned in full by Lara. This show of mutual cordiality caused other rebels to waver and distrust one another so that in Apalit, they took away the despatches given to a certain Agustin Pamintuan for delivery to Pangasinan and Ilocos for fear that said Pamintuan might betray them to the Spaniards.

De Lara's next problem was to assure the loyalty of Juan Macapagal, chief of Arayat, since it was necessary to pass through his territory to reach Pangasinan. If Macapagal could be counted on the Spanish side, this would prevent a junction of the forces of the two provinces. De Lara wrote Macapagal calling him to a conference. He came, but to preserve his options, passed by the rebel camp first.

De Lara treated him with great courtesy and promised him many rewards if he would side with the government. Macapagal readily changed his color, whereupon he was named *maestre de campo* of his people and his wife and children were invited to Manila, ostensibly for their protection but actually as hostages.

## Change of Heart

When the rebels sent an envoy to Macapagal to secure his support, he had the envoy killed. Macapagal, now a loyal defender of His Majesty's interests, went back to Arayat to organize a force that would prevent the rebels from using that route should they be forced to seek refuge in Pangasinan. Macapagal's defection discouraged the other chiefs. Furthermore, they became envious when they learned of the preferential treatment bestowed on Macapagal's family.

Similar stratagems were employed by friars on other chiefs with equally good results. The upshot of it all was that the Pampanga chieftains wrote the governor and

alleged, as an excuse for the disturbance, the arrears of pay which were due them for their services, together with the loans of their commodities which had been taken to Manila for the support of the paid soldiers; they entreated his Lordship to command that these dues be paid, so that their people, delighted with this payment and therefore laying aside their fury, could be disarmed by their chiefs and sent back to their homes.<sup>19</sup> (underscoring supplied)

Governor Lara proposed a partial payment of P14,000 on the P200,000 due the Pampangos. The religious helped in the negotiations by contacting the leaders and offering them rewards for themselves and amnesty for their followers. Soon the chiefs began changing their tune. Wanting to ingratiate themselves with the Spaniards, they claimed that it was their people who had forced the revolt on them.

### The Non-revolt

Whether De Lara believed this or not, it was a development which he shrewdly proceeded to promote by conversing in a friendly manner with the chiefs, granting them their personal requests, and asking them as an earnest of their fidelity to send men as usual for the timber cutting. The wily governor returned to Manila taking Maniago with him under the pretext of appointing him *maestre de campo* for his provincemates residing in the city.

These skillful negotiations resulted in the Pampangos themselves demanding two garrisons — in Lubao and in Arayat — for their security. They were now afraid of the Pangasinenses whom they had originally induced to join them in revolt.

The Pampanga revolt was really a non-revolt. There were no deaths, no churches were ravaged, no villages burned. But, significantly, an account of this revolt mentions "threats of disobedience to their chiefs." One may surmise that disapproval was registered by the people at the obvious sell-out by their leaders.

### Middlemen of Power

The class composition of Pampanga society is evident in this revolt. The native forms of dependence based on kinship ties had already been transformed into exploitative relations. The chiefs had become middlemen of power. Here we see them maneuvering between the people and the Spaniards. The chiefs

used the people as a bargaining lever but abandoned their cause in exchange for honors and other benefits.

What happened in Pampanga would happen again and again. In the long history of the people's struggle against their colonial masters, there would be numerous other occasions when their own leaders would barter their cause for selfish advantage.

### Pampango Collaboration

It is not difficult to see why the clearest example of a popular resistance to foreign rule undermined by elite duplicity occurred in Pampanga. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Pampangos had already had a long history of cooperation with the colonizers. As early as 1587 or barely twenty years after Legazpi's arrival, the Tondo chiefs who were then planning to expel the Spaniards had tried to enlist the aid of the Pampanga chieftains. The latter refused to cooperate, stating that they were friendly with the Spaniards.

The early *modus vivendi* between the Spanish conquerors and the Pampangos had a firm material basis. Pampanga's favorable terrain made it a relatively prosperous and economically advanced region. Its fertile fields and the availability of water from its well-located rivers enabled it to produce the increasing requirements of the Spaniards. Being near Manila, Pampanga became the traditional supplier of foodstuffs for the city. Because of their dependence on this province, the Spaniards treated the Pampangos with relatively more consideration. Trade with the Spaniards made Pampanga a prosperous province.

The Pampango soldiers were much prized by the colonizers. They participated in the capture of Terranate during the wars in the Moluccas, were called on to guard Manila as needed, served as rowers and pioneers in expeditions conducted by the Spanish fleets, and as builders of galleons. Pampango soldiers were in great demand for putting down insurrections in far-flung areas of the country.

Conscription and provisioning — both profitable enterprises — were handled by the chiefs. Since the ones who benefited most from the policy of cooperation were the principales, they had a stake in the maintenance of Spanish rule. The enemies of the Spaniards were also their enemies. The objective conditions bred in the Pampango elite a deeper colonial-mindedness than in the principalias of less prosperous places.

For all the foregoing reasons, it is not surprising that after the

abortive revolt which followed the famine of 1583, no other rebellion occurred in that province for almost eighty years. Instead, we find thousands of Pampangos helping to quell the Sangley rebellions of 1603 and 1639-40. And after the Maniago revolt of 1660, there was to be no other uprising in this province under the Spaniards.

### Malong — New Ambitions

The Pangasinan and Ilocos uprisings which followed the abortive Pampanga revolt provide other evidences of the growing transformation of the principales into an elite class. In both instances the leaders wanted to replace the Spaniards as personal rulers of the people.

Andres Malong of Pangasinan was, like Maniago, a *maestre de campo*. At the start of his rebellion, just after his followers had sacked the rich village of Bagnotan and killed the *alcalde-mayor* of Lingayen, he proclaimed himself king of Pangasinan and made his aide, Pedro Gumapos, a count. He then sent letters to all the chiefs of the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan demanding their allegiance and asking them to kill all Spaniards in their territories, or he would punish them. He also wrote to Maniago of Pampanga threatening that if the latter did not join the revolt, Malong's man, Melchor de Vera, would march on Pampanga with six thousand men — but by then the Pampangos had already made their peace.

### Mass Participation

This revolt is remarkable for the great number of people who spontaneously joined it. Unknown to the Spaniards, an under-current of revolt had been steadily spreading through clandestine intercourse between different villages. The people were ready to rise.

Soon after his first action, therefore, Malong could boast of more than four thousand followers, and although the rebellion lasted only one month — from December 15, 1660 to January 17, 1661 — accounts say that Malong was able to assign six thousand men to Melchor de Vera to conquer Pampanga and three thousand to "Count" Pedro Gumapos to reduce Ilocos and Cagayan, and still keep under his own command two thousand men for any contingency. Another estimate puts the total number of rebels at forty thousand men.

While these figures may be somewhat exaggerated, the size of

Malong's forces was certainly large enough to warrant the use by General Esteybar of two hundred infantry and other troops of different nationalities plus General Ugalde's forces of Spaniards and Pampangos. Moreover, although the Spaniards attacked Malong only after Gumapos with around five thousand Zambals had gone to Ilocos, they still managed to slay more than five hundred rebels.

But mere numbers could not overcome the superior fire power and training of the Spanish-led troops. Soon after Malong's defeat in battle, groups of rebels began surrendering to the Spaniards. The rebellion was virtually over. Malong was arrested and later executed in his hometown of Binalatongan, Pangasinan.<sup>21</sup>

## Gumapos

Gumapos and his army of Zambals did not fare any better in Ilocos, principally because the population seemed to vacillate between the two contending forces. There were instances when they joined the Gumapos forces in killing Spaniards but later regretted their participation. One group asked the Spaniards to hang the father of Gumapos for passing on information to his son.

On the other hand, while the Spaniards with fifteen hundred Ilocano troops were retreating before the Zambals, they were unable to rally to their aid the inhabitants of any town they passed. In Vigan, the Spaniards tried to build a fort within which they might better defend themselves while awaiting reinforcements from Manila, but they failed to carry out their plan because the natives conscripted to build it kept disappearing.<sup>22</sup>

But there was no ambivalence as far as the rich Ilocano chiefs in the areas invaded by Gumapos were concerned. Their loyalty was to their property. During the Zambal invasion, their main preoccupation was how to salvage their wealth. They brought to the bishop's house all their gold, silver, and other valuables. The hoard was so large that it filled all the rooms to overflowing and much property had to be buried. In an effort to save this treasure and that of the Church as well, the bishop assembled the Zambals and publicly threatened them with excommunication if they took anything from the churches or from his house. The Zambals, although they had asked the bishop to say Mass upon their arrival, were not impressed by the threat of excommunication. They sent the bishop to the town of Santa



Catalina and then proceeded to loot his house. They even unearthed the silver which the friars and the rich had buried. Then they plundered and burned Santa Catalina as well as other villages and convents.

Gumapos' Ilocos campaign ended after an encounter with the Spanish forces during which four hundred rebels were slain and Gumapos himself was taken prisoner. He was later hanged in Vigan.

### Religion and Rebellion

A new development worth noting was the attitude of the rebels toward religion. Rebellion did not result in a resurgence of nativism as in earlier revolts or among more backward peoples. In fact, the rebels on occasion asked to hear Mass and to be confessed.

Observance of Catholic rites, however, did not prevent them from appropriating or destroying church property. As for the priests, some were killed, others were jailed or sent away. Interestingly enough, one priest had his life spared when he was ransomed by a village chieftainess.

### A Taste for Titles

Besides the rebellion that Gumapos unsuccessfully sought to incite in the Ilocos provinces, a short-lived revolt led by an Ilocano, Pedro Almazan, also occurred at this time. Like Maniago and Malong, Almazan was a member of the principalia. He was a very rich chief of San Nicolas to whom Malong had addressed one of his letters urging revolt. Like Malong, one of the first acts of the wealthy Almazan was to have himself crowned king of Ilocos. The ceremony took place at the wedding of his son to the daughter of another chief. The young couple were named princes. Almazan wore the crown of the Queen of Angels which was taken from a church the rebels had sacked.

The Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos uprisings of the 1660's were typical examples of revolts led by principales.<sup>2 3</sup> Because these principales shared, though to a lesser extent, the grievances of the people, it was possible for them to make common cause with the masses. But since the native elite had acquired through their association with Spanish officials a taste for

wealth, power, and high titles, revolt meant for them much more than mere eradication of oppression. They saw in mass unrest a vehicle for the satisfaction of their own ambitions. These revolts were early manifestations of the desire of the native elite to supplant the Spanish rulers whom they were beginning to regard as impediments to their own growth.

### The Longest Revolt

The most successful of the revolts of the period was certainly that of the Boholanos led by Francisco Dagohoy. It was a concrete manifestation of the drive for freedom and a monument to the people's struggle.

The immediate cause was a personal grievance which Dagohoy had against Father Morales, a Jesuit priest who had ordered a native constable to arrest Dagohoy's brother. According to the friar, the indio was a renegade who had abandoned the Christian religion. Dagohoy's brother resisted arrest and killed the constable before he himself died. The friar then refused to give him a Christian burial on the ground that he had died in a duel which was forbidden by the Church. Dagohoy swore to avenge his brother. Three thousand Boholanos joined him in revolt. This number swelled to twenty thousand over the years.

Dagohoy's grievance was only the spark that kindled the uprising. Three thousand people would not have abandoned their homes so readily and chosen the uncertain and difficult life of rebels had they not felt themselves to be the victims of grave injustices and tyrannies.

Several features of this revolt are worthy of note, the most striking of which is the length of time the rebellion was sustained. No other revolt in the non-Muslim area even approximates the Boholanos' record of eighty-five years of tenacious resistance. The Boholanos maintained their independence from the Spaniards from 1744 to 1829.<sup>24</sup>

No doubt, the distance from Manila and the fact that the Spaniards were busy with the British invasion during part of this period were factors that helped the rebels. But two aspects of this revolt were of greater importance in insuring the maintenance of a long resistance. One was the fact that the Boholanos had the good sense to establish their base in the mountains and to surround this with farm settlements. This made them self-sufficient.

Whereas the forces of other rebellions such as those of Malong in Pangasinan and Almazan in Ilocos moved from town to town engaging the Spaniards where the latter's superior arms gave them the advantage, Dagohoy's forces swooped down on the Spanish garrisons and retreated to their inaccessible mountain settlement after the fighting. Thus, when a Spanish expedition was dispatched in 1747, it occupied a few towns, won some skirmishes and captured a few rebels, but could not break the rebellion. Although the Spanish commander repeatedly sent groups of his men into the mountains, they failed to capture Dagohoy and other leaders.

## Mountain Communities

The other factor which was responsible for the high morale of the rebels was the cohesiveness of their mountain communities. The establishment of mountain settlements proved beneficial in more than a tactical sense.

When people leave different communities to move to a virgin area that has to be cleared for cultivation, there occurs a dissolution of old property relations. Moreover, when such a pioneer settlement must be self-sufficient economically and must rely for its defense on all its members, a more egalitarian social organization is bound to develop. An account notes the orderly way in which the rebels regulated their communities.<sup>25</sup>

We may surmise that in these mountain settlements there occurred a return to the old communal relations. Freed of the burden of the tribute and of forced labor and no longer subject to the abuses and exactions of corrupt officials and priests, the rebels were certainly better off than they used to be. All these considerations instilled in them a strong determination to defend their new freedom. In addition, Dagohoy was able to obtain the support or at least the sympathy of the people in the towns. Many joined the rebels or supplied them with arms and money.<sup>26</sup> This, too, was a source of strength.

Although the rebellion was initially animated by anti-religious feelings because of the abuses of the parish priest, Father Morales, by this time the Catholic religion had been part of Philippine life for close to two centuries and therefore could not just be abandoned. As Tapar in Panay had done in a cruder way, the Dagohoy rebels also adopted and adapted the Catholic religion. They solemnized weddings, baptized the newborn, and practised other Catholic rites, using some of their own people to

perform the duties of the Spanish priests.<sup>27</sup>

## Negotiations Conducted

Perhaps the best indication of the importance and the success of this rebellion may be seen in the persistent efforts exerted by both the State and the Church to negotiate with Dagohoy. After the unsuccessful military attempts to suppress the revolt, it was the Church's turn to make the effort. Bishop Espeleta of Cebu tried to persuade the rebels to give up their resistance by promising to secure a general amnesty, to find remedies for the abuses of government officials, and to assign secular priests instead of Jesuits to the Bohol parishes. The rebels refused the offer.

After the Jesuits were expelled from the country in 1768, the Recollect missionaries took over the parishes in Bohol.<sup>28</sup> They, too, tried to persuade Dagohoy to abandon his rebellion. One Recollect priest went into the mountains to speak with Dagohoy and to ask him to swear allegiance to Spain once more. Although the Recollects claimed that Dagohoy consented to return to the fold and even promised to build a church, the fact is that no church was built and the rebellion continued.<sup>29</sup>

## Beyond Dagohoy

It is not known when Dagohoy died, but his death did not end the resistance; it was finally crushed by the superior arms of the enemy. In 1827, an expedition of 2,200 native and Spanish troops failed to suppress the rebellion. In 1828, the Spaniards tried again. This time the military expedition was larger and better equipped. After the first encounter at Caylagan, the Boholano rebels retreated to their mountain base in Boasa and prepared their defense by building stone trenches around it. Within this perimeter the rebels had their fields of rice, corn and camotes, their banana groves, three springs that provided them with ample water, and their houses. The Spaniards attacked the stronghold, bombarding it with artillery. The rebels put up a stiff resistance but after suffering many casualties, the survivors were forced to abandon the fort. Some fought their way out of the encirclement and managed to escape. When the Spaniards left the area, the Boholanos regrouped and returned to Boasa but the Spaniards soon mounted a second attack. Although the rebels fought fiercely, superior arms won the day.<sup>30</sup>

By August 31, 1829, the rebellion was over. It had taken a year of repeated assaults to crush the Boholanos. Captain Sanz, leader of the Spanish expedition, wrote in his official report that 3,000 Boholanos escaped to other islands, 19,420 surrendered, 395 died in battle, and 98 were exiled.<sup>31</sup> He also reported the capture of a large number of enemy arms such as battle axes, lances, bolos, *campilans*, muskets and even artillery pieces.

The great number of surrenderees attests to the mass support the Dagohoy revolt counted on. An account of the rebellion written by Governor General Ricafort contains the following revealing details: of the native troops numbering six thousand that fought under the Spaniards, 294 from Bohol and 32 from Cebu deserted, while 4,977 Boholanos and 22 Cebuanos were disbanded as being on the sick list. Moreover, to ensure peace, around ten thousand of the rebels had to be resettled in five new villages and the rest distributed to other villages.

### Anti-Clerical Feelings

During this same period, the people were also ventilating their grievances against the religious orders. The pattern of resistance was now clearly based on economic exploitation. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the masses were already becoming acutely conscious of the economic injustices perpetrated by the Church such as landgrabbing, subjecting the cultivators to stringent rules, and charging exorbitant rents.

Agrarian uprisings occurred in what are now the provinces of Bulacan, Batangas, Laguna, Cavite, and Rizal. The principal causes of these revolts were the usurpation by the religious orders of lands of the natives and friar abuses in the management of their large estates. (See Chapter 6)

### The British Interlude

The legitimate struggles of the people against the abuses of government officials and friars were given new impetus by the British occupation of Manila in late 1762 as an off-shoot of the Seven Years War in Europe. Encouraged by the capitulation of Manila to the British, the restive population in many provinces seized the opportunity provided by this demonstration of

Spanish military weakness to press their own libertarian demands.

Uprisings occurred in Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Cavite, Camarines, Samar, Panay Island, Cebu, Zamboanga, Cagayan, Pangasinan, and Ilocos. Everywhere, Spanish officials and friars were expelled or killed. Of these uprisings, the major ones were those in Pangasinan and Ilocos.

The Pangasinan revolt of the 18th century occurred simultaneously with the Ilocos revolt and for similar reasons: Spain's loss of prestige due to the British occupation of Manila, excessive tributes, and abuses of the *alcalde mayor* and other officials.

The Pangasinan revolt which broke out in 1762 began in the town of Binalatongan (now Binalonan). The immediate cause was the arrival of a commission sent by the *alcalde mayor* to collect the royal tribute. The people demanded the abolition of the tribute and the replacement of the *alcalde mayor* who had been committing many abuses. The uprising was temporarily quelled after a force of forty Spaniards, a squadron of Pampanga horsemen, and a regiment of militia put to flight a disorganized rebel force of ten thousand in Bayambang.

The revolt was however revived under the leadership of a native of Binalatongan, Juan de la Cruz Palaris, whose father had been a *cabeza de barangay*. Under Palaris, the revolt quickly spread to nine other towns. All Spaniards including the friars were driven out of these rebel towns and for more than a year, Palaris was the master of the province.

With Pangasinan and Ilocos both in revolt and the British to contend with, the beleaguered Spaniards could not muster enough force to confront the rebels in both provinces. But after the Ilocos revolt was put down, the *alcalde* of Cagayan came to the rescue of his counterpart in Pangasinan, bringing with him three thousand Ilocano soldiers. By the beginning of 1764, the rebels had to abandon the towns and retreat to the mountains, each rebel group led by a chief. By March, the revolt was crushed. Palaris was hanged in January, 1765.

Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga notes in his account of this uprising that many of the rebels died of hunger in the mountains while others fled to other provinces. In the first census made after the rebellion, the population was found to have decreased by 26,927 or almost half of the previous number.<sup>3 2</sup>

## Silang — Ilustrado Prototype

The more celebrated rebel leader of the British occupation period, and one whose exploits provide an interesting subject for study and analysis, was Diego Silang of Ilocos.

Silang, thirty two years old when he led the Ilocano uprising, was born of parents who came from the principalia. Orphaned at an early age, he lived with the parish priest of Vigan. Some years later, this curate was transferred to Manila. Silang was travelling to the city in a junk carrying the friar's personal effects when the ship capsized. He was captured by Aetas of Zambales who held him for some time as their slave. Ransomed by a Recollect missionary, he went back to relatives in Pangasinan and later returned to Vigan. There he married a well-to-do widow whose husband had left her fields and fishponds. She was the protege of *Provisor* (vicar general or ecclesiastical judge) Tomas Millan. For many years Silang was a mail courier between Vigan and Manila, travelling to the city every year at about the time the galleon from Mexico was expected. Thus he was in Manila awaiting the arrival of the galleon when the British occupied the city.

The Silang revolt, though it lasted a scant five months from December 14, 1762 to May 28, 1763, is important because it provides us with a prototype of the ilustrado leadership of the nineteenth century.

Vigan was then the center of an economically developing and prosperous region, and Silang, with his principalia origins and Spanish upbringing, the property holdings of his wife, and his greater sophistication as a result of his many trips to Manila, had just the right background to emerge as the typical leader of that time and place. It is with a view to gaining insights into this evolving type of leadership that the short-lived Silang revolt is worth studying in some detail.

The ease with which the British secured the capitulation of Manila shattered the myth of Spanish invincibility. Possibly, the idea of taking advantage of the Spanish defeat began to form in Silang's mind while he was still in Manila. The Spanish author, Jose Montero y Vidal, writes that in Manila, Silang lived in the house of a lawyer, the "traitor Orendain."<sup>3 3</sup> Also, on the way home he stopped at Pangasinan where his relative, a *maestre de campo* named Andres Lopez, was one of the leaders of the uprising in that province.

In Vigan, the *principales* had been protesting against various abuses of the *alcalde mayor* and demanding the dismissal of

some local officials. News of the British occupation of Manila and of the Pangasinan revolt heightened the general restlessness and anxiety. Thus, upon his arrival Silang found it easy to rouse the people to take steps to protect themselves from the British on the ground that the Spaniards could no longer protect them. He argued that since the English were in possession of Manila and the Spaniards had been rendered powerless, the people should stop paying tributes and other taxes. He urged that they organize themselves to fight the British, warning that British domination could result in the loss of their Catholic religion. Significantly, he stated that this task required the unity of the principales and the common people.

### Common Bases of Action

The principales and the common people had some common bases for action against Spanish rule. The people continued to find the tribute burdensome, particularly the *comun*<sup>34</sup> which consisted of one *real fuerte* per tribute payer per year. While this may not have been a serious burden to the principales, it did not particularly benefit them either, so its abolition could be safely demanded in behalf of the people. But the principales and the common people were both affected by the abuses committed by the *alcalde mayor* as a consequence of the *indulto de comercio*.

The *indulto de comercio* was a privilege sold by the central government to most *alcaldes mayores* which allowed them to engage in commerce in their respective jurisdictions. Aspirants were expected to pay from 1/6 to 1/2 of their annual salary for this privilege. Because of the enormous profits that could be obtained from the *indulto de comercio*, *alcaldias* were much sought after. Some aspirants were even willing to relinquish their entire salary to secure appointment. The practice was reminiscent of the old *capitulaciones* of the conquistadores and produced similar abuses. (See Chapter 2)

While the *alcalde's* excesses burdened the common people, his virtual control of the commerce of the region was particularly irksome to the principales whose own opportunities for further economic progress were thereby curtailed.

### Defender of King and Church

While Diego Silang's initial demands reflected the junction of principalia and mass grievances, they did not go beyond the



framework of typical *principalia* objectives. He asked for (1) the deposition of the *alcalde-mayor*, Antonio Zabala, for his abuses of the *indulto de comercio* and his replacement by Tomas Millan, his wife's old guardian; (2) the appointment as chief justice of one of the four chiefs of Vigan; (3) the abolition of personal services; (4) the expulsion by the bishop of all Spaniards and Spanish mestizos from the province; and (5) the appointment of Silang himself to head the Ilocano army against the English, his expenses to be taken from the *comun* already collected by the *alcalde*.<sup>3 5</sup>

These initial demands, unacceptable though they were to the Spaniards, were nevertheless reformist rather than revolutionary. Silang was only against heavy taxation and abusive Spanish officials and for greater autonomy. All these were to be achieved with him as the head of the province but in the service of the Spanish king and in defense of what he termed "our sacred Catholic faith."

### Messianic Tendencies

Messianic tendencies blended with religious fanaticism caused him to cast himself as defender of King and Church. He declared Jesus of Nazareth to be the Captain-General and himself Christ's *cabo mayor*. His house was full of images of saints. He was often seen reciting the Rosary and he urged his followers to hear Mass on Sundays, go to confession and receive the Sacraments and also to see to it that their children went to school.<sup>3 6</sup>

Rebuffed by the Spaniards, Silang expelled the *alcalde* and other Spaniards from Vigan, proclaimed the abolition of excessive tribute and forced labor, and made Vigan the capital of his independent government. His defiance of the Spaniards lost him the support of many *principales*; therefore, in addition to his orders abolishing tribute and forced labor, he freed the people from the obligation to serve the *principales* and *cabezas de barangay*. He ordered that those *principales* who were now opposing him be arrested and brought to him. Should they resist, they were to be killed. He also imposed a fine of P100 on each priest but reduced this to P80 on their request.

His men took cattle from various estates and forced the proprietors to pay a ransom for their lives. Property of the Church was also taken. These moves caused him to clash with Bishop Bernardo Ustariz who refused to certify to the abolition of tribute, declared himself head of the province, and began to

organize a counterforce against Silang, recruiting even among the latter's followers. Silang then imprisoned all the religious, including Ustariz, whereupon the latter issued an interdict against Silang and exhorted his followers to abandon him.<sup>3 7</sup>

## Changing Masters

During the first phase of Silang's career, he was in effect conducting a "revolt" in defense of King and Church. During the second phase, when he abolished tribute and forced labor, confiscated the wealth of the Church and of other proprietors and even began to move against members of his own class, Silang could have become a real leader of the people struggling against all oppressors. Unfortunately, he opted for compromise and shifted his allegiance in a most servile manner from one master to another.

After receiving an ultimatum from the Spanish governor, Simon de Anda, and fearing that the latter was planning to march on Ilocos, Silang decided to seek the protection of the British. He sent to Manila two junks of plundered goods as a present to the English with a letter to the British commander in which he acknowledged the sovereignty of King George III.

## Elite Servility

The letter gives us revealing insights into Silang's character. Typical of the native elite kowtowing before a new master, it begins with flattery.

Honorable Sir:

With the greatest pleasure and satisfaction imaginable have I received the news of your having conquered that Capital by Force of Arms and with so much ease which has undoubtedly been an effect of your good conduct and the permission of the Almighty, I have been informed that notwithstanding the fatal misfortune of that City your Lordship is endowed with so many great qualifications and compassion has behaved in the most generous manner to the poor Indians who were within and out of the Town paying them punctually for their labour without requiring any other acknowledgement than that they should obey and be loyal as they should to his Majesty George the 3d. King of Great Britain (whom God preserve) and for such obedience Your Lordship has been pleased to allow them their Freedom to enlarge their Trade, and Commerce, for their own benefit to caress them and prevent their

being hurt by the Spaniards nor by your own Troops all which I have (been) minutely informed of . . . .<sup>38</sup>

Declaring himself convinced of the superior qualities of the English, Silang offered his allegiance and that of his people in these words:

. . . I have thought proper from this moment to dedicate myself to the service of God and his Majesty King George the 3d whom I acknowledge for my King and Master, for which purpose I have under my Command my Countrymen of this Province of Ilocos, where I was born, who have agreed to my Opinion and acknowledgment, and all unanimously come into it without the least shew of uneasiness or concern upon Account of the Confidence they repose in your Lordship's freeing them from Poll taxes and other laborious works all they beg is that your Lordship will condescend to let them maintain their Parish Priests and live as Christians and Catholicks . . . .<sup>39</sup>

In the foregoing passage and again in the portion of his letter where he claimed to have saved the former alcalde from sure death at the hands of his followers, Silang tried to impress the British with his power over his people. According to Silang, the Ilocanos had chosen him as their Captain General and would obey no one else.

Knowing that the Augustinian friars were actively resisting the British and therefore must be regarded by the latter as their enemies, he tried to ingratiate himself further with this offer:

. . . if your Lordship pleases I will seize them and secure them here and have them ready whenever your Lordship pleases to demand them . . . .<sup>40</sup>

He also carefully enumerated the gifts he sent:

As a proof of my fidelity submission and sincere affection, tho unworthy I take the liberty to send your Lordship the following Present 12 loaves of Sugar 12 Baskets of Calamy 200 Cakes or Balls of Chocolate. I also acquaint your Lordship that this Province is provided with the following effects Paddy Wheat, Cattle Good Coco Wine Sugar Onions Garlick Fowl, Horses Cotton a kind of Liquor called Bassia kind of Wine from the Grape and other useful effects.<sup>41</sup>

## British Puppet

The British were properly appreciative. They gave Silang the title of "*Sargento Mayor, Alcalde-Mayor y Capitan a Guerra por S.M. Britanica.*" A boat arrived carrying gifts for him. The British emissary also left behind with Silang 138 printed blank titles for governors and subordinate officials. The British probably appreciated most Silang's enumeration of the products of his region. That he did so indicates his own interest in trade as well as his awareness of British objectives.

It should be noted that the British invasion was directed and financed by a trading institution, the East India Company, hence the commercial orientation of the British administration. The governor of Cavite, Mr. Brereton, wrote to Silang inviting him to send his boats to Manila for trade. Silang in another letter to commander Dawsonne Drake mentioned that he intended to send a junk of his to Manila for commerce. This alacrity to take advantage of the new opportunities provided by the new dispensation was by now a typical principalia reaction. Silang's own contact with the Manila galleons as a courier and the fact that his wife was a property owner in a prosperous town prepared him for these new commercial possibilities. In fact, the protest against Alcalde Zabala for his abuse of the *indulto de commercio* underscored the drive of the principalia to appropriate for itself some of the economic benefits of colonization.

Silang's career was cut short by an assassin's bullet. His wife, Gabriela, assumed command of the rebel force to avenge her husband's death, but four months later she was captured and hanged.<sup>4 2</sup>

## A Step in Political Awakening

Silang was the prototype of future leaders who would capitalize on the genuine grievances of the people. Though the people would find themselves repeatedly used and even betrayed by leaders from the elite, their experiences were not a total loss. Participation in actions like these revolts made them aware of their strength and gave them an education in struggle.

Each successive uprising was a step in their political awakening. Each local revolt was a contribution to national consciousness.

## VIII.

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# End of Isolation

As early as 1624, the English philosopher and statesman, Francis Bacon, had commented on the "brittle State of the Greatnesses of Spain" and prophesied that this greatness which rested on nothing more than the treasure that was the Indies would be "but an Accession to such as are Masters by Sea." The English themselves soon proved the correctness of this forecast.

England developed a merchant marine that successfully challenged that of Holland, her rival sea power. Aggressive trading efforts based on a growing control of the sea allowed the English to conquer new lands as well as to penetrate the colonies of other rich empires.

By the seventeenth century, England had acquired important footholds in Asia, Africa, and America. The English colonized America during this century and acquired outposts in the West Indies during the same period. These possessions provided England with outlets for her manufacture.

### Satellization of Spain

By 1700, England was no longer just a producer of raw materials for export. She had decreased raw wool exports and built up her own textile industry. In fact, she now imported wool and dyestuffs from Spain and exported finished textiles to that country for its internal consumption or for re-export to the Spanish colonies. Spanish gold and silver flowed to England to compensate for Spain's unfavorable balance of trade. England proceeded to undercut the Spanish empire, first, by exporting goods to Spain for domestic consumption and second, by trading with the West Indies and thus penetrating the Spanish colonies in America.<sup>1</sup>

By the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution had transformed England into the foremost capitalist nation of the world. The economic imperatives of the Industrial Revolution produced a new ruling class consisting of the old aristocracy, the merchants, and the manufacturers. The merger of these groups enabled England to pursue more effectively her economic designs on the Spanish empire with all its sources of raw materials and its consumer markets and, above all, its gold and silver.

Inevitably, the rising commercial hegemony of England forced the Spanish empire into a subordinate role. Despite her tardiness in becoming an empire, England became a world power due to the rapid strides she made in trade and manufacture.

Ever since the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588, Spain had begun to suffer a decline from which she never recovered. The wars of the Spanish succession and the diminution of her population as a result of plagues and epidemics, colonial conquests, the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors, and the flight of new Christians<sup>2</sup> contributed to the erosion of her power and to her corresponding economic contraction. Her emerging capitalist structure became subordinated to that of England. Spain thus became a dependent empire, a satellite of Britain, the mistress of the seas.

### Anglo-Chinese Colony

The successive wars in which Spain was a participant sapped her strength. The restiveness in her colonies added to her troubles. Moreover, in these colonies the English were becoming the main trading partner because of their superior manufacturing techniques and their control of the seas.

The new developments attendant to the increasing satellization of Spain by England did not spare the Philippines. The archipelago was linked to the world capitalist system by Britain and became, in effect, an "Anglo-Chinese colony flying the Spanish flag."<sup>3</sup> How did this come about?

It should be remembered that early Spanish economic hegemony was confined mainly to the city of Manila and its environs. The first century of occupation was devoted largely to the wars against the Dutch and the Portuguese. The Philippines was merely an outpost of empire administered through Mexico. For centuries, the main economic activity of the colony was the galleon trade. In the Philippines, the principal beneficiary of

this trade was the Spanish colony in Manila. Since Manila was merely a transshipment port through which Chinese goods were shipped to Mexico and Mexican silver flowed to the Chinese coast, the galleon trade had practically no effect on the economic life of the colony. No Philippine products were developed for export.

It was not the Spaniards, but the English and the Chinese who played important roles in the economic development of the Philippines and its opening to world commerce during the eighteenth century.

### Solvent of Baranganic Society

Spanish colonization became a potent stimulus for Chinese immigration to the Philippines. Attracted by the economic opportunities presented by the Spanish settlements, the Chinese began to come in greater numbers until, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, more than twenty thousand Chinese resided in Manila and its environs, vastly outnumbering the Spanish settlers.

Since the Spaniards found the galleon trade and colonial government more profitable and more suited to their inclinations and dignity as the masters of the country, trade and artisanry quickly became dominated and practically monopolized by the Chinese. The natives could offer no competition for they had no capital and little experience in trading ventures. The Chinese therefore became an indispensable and established institution in Philippine economic life.<sup>4</sup>

Through their buying and selling activities, the Chinese became the solvent of baranganic society. By penetrating the interior towns with their Chinese imports, they were able to develop new consumption tastes among the people. Their barter activities for the purpose of securing goods that they could ship out developed the production of abaca, sugar, and resin. These early ventures of the Chinese paved the way for specialization in agriculture. Access to sources of export products and to native markets for imported goods insured the development of wholesaling as a predominantly Chinese preserve.

This situation was by no means peculiar to the Philippines. Europeans in neighboring countries likewise acknowledged their dependence on the Chinese for the purchase of goods from native producers. John Crawford in his *History of the Indian Archipelago* describes the control of trade in the East Indies by the Chinese in these words:

They are most generally engaged in trade, in which they are equally speculative, expert, and judicious. Their superior intelligence and activity have placed in their hands the management of the public revenue, in almost every country of the Archipelago, whether ruled by natives or Europeans; and of the traffic of the Archipelago with surrounding foreign states, almost the whole is conducted by them.<sup>5</sup>

## English Penetration

While the increasing commercialization within the Philippines was the handiwork of the Chinese who did business with native producers, Spanish governors, and friars, it was the commercial activities of the British that eventually opened the country to international trade, thus radically modifying its economic life.

British trade may be dated from the visit of the *Seahorse* to Manila in 1644. Because of the Dutch blockade, however, the early attempts did not prosper. English commercial penetration began in earnest with the Madras-Manila trade.

The objective of this trade was to acquire for the British a great proportion of what had previously been an exclusive preserve of the Chinese. The China trade had been characterized by the movement of luxury items to Acapulco via the galleons; the development of English "country trade" with Manila modified this pattern.

Indian cotton materials or "piece goods" began to figure importantly as an item of shipment to Acapulco after the trade between the Coromandel coast and Manila had been established. Indian and English merchandise secured a steady supply of silver for the English merchants engaged in the Manila-Madras trade. By 1708, the prospects were inviting enough to attract the participation of the powerful East India Company. English free merchants and Company servants soon occupied positions of importance second only to the Chinese traders. By the nineteenth century, the English had attained commercial primacy in Manila.<sup>6</sup>

Evidence of the importance attached to the trade with Manila is the fact that the East India Company financed and directed the British invasion of the Philippines and its brief occupation from 1762 to 1764. Military and naval officers from the East India Company's outpost at Fort St. George in Madras took part in the attack on Manila. Directors of the East India Company in London ordered that a civil establishment take over as soon as the capture of Manila was accomplished. Following Royal instructions, General William Draper turned



over the government to the representatives of the East India Company.

The fact that British exports occupied a progressively larger share of the lading spaces in the galleons over the years may have had no material significance to the Philippine economy, but since British ships carrying British goods for the galleon trade brought back on their homeward voyages a variety of native products, this aspect of British commercial activity was certainly partially responsible for the economic changes that were occurring within the country. Aside from filigree vessels and gold plates made by Chinese artisans in Manila, the British ships brought back to Madras pearls, skins, tobacco, leather, and horses. Chinese middlemen gathered these goods from all over the country. Inevitably, they also became the conduits for the distribution of cheap English textiles to the provinces.<sup>7</sup>

### Infiltrating the Mercantilist Curtain

The British penetration of Manila was initially clandestine, for it was against Spain's policy to allow rival European powers to trade with her colonies. The Spaniards could not sanction foreigners horning in on their preserves. But because the distance of the colony from Spain rendered supervision difficult, the English managed to violate the policy with relative ease.

Various techniques were employed in order to circumvent the prohibitions. Since only traders of Asian origin were allowed free entry into Manila, the English loaded their goods on vessels owned by Armenians, Moslems or Hindus. Or, English-owned ships took on Asian, usually Hindu, names and were provided with Portuguese or Armenian captains and seamen. The Spaniards feared the Dutch, the English and the French; they had no cause to be apprehensive of the Portuguese or the Armenians. With an eye to the clergy, some ships were named after Catholic saints and the saints' names rendered in Portuguese to fit the nationality of the captain. Thus the *Nos Senhora de Boa Vista*, the *Sao Paulo*, and the *Nos Senhora Rosario* effectively concealed their English provenance. Another technique used was to consign the goods to some well-known Hindu merchant in Manila to make it appear as his own import.<sup>8</sup>

Circumvention was facilitated by the corruption of the officials at Manila. British trading activities enabled the governors and their assistants to tap yet another source of wealth.

High colonial officials and some religious orders were deeply involved in the illicit trade with the British. Since bribery was rampant, every English vessel was supplied with precious gifts for the officers of the city. It was customary for the captain, each time he put in at Manila, to call on the governor general bearing gifts.<sup>9</sup>

### Economic Rethinking

In the course of the rise of capitalism in Europe, various economic theories were propounded to serve the ends of capitalist enterprise. At the core of these theories was the concept of free trade.

Spain did not escape the profound material and ideological changes that were sweeping Europe at the time. The growing English penetration of the Spanish colonies and the dependence of Spain herself on England, the Peninsular wars, and the loss of the Spanish colonies in Latin America were developments of far-reaching significance which resulted in various internal political disturbances and induced a rethinking of Spanish economic policy. A strong movement developed in Spain to restore her past greatness by the institution of vital economic reforms.

The ferment in Spain could not but affect the colony, thus making the hundred years between 1750 and 1850 a most significant period for the Philippines. The fabric of colonial society suffered drastic changes as a result of revisions in Spain's outlook and the internal effect of Anglo-Chinese economic activities.

Changes in colonial policy produced more or less systematic efforts to develop the agricultural resources of the islands and attempts to widen the commercial contacts of the colony by opening direct trade with Spain and removing many of the restrictions that had hitherto hampered trade with other nations. These new policies were implemented by more vigorous public administrators who were adherents of the new economic thinking.

Beginning with Simon de Anda y Salazar and followed notably by Jose de Basco y Vargas, the governors of the Philippines after the British occupation instituted a series of economic reforms which contributed to the alteration of the economic landscape of the country.

Spain made earnest attempts at this time to encourage the production of cash crops such as sugar, indigo, tobacco, and

hemp. The Spaniards were now discovering the possibility of utilizing the products of the colony. Whereas the Philippine government had hitherto derived most of its revenue from tributes and from customs duties imposed on the China-Manila trade and on the galleon trade with Mexico, using the situado to meet the balance of its expenses, the development of cash crops provided new sources of revenue which diminished dependence on the Mexican annuity. The financial independence of the colony from Mexico was accomplished with the establishment of the tobacco monopoly in 1781.

The objective of reorienting the commercial system of the country spurred the establishment in 1785 of the Royal Philippine Company. This company envisioned itself as the principal "investor, producer, and carrier" of Philippine agricultural products.<sup>10</sup> Although its plans were too grandiose for fulfillment, it proved that, properly managed, an investment in Philippine agriculture could be profitable. A more important development was the opening of direct trade between Spain and the Philippines, thus reorienting the country toward Europe and away from Mexico. This facilitated the entry of the Philippines into the stream of world commerce.

The new economic policy also manifested itself in the partial relaxation of other trading restrictions. Where before trade with China had been limited to the junks from Amoy and Ch'uan-chow in Fukien province which supplied the galleon trade, by 1785 Spanish ships were being sent to Canton for Chinese goods. (Incidentally, this diversified the geographical origin of Chinese immigrants. Besides the Amoy Chinese, Macaos now began entering the country.) By 1789, the Spaniards removed the restriction on the entry of European ships provided they carried only Asian trade goods, a proviso designed to protect the Royal Philippine Company.

These developments resulted in bringing the native economy and the Western economy closer together since the former was now encouraged to produce agricultural crops traded by the latter. Even the nature of the galleon trade began to change as more Philippine products found their way onto the galleons bound for Mexico.<sup>11</sup>

### Emergence from Isolation

A greater liberalization of commerce was achieved with the termination of the galleon trade in 1813 and the abolition in 1834 of the Royal Philippine Company which, though it

promoted export crops, was monopolistic in character. The decree ordering the dissolution of the company contained a provision opening Manila to world trade. *Laizzez faire* had won the day even in the court of Spain.

From being a mere outpost of empire, the Philippines became officially a participant in world commerce.

The nineteenth century saw the transformation of the Philippine economy. Prior to the 1820's, the principal exports of the country were "bird's nests, beche-de-mer, wax, tortoise shells, sea shells, dried shrimps, and shark's fins." These were exported to China.<sup>1 2</sup> The export picture changed radically with the rapid development of cash crops such as sugar, indigo, tobacco, hemp, rice and coffee. Foreign firms that were allowed to do business in Manila controlled the export trade. The British were pioneers in this line; they entrenched their position with the formal opening of the port of Manila. During this period, British imperialism was penetrating Asia, particularly China. In fact, the British became interested in the Philippines primarily because of their investments in China. The same was true of the Americans. In the beginning, British and American firms regarded Manila only as a base for their business operations in China but as Philippine trade grew in volume, it became important for itself.<sup>1 3</sup>

British and American firms exported raw materials and imported manufactured products, especially great quantities of textiles from the Manchester and Glasgow mills. These were sold all over the country. By importing needed machinery and offering advances on crops, these foreign firms stimulated production of those agricultural crops the European and American markets needed.<sup>1 4</sup>

## Economic Transformation

The Philippines had emerged from its isolation. The capitalist linkage led to the dissolution of the natural economy of many regions. This process was greatly aided by the establishment of banking houses which promoted the monetization of the economy and the regional specialization of crops. European and North American entrepreneurs led in this activity. Rich families, businessmen, and the Church deposited their funds in these banks which then loaned them out as crop advances. Advances were likewise made to Chinese wholesalers to finance their operations. The Chinese distributed imports and purchased local produce for export. The merchant banks were thus able to

control both purchasing power and sources of supply for the export trade.

The increasingly prominent role that these foreign firms played in the commercial life of the colony provoked many protests from Spaniards engaged in business in the Philippines and industrialists in Spain like the Catalan textile manufacturers. For instance, there was a hue and cry about English domination when it was discovered in 1841 that an English firm was trying to buy the Dominican hacienda in Calamba, Laguna. The government subsequently refused permission for the sale.<sup>15</sup>

In 1851, the Spaniards tried to participate in the lucrative banking business by establishing the *Banco Español-Filipino de Isabel II*. Its declared purpose was to encourage the use of savings for commercial purposes. But most of the funds came from the obras pias and from the government. European firms who did business with Chinese nationals became guarantors of these Chinese with the bank, a fact which emphasizes the Anglo-Chinese partnership which predominated at the time.<sup>16</sup>

The colonial government tried to check the expansion of foreign companies by such means as the prohibition to own land and the imposition of corporate taxes and different tariff duties. None of these measures seriously affected the growing dominance of these foreign firms.

A fundamental transformation of Philippine economic life took place during the period from 1820 to 1870. The development of an export-crop economy finally produced an economic system within which the still distinct Western, native and Chinese economies became part of an interrelated whole. A national market was emerging; internal prosperity was noticeable. The economic unification of the country further fostered the regionalization of production. Tobacco became the main crop of the North, sugar the principal product of West Visayas, and abaca the mainstay of the Bicol region.

## Manila Hemp

Abaca began to be produced for export only after 1820 when the U.S. Navy discovered that it made excellent marine cordage. Accordingly, the United States became the principal importer of Philippine abaca which came to be known the world over as Manila hemp. By 1842, two American firms, Sturges and Company and T.N. Peale and Company, had monopolized the export of abaca.

To stimulate production, these firms gave crop loans to the

growers. Spanish entrepreneurs attracted by the increased demand for abaca established large plantations in the Bicol provinces and also acted as agents for the export firms, collecting for their principals the produce of small native growers. A Spanish firm, Ynchausti y Compania, planted to abaca virgin lands in Sorsogon to supply its rope factory on Isla de Balut in Tondo.<sup>17</sup> Hemp was also grown in Leyte, Samar, and Cebu.

By 1850, the enterprising Chinese began to enter the picture. Chinese buyers did not give crop advances. Their method was to establish stores in the abaca growing regions and to barter rice and other goods for abaca. Many small growers preferred the barter system because they seldom had money with which to buy their needs before their crops were ready for harvest, and because the shrewd Chinese offered them better prices for their abaca if they would take payment in goods instead of in cash. The Chinese were thus able to dislodge their Spanish competitors.

Although the Chinese in the Philippines seldom involved themselves in agricultural pursuits, some Chinese leased for a short period small plantations that had already been planted to abaca, waited for the crop to be ready for harvesting, had it stripped, and then sold it to exporters. Other Chinese owned abaca lands which they rented out to native producers.

The opening in 1873 of the ports of Legazpi in Albay and Tacloban in Leyte to international shipping was another stimulus to the abaca industry.<sup>18</sup>

### Beginnings of the Sugar Bloc

Before 1850, sugar cane was planted only in the small plots of native landowners in such provinces as Pampanga, Batangas, Pangasinan, Cebu and Panay. The alcaldes of these provinces acted as commercial agents and gave crop advances to farmers. The alcaldes sold the unrefined sugar at a profit to Chinese who travelled to the sugar-producing districts to buy up the supply. Refining was done by the Chinese who then sold the sugar to the foreign exporters in Manila. However, this pattern changed radically with the spectacular rise of the provinces of Iloilo and Negros as the leading sugar producers of the country. The one person who did most to transform these provinces into a region of sugar haciendas was a Scotchman by the name of Nicholas Loney.

Loney had been an employe of the British firm of Ker and

Company in Manila. He was the British consul in Iloilo when that port was opened to foreign shipping in 1855. An open port in the Visayas was a great opportunity for expanding export trade in the region and Loney energetically seized the opportunity. He sold machinery on credit to sugar planters, stipulating that they pay him from the profits they would realize from using the new equipment. This was an attractive offer calculated to break down the resistance to change typical of the rural areas. Once they saw for themselves that the new machines increased production, many planters eagerly put in their orders. Records show that in a single year, Ker and Company imported 159 centrifugal iron mills and eight steam mills for Iloilo and Negros. Loney also provided capital for better sugar cane seeds from Sumatra.<sup>19</sup>

The following figures attest to the phenomenal rise of sugar production in Negros: from a mere 14,000 piculs in 1859, the harvest rose to 618,120 piculs in 1880 and 1,800,000 piculs in 1893.<sup>20</sup>

The new economic opportunities attracted quite a number of investors to settle in Negros and engage in large-scale sugar planting. Among the first sugar barons of Negros were Agustin Montilla, an Español-Filipino who had his hacienda in Bago, and Dr. Ives Germaine Gaston, a Frenchman whose sugar estate was in Silay.

### End of the Tobacco Monopoly

The tobacco monopoly established in 1781 compelled the cultivating of tobacco in hitherto undeveloped lands as well as in acreage formerly devoted to rice. Ilocos, Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Ecija were designated as the main tobacco-growing provinces.

Although the tobacco monopoly brought serious hardship to the population (See Chapter 9), it proved highly profitable for the government. Nevertheless, responding to the prevailing concepts of *laissez faire* and free trade, Spain abolished the monopoly in 1883.

The large tracts of land on which the government had grown tobacco were ordered sold to private persons, including foreigners. Foreign companies, however, were not allowed to buy lands, and individual foreigners could hold on to their lands only while they resided in the Philippines. But there were few investors. In the end, only the *Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas* (established in 1881) was engaged in cultivating,

manufacturing and distributing the higher-grade Philippine tobacco while the business in lower-grade tobacco became a Chinese preserve.

## The Social Transformation

At this point, it is necessary to look into the social composition of the colony in order to facilitate an understanding of Philippine society prior to the Revolution. It is particularly important to take cognizance of a new element that began to assume importance at about this time: the Chinese mestizos.

There were five principal social classes in Philippine society during this period. At the top of the social pyramid were the *peninsulares*, Spaniards who came from Spain and who were given the choice positions in the government. Next in line were the creoles or *insulares* — Spaniards born in the Philippines who considered themselves sons of the country. They were the original "Filipinos."<sup>21</sup> Together with them, we may place the Spanish mestizos who tried to ape their creole brothers and regarded themselves as the social superiors of their brown brothers. Then came the Chinese mestizos who occupied a higher position than the natives, while the Chinese were at the bottom of the social scale.

Although these were distinct and separate groups, intermarriages did occur. Besides the unions between Chinese men and native women which produced the Chinese mestizos, there were also marriages between impoverished Spaniards and daughters of *principales* in the provinces. When the Chinese mestizos became rich landowners and merchants, they, too, intermarried with wealth-seeking Spaniards and Spanish mestizos and with children of *principales*.

The economic and social ascendancy of the Chinese mestizos is certainly the most significant social phenomenon of the era from 1750 to 1850.

## Chinese Mestizos

Although the Spaniards found the Chinese indispensable, there were latent animosities between the two races which manifested themselves in various ways, from the issuance of restrictive laws limiting the immigration and mobility of the Chinese, to the periodic expulsion and outright massacres of the Chinese population. One of the ways of attaining the assimila-



tion of the Chinese was to encourage intermarriage with native women since there were very few Chinese women in the Philippines. This resulted in the creation of special communities of mestizos.

When these communities were still small, the mestizos often sided with the Chinese against the natives. Later they broke away, establishing their own *gremios* or guilds and competing with the Chinese. In this competition, the mestizos had the advantage of greater mobility. Since their native mothers did not bring them up as Chinese, they blended culturally with the native population. They were allowed to settle and do business wherever they pleased, not being subjected to the residence and other restrictions the Spaniards periodically inflicted on the Chinese "infidels."

By 1750, the mestizos were already a recognized and distinct element in Philippine society. Spanish legislation now had three categories of tribute payers: the indios, the Chinese, and the mestizos. By 1810, out of a total population of about two and a half million, around 120,000 were Chinese mestizos. Their economic significance, however, far exceeded their numerical strength because they were concentrated in the most economically developed parts of the country.<sup>2 2</sup>

Over sixty percent of them lived in Tondo, Bulacan and Pampanga. Half of this number lived in Tondo which then included, besides Binondo and Sta. Cruz, the whole of what is now Rizal province. An idea of the extent of their concentration in the more advanced provinces may be gleaned from the following figures: in Tondo, 15% of the population were mestizos; in Bulacan, 11%; in Pampanga, 11%; in Bataan, 15%; in Cavite, 12%.<sup>2 3</sup>

Around Manila, most mestizos were retail merchants or artisans; elsewhere, they became retailers, wholesalers, and landowners.

## Mestizo Progress

When in 1755 (and again in 1769) most non-Catholic Chinese were expelled from the Philippines and the five thousand or so allowed to remain were concentrated in Manila, the mestizos were quick to take advantage of the new economic opportunities.<sup>2 4</sup> By 1800, they were replacing the Chinese in some areas of livelihood and offering them serious competition in others. They took over the business of supplying Manila and encroached into the traditional Chinese monopoly of retailing and

artisanry. With the rapid development of commercial agriculture, the Chinese mestizos found wholesaling most profitable. They bought up the produce in the provinces and sold it to exporting firms in Manila. In the rice-growing districts, they also became money-lenders.

The restrictive Spanish policies imposed on the Chinese gave a tremendous impetus to mestizo progress. The development of Cebu, Iloilo, and other Visayan ports was largely due to mestizo activity. By the middle of the nineteenth century, they were so firmly in the saddle that Sinibaldo de Mas could prophesy that they would become a threat to Spanish power in the Philippines.<sup>25</sup>

By this time, out of a population of four million, there were 240,000 Chinese mestizos, 20,000 Spanish mestizos and 10,000 Chinese.<sup>26</sup> In terms of geographic distribution, the mestizos were still largely concentrated in Central Luzon but were now pushing into northern Luzon, particularly Nueva Ecija.

## Re-enter the Chinese

In 1850, responding to the urgent need to encourage economic development in the Philippines, the Spanish government rescinded its restrictions and once more allowed free Chinese immigration. It even permitted the Chinese to reside anywhere in the country.

The timing was perfect for the Chinese. By this time the Philippines had a thriving export-crop economy based on sugar, abaca and coffee, and imported the products of European factories. The export-crop economy provided many opportunities for Chinese business acumen and experience. For example, it created a demand by foreign firms for Chinese stevedores and warehouse laborers. Coolie labor was used in Manila even for public works projects. The result was a profitable coolie brokerage business for Chinese businessmen in Manila. The Chinese also made money on monopoly contracting. The opium monopoly is an example.

The Chinese saw the economic advantage of controlling the sources of supply of export products. By means of the *pacto de retroventa*, (see next topic) Chinese money-lenders began acquiring lands in Cagayan, subsequently renting them out to their former native owner-cultivators. But after the abolition of the government tobacco monopoly in 1881, the Chinese concentrated more on tobacco purchasing, buying up the cheaper grades left by the Compañia General de Tabacos, or

Tabacalera. The Chinese were able to corner the market of lower-grade tobacco because they established stores in the farm areas and agreed to barter store goods for tobacco. Some Chinese buyers even engaged in the practice of buying the still unripe crop from needy cultivators at one-third the expected price, and then harvested the tobacco themselves. Their Cagayan operations enabled the Chinese to set up cigar and cigarette factories. There were as many as two hundred of these factories in Manila at one time producing cheap imitations of popular brands.<sup>27</sup>

Chinese participation in the Philippine economy quickly increased so that by 1898 the Chinese had not only regained the position they occupied prior to their expulsion but in fact greatly exceeded it.

### The Shift to Landowning

Chinese competition forced the Chinese mestizos to shift to agriculture. The export-crop economy made landholding a status symbol and the new means of wealth. The mestizos, now a prosperous class, concentrated on the acquisition of land and began amassing large landed estates, particularly in Central Luzon. Many an hacendero owed much of his property to that notorious contract known as the pacto de retroventa. That much property was amassed in this manner is proved by the fact that the typical landholding pattern is that known as "scattered-holdings." In other words, numerous small plots within a given area but not necessarily contiguous to one another fell into the hands of one proprietor via the pacto de retroventa.<sup>28</sup>

The pacto de retroventa, or pacto de retro as it is popularly known, was a contract under which the borrower conveyed his land to the lender with the proviso that he could repurchase it for the same amount of money that he had received. Meanwhile, the borrower usually became the tenant or lessee of the lender. It was seldom that the borrower could accumulate the necessary amount to exercise his option to repurchase. Moreover, even if he did so, an unscrupulous money-lender could deny that he ever had such an option. Since most contracts were signed without benefit of a lawyer, and since resort to courts of law was expensive and uncertain for those without influence, thousands of small landowners lost their lands in this way. It was to the advantage of the money-lender that the borrower be unable to exercise his right to repurchase. In this way, the landlord got the land cheap, for the money loaned in a

pacto de retro was only between one-third and one-half the true value of the land.

The background of the Chinese mestizos made their shift from commerce to agriculture a natural one. It will be recalled that when the order of expulsion caused most Chinese to abandon the wholesaling and retailing of rice in Central Luzon in 1755, the mestizos took over the business and supplied Manila with much of its rice needs. Inasmuch as they were now engaged in rice trading, the mestizos were greatly encouraged to acquire rice lands by means of pactos de retroventa and to lease other lands from the religious estates. Most of the lessees of the friar landlords were Chinese mestizos.<sup>29</sup> They apportioned their holdings to *kasamas* or sharecroppers, appropriating half of the harvest without doing any work. As *inquilinos*, many mestizos prospered and eventually graduated to the status of landowners. The mestizo *inquilinos* of the religious estate in Biñan, Laguna, for example, were able to buy lands in a neighboring town and hire the former owners as their tenants.<sup>30</sup>

Mestizo power was growing apace with the development of the economy. The only barriers to their ascendancy were the governors with their *indulto de comercio*, the priests, and the Chinese. The economic objectives of the rising mestizo elite would find expression first, in the demands voiced in a number of nineteenth century revolts for the abolition of the *indulto* or at least for the dismissal of too enterprising governors, and second, in the growing resentment against the friar estates which would reach its peak in the Revolution. As for the Chinese, the mestizos did not clash frontally with them; rather, each group found its own sphere of operations within the developing economy. By the time the Chinese returned and assumed their former occupations as coastwise shippers and wholesalers, the mestizos were already so powerful economically and socially that they could, without much strain, abandon these middleman operations and concentrate on becoming large landowners.

Thus the mestizo became more native than Chinese not only because of upbringing but also because of economic compulsion.

### Rise of Haciendas

Together with the religious corporations, the Spaniards, and the creoles, the Chinese mestizos were now active participants

in the acquisition of land. They invested in land the capital they had accumulated from their previous commercial ventures as competitors and later as temporary replacements of the Chinese.

The growing capitalist linkage with the world which created a demand for cash crops made landowning very attractive. The onset of the Crimean War (1854-1856) which caused a steep rise in the price of sugar, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1864 further stimulated agricultural production. The introduction of machines in agriculture and the improved means of communication which facilitated the transport of products to the ports were two other factors that made plantation agriculture more profitable.

The population increase — from around 667,000 in 1591 to almost 6,000,000 in 1885 — also spurred the cultivation of hitherto idle lands. Once under cultivation, many of these newly productive lands fell into the hands of land-greedy plantation owners either through *pactos de retro* or through “legalized” land-grabbing.

### Land-grabbing

The various land laws, particularly those of 1880 and 1894, which provided for an easy way of registering land and obtaining title thereto not only confirmed the ownership and legally defined the boundaries of lands granted by the king or bought from the public domain, but unfortunately also gave legal sanction to land-grabbing.

These laws set deadlines for registration. The Royal Decree of February 13, 1894, better known as the Maura Law, gave landholders only one year within which to secure legal title to their lands. After the deadline, untitled lands were deemed forfeited. Naturally, only those cognizant of the law were able to register their lands. Many small landowners in the provinces did not even know that such royal decrees existed. The situation was ready-made for land-grabbing. Many owners of small plots suddenly found their lands included in the titles of big landowners and were left with no other recourse but to accept tenant status. According to a study by Donald E. Douglas of the land tenure situation at the turn of the century, at least 400,000 persons lost their lands because they failed to acquire title to them.<sup>31</sup> They were thus reduced to tenancy. No wonder these royal decrees were very popular with the upper classes.

Royal grants, purchase of royal estates or *realengas*, the pacto de retroventa, and land-grabbing via the land laws — these were the principal ways by which vast estates were amassed. These estates became the foundation of the hacienda system as we know it today. Among the large landowners were the religious orders, particularly the Augustinians, the Recollects, and the Dominicans.

The royal grants were responsible for two huge haciendas in Luzon: the Hacienda Luisita and the Hacienda Esperanza. The Hacienda Luisita in Tarlac which encompassed territory in the towns of Tarlac, La Paz, Concepcion, and Capas was given as a royal grant to the Tabacalera Company in 1880. The Hacienda Esperanza which encompassed territory in four provinces — Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and the Mountain Province — was a royal grant given to a Spaniard in 1863.<sup>3 2</sup>

The big haciendas created out of royal grants and purchases from the *realengas* were later partitioned into sub-haciendas as a result of division among heirs. The Chinese mestizos acquired many of these smaller haciendas and by the twentieth century had practically replaced the Spaniards as big hacenderos. Their aggregate holdings of smaller haciendas had an acreage almost as large as the haciendas of the Spaniards during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

The hacienda system was a new historic form of exploitation to meet the needs of the new period. Although the hacienda retained feudal characteristics, its practices having been inherited from the original religious estates which had in turn adopted in modified form the ancient practice of share-cropping, the growth of the hacienda system was an offshoot of capitalist development.

## Social Rearrangements

The new economic horizons opened by the export-crop economy also benefited members of the native principalia, although to a lesser extent than the commercially-minded mestizos. In fact, there is evidence that the mestizos in many instances displaced the traditional *cabezas* as community leaders and even acquired the old communal lands that the native heads had appropriated.

The economic position of the Chinese mestizos provided them with a social status which allowed them to take the leadership of the emerging Filipino society. By the time many of the haciendas had passed into the hands of the Chinese

mestizos, they had already been assimilated into native society and had become the elite of that society. They identified themselves as members of linguistic or provincial groups and were accepted as such by the indigenous inhabitants. From their ranks came many ilustrados who later figured in the movement for reform and revolution.

The development schemes of the Spaniards towards the latter part of the eighteenth century plus the activities of foreign entrepreneurs resulted in unifying the nation into an economic whole. It was therefore only during this period that a national consciousness could emerge.

Pre-Spanish commerce between communities based on natural economies played but a small role in the development of consciousness. This is because the pre-Magellanic communities lacked the cohesiveness that could lead to the articulation of economic desires. The natural economies constantly reproduced their status in the same form until after the qualitative multiplication of ties which slowly led to the creation of a totality that emerged as a nation. The commercial relations that the early communities experienced made inroads into their basic social structure but these were not decisive. The impact of commerce was largely superficial, especially in relation to labor. The early traders could buy all the commodities they wanted but they could not buy labor. They were merely dealers in products which the people produced or gathered from the mountains and the accessible mines.

But eighteenth century developments led to qualitative changes. Communications were improved, the national market became stable, the country was linked to the outside world.

### **The New Principalia**

The economic transformation of the Philippines in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries saw the development of new classes and the alteration of old ones. The interrelated phenomena of extended landlordism and commercialization of the economy modified the class structure of Philippine society.

The effects of the evolution of new forms of land tenure and property relations were visible in the changing status of the chiefs. From administrators of the communal lands of autonomous baranganic communities they became brokers of the colonial rulers and, through appropriation of the old communal lands and participation in colonial exactions, exploiters of their people.

With the advent of a flourishing domestic and international trade there emerged an entrepreneurial class composed mainly of Spaniards, Chinese and Chinese mestizos, with some urbanized natives. When these classes, particularly the Chinese mestizos, acquired vast landholdings to meet the demand for export crops, they displaced and dispossessed many of the old landed principales.

The old principalia succumbed to the pressure of the Chinese mestizos whose commercial activities made them a more dynamic force. Members of the old principalia were either absorbed by the new rising elite through intermarriage or depressed to the status of tenants. Studies made by Marshall S. McLennan and John Alan Larkin in certain provinces of Central Luzon have turned up evidences of this development in the gobernadorcillo lists where the old native names gradually disappeared in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and were partially displaced by Chinese mestizo surnames.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, since many mestizos dropped their Chinese surnames and assumed Spanish family names, it was possible that some gobernadorcillos bearing such common Spanish names as Reyes, Ocampo, de Leon, etc. were in fact Chinese mestizos.<sup>34</sup> Other mestizos Hispanized their surnames by combining the names of their fathers, viz. Lichauco, Cojuangco, Yaptinchay. These practices have made it difficult for us to appreciate the full social dimensions of the Chinese mestizo group in Philippine society.

Thus, when the Philippines was becoming a nation, a new elite composed of Chinese mestizos and urbanized natives had already taken over from the old principalia. Whereas the old principalia was barrio-based or at best its horizons encompassed only a small town, the new principalia, through a system of economic alliances and intermarriage, became a provincial and later on a national force. When the economic ambitions of this group collided with the restrictive policies of the colonial order, its discontent merged temporarily with the age-old grievances of the people.

The new principalia then began to articulate its demands as those of the emerging national entity.<sup>35</sup>



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# Progress and Protest

The end of Philippine isolation which took place between the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries involved more than the physical opening of the country to foreign commerce; it also facilitated the entry of the ideas of the Enlightenment that had been sweeping Europe for some time. These new ideas, particularly the tenets on individual liberty which formed the core of the ideology of developing capitalism, found fertile ground within the country precisely because the new Spanish economic policies for the colony had created social forces which required for their own development an atmosphere of greater freedom.

## Spread of Liberalism

The French Revolution had fostered ideas of freedom in Spain; the growth of liberalism in Spain had its repercussions in her colonies. Realizing that their economic interests conflicted with those of Spain, the creoles in the Latin American colonies led popular revolts which finally resulted in the dissolution of Spain's empire in the New World.

In Spain itself, the people's resistance to the Napoleonic invasion brought about the temporary ascendancy of the Spanish Liberals who produced the Cadiz Constitution of 1812. A typical liberal bourgeois document described as "a constitution written by free men to set men free," this Constitution extended the rights of man not only to Spaniards in the peninsula but also to all subjects of Spain.

The Cadiz Constitution was the result of the efforts of Spanish patriots who organized a provisional government in behalf of King Ferdinand VII while Spain was still in the grip of the Napoleonic occupation. But after the downfall of Napoleon

and upon Ferdinand's return to Spain, the reactionary monarch abrogated the Cadiz Constitution and reimposed a regime of absolutism which would have significant repercussions in the Philippines.

Because of the usual time lag, the Cadiz Constitution was proclaimed in the Philippines more than a year after its promulgation and barely a year before its abrogation in May, 1814. Many people took the proclamation of universal equality to mean that they were henceforth freed of tributes and polos since they were now the equals of the Spaniards who had always been exempted from such exactions. This interpretation gained enough currency to force the governor general to issue a *bando* or announcement saying that the people had misunderstood the constitutional decree, that the government needed funds for its protection and for the administration of justice, that equality with Spaniards did not exempt them from tributes because Spaniards themselves paid heavier taxes, and that if tributes were abolished, perhaps new and higher taxes would be imposed on them.<sup>1</sup>

The protests were particularly vehement in Ilocos where the people vented their wrath not on the Spaniards but on their own principales. To understand this new mass reaction, it is necessary to look into the economic conditions in the Ilocos region during this period.

### The Government Monopolies

Spain's new colonial policies which aimed to develop the local economy as a better source of revenue brought new hardships on the people. The Ilocanos were among the hardest hit because of the operations in their area of the tobacco monopoly established in 1781 and the wine monopoly established in 1786.

Long accustomed to manufacturing *basi* for their own consumption, the Ilocanos were now forbidden to drink their home-made brew and were forced to buy their wine from government stores. This was the cause of the so-called *basi* revolt of 1807 in Piddig, Ilocos Sur.<sup>2</sup>

The tobacco monopoly from which the Spanish government derived considerable revenue was the source of graver resentments among the people. Previously, the people grew their own tobacco and sold or consumed it as they pleased. But after the institution of the monopoly, the growing and sale of tobacco was supervised by the government. Farmers were assigned

production quotas and fined if they did not meet these quotas. Their entire crop had to be sold to the government which even went to the extent of sending agents to search the houses of the hapless farmers for any stray tobacco leaves they might have kept for their own use.

The whole operation was graft-ridden. The farmers were paid in vouchers which they had to cash at a ruinous discount with government officials or with merchants who were licensed to supply the provinces with necessities, or to use to purchase from the latter their prime commodities at inflated prices.<sup>3</sup> Very often the poor farmers were even forced to exchange their vouchers for articles which they did not need. Government agents cheated the farmers by certifying that their tobacco was of lower grade and then reporting the same tobacco to the government as being of a higher grade. The difference in price went into their own pockets.<sup>4</sup>

These various abuses ancillary to the tobacco monopoly were sources of profit for the gobernadorcillos, the cabezas de barangay and local merchants. These profits were used to buy lands and expand business operations. It was therefore becoming quite clear to the oppressed farmers that their principales constituted an additional burden on them. Other poor farmers who had to plant food crops in order to meet the shortages caused by the assignment of lands to tobacco were also suffering from the usurious rates charged by money lenders. Still others lost their lands via the pacto de retroventa and ultimately became tenants.

### Against the Principales

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that when mounting resentment erupted in revolt the people directed their anger against the principales who, having been accommodated in the colonial system as intermediaries, were now not only incidental beneficiaries but active exploiters. Sinibaldo de Mas comments on the unrest in Ilocos:

The principales were the aim of the popular wrath in the Ilocan insurrection in 1807. 'Kill all the dons and doñas' was the cry, while the people hastened toward the capital to petition for the abolition of the monopolies and the fifths.<sup>5</sup>

This cry of the people was a clear indication of a growing consciousness of differentiation between themselves and the

indigenous wealthy families, an alienation from their traditional leaders who had gone over to the side of the oppressors. We now see the beginnings of mass movements with class content directed against foreign and local exploiters and putting forward demands of an egalitarian nature.

Economic unrest also manifested itself in preoccupation with egalitarianism in the local religious movements of that time. There were attempts to establish a new religion in the name of an old native god called Lungao who promised equality. A man who called himself a new Christ appeared to the fishermen announcing that true redemption consisted of equality for all and freedom from monopolies and tributes.<sup>6</sup>

Conditions were ripe for the Sarrat revolt in 1815. The expectations kindled by the Cadiz Constitution only to be snuffed out by its abolition provided merely the spark that ignited a long-smoldering resentment.

### Illusory Equality

What interested the people most about the Constitution was the question of *polos* and *servicios* — the obligation to contribute personally to community works such as roads and bridges. Since the *principales* were exempted from these exactions, the masses considered the levies made on them as a violation of the principle of equality.

This is not to say that the people had a thorough knowledge of the provisions of this Constitution nor of the complex political battle between liberalism and reaction that produced it and saw its dissolution. They did not need such an understanding to react. It was enough that information regarding this point on equality seeped down to some of them from *principalia* ranks for the news to spread.

When word of the abrogation of the Constitution reached *Ilocos*, the *cailianes* or common people refused to believe it, regarding the announcement as a fabrication by their rich compatriots and by the Spaniards in order to deprive them of their rights. They therefore vowed vengeance on all *principales*. In almost all towns the masses assaulted the town hall and freed prisoners.

### Plebeian Revolt

The *cailianes* of Sarrat proclaimed their rebellion on March 3, 1815.<sup>7</sup> In Sarrat there was even more cause than elsewhere for

an explosion of mass violence against the principales. The town had a thriving weaving industry. The principales of the town used to give workers silk and cotton thread to be woven into cloth. Not surprisingly, the rich usually cheated the poor, often claiming that the cloth was badly woven or of inferior weight and then reducing the payment or refusing to pay altogether.

In the afternoon of March 3, shouts were heard all over town and in the plaza a crowd rapidly gathered armed with swords, bows and arrows, and pikes. The *gobernadorcillo* attempted to send word to the *alcalde mayor* but failed to do so because the rebels had posted sentries at all the exits from the town. The town priest tried to address the crowd which received him with shouts and surrounded him, brandishing their arms. The majority kissed his hand and asked for his blessing but told him that they had vowed to kill all the principales including their women and children and to take all the property and jewelry of the convents. The priest tried to dissuade the rebels from their purpose but they turned their backs on him and proceeded to the town hall where they attacked some officials and destroyed the town records. They sounded their drums which were answered by other drums in the houses of the masses.

Each house then hoisted a white flag as a sign that they were not principales and as a manifestation of alliance. Soon the number of rebels reached fifteen hundred. They went to the biggest houses around the plaza and, disregarding the pleas of the curate, killed or wounded a principal and two women, one of them the priest's housekeeper who was noted for her avarice in her transactions with the weavers. They also killed other pro-Spanish residents.

### Victory of the Principales

The priest hid in the church with most of the principales. The rebels then entered the convent, took 1,200 *pesos fuertes* and destroyed the images. At night the rebels rested but left sentinels around the plaza to prevent the escape of principales hidden in the church. The next day they issued an edict prohibiting, on pain of death, any *caillan* from sheltering in his house any of the principales, *doñas* or their children. Then they continued looting the houses of the rich.

They captured the *gobernadorcillo* and two *regidores*, tied them up and took them to the plaza. There, Simon Tomas, one of the leaders, questioned the principales as to their motives for

abolishing the privileges granted them by the king. The principales explained that the Cadiz Constitution had been abrogated but the rebels refused to believe them and instead decided to kill them. However, the priest who was called to hear the prisoners' last confession was able to prevail on the rebels to suspend their execution.

On the first afternoon of the uprising, two groups of two hundred men each went to the towns of San Nicolas and Piddig. The group that went to San Nicolas took the town hall and convent, killed two principales, captured nine and took some loot. The rebels then tried to go to Laoag, hoping to recruit new followers along the way but instead, some principales were able to gather enough people on their side to force the rebels to retreat back to Sarrat where the other group also returned after sacking the houses of principales in Piddig.

Meanwhile, the principales of other towns had gathered six hundred armed men. These joined the Spanish infantry and cavalry sent by the alcalde mayor and together they marched on Sarrat. The rebels announced that if they were attacked, the principales, doñas, and their families would be killed. The priest talked to the leaders warning them of the punishment that awaited them and reminding them of the pain of eternal damnation to which they were exposing their souls by their recalcitrance. The rebels wavered in their resolve, then agreed to end their resistance and to set the principales free. Still, the Spanish forces entered Sarrat and set it on fire. Some leaders fled to the mountains, others were caught and imprisoned.

### Advance and Retreat

The Sarrat revolt was both an advance and a retreat in the history of the people's struggle. While the rebels of Sarrat demonstrated an advance in consciousness in their awareness of their exploitation by the native elite as well as in their demands for equality, this egalitarian demand was premised on acceptance of Spain's sovereignty. The rebels merely sought better accommodation within the colonial framework. Furthermore, although they regarded the wealth of the Church as part of the riches amassed through exploitation, the rebels retained their customary respect for priestly counsel even in political matters.

The uprising exhibited some ingenious examples of mass action but its limited ideological horizon and untenable military position inside a besieged town doomed it to a quick end. Still and all, the anti-principalia aspect of the Sarrat rebellion

marked a definite stage in the people's struggles which in the future would be developed to a higher level by the people.

### **Sense of Racial Equality**

A frustrated desire for equal rights, this time in the area of religion, was the root cause of another revolt in the Southern Tagalog region. The impulse toward religious nativism as an expression of resentment and protest had all but died down in the face of over two centuries of Catholic proselytization. The return to the old gods which used to be a persistent feature of early uprisings gave way to the adoption by rebels of modified forms of the Catholic religion and its rites as in Tapar's revolt in Panay. (See Chapter 7) This indicated a half-way hold by the Church over the minds of the people. They rejected the institution because of its participation in colonial oppression but did not repudiate its beliefs and rituals.

The religious movement led by Apolinario de la Cruz constituted a logical development in that it was born out of his desire for equal standing within the Church. Revolts with religious content had thus become transformed into their opposites: from movements rejecting the Catholic religion, to protests against being denied status within the Church hierarchy.

### **Hermano Pule**

*Hermano Pule*, as Apolinario de la Cruz came to be called, was the son of devout Catholic peasants. He went to Manila in 1839 hoping to join a monastic order, but his application was rejected because he was a native. He then founded the *Cofradia de San Jose* which quickly gained numerous adherents in Tayabas, Laguna, and Batangas. Members made regular contributions which Hermano Pule used to defray the cost of a monthly Mass in Lucban, Tayabas and a monthly fiesta for his followers.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the frustration of his clerical ambitions, Pule must have continued to regard himself as a regular Catholic up to this time for he applied for ecclesiastical recognition for his confraternity. The Church, however, refused, labelling his organization heretical. Another version has it that the priests in Lucban doubled the fees for his Mass. Pule balked at paying the new rate, whereupon the clerics ordered the dissolution of his brotherhood and its expulsion from Lucban. From then on, the

group was continually harassed, its meetings raided, and some of its members arrested.

The fact that only "pure-blooded" natives were allowed to join the confraternity led the Spaniards to suspect that religion was being used as a blind for political designs. De la Cruz's early attempts to secure ecclesiastical recognition for his group would seem to belie Spanish suspicions. The exclusion of Spaniards and mestizos was probably only a natural retaliation for the discrimination he had suffered. However, the moment the Church refused to recognize his confraternity, Pule and his followers became insurgent in their attitude towards both the Church and the State. The group became a break-away sect claiming that its leader had "direct heavenly support" and was invulnerable. Pule was hailed as the "king of the Tagalogs."

Alarmed by the rapid growth of the movement, the provincial authorities pressed by the friars requested military assistance from the governor-general. The latter sent two infantry companies, one artillery battery and some cavalry to Tayabas. Members of the confraternity constructed fortifications in Alitao and seemed prepared to fight, but when the soldiers charged, Pule's followers fled. Pule and his aide, a man called Purgatorio, were captured. After a hasty trial, they were both executed. Their bodies were dismembered and exhibited in the principal towns of Southern Tayabas. Pule was then only twenty-seven years old.

### Origin of Colorums

After Pule's death, the remnants of his Cofradia retreated to the mountains between Tayabas and Laguna. The mountain of San Cristobal with its caves, waterfalls, and mountain streams which Pule's faithful named after Biblical places and persons became the sect's Holy Land. Later religious groups also considered this mountain their Jerusalem.

Because the members were so devout, the group came to be called *Colorum*, a corruption of the *et saecula saeculorum*, used at Mass to end certain prayers. During the American occupation, the name colorum was used by other groups and also applied by the authorities to a wide variety of rebel organizations with mystical characteristics. In fact, by the 1930's the term colorum had become a common word used to describe any illegal activity. For example, in certain provinces a private car that is hired out as a taxi without being licensed for that purpose is called a colorum.



The *Cofradia's* earlier demand for status within the Church may be regarded as part of the growing protest for equal rights which in its religious aspect would culminate in the fight for the Filipinization of the clergy. The social and economic basis for these apparently purely religious protests is readily perceived if we recall the economic and social prominence of religious institutions in Philippine society. Priesthood had the highest professional standing; therefore, the goal of many an ambitious family was to have one of its sons become a priest.

## Repercussions

The suppression of Apolinario de la Cruz' revolt had its repercussions in Manila where soldiers from Tayabas quartered in Malate attacked Fort Santiago. The mutiny was however quickly suppressed.<sup>9</sup>

Evidence of support or sympathy for Hermano Pule's movement may be deduced from the following portion of the Report of Juan Matta, intendant of the army and treasury:

Notwithstanding the royal order of April 25, 1837, prohibiting publications that might disturb public order and weaken the prestige of the government, such publications have circulated fully in Manila, thus increasing the discontent. In such publications the followers of Apolinario are called innocent and the execution of the rebels in the camp of Alitao has been termed assassination.<sup>10</sup>

## Economic Dislocations

There were other indications of rising popular unrest not only in the provinces but also in Manila and other urban centers — and not only among the civilian population but among the native soldiers as well.

This unrest was fundamentally the product of economic development. The rise of the hacienda system was to a great extent based on the expropriation of numerous small farmers. The decline of certain local industries as a result of the inroads of foreign trade brought acute deprivation to whole communities. Economic progress itself nurtured a popular consciousness more acutely aware of injustice and inequality, the fruit of more efficient means of exploitation.

One by-product of the development of an export-crop economy was the decline in the acreage planted to rice. From

being a rice-exporting country which used to ship as much as 800,000 *quintals* (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms) of rice to China yearly, the Philippines began to suffer rice shortages and eventually became an importer of rice.<sup>11</sup>

While export crops were certainly more profitable for large landowners and traders, rice shortages worked great hardship on the people. Self-sufficiency in the staple crop was a hedge against hunger. A poor tenant who planted something he could not eat and had to buy his daily rice was that much more at the mercy of the landowner and the trader. To feed his family, he either borrowed money from the landowner at usurious rates or sold his share of the produce to the Chinese merchant prematurely and at a very low price.

The entry of English textiles destroyed the local weaving industry. The local cloth could not compete with the much cheaper products of Britain's textile mills. Although textile exports rose in value between 1818 and 1864, after the latter year their importance quickly declined. By 1890, textile exports amounted to only 10,455 pesos. These developments brought economic destitution to the traditional weaving regions. The number of person affected may be gauged from the estimate that in the 1870's there were sixty thousand looms on Panay island alone.<sup>12</sup>

A British vice-consul reporting from Iloilo in 1887 described the inroads made by Glasgow textiles which were 50% cheaper than the local hand-woven material. Instead of using the traditional native material, women were now buying the cheaper imported cotton cloth for their *patadiongs*. The weaving of *piña*, *sinamay* and *jusi*, which used to be practically the only industry in certain districts of Iloilo before sugar growing was introduced, likewise declined.<sup>13</sup> From being the daily wear of the people, these local materials became luxuries only the rich could afford.

## Foreign Ascendancy

While economic development was causing painful dislocations in the life of the masses, it was proving very profitable for numerous foreign firms, particularly the British and the Americans. By the 1880's England and her possessions had become the principal trading partners of the Philippines, with the United States coming in second.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, foreign firms established cigarette factories, a sugar refinery and a cement

factory. They went into rice processing and the manufacture of such commodities as cotton cloth, rope, umbrellas and hats. Foreign traders exported Philippine tobacco and Manila cigars all over the world and hemp to Europe and the United States. By 1898, all major commercial nations had agents in Manila. Around three hundred Europeans virtually monopolized the import-export trade.

Foreign firms continued to do business even during the Revolution and the resistance against the United States. In fact, foreign companies paid licenses and customs duties to the revolutionary government to continue their business operations. During the Philippine-American war, the produce contributed by the people to the Aguinaldo government was sold to foreign merchants and the money used to finance the war effort.<sup>14</sup>

### Cultural Changes

Economic development, which had its initial impetus in the 1750's, inevitably led to changes in consciousness among its local beneficiaries. Wealth made possible the acquisition of education and Spanish culture by Chinese mestizos and urbanized natives. The educational reforms of 1863, besides improving the standards of education in the primary levels, opened the doors of higher institutions of learning to many natives. They could now study law, medicine or pharmacy. Many young men from prosperous Chinese mestizo and native families studied in Manila. Wealthier families sent their sons to Spain. Thus the cultural merger of these two sectors was being realized. Their economic status assured them social and political influence. Eventually they became the disseminators of Spanish culture and of liberal thought.<sup>15</sup>

The opening of the Suez canal in 1869 and the establishment of a regular steamship service between Manila and Europe further facilitated the influx of the liberal ideas that were current in that continent. More Spaniards settled in the Philippines. They were businessmen, professionals, and former bureaucrats who having lost their posts during the many turnovers in administrative personnel during the nineteenth century, elected to stay in the country. Many of them helped in the dissemination of liberal ideas.

In Manila and its environs, economic progress created a growing native group of small landowners, city workers and small shopkeepers who readily absorbed these new liberal ideas.

They became part of the reform movement and later of the Revolution.<sup>16</sup>

## Intellectual Ferment

If economic progress became the foundation for cultural unification, it was likewise the bearer of intellectual ferment. This was due not only to the influx of new ideas from abroad but also to the realization of the economically advancing groups that their upward climb was being restricted by the imperatives of colonial policy.

At first, the conflict was between the creoles and the peninsulares, with the former complaining that they were not afforded the same opportunities for advancement as the latter. The Españoles-Filipinos felt they were discriminated against in the matter of government appointments and promotions. Since there were at this time more than one thousand creole adults and only about four hundred available government positions, the best of which were filled in Madrid and hence reserved for peninsulares, the creole aspirants for employment or promotion were a frustrated lot.<sup>17</sup> Their feeling of injustice was sharpened not only by the social discrimination they experienced at the hands of the peninsulares, but also by their own belief that they should receive preference in matters of appointment because in their eyes the Philippines was their country. Unfortunately for them, the loss of Spain's colonies in America and the rise and fall of Spanish governments during this politically turbulent period of Spanish history had the effect of increasing the number of peninsular bureaucrats in the country. As a consequence, the creoles frequently found themselves edged out of employment by newly-arrived peninsulares.

The same pattern of discrimination existed in the army. When revolutions broke out in Latin America and the creoles there ranged themselves on the side of the rebels, the Philippine creoles in the military also became objects of suspicion. The creole foothold in the army became more precarious as more peninsular officers were brought over to insure the loyalty of the army. The army was reorganized; creole officers were replaced by peninsular officers or placed under the supervision of the latter. This discriminatory treatment triggered off the short-lived mutiny in 1823 led by a creole officer, Captain Andres Novales.<sup>18</sup>

This feeling of injustice seeped down to the ranks of the Chinese mestizos who having prospered much began likewise to

feel the restrictions to their own further economic advancement. The Chinese mestizo had social status among the natives for he was both landlord and creditor. Moreover, by virtue of his education, his opinions were accorded attention and respect. This widened the base of ferment.

### Secularization and Filipinization

One of the manifestations of the native demand for equality or at least for higher social and economic status was the eventual transformation of the secularization movement into a fight for the Filipinization of the clergy. The quarrel between regulars and seculars over parish assignments and supervisory rights had been going on for a long time, but it was a fight among Spaniards and hardly involved the few native priests. It was therefore of little concern to native Catholics except perhaps as it provided them with some insights into the economic basis for the religious dispute between two sections of the hierarchy.

With economic development, however, came an increase in the number of native priests. Native families who were among the beneficiaries of material progress could now afford to educate their sons, and the priesthood was at that time the best road to status and economic stability. A royal decree of 1774 ordering the secularization of the parishes was a further stimulus for natives to enter the priestly profession which, coincidentally, was somewhat short-handed as a result of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. More native seculars were given parishes of their own and the more able among them held some rich and important benefices, notably the parish of Antipolo.

When the policy of desecularization was adopted and implemented, therefore, not only was there a sizeable group of native priests who could protest but a number of them were directly affected. The return of the Jesuits in 1859 and the consequent reallocation of missions among the various orders further deprived native priests of parishes they had held for years.<sup>19</sup>

Like other sectors of the local elite, the native priests were finding out that their own advancement was being impeded by the Spaniards. Those who held no parishes had been chafing under their friar superiors who employed them as coadjutors and assigned to them all the burdensome aspects of parish work. They, too, reacted with resentment at the injustice and

discrimination they were subjected to. This sharpened their awareness of their separate national identity, a consciousness which was transmitted to their native parishioners. The demand for Filipinization became one of the rallying cries of the steadily growing sentiment of nationality.<sup>20</sup>

It should be noted that towards the last part of the nineteenth century, the secular priests were either creoles, mestizos or natives. Thus the fight for secularization inevitably became anti-peninsular and was recognized as such. (Lay peninsulars were pro-regular and lay creoles pro-secular.) It should also be emphasized that the demand for Filipinization of the parishes encompassed not only the native clergy but also creole and Spanish-mestizo priests. In fact, as the term Filipinization implies, the fight began as an attempt by Españoles-Filipinos to assert themselves vis-a-vis the peninsular friars. Father Jose Burgos of the Manila Cathedral, one of the prominent leaders of the movement, was himself three-fourths Spanish and held important religious positions because he was considered a Spaniard.

In 1870, there occurred a new wave of curacy-grabbing by the friars. The rancor of creole, mestizo and native seculars was such that the Archbishop of Manila was moved to send a letter of protest to the Spanish government warning that such ill-treatment of Filipino priests might undermine their loyalty to Spain. The appeal was futile.

Barely two years later, the controversy over secularization and Filipinization which had begun to fan popular ferment although it was essentially a rivalry among the religious, was formally linked to the people's general struggle by a reactionary administration overreacting to the Cavite mutiny of 1872.

## Cavite — 1872

The Cavite mutiny of 1872 marked the beginning of a new stage in the escalating unrest. Another swing from liberalism to reaction had taken place in Spain and was reflected in the arrival in 1871 of Rafael de Izquierdo to take over the governorship from the liberal Carlos Maria de la Torre. Izquierdo promptly suspended or revised de la Torre's liberal decrees and classified as *personas sospechosas* educated persons who had supported de la Torre's policies. It was this attitude of Izquierdo's that was to give the Cavite mutiny greater significance than it actually had.<sup>21</sup>

Since 1740, the workers in the arsenal and in the artillery barracks and engineer corps of Fort San Felipe in Cavite had enjoyed exemption from tribute and forced labor. When Izquierdo abolished these privileges abruptly, the men in the fort mutinied. Although the mutiny was suppressed in less than a day and no other actions followed, the Spaniards under the leadership of Izquierdo proclaimed it part of a widespread separatist conspiracy.

Actually it was nothing more than a localized expression of protest against a particular injustice, but the reactionaries chose to use it as an excuse for instituting a reign of terror. This was their pre-emptive action against the discontent that during the tenure of the liberal de la Torre had surfaced in criticism of various aspects of Spanish rule and in demands for equal treatment.

Since the current demands for secularization and Filipinization were particularly distasteful to the friars, they took advantage of the incident to accuse Fathers Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora of being leaders of the Cavite conspiracy. Gomez and Zamora were prominent native clerics. Burgos, a Spanish mestizo, had been particularly active in the movement for secularization and Filipinization. The three priests were arrested, given a mock-trial, and publicly garroted. All three protested their innocence to the end. Many other prominent persons: priests, professionals, and businessmen — mestizos and natives alike — were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms or to banishment.<sup>2 2</sup>

### Against the Peninsulars

The persecution of liberal creoles, mestizos and native ilustrados on charges that they were plotting against Spanish sovereignty only gave them a greater feeling of affinity toward one another. A common grievance produced a deeper awareness of their community of interests as against the peninsulares.

Thus, 1872 marks a new stage in the growing consciousness of a separate national identity. Where the concept of Filipino used to have a racial and later a cultural limitation, the repression that followed the Cavite mutiny made the three racial groups — creoles, mestizos and natives — join hands and become conscious of their growing development as a Filipino nation.<sup>2 3</sup>

## **Fighting the Friars as Spaniards**

The palpably unjust and unwarranted execution of the three priests released great waves of resentment. Although one of them, Burgos, was a three-fourths Spaniard, the authorities regarded all three as indios, thus giving the natives three ready-made martyrs. Among a people in whom the Catholic faith had been ingrained for centuries, this execution of the three priests had grave repercussions. It placed the fight for Filipinization of the parishes squarely within the mainstream of the people's unrest.

It is not far-fetched to surmise that having priests on their side freed the people psychologically from intellectual bondage to the friars. For many, fighting the friars meant fighting them as Spaniards and exploiters. It did not mean denying their Catholic faith since they had Catholic priests on their side.

Between 1872 and the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, a generation of ilustrados came of age. Beneficiaries of the educational reforms of 1863 and exponents of liberalism, these young men were now beginning to articulate for the people as a whole those resentments that had motivated their centuries of struggle. The interaction between liberal ideas from the continent and the growing ambitions of the rising classes plus the experience of the masses in struggle contributed to the emergence of a nation with rising expectations and common grievances.

## **Setting the Stage**

The stage was set for a national action. A closer linkage to world capitalism had remolded the structure of the economy and unified the country. But capitalist progress meant underdevelopment, for the resources of the country were being used for the development of the metropolitan centers of the world. The beginning of progress was the beginning of modern underdevelopment.

Prosperity for certain classes bred ambition and discontent. For the masses, it meant greater deprivation both in the absolute and in the relative sense. They were more exploited and they felt this exploitation more keenly because they could see the material prosperity of others. At the same time, they now had articulators of their aspirations although these had motives of their own. The economic and social development of the nineteenth century changed the complexion of the struggle.



The quantitative series of rebellions produced a qualitative leap — the revolution of a nation. The nation was born of the Revolution as much as the Revolution was the expression of the nation being born.

## X.

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# Revolution and Nationhood

The concept of nationhood had its earlier roots in the scattered and fragmentary uprisings against the Spaniards. But these spontaneous reactions to various forms of exploitation and abuse could not weld the people into one because the material basis for a nation was absent. Moreover, the lack of communications facilities and the colonial policy of deliberately keeping the people in a state of ignorance by severely limiting educational opportunities and suppressing the dissemination of new ideas further delayed the growth of a national consciousness.

But even after the faint outlines of a national market and a national economy had become visible, the corresponding national consciousness began to take form only as articulators who could project the different grievances and aspirations of the people emerged. It was through their articulation that the common denominators of these resentments and expectations were crystallized and disseminated on a scale sufficient to create among a majority of the people a sense of nationality separate and distinct, and a counter-consciousness that provided a set of alternatives to colonial oppression.

These articulators were the ilustrados. They belonged to the classes that arose as a result of the developing national economy. Coming from families that had benefited from the economic development of the country, these young men were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities that a liberalized Spanish colonial policy offered at the time. Sons of the provincial elite went to Manila to study and came into contact with one another and with the sons of the Manila elite. The more affluent families sent their young men to Spain. In less than a generation, the products of the new educational policies became the early spokesmen for the people's grievances

and aspirations.

Their consciousness was the product of objective reality, more specifically, of their status within that reality, but the articulation of their ideas would help mobilize forces that would effect changes in the emerging nation and in the people, changes which would in many ways be more far-reaching than the ilustrados themselves envisioned. The ilustrados served to project a consciousness of nationhood among the people that was already latent in their practice.

## The New Filipinos

The growth of the concept of nationhood was coterminous with the development of the concept of Filipino.<sup>1</sup> The first Filipinos were the Españoles-Filipinos or creoles — Spaniards born in the Philippines. They alone were called Filipinos. (See Chapter 8) Thus, in the beginning, the term Filipino had a racial and elitist connotation. However, with the economic progress of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Chinese mestizos and urbanized natives who together eventually dominated the ranks of the new principalia became considered as Filipinos because of their essentially Hispanized cultural background and inclinations.

The term Filipino was growing in scope, although its application was still limited by property, education, and Spanish culture. Those who called themselves Filipinos were still Spanish-oriented, but at the same time they had already developed a loyalty to the Philippines as a distinct entity. The concept and the feeling of being a Filipino was becoming established. The term Filipino which before was used to refer only to creoles and later also to Spanish mestizos who could pass for pure Spaniards, was being appropriated by the Chinese mestizos and the native elite who had Hispanized themselves.

Having benefited from economic development, the creoles, Spanish mestizos, Chinese mestizos, and urbanized natives now had an economic base to protect. The drive for individual economic expansion, especially after it found sanction in the ideas of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution, fostered among the local elite a keener perception of the restrictions imposed by Spanish colonialism on their own development. This aggravated the feeling of oppression caused by colonial policies, by the abuses and arrogance of individual officials and friars, and by the general lack of those civil liberties that the new liberal concepts led them to aspire for.

The grievances of the masses and the self-interest of the principalia therefore became ingredients in the development of a new consciousness of interests distinct and separate from those of Spain.

Through their propaganda work, the ilustrados first shared, then wrested the term Filipino from the creoles and infused it with national meaning which later included the entire people. Thus, the term Filipino which had begun as a concept with narrow racial application and later developed to delineate an elite group characterized by wealth, education, and Spanish culture, finally embraced the entire nation and became a means of national identification. From then on, the term Filipino would refer to the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago regardless of racial strain or economic status.<sup>2</sup>

### The Reform Movement

The nuclear form of nationhood first found expression in agitation for reforms. Although attempts to expose the evils of Spanish colonialism and particularly the abuses of the friars were made within the Philippines, the principal propaganda effort was exerted in Spain. In Spain, those who agitated for reforms could more freely express themselves. Moreover, since the principal drive at this time was for reforms within the colonial system, the logical place for agitation was in the "mother country." The hope was that if the Spanish Government could be made aware of what was really happening in the colony, some reforms might be forthcoming.

Three groups formed the nucleus of the movement for reforms which has come to be known as the Propaganda Movement. First, there was the group of suspected *filibusteros* including *Españoles-Filipinos* and Spanish mestizos who had been banished to the Marianas during the crack-down on liberals in the wake of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. Granted executive clemency two years later, on condition that they did not return to the Philippines, the majority of these men congregated in Barcelona and Madrid. The second group was composed of young men who had been sent to Spain for their studies. These two groups were augmented by refugees who left the islands to escape persecution. Among the latter, the most prominent were Graciano Lopez Jaena and Marcelo H. del Pilar.

Lopez Jaena had written a tale whose principal character was Fray Botod.<sup>3</sup> Since the word *botod* in Lopez Jaena's native dialect, Hiligaynon, means full-bellied, the reference to the

greed of the friars was clear. The story in fact depicted all the vices and abuses of the Spanish priests. Although the tale of Fray Botod circulated only in manuscript form, it came to the attention of the objects of its satire and Lopez Jaena found it expedient to leave the Philippines.

Marcelo H. del Pilar's reputation as a propagandist was already established before an order for his arrest forced him to flee the country in 1880. Gifted with the common touch, he found ready audiences in the cockpits, the plazas, and the corner *tiendas* of his native Bulacan. Unlike Rizal who wrote his novels in Spanish, a fact which cut him off from most Filipinos who did not know the language, del Pilar wrote his propaganda pamphlets in simple Tagalog — lucid, direct, and forceful. His parodies of the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the catechism published in pamphlets which simulated the format and size of the novenas were highly effective propaganda.<sup>4</sup>

Among those who had gone to Spain to study, Jose Rizal was to emerge as a highly respected leader.<sup>5</sup> His prestige was derived from his considerable and varied intellectual gifts and was greatly enhanced by the publication in 1887 of his novel, *Noli Me Tangere*, an incisive study of Philippine society which earned him the enmity of the friars and was promptly banned in the Philippines.

Expatriates, refugees, and students made repeated attempts to band together in associations and to establish organs through which they could project their demands for reforms, counteract the friar-supported newspaper, *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, and refute such anti-Filipino writers as Wenceslao E. Retana, Pablo Feced and Vicente Barrantes.

Early demands for reforms had been aired by Españoles-Filipinos in *El Eco Filipino*, a fortnightly magazine published in Spain. Some copies reached Manila where there were a few subscribers. However, the magazine was banned after 1872. Españoles-Filipinos at first tried to maintain the leadership in the campaign for reforms, but the associations they formed did not prosper.<sup>6</sup>

In 1882 Juan Atayde, a Spaniard born in Manila, founded the *Circulo Hispano-Filipino* in Madrid. The society died practically at birth due to a shortage of funds and the lack of confidence of the members in Atayde. Another attempt to organize was made by another Spaniard, Professor Miguel Morayta, who tried to form the *Asociacion Hispano-Filipino*. Inaugurated on January 12, 1889, the association lobbied successfully for the passage of

some laws such as the Maura Law, the law providing for the compulsory teaching of Spanish, and another one for judicial reform. Its members campaigned actively for Philippine representation in the Cortes.

Morayta's association, however, failed to secure the support of many Filipinos, among them Jose Rizal and Antonio Luna, mainly because its membership was composed mostly of Spaniards. These were mainly Españoles-Filipinos, an older group of retired officers, merchants, and landowners living in Spain. They favored the use of tact and prudence in asking for reforms. The young Filipinos felt that the Spaniards and the creoles were too moderate or were unwilling to risk the displeasure of the Spanish authorities. The Spanish mestizos were caught in the middle, some eventually electing to join forces with the Filipinos.

The desire to form a purely Filipino organization was fulfilled with the establishment in Barcelona on December 13, 1888 of *La Solidaridad*. This organization was a sort of rival of Morayta's Madrid group although the two organizations joined together in a petition addressed to the Minister of the Colonies asking for representation in the Cortes, abolition of censorship of the press, and prohibition of the practice of deporting citizens merely through administrative orders.

The president of *La Solidaridad* was Rizal's cousin, Galicano Apacible. Among the other officers were Graciano Lopez Jaena, vice-president, and Mariano Ponce, treasurer. Rizal, in London at the time, was named honorary president. Unfortunately, Apacible could not hold the wrangling reformists together. It took the prestige of Rizal and the political wisdom of del Pilar to unite the Filipinos in Spain and to coordinate their efforts.<sup>7</sup>

## The Propaganda Movement

The early attempts to publish a propaganda organ were failures just as the associations had been and for the same reasons: lack of funds, lack of unity, differences of opinion, petty jealousies, and personal ambitions. The *Revista del Circulo Hispano Filipino* died after its second issue and the weekly *España en Filipinas* fared scarcely better. But finally, in February 1889, the Filipino propagandists were able to get together behind a new publication which they called *La Solidaridad*, and which for its more than five years of existence became the principal organ of the propaganda movement.<sup>8</sup> It was founded on February 15, 1889 and existed up to November

15, 1895. Its first editor was Graciano Lopez Jaena but he was soon succeeded by Marcelo H. del Pilar. *La Solidaridad* was a political propaganda paper with a liberal, reformist orientation dedicated to the task of fighting reaction in all its forms.

The staff of *La Solidaridad* defined its objectives in the following words:

Modest, very modest indeed are our aspirations. Our program is of the utmost simplicity: to fight all forms of reaction, to impede all retrogression, to hail and to accept all liberal ideas, and to defend all progress; in a word, to be one more propagandist of all the ideals of democracy in the hope that these might hold sway over all nations here and across the seas.<sup>9</sup>

Through the pages of *La Solidaridad*, the propaganda movement demanded for the Filipinos freedom of the press, of speech and of assembly, equality before the law, participation in the affairs of government, social and political freedom. The propagandists also asked for reforms in all branches of government, the promotion of education, a stop to the abuses of the *Guardia Civil*, and an end to the arbitrary deportation of citizens. The writers of *La Solidaridad* directed their strongest invectives at the friars as the enemies of enlightenment and liberal reform.

### Assimilation and Representation

But despite all their criticisms and complaints, the propagandists' goal was still assimilation. That is why they were asking for Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes. The preoccupation with education was also part of the drive for cultural Hispanization which would facilitate assimilation. Spain was still their "mother country"; they asked for reforms so that their countrymen would not be alienated from her. Rizal captured the essence of the reformists' anxiety in an article published in *La Solidaridad* in which he appealed to the Spanish government to

Grant liberties so that no one may have the right to conspire; deputies so that their complaints and their grumblings may not accumulate in the bosom of the families to become the cause of future storms. Treat the people well, teach them the sweetness of peace so that they may love and sustain it. If you persist in your system of banishments, incarcerations, and assaults without cause, if you punish

them for your own faults, you make them despair, you remove their abhorrence for revolutions and turmoils, you harden them and you arouse them to struggle.<sup>10</sup>

Masonry was an integral part of the reform movement. The masonic movement which in Spain was essentially anti-friar attracted the Filipino propagandists who saw the friars as the pillars of reaction. The Filipino masons in Spain were responsible for the organization of masonic lodges in the Philippines which echoed the reformist demands and declared their goal to be that of seeing the Philippines become a province of Spain. These lodges in turn helped to fund the work of propaganda in Spain.<sup>11</sup>

### Reformist Demands

The propaganda movement could not have been more than a movement for reforms. Since most of its leaders belonged to the generally wealthy *clase ilustrada*, their primary aim was to secure for their class participation in political rule and a greater share in economic benefits. Since their own social acceptability was premised on their Hispanization, it was to be expected that their cultural demand would be for Filipinos to be accorded the right to Spanish culture. They were for cultural assimilation and for the transformation of the Philippines into a province of Spain provided that certain abuses were curtailed and certain administrative reforms instituted, including representation for the colony in the Spanish Cortes.

Although the demands of the ilustrado reformists were necessarily delimited by their class position, at the time that they were voicing them in Spain these demands were progressive. It was only when the people had determined to wage a revolution and had adopted a clearly separatist goal that continued advocacy of reforms became reactionary.

The propagandists failed to achieve their principal objective: that of prodding the Spanish government to reform the colonial administration. It has been argued that since the propaganda writers failed to reach the masses of their countrymen, their influence may be regarded as minimal and for this reason there was hardly any continuity between the Propaganda and the Revolution. Several factors did undermine the effectiveness of the propaganda movement, among them the perennial lack of funds and the bickerings among the propagandists themselves. For example, as a result of a misunderstanding between del Pilar



and Rizal, the latter stopped contributing to *La Solidaridad* before it had completed two years of its existence. A few months later, Antonio Luna, who was partial to Rizal, also quit. The undependable Lopez Jaena who had alternated between collaboration and indifference finally severed all his ties with the propaganda movement when a promised pension from the Manila supporters of the paper did not materialize. He even went so far as to attack his former colleagues. Henceforth, he devoted himself (but without success) to the fulfillment of his ambition of being elected to the Cortes.<sup>1 2</sup>

Certainly an important factor limiting the influence of the propagandists was the fact that they wrote in Spanish, a language virtually unknown among the masses. Furthermore, censorship seriously limited the inflow of such reading matter and made possession of it very risky.

But despite all the foregoing, the influence of the Propaganda on the Revolution cannot be discounted. True, *La Solidaridad* itself, Rizal's novels, and other propaganda material had limited circulation but these reached the local ilustrados who in most instances came to lead the revolutionary forces in their provinces. The fund-raising efforts of local committees and masonic lodges and the clandestine attempts to distribute these materials involved more individuals in the campaign for reforms. The very attempts of the government to stop the entry of *La Solidaridad* and prevent its distribution highlighted the lack of freedoms that the propagandists were condemning. If readership was small, seepage of information to other groups certainly occurred. And because what the propagandists wrote were accurate reflections of reality, a feeling of empathy developed wherever news of their work was heard. The articulation of their own feelings of oppression heightened the ferment of the people and herein lay the continuity between reformism and revolution despite their diametrically opposed means and goals.

### Rizal's Liga

When upon his return to the Philippines in July, 1892, Rizal organized the *Liga Filipina*, this constituted a forward step in the reformist ideas of the times in the sense that the new group sought to involve the people directly in the reform movement. Many elements of society who were anxious for change were attracted to the Liga, among them, Andres Bonifacio who became one of the founders of the organization.

As listed in the constitution Rizal prepared, the Liga's aims

were:

- (1) to unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogenous body;
- (2) Mutual protection in every want and necessity;
- (3) Defense against all violence and injustice;
- (4) Encouragement of instruction, agriculture, and commerce; and
- (5) Study and application of reforms.

As Rizal envisioned it, the league was to be a sort of mutual aid and self-help society dispensing scholarship funds and legal aid, loaning capital and setting up cooperatives. These were innocent, even naive, objectives that could hardly alleviate the social ills of those times, but the Spanish authorities were so alarmed that they arrested Rizal on July 6, 1892, a scant four days after the Liga was organized.<sup>13</sup>

With Rizal deported to Dapitan, the Liga became inactive until, through the efforts of Domingo Franco and Andres Bonifacio, it was reorganized. Apolinario Mabini became the secretary of the Supreme Council. Upon his suggestion, the organization decided to declare its support for *La Solidaridad* and the reforms it advocated, raise funds for the paper, and defray the expenses of deputies advocating reforms for the country before the Spanish Cortes.<sup>14</sup>

## The Split

At first the Liga was quite active. Bonifacio in particular exerted great efforts to organize chapters in various districts of Manila. A few months later, however, the Supreme Council of the Liga dissolved the society. The reformist leaders found out that most of the popular councils which Bonifacio had organized were no longer willing to send funds to the Madrid propagandists because, like Bonifacio, they had become convinced that peaceful agitation for reforms was futile. Afraid that the more radical rank and file members might capture the organization and unwilling to involve themselves in an enterprise which would surely invite reprisals from the authorities, the leaders of the Liga opted for dissolution. The Liga membership split into two groups: the conservatives formed the *Cuerpo de Compromisarios* which pledged to continue supporting *La Solidaridad* while the radicals led by Bonifacio devoted themselves to a new and secret society, the *Katipunan*, which Bonifacio had organized on the very day Rizal was deported to

With the shift from the Liga to the Katipunan, the goal was transformed from assimilation to separation. The means underwent a similarly drastic change: from peaceful agitation for reforms to armed revolution. The reformism of the ilustrados gave way to the revolution of the masses.

The desire for separation from Spain became more acute as the masses became convinced that the only solution to their problems was revolution. This revolutionary consciousness was the fruit of centuries of practice, but its ideological articulation came from the reformist ilustrados. The stage was set for an anti-colonial, national revolution whose ebb and flow would depend on which of the two currents was temporarily dominant, the revolutionary decisiveness of the masses or the temporizing and reformist nature of their allies.

### Ambivalent Classes

Economic progress had brought into being in Philippine society a number of transitional economic and social groups composed of creoles, Chinese mestizos, and urbanized Filipinos. These formed a fairly broad petty bourgeois stratum which occupied a social and economic position between the peninsulares and the masses. Included therein were landowners, inquilinos, shopkeepers, merchants, employees, and professionals. They were joined by some who by Philippine standards were already considered affluent and by others who though quite poor, had economic and social aspirations akin to those of their better situated countrymen because of the nature of their employment, their education and their urbanization. Many ilustrados belonged to this stratum. This accounts for the see-saw attitudes they displayed during various phases of the revolution. They were ambivalent in their attitudes toward the colonizer. This explains the confused stand many of them took during this part of Philippine history. When we use the term ilustrado we refer to this broad stratum with uneven consciousness.

Since their orientation vacillated between the ruling and the lower classes, the ilustrados, like the rising classes from which they emerged, were both reformist and revolutionary. Their grievances impelled them to relate to the people, but because they regarded themselves as the social superiors of the masses they also related to the ruling power. They were willing to join the peninsulares if some of their political and economic

demands could be granted, but at the same time they identified themselves with the people in order to secure the maximum concessions from the colonial establishment. While they identified themselves with the upperclass Filipinos by virtue of actual economic status or personal ambition and therefore already had interests to defend, the ilustrados had to include the complaints of their less fortunate brothers in presenting their case against colonial injustice. Whether they were creoles or Chinese mestizos or part of the indigenous elite, they were all minority groups. Therefore, identification with the masses whose customs and life they were familiar with became the only logical channel for them if they were to be an effective force. The people could not be ignored; ilustrado strength could be measured only in terms of support by the vast majority. The ilustrados therefore presented the case of the entire people without distinguishing the strata to which they themselves belonged.

For all the foregoing reasons, the ilustrados wavered between assimilation and separation, between reform and revolution. Barring individual exceptions, we may say that the higher the economic status the stronger the tendency toward assimilation and reformism. This, incidentally, was evident in the split within the Liga where the wealthier members formed the Cuerpo de Compromisarios and the less prosperous joined Bonifacio in the Katipunan.

The masses for their part readily accepted many of the teachings of the ilustrados. They themselves, though tempered in the struggle of the centuries, did not yet have the capability to integrate their experiences. Their articulate ilustrado compatriots gave expression to their thoughts, feelings, and aspirations, and the masses quickly responded by giving their enthusiastic support to these leaders who crystallized for them the injustices they had been subjected to for hundreds of years and for the first time opened for them the possibility of a better life by leading them in a national confrontation against their Spanish oppressors. Moreover, long experience with Spanish hierarchical organization had accustomed the masses to regard direction from their "social superiors" as natural and proper. This explains why it was easy later on for the wealthier and more opportunistic members of the native elite to pre-empt the leadership of the Revolution and redirect it toward compromise.

It should also be noted that among the urban masses no distinct class consciousness existed as yet inasmuch as the pre-

dominantly commercial economy produced a diffusion and admixture of strivings.

Insofar as the peasants were concerned, their consciousness was similar to that of peasants all over the world. The nature of their activities and their isolation militated against their developing an ideology of their own. But because of their incessant struggles against oppression over the centuries, because of their increasing misery and because Bonifacio's call for separation from Spain was a simple and direct solution which they readily understood, the peasants quickly rallied to the struggle. But there were also peasants who joined counter-revolutionary groups such as the *Guardias de Honor*.<sup>16</sup>

### Urban Ideas, Rural Masses

It should be noted that at its inception the focus of the revolutionary movement was in the eight Tagalog provinces which were most penetrated by urban ideas and most affected by the growing commercialization of the economy. That the Revolution spread rapidly and often spontaneously to other areas shows that through the centuries, the desire to throw off the Spanish yoke had become universal.

When urban radicalism spreads to the rural areas, the rural masses are usually able to maintain the struggle long after the metropolitan districts have been subdued. This was the case in the Philippines. But it must be noted that many such peasant uprisings were led by elements from the local elite who were still acknowledged as the traditional leaders.

### Urban Sense of Solidarity

In Manila, a greater awareness of common deprivation and oppression was made possible by economic progress itself. The economy was in its mercantile capitalist stages but there were already quite large concentrations of workers in some factories and in the stevedoring companies. When Spain inaugurated her policy of developing the colony, one of her earliest projects was the setting up of a tobacco monopoly. Since this monopoly controlled, besides the planting of tobacco, also the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes, the government set up five factories in Manila. Starting with a few hundred workers, these factories were employing a total of around twenty thousand workers during the years from 1850 to 1882. Factory oper-

ations featured an assembly line with well-defined division of labor.<sup>17</sup>

The convergence of thousands of workers in a single place necessarily developed in them recognition of their solidarity of interest as Filipinos, though not yet as proletarians. This inchoate sense of solidarity provided form to the blind, spontaneous unrest of earlier years; later it was to constitute a base of support for the Katipunan.

A more cohesive core of the oppressed was slowly being engendered by capitalist enterprise; a definite working class was in the offing although the milieu still retained many of the hierarchical ideas that were a residue of the feudal atavism of the Spanish administration.

### Depression in Countryside

In the countryside, perhaps more than in the city, economic progress had depressed the living standards of the masses, both absolutely and relatively. The successful development of cash crops for export intensified exploitation and suffering in a number of ways. Land rentals were increased from year to year; tenants forced by landowners to concentrate on cash crops were no longer sure of their food supply; cottage industries, principally weaving, which augmented farm income were destroyed by competition from imports. But above all, the export-crop economy increased the value of land and the desirability of owning as many hectares as possible. The religious orders and other Spanish landowners, the native principales and the rising class of Chinese mestizos all took advantage of the various land laws, the mortgage law, and the pacto de retroventa to dispossess ignorant and poor peasants of their small plots.<sup>18</sup>

Unrest was particularly strong in the religious estates. In 1888, the tenants of Calamba were dispossessed by the Dominicans. There were some agrarian uprisings against the Jesuits. These were led by inquilinos or middlemen-landowners but their activities against the religious corporations drew support from the masses.

### The Land Question

It is not difficult to imagine the bitter anger of poor people forced to work as tenants of the new owners on land their ancestors had regarded as their own for generations. Resent-

ment was particularly great against the landgrabbing activities of the friars and against their other exploitative practices. Not only were they Spaniards, they were religious against whom the charges of hypocrisy and non-compliance with their own preaching might be levelled. To make matters worse, they were absentee landlords who left the management and supervision of their estates to administrators whose efficiency was measured in terms of their ability to extract more profit.

In his memoirs of the Revolution, Isabelo de los Reyes describes some of the exploitative practices of the friar estate administrators.

In San Juan del Monte, the scene of the first battles near Manila, I was told that the ground rent for one *loang* (ten square fathoms) of farm land was four pesos a year. Furthermore, the hacenderos imposed a surcharge of ten *rials vellon* for every mango tree planted by the inquilino; two and a half *rials* for every sapling of bamboo; and 35 cents for every *ilang-ilang* tree, which is planted only for its flowers.

It is reported of the friar hacenderos of Cavite that in cases where the ground rent is payable in money they assess it on the basis of an arbitrary price for paddy or hulled rice which they fix themselves; and if a tenant refused to agree to this they take back the land which he has under lease, land which he had been developing all this time at his own expense. If the ground rent is payable in kind, the lay brother in charge of collecting it has a sample cavan placed in a vessel of water, and if any grains float to the surface the entire crop is considered to have many of these hollow or empty grains. The rice is then winnowed by means of a high-powered winnowing machine which blows away much good grain, to the inquilino's loss. Moreover, the rice soaked in water is not counted in the delivery, for it is considered customary to take it for the hacendero's horses as gift.<sup>19</sup>

The importance of the land question and the depth of the grievance against the friar landowners is evident from the fact that the first provinces that rose in revolt were those in which there were extensive friar estates. (See Chapter 6)

### Immediate Causes

That the resentments that had been building up over the years against Spanish colonialism and against the friars reached a peak towards the end of the nineteenth century was due to a number of immediate causes.

An economic depression had set in during the period from

1891 to 1895 which was characterized by an unstable currency and exchange fluctuations. This was especially hard on the Filipino laborer and the small producer. Even the higher wages since 1898 compensated only partly for the previous hardships imposed on the Filipino worker by a declining medium of exchange. And of course, by 1898 any amelioration was too late.

During the recession, hemp and sugar prices fell disastrously while the prices of imported goods rose because of the unfavorable exchange. Scarcity plus the higher cost of importation raised the price of rice, thus compounding the people's difficulties. Indigo production was paralyzed and a canker which attacked the coffee plant drove coffee planters to bankruptcy.

In June and July of 1896, a locust infestation destroyed the rice fields of the provinces of Central Luzon. Despite this calamity which had come on top of a drought, the friar landowners refused to condone even a part of the rent and in certain instances even demanded an increase.<sup>20</sup> Misery and desperation rallied the peasantry of Luzon to the cause of the Katipunan.

### Convergence of Grievances

The economic crisis that aggravated the unrest of the masses also affected the native middle and upper classes. Aside from their own economic reverses, the misery of their countrymen gave greater impetus to their own resentments and encouraged them to make common cause with the people.

The ilustrado drive for political and economic parity with the Spaniards had manifested itself during the propaganda period in demands for reforms which had in turn been partially inspired by Spanish demands for reform of their own government. But the reform measures were too partial and came too late, were for the most part impractical or unsuited to Philippine conditions, and were often not implemented at all.<sup>21</sup> If a governor general was opposed to a given decree, he could delay its implementation in the hope that a political change in the Spanish capital would result in its repeal. These swings in Spanish politics from reaction to liberalism and back again raised the Filipino's hopes for reform only to doom them to disappointment. Abuses and corruption were, however, constant ingredients of both liberal and reactionary administrations.



Filipino professionals had a special grievance. Filipino university graduates seldom received government positions. The few lawyers and physicians who were given employment had only temporary appointments.

The grievances of each class flowed together to form one common stream of national protest. Conditions were ripe for the advent of a revolutionary movement. Bonifacio and his group were, therefore, able to organize the Katipunan with a wider mass base.

## The Katipunan

An analysis of the ideology of the Katipunan must begin with a look into the class backgrounds of its leaders and the ideological influences that helped to shape their thinking.

During the first election of the Katipunan, the following officers were chosen:

Deodato Arellano — president  
Andres Bonifacio — comptroller  
Ladislao Diwa — fiscal  
Teodoro Plata — secretary  
Valentin Diaz — treasurer<sup>2 2</sup>

The original leadership of the Katipunan may be classified as lower to middle-middle class. Deodato Arellano, its first president, studied bookkeeping at the Ateneo Municipal and upon graduation worked as assistant clerk in the artillery corps. He had been the secretary of the Liga Filipina and it was in his house where the Katipunan was formed.<sup>2 3</sup>

Teodoro Plata was the nephew of Gregoria de Jesus, Bonifacio's second wife. His father was a mail carrier. He studied at the Escuela Municipal where he completed the *segunda enseñanza*. First employed as a clerk in Binondo, he later became a clerk of the court of first instance of Mindoro, his last post before he joined the Revolution at the instance of Bonifacio.

Ladislao Diwa was an employee of the court of Quiapo and subsequently became clerk of court in Pampanga where he proselytized for the Katipunan. He had worked actively under Bonifacio in the Liga Filipina.<sup>2 4</sup>

Valentin Diaz was also a court clerk. He helped to draw up the statutes of the Katipunan.<sup>2 5</sup>

## Bonifacio

Bonifacio's own lower middle class origins may be gleaned from his biography. His mother was a Spanish mestiza who used to work as a *cabecilla* in a cigarette factory. His father, a tailor, had served as a *teniente mayor* of Tondo.<sup>26</sup> Bonifacio was born in Tondo in 1863. The early death of his parents forced him to quit school in order to support his brothers and sisters. Bonifacio first earned his livelihood by making walking canes and paper fans which he himself peddled. Later, he worked as a messenger for Fleming and Co. and as a salesman of tar and other goods sold by the same firm. His last job before the Revolution was as a *bodeguero* or warehouseman for Fressell and Company.

Poverty prevented him from going beyond the second year of high school but he was an avid reader, especially on the subject of revolution. When because of his revolutionary activities the *Guardia Civil Veterana* of Manila searched his home, they found among his papers copies of revolutionary speeches, masonic documents, a collection of *La Solidaridad*, and letters of Luna, del Pilar, and Rizal. Among his books were: Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, *Les Miserables* by Victor Hugo and *The Wandering Jew* by Eugene Sue. He also had biographies of presidents of the United States, books on the French Revolution, on international law, and on religion.<sup>27</sup>

### Influence of Plaridel

The ideas of Marcelo H. del Pilar exerted a strong influence on Bonifacio. Among the propagandists, it was del Pilar who ultimately saw the futility of fighting for reforms and was veering toward revolution. His chosen style of work, proof of his understanding of the masses, made this development possible. His experience in mass propaganda before he was forced to leave the country made him regard the reformists' work in Spain only as a first stage. He intended to return in a year or two to work on what he called the second phase of the propaganda.<sup>28</sup> While he did not specify what this would entail, in one of his letters he did refer to the expulsion of the friars as a task the Filipinos themselves must undertake.<sup>29</sup> Unlike Rizal, del Pilar was sympathetic toward the Revolution. He declared himself in favor of insurrection as a "last remedy," especially if the people no longer believed that peaceful means would suffice.<sup>30</sup> Had he been in the country, his pen would have been

just right for the Katipunan. Desperately poor, he died in Spain in 1896.

Bonifacio prized del Pilar's sympathy and support and used his letters as guides to his thinking and action. Bonifacio submitted to del Pilar for his approval the by-laws of the KKK and made use of del Pilar's letter approving of the organization of the revolutionary society to recruit more adherents. The Katipunan organ, the *Kalayaan*, carried del Pilar's name as editor-in-chief, a ploy to throw off the authorities; this had del Pilar's sanction.<sup>31</sup> So great was Bonifacio's admiration for del Pilar that he painstakingly copied the letters del Pilar had written to his brother-in-law, Deodato Arellano. Bonifacio treasured these letters and the ones he himself received as sacred relics of the Revolution and was guided by them.<sup>32</sup>

Coming as they did from the lower echelons of the middle class, Bonifacio and his companions instinctively identified with the masses. Although the early leadership of the Katipunan was essentially middle class, many members of this class could be considered almost plebeian in social status, for in the evolving society of that time, class differentiation was not very marked in the lower levels. Thus it was possible for a bodeguero like Bonifacio or a book binder like Aguedo del Rosario or court clerks and other small employees like the others to feel an instinctive affinity for the workingmen in the cities and for the peasants in the countryside. It was therefore possible for this middle-class organization to become the triggering force that would galvanize the masses into action because it expressed the masses' own demands for freedom from Spanish colonialism and friar despotism.

### Historic Initiative of the Masses

The Katipunan emerged as the natural heir of the revolutionary tradition of the people, a tradition which had manifested itself in uprising after uprising throughout three centuries of Spanish rule. However, these were fragmented struggles characterized by a spontaneity devoid of ideology. They were the instinctual reactions of a people that could not as yet articulate its thoughts and its goals on a national scale. But this spontaneity flowed into the voids and the gaps of society giving rise to an initiative which though negative in nature already delineated, if vaguely, the positive reconstruction of the body politic. Each resistance was both a negative reaction to reality and a positive, if unarticulated attempt, to change the existing

order. Each revolt was a search for an alternative as yet inchoate in the mind, but deeply felt. When the material basis for a national consciousness emerged, it became possible to work on a national scale for an alternative to the colonial condition.

From its inception, the Katipunan set itself the task of arousing national feeling and working for the deliverance of the Filipino people as a whole from Spanish oppression and friar despotism. Believing that only a united people could achieve its own redemption, the Katipunan sought to lay the basis for this unity by fostering a stronger love of country and encouraging mutual aid. It saw all Filipinos as "equals and brothers" regardless of economic status.

The fact that Bonifacio and the other leaders belonged to intermediate classes made them susceptible to a view of society which blunted the conflict between classes, although Bonifacio himself voiced his resentment against those among the rich who were not sympathetic to the movement. The Katipunan's approach was racial and anti-colonial. The anti-colonial basis of its principles led the leaders to the inescapable goal of independence.

### Common Denominator

Because for them the motive force of the Revolution was simply a common grievance of all social strata against a common enemy, they sought to strengthen national unity by emphasizing the need for brotherhood. This is the explanation for their preoccupation with ethical behavior among the members of their organization.

In Bonifacio's compendium of rules of conduct for Katipunan members entitled "The Duties of the Sons of the People," and in the *Kartilla* or primer for the Katipunan written by Emilio Jacinto, close associate of Bonifacio and editor of the Katipunan paper, *Kalayaan*, we find many admonitions regarding the proper attitude towards women and regarding brotherly cooperation, and many suggestions for good behavior.<sup>33</sup>

The Katipunan was in effect substituting its strictures for the preachment of the friars, with the important difference that this time the admonitions were for equals. The exhortations were addressed to rich and poor alike. There was no class approach. One might classify the aggrupation as a primitive form of a united front welded together by a common desire for independence.

While the early revolts were movements without theory, the ilustrados were the exponents of theory without a movement. It took a Bonifacio to synthesize the two, for Bonifacio, though he came from the lower middle class, had the instincts of the masses. It is characteristic of the middle class that its members have latent inclinations toward both the upper and the lower class. To his credit, Bonifacio resolved this ambivalence decisively in favor of the masses whereas other leaders of similar economic status would later opt for absorption into the upper class, thus abandoning the people.<sup>34</sup>

Bonifacio and his companions had enough education to be able to imbibe the liberal ideas of the time and transmit them to the people in their own writings. They were, therefore, able to articulate the desires of the people. But unlike the ilustrados, they were incapable of abstractions. Thus their writings voiced the raw ideas of the people.

The ilustrados on the other hand, having acquired more education, could articulate their demands with greater facility and skill; they had a greater mastery of the liberal ideas that could be projected and put to use in the struggles of their compatriots.

But these ilustrados were already acquiring a vested interest in the status quo, hence their aspirations were limited to asking for better accommodation within the system. Although they resented the lack of equality with the Spaniards, they were reaping some of the benefits accruing to the ruling class. Their struggles were therefore based on the preservation of the colonial relation; their goal was to become Spaniards. Although the country was in a revolutionary ferment and many of them were later drawn into the Revolution — particularly when it looked as if the Revolution might succeed — their participation was generally characterized by the prudence of men who from the start were ready for a retreat.

The ideas of Bonifacio did not have a solid ideological content. His was a primitive ideology based more or less on the dignity of man. But the great advance that must be credited to him and to his organization is that they raised the banner of separatism and saw clearly that revolution was the only way to achieve their goal.

## Inchoate Ideology

The Katipunan ideology was the articulation of a people just discovering themselves. It was the inchoate ideology of a people that had just become a nation. It was a call for struggle, for separation. While it was a cry for independence, it was also a demand for democracy. And this democracy which took the most elementary form of a vague equality was the answer to the lack of democracy among the Filipinos because they were not the equals of the Spaniards.

In this primitive form, the people under Bonifacio's leadership had already seen the connection between anti-colonialism and democracy. But it was an imperfect view, for while the leaders identified themselves with the masses, they still had the residue of hierarchism which was a legacy from Spain. The masses, too, while now becoming conscious of their power, still looked up to leaders who came from a higher stratum.

In the early days of the Revolution it seemed as if the idealist goal of universal equality was within reach and all the revolutionists shared a common identification as Filipinos. The sincere leaders like Bonifacio failed to see the dangers of ilustrado ambition while the masses, despite their new-found dignity, trustingly followed the ilustrado leadership in their respective provinces.

The Katipunan failed to detect the fundamental bifurcation within its ranks which would soon erupt in a struggle for leadership.

## Ilustrado Imprint

It was a beginning for the masses; it was also a beginning for the emerging leadership. Although the Supreme Council was a shadow government and the popular and town councils acted as governing bodies, the Katipunan's ideas of the government that would replace the existing one after the triumph of the Revolution were still vague.

The inchoate desires of the people were responsible for the inchoate declarations of Bonifacio. It took the ilustrados to give these desires more explicit form; at the same time they took care that the resulting creation would carry their imprint. Eventually, the Revolution became a people's war under elite leadership.

# Part III

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## UNITY AND DISUNITY

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## Revolution and Compromise

The birth of the Katipunan on the day Rizal was banished to Dapitan aptly symbolized the passage of leadership from the hands of the assimilationist ilustrados to the separatist lower middle class leaders of the people. The ties of its leaders to its reformist predecessor, the Liga Filipina, caused the Katipunan to remain relatively inactive during the Liga's existence.<sup>1</sup> Bonifacio himself conscientiously performed organizational tasks for the Liga until its dissolution. It was as if he had been giving the reformist solution every chance to prove its worth.

In 1894, however, convinced that the only goal was separation and the only means revolution, Bonifacio activated the Katipunan. The drive for membership yielded adherents from the ranks of workers, peasants, soldiers, government employees, merchants, teachers and priests.<sup>2</sup>

In a repressive colonial state, even the slightest link to a subversive organization like the Katipunan could mean imprisonment, torture, and even death for the suspected party. Nevertheless, recruitment began to gain momentum, a sign that the population was becoming ripe for revolutionary action. Mass sympathy and support is evident in the fact that Bonifacio was able to conduct meetings in Manila and its environs such as Montalban, Pasig, and Tondo under the very noses of the Spanish authorities. Many branches of the society were organized in this area.

### Separatism Proclaimed

Although the Katipunan included among its objectives some that were reminiscent of the reformist Liga — mutual aid, defense of the poor and the oppressed, the struggle against religious fanaticism, and the moral uplift of its members — it



was uncompromisingly separatist and believed in revolution to achieve this main goal. Both the means and the end were affirmed in an event that has been called the Cry of Montalban.

Toward the middle of 1894, Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto, and other leaders reconnoitered the mountains of San Mateo and Montalban in Rizal province for a possible base and hide-out. There, many humble Filipinos were initiated into the Katipunan as "Sons of the People." In one of the caves the revolutionaries vowed to take up arms and on its wall inscribed the words, "Long Live Philippine Independence!"<sup>3</sup>

Preparations for armed struggle proceeded apace with recruitment. Bonifacio advised Katipunan members to gather what arms they could get and also ordered that bolos be manufactured and distributed to the Katipuneros. Bolos would of course be no match for the Spaniards' Remingtons and Mausers, so Bonifacio attempted to partially remedy the imbalance by asking two Katipuneros who were employed in the Spanish arsenal to steal some rifles and pistols.<sup>4</sup> But the bulk of revolutionary arms was eventually seized from the enemy. According to Teodoro M. Kalaw:

The revolution was begun with no arms other than spears, bolos, and a few shotguns; but, as the engagements between the revolutionists and the Guardia Civil and the Spanish soldiers became more frequent, the number of guns and ammunitions increased until the whole army of the revolution was well supplied.<sup>5</sup>

Kalaw's assessment is probably too sanguine. There is documentary evidence of insufficiency of weapons. In Cavite for example, all men without rifles were ordered to provide themselves with bows and arrows, and arms were moved from one battle front to another.<sup>6</sup>

### Propaganda and Expansion

The propaganda aspect of the organization was handled by Emilio Jacinto who edited the Katipunan's newspaper, *Kalayaan*. Its first issue which appeared early in 1896 was very successful. Two thousand copies were printed. The issue contained an editorial purportedly penned by Marcelo H. del Pilar but actually written by Jacinto enjoining the people to strive for "solidarity and independence," a patriotic poem by Bonifacio, Jacinto's manifesto urging revolution, and an article by Dr. Pio Valenzuela on friar and civil guard abuses.

Unfortunately, before the second issue could be printed, a government raid on the site of the Katipunan printing press put an end to the press and to the *Kalayaan* as well.<sup>7</sup>

The Katipunan quickly spread throughout the provinces of Luzon, to Panay in the Visayas, and even as far as Mindanao. On the eve of the Revolution, estimates of the size of the organization varied from Dr. Valenzuela's guess of 20,000<sup>8</sup> to Sastron's estimate of 123,500<sup>9</sup> to T.H. Pardo de Tavera's count of 400,000.<sup>10</sup>

## Betrayal

But while enthusiasm for the struggle was high among the poor, this was far from being so among the wealthy. The Katipunan tried to enlist the aid of a millionaire, Don Francisco Roxas, for a contribution of P1,000 with which to purchase arms and ammunition. Roxas' reply was a threat to denounce the secret society to the government if any of its members bothered him again. Other prominent Filipinos were equally unreceptive. Antonio Luna, who would later become a celebrated revolutionary general, informed his superior at the municipal laboratory where he worked as a pharmacist that there were plans to rise up in arms.

Angry and disappointed, Bonifacio and Jacinto decided to manufacture fictitious documents implicating a list of rich Filipinos as heavy contributors to the Katipunan. These documents were discovered by the Spaniards, as they were meant to be. When the Revolution broke out, scores of prominent Filipinos were arrested. Despite his protestations of innocence, Francisco Roxas was executed. Luna was among those imprisoned.<sup>11</sup>

It was impossible for the rapidly growing Katipunan to remain secret for long. Impatient members met nightly in large numbers, thus arousing suspicion. Rumors about the existence of the secret society began to spread. The friars were the most assiduous in reporting their suspicions. Curates from various parishes in Manila and nearby towns continued to report on rumored seditious activities and secret nocturnal gatherings of suspicious persons, but all these reports were treated as hearsay by the governor-general who was not too well-disposed toward his friar compatriots.

It was not until August 19, 1896 that the Spanish authorities became convinced of the existence of the Katipunan. Teodoro Patiño, a worker in the printing shop of the *Diario de Manila*,

betrayed the Katipunan to Father Mariano Gil of Tondo. Gil immediately searched the printing shop of the *Diario de Manila* and found incriminating evidence confirming Patiño's revelations. Under grilling by the military, Patiño revealed the names of his co-workers who were also Katipuneros. The betrayed Katipuneros were arrested and more evidence was found in their possession. Hundreds were then arrested and thrown into jail on suspicion of being connected with the movement.

### "The Die Is Cast"

Bonifacio and other leaders of the Katipunan fled to Balintawak. Although the betrayal of the Katipunan had caught its members not yet fully prepared to wage an armed struggle, Bonifacio never wavered in his decision. He summoned Katipunan leaders to a mass meeting which was held in Pugadlawin, in the yard of a son of Melchora Aquino, a woman who would live in revolutionary legend as Tandang Sora, mother of the Katipunan.<sup>1 2</sup>

The meeting was a stormy one. Some believed it was premature to start the Revolution, but after much discussion the decisiveness of Bonifacio and Jacinto won the day. As a sign that they had broken all their ties with Spain and would fight her domination to the last, the Katipuneros tore their cedula (certificates of citizenship) to pieces, shouting, "Long live the Philippines!" This stirring beginning occurred in Pugadlawin on August 23.<sup>1 3</sup>

### The Revolt Spreads

The first real encounter between the Spanish forces and the Katipunan took place in San Juan del Monte when Bonifacio and Jacinto led their men in an attack on the powder magazine in that town. The Katipuneros who had initially outnumbered the Spanish soldiers were forced to withdraw when government reinforcements arrived. Despite this rather shaky beginning, the popular enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause was very high. Almost simultaneously, the people of Santa Mesa, Pandacan, Pateros, Taguig, San Pedro Makati, Caloocan, Balik-Balik, and San Juan del Monte in Manila, and San Francisco de Malabon, Kawit and Noveleta in Cavite rose in arms.<sup>1 4</sup>

When Bonifacio, Jacinto, and other leaders like Macario Sakay, Apolonio Samson, Faustino Guillermo, and General

Lucino (alias *Payat*) set up camp in the hills near Mariquina, San Mateo, and Montalban after the San Juan del Monte battle, new adherents to the revolutionary cause arrived daily to join them. Their strength augmented, they attacked the Spanish troops in San Mateo. The Spaniards retreated leaving the rebels in control of the town. But they successfully counter-attacked a few days later. Bonifacio and his men then retreated to Balara.<sup>15</sup>

## Reign of Terror

On the day of the San Juan encounter, Governor-General Ramon Blanco, now fully convinced of the gravity of the situation, proclaimed the existence of a state of war in Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas. The governor also authorized the organization of the *Batallon de Leales Voluntarios de Manila*.

Under strong pressure from the frantic Spanish community in Manila, Blanco inaugurated a reign of terror in the belief that this would quell the nascent rebellion. Every day, people were arrested, homes were searched and the property of suspected rebels confiscated. Suspects packed Fort Santiago; many suffered unspeakable tortures. The luckier ones were banished to the Carolines or to Spanish Africa.

Soon after its proclamation of a state of war, the government began a series of executions. On September 4, four members of the Katipunan were executed at the Luneta. On September 12, thirteen were put to death in Cavite and are now remembered as "*Los Trece Martires de Cavite*" (The Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite).<sup>16</sup> Other executions were carried out in Pampanga, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija. The one most deeply felt by the Filipinos was the execution of Jose Rizal on December 30, 1896.

It was a stupid, vengeful act, for Rizal was completely innocent of the charge of rebellion. True, the Katipuneros admired him for his intellectual achievements and had asked him to join them, but he had refused to participate in or even to lend his name to the revolutionary cause. In a statement from his Fort Santiago cell, he had vehemently repudiated the Revolution, a reformist to the end. In fact, when arrested he had been on his way to Cuba to use his medical skills in the service of Spain.<sup>17</sup>

## Swelling Forces of Revolt

The reign of terror that began in September, far from discouraging the Filipinos, only swelled the forces of the Revolution. Before the month of September ended, the whole of Cavite and most of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan had revolted, Batangas and Laguna also declared themselves for the Revolution as did the two Camarines provinces.

In Nueva Ecija, two thousand *revolucionarios* under Mariano Llanera, municipal captain of Cabiao, attacked the Spanish garrison in San Isidro on September 2. The assault was carried out in a flamboyant manner. Wearing red ribbons, the revolutionaries first paraded down the principal streets to the music of the Cabiao band. Their leaders cut dashing figures on horseback. Then, armed only with bolos and pointed sticks, the revolutionary soldiers attacked. The Filipinos held the town for three days but were forced out after a furious battle against fresh Spanish troops. <sup>18</sup>

Bataan and Zambales also joined the Revolution. In Hermosa, Bataan, the people killed the parish priest. Spanish troops dispatched to quell the revolt were confronted by three thousand revolutionaries who had come from Hermosa and Dinalupihan in Bataan and from some Pampango towns to do battle. Pampanga and Morong were becoming restive; a conspiracy was discovered in Vigan, Ilocos Sur which involved prominent citizens.

The revolutionary ferment reached as far south as Puerto Princesa in Palawan where Filipino soldiers serving in the Spanish army mutinied and assaulted their Spanish officers.

Although many encounters were indecisive or ended in defeat for the Katipuneros, the Spanish forces were continually harassed and divided by the many simultaneous and spontaneous risings in different provinces. While not all the revolutionary actions were coordinated by the Katipunan, the Revolution itself had become generalized.

## The Plot Begins

But within that part of the Revolution under the direction of the Katipunan there were early indications that the rebels in Cavite under the command of Emilio Aguinaldo were thinking in terms of a new government and a new leadership.

The Katipunan had two rival provincial councils in Cavite, the Magdiwang led by Mariano Alvarez, Bonifacio's uncle-in-

law, and the Magdalo whose President was Baldomero Aguinaldo, Emilio Aguinaldo's cousin. Magdalo was the *nom-de-guerre* chosen by Emilio Aguinaldo when he was inducted by Bonifacio into the Katipunan. He chose it in honor of the patron saint of his town, St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>19</sup> The fact that the council was called Magdalo shows that despite Baldomero's being president, it was Emilio who was its leading light. Both councils were very active in their respective areas; both won victories against the Spanish troops, thus making Cavite the most successful area for the Revolution.

Emilio Aguinaldo, mayor of Kawit, was then known as Capitan Miong. He won a signal victory in Imus on September 5, 1896 against the forces of General Aguirre. From then on he became General Miong, the hero of the Caviteños.

General Aguinaldo issued two decrees on October 31, 1896 declaring the aim of the Revolution to be the independence of the Philippines and urging all Filipinos to "follow the example of civilized European and American nations" in fighting for freedom. He called on them to "march under the Flag of the Revolution whose watch-words are Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!"<sup>20</sup>

### Pre-emptive Leadership

While these manifestos consisted for the most part of inspirational rhetoric, certain passages deserve scrutiny as possible indications of the thinking of Aguinaldo and his faction. Magdalo was only one of two provincial councils of the Katipunan in Cavite, yet the texts make no mention at all of the parent organization (although a K appears on the seal on each document) whose ideals and goals were the very ones Aguinaldo was urging on the people. Although Aguinaldo signed himself Magdalo, he was not confining his appeals to the Caviteños within the jurisdiction of the Magdalo council for he addressed both manifestos to all Filipino citizens. In one manifesto he informed his countrymen of a *fait accompli*: "We (the Magdalo council, by implication) have established a provisional Government in the towns that have been pacified." This government, he declared, has a "Revolutionary Committee whose task is to carry on the war until all the Islands are freed." In the name of this Revolutionary Committee, Aguinaldo asked all Filipino citizens to take up arms and to recognize "the new Government of the Revolution."<sup>21</sup>

In the second manifesto of the same date, Aguinaldo again

addressing himself to the entire nation announced that

A central committee of the Revolution composed of six members and a president will be charged with the continuation of the war, will organize an army of thirty thousand men, with rifles and cannon, for the defense of the pueblos and provinces which adhere to the new Republican Government which will establish order while the revolution spreads through all the islands of the Philippines. The form of government will be like that of the United States of America, founded upon the most rigid principles of liberty, fraternity and equality.<sup>22</sup>

On the basis of these documents, one is forced to the conclusion that Aguinaldo and the other leaders of Magdalo, flushed with victory, had decided this early to discard the original Katipunan organization and pre-empt the leadership of the Revolution. Through these manifestos Emilio Aguinaldo and the Magdalo council were placing themselves at the directing center of the Revolution. What in one paragraph is announced as a "provisional Government in the towns that have been pacified" becomes farther down "the new Revolutionary Government" which the Filipino people are asked to recognize, and to which other towns and provinces are asked to adhere. To organize a provisional government for the liberated towns of Cavite was within the jurisdiction of both the Magdalo and Magdiwang Councils under the Katipunan, but to ask the entire country to recognize one provincial committee as the Revolutionary government was in clear disregard of the Katipunan organization. Bonifacio was still the acknowledged leader of the Katipunan, therefore leadership could not pass on to Magdalo unless and until the Katipunan was superseded by a Revolutionary Government.

In both manifestos Aguinaldo appeals to the people in the name of a Revolutionary Committee which appears to be the executive arm of the Revolutionary Government, but no identification of this committee is made. Magdalo had elected a "government" with Baldomero Aguinaldo as president and Emilio Aguinaldo as commander-in-chief. Was this the committee referred to? Magdiwang had a similar committee. Obviously Aguinaldo's decree was also directed against the Magdiwang on the local level. Tejeros, still five months away, would confirm the anti-Katipunan and anti-Bonifacio implications of the manifestos of October 31, 1896.

As the campaign of the Spanish government progressed, Bonifacio suffered defeat after defeat. Bonifacio was no

military leader; his knowledge of military affairs was slight. What he possessed to an admirable degree was stoutness of heart and the singleness of purpose to fight for his country's liberty. This, however, did not prove enough in the face of an enemy with superior military resources and preparation. Bonifacio's prestige suffered at a time when Aguinaldo and the Caviteño rebels were gaining renown in their area through their victories.

### The Plot Thickens

Victory exacerbated the rivalry between Magdiwang and Magdalo. Each one held sway over its own territory; they fought independently of one another. In certain instances, Aguinaldo's men did not come to the aid of Magdiwang towns under attack; Magdiwang men for their part did not help defend towns under Magdalo jurisdiction. When the new Spanish governor-general, Camilo de Polavieja, began concentrating his forces on Cavite, this rivalry between the two factions proved disastrous for the Revolution.

Military reverses led the Magdiwang leaders to invite Bonifacio to visit Cavite and intervene in the conflict. Bonifacio must have gone to Cavite that December thinking that as the Katipunan *Supremo* his mediation would be respected. Instead, two incidents occurred upon his arrival which were portents of further and more serious disagreements.

Emilio Aguinaldo, his close friend Candido Tirona, and Edilberto Evangelista, a Belgian-educated Filipino engineer, went to meet Bonifacio at Zapote. They came away disgusted with what they regarded as Bonifacio's attitude of superiority. Aguinaldo recalled that the Supremo "acted as if he were a king."<sup>2 3</sup>

The Magdalo men kept their feelings to themselves. However, it is possible that the opinion of the Magdalo men was a result, not so much of Bonifacio's behavior as of their own supercilious attitude toward a man they regarded as educationally and socially their inferior and whom they may have already thought of replacing, as the October 31 decrees seem to indicate.

The second incident involved another Aguinaldo and another Tirona. Baldomero Aguinaldo and Daniel Tirona accompanied by a certain Vicente Fernandez also visited Bonifacio. Fernandez had been the very man who had failed to keep his promise to attack the Spaniards in Laguna and Morong simultaneously with Bonifacio's assault on San Juan del Monte. Bonifacio recognized him and ordered Fernandez' arrest but the



Magdalo leaders refused to surrender him. Bonifacio realized then how little his influence counted with the Magdalo faction.

The people were unaware of the personal animosities wracking the leadership of their Revolution. In Noveleta, the townspeople received Bonifacio enthusiastically, shouting, "Long live the ruler of the Philippines!" to which Bonifacio replied, "Long live Philippine Liberty!"<sup>2 4</sup>

### Character Assassination

The people's acclamation evidently did not impress the Magdalo elite nor deter them from their plans.

According to General Artemio Ricarte, a few days after Bonifacio's arrival in Cavite, anonymous letters suddenly appeared all over the province and especially in San Francisco de Malabon where Bonifacio was staying, urging the Caviteños not to idolize Bonifacio because the Katipunan head was a mason, an atheist, and an uneducated man, a mere employee of a German firm. Bonifacio, suspecting Daniel Tirona to be the author, confronted the latter and demanded satisfaction. Tirona refused in a manner so arrogant that Bonifacio, greatly angered, drew his gun and might have shot Tirona then and there had not some women intervened.<sup>2 5</sup>

### Undermining the Katipunan

The Imus assembly of December 31 was avowedly called for the purpose of determining once and for all the leadership of the province so as to resolve the rivalry between Magdiwang and Magdalo. Instead, the man who had been invited to mediate the conflict found his own position as leader of the Revolution directly challenged. The assembly was asked to decide whether the Katipunan should continue leading the Revolution or be replaced by a new revolutionary government. It was Baldomero Aguinaldo who proposed the establishment of a revolutionary government. The Magdalo leaders were well prepared; they promptly submitted a constitution for the proposed government. This had been prepared by Edilberto Evangelista.<sup>2 6</sup>

The assembly was divided. Those who favored the continuation of the Katipunan argued that it had its own constitution and by-laws and that it still had to carry out its mission to achieve Philippine independence. Moreover, provincial and municipal governments in Manila and its environs had

already been established in accordance with the Katipunan constitution.

### “Cavitismo”

Those who were against the Katipunan contended that it was merely a secret society which should have ceased to exist the moment the Revolution emerged in the open. They also declared that Cavite being small, it should not be divided between two groups. They apparently believed that the establishment of their proposed revolutionary government was a matter of consolidating the two revolutionary governments in Cavite.<sup>27</sup> This is another indication of the chauvinism that animated the temporarily victorious Caviteños. For them, it seemed, the Revolution was only in Cavite and its leadership must therefore be Caviteño.

The Imus assembly further deepened the rift between Bonifacio and Aguinaldo. For his part, Bonifacio showed partiality toward the Magdiwang. Aguinaldo on the other hand, threatened Bonifacio directly by his active campaign to elect Edilberto Evangelista president of the revolutionary government should his group's proposal to establish such a government be approved. Aguinaldo's reason was that among all of them “Evangelista was the best educated.”<sup>28</sup>

Accounts vary as to how the Imus assembly ended. Some say that nothing was resolved except that the leaders present agreed to meet again. Teodoro M. Kalaw says:

At the conclusion of the Assembly, Andres Bonifacio was given *carte blanche* for the designation of a number of persons who were to form with him a legislative body that was to draw up the bases for the reorganization.<sup>29</sup>

Ricarte has the same version in his *Memoirs* and adds that before the session closed, Bonifacio asked that the decision be put in writing. This was not done because of the arrival of Paciano Rizal and Josephine Bracken, widow of Dr. Jose Rizal.<sup>30</sup>

Ricarte further reveals that in the succeeding days Bonifacio repeatedly asked for the minutes so that he might have written authorization upon which to base his actions, but such minutes were not given to him. Historians have doubted Ricarte's version on the ground that the Magdiwang to whom Bonifacio was partial had taken charge of the meeting. However,

Bonifacio did make passing mention of the absence of these minutes in a letter to Jacinto. (See Bonifacio Out maneuvered)

## The Power Struggle

On March 22, 1897, the Magdiwang and Magdalo councils met once more, this time at the friar estate house in Tejeros, a barrio of San Francisco de Malabon. This convention proved even stormier than the Imus meeting and, as in Imus, the declared objective of the meeting was not even discussed.

According to Jacinto Lumbreras, a Magdiwang and the first presiding officer of the Tejeros Convention, the meeting had been called to adopt measures for the defense of Cavite. Again, this subject was not discussed and instead the assembled leaders, including the Magdiwangs, decided to elect the officers of the revolutionary government, thus unceremoniously discarding the Supreme Council of the Katipunan under whose standard the people had been fighting and would continue to fight.

Bonifacio presided, though reluctantly, over the election. Beforehand, he secured the unanimous pledge of the assembly to abide by the majority decision. The results were:

President	— Emilio Aguinaldo
Vice-President	— Mariano Trias
Captain-General	— Artemio Ricarte
Director of War	— Emiliano Riego de Dios
Director of the Interior	— Andres Bonifacio

## The Triumph of Cavitismo

Emilio Aguinaldo had been awarded the highest prize of the Revolution on his own birth anniversary, although he was not present, being busy at a military front in Pasong Santol, a barrio of Imus. As for Bonifacio, the death-blow to the Katipunan and his election as a mere Director of the Interior showed clearly that he had been maneuvered out of power. It must have been a bitter pill to swallow, especially since even the Magdiwangs who were supposed to be his supporters did not vote for him either for President or Vice-President.

But another insult was yet to follow. Evidently, the Caviteño elite could not accept an "uneducated" man, and a non-Caviteño at that, even for the minor post of Director of the Interior. Daniel Tirona protested Bonifacio's election saying that the post should not be occupied by a person without a

lawyer's diploma. He suggested a Caviteño lawyer, Jose del Rosario, for the position.

This was clearly an intended insult. It naturally infuriated Bonifacio who thereupon hotly declared: "I, as chairman of this assembly and as President of the Supreme Council of the Katipunan, as all of you do not deny, declare this assembly dissolved, and I annul all that has been approved and resolved."<sup>31</sup>

### Bonifacio Outmaneuvered

In a letter to his friend, Emilio Jacinto, Bonifacio made known his reluctance to hold the elections because of the absence of representatives from other districts. He also cited the Imus agreement which authorized him to appoint a body that would formulate the bases for a reorganization. In his view, even this preliminary step could not be taken because the absence of the minutes of the Imus Convention rendered its acts of doubtful validity. Bonifacio admitted to Jacinto that despite his misgivings he acceded to the election of officers because it was the will of the majority of those present. In the following passage from his letter, Bonifacio hints at plots and pressures in the campaign for Aguinaldo's election.

... before the elections were held, I discovered the underhanded scheme of some of those from Imus who were quietly and secretly spreading the word that it was not good that they should be under the leadership of men from other towns. Because of this, Captain Emilio Aguinaldo was elected President. As soon as I heard about this, I said that this meeting was nothing more than a scheme of people with bad consciences because that was all that they wanted [obviously referring to Aguinaldo's election] and they were deceiving the people, and I added that if they wished me to point out, one by one, those who comported themselves in this manner, I would do so. Those present said that this was no longer necessary. I also said that if the will of those present was not followed I would not recognize those already elected, and if I would not recognize them they would not be recognized by our people there. General Ricarte who was elected General also declared that that meeting was the result of evil machinations.<sup>32</sup>

The simple Bonifacio had been badly outmaneuvered. Although it was his duty to mediate quarrels within his organization, his going to Cavite may be termed a tactical error especially at a time when he had been suffering military reverses

while the Caviteños had been winning victories. Bonifacio had few friends in Cavite. On the other hand, the victories of the Cavite rebels were bound to arouse strong feelings of regionalism and pride in their local champion, General Aguinaldo.

But Bonifacio's biggest error lay in his failure to insist that representatives from other provinces be present to participate in such a crucial decision. His suspicions should have been aroused by the unexpected agitation for the formation of a central government to supersede the Katipunan, but he was too naive and trusting and perhaps also too secure in his pre-eminent position in the movement to think that anyone could be planning to wrest the leadership from his hands.

### Ilustrado Syndrome

A fundamental factor underlying the power-play at Tejeros may be deduced from Tirona's attack on Bonifacio for the latter's lack of education. It pointed up the typical ilustrado belief that leadership should be the exclusive prerogative of the educated. Now that the Revolution appeared to have good expectations of success, those with present or prospective interests to protect wanted its leadership securely in their hands.

The birth of the Katipunan marked the passage of the leadership of the movement from the hands of the ilustrados to a leadership based on the people; the elections at Tejeros symbolized the seizure by a provincial elite of the leadership of a mass movement that held prospects of success. As the Revolution gained further ground, the Caviteños would find themselves yielding power and position to the Manila elite.

Tejeros was the defeat of the revolution of the masses; it was the victory of a clique intent on taking advantage of the historic initiative of the people and the momentum the Revolution had already acquired. Future events would demonstrate how the revolutionary forces of the people would be used as a bargaining lever by the elite for the protection of their own interests.

### Sharing Honors

Aguinaldo took his oath of office the day after the Tejeros assembly. The composition of his government was as follows:

Emilio Aguinaldo  
Mariano Trias

— President  
— Vice-President

Artemio Ricarte	— Captain-General
Emiliano Riego de Dios	— Director of War
Pascual Alvarez	— Director of the Interior
Jacinto Lumberas	— Director of State
Baldomero Aguinaldo	— Director of Finance
Mariano Alvarez	— Director of Commerce
Severino de las Alas	— Director of Justice <sup>3 3</sup>

With the exception of Ricarte who hailed from Batac, Ilocos Norte, all of these men were Caviteños born and bred. Ricarte himself was practically a Caviteño, being a permanent resident of the province. Of greater significance was the fact that these men belonged to the elite of Cavite. They had taken college courses in such Manila schools as San Juan de Letran, Ateneo, Sto. Tomas, and San Jose. Ricarte and Mariano Alvarez were school teachers; de las Alas was a lawyer. Some of them occupied official positions. Emilio Aguinaldo was municipal captain (mayor) of Kawit in 1895 and his cousin Baldomero was justice of the peace of the same town. Mariano Alvarez had been a municipal captain and later justice of the peace of Noveleta.

Aside from the Aguinaldos who belonged to Magdalo, all the other elected officials were members of the Magdiwang Council.<sup>3 4</sup> So in the last analysis, the rivalry between Magdalo and Magdiwang leaders was resolved by booting out the non-Caviteño and sharing the honors among themselves.

Between Imus and Tejeros, some change seems to have occurred in the Magdiwang position. Whereas in Imus the Magdiwang partisans were firmly for continuing the Revolution under Katipunan direction and would agree to a revolutionary government only if Bonifacio were automatically made president with power to appoint the ministers, in Tejeros it was a Magdiwang, Severino de las Alas, who opened the question as to the kind of government that should be set up. Subsequently, even the Magdiwangs voted in favor of establishing a new revolutionary government to supplant the Katipunan. The results of the elections in which the Magdiwangs got all the positions except the Presidency and the Finance portfolio indicate that the majority of the Magdiwang leaders had abandoned or would soon abandon Bonifacio.

Evidently their major differences with the Magdalo Council were resolved with this apportionment of positions. Cavitismo won the day. This also ties up with Bonifacio's charge of a secret pro-Caviteño campaign. In this connection, it should be

noted that none of the other leaders of the Katipunan, notably Jacinto, were even mentioned for positions at Tejeros.

### Rival Power Centers

Bonifacio refused to recognize the new government. In a document drawn at Tejeros (the Acta de Tejeros) and in another signed at Naic (the Naic Military Agreement) Bonifacio reasserted his leadership of the Revolution. Charging fraud and pressure in the Tejeros elections and accusing the Aguinaldo faction of treason by "sowing discord and conniving with the Spaniards," Bonifacio and the other signatories of the Naic agreement served notice that they were determined to continue direction of the Revolution. The Naic Military Agreement appointed General Pio del Pilar as commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces. Bonifacio also appointed Emilio Jacinto general of the North Military Area comprising the provinces of Morong (Rizal), Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Manila.

Bonifacio again attempted to assert his authority by ordering the re-arrest of Spanish prisoners whom the Aguinaldo government in one of its first acts had ordered freed. The escorts of these prisoners were General Tomas Mascardo and Cayetano Topacio.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Bonifacio was then planning to go to Batangas where the regional government had recognized his authority.

There were now two declared and rival foci of power. In the ensuing struggle, several prominent leaders initially vacillated between the two. But this was Cavite and Bonifacio was not only a non-Caviteño among predominantly Caviteño leaders but worse, a propertyless man in the midst of the Cavite elite. Moreover, Aguinaldo had won an election. This gave his position a stamp of legality which carried weight with the ilustrados. Bonifacio did not have a chance. With more or less naked opportunism, those who at first joined him later abandoned the founder of the Katipunan and turned against him.

### Contrite Turncoats

Among these leaders were Artemio Ricarte, Pio del Pilar, and Severino de las Alas, all signatories of the Naic Military Agreement. General Ricarte was persuaded by the Aguinaldo group to take his oath as Captain-General. General Pio del Pilar, whom Aguinaldo had discovered together with General Noriel

conferring with Bonifacio in Naic, readily switched sides admitting contritely, according to Aguinaldo, that Noriel and he "were blinded by false promises."<sup>36</sup>

It is interesting to note how del Pilar, Noriel and de las Alas were afterwards able, each in his own way, to make up for having once supported Bonifacio. Del Pilar testified in the trial of Bonifacio alleging that the latter had been forcing officers to join him. Later, he and General Noriel were among those adamantly opposed to the commutation of Bonifacio's sentence — "for the cause of the Revolution."<sup>37</sup>

As for Severino de las Alas, it was he who made the patently false charges that the friars had bribed Bonifacio to establish the Katipunan and egg the Filipinos into fighting a war for which they were poorly armed, that Bonifacio ordered the burning of the convent and church of Indang, that his soldiers had taken by force from the people carabaos and other animals, and finally that Bonifacio and his men were planning to surrender to the Spaniards.<sup>38</sup>

From Aguinaldo's point of view, Bonifacio was a threat. He had to be eliminated. He therefore ordered Col. Agapito Bonzon to arrest Bonifacio and his brothers. They were charged with sedition and treason before a military court presided over by General Mariano Noriel.

The trial opened on April 29, 1897 and was over by May 4 despite a change of venue due to military reverses.<sup>39</sup>

### The Mock Trial

The trial was a farce from beginning to end. Personal prejudice and the very fact that the man on trial was the enemy of President Aguinaldo made a verdict of guilty a foregone conclusion.

Consider these facts: first, all the members of the Council of War were Aguinaldo men including not only Gen. Noriel but also Gen. Tomas Mascardo whom Bonifacio had earlier arrested in connection with the freeing of Spanish prisoners; second, Bonifacio's counsel, Placido Martinez, acted more like a prosecutor, going so far as to say that if a punishment worse than death was available, Bonifacio deserved it for plotting Aguinaldo's death;<sup>40</sup> third, the court gave credence to the fantastic story of Lt. Col. Pedro Giron, a Bonifacio partisan turned state witness, who said that Bonifacio had given him ten pesos in advance to kill Aguinaldo in case the latter did not submit to Bonifacio's authority.<sup>41</sup> During the trial, Bonifacio



was told that he could not confront Giron as the latter had been killed in Naic, but after Bonifacio's death, Giron was seen in the company of the prosecutors.<sup>42</sup>

The actual trial before Noriel lasted only one day, May 5. On May 6, the decision was ready. On May 8, Baldomero Aguinaldo, now auditor of war, recommended to his cousin, the President, approval of the decision rendered by the court on the ground that it had been proven that Bonifacio wanted to kill the President and overthrow the government. On the same day, Aguinaldo commuted the death sentence to banishment but was persuaded by Generals Noriel and del Pilar to allow the sentence to stand. On May 10, Major Lazaro Makapagal who had acted as Secretary of the court martial carried out Noriel's order of execution.

### **Bonifacio's Role Appraised**

Historians may choose to evaluate the charge of sedition against Bonifacio on formalistic grounds or they may assess the two protagonists, Aguinaldo and Bonifacio, in terms of their adherence to the people's revolutionary goals. The second criterion is certainly the fundamental one.

The Cavite leaders condemned Bonifacio for his refusal to submit to what they claimed was duly constituted authority on the basis of the election at Tejeros. But even setting aside Bonifacio's charges of a rigged election and the obvious maneuvers that preceded this election, there remains the question of representation. It was very clear from the start as well as from the roster of elected officials that other revolutionary councils were neither represented nor consulted. In his letters to Jacinto, Bonifacio mentioned his misgivings on this score although his position is weakened by his having consented to the election.

As far as the Katipunan was concerned, the Revolution was being conducted in separate areas by various members of the organization, and no thought of setting up a formal government had been entertained because of the pressures of conducting the uprising. A careful scrutiny of events supports the conclusion that the sudden call on October 31, 1896 for a revolutionary government was in fact a planned pre-emptive action of the Cavite leadership executed at a time when its victories within the province spurred elitist ambitions to seize the control and direction of the Revolution. The fact that the Cavite leadership later succeeded in bringing under its wing other forces in other

provinces gave it formal status, but it should not be forgotten that at its inception no matter how it represented itself, it was no more than a provincial government without representation even from the other Tagalog provinces alone. The regional government of Batangas, for example, recognized Bonifacio.

Bonifacio could not have been dangerous to the Revolution as a whole for he remained resolved to continue the anti-Spanish struggle. Neither was he a threat to the revolutionary movement in Cavite since he was planning to move out of Cavite. But he was a threat to the Cavite leadership that wanted to seize control of the entire Revolution, and for this reason he had to be eliminated. Given Bonifacio's prestige with the masses as the Katipunan Supremo, Aguinaldo's leadership could be stabilized only with Bonifacio's death.

Bonifacio's actions after Tejeros have been branded by some as counter-revolutionary. This charge touches on the fundamental question of who among the protagonists adhered most faithfully to the people's revolutionary goals. Up to the time of his death, Bonifacio had no record of compromise nor did he ever issue any statement of doubtful patriotism. His actions were uncompromising against the enemy and stern toward those who showed weakness before the Spaniards. On the other hand, the group that eliminated Bonifacio was the one that subsequently entered into a series of compromises with the enemy which negated the original objectives of the Revolution. Resistance to the forces of compromise cannot be counter-revolutionary.

The defeat of Bonifacio at Tejeros was the defeat of the Revolution. The initial success of the Revolution which had influenced many members of the local elite to join the movement complicated the composition of the leadership; the elimination of Bonifacio simplified both the leadership and its alternatives. There was only one logical outcome of the triumph of the elite. Leading the Revolution meant leading it to suit the desires of those who had interests to defend. Such a leadership could offer only a vacillating attitude towards the enemy.

### The Long Trek to Compromise

Aguinaldo's moment of triumph at Tejeros was short-lived. Even as the leaders occupied themselves with jockeying for

position and consolidating control over the revolutionary movement, Governor Camilo de Polavieja launched a determined offensive on Cavite. On March 25, three days after the Tejeros convention, Imus fell to the Spaniards. Bacoor, Novleta, Kawit, Binakayan, and Santa Cruz de Malabon were captured in quick succession. A bloody hand-to-hand fight failed to save San Francisco de Malabon. After its fall on April 6, the towns around it submitted to Spanish occupation.<sup>43</sup>

Aguinaldo retreated to Naic. Many patriotic volunteers, ignoring an amnesty proclamation, continued to reinforce his ranks, but on May 3, after a bloody battle, Aguinaldo was forced to retreat again. Defeat followed defeat until by May 17, the whole of Cavite was once more in Spanish hands.<sup>44</sup>

Aguinaldo fled to Talisay, Batangas where he joined up with General Miguel Malvar. Spanish troops attacked Talisay on May 30 inflicting another defeat on the combined forces of the two generals. Aguinaldo then left Batangas with around five hundred men. June 10 found him camped at Mount Puray near Montalban where on June 14, 1897, he won a victory against Spanish forces that attacked his headquarters. Deciding that Biak-na-Bato in San Miguel, Bulacan, provided a more favorable terrain for his base, Aguinaldo moved his headquarters there.

### Reformist Atavism

In July, a manifesto appeared bearing the nom-de-guerre, Malabar.<sup>45</sup> An almost identical manifesto issued by Aguinaldo in September proves that the earlier one was his as well. The Malabar manifesto is a curious document. It called on "the brave sons of the Philippines" to shift to guerrilla warfare and ambushes so that the rebel forces could thus "for an indefinite period, defy Spain, exhaust her resources, and oblige her to surrender from poverty. . . ." It advocated the extension of the revolutionary movement to other provinces so that once the Revolution had become general the revolutionaries could attain their goals. This sounded like a call for a protracted struggle, for a war of attrition — until we examine closely what Aguinaldo calls "the ends which we all so ardently desire." They were:

- (1) Expulsion of the friars and restitution to the townships of the lands which the friars have appropriated, dividing the incumbencies held by them, as well as the episcopal sees equally between Peninsular and Insular secular priests.

- (2) Spain must concede to us, as she has to Cuba, Parliamentary representation, freedom of the Press, toleration of all religious sects, laws common with hers, and administrative and economic autonomy.
- (3) Equality in treatment and pay between Peninsular and Insular civil servants.
- (4) Restitution of all lands appropriated by the friars to the townships, or to the original owners, or in default of finding such owners, the State is to put them up to public auction in small lots of a value within the reach of all and payable within four years, the same as the present State lands.
- (5) Abolition of the Government authorities' power to banish citizens, as well as all unjust measures against Filipinos; legal equality for all persons, whether Peninsular or Insular, under the Civil as well as the Penal Code.<sup>46</sup>

Coming from the leader of the Revolution, these demands were strange indeed for they were all premised on the continuation of Spanish sovereignty. They were goals appropriate for the earlier reform movement and constituted a clear abandonment of the fundamental revolutionary objective of the Katipunan under Bonifacio: separation from Spain, independence.

As far as the class that now led the Revolution was concerned, it was running true to form: willing to fight but ready for retreat, capable of fighting bravely but prudently preferring to negotiate in pursuance of its own interests. The formula, evidently, was to use the fighting as a leverage for negotiations. There is a clear indication of this frame of mind in this very manifesto where Aguinaldo was calling for protracted hostilities. His last sentence read:

The war must be prolonged to give the greatest signs of vitality possible so that Spain may be compelled to grant our demands, otherwise she will consider us an effete race and curtail, rather than extend our rights.<sup>47</sup>

This manifesto was widely circulated even in Spanish-controlled areas. If the Spanish authorities read it, as they most probably did, could they have failed to note Aguinaldo's willingness to accept the continuation of Spanish rule?

By August, different groups had begun resorting to guerrilla tactics. The forces of Generals Ricarte, Riego de Dios, Severino de las Alas, and Baldomero Aguinaldo attacked several Spanish

garrisons. There were two attacks on San Rafael, Bulacan, both repulsed by the Spaniards and a successful one on Paombong by Col. Gregorio del Pilar on August 31.

Six thousand men under Ramon Tagle fought a bloody battle in Mount Taaon near Atimonan, Tayabas from September 3 to 9 but lost to the Spanish troops. Tagle was captured and executed. While this battle raged, Generals Llanera, Manuel Tinio, and Mamerto Natividad attacked Aliaga in Nueva Ecija. It took eight thousand troops to repel the attackers. Guerrillas also operated in Batangas, Laguna, Zambales, and Pangasinan.<sup>48</sup>

The people continued to fight. In early October the garrisons of Concepcion, Tarlac, and San Quintin, Pangasinan were attacked and General Malvar's men laid siege on San Pablo, Laguna. However, all these actions failed.<sup>49</sup>

But even as the people fought on against all odds in many provinces, despite Aguinaldo's own ringing call to engage in protracted guerilla warfare, and notwithstanding the grandiose plans for a Biak-na-bato Republic and Constitution, Aguinaldo had already entered into negotiations with the enemy as early as August.

### The Right Credentials

In the manner of all colonialists, the Spaniards alternately used a policy of attraction and a policy of repression. After the fall of Imus in March, Polavieja had issued an amnesty proclamation which the majority of the population simply ignored.<sup>50</sup> His successor, Primo de Rivera, subsequently revived the amnesty offer and after the Spanish victories in Cavite gave other inducements such as pardons for minor offenders, the return of exiled patriots, and the lifting of the embargo on the property of suspected revolutionaries.<sup>51</sup>

It should be noted that two attempts at mediation had been made prior to the Tejeros convention by the Jesuit Father Pio Pi and the Spanish journalist Rafael Comenge. Bonifacio suspected at the time that Aguinaldo was considering these offers but the latter evidently shied away from dealing with a Spanish negotiator. But when five months later, Pedro A. Paterno, a prominent lawyer descended from Chinese mestizos, volunteered his services, he had the right credentials for both sides.

Paterno arrived in Biak-na-bato on August 8, 1897. The next day he presented a letter to Aguinaldo offering his services as mediator. Although the letter states that reforms will be

forthcoming when the fighting ends, Paterno does not say that this is a Spanish promise but only that he had often heard the governor general say so. Moreover, there is no mention of specific reforms, only a suggestion that the rebels rely on the good intentions of Primo de Rivera.

### The Bargain

There were those who objected to any negotiations, but obviously Aguinaldo himself was ready to negotiate, for only two days later he ordered the release of prisoners taken in the battle of Puray and informed Governor Rivera of this fact in a letter in which he assured Rivera of his "high esteem and great respect" for the governor general who, he also declared, was respected and loved by the Filipino people. Aguinaldo followed up these conciliatory acts with a draft agreement which merely repeats what Paterno said regarding Spanish intentions of instituting reforms and then appoints Paterno as arbitrator with full powers, not to negotiate for reforms, but only to determine, fix, and receive such funds as the Spanish government may concede. Once the funds have been secured, Aguinaldo promised to surrender all arms. Then coming to what would become the crux of the negotiations, this sentence appears in the draft: "The President and his council consider that this action on their part is worth 3,000,000 pesos." The next paragraph again mentions the funds: once the money has been received, Aguinaldo and company ask to be allowed "to freely reside under the protection of the Spanish authorities, in the towns where our property has been destroyed, or in foreign parts where we shall have established our homes."<sup>5 2</sup>

The draft ends with an enumeration of reforms requested and a three-year deadline for their accomplishment. Among the reforms asked: expulsion of the religious orders, representation in the Spanish Cortes, equal justice for Spaniards and Filipinos, freedom of association and of the press. Of course, such basic reforms were not within the power of a governor-general to grant. This and the fact that in the second draft, all mention of these demands was omitted makes one strongly suspect that their inclusion was only *pro forma*. This seems to have been the view of the Spanish authorities, for their counter-proposal was nothing more than a detailed schedule of payments, the surrender of arms, and the departure of Aguinaldo for Hong-kong.<sup>5 3</sup> The initial offer of Governor Rivera was P400,000 but the final amount mentioned in this counter-proposal made in

November was for P1,700,000.

Aguinaldo's second draft was identical to the first with the important omission of the enumeration of reforms and the deadline for carrying them out. Its only proviso was the appointment of Paterno as sole and absolute negotiator. There was no more talk of reforms, only more discussion of the synchronization of the schedules until the third and final schedule was approved on December 14, 1897.

The pact provided that the Spanish government would pay a total of P800,000 provided Aguinaldo and his companions went into voluntary exile. This sum would be paid out in three installments: P400,000 to Aguinaldo upon his departure from Biak-na-bato, P200,000 when the arms surrendered exceeded seven hundred, and P200,000 when the Te Deum had been sung at the Cathedral in Manila, and a general amnesty had been proclaimed. Spain further agreed to pay another P900,000 to be distributed among non-combatants who had suffered losses as a result of the war.<sup>54</sup>

It should be recalled that Aguinaldo reissued his Malabar manifesto in September after the preliminary negotiations had begun. This manifesto asked the people to take the offensive, switch to guerrilla warfare, and thus fight Spain "for an indefinite period, wear out her resources and oblige her to give up through sheer weakness. . . ."<sup>55</sup> It is now clear that the people's sacrifices were to be used merely as leverage in the negotiations. Even this would have been acceptable if Aguinaldo wanted to strengthen his hand to secure firm commitments for reforms but, sadly, this was not the case. As Governor Primo de Rivera put it:

The proposition framed by Señor Paterno. . . clearly indicated that chief among the wishes of those he represented was that, before they lay down their arms for the welfare of the country, their future be assured, exempting them from all punishment and providing them with the indispensable means of subsistence, either within the national territory or abroad. . . .<sup>56</sup>

### The Logic of Tejeros

The negotiations went on from August to December with Paterno going back and forth carrying proposals and counter-proposals between Manila and Biak-na-Bato. All the while, the people were being exhorted to fight and preparations were going on for the establishment of the Biak-na-Bato Republic

complete with a constitution although this was only a copy of the Cuban constitution of Jimaguayu. The Constitution was signed on November 1, 1897, and in accordance with its provisions for officers, the following were named to the Supreme Council:

Emilio Aguinaldo	— President
Mariano Trias	— Vice-President
Antonio Montenegro	— Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Isabelo Artacho	— Secretary of the Interior
Emiliano Riego de Dios	— Secretary of War
Baldomero Aguinaldo	— Secretary of the Treasury <sup>57</sup>

It should be noted that by and large, this was still the old Cavite group. There was also an Assembly of Representatives whose signal act was to ratify the agreement of Biak-na-Bato.

Considering that as early as August, Aguinaldo had already given clear evidence of his willingness to end his struggle, it would seem that the writing of a constitution and the formation of a government were exercises in futility. That the first sentence of the Constitution declared the separation of the Philippines from the Spanish monarchy was no more than empty rhetoric because while the handful of leaders were mulling over the adoption of the Constitution these very men were already deep in negotiations for the surrender of the Revolution.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps they harbored the illusion that the result of the negotiations could be made to appear as an agreement between two governments. On the other hand, they could not have seriously believed that the Spaniards would regard them as more than mere insurgents.

Besides effecting the distribution of high sounding titles of office, the formation of the Biak-na-bato Republic and the promulgation of the Constitution served at least one other purpose. The Constitution established a centralized government. In the eyes of its signatories it gave them the right to dissolve such autonomous regional governments as those of Central Luzon and Batangas and reorganize them under the central government.<sup>59</sup> That decrees for this purpose were issued as late as November and December when surrender was clearly imminent gives rise to the suspicion that the end desired was a consolidation of leadership in one center.



## Negation of Pugad Lawin

The Pact of Biak-na-bato was a shameful repudiation of all that the Revolution had stood for. It made a mockery of the revolutionary cry for freedom that had resounded in Pugad-lawin when the people, led by Bonifacio, were still in control of their Revolution. Biak-na-bato was the logical outcome of the ilustrados' seizure of power at Tejeros.

The pact was nothing more nor less than a business proposition. The negotiations had not dragged on for five months because of any insistence by Aguinaldo's side that the Spaniards comply with any of the people's revolutionary demands. The principal bone of contention had been the amount to be paid to the leaders and the terms of payment.

## The Revolutionaries Repudiated

After he had concluded a personally satisfactory arrangement with the Spanish government, Aguinaldo complied with a demand contained in the first Spanish counter-proposal by issuing a proclamation in which he declared his "sincere desire to aid the Spanish Government in the pacification of the Philippine Islands" and then proceeded to brand as *tulisanes* or bandits and

without the right to call themselves insurrecto or revolutionary, or to profit by any of the charities or other benefits forthcoming under the agreement with the Spanish Government, all those who disobey my orders to lay down their arms . . . .<sup>60</sup> (underscoring supplied)

Aguinaldo and his group left for Hongkong on December 27. A correspondent of *El Imparcial*, a Madrid newspaper, reported that before boarding the ship that was to take him to Hongkong, Aguinaldo himself led in shouting "Vivas" for Spain and "The Philippines, always Spanish!"<sup>61</sup> The same correspondent wrote that he interviewed Aguinaldo who asked him to convey to Spain his pledge of loyalty. The correspondent writes that Aguinaldo told him:

The patriotism I speak of today will be unchangeable. We took the field, not because we wished for separation from the mother country. . . but because we were tired of bearing the material and moral burden of that arch, the keystone of which in our country is the friars. It is quite true that the Katipunan instilled in us another desire – that

of independence — but that desire was unattainable, and moreover, it was in opposition to our sentiments. It served as the banner of Andres Bonifacio, a cruel man whom I ordered shot, and with his death the Katipunan disappeared. You may be sure of this, we ask no reforms other than that the influence which the friars hold under the laws in all our towns be restrained. . . . the Marques de Estella, with his great knowledge of the country, will know how to introduce such reforms as may be timely and necessary. . . .

I recognize that when we took the field we wandered from the right road. More than this, today, recognizing our error, we ask for peace, and I commit all those who have followed me to accept it denouncing as outlaws in the decree I signed at Biak-na-bato all those who do not recognize it.<sup>62</sup>

Aguinaldo requested the correspondent to tell General de Rivera that if the latter deemed it proper to make Biak-na-bato a barrio of San Miguel, Aguinaldo wished the barrio to be called "Barrio de Primo de Rivera" or "Barrio of the Peace."<sup>63</sup>

On January 2, 1898 the sum of P400,000 from the Spanish government was deposited by Aguinaldo in the Hongkong Bank. Aguinaldo and his companions lived frugally on the interest of this deposit.

In a note written by Felipe Agoncillo<sup>64</sup> and submitted to the United States Commissioners at Paris in September 1898, Agoncillo states that Aguinaldo and his companions did not want to touch the money because they intended to buy arms to start another revolution if Spain failed to carry out the terms of the peace agreement. On the other hand, Aguinaldo himself would state in the future that he considered the money to be his personal property. In 1929, when political foes asked him to render an accounting of the money, Aguinaldo summarized the Biak-na-bato provisions on this point as follows:

I was to be at liberty to live abroad with such of my companions as wanted to accompany me, and I accordingly chose Hongkong as a place of residence, where the 800,000 pesos of indemnity were to be paid in three installments. . . .<sup>65</sup>

Refusing to be baited into making an accounting, he declared that as per the pact provisions "the amount of P400,000 belonged exclusively to me," shrewdly adding:

I am willing to do so, on condition that revelations be first made of the

occult mysteries of the inversion of many millions of pesos for the campaign for Independence.<sup>66</sup>

Aguinaldo was thus able to stalemate his opponents, the politicians of the American colonial era, who likewise preferred not to open the subject of funds entrusted to their care.

### Quarrel Over Spoils

It is not surprising that men who had been so preoccupied with the amount and manner of payment of the indemnity they asked for should soon be quarrelling over the spoils. Thinking it grossly unfair that the Aguinaldo group had been awarded P400,000 while they who remained in Biak-na-bato had received nothing, Isabelo Artacho, Artemio Ricarte, Isidoro Torres, Paciano Rizal, and Francisco Makabulos Soliman petitioned the governor-general barely two days after Aguinaldo's departure to give them the remaining P400,000 to be divided among those who had suffered personal losses and did not have the means to support themselves.<sup>67</sup> The governor-general gave them P200,000 which they promptly divided among themselves.

Among those who received large amounts were Emilio Riego de Dios, P7,000; Francisco Macabulos, P14,000; U. Lacuna and Pio del Pilar, P19,000; Isabelo Artacho, P5,000; Miguel Malvar, P8,000; Mariano Trias, P6,000; Artemio Ricarte, P6,500; Pedro Paterno, P89,500 for distribution as per agreement at meetings in Malacanang in January, 1898.<sup>68</sup>

### The Hongkong Exiles

This action of his erstwhile comrades-in-arms angered Aguinaldo. He called a meeting of the members of the Supreme Council residing in Hongkong and the group promptly elected new council members from among the exiles, displacing those left in Biak-na-bato whom Aguinaldo now considered as traitors. This new council then proceeded to declare the division of the money by the Biak-na-bato generals an illegal act.

This new Supreme Council of the Nation elected by exiles from among exiles, was still regarded by Aguinaldo as representing the Filipino people.<sup>69</sup> That the Hongkong Junta did not really speak for the people was conclusively proved by the

people themselves. While the exiles were busying themselves with petty quarrels, the people continued to support the Revolution.

### **The Struggle Continues**

Aguinaldo's departure did not mean the end of the struggle. Evidently, neither the order of the august President of the Republic of Biak-na-bato to lay down their arms nor his threats to regard them as tulisanes if they disobeyed him made much of an impression on the people and their leaders: a few from the old Aguinaldo group, some of Bonifacio's men, and many new patriots who sprang from the rebel localities. There was practically no interruption in the revolutionary activities of the people.

As in the early days of the Katipunan, the people once again demonstrated by their spontaneous and almost simultaneous risings in different provinces that they had the will to fight for their freedom.

Aguinaldo had sailed for Hongkong at year's end. By February 1898, revolutionaries tried to cut the railway lines to Dagupan to prevent the arrival there of Spanish reinforcements. By March, the struggle had gained new momentum. In Northern Zambales, the local people besieged the cable station and seized the telegraph line between Manila and Bolinao, the landing-place of the cable from Hongkong.<sup>70</sup>

In many places, new leaders were taking up the struggle, capturing and holding towns, killing friars or holding them and other Spaniards prisoners. Some of these local actions were directed against the Guardia de Honor, a group organized by some friars from among their more fanatical parishioners. This group was used as a counter-revolutionary force to spy upon those suspected by the friars of being rebels or filibusteros.<sup>71</sup>

### **The People's Fury**

Revolutionary forces became active again in Pampanga, Laguna, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Camarines Norte, and even as far north as La Union and Ilocos Sur.

Bulacan revolted again under the leadership of Isidoro Torres. He established two insurgent camps near Malolos. An Augustinian friar of Malolos was hacked to death with bolos. General Francisco Makabulos Soliman who was an officer under Aguinaldo renewed his operations in Central Luzon. On March

25, one thousand Ilocanos from La Union and Ilocos Sur under the leadership of Isabelo Abaya seized Candon. They dragged two priests out of the church where the latter had hidden, took them to the hills and killed them. A revolt erupted in Daet, Camarines but it was suppressed by the dreaded guardia civil.<sup>72</sup>

Manila itself was not exempt from unrest. The guardia civil instituted a reign of terror in the city raiding houses where they suspected that Katipunan meetings were being held. In one such house, the guardia civil killed ten of the men they found there and imprisoned sixty others.<sup>73</sup>

### Katipunan Revival

Several conspiracies were credited to a certain Feliciano Jhocson, a pharmacist who having opposed the Pact of Biak-na-bato refused to go into exile with Aguinaldo. Instead, he went to Barrio Pugad-Baboy in Calocan from which base he continued exhorting the people to support the Revolution. He also sent letters and circulars pleading with other revolutionary leaders not to surrender. He was most influential in the area around Manila.<sup>74</sup>

The Spaniards considered all these evidences of resistance as mere bandit operations. But two documents attest to the fact that the killing of Spaniards and especially of friars, the seizure of towns, and the other people's actions were not just isolated expressions of rebellion, personal vendetta, or anti-clericalism, but conscious efforts to achieve the goals of the old Katipunan. One such document is Jacinto's *Sangguniang Hukuman*. Written in February, 1898 by Bonifacio's close associate and friend and the acknowledged "brains" of the Katipunan, this document proves that Jacinto was busy with organization work in Laguna.<sup>75</sup>

### During the Hongkong Sojourn

Another proof of the serious intent of the post-Biak-na-bato rebel activities is the existence of a second document: the "Constitution of the general executive committee of Central Luzon." This constitution was adopted in April 1898 and had forty-five signatories, among them General Makabulos and Valentin Diaz, one of the founders of the Katipunan. The revolutionary leaders of Central Luzon headed by General Makabulos had been organizing municipal councils in many towns. They called an assembly into session. This assembly

produced a constitution and established a Central Government which tried to operate in Tarlac, Pampanga, Pangasinan, La Union, and Nueva Ecija for the purpose of raising an army and continuing the fight for independence.<sup>76</sup>

The Cebuanos rose in revolt almost simultaneously with their Tagalog brothers. In February, 1898, Francisco Llamas who used to be the municipal treasurer of San Nicolas, Cebu began organizing and immediately found enthusiastic support. A revolutionary committee was formed.<sup>77</sup> On April 2, with shouts of "*Viva la Independencia!*" the revolutionaries, though poorly armed, marched toward the capital city. Commanded by Leon Quilat, the revolutionary forces were augmented at every turn by enthusiastic volunteers until their number reached around six thousand. In some places they engaged the guardia civil in hand-to-hand combat. They took the capital on April 3. The rebels sacked the convents and burned parts of the business section. In five days they were in control of practically the whole province as other localities followed suit. Eight friars were captured and three of them were killed. Only when sizeable reinforcements arrived were the Spaniards able to retake the principal towns.<sup>78</sup>

Revolutionary activity began on the island of Panay in March, 1898 with the formation of a Conspirators' Committee in Molo, Iloilo.<sup>79</sup>

### **Aguinaldo Capitulated: The People Did Not**

The extent of the ferment and the seriousness with which the Spaniards viewed the situation may be gleaned from the fact that when the new provincial governors for Luzon arrived from Spain in March, only a few were allowed to assume their positions in the provinces to which they had been assigned because of the danger to their lives.<sup>80</sup>

When Aguinaldo arrived aboard the American ship, *McCulloch* on May 19, 1898, the rebellion had been going on. The Pact of Biak-na-bato ended hostilities only insofar as the compromising sector of the revolutionary forces was concerned. The people continued to struggle.

Aguinaldo and his clique surrendered but the people did not.

## XII.

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# The Second Coup

In the months between Biak-na-bato and Aguinaldo's return, the Filipino people resolutely continued their campaign for liberation, little knowing that across the seas maturing imperialist plans were to rob them of their right to independence.

### The New Protagonist

The Cuban Revolution against Spanish tyranny, ironically enough, gave the United States its opportunity to impose its own rule both on Cuba and the Philippines. Taking advantage of popular sympathy for the Cuban revolutionaries, American expansionists in strategic government positions were able to whip up enough public indignation against Spain, especially after the American warship, *Maine*, was mysteriously blown up in Havana harbor, to maneuver the United States into declaring war.<sup>1</sup>

While American capitalists were primarily interested in protecting the millions they had invested in Cuban industry, expansionists like Theodore Roosevelt, then Undersecretary of the Navy, had bigger plans. On February 25, 1898, just ten days after the *Maine* incident, Roosevelt cabled Commodore George Dewey to take his fleet to Hongkong and there await further orders. Sure enough, within a month's time the Spanish-American war had erupted and Dewey was able to destroy the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay on May 1st, only six days after the formal declaration of war.

### The Offer

Three days after, the Hongkong Junta met to discuss its course of action in view of Dewey's victory. A spirited debate

ensued as the members of the Junta tried to assess their previous conferences with various American consular and military officials.

About six months back, Felipe Agoncillo<sup>2</sup> had suggested to Rounseville Wildman, American consul-general of Hongkong, that a Filipino-American alliance be concluded in the event of a war between Spain and the United States. He was then representing the Biak-na-Bato Republic. Agoncillo proposed that the Americans supply the Filipinos with arms and ammunition which they promised to pay for upon the recognition of the Revolutionary Government by the United States. To guarantee payment, Agoncillo offered to pledge two provinces and the customhouse at Manila. But at that time, the United States was not yet ready to talk business, so nothing came of this peddling of the Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

Aguinaldo himself had conferred a number of times with Edward P. Wood, an American gunboat commander, who, according to Aguinaldo, had sought the Filipino general upon Commodore Dewey's orders to ask him to return to the Philippines to resume the war against the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup>

In Singapore, where Aguinaldo had hurriedly repaired in order to avoid a comrade-in-arms' lawsuit demanding his share of the P400,000 given by Spain,<sup>5</sup> he was again contacted by an American official on April 24, 1898. Consul E. Spencer Pratt assured Aguinaldo that he would not regret cooperating with the Americans and gave him to understand that the United States could not possibly covet the Philippines since it had just solemnly guaranteed Cuba's independence. Aguinaldo must have signified his consent to the American proposal, for Pratt cabled Dewey and the latter cabled back: "Tell Aguinaldo come as soon as possible."<sup>6</sup>

Aguinaldo promptly left on April 26 to return to Hongkong, but by then war had been declared and Dewey had sailed for Manila. Consul Wildman had been instructed by Dewey to arrange for Aguinaldo's return to the Philippines. During one of their meetings, Wildman advised Aguinaldo to set up a dictatorial government for the duration of the war and, after victory, to establish one like that of the United States.<sup>7</sup>

### The Junta Decides

During the May 4 meeting of the Junta, Aguinaldo reported on these various conferences. He had some misgivings that since the Americans had not put anything in writing they might not



give him arms and ammunition with which to fight the Spaniards. He was also worried lest he "be forced to take a line of action which would lead the Spaniards to demand the return of the P400,000."<sup>8</sup> Some Junta members argued that the Americans would have to equip the Filipino forces since they did not have enough troops of their own to take the country. Besides, if the Hongkong Junta cooperated with the Americans the latter would transport the Filipinos' own arms and ammunition for free and with these arms the Filipinos would have a better chance of resisting the Americans should the latter decide to claim the Philippines. At this point, Agoncillo assured the group that the Americans would not colonize the Philippines for this would be against their own Constitution. He also took the position that Aguinaldo should return to the Philippines because only he could preserve unity, organize a government, and thus prevent other ambitious leaders from fighting among themselves for preeminence.<sup>9</sup>

What transpired at the May 4 meeting, the arguments that were brought forward, are worth noting because they reveal the typical ilustrado attitudes toward the Revolution; their eagerness to "do it the easy way" under the auspices of a foreign power, their preoccupation with keeping the leadership in "safe" hands.

Aguinaldo informed Wildman of his decision to return to the Philippines and gave the consul a total of P117,000 with which to buy arms. Wildman delivered P50,000 worth of weapons; the rest of the money he never accounted for.<sup>10</sup>

Aguinaldo waited for transport but when the *McCulloch* returned to Hongkong, he was not allowed to board it because Dewey had neglected to give the necessary instructions. The revolution under American sponsorship had to be postponed until the *McCulloch's* second trip when the necessary permit from Dewey was secured. Aguinaldo and thirteen companions landed at Cavite on May 19, 1898.

### Leading the Repudiated

It will be recalled that after Aguinaldo's departure for Hongkong in compliance with the terms of the Pact of Biak-na-bato, the Spaniards dismissed all subsequent native actions as mere bandit operations. This was a return to the old practice of treating any form of dissent and rebellion as banditry and therefore without political significance. Aguinaldo himself had given sanction to this calumny when, after signing

the Pact, he issued a statement withdrawing recognition from all resistance elements and declaring that those who did not lay down their arms were to be considered as bandits. By and large, historians have accepted Aguinaldo's view and treated the duration of his exile as a period of quiescence between a first and second phase of the Revolution. The Revolution was supposed to have been in a state of suspended animation while the Hongkong exiles were planning for its resumption. In point of fact, their return was due to an alien development. As a consequence of this view, the mass actions that occurred during Aguinaldo's absence are dismissed as if they were not part of the revolutionary stream. Actually, the different manifestations of resistance which Aguinaldo so cavalierly branded as banditry just because he had chosen to surrender were the continuing expression of the people's determination to fight for the goals of the Katipunan.

#### Four Major Forces on the Scene

With Aguinaldo's arrival, there were now four major forces on the historical stage: Spanish colonialism, American imperialism, the Filipino ilustrados, and the Filipino masses. The first three engaged in a series of interrelated maneuvers in furtherance of their own goals which centered on securing control over the fourth entity — the masses.

Spanish colonialism was trying to avert its impending demise with conciliatory moves. American imperialism was playing for time until it had accumulated enough military strength in the area before showing its hand. The Filipino ilustrados were concerned with strengthening their claim to leadership by reasserting control over the Revolution so as to assure their preeminent position in any political set-up that would emerge. Their maximum and public goal was independence, but long before they began to fight the Americans they were already considering the possibility of accepting a protectorate or even annexation just as they had been disposed to accept the continuation of Spanish rule after the Pact of Biak-na-bato. In his instructions to Teodoro Sandico who had been charged with the task of organizing a Revolutionary Committee abroad, Aguinaldo characterized the policy of his government in these words:

To struggle for the Independence of "the Philippines" as far as our strength and our means will permit. Protection or annexation will be

acceptable only when it can be clearly seen that the recognition of our Independence, either by force of arms or diplomacy, is impossible.<sup>11</sup>

The date of these instructions was August 10, 1898; hostilities between Filipinos and Americans broke out only on February 4, 1899.

As for the masses, they continued to believe in and fight for the revolutionary goals of the Katipunan, but they did not understand the real nature of the other contending forces. Spanish colonialism was their enemy — that they understood — and they fought resolutely to drive every last Spaniard from their shores. But all they knew about the United States was what their leader told them, and the latter's perception was flawed by a combination of political naivete, personal opportunism, and limited class goals.

Although the people demonstrated after the capitulation of their leaders at Biak-na-bato that they could carry on the fight without their ilustrado leaders, they did not perceive the dangers that its inherently compromising nature posed for the national goal of independence. Thus, when Aguinaldo came back and reasserted his leadership the people accepted this without misgivings and continued the struggle with the same vigor.<sup>12</sup>

### Manifestations of Mendicancy

From the time of his arrival, Aguinaldo manifested a mendicant attitude. In a letter dated May 21, barely two days after he had landed, Aguinaldo revealed that he had promised Dewey that the Filipinos would "carry on modern war." He therefore advised the people to "respect foreigners and their property, also enemies who surrender" and added this curious warning:

... but if we do not conduct ourselves thus the Americans will decide to sell us or else divide up our territory as they will hold us incapable of governing our land, we shall not secure our liberty; rather the contrary; our own soil will be delivered over to other hands.<sup>13</sup>

It would appear therefore that the "revolutionary" leadership regarded independence not as a right, but as something that would be granted by another power if the Filipinos proved they deserved it.

Following Consul Wildman's advice and also that of his new

adviser, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, a prominent Manila lawyer, Aguinaldo proclaimed a dictatorial government on May 24, 1898. The proclamation reads in part:

... as the great and powerful North American nation has offered its disinterested protection to secure the liberty of this country, I again assume command of all the troops in the struggle for the attainment of our lofty aspirations, inaugurating a dictatorial government to be administered by decrees promulgated under my sole responsibility and with the advice of distinguished persons until the time when these islands, being under our complete control, may form a constitutional republican assembly and appoint a president and a cabinet, into whose hands I shall then resign the command of these islands.<sup>14</sup>

A decree of the same date which urged the protection of the lives and property of all foreigners including the Chinese, and the proper treatment of prisoners and respect for hospitals and ambulances was evidently issued in fulfillment of his promise to Dewey to conduct a civilized war. This decree again gives fulsome praise to the United States. It begins thus:

Filipinos: The great North American nation, the cradle of genuine liberty and therefore the friend of our people oppressed and enslaved by the tyranny and despotism of its rulers, has come to us manifesting a protection as decisive as it is undoubtedly disinterested toward our inhabitants, considering us as sufficiently civilized and capable of governing for ourselves our unfortunate country. In order to maintain this high estimate granted us by the generous North American nation we should abominate all those deeds which tend to lower this opinion. . .<sup>15</sup>

These declarations reveal two attitudes which would manifest themselves repeatedly throughout Aguinaldo's career: first, his implicit trust in the United States and reliance on her protection and second, his dependence on "distinguished persons." In his proclamation of June 18 establishing his dictatorial government, he would again declare that "my constant desire is to surround myself with the most distinguished persons of each province,"<sup>16</sup> believing that they knew what was best for each locality. The elite orientation of Aguinaldo's dictatorial government is clear in this same proclamation wherein he directed that heads of liberated towns were to be elected by "the inhabitants most distinguished for high character, social position and honorable conduct. . ."<sup>17</sup> It

was a sad irony that at the very moment when the people were giving up their lives to assert their right to determine their own destiny, the leadership that presumed to speak for them was already denying them a basic prerogative of a free people.

### Spaniards and Ilustrados

While Aguinaldo was busy establishing his authority over the Revolution, the Spanish governor-general was also busy trying to salvage Spanish control over the colony. Jolted to action by Dewey's naval victory over the Spanish fleet, Governor Augustin had inaugurated a policy of attraction aimed principally at the ilustrados. On May 4, the governor issued two decrees creating a Filipino Volunteer Militia and a Consultative Assembly.

Among those commissioned in the militia were Artemio Ricarte, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Mariano Trias, Licerio Geronimo, Enrique Flores, Felipe Buencamino and Pio del Pilar.<sup>18</sup> Augustin had a special mission for Felipe Buencamino. He dispatched Buencamino as his emissary to Gen. Aguinaldo with an offer of an autonomous government under Spain and high positions in the Spanish army for the general and other military leaders. In his memoirs, Buencamino revealed that Augustin had instructed him to offer Aguinaldo the post of chief of the Philippine armed forces with the rank of Brigadier-General in the Spanish army and a salary of P5000 if Aguinaldo would declare his loyalty to Spain and fight the Americans.<sup>19</sup>

The offer was refused. Buencamino then joined Aguinaldo as did others appointed to the militia. All were accepted and subsequently entrusted with high office.

### Paterno, et. al.

The Spanish governor general appointed Pedro Paterno, negotiator of the Pact of Biak-na-bato, president of the Consultative Assembly. A full roster of ilustrados was named to this advisory body: among them, Cayetano Arellano, Isaac Fernando Rios, Joaquin Gonzales, Maximino Paterno, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Manuel Genato, Gregorio Araneta, Juan Rodrigues, Benito Legarda, Leon Ma. Guerrero, Ambrosio Salvador, Bonifacio Arevalo, Ariston Bautista, Jose Luna Novicio, Jose Lozada, Ricardo Esteban Barreto, Teodoro Gonzalez, Pantaleon Garcia, and Pedro Serrano Laktaw.<sup>20</sup>

Augustin called the Assembly to its first meeting on May 28. On May 31, Paterno issued a manifesto appealing to the people to stand by Spain, who he promised would soon grant them "home rule." But Spain's conciliatory moves were too minor and had come too late, even for the ilustrados. The Consultative Assembly on which Augustin had pinned his hopes proved ineffectual and adjourned on June 13 without accomplishing anything. Most of the ilustrados once again followed the people into the revolutionary movement.

### Protectorate Proclaimed

Meanwhile, Aguinaldo continued his moves for consolidation. The next step was the proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898. Appropriate celebrations marked the event in Kawit at which the Philippine flag was first officially raised and the Philippine national anthem first publicly played. The declaration was prepared by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista who patterned it after the American Declaration of Independence. Aguinaldo invited Dewey to the festivities but the latter declined the invitation and did not even report the event to Washington. The declaration was signed by ninety eight persons including an American officer, L.M. Johnson, Colonel of Artillery.<sup>21</sup>

Part of the declaration says:

And summoning as a witness of the rectitude of our intentions, the Supreme Judge of the Universe, and under the protection of the Mighty and Humane North American Nation, we proclaim and solemnly declare, in the name and by the authority of the inhabitants of all these Philippine Islands, that they are and have the right to be free and independent; that they are released from all obedience to the Crown of Spain; that every political tie between the two is and must be completely severed and annulled. . . .<sup>22</sup>

As this passage indicates, while the June 12 statement was a declaration of independence from Spain, it put the United States in the special position of protector of that independence.<sup>23</sup>

### Meaning of Aguinaldo Moves

On June 23, 1898, upon Apolinario Mabini's advice, the dictatorial government was changed to a Revolutionary Govern-

ment "whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippines until she is recognized by the free nations of the earth." Mabini regarded the declaration of independence made by the dictatorial government as premature. Furthermore, since it had been the work of the military and therefore lacked the participation of the people, he believed it to be inadequate.<sup>24</sup>

Mabini's objections failed to take into consideration what the independence proclamation and the other previous proclamations had done for Aguinaldo.

When Aguinaldo arrived, he found the Filipino people spontaneously waging their anti-colonial war but under different local leaders acting without central direction. Aguinaldo's proclamations served notice to these men that he was once again assuming the leadership of the struggle which he had abandoned and branded as banditry after his own surrender. By associating his leadership once more with the people's goal of independence, he attracted many resistance groups to his banner. His connection with the Americans who had just won the battle of Manila Bay helped him in his bid for power. By his early declaration of the existence of a government with himself as head, he was presenting other resistance leaders with a *fait accompli*. Emilio Jacinto, for one, was still operating independently and as late as after the Malolos government had already been organized he was still being invited by Mabini to join Aguinaldo.<sup>25</sup>

### Undercutting Other Resistance Leaders

Another move clearly aimed at consolidating power in his hands was the decree that Aguinaldo issued in his self-proclaimed capacity as "dictator of the Philippines" in which he announced the demise of the Biak-na-bato Republic and revoked all its orders. This decree also annulled "all commissions issued to the officials of the army, provinces and town . . ."<sup>26</sup> and thus neatly undercut all other resistance leaders and made all positions dependent on his personal appointment.

Recalling Tejeros and its aftermath, Aguinaldo's moves may be characterized as a second seizure of the forces of revolution by the forces of "moderation."<sup>27</sup>

Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista who had advised Aguinaldo on the establishment of a dictatorship and could therefore be presumed to be privy to the motivations behind it, considered the dictatorship a temporary expedient to answer the need of concentrating all civil and military powers in one person to

enable him "to repress with a strong hand the anarchy which is the inevitable sequel of all revolutions."<sup>28</sup>

By his May 24 proclamation and especially by his proclamation of independence on June 12, Aguinaldo succeeded in emerging as the central figure in the struggle. From then on, he was firmly in the saddle. With the change from a dictatorship to a revolutionary government, Aguinaldo again became President. A decree had been issued earlier ordering the reorganization of local governments in provinces free from Spanish control and the election of delegates to a Congress. By July 15, Aguinaldo was appointing his first cabinet ministers preparatory to establishing a full-blown republic.

### The People's Participation

Of course, none of these moves would have had any significance without the people's determination to free their homeland from Spanish control. It was their victories that gave substance to the legal institutions the ilustrados were busily establishing. The Filipino forces won victory after victory, capturing Spanish garrisons in quick succession. By the end of June, they controlled virtually all of Luzon except Manila.

Admiral Dewey was pleased. Afterwards, he wrote in his autobiography:

The Filipinos slowly drove the Spaniards back toward the city. By day we could see their attacks, and by night we heard their firing. . . . The insurgents fought well. . . . Their success, I think was of material importance in isolating our marine force at Cavite from Spanish attack and in preparing a foothold for our troops when they should arrive.<sup>29</sup>

### Buying Time

The Americans were biding their time. They kept up friendly liaison with Aguinaldo and his group, according to Aguinaldo the courtesies due a head of state. They shrewdly refrained from making any formal commitments but neither did they disabuse the minds of the Filipino leaders of their misconceptions about American intentions.

Consuls Wildman and Pratt had given Aguinaldo their personal assurances that their government viewed with sympathy Filipino aspirations for independence. Aguinaldo, writing about his conversations with Admiral Dewey and General Thomas Anderson, contended that both gentlemen had given



him the same assurance.

Anderson testified before a U.S. Senate Committee that upon being asked by Aguinaldo what the intentions of the Americans were, he had replied that "in 122 years we had established no colonies." Commenting on his own reply, Anderson admitted that his answer was evasive because at that time he was trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, fuel, and forage.<sup>30</sup> In his testimony before the same Committee, Dewey described his relations with Aguinaldo in these arrogant terms:

I knew what he was doing. Driving the Spaniards in was saving our troops. . . . Up to the time the army came, Aguinaldo did everything I requested. He was most obedient, whatever I told him, he did. I saw him almost daily. I had not much to do with him after the Army came.<sup>31</sup>

There is no question that the Americans acted with duplicity. They were using the Filipinos to fight the Spaniards until the American troops arrived. It was therefore expedient to appear to favor their ally's aspirations.

American reinforcements arrived in three waves: 2500 men under Gen. Thomas Anderson on June 30, 3500 under Gen. Francis V. Greene on July 17, and 4800 under Gen. Arthur MacArthur on July 31. All in all, the troops under the over-all command of Gen. Wesley E. Merritt numbered 10,964 men and 740 officers.

The U.S. Army was now equipped to implement the developing plans of Washington. Now ready to show their hand, the American generals began to treat their supposed allies arrogantly, demanding that Filipino troops vacate certain areas. Although Aguinaldo and other Filipino officers had become apprehensive over the great influx of U.S. troops and resented the generals' orders, they accommodated the Americans. Subsequent events would demonstrate that their good-will would not count for much.

### **The Sell-out**

The Philippine forces had been laying siege to Manila since May 31. Aguinaldo had thrice demanded the surrender of the Spanish troops and even offered them generous terms. The Spaniards ignored him. Instead, the two colonial powers entered into secret negotiations which resulted in an agreement to stage a mock battle which would be quickly followed by the surrender of Manila to U.S. troops, provided no Filipino troops

were allowed into the surrendered city. The mock battle was staged and Manila was surrendered on August 13. The Filipino troops had fought at the side of the Americans in this battle, completely unaware that they had already been sold out. On August 14, General Merritt announced the establishment of the Military Government.

Despite the mounting evidence of American double-dealing and the increasingly clear indications of U.S. intentions, Aguinaldo continued to maintain a conciliatory attitude towards the Americans and publicly to declare his faith in them. Since it was to some extent his connections with the Americans that assured him of leadership, he was naturally favorably disposed toward them. Moreover, the elaborate courtesies that Dewey and the American generals accorded him during the early days of their association were not only flattering to his ego but gave the impression that he was being treated as a head of state. Then, too, the importance of the *palabra de honor* of Spanish feudal tradition cannot be discounted. When important personages like Dewey and American diplomatic officials gave Aguinaldo their verbal assurances, he accepted these as the word of honor of officers and gentlemen and therefore, in accordance with Spanish tradition as sacred and binding as any written contract. Finally, we must remember that at that time, compared to the other imperialist nations, the United States had a relatively untarnished reputation. It had fought its own War of Independence; it had freed its slaves; it was a shining example of democracy.

All these factors disarmed Aguinaldo and caused him to cling to his faith in America's good intentions despite all evidences to the contrary. We have it from him directly that even after the Filipinos received word that McKinley had decided to annex the Philippines, he still counselled moderation and prudence

... for I still trusted in the justice and rectitude of the Congress of the United States, that it would not approve the tendencies of the imperialistic party, and that it would heed the voice of Admiral Dewey, who, as a high representative of America in our Islands had concerted and covenanted with me and the Filipino people the recognition of our independence.

In no other way, in fact, was such a serious matter to be regarded, for if America entrusted Admiral Dewey with the honor of her arms in such distant lands, the Filipinos could also well trust in the honorable promises of as polished a gentleman as he is a brave sailor, sure that the great and noble American people would not revoke the authority of nor

The naivete Aguinaldo exhibited in his relations with the United States inaugurated a tradition of gullibility which would be followed by succeeding generations of Filipino leaders.

### **Aguinaldo's Roster of Eminence**

Aguinaldo continued to occupy himself with the establishment of his government and to coordinate whenever feasible the revolutionary efforts of the people to oust the Spaniards from the towns and provinces all over the country.

The cabinet he appointed once more revealed his strong inclination to surround himself with the elite. Besides his old comrades-in-arms, Baldomero Aguinaldo and Mariano Trias who were appointed Secretary of War and Secretary of Finance respectively, Aguinaldo's appointments included such ilustrados as Gregorio Araneta, a prominent Manila lawyer, as Secretary of Justice, Felipe Buencamino as Director of Public Works, Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, a physician and man of letters who had just returned after a long residence in France and Spain, as Director of Diplomacy, and Benito Legarda, a wealthy Manila businessman, as Director of Agriculture and Commerce.<sup>33</sup> It did not matter that most of these men had until recently been in the Spanish camp; Aguinaldo could not seem to conceive of a serious government without the participation of those distinguished personages whose advice he had publicly promised to seek.

Another prominent ilustrado whom Aguinaldo assiduously courted was Cayetano S. Arellano. The Spaniards also held him in high regard and had appointed him to the Consultative Assembly. Aguinaldo left the portfolio of Foreign Affairs open for some time because he wanted a man of Arellano's prestige, but the latter refused to serve the revolutionary government because his sympathies were with the Americans. Later, the position was given to Mabini.<sup>34</sup>

Aguinaldo next convoked the Revolutionary Congress in Barasoain, Malolos. Some provinces elected their own delegates, but Aguinaldo appointed more than sixty to represent those provinces which had not been able to select their own representatives. The power of appointment enabled Aguinaldo to enlist the participation of representatives of the provincial elite. Most of the delegates were college graduates, some with diplomas from European universities. The Malolos Congress

boasted of 43 lawyers, 18 physicians, 5 pharmacists, 2 engineers, 7 businessmen, 4 agriculturists, 3 educators, 3 soldiers, 2 painters, and one priest.<sup>35</sup>

Out of a total of 136 members, only around fifty were present at the inaugural session on September 15. Aguinaldo addressed the assemblage first in Tagalog, then in Spanish. His speech was written by Felipe Buencamino. Elected to lead the Congress were: Pedro A. Paterno, President; Benito Legarda, Vice-President; Gregorio Araneta, first Secretary; and Pablo Ocampo, second Secretary.<sup>36</sup>

### The Directing Hands

From its lower middle-class composition in the days of Bonifacio's Katipunan, the leadership of the people's revolt passed to the hands of the Cavite provincial elite with Aguinaldo's first seizure of power at Tejeros. His second coup accomplished under American sponsorship opened the way for the take-over of the Manila elite. Thus Pedro A. Paterno, the broker of the betrayal of the Revolution at Biak-na-bato, the President of the Spanish Consultative Assembly, and recent advocate of home rule under Spain, was now president of the Revolutionary Congress.

The presence of these men in the Revolutionary Government was an indication of the successes of the Revolution. The ilustrados had property interests to protect. Should the Revolution succeed in winning independence for the country, they would have a directing hand in government. However, in the greater likelihood that the United States would decide to exercise control over the country, they would be in a position to influence the Revolutionary Government to accept a protectorate — or indeed any other terms the Americans might impose — in order to avoid a new war which would hurt them economically. Their participation gave them both insurance and leverage.

### Military Successes

Meanwhile, the war against Spain continued to rage. In August, General Manuel Tinio's army liberated the Ilocos provinces while General Miguel Malvar, leading a large force of Tagalog revolucionarios, liberated Tayabas (now Quezon). The Spanish forces in Santa Cruz, Laguna surrendered to General Paciano Rizal on August 31. Aguinaldo sent a Cavite contingent

under Colonel Daniel Tirona to Aparri. By September, Cagayan Valley and Batanes had been cleared of Spaniards. In other provinces, local groups initiated their own struggles against Spanish forces. The people of the Bicol provinces revolted on their own, drove the Spaniards away, and set up provisional governments which pledged support to Aguinaldo's government. By the time the expedition sent by Aguinaldo arrived there in October, the Spaniards had already been overthrown. The same was true in two provinces of Panay. Visayan revolutionaries had already vanquished the Spanish forces in Antique and Capiz before the expeditions sent by Aguinaldo arrived.<sup>37</sup> Other expeditions were sent to Mindoro, Romblon, and Masbate and all, enjoying the people's support, met with success.<sup>38</sup>

After the surrender of Manila, the Spanish government was transferred to Iloilo. In an effort to save Visayas and Mindanao for Spain, General Diego de los Rios set up a Council of Reforms or Colonial Council. This body was similar to the Consultative Assembly and met the same fate.<sup>39</sup>

The Comite Conspirador which had been organized by the Iloilo elite in May, 1898, coordinated with other revolutionary groups in Panay. Through its emissaries, it associated itself with the Aguinaldo government. The Revolutionary Government of the Visayas was established at Santa Barbara, Iloilo on November 17, 1898.<sup>40</sup>

In Negros, the rich hacenderos remained outwardly loyal to Spain until 1898. They were not, however, exempt from the ferment that was sweeping ilustrado ranks all over the country and a number of them had been temporarily imprisoned a few months after the outbreak of the Revolution in Luzon on suspicion of having received subversive materials from Manila. Local revolutionary committees were secretly organized. In October, 1898 these committees elected Juan Araneta chief of the Southern zone of the province and Aniceto Lacson chief of the northern zone. Beyond organizing, however, they did not move against the Spaniards. But by November, when the end of Spanish power was clearly imminent, the Negros elite decided it was time to take over control of their island. On November 5, hurriedly assembled forces under Aniceto Lacson and Juan Araneta marched on the capital, Bacolod. The Spanish troops capitulated without firing a shot. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of Negros was established the next day with Lacson as President and Araneta as Secretary of War.<sup>41</sup>

In Cebu, it will be recalled, the people had courageously engaged the Spaniards under the leadership of Leon Quilat, a

few months after Biak-na-bato. (See Chapter 11) Though temporarily dispersed after the death of their leader, the people soon regrouped and a revolutionary government was formed in the Sudlon mountains. This government extended its control over the interior of the island and received the support even of those towns where Spanish troops were stationed. Having lost effective control, the Spanish forces evacuated the province in December.<sup>42</sup>

In December, too, Filipino forces besieged Iloilo City where Gen. Rios' troops were concentrated. There was some hard fighting in neighboring towns. While the battles were going on, a committee of the Iloilo elite initiated negotiations for the surrender of the Spanish garrison. This was effected on December 25.<sup>43</sup>

### People's Victory

By the time the Treaty of Paris through which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States was signed on December 10, 1898, Spain actually controlled only a few isolated outposts in the country. The Filipino people had won their war of liberation. On their own, without the help of any foreign power, they had put an end to the hated Spanish rule over their land. It was really a people's victory, not only because it was the people who supplied the manpower and contributed the casualties in the actual battles, but also because the soldiers of the Revolution found spontaneous and overwhelming support among the masses almost everywhere. They could not have survived, much less triumphed, otherwise.

The victorious people were now truly one nation with sovereignty won on the battlefield. The Malolos government was the symbol of their unity. They viewed its existence as the culmination of their struggles. They gave it their wholehearted support and allegiance.

Busy with the struggle, they did not pay much attention to the maneuvers of the leaders. Moreover, this being their first national experience, they did not perceive the real import of the ilustrado take-over. The Malolos Republic therefore became the symbol of the people's victory and of their defeat. The various events leading to its inauguration reveal how unrepresentative of the masses the ruling group was.<sup>44</sup>

## Ilustrado Ascendancy

The ascendancy of the Manila elite was vividly demonstrated when in the Malolos festivities for the ratification of Philippine independence in September, Aguinaldo led a popular parade with Paterno on his right and Legarda on his left. It was a vivid if unintentional confirmation of Aguinaldo's intellectual captivity.

Soon after the Malolos Congress was convoked, a dispute arose between Apolinario Mabini on the one hand, and the leaders of Congress on the other, as to whether or not Congress should frame a constitution. A latent hostility already existed between Mabini and the wealthy ilustrados in the cabinet and Congress. The latter often complained that Aguinaldo listened too much to his paralytic adviser. Mabini did not think the time propitious for the drafting of a constitution, but he was overruled by a majority under the leadership of Pedro Paterno and Felipe Calderon.

Calderon, who prepared the draft that was finally approved, drew heavily from the constitutions of France, Belgium, and several South American Republics. The Constitution set up a government republican in form with the legislature as the supreme branch. Reflecting the long years of ilustrado agitation for individual liberties, the Constitution contained many provisions regarding the rights of citizens.<sup>45</sup>

### The Religious Aspect

A noteworthy fact about this draft is that it contained a provision for the union of State and Church. Still more significant is that this provision was defeated by only one vote and only after a long and acrimonious debate.<sup>46</sup> Considering the long history of the people's grievances against the friars, considering that the friars were frequently the objects of the people's vengeance in their attacks on Spanish bastions in the provinces, no constitution truly representative of the Filipino people at that time could possibly have given to the Church the same prominence and power that had been the source of its abuses during the Spanish regime. Only Hispanized ilustrados and products of Catholic education could conceive of including such a provision. More in tune with the people's concept of their Revolution was Mabini's idea of a Filipino national church. (See Chapter 13)

## Pomp and Ceremony

On January 23, 1899, the First Philippine Republic was inaugurated. The people rejoiced; appropriate festivities marked the day throughout the land.

In Malolos, the inauguration ceremonies were typical of the elite. Aguinaldo took his oath of office as President of the Philippine Republic wearing formal attire "with top hat, white gloves, and bow tie" and carrying a "tasseled gold-knobbed cane."<sup>47</sup> The food at the inaugural banquet was European and the menu, written in French was as follows:

### *HORS D'OEUVRE*

*HUITRES — CREVETTES ROSES — BEURRE —  
RADIS-OLIVES — SAUCISSON DE LYON —  
SARDINES AUX TOMATES — SAUMON HOLLANDAIS*

### *COQUILLES DE CRABES*

*VOL — AU — VENT* *a la Financiere*

*ABATIS DE POULET* *a la Tagale*

*COTELETTES DE MOUTON* *a la Papillote*

*Pommes de Terre Paille*

*DINDE TRUFFEE* *a la Manilloise*

*FILET* *a la Chateaubriand*

*Haricots Verts*

*JAMBON FROID*

*Asperges en branche*

### *DESSERT*

*FROMAGES — FRUITS — CONFITURES*

*GELEE DE FRAISES — GLACES*

### *VINS*

*BORDEAUX — SAUTERNE — XEREX — CHAMPAGNE*

### *LIQUEURS*

*CHARTREUSE — COGNAC*

*CAFÉ — THÉ<sup>48</sup>*



## The First Acts

Aguinaldo's first two decrees pardoned Spanish prisoners who had not been members of the Spanish regular army and gave Spaniards and all other foreigners the right to engage in business in the Philippines.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to recall that one of Aguinaldo's first acts after Tejeros had also been the release of Spanish prisoners.

The new government would exhibit other serious indications of its elite orientation. Felipe Calderon, the principal author of the Constitution, later revealed that his intention was to insure that under the Constitution the ilustrados would rule the country.<sup>50</sup> The electoral laws of the revolutionary government limited suffrage even in local elections to the leading citizens of the towns. This meant that principales would be voting principales into local office as well as to Congress.

Perhaps the worst betrayal of the people's interests was the action the Malolos government took on the friar lands. For the majority of peasants who fought and died for the Revolution, independence meant an end to friar estates and the hope of owning a piece of land. The Revolutionary Government did confiscate the friar estates but not for distribution to the oppressed peasantry. Instead, the republic passed a law giving "men of means" and "local chiefs" the opportunity to administer these estates upon presentation of security in cash or in bond.<sup>51</sup> The drift toward enfeudation of the countryside which had been definitely established during the last century of Spanish rule was thus continued with legal sanction during the Revolution. The elite were rewarding themselves with the first fruits of the Revolution.

## Vacillation and Opportunism

In his inaugural speech, Aguinaldo had declared it the desire of the people "to live under the democratic regime of the Philippine Republic, free from the yoke of any foreign domination."<sup>52</sup> Paterno, waxing eloquent, had asserted that the Filipinos wanted independence and therefore would never accept annexation or domination by the United States; they wanted peace but not "the peace of Roman Caesarism, the peace of slavery," and they would fight hard against any power that would dare deprive them of their freedom.

These were brave words that concealed the vacillation of Aguinaldo and the opportunism of Paterno. The ilustrados had

been willing to join the Revolution as long as the chances for victory were great and as long as the period of struggle did not last long. Protracted struggle could be waged only by the masses who had been inured to hardship and suffering and who knew that their ultimate goal was something drastically different from their present status. Among the ilustrados, the threat of property destruction and personal suffering would quickly weaken their resolve and any prospect for accommodation would induce surrender. The material basis of their motivations created a powerful impulse toward compromise. And the time for a new compromise was drawing near.

While Aguinaldo's group busied itself with establishing the framework of a central government, the Americans had been giving more and more incontrovertible signs of their intentions to colonize the country. The Treaty of Paris made it official. Eleven days later, on December 21, 1898, President McKinley issued his "Benevolent Assimilation" Proclamation which, despite its honeyed words about the Americans coming "not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends," instructed the American military commanders to extend the sovereignty of the United States over the whole country, by force if necessary.

The over-all military commander, Gen. Elwell Otis, sought, for tactical reasons, to soften the impact of the proclamation by deleting certain portions in the version he made public on January 4, but the original text was inadvertently sent to the American command in Iloilo which released it in full. The Filipinos had been resentful and suspicious of the dispatch of American forces to Iloilo. McKinley's proclamation confirmed their fears.

Aguinaldo immediately issued a manifesto bitterly denouncing the "aggressive seizure of a portion of its territory by a nation which had arrogated to itself the title, 'champion of oppressed nations.'"<sup>53</sup>

But this manifesto also expressed the hurt feelings of a man whose trust in America had been betrayed. Relating the circumstances of his return to Cavite with the help of Dewey, and reminding the United States of the aid Filipino troops had extended the Americans by fighting their common enemy, Aguinaldo laid bare his faith in the United States in these words:

It was taken for granted that the American forces would necessarily sympathize with the revolution which they had encouraged and which had saved them much blood and great hardships; and, above

all, we entertained absolute confidence in the history and traditions of a people which fought for its independence and for the abolition of slavery; we felt ourselves under the guardianship of a free people.<sup>54</sup>

It would not be the last time a Filipino leader would suffer from unrequited love.

### Aguinaldo's "Adjustments"

In view of the open declaration by the United States of its determination to annex the Philippines, it is difficult to understand why the Aguinaldo government could still bother with elaborate preparations for the promulgation of the Constitution on January 21 and the inauguration of the Philippine Republic on January 23. It may be argued that the ilustrado idea was to present to the United States and to the world, as a *fait accompli*, a fully organized government. Perhaps the plan may have had its merits in the early stages, but with the failure of Felipe Agoncillo's diplomatic mission in Washington and Paris and with the signing of the Treaty of Paris and McKinley's proclamation, it should have been crystal clear that the only way to preserve Philippine sovereignty was to fight for it once more. Yet, instead of devoting all his efforts to alert the people against the new enemy and prepare them for new hostilities, Aguinaldo still took the trouble of appointing a commission for "the adjustment of the conflicting interests" of Americans and Filipinos.

It is difficult to see what "adjustment" could be possible between a country bent on exercising colonial control over another and the latter's right to freedom — unless the unspoken motive was to explore the possibility of accommodation. Such an accommodation could take the form of a protectorate, with the Aguinaldo government ruling the country on behalf of the United States. For such an arrangement, the inauguration of the Philippine Republic with Aguinaldo as the duly elected President would formalize the existence of a legal entity to which political power could be entrusted.

The commissioners appointed by Aguinaldo to meet with General Otis' chosen representatives were Florentino Torres, Ambrosio Flores, and Manuel Arguelles. Torres was well-known for his pro-American sympathies.<sup>55</sup> Aguinaldo seems to have had the bad habit common to later Philippine leaders of appointing pro-Americans to defend Philippine interests at the

negotiating table. The conferences lasted up to January 29. As far as resolving "conflicting political interests" was concerned, the talks accomplished nothing because the Americans never had the slightest intention of modifying their position in any way. What the meetings did accomplish was to buy time for the Americans who were then awaiting the arrival of fresh troops.

The talks also gave Aguinaldo just enough time to be inaugurated President.

## Reluctant Foe

Tension between the two armies increased until hostilities finally erupted on February 4, when an American patrol shot a Filipino soldier on the bridge at San Juan. In less than two hours, the Americans had mounted an offensive, catching the Filipino troops unprepared and leaderless. The Filipino generals had gone home to their families for the week-end! The American soldiers, on the other hand, were ready, needing only the simple order: "Follow the prepared plan," to go into coordinated action.<sup>56</sup> The next day, Gen. MacArthur ordered his troops to advance; he did not even bother to investigate the incident of the previous night.

Aguinaldo made one last try to avoid war. He informed Otis that "the firing on our side the night before had been against my order" and voiced a wish that fighting might be stopped. The Americans must have been exasperated with their reluctant foe. Otis' reply was unequivocal. Since the fighting had begun, he declared it "must go on to the grim end."<sup>57</sup> Aguinaldo then issued a declaration informing the Filipino people that they were now at war, but he still went through the trouble of ordering an investigation to determine who had begun the hostilities.

On February 6, the U.S. Senate, its hesitations swept aside by the timely outbreak of hostilities, ratified the Treaty of Paris. The American expansionists now had a free hand to subdue their new colony.

With their fresh reinforcements, the Americans pressed their offensive through February and March. Although in a number of instances the Filipino troops won temporary victories, the better trained, better equipped and more militarily disciplined American soldiers gained most of their objectives. By March 30, they were at Malolos and the Philippine government had evacuated to San Isidro, Nueva Ecija. In the Visayas, Iloilo and Cebu were in American hands by the end of February, and on

March 4, the rich hacenderos who were the leaders of the Republic of Negros, wanting to protect their sugar estates, had welcomed the Americans with open arms. Fearful of the people's movement led by Dionisio Magbuelas (see Chapter 14), they even requested the Americans for permission to arm a battalion to maintain peace and order.

### The "Autonomists"

On April 4, the First Philippine Commission, popularly known as the Schurman Commission after its chairman, president Jacob G. Schurman of Cornell University, issued a proclamation which began with these ominous words:

The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the Archipelago and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, the Commission promised "self government."

Mabini, then Premier of Aguinaldo's cabinet, issued a manifesto urging the people to continue the struggle. Later, however, he sent Colonel Arguelles to Manila with a proposal for an armistice to give the Philippine government time to consult the people on the American offer. Otis demanded unconditional surrender.

On May 5, the Schurman Commission spelled out more clearly its autonomy proposal. Mabini rejected the offer. He thought he could prevail on Aguinaldo to sustain him but he failed to take into account the influence of such men as Paterno and Buencamino. Although what the Americans were proposing was not even autonomy since an American governor-general appointed by the U.S. President would retain absolute power, Paterno and Buencamino campaigned vigorously for its acceptance.

Actually, during the early days of the Malolos government, the conservative ilustrados had already broached the idea of addressing a plea to the United States for the establishment of a protectorate. According to them, Aguinaldo had been amenable, but not Mabini. Although many of these men had deserted the Malolos government once it had become clear to them that the United States was determined to keep the Philippines, those who were left behind now vigorously pushed for acceptance of the autonomy offer. In the light of their behavior, one cannot totally discount General Otis' boast that

he had more influence on Aguinaldo's cabinet than Aguinaldo himself, and that some of these men had stayed on at his request.<sup>59</sup>

The day after the Schurman Commission offered autonomy, the remaining fifteen or sixteen members of the Malolos Congress met. They agreed unanimously to accept the Schurman offer and requested Aguinaldo to dissolve the Mabini cabinet and appoint a new one "which should inspire in the American Government absolute confidence in the securing of a peaceful arrangement." Aguinaldo consented.<sup>60</sup>

### Biak-na-Bato Repeated

With Mabini out of the way, Aguinaldo promptly appointed Pedro A. Paterno premier. It was Biak-na-bato all over again. Paterno named the following to his cabinet:

Felipe Buencamino	— Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Severino de las Alas	— Secretary of Interior
Mariano Trias	— Secretary of War
Hugo Ilagan	— Secretary of Finance
Aguedo Velarde	— Secretary of Public Instruction
Maximino Paterno	— Secretary of Public Works and Communications
Leon Ma. Guerrero	— Secretary of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce

A reorganization of the divisions under each department was also undertaken. This could not have been more than a reapportioning of meaningless honorific titles which was totally superfluous for a government virtually on the run and whose main concern was how to sue for peace.

Notified of his replacement by Paterno, Mabini wrote a *pro forma* reply. His congratulatory words could not have reflected his real feelings, for in two letters written immediately after his sudden dismissal he expressed himself very differently. In a letter to a Sr. Lino, Mabini spoke contemptuously of "those who desire independence without any struggle" and made the following prediction:

It seems that the present cabinet is now negotiating with the Americans on the basis of autonomy, and I laugh at all this because those who get tired after months of struggle will be of no service except to carry the yoke of slavery.<sup>61</sup>

Mabini returned to private life. Even the meaningless position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court given him by Congress was disapproved by Aguinaldo at the instance of Paterno.<sup>6 2</sup>

### Another Obstacle

But Mabini was not the only obstacle to the maneuvers of Paterno's capitulationist cabinet. A more formidable because violently decisive foe was General Antonio Luna, widely regarded as the ablest general of the revolution.

Luna, a well-to-do ilustrado, had not joined the Revolution in 1896. In fact, he was one of those who revealed to the Spaniards the existence of the Katipunan. In 1898, however, he joined Aguinaldo and distinguished himself as a brave and competent officer. In recognition of his merits, Aguinaldo appointed him Commander-in-Chief for Central Luzon when Philippine-American hostilities broke out.

A believer in stern disciplinary measures and quick to mete out punishment, Luna incurred the enmity of fellow officers, among them General Mascardo, Aguinaldo's comrade of Cavite days. Luna had at one time demanded Mascardo's dismissal because the latter had delayed obeying an order on the ground that he, Mascardo, had not been duly notified of Luna's appointment. Felipe Buencamino, assigned by Aguinaldo to investigate the matter, ordered that Mascardo be placed under arrest for one day.

Earlier in the war, Luna had also asked Aguinaldo to disarm the Kawit Company for insubordination because it had refused to obey him, declaring that it would take orders only from Aguinaldo. Luna regarded this action of the Cavite soldiers as having doomed to failure his plan to retake Manila. But Aguinaldo did not disband the Kawit Company.

Luna's quick temper and sharp tongue would soon earn him more powerful enemies. Although Mabini himself complained of Luna's high-handed behavior, they were one in their opposition to the American offer of autonomy. At meetings with members of Congress and with the military, Luna spoke vehemently against any deal with the Americans. In an interview published in *La Independencia* of May 20, 1899, he declared in an impassioned manner his adherence to the ideal of independence. He insisted that everywhere he went he asked the people "in a kind of plebiscite" if they wanted autonomy and their answer was "Long live independence. May autonomy die!"<sup>6 3</sup>

## Bonifacio's Fate Repeated

When Luna learned that the Paterno cabinet had sent a peace declaration to Manila, he went in great agitation to Cabanatuan where the government had evacuated. In the cabinet meeting of May 21, he slapped Felipe Buencamino, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and called him an autonomist and a traitor. He also arrested Paterno and the other cabinet members and handed them over to Aguinaldo demanding that they be deported as traitors. Aguinaldo promised to investigate his charge, but as soon as Luna left Cabanatuan, Aguinaldo released them. These men then tried to convince Aguinaldo that Luna was plotting against him. Stories to this effect had been circulating and in fact a staff officer of Aguinaldo had written him a letter informing him of the rumors that Luna wanted to take over the presidency. June 13 was supposed to be the date set for the *coup d'etat*.<sup>64</sup> It would seem that Aguinaldo believed that his life was in danger, for he wrote confidential letters to some old comrades of 1896 asking for their loyalty.

Although there is no evidence to substantiate the rumors of a Luna plot against Aguinaldo, Luna was indeed trying to secure popular support for his arrest of Paterno and Buencamino and worse, campaigning against autonomy. He received telegrams congratulating him and pledging support for his stand.

Early in June, Luna received a message from Aguinaldo asking him to go to Cabanatuan. Luna left his command in Bayambang, Pangasinan and proceeded to Aguinaldo's headquarters, arriving there on June 5. He was angry to see that one of the sentries was a member of the Kawit Company which he had asked Aguinaldo to disband for military insubordination, and on going up to Aguinaldo's office, angrier still to find that Aguinaldo had gone out of town to inspect troops.

While he was arguing heatedly with Buencamino, he heard a shot and rushing down to investigate the disturbance was met by members of the Kawit Company who then stabbed him with bolos and fired at him until he died. He received about forty wounds. The next day, he was buried with full military honors on Aguinaldo's orders, but the Kawit company assassins were neither questioned nor punished.

The Secretary of Interior in his circular notifying the provincial chiefs of Luna's death said that it was caused by Luna's insulting and assaulting the President's bodyguards and also uttering insults against the absent Aguinaldo. The circular also accused Luna of planning to take over the Presidency from



Aguinaldo and expressed the government's view of Luna's death in these words: "God has so disposed surely for the good of the present and the future of the Philippines."<sup>65</sup>

Investigations continued to be made to ascertain if there had existed a plot to replace Aguinaldo with Luna. According to General Venancio Concepcion, Aguinaldo was in fact conducting such an investigation on that fateful June 5. On that same day Aguinaldo had wired Concepcion that he was coming to the latter's headquarters. Significantly, this wire announced that Aguinaldo was taking over direction of the operations in Central Luzon, which meant that Luna had been relieved. Upon reaching Concepcion's camp, Aguinaldo began questioning the general. He ordered all chiefs of brigades arrested and placed *incomunicado* pending their investigation. The next day, after being informed of Luna's death, he also disarmed two companies suspected of being pro-Luna. Subsequently, General Concepcion was relieved of his command. Concepcion and two other officers similarly suspect were then assigned to the office of Aguinaldo himself where, in Concepcion's view, the Captain-General could better keep an eye on them.<sup>66</sup>

### Another Manifestation of Mendicancy

The negotiations on autonomy which had caused so much enmity between its supporters and Luna had broken down by the end of May. General Otis refused to accede to Aguinaldo's request for an armistice. On June 2, 1899, Pedro Paterno issued a proclamation calling on the people to continue their struggle. Full of high-flown rhetoric, it recalled the sacrifices of the leaders of government for "the sacred ideal of liberty and independence," warned that the Americans "intend to construct upon our ruin the edifice of tyranny," and called on the people "to unite to save our native land from insult and ignominy, from punishments and scaffolds, from the sad and fatal inheritance of enslaved generations." But near the end of his manifesto Paterno declared:

Within the American nation itself a great political party asks for the recognition of our rights, and Divine Providence watches over the justice of our cause.<sup>67</sup>

The inclusion of this sentence indicated that Paterno still hoped that instead of fighting for their freedom, the Filipinos might be lucky enough to have the Democratic Party grant them

their liberty, or a reasonable facsimile thereof. A year later, Aguinaldo would still hold out the same hope. In a letter to Gen. Makabulos dated June 27, 1900, Aguinaldo wrote:

In order to help the cause of Philippine Independence in the coming presidential election in the United States of America which will take place early in September of this year, it is very necessary that before that day comes, that is to say, during these months of June, July, and August, we should give the Americans some hard fighting which will redound to our credit and cause the downfall of the Imperialist party.<sup>68</sup>

This attitude of waiting for favorable developments in the United States so that Filipinos may be granted certain concessions, instead of gaining their freedom through their own efforts, is a legacy Aguinaldo and others like him seem to have handed down to a long line of Filipino politicians who went on to beg for freedom in innumerable so-called independence missions. A durable myth likewise had its origin in Aguinaldo's time: that the Democratic Party in the United States is the special friend of the Filipino people.

### The Long Trek

Despite several examples of heroic resistance, the war was going badly for the Philippine side. After Luna's death, some demoralization set in. Luna had had a wide following; many officers began to surrender.

Another source of alienation stemmed from the abuses of military and civilian officials. In towns and provinces where the Revolution was in control, administration was in the hands of military commanders or civil officials appointed by Aguinaldo. Where such administration was characterized by corruption and abuses similar to those which had prevailed under the Spaniards, the people's support diminished.

It should be remembered that since the elite had taken over direction of the Revolution, such local governments as could be established were also in their hands. These were the same sectors that had been the intermediaries and therefore beneficiaries of Spanish colonization. By this time, the spirit of egalitarianism and brotherhood that Bonifacio's Katipunan sought to inculcate as revolutionary virtues had dwindled into empty rhetoric at the hands of the ilustrados. It is therefore not surprising that when they took power they followed the

methods of administration of the Spanish regime with its tradition of official arrogance and corruption which the exigencies of war further reinforced.<sup>69</sup>

While the Revolution was gaining ground against the hated Spanish colonizer, the people moved as one. Swept up in the revolutionary tide, they could ignore or condone defects in their leadership. But when, confronted by a new and powerful colonial power, the tide of Revolution began to wane, the abuses of their own leaders became a factor which caused sections of the population to waver. The opportunism of some of these leaders emerged more clearly as the fortunes of the Revolution declined and this caused further disillusionment. Moreover, the new enemy was not only unknown but had been much praised as a friend and ally. All this is not to say that the people ever abandoned their goal of independence, for as future events would show, they would rally again and again behind resistance movements.

The Americans mounted a full-scale offensive on October 12. By November, the American combat force numbered 41,000 and by December, 55,000.<sup>70</sup>

Aguinaldo's odyssey had begun. From Kabanatuan he moved his government to Tarlac then to Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya and then to Bayambang, Pangasinan. While in Pangasinan, he issued a proclamation disbanding the army and calling for guerrilla warfare. From November 13, 1899 until the following September, Aguinaldo and his small party moved from place to place, frequently over rough and difficult terrain. Guerrilla forces engaged the enemy to cover Aguinaldo's retreat. One such battle was the one at Tirad Pass where General Gregorio del Pilar lost his life. Almost everywhere Aguinaldo and his band of twelve officers and 127 men went, the people received them well and gave them provisions for their journey. Nevertheless, the little group very often went without food and the forced marches were always difficult and sometimes dangerous.

But life for the retreating band was not without its lighter moments, especially when a longer sojourn in one place made it possible for them to devise some social amenities. In one such place, it became their custom to hold horse races every afternoon.

### Wishful Thinking

Continually harassed by reports of the presence of American troops and uncertain of their fate, the group's thoughts dwelt

from time to time on the future. In the diary of Colonel Simeon Villa who accompanied Aguinaldo in his long march to Palanan, there appear two entries which describe Aguinaldo's wishful thoughts about the future. In his entry dated December 7, 1899, Villa writes:

One moonlit night the President, Sityar, Jeciel, Barcelona and Villa, the two Leyba sisters and the President's sisters agreed that once the independence of the country was declared we would travel leisurely through Europe with a budget of 1,000,000 pesos expenses.<sup>71</sup>

The plans for the future were somewhat more specific in the entry date March 16, 1900.

After dinner at 6:30 o'clock, President Aguinaldo, in a conversation with Barcelona, Villa and Lieutenant Carasco, said that once the independence of our country is declared he would give each one of them, including himself, 2,000 *quinones* [about 3,346 hectares] of land for the future of their families. This would be the reward for their work. These haciendas will be adjacent to each other so that they will all be located in the same province, probably in the San Jose Valley in the province of Nueva Ecija, and their principal products will be coffee, cacao, sugar, palay and cattle.<sup>72</sup>

### Surcease at Palanan

On September 6, 1900, Aguinaldo reached Palanan, Isabela where he remained for more than six months. Its mountainous terrain made it an ideal hide-out.

There, life was easier, even allowing the group such pleasures as a New Year's ball. Col. Villa described the festivities in his diary. Aguinaldo invited all the *principales* of Palanan, the young ladies of the town, and his officers. The party began with the traditional *rigodon*. At the stroke of midnight the musicians played the national anthem and then everyone partook of a *media noche*. Guests danced until four in the morning.<sup>73</sup>

### The Contrast

While Aguinaldo was retreating, guerrilla warfare was proving to be very effective. The people supported their fighters, wholeheartedly contributing arms, money, food and other supplies and, most important of all, information about the enemy and safe sanctuary in their midst. This is attested to by

General Arthur MacArthur who succeeded Otis as Military Governor of the Philippines. MacArthur reported:

Wherever throughout the Archipelago there is a group of the insurgent army, it is a fact beyond dispute that all the contiguous towns contribute to the maintenance thereof. In other words, the towns regardless of the fact of American occupation and town organization, are the actual bases for all insurgent military activities, and not only so in the sense of furnishing supplies for the so-called flying columns of guerrillas, but as affording secure places of refuge. Indeed, it is now the most important maxim of Filipino tactics to disband when closely pressed, and seek safety in the nearest barrio – a maneuver quickly accomplished by reason of the assistance of the people, and the ease with which the Filipino soldier is transformed into the appearance of a peaceful native. The success of this unique system of war depends upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion; how it is brought about and maintained is not so plain. Intimidation has undoubtedly accomplished much to this end; but fear as the only motive is hardly sufficient to account for the united and apparently spontaneous action of several millions of people.<sup>74</sup>

General MacArthur also communicated to his superiors his finding that “most of the towns secretly organized complete insurgent municipal governments” and that in many cases these were manned by the same people who were running the local government under the Americans.<sup>75</sup>

Aguinaldo was in communication with some of the guerrilla commanders who were still keeping up the resistance. One of his messages fell into the hands of General Frederick Funston who then devised a plan for capturing Aguinaldo. This involved a ruse by which pro-American Macabebe scouts dressed in *rayadillo* uniforms were to pretend to be reinforcements bringing five American prisoners to Palanan. The trick worked; Aguinaldo was captured on March 23, 1901.

### The Second Betrayal

On April 1st he took his oath of allegiance to the United States and on April 19 issued a proclamation which said in part:

The Philippines decidedly wishes peace: be it so. Let the stream of blood cease to flow; let there be an end to tears and desolation. These hopes must also inevitably be shared by those still in arms and who

have no other purpose but to serve their people who have so clearly manifested their desire.

I thus obey that will now that I know it exists and, resolutely, after mature deliberation, I proclaim before all the world that I cannot remain deaf to the voice of a people yearning for peace nor to the lamentations of thousands of families who long for the freedom of their loved ones, which is promised them through the magnanimity of the great American nation.<sup>76</sup>

The Americans had the manifesto printed in English and Spanish and in several dialects. They distributed it throughout the islands.

### Exile Among His People

Jacob Gould Schurman's appraisal of Aguinaldo as the "animating and also moderating spirit of insurrection" was a shrewd reading of the man. For Aguinaldo's attitude was in fact ambivalent. He was at heart a Filipino who wanted to see his country free and independent. But he was also a member of the principalia whose ideologues were the ilustrados. Moreover, his realization of his own inadequacy made him defer to them all the more. And, as history has demonstrated, the tenacity with which the people pursued their goal of freedom was in direct contrast to the ilustrados' vacillation and propensity to negotiate. Their concepts of freedom were different, too. For the masses, independence was a clear-cut goal which simply meant driving the colonizer away. The elite, on the other hand were willing to consider various possibilities short of real independence. For them, the constant in the array of variables was that they should be collectively in control under any resulting arrangement, or failing this, that their individual interests would be protected. This was clearly demonstrated at Biak-na-bato.

Vis-a-vis the Americans, Aguinaldo and his advisers ran true to form. Although they had their suspicions about American intentions, they contained their misgivings, hoping against hope that negotiations, conciliatory moves, appeals to the libertarian sentiments of the American people, would obviate the necessity of fighting for freedom against a second invader. And because in the backs of their minds, a protectorate or even annexation was already acceptable, the will to fight was that much weaker.

Although he led the people and urged them to fight on, Aguinaldo was willing to negotiate with the Spaniards as well as with the Americans. With his vacillations and capitulations he

blunted the conflict between the colonizers and the people. His public characterization of the United States as the protector of Philippine independence was a disservice in that it delayed the people's recognition of the new threat to their freedom. He ended his resistance to the Americans as he had done with the Spaniards — by praising his former foes and declaring his faith in their good intentions. Once again, he expressed his capitulationist sentiments as being those of the people.<sup>77</sup>

The determination and ferocity with which the Filipino masses spontaneously and at great odds continued the resistance for almost a decade after Aguinaldo had sworn allegiance to the United States proved that he had misread his countrymen. What he was really expressing were the sentiments of the classes that were eager to compromise in order to protect and enhance their privileged economic positions. And so, inevitably, he became more and more divorced from the mainstream of the people until he ceased to have any influence over them.

## XIII.

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# Collaboration and Resistance (1)

Bonifacio's defeat at Tejeros set in motion a chain of historical developments which made possible not only the compromise at Biak-na-bato but also the accommodation of ilustrado leadership within the power complex of American colonialism. The Spaniards had utilized the principalia as transmission belts of colonial administration; the Americans now used the ilustrados first as exhibits to substantiate their spurious claim that Filipinos wholeheartedly accepted American rule, and later as intermediaries between the colonizing power and the people.

### Negotiating for the Future

Aguinaldo and his Cavite group represented the temporizing and moderating forces that took over the Revolution from Bonifacio; the ilustrados who were the ideologues of the rising landed and commercial classes constituted the collaborationist forces that actively encouraged Aguinaldo's own conciliatory attitude toward the Americans. Some of these ilustrados who had hesitated to join the Revolution when its chances appeared slim took over in Malolos after the people's victories over the Spanish army made "independence" under American protection a distinct possibility. The ilustrados were present in full force in the Congress of Malolos, many of them having been appointed by Aguinaldo to represent areas where elections had not been held. His cabinet was manned by prominent ilustrados and Aguinaldo became virtually their front. When the Americans made their real intentions evident, the ilustrados, following the logic inherent in their class, compromised the Revolution and negotiated their own future with the incoming colonizer.

In fact, even as they accepted posts in the Malolos govern-



ment, some of these men were already expressing their willingness to collaborate with the Americans. Arellano and Tavera were early believers in annexation, while Benito Legarda had once told the Belgian consul in Manila that "he would be glad to see the United States take these islands under their protection and put an end to the constant appeal for funds from the rebels."<sup>1</sup>

If the Americans had proved a little less inflexible in their demands during the early days, the war might have ended with Aguinaldo signing another Pact of Biak-na-bato. Certainly, the fact that Aguinaldo appointed such men to his cabinet and entrusted to them his negotiations with the enemy, shows that he himself was not repelled by their opportunist attitudes. Knowing Arellano's pro-Spanish and later pro-American and therefore consistently anti-independence stand, Aguinaldo nevertheless continued to have such a high regard for the man that he offered him the premier post of his cabinet and at one time even the presidency of the republic.

### Leading Collaborators

Many of these individuals who became prominent in the Aguinaldo government were the same ones who shortly before had been members of the Consultative Assembly appointed by Governor Augustin or had held other posts in the Spanish government. Most of them would again occupy good positions under the Americans. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the agility with which men of property and education switched their allegiance from one colonial power to another, with a short "revolutionary" career in between.

T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Cayetano Arellano, Gregorio Araneta and Benito Legarda went over to the Americans prior to the outbreak of hostilities. Others occupying lesser posts in the Malolos government soon followed their example, prompting the following bitter comment from General Jose Alejandrino:

The enlightened class who came to Malolos in order to fill honorific positions which could serve to shield them against the reprisals of the people for their previous misconduct, flew away like birds with great fright upon hearing the first gun report, hiding their important persons in some corner, meantime (sic) that they could not find occasion to place themselves under the protection of the American Army.<sup>2</sup>

Cayetano Arellano, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and Benito

Legarda were of Spanish descent. During the Spanish regime, Arellano held a position in the Manila Council to which only men of distinction and of Spanish origin were appointed. He was also appointed to the Consultative Assembly. He steadfastly declined Aguinaldo's offers of high position but later reluctantly accepted the Foreign Affairs portfolio. However, pretending to be in ill health, he never attended the meetings of the Council of Government.<sup>3</sup> Once it became evident to him that the Americans would insist on keeping the country, he severed even this minimal connection with the Malolos government by resigning his post in January, 1899 in order to openly side with the Americans.<sup>4</sup> His pro-American sympathies were quickly rewarded with his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

T.H. Pardo de Tavera had also been a member of the Spanish Consultative Assembly. In August, 1898 he presented himself to the Americans to offer his services. As he explained in his letter to President McKinley a year later,

From the moment in which I had the honor of conversing with this distinguished General I have completely and most actively occupied myself in politics, employing all my energies for the establishment of American sovereignty in this country for the good of these ignorant and uncivilized people.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the fact that Tavera had never been in sympathy with the Revolution against Spain, and despite his pro-American sympathies and his desire to see the establishment of American sovereignty, he was appointed by Aguinaldo on September 15 to represent the province of Cebu in the Malolos Congress. On September 29, Gen. Otis appointed Tavera to the Board of Health and on October 1st, Aguinaldo made him Director of Diplomacy, a post which he subsequently resigned to go over once and for all to the Americans.

Like Arellano, Benito Legarda had been a member of the Municipal Council of Manila and teniente-mayor of the district of Quiapo in 1891. On August 14, 1898, Aguinaldo appointed him as one of his commissioners (together with Felipe Buenca-mino, Gregorio Araneta, and Teodoro Sandiko) to confer with Gen. Merritt regarding the unwarranted exclusion of the Filipinos in the surrender of Manila. He also served as Aguinaldo's private secretary. In September, he was elected to the high position of Vice-President of the Malolos Congress only to desert to the Americans less than three months later when it

had become evident that there would be an armed conflict between Americans and Filipinos.<sup>6</sup>

Angry revolutionaries wanted to arrest Legarda for desertion but their indignation was evidently not shared by Aguinaldo, for after he decided to have his family surrender to the Americans, we find this entry in the diary of his aide, Col. Villa:

The mother and the son of the President are already in Manila living in Mr. Benito Legarda's house. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Legarda actively collaborated with the Americans throughout the Philippine-American war. The report of the Second Philippine Commission contains the following expression of American appreciation for his services:

Señor Legarda had been valuable in the extreme to General Otis and to all American authorities by the wisdom of his suggestions and the courage and earnestness with which he upheld the American cause most beneficial to his country.<sup>8</sup>

In 1901, the Americans rewarded Tavera and Legarda with appointments to the Philippine Commission.

### More Collaborators

The third Filipino member of the Philippine Commission was Jose Luzuriaga. Under the Spaniards, Luzuriaga had been a justice of the peace and later judge of the Court of First Instance. He was one of the prominent men who formed the provisional government of Negros in November, 1898. In January, 1899 he was elected delegate to the Malolos Congress but because by then he had decided to cast his lot with the Americans, he did not discharge the duties of his office. Instead, he accepted appointment as auditor of the American military government in Negros from 1899 to 1900. The Americans then appointed him governor of Negros Occidental and finally member of the Philippine Commission.<sup>9</sup>

During the Spanish regime, Gregorio Araneta was an auxiliary registrar of deeds in Manila and later a prosecuting attorney. He also became a member of the Spanish Consultative Council. Joining the revolutionary government, he was elected first secretary of the Malolos Congress and later appointed by Aguinaldo as Secretary of Justice. A few months after, however, he went over to the American side and was appointed one of

the justices of the Supreme Court under the military government. He was the prosecuting attorney of Manila from 1901 to 1906 and was later appointed Attorney General. In 1907, he became a member of the Philippine Commission and subsequently Secretary of Justice and Finance.<sup>10</sup>

Another ilustrado whom the Americans appointed to the Supreme Court was Florentino Torres. He had held an important judicial position in the Spanish regime. An early pro-American, Torres was sent by Gen. Otis to Malolos to persuade Aguinaldo to enter into negotiations. This was just after the publication of McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation which had incensed the revolutionaries. Not wanting hostilities to begin before the expected arrival of six fresh regiments, Otis thought of conducting talks as a delaying tactic. Torres did such a good job of convincing Aguinaldo that the latter appointed him to head the Philippine panel to meet with the Americans. At the meetings, Torres watered down the Malolos government's position to the point of supporting a protectorate under the United States,<sup>11</sup> thus earning the dubious distinction of being the precursor of a long line of Filipino negotiators more partial to the Americans than to the side whose interests they were supposed to protect.

As for Rianzares Bautista, Aguinaldo's adviser, American authorities selected him for appointment to the Supreme Court while he was still supposed to be in the revolutionary camp as Auditor-General of War, at least until June 28, 1899. He later became judge of the court of first instance of Pangasinan.<sup>12</sup>

### Paterno and Buencamino

Pedro Paterno, negotiator of the betrayal at Biak-na-bato, was appointed president of the Spanish Consultative Assembly and in this capacity he issued a manifesto in May, 1898 asking the people to support Spain against the Americans. In September, he became the President of the Malolos Congress and later premier of the so-called Peace Cabinet. Not long after, he was advocating annexation by the United States.

Felipe Buencamino, who had been Gov. General Augustin's emissary to Aguinaldo to offer the latter a high commission in the Spanish army, was Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Paterno cabinet. He, too, quickly became an enthusiastic American collaborator, going so far as to declare in 1902 before the US Committee on Insular Affairs:

I am an American and all the money in the Philippines, the air, the light and the sun I consider American.<sup>13</sup>

## Bonifacio's Detractors

Mariano Trias, a Caviteño general close to Aguinaldo who had been elected Aguinaldo's vice-president at Tejeros and again at Biak-na-bato, was subsequently commissioned in the Filipino Volunteer Militia under Spain. He rejoined Aguinaldo upon the latter's return and was Secretary of Finance in the Mabini cabinet. By 1901, the Americans appointed him the first civil governor of Cavite.

Another Caviteño general of the Revolution collaborated in a more menial manner. It will be recalled that it was Daniel Tirona who at the Tejeros Assembly had questioned Bonifacio's competence to occupy the post of Director of the Interior because the Katipunan Supremo did not have a lawyer's diploma. Tirona's own qualifications for leadership were exposed when he surrendered to the Americans. Col. Simeon Villa's diary of Aguinaldo's odyssey to Palanan contains an account of the ignominious end of Tirona's revolutionary career.

A lieutenant of the Tirona Battalion which had been operating in Northern Luzon went to Palanan to report on the surrender of his unit. He revealed that General Tirona was then living with the American captain to whom he had surrendered and was acting as the captain's general factotum, serving his meals and cleaning his shoes.

The informer also related that while Tirona stood beside the American captain at the hour of surrender, he was insulted by the whole town of Cagayan, especially by his former officers, who are natives of this town and belong to the unlucky battalion, of which Tirona was General. Before a big crowd they called him a thief of the highest caliber, shameless, a coward, etc. But Tirona showed no qualms of conscience and did not mind the insults.<sup>14</sup>

## From Deception to Myth

The fact that the Americans were able to count among their supporters many high-ranking leaders of the Revolution proved very useful to them. The collaboration of the ilustrados provided the Americans with a ready justification for their

colonization of the Philippines.

With the ilustrados as their prime exhibits, they were able to foist on the American people the myth that the Filipinos welcomed American rule with open arms. From this original deception, another one quickly emerged: the myth that a spirit of altruism had dictated the American decision to retain the Philippines. As President McKinley so piously put it:

... there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died.<sup>15</sup>

### The Americanistas

The testimonies of Arellano, Tavera and Legarda supported the twin aspects of imperialist propaganda for American consumption: that the Filipinos could not be abandoned because they were incapable of self-government, and that the Filipinos welcomed American tutelage. When asked by the Schurman Commission whether the Filipinos were capable of governing the provinces without any help from the federal government at Manila, Arellano replied:

To a certain extent, yes. In certain provinces, as for example, Pampanga, the people are sufficiently enlightened to govern themselves in a certain manner but independent general government, no.<sup>16</sup>

And Legarda, maligning the entire revolutionary movement, went to the extent of declaring that even in the revolt against Spain, he had

never heard this word "independence" spoken, nor do I think they are capable of understanding it, even up to this time.<sup>17</sup>

For his part, Tavera in a letter addressed to General MacArthur voiced enthusiastic acceptance of American rule in these words:

After peace is established, all our efforts will be directed to Americanizing ourselves; to cause a knowledge of the English language to be extended and generalized in the Philippines, in order that through its agency the American spirit may take possession of us, and that we may so adopt its principles, its political customs, and its peculiar civilization that our redemption may be complete and radical.<sup>18</sup>

Mabini's behavior offers an edifying contrast. Granted an interview by the Taft Commission, he entered into a long dissertation on the inherent rights of individuals and races to shape their own destinies. When Taft finally asked him how an independent Filipino government could raise the revenues to support itself, Mabini dismissed the problem as a "mere detail."<sup>19</sup>

### Resistance Belittled

The collaboration of former officials of the Malolos Republic served another useful purpose both in the United States and in the Philippines. Since their presence in the American camp created an image of Filipino cooperation, it allowed the American government to belittle the resistance that still raged. Because they had a few big names on their side, it was now possible for the Americans to depreciate the leaders of the resistance by categorizing them as heads of minority groups or to malign them as bandits, a "Mafia on a very large scale,"<sup>20</sup> in the words of William Howard Taft.

If this was so, then the people had to have "legitimate" leaders. The Americans proceeded to produce these leaders and to point them out to the people. This was the rationale for the early appointments to high office of prominent ilustrados.

### Statehood, U.S.A., 1900<sup>21</sup>

Exhibiting a remarkable resiliency, the collaborators set about enthusiastically helping out their new masters. Arellano headed a committee of ilustrados which prepared a plan for the reorganization of local governments. This plan in effect reduced mass support for the guerrillas.

Pedro Paterno and Felipe Buencamino organized the *Asociacion de Paz*. Some prominent members were Cayetano Arellano, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Pedro Paterno, Leon Ma. Guerrero, Rafael Palma, and Tomas del Rosario. This organization created a committee composed of Leon Ma. Guerrero, Pedro Paterno, Joaquin Lara, Aguedo Velarde, Pascual Poblete, Rafael Palma, Justo Lukban, and Nazario Constantino to do pacification work for the Americans. They secured passes from American commanders to negotiate for the surrender of partisans in the hills.

On December 23, 1900, at a meeting presided by Florentino Torres, the *Asociacion de Paz* became the *Partido Federal*, a name chosen because it projected the party's main goal:

annexation of the Philippines as one of the federated states of the Union. The membership roster read like a who's who of the wealthy elite, with such names as Pedro Paterno, Felipe Buencamino, Felipe Calderon, Ignacio Villamor, Teodoro Yangko, Benito Legarda, and Baldomero Roxas. Tavera was elected president. In the directorate were such pro-American stand-bys as Cayetano Arellano and Florentino Torres. It is worth noting that Frank S. Bourns, an American and a colleague of Dean C. Worcester, member of the Taft Commission was also a director. Nationalists referred disparagingly to this group as the *Americanistas*.<sup>22</sup>

Tavera toured the country with Taft, endeavoring in his speeches to convince the people that the United States had not come "to impose its despotic will on the Filipinos, but to defend their liberty, to teach them the exercise of individual rights in order to prepare them to make proper use of democracy."<sup>23</sup>

### Licensed Political Parties

So appreciative of the Federalistas were the Americans and so sure of their loyalty that Taft declared:

In the appointment of natives, the fact that a man was a member of the Federal Party was always a good recommendation for him for appointment.<sup>24</sup>

In February, 1901, a group of Spanish mestizos organized the party known as the *Partido Conservador*. It stood for peace and acknowledged the right of American sovereignty under the Treaty of Paris. It was headed by Enrique Barrera, Macario Adriatico, Eusebio Orense, Gregorio Singian, and other Filipinos of Spanish blood.

Since quite a number of these collaborators had been prominent in the revolutionary government, the establishment of a government with the participation of these ilustrados gave rise to the impression that Filipino-American hostilities had come to an end. Actually, it signalled only the end of the Revolution for the conservative, educated and wealthy Filipinos who deserted the Revolution because they had nothing more to gain from it.

These individuals who represented narrow interests were pictured as the leaders of the Filipino people — and the majority of Filipinos have accepted this view without deep analysis. It



has been forgotten that because they suited the purposes of a foreign power, it was the foreign power that chose them as the so-called leaders of the Filipino people.

### Illegitimacy of Leadership

Perhaps not all were opportunists. Some may have sincerely believed that the course of accommodation was best for the country. Nevertheless, they committed a grave disservice to the people, for they collaborated when the people were still trying to drive away an invader that threatened to deprive them of the freedom they had already won. They weakened the morale of the fighters in the countryside. Some discharged their official duties with integrity but historically, during that phase of the struggle, they certainly were not the legitimate leaders of the people.

The proclamation of the National Army of Iloilo in 1900 best reflects the sentiments of patriotic Filipinos regarding collaborators. The manifesto excoriated the "prominent persons who filled important offices under the revolution" for changing their ideals and nationality as if they were just changing their clothing. It accused them of renouncing their country and flag and their dignity as free citizens for "the dictates of convenience" and warned: "Terrible will be the sentence of public opinion for those who conduct themselves in this manner."<sup>25</sup>

### Official History

Official history, influenced by colonial scholarship, has presented the struggle against the Americans as a short one. It has honored the collaborators and all but ignored the resistance of the people.

Actually, while American propaganda claimed that peace had been restored, the reports of the American commanding general and several governors revealed that numerous towns and villages were in a state of constant uprising. Resistance, American officers themselves acknowledged, could not have continued without the support of the population. There were many cases of reprisals against collaborators; many were executed by the resistance forces. Yet history has paid scant attention to the real heroes who continued to keep faith with the people and with the original goals of the Katipunan.

While the American government was claiming that the Filipinos welcomed American rule — pointing to the rapport

between the colonizers and the collaborators — it was using the mailed fist on the population. Although Taft established civil government on July 4, 1901 to further prove to the uneasy American public that the Filipinos had indeed accepted American sovereignty, the truth was that the suppression campaigns of the military were still going on. Behind the facade of civil government, brutal efforts continued to be exerted to suppress a people up in arms.

The tenacity with which the people defended their right to freedom can be deduced from the growing size of the pacification forces. Although 70,000 American soldiers were already fighting on Philippine soil in 1900, their number continued to increase until in December 1901, or six months after the establishment of civil government, there were a total of 126,000 troops distributed in 639 military posts.<sup>26</sup> On July 4, 1902, when President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed the “insurrection” officially ended, 120,000 American soldiers were still trying to suppress Filipino resistance.

## The Original Vietnamization

To augment their troops, the Americans created the Philippine Constabulary on July 18, 1901, two weeks after the establishment of civil government. Since this institution was supposed to be the principal instrument of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order, its creation was expected to appease anti-imperialist elements in the United States who found the idea of an occupation army distasteful. Actually, the national police force composed of six thousand men was led by American officers and former members of the hated Spanish Guardia Civil.<sup>27</sup> It functioned as a military organization, a native adjunct of the occupation army and under close American direction and control. In fact, initially the Filipinos in the Constabulary could rise only to the rank of second lieutenant.<sup>28</sup> The Constabulary continued to be led by American officers until 1917.<sup>29</sup>

The American policy of using a native force to suppress native resistance foreshadowed the more recent policy of Vietnamization. As a matter of fact, some military techniques employed against Philippine resistance groups are strikingly similar to those that have more recently shocked the world.

## Suppression and Atrocities

The atrocities perpetrated by the army of occupation attest to the stubborn resistance of individual Filipinos. Many persons suspected of being *insurrectos* were given the water cure. The following description of this torture is taken from a report of the American Anti-Imperialist League entitled "Marked Severities in Philippine Warfare":

... the water cure is plain hell. The native is thrown upon the ground, and, while his legs and arms are pinioned, his head is raised partially so as to make pouring in the water an easier matter. An attempt to keep the mouth closed is of no avail; a bamboo stick or a pinching of the nose will produce the desired effect. And now the water is poured in, and swallow the poor wretch must or strangle. A gallon of water is much, but it is followed by a second and a third. By this time the victim is certain his body is about to burst. But he is mistaken, for a fourth or even a fifth gallon are poured in. By this time the body becomes an object frightful to contemplate: and the pain agony. While in this condition, speech is impossible; and so the water must be squeezed out of him. This is sometimes allowed to occur naturally but is sometimes hastened by pressure, and "sometimes we jump on them to get it out quick," said a young soldier to me with a smile.... Does it seem possible that cruelty could further go? And what must we think of the fortitude of the native when we learn that many times the "cure" is twice given ere the native yields? I heard of one who took it three times, and died.<sup>30</sup>

To obtain confessions and information, suspects were "tied up by their thumbs" or "pulled up to limbs of trees and fires kindled underneath them"; others were tied and dragged bodily behind galloping horses.<sup>31</sup> Some were tied to trees, shot through the legs and left to suffer through the night. And if on the next day a confession was not forthcoming, they were again shot and left for another day. Such torture could go on for a number of days until the victims either confessed or died.<sup>32</sup>

Villages were burned; men, women, and children were massacred and their possessions looted. Soldiers wrote home describing the carnage. The following are excerpts from soldiers' letters published by the Anti-Imperialist League:<sup>33</sup>

Guy Williams of the Iowa Regiment: The soldiers made short work of the whole thing. They looted every house, and found almost everything, from a pair of shoes up to a piano, and they carried everything off or destroyed it.

Anthony Michea, of the Third Artillery: We bombarded a place called Malabon, and then we went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children.

Captain Elliot, of the Kansas Regiment: Caloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native. Of the buildings, the battered walls of the great church and dismal prison alone remain. The village of Maypajo, where our first fight occurred on the night of the fourth, had five thousand people in it that day, — now not one stone remains upon top of another. You can only faintly imagine this terrible scene of desolation. War is worse than hell.

Charles R. Wyland, Company C, Washington Volunteers: I have seen a shell from our artillery strike a bunch of Filipinos, and then they would go scattering through the air, legs, arms, heads, all disconnected. And such sights actually make our boys laugh and yell, 'That shot was a peach.'

A white man seems to forget that he is human. . . . Hasty intrenchments were thrown up to protect our troops from this fire, the bodies of many slain Filipinos being used as a foundation for this purpose, intrenching tools being scarce. Other bodies were thrown into the deep cuts across the road, and with a little top dressing of dirt made a good road again for the Hotchkiss gun serving with the left wing to advance to a position commanding the bridge. . . .

Of greater significance than the tortures inflicted on individual Filipinos and the excesses committed by soldiers in the heat of battle were the inhuman measures coldly planned and directed against whole communities. These proved conclusively the extent of support the resistance enjoyed.

The suppression campaigns waged by Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith in Samar and General Franklin Bell in Batangas clearly reveal that hostility was not limited to a few fighting men but involved practically the entire population. Confronted with stubborn mass resistance, Gen. Smith ordered that every Filipino should be treated as an enemy unless he actively collaborated with the Americans. He ordered that Samar be turned into a "howling wilderness," adding the chilling injunction:

I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn: the more you kill and burn the better you will please me.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, asked for clarification of his order, Gen. Smith said it was to apply to anyone above ten years of age. This set off an orgy of death and destruction on the island. For Smith, it

was just like "killing niggers." He was court-martialed for the cruelties inflicted by his troops and found guilty. But his sentence was a mere slap on the wrist — an admonition and nothing more.

## Reconcentration

The strategic hamlets of Vietnam were preceded by the reconcentration camps in the Philippines. General Franklin Bell believed that, barring a few sympathisers, the entire population in his area of operations in Batangas and Laguna was hostile to the Americans and actively aiding the guerrilla forces of General Miguel Malvar. Accordingly, he decided to employ tactics calculated to cause so much general "anxiety and apprehension" as to make the state of war intolerable to the population.

The principal measure he used was reconcentration. This had the twin virtues of causing the people "anxiety and apprehension" and at the same time preventing them from aiding the guerrillas by keeping them within a zoned area where they could be closely watched. Bell directed his commanders to set up the outer limits of an area around each town chosen as a zone of reconcentration and to inform the people that before December 25, 1901, they must move into this zone with all the food supplies they could bring in such as rice, poultry, livestock, etc. All property found outside the zone after said date would be confiscated or destroyed. Furthermore, after January 1, 1902, any man found outside the reconcentration area would be arrested and imprisoned if he could not produce a pass, or would be shot if he attempted to run away.

## Casualties and Losses

General Bell also gave authorization for the "starving of unarmed hostile belligerents as well as armed ones," presumably if they persisted in remaining outside of the reconcentration camps. Towns near areas of guerrilla operations were burned.

The destruction and economic dislocation caused by General Bell's campaign was so great that seven months after General Malvar and three thousand of his men had surrendered, a traveler described the region in the following manner:

Batangas was the garden spot of Luzon. It was covered with fine haciendas of sugar, coffee, tobacco, and rice. Now it is a jungle. We did

not see a man working between Batangas and Taal, nor a cultivated field.<sup>35</sup>

Figures on casualties and on economic losses for the whole country attest to the suffering inflicted by the suppression campaigns and are likewise indicators of the mass resistance the people waged. General Bell himself estimated that one-sixth of the population of Luzon had died as a result of the various campaigns to crush resistance. This would put the casualty figure at 600,000. Other authorities put the deaths directly caused by the war at 200,000.<sup>36</sup> The economic plight of the survivors may be gleaned from the fact that 90% of the carabaos had died or had been slaughtered for food, and the rice harvest was down to one-fourth of the normal production level.

### Anti-Nationalist Laws

Other indications of the persistence of mass struggles were the various laws passed penalizing with death or long prison sentences those who resisted U.S. hegemony.

On November 4, 1901, the Philippine Commission passed the Sedition Law which imposed the death penalty or a long prison term on anyone who advocated independence or separation from the United States even by peaceful means. This became the basis for the governor-general's refusal to grant permission for the establishment of political parties with programs calling for independence.

The Sedition Law also punished with many years of imprisonment and a fine any person who would "utter seditious words or speeches, write, publish or circulate scurrilous libels" against the U.S. government or the Insular Government. This part of the law was used against journalists, playwrights, and other writers who dared to voice their dissent even in the most veiled manner.

Aurelio Tolentino, whose symbolic play entitled *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* attacked the American occupation and ended with a scene depicting a revolutionary victory, was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1905. He was pardoned in 1912.

On November 12, 1902, Governor Taft pushed through the passage of the Brigandage Act or *Ley de Bandolerismo*. Since President Roosevelt himself had proclaimed in July that the "insurrection" had ended, the Brigandage Act now classified

guerrilla resistance as banditry. Guerrilla actions were called "disturbances" or "disorders" and guerrilla fighters were branded as *ladrones* or robbers. The Brigandage Act punished with death or with a prison term of not less than twenty years mere membership in an armed band even if such affiliation had been proved only by circumstantial evidence. Persons "aiding or abetting" brigands drew prison terms of not less than ten years.

Philippine jails were soon filled to overflowing, as a consequence of which many arrested suspects died of undernourishment, outright starvation, or of illnesses due to the generally bad conditions in these prisons. In Manila's Bilibid Prison, a jail administered by the Americans, the death rates rose from 72 per 1000 in 1902, to 438 per 1000 inmates in 1905.<sup>37</sup>

Evidently, even mass arrests could not curtail resistance for on June 1, 1903, the Philippine Commission passed the Reconcentration Act, thus officially sanctioning the inhuman tactics of the military. This act gave the governor-general the power to authorize any provincial governor to reconcentrate in the towns all residents of outlying barrios if "ladrones" or "outlaws" operated in these areas. The law was passed to facilitate the apprehension of guerrillas who were being hidden and protected by the people.

Reconcentration caused much hardship among the population. In the Bicol provinces, as many as 300,000 were taken from their homes and concentrated in towns guarded by troops. As a result, farms were neglected, food became scarce, and diseases were rampant due to overcrowding, inadequate nourishment, and poor sanitary conditions.

These measures taken by the Insular Government belied its own official assessment of the various resistance groups as mere *ladrones* or *tulisanes*.

The nationalist aspect of the people's struggle was further underlined by the passage of the Flag Law which prohibited the display of the Philippine emblem from 1907 to 1919.

## Religion and Nationalism

Filipino nationalism also found expression in another aspect of Philippine life, the religious. In the early revolts, rejection of Spanish rule had often taken the form of a rejection of the Catholic religion and a return to pre-Spanish religious beliefs and practices. When the Catholic religion became more firmly entrenched in the popular consciousness, rebels began to combine some Catholic tenets and rites with their old forms of

worship. With the passing of the years, the amalgam gradually contained more and more Catholicism until the religious expression of protest was transformed into a demand for equal rights for Filipinos within the Church. The controversy between regular and secular priests found lay Filipinos generally in sympathy with the latter because native priests were seculars. Subsequently, the demand for Filipinization of the clergy became an integral part of the nationalist ferment which culminated in the Revolution.

Many Filipino priests were therefore personally in sympathy with the Revolution, although each one had to wrestle with the contradiction between his feelings as a Filipino and his allegiance to the Church which condemned the Revolution. Among these priests was Father Gregorio Aglipay.<sup>38</sup> He was the only priest in the Congress at Malolos.

Aglipay was still willing to do the bidding of his Spanish superiors when he accepted from Archbishop Bernardino Nozaleda the mission of attempting to enlist the Filipino revolutionary leaders on the side of Spain and against the United States. But he failed to convince his compatriots. Instead, he joined them and Aguinaldo appointed him Military Vicar General on October 20, 1898.

Earlier, Mabini had prevailed on the Revolutionary Government to declare civil marriages valid, following the doctrine of separation between Church and State. In addition, the Revolutionary Government served notice that it no longer recognized Nozaleda's authority and even instructed Filipino priests not to occupy vacant parishes or discharge any religious duties assigned by said archbishop without its approval.<sup>39</sup> Aglipay followed up this declaration of independence with a letter to Filipino priests urging them to rally to the Revolution and proposing the organization of a council which would work for the complete Filipinization of the Church in the country but which would remain loyal to the Holy See.<sup>40</sup>

In May, 1899, Nozaleda excommunicated Aglipay although up to that time the latter had not expressed any schismatic intentions. Indeed, even Mabini's own concept of a Filipino National Church was essentially a demand for Filipinization, not separation. Mabini gave Aglipay firm support in a manifesto in which he urged the Filipino clergy to elect an Ecclesiastical Council which would set up a provisional organization for the Filipino Church. Mabini's objective was the establishment of a national church which, although still under the Holy See, would work in harmony with the Revolutionary Government.



Aglipay called an Ecclesiastical Assembly in Paniqui, Tarlac on October 23, 1899. This Assembly adopted a temporary Constitution for a Filipino Catholic Church and declared its intention to remain loyal to the Pope. However, it explicitly stated that the Filipino Church would refuse to recognize any foreign bishop unless he had the approval of a majority of the Filipino priests. This was a position the Spanish hierarchy would never countenance. In their view the Paniqui Assembly came dangerously close to a schism.<sup>41</sup>

The inflexibility of Church authorities and later the pro-friar bias of the first American Apostolic Delegate, Mons. Placido Chapelle, gained more adherents for the idea of a Filipino Church independent of Rome. Developments were temporarily halted, however, because soon after the Paniqui Assembly, hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos intensified. As a result, Aglipay left for the Ilocos to fight against the Americans as a guerrilla general. He surrendered in May, 1901.

### The Philippine Independent Church

In August, 1902, Isabelo de los Reyes, founder of the *Union Obrera Democratica*, proposed to his membership the establishment of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* with Aglipay as Supreme Bishop. Aglipay had not been informed beforehand and at first he hesitated. In September, he finally consented to head the new Church.

The movement for a Philippine Church demonstrates both the anti-friar nature of the Philippine Revolution and its nationalist content. The support given by millions of people to their schismatic priests and the appeal that the new Independent Church had among the masses because of its nationalistic features were the fruits of a struggle that began with the demands for secularization and Filipinization of the clergy during the Spanish occupation.

The early strength of the Aglipayan church may also be viewed as a reflection of the Filipino aspiration for independence. While the American occupation forbade the advocacy of independence, the strong nationalist sentiments of the people had to find expression in ostensibly non-political areas. The channels were provided by the organization of the first labor union and by the Philippine Independent Church.

With the radical propagandist, Isabelo de los Reyes, as a common denominator in both organizations, it is not farfetched

to suspect that the establishment of the Church was in fact a tactical move on the part of the nationalist sectors to utilize this avenue for the continuation of the struggle for independence. Its links with the Dimasalang and Ricarte movements and the involvement of Aglipay in the Mandac sedition case need further exploration.

A number of developments during the early years of the American occupation hurt the fledgling Church. In the controversy over the disposition of parish churches and property taken over by Aglipayan priests, the Supreme Court of the Philippines sustained the claim of the Catholic Church. Another development which undercut the Philippine Independent Church was the appointment of American bishops to take over some of the dioceses from the Spaniards, thus blunting to some extent anti-friar resentments. This was an indication of the lively interest of the American hierarchy in preserving the primacy of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. (See Chapter 15) Finally, Aglipay could expect little understanding from the Protestant Churches. The nationalist orientation of the Independent Church and the fact that American arms had suppressed the Filipinos' desire for freedom necessarily bred suspicions on both sides.<sup>4 2</sup> Despite all these, the spirit of nationalism that had spurred such wide support for a national church continued for many years to sustain the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. According to the Philippine census of 1918, close to one and a half million Filipinos out of a total population of ten million were members of the Aglipayan Church.<sup>4 3</sup>

## XIV.

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# Collaboration and Resistance (2)

While the Revolution that had given birth to the nation was again compromised and the collaborationist leadership accepted a more insidious and subtle type of colonial training, behind the facade of peace and harmony the reality of the people's Revolution continued to exist.

Aguinaldo's capture freed the mass forces that had been imprisoned once again within ilustrado confines by his second coup. As far as the people were concerned, the war had not ended with Aguinaldo's capture; the enemy still had to be driven away. With Aguinaldo out of the scene, the picture was simplified. The people, minus the ilustrados, now confronted the Americans. Some military commanders, more attuned to mass aspirations, did not heed Aguinaldo's proclamation of capitulation. Members of the Katipunan who had remained in the lower ranks of leadership because of ilustrado dominance now emerged to lead new movements more akin in orientation to the original Katipunan.

For a long time, the general impression has been that the Filipinos fought a national revolution against Spain but readily welcomed the new colonizer. While the tactic employed by the American government of dismissing the various resistance groups as mere bandit gangs did not succeed during the early years of occupation, it did manage to distort history for later generations, thus effectively insulating the products of American education from an important phase of the revolutionary history of their forbears. As a consequence of this distortion of history, when Filipinos advert to their revolutionary tradition they remember only the struggle against Spanish colonialism.

Of course, the people's resistance during the early years of the American occupation did not leave for posterity the elaborate constitutions, programs, and tables of organization

that the ilustrados were so adept at preparing. Moreover, the contemptuous attitude of the Americans towards these movements — an attitude inherited by Filipino colonial officials — precluded any serious historical interest in them. The neglect of many decades no doubt resulted in the irretrievable loss of materials on these movements. Still, it is possible to ascertain even from hostile sources the revolutionary credentials of these groups.

One can gauge their genuineness from the connection of their leaders to the old Katipunan, from their aspiration for independence, and above all from the many evidences of the people's support. One should also note that "taking to the hills" had become part of the mass tradition of the oppressed dating to the days of the *remontados*<sup>1</sup> of Spanish times.

### Mass Support

The chronology of the numerous skirmishes and battles, ambushes and raids that the resistance fighters mounted is not of primary importance. Although in the aggregate these guerrilla actions were of sufficient scope as to engage the utmost efforts of the colonial administration, individual encounters were usually small and indecisive. Our interest therefore should lie more in assessing the evidences of mass support for these groups since such support would disprove the American accusation that they were mere thieves and brigands terrorizing the countryside.

Although most of the material extant comes from what one might deem as "hostile" sources, it is still possible to glean from accounts of the tactics of the guerrillas and also of the American-directed Constabulary just what the people's attitudes to the resistance forces were.

Reporting on the operations of Gen. Bell in Batangas and nearby provinces, Gen. A.R. Chaffee admitted that the guerrillas could not maintain themselves without "the connivance and knowledge of practically all the inhabitants."<sup>2</sup>

### The New Katipunan

In 1901 and 1902, many resistance groups began to organize under different leaders. In September of 1902, the groups that had been operating in Rizal and Bulacan merged into a consolidated movement with General Luciano San Miguel as supreme military commander.

San Miguel had played only a minor role in the revolution

against Spain. General Artemio Ricarte recalls in his memoirs that San Miguel, originally with the Magdiwang group in Cavite, headed the defense of Nasugbu when it was attacked by the Spanish forces. Only San Miguel and three of his soldiers managed to survive.<sup>3</sup> During the Philippine-American war, he rose to become one of Aguinaldo's generals. San Miguel was the commander of the Filipino troops whose presence within Gen. MacArthur's supposed command zone the latter had objected to two days prior to the incident on San Juan bridge that marked the opening of hostilities between Filipinos and Americans.

San Miguel went to Rizal province in January, 1903 to attempt to persuade leaders of the Bonifacio and Aguinaldo factions of the old Katipunan to forget their differences and revive the organization. Unsuccessful in his efforts, San Miguel decided to by-pass organizational difficulties by establishing the New Katipunan. Subsequently, this organization contacted other resistance units in Central Luzon who then affiliated themselves with his group. American authorities suspected that the Manila-based labor union movement led by Dr. Dominador Gomez also had strong ties with the New Katipunan.<sup>4</sup>

Starting with a force of around 150 men armed with a few guns captured from municipal police detachments, San Miguel's group soon attracted new adherents and was able to secure more arms. The group even took advantage of an offer of amnesty by agreeing to surrender on a given date and then using the three-week truce to organize and equip its forces. In fact, members of the group were even subsidized by the military from its secret service funds. But they had never intended to surrender, and they resumed their struggle on the last day of the truce period. By then, they had three hundred armed men with two hundred guns. They continued to grow in strength, raiding towns like Taytay, Cainta, and Montalban to obtain more weapons. They also captured some Filipino Scouts serving under the U.S. army.

The Constabulary conducted a vigorous campaign against the San Miguel forces but initially met with little success since the latter invariably dispersed when faced by a superior force, only to regroup again. The American officers of the Constabulary tried using the "cordon" tactic to prevent the new *katipuneros* from eluding capture. Hundreds of municipal police aside from the Constabulary were thrown into these operations which embraced not only Rizal but also Bulacan. The police arrested large numbers of citizens suspected of being guerrilla sympathizers and turned them over to the Constabulary.<sup>5</sup>

To make the cordon more effective, the reconcentration of farmers in affected areas was ordered. Even the carabaos were taken from the farmers and "reconcentrated" in herds of one hundred to prevent them from falling into the hands of the resistance. These measures seriously disrupted agriculture and caused much hardship to the population. They were instituted because the Americans, estimating that the "ladrones" now numbered three thousand armed men, knew that they were facing a full-scale opposition. They concentrated their forces in the troubled area and threw in more Philippine Scouts.

### Amigo Act

In many instances, however, the cordon tactic failed to bottle up the rebels in a constricted area where they could be rounded up, for they countered the cordon tactic with what the Americans labelled as their "*amigo act*." Whenever the enemy thought he had blocked all avenues of escape, the guerrillas simply hid their weapons, mingled with the population and hid in the homes of sympathizers until they could escape to the hills once more. In this manner they were able to move across provincial boundaries quite easily.

The phrase "amigo act" is apt, for it points out who the people regarded as their friends. Such an "act" could never have been pulled in the midst of a hostile population. As a matter of fact, in Bulacan, a large group of the volunteers who had joined in the hunt for the guerrillas deserted and joined San Miguel's army. On another occasion, the American commander arrested 450 Filipinos suspected of aiding the resistance.

Continuous pressure from the Constabulary forces augmented by two companies of Philippine Scouts began to tell on the guerrillas. The end for San Miguel came on March 28, 1903, soon after the Scouts located his headquarters between Calocan and Marikina. San Miguel and a force of two hundred well-armed followers defended themselves. Hit three times, San Miguel nevertheless fought on until he died. When the bullet-riddled flag of the Katipunan was finally hauled down, the Scouts found in the rebel fort a mass of Katipunan records which implicated numerous residents of Manila.<sup>6</sup>

### Faustino Guillermo

With the death of San Miguel, Faustino Guillermo assumed the leadership of the New Katipunan movement. Guillermo had

fought with Bonifacio and Jacinto at San Juan del Monte in the first battle of the Katipunan. He was with the Katipunan chiefs in the hills of Marikina and Montalban after the disaster at San Juan and again when the revolucionarios captured San Mateo and Montalban from the Spaniards.

Before San Miguel emerged as the over-all commander of the forces operating in the area, Guillermo had been active in northern Rizal and had effected the merger of various armed groups. The authorities dubbed his group the Diliman Gang and claimed that Guillermo and his men were mere cattle rustlers. When San Miguel began consolidating the forces of the New Katipunan, Guillermo readily joined him. Being San Miguel's second in command, Guillermo became the object of persistent attacks.

It is interesting to note that in one encounter, the leader of the Constabulary detachment was Lt. Licerio Geronimo who as a general of the Revolution had commanded the forces that killed Gen. Lawton in December, 1899. But in this clash the erstwhile general was no match for Guillermo and his force of fifty riflemen and fifty bolomen. While Lt. Geronimo was waiting for reinforcements, Guillermo wearing a shirt of Geronimo's that he had captured in a previous skirmish, attacked the Constabulary post in San Jose, Bulacan, took the men unawares, and captured the entire garrison. His group was richer by fifteen precious rifles. Guillermo then allowed the Constabulary soldiers to rejoin their comrades, but one voluntarily remained with the guerrillas.

After San Miguel's death, his lieutenants decided to transfer their operations elsewhere. With seventy men, Tomas de Guzman moved to the mountains of Zambales; Guillermo went to Bulacan to join another San Miguel lieutenant, Colonel Contreras. Before leaving Rizal, he disbanded his force in that province, instructing them to return to their homes until he called for them again.

Soon after, however, Guillermo himself was captured. This time he was on the receiving end of a ruse more elaborate than the one he had used on Lt. Geronimo. Informed by some constables that Guillermo was inducing them to defect and join his band, the mayor of Cainta relayed the information to Colonel Scott. The two men hatched a plan whereby some constables would pretend to defect in order to gain access to Guillermo's hide-out. The *moro-moro* included a chase of the supposed defectors by a Constabulary force under Captain

Keithley. Once in the camp, the "defectors" took Guillermo prisoner and turned him over to Keithley.

Faustino Guillermo was executed in the public square at Pasig in May, 1904, thus ending the Rizal-Bulacan uprising. The same year, his old adversary, Lt. Geronimo, was dismissed from the Constabulary after being convicted of the crime of gambling.<sup>7</sup>

### Macario Sakay

The revolutionary impulse that had spurred the formation of the New Katipunan in Rizal and Bulacan was to culminate in the birth of a Filipino Republic with the consolidation of several resistance forces in the Rizal-Cavite-Laguna-Batangas area. These forces were led by Macario Sakay, Julian Montalan and Cornelio Felizardo.

In January, 1902, around six organized groups were operating in Cavite alone, the most prominent being those led by Julian Montalan and Cornelio Felizardo. Montalan had a good record as a rebel leader. Ricarte mentions him in his memoirs as having participated in the assault on Caridad and in the defense of Bacoor, Cavite. For this action, Montalan was promoted to the rank of major.

These different bands conducted guerrilla operations in Cavite and Batangas. Despite the capture of many of their number, the groups remained large enough to require the assignment of as many as 1,200 government troops to this area. In September of 1904, the various resistance groups in Cavite consolidated with Macario Sakay's group which had fought its way southward until it effected a junction with Montalan's force.

Macario Sakay, a barber from Tondo who had been with Bonifacio and Jacinto during the initial struggles of the Katipunan, was among those captured during the early days of the Filipino-American war. He had tried to revive the Katipunan in Manila for which he was apprehended and jailed under the Sedition Law. Released after the proclamation of amnesty in July, 1902, he resumed his Katipunan activities and went to the mountains, eventually taking command of the guerrillas in the Rizal-Cavite-Laguna-Batangas area.<sup>8</sup>

### The Tagalog Republic

At about this time, a large number of Constabulary soldiers and Scouts were sent to quell a rebellion in Samar. Sakay,



Montalan, and Felizardo decided the time was right for a massive push. But first they organized themselves by formally establishing the Philippine Republic, or what Sakay referred to as the Tagalog Republic. They chose Sakay to head their movement with the title of President and worked out their chain of command.

Julian Montalan took over-all charge of military operations with the rank of Lt. General. He had under his control, besides his own personal group, the bands of Col. Ramos, Col. Masigla, and Lt. Col. de Vega. These three had jurisdiction over most of Cavite and eastern Batangas. Another contingent but also under Montalan's supervision was that of Major General Cornelio Felizardo who had two groups under him operating in the Pasay-Bacoor area in the northern part of Cavite. Then there was Brig. General Oruga whose officers operated in various sectors: Col. Villanueva in Batangas, Lt. Col. Vito in the Lake Taal region, and Major Flores in Laguna.

The group meticulously established the number of men and their ranks that were to compose each military subdivision from the smallest grouping up to a battalion. They even chose the colors that were to distinguish one branch of the service from the other, for example, the infantry from the artillery, the engineers from the medical corps.

Sakay's republic had its own constitution which was patterned after the constitution of the Katipunan. Sakay's Vice President was Francisco Carreon who had been a councilor of the early Katipunan of Bonifacio. Other names which appear among the signers of this constitution are those of Aguedo del Rosario who had likewise been a councilor of the Katipunan, Alejandro Santiago, another councilor of the KKK Supreme Council, Nicolas Rivera, former president of the Catotohanan section of the Tondo popular council, and original KKK members like Salustiano Cruz, Justo Bautista, Pedro Mendiola, Feliciano Cruz, Jose Flores, and Benito Fernandes.<sup>9</sup>

In April, 1904, Sakay released a manifesto addressed to all foreign consulates in which he affirmed the patriotic resolve of his movement to fight the United States in order to defend the independence of the country. He declared that he and his men were real revolutionaries and not mere brigands as the U.S. government claimed because they had a flag, a government and a constitution. In an accompanying proclamation, Sakay issued a warning to those who would violate the territory of the country.

## Suspension of the Writ

From September to December, the forces of Montalan, Felizardo, Sakay, and Oruga, now coordinating with one another, strengthened themselves in preparation for a major uprising. They conducted raids in Cavite and Batangas to capture arms and ammunition. On December 8, 1904, Felizardo and his seventy-five men all dressed in Constabulary uniforms, captured the garrison at Parañaque, Rizal, making off with a rich booty of carbines, revolvers, and ammunition.

Other raids followed. Three hundred armed men took part in the raid on Malabon, most of them again in Constabulary uniforms. They captured all the weapons of the Constabulary and the municipal police and also kidnapped the family of Governor Mariano Trias.<sup>10</sup> It will be recalled that Governor Trias had been a general under Aguinaldo. When he became the first civil governor of Cavite under the Americans, he ordered the arrest of four town *presidentes* suspected of complicity with the guerrillas. The kidnapping was a retaliatory move for this and other collaborationist acts of Trias. Mrs. Trias and her children were subsequently rescued by the Constabulary.

Reinforcements of Constabulary troops and Scouts were rushed to the area. By January 31, 1905, the situation was deemed critical enough, and the magnitude of the "lawlessness" great enough to warrant the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in Cavite and Batangas. The suspension of the privilege of the writ had become necessary, the governor declared, because prior to the suspension, captured "outlaws" could obtain bail. They then either disappeared or escaped conviction by intimidating witnesses against them. Besides, the many court cases were tying down too many Constabulary officials who should have been out hunting down the "ladrones."

## Sanctuaries and Supplies

Was mass support extended to the forces of Sakay, Montalan, Felizardo, and their lieutenants? There are many evidences of this. First, as regards support coming from town officials and community leaders: early in the fight against the guerrilla bands of Cavite, Captain Allen, the chief of the Constabulary, wrote the President of the United States requesting the confiscation of property and lands of Filipinos who cooperate with outlaws.<sup>11</sup> The Constabulary complained in connection with at least two

encounters in two different towns that local municipal authorities had been actively aiding the "ladrones." And as mentioned earlier, Governor Trias himself caused the arrest of four town presidentes suspected of having withheld information regarding the whereabouts of guerrilla groups.<sup>12</sup>

Second, as regards mass support: various measures instituted by the authorities reveal their awareness of public sympathy for the rebels. Relocation of large groups of farmers was again resorted to ostensibly to protect them from the guerrillas but actually to isolate the latter and deny them sanctuary among the people and supplies from their sympathizers. Montalan, for example, organized a systematic form of taxation. Merchants, farmers, laborers, all paid about 10% of their income.<sup>13</sup> Some may have paid out of fear but the Americans themselves admitted that even after the establishment of civil government, the system of voluntary contributions to guerrilla forces continued.<sup>14</sup>

The Constabulary often complained that their cordons were ineffective. Such measures failed largely because guerrillas were able to slip through with the aid of secret supporters. Of course, the suspension of the privilege of the writ was in itself also a move against the people who supported the guerrillas.

One novel manner by which some guerrillas secured their weapons was through the "*muchacho* boys" of the Americans. Some Filipino servants stole military hardware from the Americans in whose homes they worked. The guns and ammunition were then passed from hand to hand until they reached their intended destination. One such domestic was caught with a cache of "100 rounds of Krag-Jorgensen, 404 rounds of .45 calibre, nineteen rounds of .38 calibre, and forty-one rounds of Springfield rifle ammunition" intended for the guerrillas of Cavite.<sup>15</sup>

The Constabulary conceded that the resistance groups had an extremely effective security and intelligence system. They used spies within the government forces for recruitment work and to determine the timing of their attacks on Constabulary quarters and Scout posts. Whether for offensive or defensive purposes, the cooperation of the people greatly helped the guerrillas.

## Ilustrado War and Peoples' Wrath

One aspect of the struggle of the Sakay group should be noted: their war against the enemy was very different from the

warfare conducted by Aguinaldo, so careful of his international reputation, solicitous of enemy prisoners, amenable to negotiation, and complacent about collaboration. The Sakay fighters — and this was also more or less true of other groups — did not trust the enemy, agreed to negotiations only to take advantage of them, and used all sorts of tricks to minimize the advantages of the enemy in fire power and numbers.

Thus, guerrillas would often agree to surrender after a given truce period but used the breathing spell to gather supplies, reorganize, recruit, and rearm. They used Constabulary uniforms to confuse their enemy; they carefully timed their attacks between dusk and bedtime when the soldiers and their officers were usually scattered around town in search of recreation.

But the most striking difference between the ilustrado war and this one was in the attitude towards those who collaborated with the enemy. Sakay issued orders to arrest and sentence to hard labor all those who having the means to contribute to the support of the resistance nevertheless refused to do so. He decreed that towns whose residents refused to shelter the rebel forces when the latter were being pursued by the enemy should be burned to the ground.

For informers and spies, the penalty was death. Many officials appointed by the Americans were liquidated.<sup>16</sup> Those suspected of informing on the guerrillas were tortured. Some had their lips and ears cut off and were then set free so that their condition might serve as a warning and deterrent to others.<sup>17</sup> Two secret service agents who had earlier been guerrillas and were responsible for sending many of their former comrades to prison were tortured and hanged on Montalan's order.

## Salami Tactics

The guerrillas were no match for the combined strength of the Constabulary, the Philippine Scouts, and elements of the U.S. army. Still, the government used three thousand soldiers actively fighting for two years to destroy the resistance of Sakay's forces. In the process, the Americans reinstated reconcentration in four provinces, suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and even brought in Muslims from Jolo and army-trained blood-hounds from California to track down the guerrillas. Secret service operatives were active even in Manila where they bagged one of Montalan's officers and

former General Simeon Basa who had been passing information to the guerrillas while working as a draftsman in a government office.<sup>18</sup>

Extensive and intensive campaigns were conducted against separate bands, preventing each particular target from joining up with other groups and gradually whittling down its numbers. When General Oruga surrendered on April 28, 1905, he had only seven men and a few guns. He surrendered to Laguna Governor Juan Cailles, the former General Cailles under whom Oruga had served during the Revolution.<sup>19</sup>

Felizardo continued fighting until his force was reduced to six men. He himself was wounded several times but still managed to elude the Constabulary until the latter sent two Constables pretending to be deserters to join his band. These two cut Felizardo's throat, took his corpse to the Americans, and received a P5,000 reward.<sup>20</sup>

## The Trap Is Set

Deception was to be employed again on a broader scale and involving the highest of American officialdom in order to write finis to the Tagalog Republic.

In mid-1905, Governor General Henry C. Ide authorized the labor leader, Dr. Dominador Gomez, to conduct negotiations for the surrender of Sakay, his officers and men. Meeting with Sakay at the latter's mountain camp, Gomez argued that only Sakay's intransigence was holding up the establishment of a national assembly which would serve as the training ground in self-government for Filipinos and the first step toward eventual independence. Sakay agreed to end his resistance on condition that a general amnesty be granted to his men, that they be permitted to carry firearms, and that he and his officers be allowed to leave the country assured of personal safety. Gomez assured Sakay that his conditions would be acceptable to the Americans. Governor General Wright signified his agreement to these conditions when he conferred with Sakay's emissary, General Leon Villafuerte.

In July, Sakay left his mountain headquarters in Tanay and went down to Manila in the company of Villafuerte. The people of Manila welcomed the popular resistance leader; he was invited to receptions and banquets.<sup>21</sup> One invitation came from Col. Bandholtz who had been handling the negotiations with Gomez. Bandholtz invited Sakay, his principal lieutenants, and

Dr. Gomez to a party in Cavite in the residence of Cavite Governor Van Schaik.

While the party was in progress, an American captain suddenly grabbed Sakay and disarmed him. Sakay's officers were relieved of their weapons after Gomez informed them that it was useless to resist because the house was surrounded by soldiers. The invitation had been a trap.

### Death of a People's Hero

Sakay and his officers were charged with having engaged in banditry and accused of all sorts of crimes such as robbery, rape, kidnapping, and murder. The trial, attended by hordes of interested spectators, was presided over by Judge Ignacio Villamor who became President of the University of the Philippines and later Justice of the Supreme Court. Under the provisions of the Brigandage Act, Sakay and de Vega were sentenced to be hanged. The others were sentenced to long prison terms, with Montalan and Villafuerte eventually receiving executive clemency.<sup>22</sup>

On September 13, 1907, Gen. Macario L. Sakay and Col Lucio de Vega were taken out of their Bilibid prison cells to be hanged. Standing on the death platform in the prison plaza, General Sakay shouted at the top of his voice:

Death comes to all of us sooner or later, so I will face the Lord Almighty calmly. But I want to tell you that we are not bandits and robbers, as the Americans have accused us, but members of the revolutionary force that defended our mother country, the Philippines! Farewell! Long live the Republic and may our independence be born in the future! Farewell! Long live the Philippines!<sup>23</sup>

Sakay then faced the American executioner. Only a small group of guards and prison employees witnessed the last moments of a brave patriot.<sup>24</sup>

### Resistance in Bicol

In the Bicol area, two former officers in the revolutionary forces, Simeon Ola and Lazaro Toledo, launched their own struggle. Both had been majors in the revolutionary army and both had surrendered in July, 1901, only to take to the hills again. At their peak, the two men controlled an armed force of

more than 1,500 men with 150 guns. The rest were armed with bolos.

Their resistance followed essentially the pattern of other resistance groups. They conducted successful raids on Constabulary detachments to secure weapons; they entered towns and disarmed the municipal police who usually did not offer much resistance; they received supplies from sympathizers and confiscated the property of those who were hostile to them; they pretended to be considering surrender in order to secure a temporary truce so they could attend to recruitment and organization.

In Simeon Ola's case, he made shrewd use of the negotiations for his possible surrender. The Chief of the District, Major Jesse Garwood himself agreed to go to Ola's headquarters alone. Ola's men took him there blindfolded, then after the conference Ola permitted him to leave unharmed. Ola had no intentions of surrendering. As he expected, Garwood's seeking him out raised his prestige and increased the number of his followers.

One of the outstanding feats of Ola's group was the surprise raid on the garrison in Oas. It demonstrated the typical guerrilla reliance on the people. The raiding party entered town quietly and mingled with the people in the plaza. The garrison being situated on one side of the square, it was easy enough for the men to move unobtrusively toward it. When the signal was given, they dashed into the barracks and overpowered the soldiers. Twenty volunteers who had been attached to the local garrison fought on the side of the guerrillas; they had been in on the attack plan from the beginning. This action netted the raiders 48 rifles and 1,600 rounds of ammunition.

In March, 1903, three companies of Philippine Scouts were sent to Albay to augment the force there. An extensive campaign began. Volunteers were disarmed because the American officers doubted their loyalty. As in other regions where resistance groups operated, it became necessary to reconcentrate the population. The American Constabulary officers knew this was the only way to deny the resistance its supply of men and material. A total of 125,000 inhabitants were relocated after which large government detachments were sent to patrol the emptied areas. The idea was to starve out the "outlaws."

There were many encounters between Ola's group and the Constabulary. Colonel Bandholtz himself noted an effective tactic the guerrillas had developed to make up for their inferior

fire power. Usually, the bolomen led the offensive and deployed themselves around the riflemen. The idea was to give maximum protection to the more valuable riflemen and to prevent the loss of their precious guns.

The guerrillas' forcible isolation from their lifeline through the reconcentration system and the continuous harassment by government troops soon took their toll. It is a measure of the common man's tenacity that when the bolomen did surrender, the Americans said they "usually were in an emaciated condition, many of them being covered with tropical ulcers as large as a man's fist."<sup>2 5</sup>

After suffering heavy losses, General Ola himself surrendered on September 25, 1903 with twenty-eight men and thirty-one guns. Col. Toledo capitulated two months later.<sup>2 6</sup>

### Resistance in the North

Other "outlaw" bands operated in other provinces. Roman Manalan who was a general of the revolutionary army operated in Pangasinan and Zambales where he built up a substantial following. Many of his men had been members of the Katipunan. From 1902 until January, 1903 when he was killed, Manalan's forces fought many skirmishes.

The group made good use of various caves in the area. One cave could be entered only from the top of the mountain and required a drop of fifty-four feet of rope. The group's camps were well-built and protected by stone entrenchments, one of them being large enough to accommodate one hundred men. Followers of Manalan captured after his death showed documents of appointment signed by Manalan which declared they were officers of the Katipunan.<sup>2 7</sup>

In Isabela, the resistance group was led by Manuel Tomines, a former revolutionary officer. His second in command was Maurice Sibley, an American deserter who had married an Igorot woman. Captured, Tomines swore at his trial that he had been commissioned by a secret group in Manila under Gen. Ricarte to organize resistance in Isabela. He stated that there existed in Manila a club of ex-officers of the Revolution headed by Ananias Diokno and that its members had taken an oath to take to the field and fight again when called. This group had instructed him to lead an uprising in the Cagayan Valley and for this purpose he, Tomines, had been given commissions for himself and for his officers signed by Ricarte. He also said that



the guns his group used were those retained and hidden before a brother officer surrendered to the Americans.<sup>28</sup> Tomines was sentenced to death and hanged on April 10, 1905.

## The Ricarte Movement

What came to be known as the Ricarte Movement developed from the efforts of General Artemio Ricarte and a few others to revive the Revolution under the leadership of some of its old officers. Ricarte had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and was therefore deported to Guam in January, 1901, together with Mabini and other "irreconcilables." Brought back with Mabini in February, 1903, Ricarte again refused to take the oath and was deported to Hongkong.

He was back again in December, 1903, disembarking in Manila as a stowaway. He attempted to rally his fellow-officers and his countrymen behind him with a proclamation announcing his return and even tried to establish contact with Gen. Sakay and Felipe Salvador. He was unsuccessful. Sakay did not trust him and his former comrades-in-arms who were finding accommodation within the colonial system were no longer interested in Revolution. Resistance had become fragmented and localized and Ricarte, despite his resolute anti-Americanism, did not have the stature nor the vision to reunify the struggle. Moreover, he belonged to the Aguinaldo tradition, and the old-style Revolution with ilustrado leadership could no longer be resurrected.

Still, Ricarte's stubborn efforts were not entirely fruitless. He was able to issue commissions to some former colonels and others of lesser rank as officers of a "Revolutionary Army of the Philippines." These commissions provided the resistance in certain areas with a certain status and a tie, however tenuous, to the old revolutionary movement.

Ricarte was captured in April, 1904 and sentenced to six years in prison for conspiracy and subversion. Released in 1910, he was deported for the third time. Although out of the country, he continued his conspiratorial activities and his group was involved in two aborted uprisings as late as 1912 and 1914.<sup>29</sup>

## Nativistic Revival

The predominantly peasant support of many rebel leaders was responsible for adding two new features to the resistance

movement. Superstitious and miracle-conditioned peasants revered their leaders and believed them to be endowed with supernatural powers. The decline in the prestige of the Church among the people due to its association with oppression was conducive to a revival of nativism. Many resistance movements therefore had a quasi-religious character.

The poverty of the people added another social dimension to their protest. Besides fighting against foreign domination, the people's movements also emphasized resistance to the exploitation of local *caciques*.

An example of a resistance movement with semi-religious features was the one led by Ruperto Rios in Tayabas. Rios, a former blacksmith, had served as an officer in the revolutionary army. He refused to surrender and take his oath of allegiance to the United States. Instead, he elected to go to the hills and organize his own resistance group.

Rios spent one whole year in the hills of Tayabas organizing his movement. He was able to recruit a large number of devoted adherents and establish a municipal government of his own manned by an elaborate roster of officials. He fanned the enthusiasm of his followers by giving many of them high titles in his army. It is said that he appointed one Captain-General, one Lieutenant-General, twenty five Major-Generals, sixty Brigadier-Generals, and numerous other officers of lesser rank. For himself, he chose the title of Generalissimo. He also said he was the "son of God" and he gave his men *anting-antings* which were supposed to make them invulnerable to enemy bullets.

Besides his army, Rios had adherents all over Tayabas who willingly provided him with food and other supplies and who constituted a seemingly inexhaustible manpower reserve.<sup>30</sup> The Constabulary at one time rounded up no less than seven hundred men who had been supplying Rios with everything he needed in food and equipment.

Rios and his men often eluded both the police forces and the U.S. army by pulling what the Americans called their "lightning change" act. After an encounter or when pursued by a superior force, they quickly buried their weapons, changed their clothes, and lost themselves amid the population.<sup>31</sup> The fact that they could do this over and over again without being betrayed proves that the population cooperated with them. It is inconceivable that they could move unrecognized among the people.

## The Magic Box

What spurred Rios' devoted followers to fight on against great odds was revealed when the Constabulary chanced upon a batch of documents of the Rios movement in Infanta. Together with the documents, they found a box with the word "*Independencia*" painted on the top. Rios had told his followers that when they had proved themselves worthy, he would open the box and they would have what they had been fighting for: independence.<sup>32</sup>

One might be inclined to dismiss Rios as a charlatan who took advantage of the ignorance of his followers, and yet his approach to the ideal of independence was essentially correct — a people can be worthy of freedom only if they are willing to fight for it. Whether the box marked "*Independencia*," was magic or symbol in the minds of his followers, there is no question about their aspirations.

In view of the people's active support of the rebels and their marked hostility toward the government, the Constabulary in conjunction with Col. H.H. Bandholtz, military governor of Tayabas at the time, was forced to reconcentrate large portions of the population. Once again, the combination of reconcentration and an intensive military campaign proved to be the nemesis of a resistance group. Deprived of their base among the people, the rebels were soon cut up into small bands of sick, hungry men constantly fleeing their stronger, better equipped enemy.

Rios himself fled to Laguna. For three months he and his dwindling group had been subsisting on wild fruit. But Laguna proved unreceptive to his attempts to recruit new adherents. Instead, some townspeople from San Antonio and Paete lured Rios into town by pretending sympathy for his movement, then disarmed him and his men and turned them over to the authorities. In December, 1903, he was hanged in Atimonan, Tayabas.<sup>33</sup>

## Apo Ipe

A colorful and highly effective leader of a quasi-religious rebel movement was Felipe Salvador, otherwise known as Apo Ipe. Salvador was born in Baliwag, Bulacan on May 26, 1870, reportedly the son of a Spanish friar. Although at one time Salvador even became a cabeza de barangay in his town, he

showed signs of a rebellious character early in life. He had incidents with the Guardia Civil and with the parish priest who berated him when he found out that Salvador had told the vendors in the church *patio* not to pay dues to the priest. The friar threatened to have him exiled.<sup>34</sup>

When the Katipuneros from Balintawak arrived in Baliwag, Salvador joined them. He fought with the Katipunan forces in encounters in San Luis, Pampanga, where he was wounded on both arms.<sup>35</sup> In 1899, Aguinaldo appointed him colonel. Gen. Ricarte mentions in his memoirs that Salvador became a major general during the war against the Americans.<sup>36</sup> When Aguinaldo surrendered, Salvador went to the mountains and began conducting independent guerrilla operations.

The group he organized soon acquired religious overtones. He called his movement the Santa Iglesia or Holy Church. As in many other instances in Philippine history, religion itself became a manifestation of rebellion as well as a natural morale-booster for the mass of Filipinos who needed some supernatural sanction and assistance for their unequal struggle.

Salvador gave away or sold crucifixes and rosaries to his followers and officiated at religious rites similar to those of the Catholic church. He affected the long hair and clothes associated with Biblical figures and was reverently regarded by his followers as a prophet. He warned that a second "great flood" would occur which would destroy all non-believers. After the flood, there would be a rain of gold and jewels for his followers. He also told them that if they fought bravely and were faithful to the Santa Iglesia, God would turn their bolos into rifles.<sup>37</sup>

### Social Goals in Religious Garb

Underlying this mystic mumbo-jumbo was a simple but basic program which answered the central need of peasants everywhere. After they had overthrown the government, Apo Ipe promised them ownership of the land; meanwhile, he earned their faith and loyalty because he treated the barrio people well. He never robbed or harmed them in any way. Official sources admitted that Salvador's followers always treated the people and their property with respect.

He obtained money, supplies, and new adherents by a simple but effective method. He would enter a town with a group of his long-haired and long-robed followers and plant a bamboo cross in the middle of the plaza. He would then launch an

eloquent exhortation which invariably moved many to contribute and others to join his movement.<sup>38</sup>

Salvador's eloquence, his mystic appeal combined with the practical and basic promise of land, and above all his respect for the people made the peasants regard him as their own Robin Hood, even their own Messiah. It is no wonder therefore that the Santa Iglesia gained many faithful adherents among the poor and landless masses of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Pangasinan, and Nueva Ecija.

The people's support was so steadfast that the government always found it very difficult to obtain information as to Salvador's whereabouts. At the peak of his popularity, all Constabulary units in the five provinces where the Santa Iglesia flourished were ordered to concentrate on capturing him, yet Salvador moved from province to province almost at will. Not even a promised reward of P2,000 for Salvador's capture could elicit any information from the people. On the other hand, whenever Apo Ipe's forces raided military detachments to obtain firearms, large numbers of bolo-wielding peasants voluntarily supplemented the Apo's fighting men.

Salvador's headquarters was located on Mt. Arayat. From there he directed the operations of his men. His top lieutenant, Captain Tui, usually led the raids on military outposts. Among the more important raids they undertook were those on San Jose, Nueva Ecija where a full company was garrisoned and on Malolos, Bulacan where the band captured twenty-two Springfield carbines and 1,800 rounds of ammunition.

During lulls in the fighting, Salvador continued recruiting followers with great facility. His success spurred the rapid expansion of a sister organization, the Guardia de Honor.

It will be recalled that the Guardia de Honor was originally founded by Dominican fathers in Pangasinan to counteract the anti-clerical propaganda of the Katipunan. The friars used the guardias to spy on suspected filibusteros, but when the friars were driven out by the Revolution the organization rapidly assumed a new character. A class orientation developed and the caciques became the principal targets of the guardias.

With the success of Salvador's Santa Iglesia, the Guardia de Honor which had previously been confined to Pangasinan and La Union spread rapidly throughout northern Luzon attaining a membership of five thousand.

By May, 1906, Salvador commanded an army of three hundred men with one hundred rifles. The government was so alarmed by his growing strength that it rushed all the troops it could spare to the vicinity of Mt. Arayat. Even a company of constables from the Constabulary School in Manila was pressed into service in addition to troops from Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Bulacan. The colonial government was worried because it did not have the sympathy of the people. Governor Sandiko even threatened the people with reconcentration when they refused to cooperate.

Salvador continued to evade capture, but the superior strength of the state began to be felt. A planned raid on the garrison at San Rafael, Bulacan fell through, and the one on San Isidro, Nueva Ecija, was called off because of the large concentration of troops and municipal police. Finally, the death of Captain Tui in an encounter in Hagonoy in July, 1906 greatly demoralized the fighting force of the Santa Iglesia.

Apo Ipe managed to elude his captors for four more years. He moved from place to place protected by people who continued to believe in him. His organization, however, had broken up.

Felipe Salvador was apprehended in 1910. He was prosecuted by Fiscal Epifanio de los Santos and sentenced to death by Judge Francisco Santa Maria.<sup>39</sup>

The respect with which Apo Ipe was regarded may be gleaned from the newspaper reports on his execution. The *Taliba* marvelled at Apo Ipe's composure in the face of his approaching death. He counseled his weeping followers not to grieve and when he faced the hangman he stood erect and calm. Those who witnessed his execution stood before his corpse for twenty minutes, silent and with heads bowed. Later, a crush of people come to pay homage nearly wrecked his humble house in Tondo. More people came to his funeral, filling up the narrow streets in a disorderly funeral procession. Followers unhitched the horses from the funeral carriage and pulled it themselves, slowly and sadly.<sup>40</sup> They were paying their last tribute to a folk hero.

The *Renacimiento Filipino* of August 13, 1910, pronounced him guilty only of exercising his own rights and declared that history cannot condemn him. It predicted that this man who had died at the gallows like a plain criminal deprived of glory by

an arbitrary law would take his place in the pages of history as a soldier and rebel.<sup>41</sup> The poet, Jose Corazon de Jesus, commented that Salvador did not look nor behave like a "tulisan"; he was much more worthy of respect than many who held high public office.<sup>42</sup>

The followers of Felipe Salvador regarded him as divine or semi-divine. Even after his execution, many of his adherents refused to believe that he was dead. The cult of Apo Ipe was so durable that as late as 1924, Colorum leaders in Tarlac could still attract many followers by claiming that they had eaten and talked with Jose Rizal and Felipe Salvador.<sup>43</sup>

## Papa Isio

The principal resistance to the Americans on the island of Negros was led by Dionisio Magbuelas, better known as Papa Isio. Magbuelas, a man in his middle sixties at the turn of the century, was a native of Antique but had lived in Negros since his boyhood.<sup>44</sup> His father had established a small farm in Himamaylan but the landlord ordered the family to move out. For a time, Dionisio Magbuelas worked as a *tuba* carrier. In 1880 while he was employed as a herder by the prominent Montilla family, he wounded a Spaniard in a quarrel. He fled to the mountains and joined a group of *remontados* called Babaylanes. At about this time, the chief of this group named Barawa Dios died. Magbuelas succeeded him and adopted the name, Papa Isio.<sup>45</sup>

Up to 1896, the Babaylanes confined themselves to the mountain districts, but from that year on, they grew in numbers and began harassing Spanish forces in the towns. Their cries of "*Viva Rizal!*" and "*Viva Filipinas libre y mueran los Españoles!*"<sup>46</sup> show that from being a band that had settled in the mountains to escape Spanish control, they had become a political group actively fighting Spanish rule. Different groups of Babaylanes attacked towns where Spaniards or pro-Spanish Filipinos lived.<sup>47</sup>

When the elite of Negros Occidental decided to fight the Spaniards, there was a temporary junction of objectives between them and the Babaylanes. The Babaylanes assisted the elite-led forces in overthrowing the Spanish government in the province and Papa Isio was given a commission as military chief of La Castellana.<sup>48</sup> However, once the objective of driving away the Spaniards was accomplished and they had installed them-

selves in power, the Negros elite bent their efforts toward the promotion of peace and order, a drive directed mainly against the Babaylanes whom they had always regarded with suspicion as a threat to their haciendas.<sup>49</sup> And no wonder, since Papa Isio drew his followers mainly from the labor force of haciendas in the vicinity of Mt. Kanlaon.<sup>50</sup> At first, the Provisional Government tried a policy of attraction, asking local officials to encourage the remontados to come down and till the soil once more. Evidently, this had only limited success for soon there were circulars ordering their imprisonment and even threatening them with death.<sup>51</sup> Natural class antagonism and the contrast between the capitulationism of the elite and the tenacity with which the masses under Papa Isio clung to their ideal of freedom made the confrontation between the two sectors inevitable.

Although it is not possible in a general history to discuss the revolutionary record of each province, it is worthwhile making an exception in the case of Negros Occidental, for here the actions of the sugar hacenderos present in microcosm and more clearly elite motivations on a national scale. Not only did elite opportunism contrast sharply with mass willingness to die for freedom, but the attitude of the Malolos government toward the opportunists and toward the real resistance revealed once more the elitist orientation of the Aguinaldo government.

The Negros elite took control of their province in a bloodless, one-day revolution. Scarcely a week after, on November 12, 1898, the Provisional Government was already asking that the province be made a protectorate of the United States.<sup>52</sup> On February 12, 1899 it raised the American flag in Bacolod although not a single American soldier had as yet set foot on Negros. What caused this precipitate surrender? The day previous, American troops had shelled Iloilo City causing great damage to private property. Nine days later, an official delegation of the hacenderos had arrived in Manila and was urgently requesting Maj. Gen. Otis to send troops to Negros to protect their lives and property. They reported that the Babaylanes had been burning haciendas. Moreover, they were afraid that the Malolos government would send expeditionary troops to wrest control of the island. They asked only that they be allowed some measure of local autonomy.

On March 3, the so-called Republic of Negros happily welcomed American military occupation. To complete the farce, a commission produced a constitution for this Republic



based on a draft provided by the American military commander, Col. James F. Smith, who presided over the deliberations. But the Americans soon showed just what they thought of elite pretensions to autonomy when Gen. Otis appointed Smith military governor with "absolute veto powers" over the local government.<sup>53</sup>

### Anti-foreign, Anti-elite

With the elite going over to the Americans, there developed in Negros a civil war that was virtually a class war.<sup>54</sup> Although other groups operated briefly, the brunt of the resistance was borne by the Babaylanes — or the pulahanes as they were also called — led by Papa Isio. Papa Isio was as resolutely anti-American as he had been anti-Spaniard. The Babaylanes had harassed towns where Spaniards or Filipinos sympathetic to the Spaniards lived. Now they burned the haciendas and destroyed the mills of the pro-Americans. They also burned the cane of those hacenderos who did not pay their laborers regularly or promptly. By mid-June, close to one hundred haciendas had been burned.<sup>55</sup>

In his testimony before the U.S. Senate, Gen. J.F. Smith declared:

Immediately after our occupation of Negros... (Isio)... commenced missionary work among the employees of various haciendas, exciting them to the idea of destroying the property and reducing the haciendas to their original condition — that is, to a state of nature. He didn't wish any more sugar planted neither did he wish any but pure blooded Filipinos to live on the island. As a result of his propaganda the laborers on haciendas destroyed the haciendas first and then went out to join Papa Scio's (sic) Babailanes (sic).<sup>56</sup>

Gen. Smith added that there were heard such demands as "equal division of the lands," "no machinery," "no sugar cane." The economic roots of Papa Isio's movement are thus clear. Drought, locust infestation, a rinderpest epidemic, the temporary closure of the sugar market as a result of the Revolution, and the destruction of some farm lands because of the fighting, made the hacenderos lay off workers and often delay the payment of the miserable wages of those they kept on.<sup>57</sup> It was estimated that as late as 1902, only one-fifth of the lands that had been farmed in 1898 were being planted.<sup>58</sup> Poverty swelled the ranks of Papa Isio's followers and gave an economic

dimension to his political struggle. Land hunger was behind the demand for equal division of lands and the cry against machinery reflected the resentment of laborers who had seen themselves displaced by machines. The cry of "no sugar cane" had a long history. Before the hacenderos switched to sugar, these lands had been planted to rice. Tenants were then less dependent on their landlords, for at least they produced their main food item. They wanted a return to a more self-sufficient existence since sugar only made the rich richer.

Poorly-armed and ill-trained, Papa Isio's followers nevertheless fought hard enough to force the Americans to send repeatedly for fresh troops. To the hacenderos and the army of occupation, Papa Isio was a fanatic, a religious charlatan, a tulisan; and his men robbers and murderers who terrorized their countrymen into supporting them. But Papa Isio could not have maintained his struggle for so many years without mass support. He could not have escaped the expeditions sent out to capture him if the people had not been on his side. Traveling from place to place, conducting public meetings as he did, he could easily have been betrayed.

### Dwindling Support

Papa Isio became more active when the major part of the U.S. army was withdrawn from Negros in October, 1902. He even planned to capture Bacolod, the capital of Negros Occidental. However, in the battle for Murcia which was deemed to be preparatory to the attack on Bacolod, one of his principal lieutenants was taken prisoner. After this setback Papa Isio lay low for some time, but when the U.S. army completed its withdrawal in January, 1903, Isio became active once more. He even sent letters to town officials threatening them with punishment if they refused him their support.

The Constabulary under Captain John R. White launched a determined campaign against Isio. Captain White even ordered the burning of villages that refused to cooperate with him.

After suffering a number of defeats, Isio again went into hiding. An incident that occurred at this time demonstrates the affection that the people felt for him. It was falsely reported that Papa Isio had been killed. The word spread and thousands of cane-cutters went to work wearing black armbands.<sup>59</sup>

In 1905, Negros harvested a bumper sugar crop which was more than double the production of past years. Prosperity

greatly eroded Papa Isio's support, but he made one last try. In February, 1907, he attacked the town of Suay in an attempt to start a general uprising. He and his men burned houses and spread the rumor that a new revolution to drive the Americans out of Negros had begun. He captured several rifles and added one hundred new recruits. But his hopes were short-lived; the population did not rally behind him. When Isio realized that the people no longer supported him, he surrendered on August 6, 1907. He was tried and sentenced to death.<sup>60</sup>

Throughout his many years of resistance to foreign occupation, Papa Isio was faithful to the Katipunan goal of independence. His documents were stamped "Katipunan" across the face and he declared his allegiance to the Philippine Republic and to its President, Emilio Aguinaldo. In a letter dated March 2, 1899, he sent the list of his officers to the Malolos government, but he never received any acknowledgment of his affiliation. Twenty months later, he wrote to the Aguinaldo-appointed governor of Cebu who provisionally approved Isio's table of organization and communicated his action to Aguinaldo.<sup>61</sup>

### The "Republic of Negros"

Aguinaldo's preference for the Negros ilustrados despite their opportunism and the clear indications that they did not wish to recognize his own leadership is very evident in his handling of the Negros situation. After the elite received the Spanish surrender, President Aniceto Lacson sent Aguinaldo a telegram informing him of the establishment of the new Provisional Revolutionary Government of Negros. This telegram pointedly addressed Aguinaldo as Sir, not President.<sup>62</sup> The Negrenses were serving notice that they wanted nothing more than a nominal affiliation with Malolos. Of crucial importance to their own plans was the freedom to determine their own course of action. After all, only a week after, they were already negotiating with the Americans.

Aguinaldo, on the other hand, precisely needed a unified country under him. On November 12, he appointed Juan Araneta, the Secretary of War of the Negros Government, Brigadier General and Politico Military Governor of Negros. This was both a pre-emptive attempt and a conciliatory move on his part. Araneta promptly accepted the designation and took over the government from Aniceto Lacson.<sup>63</sup> But this was about all

the cognizance he took of the Malolos government for in all other matters the Negrenses chose to decide for themselves. Still, Aguinaldo persisted in trying to win over the Negros elite. He sent one emissary after another to try to convince the Negros ilustrados that unity was paramount. After independence, they could decide whether to have a unitarian or a federal state. As late as March 23, 1899, more than a month after the Negros elite had raised the American flag, Aguinaldo was still asking Gen. Araneta "to renew his allegiance to the National Government" and promising that if he did so he could "retain his office and rank of Brigadier General."<sup>6 4</sup>

Aguinaldo, it seems, could not conceive of a resistance not led by the elite. He persisted in wooing Araneta and company who had already gone over to the enemy and ignored Papa Isio who was declaring his allegiance to the Malolos government. Rather than rely on the real resistance movement in Negros, he appointed a Commissioner and sent him to Negros with orders to direct the revolution.

### Pulajanes in Cebu

In Cebu, two brothers, Quintin and Anatalio Tabal, led a *pulajan* movement, so called because of the red uniforms the men wore. Their group incurred the special ire of the Americans because the rebels had killed four American teachers who had strayed into their territory. The Constabulary went after this group with a vengeance and in a number of battles inflicted heavy casualties on the rebels. The pulajanes fought with no regard for their persons since they believed that their anting-antings made them invulnerable to enemy bullets.

Here as in many other places, the resistance fighters could not be defeated while they had the support of the population. The Constabulary chief of Cebu, Colonel Taylor, therefore decided on a twin policy of reconcentration and attraction. His systematic relocation plan is worth describing in some detail. Around five thousand barrio folk were relocated into fourteen barrios, each one surrounded by a stockade, each one near a strong Constabulary post. The farmers emerged each morning from their barrio-concentration camp to work their fields. The camps were guarded by fifty armed men chosen by Col. Taylor who also set up a network of spies to check on any subversive activities.

While the barrio people were forced to live under the control and supervision of the Constabulary, Col. Taylor tried to gain

their goodwill by obtaining work for them on public works projects during the dry season. The Constabulary also distributed vaccines and other "benefits of civilization."<sup>65</sup>

More barrio people were relocated in 1905 and 1906. In fact, reconcentration in Cebu was perhaps more extensive than in any other province throughout the country. Deprived of their source of recruits, food, and supplies, the Tahal brothers finally agreed to surrender. Governor Sergio Osmeña conducted the negotiations.<sup>66</sup>

### Pulajanes in Leyte

From 1902 to 1907, Leyte occupied the attention of the American military officials because of a determined challenge to the government from a fanatical group originally called the Dios-Dios but which came to be known later as pulajanes. The group was led by Faustino Ablen, an illiterate peasant who like Papa Isio, assumed the title of Pope.<sup>67</sup>

Papa Faustino claimed to possess supernatural powers and sold or distributed the usual paraphernalia typical of religious fanaticism: anting-antings which rendered one invisible to the weapons of one's enemies, and holy oil which could cure any ailment. Papa Faustino promised his followers that once they had destroyed their enemies — the Americans and all Filipinos who cooperated with them — he would lead them to a mountain top on which stood seven churches of gold. They would find there all their dead relatives, alive and happy and their lost carabaos.

Again we see here the promise of deliverance from poverty, the inclusion of the lost carabaos being particularly revealing. The people were very poor; the fight for independence had meant for them a hope for a better life without foreign oppressors. It was therefore easy for Papa Faustino to persuade the peasants to take up arms again, to fight for that better life which he offered in its fantastic guise as the churches of gold on the mountain top.

Many joined the pulajanes. Papa Faustino's forces attacked government troops capturing arms when they could although their principal weapon remained the bolo. In some instances the rebels attacked local residents who had been cooperating with the government. In the raid on Carigara, for example, they beheaded the presidente, boloed his wife, and kidnapped his children. On the other hand, they were careful not to molest or rob persons who were not hostile to them. For instance, in the

attack on Burauen, the pulajanes did not harm the people in any way. Their only purpose was to obtain weapons and wreak vengeance on the town police.

Despite determined campaigns by the Constabulary, the revolt of Papa Faustino's pulajanes continued to grow. In some encounters, the rebels threw into the fight as many as five hundred to one thousand men. They always fought fiercely, engaging their better armed adversaries in hand-to-hand fighting where their bolos proved more deadly than the soldiers' guns.

The government was so alarmed that it offered a P2,000 reward for Papa Faustino, dead or alive. When reinforcements from Cebu proved inadequate, Governor General Henry C. Ide requested the help of Major General Leonard Wood, Commander of the Philippine Division, and Wood rushed four battalions of the U.S. Army to Leyte. This overwhelming force finally broke the back of the resistance. The pulajanes broke up into smaller and smaller groups which adopted guerrilla tactics. On June 11, 1907, a detachment of Philippine Scouts chanced upon four pulajanes and opened fire. Three escaped but the fourth man was captured. He was Papa Faustino.<sup>68</sup> With Faustino's capture, the Dios-Dios or pulajan uprising in Leyte came to an end.

### Dios-Dios in Samar

In neighboring Samar, however, the last Dios-Dios leader was not killed until 1911.

Samar had experienced heavy fighting against the Americans. After Aguinaldo's surrender, General Vicente Lukban continued the resistance in this province. The depredations visited upon the entire population by the U.S. Army under the infamous General Jacob Smith could not but implant in the Samareños a deep hatred for American rule. Thus, when Lukban was captured, several rebel leaders refused to give up the struggle and instead escaped into the interior of the island. Among them were Papa Pablo (Pablo Bulan), Antonio Anugar, and Pedro de la Cruz. All of them were members of the Dios-Dios. Papa Pablo became the head of the group.<sup>69</sup>

For two years, from 1902 to 1904, Papa Pablo remained in the mountains and occupied himself with building an army which would resume the struggle. At first the people adopted a wait-and-see attitude, but when the new regime brought them the same corrupt local officials, new taxes, and laws which they

could not understand, they began joining Papa Pablo's group.

When they had gained enough adherents, the Samar pulajanes began to attack the municipal police and the Constabulary. The killing of an American officer brought prestige to the group. As in other regions in revolt, the authorities could get no information from the people as to the size of the organization or the whereabouts of its leaders.

The pulajan movement in Samar was strengthened with the arrival from Leyte of Enrique Dagohob. An educated man, Dagohob soon assumed leadership of northeastern Samar and began to plan for a general uprising to overthrow the civil government of the province. His strategy involved the destruction of all coastal towns and barrios to force the people to move to the interior where they could then be induced to join the movement. Dagohob, de la Cruz, and Papa Pablo led their pulajanes down into the lowlands and burned dozens of towns.<sup>70</sup>

The government retaliated by ordering reconcentration in two camps, at Gandara and at Catbalogan, the capital of Samar. Public notices were posted informing the population that anyone found outside camp limits would be automatically considered a pulajan. This done, the Constabulary launched its campaign in earnest, bringing in reinforcements from Luzon. Despite the beefed-up government forces, the pulajanes were able to attack several garrisons and capture a large number of weapons. In one raid on a Scout garrison they annihilated the entire government force. By this time the pulajanes could muster as many as two thousand men for a battle. Thousands of well-armed rebels controlled the interior of Samar and could seize large towns at will.

### Fighting Style

In December, 1904, the Americans decided to send in the regular army to garrison the towns so that the Constabulary could deploy troops inland where the pulajan strongholds were located. One such Constabulary detachment established itself at San Ramon in the heart of pulajan country. The Constabulary fort was soon attacked by the pulajanes.

The following description of the assault will show the fighting style of the rebels:

The first assaulting party consisted of sixty bolomen each of whom had two bolos lashed to their wrists. Others carried long poles with

burning torches in order to burn the grass roofs and force its occupants into the open where they could be chopped down by the fanatical bolomen. . . . the main attack unfolded with 700 red-and-white-uniformed pulajanes shouting "*Tad-tad!*", as they stormed the fortress. The bolomen received supporting rifle fire from the nearby brush but it was not effective as the pulajanes were notoriously poor shots. All night the battle raged and gradually the pulajan bodies piled up outside the fort. Hundreds of pulajanes were wounded while 100 were killed outright before Anugar (the leader) ordered the assault broken off.<sup>71</sup>

## Control of the Countryside

By February 1905, the pulajanes dominated many areas of the island. The government troops could hardly keep up with them. As fast as they dispersed one concentration of rebels, they received news of another rebel build-up elsewhere under one or another of Papa Pablo's many lieutenants. The government had practically no control over Samar. American authority was limited to the military posts; the greater part of Samar was pulajan territory.

Since the Constabulary could make no headway, Samar was divided into two sections. The Constabulary retained authority over the more peaceful western zone while the eastern zone was placed under the complete control of the regular army. The American troops first went after Dagohob. In a surprise attack on Dagohob's stronghold, they killed the pulajan leader himself. His death ended resistance in the area he controlled.<sup>72</sup> Many of his followers surrendered. The Constabulary also killed another chieftain, Anugar, who had been an effective agitator.<sup>73</sup>

Early in 1906, the group of Nazario Aguillar agreed to surrender to Governor Curry. This was only a ruse however, for during the surrender ceremony, instead of giving up their arms, they suddenly attacked. Governor Curry and other high ranking visitors had to run for their lives. It was a suicidal attempt but the rebels did manage to inflict many casualties.<sup>74</sup>

In November, 1906, de la Cruz, another pulajan chieftain, was killed in battle and a number of his officers were captured together with a pulajan flag and documents. A few days later constables attacked Papa Pablo's camp, caught the rebels by surprise, and killed Papa Pablo himself.<sup>75</sup>

Only one leader of any importance remained. This was Isidro Pompac, more popularly known as Otoy who assumed the leadership and title of Papa. But by the time he took command,



the pulajan forces were much reduced. Papa Otoy roamed from place to place, managing to elude capture for four years until a Constabulary force finally succeeded in locating his small band. He was killed in October, 1911.<sup>76</sup>

Thus ended the last of the pulajan struggles. In Samar alone, more than seven thousand pulajanes had lost their lives in a courageous but doomed attempt to free their island from American control.

### Spirit of the Revolution Alive

Throughout the first decade of American occupation, the facade of stability barely concealed the resistance that continued to rage in various parts of the country. It is true that most of the resistance groups, particularly the quasi-religious ones, did not have clear political programs. Nevertheless, the people manifested their protest through these organizations which in a primitive sense sought freedom from foreign rule.

Even after relative peace had been established, tension was such that the authorities were always on the look-out for new outbreaks of unrest. The masses were still restive, still responsive to any movement that rekindled in their hearts the revolutionary spirit of the Katipunan.

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## New Outpost and Preserve

The American conquest of the Philippines was part of a pattern of expansion which dated almost from the establishment of the thirteen colonies. The course of empire began with the conquest of the American West, an undertaking which resulted in the decimation of the Indians and the liquidation of Spanish power in the Americas.

As that arch-expansionist, Theodore Roosevelt, pointed out:

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion. . . . This expansion is not a matter of regret, but of pride.<sup>1</sup>

Another enthusiastic supporter of expansionism, Senator Albert Beveridge, justified the successive acquisitions of territory by the United States as a fulfillment of the historic destiny of the American people. Ridiculing the compunctions of the opponents of expansion, he reminded them of their counterparts in an earlier time in these words:

The timid souls of that day said no new territory was needed, and for an hour, they were right. But Jefferson, through whose intellect the centuries marched. . . . Jefferson, the first imperialist of the Republic — Jefferson acquired that imperial territory which swept the Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the British possessions, and the march of the flag began.<sup>2</sup>

The American civil war, glorified as a war for the liberation of the slaves, was in reality the bourgeois revolution of the United States. A war between the aggressive industrial North

and the agricultural South, its outcome was the triumph of capitalism on the continent. The victory of the North swept aside the last major obstacle to capitalist expansion.

### **Rationalizations of Expansionism**

Various justifications were given for expansionism. Some called it manifest destiny, others, under the influence of Social Darwinism, accepted it as the inevitable consequence of the inequality of races. A national lifetime of practice implemented the latter concept. Indian tribes were slaughtered and their remnants dehumanized in reservations; Negroes were enslaved and later emancipated only to become second-class citizens; finally, Asians were brought in as coolie labor and subjected to many degrading legal and extra-legal restrictions premised on their supposed racial inferiority.

But underlying these and other justifications were the overriding requirements of an expanding capitalism. In the words of Senator John F. Miller of California: "The time has come now. . . when new markets are necessary. . . in order to keep our factories running."<sup>3</sup>

One of the commissioners appointed by President Chester Arthur to investigate the markets of South America put it no less clearly:

Peace, progress, and the manifold blessings of contented producing classes wait on the footsteps of any measure that shall insure to our laborers, our farmers, and our manufacturers fair chance in the markets of Central and South America.<sup>4</sup>

It was the impulse of capitalism that had led and would continue to lead to the widening of the frontiers of the United States. The drive westward and the conquest of Spanish and Mexican territories had been part of the dynamics of broadening and deepening the home market.

### **Economic Roots**

Although the expansionist tendencies of the United States were already apparent even before the Civil War in the policy statements of some of its leaders as well as in their interest in Latin America, Alaska and certain areas of the Pacific, it was the victory of the North that finally allowed the full operation of the capitalist forces that had been held in check by the

demands of an archaic plantation economy in the South.

The last twenty years of the nineteenth century therefore saw the rapid industrial development of the United States. An increase in the output of manufactured goods which far outstripped the internal demand created an urgent need for new markets. The impulse to territorial expansion became irresistible. The tide of expansionism that gripped America during this period was nothing more than the realization of the necessities of capitalist production.

The search for markets had led to Commodore Perry's forcible opening of Japan. The Americans next secured Pago-Pago from the Germans, then laid claim to Hawaii. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the drive was for participation in the China trade.

The long and severe economic depression that began in 1893 added a note of urgency to expansionist maneuvers. One million men were unemployed; the frontier phase of American development that had been a safety valve for economic crises was practically over. Puzzled and disturbed by the crisis and casting about for solutions, many people began to accept the "empire doctrine" peddled by imperialist interests especially when it was presented as manifest destiny.

The imperatives of expansion into Latin America and the need for a convenient base for the China trade were the propulsive factors for the American attack on the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay.

### The Philippine Role

At this time, the big powers were engaged in the profitable business of dividing the Chinese "melon" among themselves. The United States wanted her share. Being a late comer, she tried all sorts of subterfuges, among them the "open door policy." But to be on the same footing as the other powers, the United States had to have a base near-by. The Philippines was the answer. So, for the second time the islands became a springboard to Asia. It will be remembered that the Spaniards decided to retain the Philippines in the early years of their rule precisely for the same reason: to be able to penetrate China economically and evangelistically.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, many American traders had already been cashing in on the China trade. The wealth of the Cabot, Forbes, Lodge, Cushing, Coolidge, and Perkins families was based on this China trade. In

the Philippines itself two American houses — Russel, Sturgis, and Co. and Peele, Hubbel and Co. — were among the beneficiaries of the opening of the archipelago to world trade. But these two houses were dependent on British banks for credit and suffered intense competition from the highly organized British trading companies. They were forced out of business in the last quarter of the century.

The various foreign service establishments of the United States in the Far East were unanimous in urging the entry of American commerce in the China market. In the Philippines, the American consul was practically calling for American conquest. U.S. Consul Oscar Williams, reporting from Manila in March, 1898 regarding rumors of the imminence of a Spanish-American war, claimed that Filipino, mestizo, and Chinese merchants and even Spanish businessmen eagerly awaited American conquest of the islands because they believed that American sovereignty would be beneficial to their economic interests.<sup>5</sup>

The American consul in Siam likewise urged the seizure of the Philippines as a forward base of the U.S. in the Pacific. After making a trip to the Philippines to look into commercial possibilities, this gentleman wrote an article in which he advanced the view that once in U.S. hands, the Philippines would become an excellent base for the extension of American trade and commerce throughout the Far East, particularly China.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from the general imperatives of trade and international power politics which made the conquest of the Philippines an attractive prospect, we may cite the specific interest of a powerful sector of American business — the Sugar Trust — in the annexation of the islands. Even a cursory discussion should give an instructive view of how giant economic interests can operate through high public officials to influence the direction of government policy in the United States.

The American Sugar Refining Company, or the Sugar Trust as it is more popularly known, was in the 1890's the sixth largest U.S. corporation and an almost pure monopoly controlling as it did 98% of U.S. sugar refining. Since its super-profits were wholly dependent on tariff legislation — a low tariff on the raw sugar it imported and a high tariff on refined to eliminate competition from foreign refiners — the right relations with key government officials were imperative. The Trust had several strategically placed Senators in its corner, among them William McKinley whose Presidential campaign in 1896 it allegedly

supported with generous contributions. This favor was promptly repaid with a new tariff bill which passed Congress only days after McKinley was inaugurated. Unfortunately for the Sugar Trust, it was not able to have its way in the Senate where it was bested by the combined forces of the beet sugar-growing states. By raising the domestic price of sugar, the new Dingley tariff gave a boost to beet sugar growers and local refiners which threatened the Sugar Trust with extinction. But if the United States were to come into possession of sugar-producing territories, their produce would not be subject to the new tariff provisions and could enter the U.S. duty-free. Given the influence of the Sugar Trust on McKinley and certain key men in his administration, one may well suspect that the interests of the Sugar Trust were an important consideration in the extension of U.S. control over sugar-producing Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines within a year from the passage of the Dingley tariff. At the very least, the Trust could be counted as one of the powerful pressure groups pushing for imperialist policies.<sup>7</sup>

### In Search of a Patron

The Filipino ilustrados were aware of American interest in the Philippines. It will be recalled that as early as 1897, the ilustrados, eager to secure a foreign patron to underwrite their revolution proposed that the United States send arms and ammunition to their government pledging as security for payment two provinces and the custom house at Manila. (See Chapter 12) American diplomatic and consular representatives became active in establishing contacts with Filipino revolutionists just before the outbreak of the Spanish-American war and were sending to Washington comprehensive reports on Philippine conditions.

The British for their part favored American designs toward the Philippines. U.S. Ambassador John Hay, writing from London to the Secretary of State, reported that the British Government thought it best that the United States retain the Philippine Islands.<sup>8</sup>

### The Catholic Interest

The Catholic hierarchy in the United States also used its influence to encourage the American government to occupy the country. Cardinal James Gibbons and Archbishop John Ireland,

both of whom had close connections with the Republican Party and with McKinley himself, were advocates of annexation. They saw American conquest as the only way to salvage the vast economic interests of the Church in the islands. Spanish rule had collapsed; if the Americans did not take over, the Philippine Revolutionary Government would retain power.

The Revolutionary Government had already ordered the confiscation of all friar estates. (See Chapter 12) Although the ilustrados obviously had no intention of distributing these lands to their former tenants, they could not be expected to rescind the policy of confiscation since the expropriation of friar lands was one of the strongest demands of the Filipino masses. Friar abuses had, after all, played a big role in sparking the Revolution, and the people had amply demonstrated during their struggle their hatred for their religious landlords. But under American occupation, the American hierarchy hoped to take over from the Spanish clergy responsibility for Church interests in the Philippines.<sup>9</sup>

At the conference which was to draft the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States, the Catholic Church played a shrewd game which insured that it would remain in undisturbed possession of its properties in the Philippines.

During the Cuban revolution, a Spanish bond issue had been subscribed by various European powers — France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary principally — to provide Spain with badly-needed funds to suppress the uprising. Wary of a new rival in Asia, these European powers were placing obstacles to the conclusion of the peace treaty by insisting that Cuba or the United States pay the Spanish indebtedness. Since the United States government refused to pay or to allow its new dependency to do so, the conference was deadlocked for some time.

The Vatican observer at the conference, Placido Louis Chappelle, Archbishop of New Orleans, used his good offices to persuade the Americans to give Spain \$20,000,000. Although the amount appeared to be the purchase price for the Philippines, it was actually to be used to pay the suppression debt, thus overcoming the objection of the European powers.

The intermediary turned out to be a principal beneficiary. The Vatican wanted a treaty which would make it appear that the Philippines had been ceded to the United States by reason of purchase rather than conquest so as to protect its title to its vast properties. Accordingly, the treaty in its final form

stipulated that cession of the islands to the United States

can not in any respect impair the property or rights which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds. . . ecclesiastical. . . or any other associations. . .<sup>10</sup>

### The "Anti-Imperialists"

Although powerful economic, political, and even religious forces were in favor of the annexation of the Philippines, there was also much opposition to the move. The fate of the archipelago became the subject of a great nationwide debate in the United States. Opponents of annexation came to be called anti-imperialists, a term which did not, however, accurately describe the position of the majority of the opponents.

While many sincere individuals and groups supported the anti-imperialist movement, these elements were merely window dressing for the real forces that opposed outright territorial acquisition. Sectors still animated by the anti-slavery sentiment were against subjecting another race to domination. Racists on the other hand dreaded contamination from an inferior people. Labor unions feared the influx of cheap labor and farmers objected to competition from foreign crops.

Although commercialism was clearly the mainspring of American occupation of the Philippines and annexation was supported by big industrial and manufacturing interests, other industrialists and businessmen were opposed to their government's policy. A leading anti-imperialist was the industrialist Andrew Carnegie. His views were typical of his group. He did not oppose expansion, in fact he advocated a vigorous opening of markets abroad to satisfy the demands of the country's growing productive capacity; but he believed that such markets should not be obtained through outright occupation.<sup>11</sup>

It is clear therefore that the anti-imperialism that opposed Philippine colonization is not the same as the anti-imperialism that animates the national liberation movements in many underdeveloped nations today. Most anti-imperialists then were in reality neo-colonialists. The only difference between the imperialists and many anti-imperialists of that time was that the former believed in territorial annexation while the latter were for economic expansion without seizure of territory.

Although Carnegie and other businessmen eventually became reconciled to annexation, the hostility of the agrarian groups, the real backbone of the opposition to the acquisition of the



Philippines, continued unabated until the colony was "granted" its independence.

## The Real Debate

This opposition, which surfaced scarcely a month after the Battle of Manila Bay, made itself felt throughout the negotiations with Spain and the debate over the ratification of the treaty. Although it did not succeed in deflecting the U.S. government from its colonialist course, the anti-imperialist opposition affected official policy toward the colony in many ways. The farm interests in particular, because of their representation in the U.S. Congress, had a long-term economic influence.

The adoption of an anti-annexation stance by William Jennings Bryan, Democratic Party standard bearer, also exerted some pressure on the political decisions of the re-electionist President McKinley. But the faith which Aguinaldo seems to have had in the Democrats is not justified by a study of Bryan's real position. For while Bryan was against the acquisition of colonies, he did not object to naval bases and other expedients for the protection of American commerce and investment in foreign lands. He objected to annexation on the ground that only the industrial interests would profit while the burden of securing and policing the territory would be borne by the people of the United States.

Political and administrative policies in the early years of occupation attempted to quiet the public clamor against colonization especially because President McKinley was seeking re-election. Hence, the stringent censorship of news dispatches from the Philippines to conceal the fierce resistance of the Filipinos and their brutal suppression by the Americans, the propaganda that the Filipinos in fact welcomed American rule, the establishment of civil government to prove early normalization, the appointment of collaborationist ilustrados to high positions to demonstrate Filipino acceptance of colonial status, the denigration of resistance leaders as bandits and thieves, and the frequent reiteration of America's altruistic motives and promises of eventual independence after a period of tutelage in the art of democratic self-government.

Unfortunately, the imperialist propaganda offensive not only soothed opponents at home, it was also accepted as historical truth by several generations of miseducated Filipinos.

## A Clash of Interests

American economic policies in the Philippines represented a compromise between two clashing economic forces at home: those interested in trade and economic holdings overseas and those interested in protecting local production and labor from foreign competition. The first enthusiastically supported colonization; the second opposed it and subsequently agitated for early independence. Tobacco growers and sugar beet and cane interests afraid of competition from Philippine tobacco and sugar opposed the ratification of the peace treaty.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, the first independence resolutions were authored by senators from sugar-producing states.

Prior to the vote which ratified the peace treaty, Senator Samuel McEnery, representing the sugar-growing state of Louisiana, introduced a resolution to the effect that ratification of the treaty with Spain should not be construed to mean that U.S. citizenship was thereby granted to inhabitants of the Philippines nor that there was any intention to annex the islands permanently as an integral part of the territory of the United States. For his part, Senator Augustus O. Bacon of the sugar-producing state of Georgia proposed an amendment which sought to commit the United States to grant independence to the Philippines as soon as a stable government was established.

Senator Bacon's reasons had nothing to do with the welfare of the Filipino people nor with their right to freedom. He just wanted to protect the American sugar producer. He was afraid that Philippine sugar produced by "cheap Asiatic labor" might depress domestic sugar prices and thus destroy a profitable industry.

The Bacon amendment was defeated when Vice-President Garret-Hobart broke the tie with a dissenting vote. The McEnery resolution passed by a narrow margin of four votes but since it was never placed before the House of Representatives it did not acquire validity as a statement of policy.<sup>13</sup>

## Taft's Role

The fate of the two protectionist moves indicates the administration's own commitment to annexation; the narrow margins in both instances, on the other hand, indicate the strength of the anti-annexation bloc. The Filipinos would in future years consistently fail to perceive the selfish motives of many individuals and groups who supported their demands for

independence, naively hailing them as true friends of the Filipino people.

One such personage whom Filipinos have erroneously regarded as their friend is William Howard Taft. As President of the Philippine Commission, Civil Governor, Secretary of War, and finally President of the United States, Taft probably exercised the most powerful single influence on American policy toward the Philippines in the first decade of American rule.

A member of the American elite, Taft was the son of a Secretary of War in President Grant's cabinet and the protegee of Senator Foraker of Ohio, in his time one of the rabid imperialists of the Republican Party. Taft's brother, Charles, was a wealthy corporation lawyer connected with the J.P. Morgan banking group.<sup>14</sup>

With such a background, it is no wonder that Taft fully concurred with the views of the big monopoly investment groups and regarded it as his function to facilitate the entry into the colony of major exporters like the textile industry and major investors like the railroad, public utility, mining, sugar, and construction companies. Accordingly, the Taft Commission recommended very strongly to Washington the urgent enactment of land and franchise laws that would give these firms maximum opportunities for profitable investments.

### Servicing American Business

American investors had been pressuring the Taft Commission and presumably Washington as well to do something to open the Philippines for exploitation at the earliest possible time. But the military government did not have the authority to enact laws governing property and contracts. Taft therefore urged the early establishment of civil government. He clashed on this point with the military, notably Gen. Arthur MacArthur who declared that given the conditions obtaining at the time, the Filipinos would need "bayonet treatment for at least a decade"<sup>15</sup> before peace and order could be restored. But with the re-election of McKinley, the pressure of economic interests overrode military objections. Filipino resistance was minimized by demoting guerrilla fighters to the status of thieves and bandits so that a civil government that could service impatient American businessmen could be established.

The measure that made this possible was the Spooner Amendment, a rider to the army appropriation bill empowering

the President of the United States instead of the military to administer the colony until such time as Congress could enact legislation setting up a permanent government.

Taft vigorously supported passage of this measure and the Taft Commission Report of 1900 explained in clear terms what civil government was expected to accomplish. Calling attention to the fact that the only corporations then in existence were Spanish or English, the Taft report declared that a civil government was needed to pass laws which would facilitate American investment in the Philippines.<sup>16</sup>

On January 2, 1901, the Taft Commission sent an anxious wire to Secretary of War Elihu Root urgently recommending passage of the Spooner bill because without a civil government no public franchise could be granted, public lands could not be sold, and mining claims could not be allowed. The Commission reminded the Secretary of War that hundreds of American miners were already waiting in the Philippines. The Spooner Amendment was the first legal step taken to formalize the colonization of the islands.<sup>17</sup>

### “Philippines for the Filipinos”

Taft is gratefully remembered by many Filipinos for enunciating the policy of “the Philippines for the Filipinos.” It would appear that as early as 1903, Taft had already put forward the fundamental demand which Filipino nationalists would echo and re-echo in later years. Moreover, Taft’s statement was widely interpreted as an endorsement of Philippine independence. Nothing could be farther from the truth as an examination of the circumstances will show.

In 1903, toward the end of his term as governor general, Taft delivered a speech in Iloilo, part of which was reported by the *Iloilo Times* as follows:

The governor then gave some advice to foreigners and Americans, remarking that if they found fault with the way that the government was being run here, they could leave the islands; that the government was being run for the Filipinos.<sup>18</sup>

What actually motivated this rebuke of his fellow Americans and apparent defense of the Filipinos was Taft’s belief that American merchants residing in the islands were behaving in a very short-sighted manner by concentrating on supplying the needs of the American community, particularly the soldiers,

and disdaining to develop trade with the Filipinos towards whom they were openly hostile and contemptuous. In a letter to H.C. Hollister dated September 21, 1903, he expressed his annoyance in this manner:

We have in these islands possibly eight thousand Americans and we have about eight millions of Christian Filipinos. If business is to succeed here, it must be in the sale of American goods to the eight millions of Filipinos. One would think that a child in business might understand that the worst possible policy in attempting to sell goods is to abuse, berate and vilify (sic) your only possible customers.<sup>19</sup>

For Taft, the policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos" fell squarely within the imperialist framework. By promoting an improvement in the standard of living of the Filipinos and by giving them the benefits of American education, he would be creating new tastes and consumer demands, thus developing a profitable market for American products. Here is Taft's own explanation:

The promotion of their material and intellectual welfare will necessarily develop wants on their part for things which in times of poverty they regard as luxuries, but which, as they grow more educated and as they grow wealthier, become necessities. The carrying out of the principle, "the Philippines for the Filipinos" in first promoting the welfare, material, spiritual, and intellectual of the people of these Islands is the one course which can create any market here among the people for American goods and American supplies that will make the relation of the United States to the Philippines a profitable one for our merchants and manufacturers.<sup>20</sup>

As Taft saw it, although some of his fellow Americans did not, "the Philippines for the Filipinos" was good business. His goal was the enhancement of American economic control. This being the case, running the Philippines for the Filipinos did not mean giving them independence, or even autonomy. Taft was of the opinion that any talk of independence must be postponed from one hundred to one hundred fifty years, for Filipinos in his view were "nothing but grown-up children."<sup>21</sup> In fact, he believed that the successful implementation of the policy of the "Philippines for the Filipinos" would produce a nation of contented colonials who would not object to the permanent retention of their country by the United States.

## Philippine Status Clarified

While imperialists like Taft were laying the groundwork for the economic exploitation of the colony, protectionists were likewise exerting pressure to insure that the colonial relationship would not hurt their interests. Judicial decisions on three insular cases which did not concern the Philippines nevertheless defined the exact status of the country and its inhabitants to the satisfaction of these protectionist sectors. The pertinent ruling was that the U.S. Congress had the power to define just how United States sovereignty was to be asserted in areas over which it exercised sovereignty.<sup>22</sup>

What this meant in practice was that while Filipinos swore allegiance to the United States, they were not regarded as American citizens, and Congress could therefore enact special laws governing them which did not affect American citizens. The decisions on the Insular Cases allayed the anxieties of domestic industries, particularly the agricultural sector, for if special laws could be passed governing the colony, then this meant that laws protecting the home market from competition from Philippine products could be enacted. Accordingly, a high tariff wall was erected to restrain the entry of Philippine products in the United States. This tariff was later reduced on a plea of the Taft Commission in behalf of Filipino export-crop producers who were after all collaborating with the United States. On the other hand, Congress adjusted tariffs in the Philippines to allow the entry of American goods on a preferential basis. The American government thus satisfied its manufacturers and exporters on one hand, and its agricultural sector on the other, in both instances at the expense of the Filipinos. The decisions on the Insular Cases gave the U.S. government enough flexibility to evolve a colonial policy satisfactory to all sectors.

## The Cooper Act — Protectionist Triumph

As anticipated in the Spooner Amendment, the U.S. Congress subsequently got around to the business of providing an organic act for the colony. This was the Philippine Bill of 1902 otherwise known as the Cooper Act. This act is usually remembered for its provision establishing the Philippine Assembly as the lower chamber of a bicameral legislature whose upper house was the Philippine Commission. Besides ratifying the prior establishment by the U.S. President of other instru-

mentalities of government such as the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and his subordinates, and the Supreme Court, the organic act also empowered the Philippine Legislature to elect two resident commissioners to the United States. The act also provided for a bill of rights.

Other aspects of the act and the behind-the-scenes conflicts over some of its provisions are generally neglected although they are of equal if not greater significance and interest. The conflict between the industrialists in search of markets and investment opportunities and the agricultural interests concerned with protection of their local products and market emerged once more. This time the protectionist interests and their allies among racialists and conservative labor unions gained the upper hand as evidenced by certain provisions.

Section 4 of the Act, for example, defined Filipinos as "citizens of the Philippine Islands and as such entitled to the protection of the United States." Filipinos were not to be considered as American citizens. This pleased the racialists and calmed the fears of certain labor groups concerning a possible influx of cheap labor.

The provisions on public land laws received particularly close scrutiny from representatives of agricultural states. Governor General Taft's own position on this question is one more evidence of his consistent support for American big business. Taft recommended that landholdings be allowed a maximum acreage of 25,000 hectares, a bid to open the country to exploitation by monopolies like the Sugar Trust which wanted to establish large plantations. The powerful bloc representing U.S. agricultural interests, however, won the day. The Organic Act set the acreage limit for individuals acquiring public land to only 16 hectares. Corporations were limited to 1,024 hectares thus minimizing the risk of competition from large-scale agricultural production in the colony.<sup>2 3</sup>

## Settling Down to Business

Assured of protection against competition from either cheap labor or cheap produce, the sectors that had supported the anti-imperialist movement became reconciled to annexation. Moderate anti-colonialists were mollified by the limited participation in government granted to Filipinos. The anti-imperialist movement soon died down; its major concern had scarcely been the freedom and welfare of the Filipino people.

The furor regarding annexation over, the Americans settled

down to the business of exploiting their new colony in earnest. It should be recalled that within a few days after the battle of Manila Bay, the American Treasury Department set a man working on a "Report on Financial and Industrial Conditions of the Philippines."<sup>2 4</sup> Then in May, 1898, Secretary of the Interior C.N. Bliss made arrangements with the Secretary of War for a geologist of the U.S. Geological Survey to accompany the U.S. Military Expedition to the Philippines in order to secure information regarding geological and mineral resources. James H. Blount in his book, *The American Occupation of the Philippines*, commented that the report read like a mining stock prospectus.<sup>2 5</sup>

### Shouldering the Costs of Exploitation

Exploitation of the colony involved development of the import-export trade and investment principally in the extractive industries. These ventures required the development of roads and railroads as well as the enactment of legislation regarding trade between the United States and the colony. Therefore, far from being the result of American interest in the welfare of the Filipinos, the road-building program was designed to satisfy American needs. The initial motivation was military as the following frank statement of General Arthur MacArthur reveals:

One of my purposes was to improve roads for strategical purposes entirely. I got \$1,000,000 gold for the purpose. Whatever incidental advantage arose to the communities was, of course, in consequence of the military necessity. My view was to make passable roads during all seasons, so that by assembling troops at central points and connecting the outpost by wire we could rapidly move from the rendezvous to the extremities, and thereby avoid the necessity of scattering into so many small posts. . .<sup>2 6</sup> (underscoring supplied)

The money to build the roads was raised by taxing the Filipinos. It had earlier been decided that the insular government was to be supported entirely by taxes levied on the population, hence all public works and other projects such as those in education and sanitation, not to speak of the government machinery itself, were paid for by the Filipinos. In effect, Filipinos were shouldering the costs of those social improvements that would facilitate their own exploitation. To add insult to injury, American-oriented education would teach Filipinos to regard all these and more as benefits derived from



colonial rule. (See Chapter 16)

After military necessity had been satisfied by the pacification of the country, the principal motivation for building roads was to facilitate the collection of agricultural crops for export and the distribution of goods imported from the United States. The same was true for the railroads. They were built to service areas which American investors wanted linked to population centers. For example, the railroad to Legaspi, Albay was built to link the hemp-producing Bicol provinces to Manila. At that time hemp was a principal export to the United States. It would have been as important for the Filipinos to link Manila to the Cagayan Valley and the Ilocos provinces. This would have brought a new prosperity to these tobacco-growing regions.<sup>27</sup> Evidently, tobacco interests in the United States, fearing competition from Philippine tobacco, exerted pressure for the project was abandoned.

### Eliminating Competition

Before the American occupation, the Philippines had been trading with other countries aside from Spain. It will be recalled that two American firms had established themselves in Manila but folded up in the face of British competition and credit control. Now that the United States government was in a position to aid American traders and investors, it quickly proceeded to eliminate competition by enacting a series of Tariff Acts. The Tariff Act of 1901 lowered the tariff rates on some types of American exports to the Philippines. The Tariff Act of 1902 reduced by 25% the duty on Philippine exports to the United States and removed the tariff on American goods entering the Philippines.<sup>28</sup>

The American government was not yet entirely free at this time to implement to the full its policy of rechannelling the colony's trade to the United States. Because the Treaty of Paris provided for a ten-year period during which Spanish ships and goods could enter the Philippines on the same terms as American ships and merchandise, the United States had to wait until 1909 to implement all its plans to benefit American businessmen who were clamoring for free trade.

### The Payne-Aldrich Act

As the restrictive clause of the Treaty of Paris neared its expiration date of April 1, 1909, agitation for free trade grew in

intensity. A few months after the Treaty of Paris restrictions lapsed, the U.S. Congress passed the Payne-Aldrich Act. Under this law all American goods could enter the Philippines free of duty and in unlimited quantities. However, because of the objections of the sugar and tobacco interests, quotas were imposed on the entry of Philippine sugar and tobacco. In addition, American rice growers successfully blocked entry of Philippine rice. By 1913, however, all quota limitations were abolished by the Underwood-Simmons Act. Free trade relations continued until 1934.<sup>29</sup>

The provision of the Payne-Aldrich Act allowing the entry of 300,000 tons of Philippine raw sugar into the United States free of duty was no doubt responsive to the desire of the powerful Sugar Trust to engage in large-scale sugar production in the Philippines. Since the local sugar industry was relatively small, the Sugar Trust was fairly certain that if it could acquire large tracts of land it could appropriate the lion's share of the quota. The Sugar Trust found what it wanted in the 22,484-hectare San Jose Estate in Mindoro. This was formerly a friar estate and was one of several vast haciendas of the religious that the insular government put up for public sale.

### Friar Lands and Sugar Investors

How did these friar estates come into the possession of the colonial government? In 1902, President Roosevelt sent Taft to Rome to negotiate the withdrawal of the friars from the Philippines and the purchase of their landed estates. The Pope refused to agree to either proposal but in December, 1903, before Governor Taft's term ended, he finally succeeded in reaching an agreement with the religious corporations in Manila to buy 410,000 acres or approximately 166,000 hectares of their landholdings for some seven million dollars. The Philippine Commission passed the Friar Lands Act which prescribed the conditions for the sale and lease of the friar estates, preference to be given to some sixty thousand tenants who worked the land.<sup>30</sup>

The purchase of the friar haciendas was a shrewd political move designed to gain the goodwill of the Filipinos and thus help reconcile them to American sovereignty. However, the government obviously had no serious intention of implementing the declared objective of giving preference to the tillers, for by insisting on setting a selling price which would allow it to recover the purchase price plus the interest on the bonds it had

floated to raise the cash, it in effect put the land beyond the reach of most tenants.

But if the price was beyond the pockets of poor tenants and even of small farmers, it was attractive to a rich corporation like the Sugar Trust. The latter decided to buy the San Jose Estate. Before it could do so, however, steps had to be taken to exclude the friar lands from the definition of public lands so as to circumvent the acreage limitation of 1,024 hectares set by the Cooper Act of 1902. The Philippine Commission and the War Department promptly cooperated by issuing the desired legal opinions and the sale was accordingly finalized in 1910.<sup>31</sup>

### The San Jose Estate Transaction

Sugar-beet growers in the United States protested against this new threat to their interests. Representative Martin of Colorado, a sugar-beet growing state, demanded an investigation into what he charged was an illegal transaction. He accused then President Taft and Secretary of War Root of complicity in the land deal. Before his appointment, Root had been a prominent corporation lawyer who counted among his clients such economic giants as the Union Tobacco Company, the United States Rubber Company, the Lead Trust, the Whiskey Trust, the Watch Trust, Standard Oil Company and H.F. Havemeyer, and the Sugar Trust.<sup>32</sup>

Certain intriguing facts surfaced in the course of the congressional investigation. The representative of the Sugar Trust who had been sent to the Philippines in the initial phase of the negotiations for San Jose was a legal associate of the brother of President Taft. Dean Worcester who had served with Taft in the Philippine Commission and was now Secretary of the Interior in the insular government handled the arrangements for the transaction. Governor-General Forbes and the Philippine Commission amended the Friar Lands Act to allow the government to sell friar lands without acreage limitation. Taft's own active pressure in the past for revision of the Organic Act of 1902 to allow the ownership of vast plantations by Americans was also recalled.

To make matters worse, it was discovered that after Taft had become President, the Philippine Commission approved a number of questionable land leases: a friar hacienda known as the Isabela Estate with an area of more than 20,000 hectares had been leased to a group of Americans in Manila; Dean Worcester's own nephew had leased a 977-hectare estate in

Nueva Ecija; and Frank Carpenter, the executive secretary of the Philippine Commission, had leased the 13,000 hectare Tala Estate.<sup>33</sup>

The arguments Worcester advanced in defending the San Jose Estate transaction anticipated the typical colonialist justification for future exploitation. Worcester alleged that the venture would give gainful employment to many Filipino laborers and would be a valuable demonstration of efficient production methods for Filipino sugar growers. The Philippine Assembly, reflecting the interests of Filipino hacenderos and mindful of public opinion against land-grabs, registered its opposition and in 1914 enacted a law which included friar lands under the purview of public lands and therefore subject to the limitation of sixteen hectares for an individual and 1,024 for a corporation. But the San Jose transaction was allowed to stand. To rescind it would have embarrassed the officials involved, especially since the investigation conducted by the U.S. Congress had ended in a whitewash of said officials.

## The Land Policy

American land policy in the Philippines was conservative. Although the colonial government declared its desire to broaden the base of independent landownership, American interests clearly lay in not disturbing — and indeed in strengthening — the system of landownership that had developed under Spain. It is not surprising therefore that policies officially intended to encourage the growth of a class of small to middle farmers were only partially implemented or eventually redounded to the benefit of large landowners. What happened to the friar estates which the Americans purchased is a good example. Two other policies may be cited: namely, the land titling drive and the homestead program.

The Philippine Commission set up a procedure for the acquisition by landowners of Torrens titles to their property and simplified the method by which individuals or corporations could acquire agricultural land. Poverty and ignorance, however, prevented small farmers from protecting their property by acquiring the necessary land titles. On the other hand, landlords were able to legalize through the Torrens title even their claims to lands which they had usurped through fraudulent surveys and other means. It is significant that almost all of the titles granted by the Court of Land Registration up to 1910 were for large private landholdings.<sup>34</sup>

Although the Americans wished to encourage the cultivation of hitherto uncultivated land, the homestead program did not succeed. For one thing, the Americans failed to take into consideration the fact that Filipinos do not habitually live on the lands they work but in *poblaciones* and *sitios*. For another, without systematic government assistance, poor tenants did not have the resources necessary to take advantage of the homestead offers. This was the same reason why only a small area of the cultivated friar lands went to the actual tillers.

What the Philippine Commission really wanted to develop was a plantation economy characterized by vast landholdings. Thus, although the agricultural sector in the U.S., fearing competition, succeeded in placing a limit of 1,024 hectares on landholdings that corporations could acquire and sixteen hectares for individuals, no legislation was ever passed to reduce the size of extant holdings and no private haciendas were bought for subdivision among tenants. In addition, the colonial taxation policy favored landowners. Agricultural lands were underassessed and undertaxed and collection was notoriously lax. Agricultural products were exempted from any tax assessment in order to encourage export-crop production. Another concession to the landowning elite which the colonial government granted during the early years of occupation was the non-imposition of a legacy and inheritance tax.<sup>35</sup>

The Americans had a two-fold interest in strengthening the Filipino landed elite. Economically, it was the landholdings of this elite that provided the raw materials which the Americans required. The demand for export crops was a powerful stimulus for more land purchases by landowners. Hacenderos enlarged their holdings and intensified exploitation to take fuller advantage of the demand for their products under free trade conditions. Thus the hacienda system that had been born as a result of capitalist linkage during the Spanish occupation was strengthened under American rule. The tenancy problem worsened during the same period.

Politically, the landed elite constituted the most stable allies of American colonialism and many of them were recruited into office. Their prosperity gave them a definite stake in the colonial set-up.

### The Triumph of American Business

The various economic legislations culminating in the establishment of free trade were all designed to produce an economic

climate attractive to American traders and investors. The response to the lure of profits in the new colony was prompt and strong. Soon, most of the old Spanish and European houses were being replaced by American firms.

The following facts and figures demonstrate how quickly the economy of the colony was taken over by American business and tied securely to the American economy:

In 1900, the U.S. share in the total value of the import and export trade of the Philippines was only 11%. This figure rose sharply: by 1910, the U.S. share was 41%, by 1920 it was 65% and by 1935, 72%.<sup>36</sup>

In 1899, the Philippines purchased only 9% of its total imports from the United States; by 1933 the proportion had risen to 64%. In 1899, only 18% of Philippine exports went to the United States; by 1933 the figure had risen to 83%.<sup>37</sup>

The Philippines imported manufactured goods and exported raw materials. This was disadvantageous for the country because relatively speaking it was buying dear and selling cheap. Moreover, colonial policy insured that the country would remain a raw material producer and therefore always at the mercy of industrialized nations, particularly the United States. To make matters worse, the people shared only minimally in the temporary boom periods of their agricultural products, the lion's share of the profit going into the pockets of foreign investors and the rest to the Filipino landowners.

A brief survey of the production and investment picture in the major agricultural exports will show the influx of American capital.

## 1. Sugar

The first modern sugar centrals were established by American capital soon after the institution of free trade. These were the Mindoro Sugar Company which began operating in 1910 and the centrals in San Carlos, Negros Occidental and Calamba, Laguna which were established in 1912. By 1922, the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* listed thirty-three sugar centrals, most of them American and Spanish-controlled. Only one, the Bago Central, was Filipino-owned.<sup>38</sup> From 1920 to 1934, the area planted to sugar cane increased by 55% and sugar production rose by 200%. Sugar exports to the United States more than quadrupled from 1920 to 1930. By 1935, of the total capital invested, 43% was Filipino, 33% American, and 23% Spanish.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. Copra

The development of the soap and margarine industries abroad stimulated the production and trade in copra. By the time World War I broke out, one-fourth of all the copra in world trade was being supplied by the Philippines. The war created a brisk demand for coconut oil. Its high glycerine content made it highly prized in the manufacture of explosives so that by the time the war ended, forty fairly large coconut oil mills were in operation in the Philippines. However, with the advent of peace, a heavy drop in demand forced most of these mills to close. Eight large plants remained: two American, two British, two Spanish, one Chinese, and one Filipino.

From 1920 to 1930, coconut exports including copra increased by 223%. Of the \$12 million invested in mills and refineries, \$5,500,000 was American capital, \$3,500,000 British, and the rest Spanish and Filipino.

By 1935, ten factories were supplying almost all the desiccated coconut being exported to the United States. Six of these factories were American, two were British, one was Chinese, and one was Japanese. The three largest soap factories in the Philippines were American, Swiss and Chinese.<sup>40</sup>

## 3. The Hemp Bonanza

Hemp was the principal export of the Philippines to the United States until 1912. The early history of the industry provides a graphic example of how Big Business manipulates government regulations to extract additional profits from a colony.<sup>41</sup>

Through the Tariff Act of 1902, Philippine hemp was allowed to enter the United States duty free and it was also exempted from paying the usual export taxes upon leaving the Philippines. But since hemp was then exported by British traders on British ships and reached the U.S. by way of London, it was deemed not to be clearly destined for the United States and therefore in accordance with the Tariff Act was charged an export tax of 75¢ per kilo. The tax collected was then refunded to the American cordage manufacturers. Thus, the export tax that was supposed to help defray the expenses of the insular government went into the pockets of the rich and powerful cordage manufacturers.

Year after year the Philippine Commission protested this raid on its revenues. Its complaints fell on deaf ears. The U.S.

cordage manufacturers were so powerful they could even interfere in military operations. During the campaign to suppress Bicolano resistance under Simeon Ola, General MacArthur ordered the hemp ports closed since some proceeds from the hemp trade were going to the revolutionaries. The cordage manufacturers had MacArthur's order rescinded by the Secretary of War.

American hemp importers received over \$4 million from the refund bonanza between 1902 and 1910. The biggest beneficiary was International Harvester. Because of this refund, cordage manufacturers were getting their raw material cheaper than anywhere else in the world, yet they still used their practically monopolistic control to depress the price they paid Filipino farmers from \$170 per metric ton in 1902 to \$97 per metric ton in 1911.

The tax refund arrangement remained in the statute books until 1913 when export taxes were abolished. Congressman Oscar Underwood, arguing against its continuance, called it a "barbarous legislation."

From 1920 to 1930, Philippine cordage exports to the U.S. increased by over 500%. In 1935, of the 17,500,000 pounds of cordage exported by the Philippines, 8,000,000 pounds went to the United States. There were five cordage factories in the country with a total investment of \$3 million. Of the total spindle capacity, 53% was American, 40% Filipino and the rest Chinese.<sup>42</sup>

## The Manila Americans

Aside from their commanding position in the major export industries of the country, American businessmen, either as individual proprietors or as representatives of U.S. firms, dominated the import trade and were active in many other economic fields in the country. A column devoted to the comings and goings of American businessmen may provide a clearer picture of the wide variety of ventures they were engaged in than bare statistics. The following are excerpts from a column, "After Five O'clock," in the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* issues of November and December, 1926 and February and April, 1927:

Jacob Rosenthal and associates purchased the controlling stock interest in the Times Publishing company, publishing the *Manila Times*, three weeks ago . . . The deal was effected with the International Banking



Corporation and involved the stock formerly held by Welch, Fairchild. . . .

D.G. Beebe, Basilan island coconut grower, returned to the islands from the United States early in October, reporting. . . more interest in the Philippines among the people at home.

Roy C. Pitcairn and family returned to Manila in October from their homeland visit. Mr. Pitcairn is the manager of the Hawaiian-Philippine sugar central at Silay, Occidental Negros, and one of the islands' most representative sugar men.

W.G. Hall of the Honolulu Iron Works, which only recently acquired the interests here of the Catton-Neill Engineering and Machinery Company, is making one of his periodical trips to the islands.

R.A. McGrath, president and principal owner of the United States Shoe Company, making the famous Hike shoe. . . returned in mid-October to Manila to take temporary charge of the business here. . . .

Judge John W. Haussermann of the Benguet Consolidated Mining Company delivered the memorial address at the Elks' Club Sunday, December 5. . . . Meantime his company has voted another dividend of ten cents. . . and is also spending liberally on the venture of tapping new ore at deeper levels in its mine on Antimoc creek, Baguio.

George Simmie, Head of the Luzon Brokerage and Manila Terminal companies, arrived in Manila November 28 for a business visit and renewal of old-time friendships. He is a genuine old-timer and a prominent member of the Philippine colony in California.

A.S. Heyward, well known machinery and sugar man, is back in the islands after an extended visit in the United States and Hawaii. He was vice president and general manager of the Catton-Neill Engineering and Machinery Company, now of the Earnshaw Docks and Honolulu Iron Works.

Admiral William H.G. Bullard, retired, who was president during the organization period of the Radio Corporation of the Philippines, has come down from Peking with Mrs. Bullard to pay the islands a short visit. . . . Recently amended law will assist the extension of radio business in islands, it is believed, and the company Admiral Bullard organized holds the franchise.

N.E. Mullen and his associates have opened their new bank, the People's Bank and Trust Company, in their new building on David and Dasmariñas. . . .

M.E. Bourne of the Manila Trading and Supply Company, Ford Philippine agents, has returned to Manila. . . after an extended stay in the United States. The company's fine new port area building has just been completed.

J.E. Gardner, Jr., left Manila November 7 and visited southern Philippine ports for three weeks making a hasty investigation into

business and shipping conditions. Mr. Gardner is in charge of activities of the American Oriental Mail Line and the American Pioneer Line in the Philippines.

Robert E. Murphy, of the Robert E. Murphy Embroidery Company, Inc., is leaving Manila April 16 for a vacation and business trip to the United States. Mr. Murphy is a director of the chamber of commerce and one of the most experienced men in the embroidery business in the Philippines. . . .

Simon Erlanger paid the Philippines a visit in March. . . . He is one of the founders of Erlanger and Galinger, well known American importing and wholesale-retail house.<sup>43</sup>

Advertisements in the same journal also provide other interesting information on American economic penetration. Reading the advertisements in just one issue of the journal, that of November, 1927, one finds that American firms were engaged in the manufacture and export of cigars, the export of sugar, the sale of logging engines, the export of hemp and maguey, the import of agricultural machinery, heavy chemicals and fertilizers.<sup>44</sup>

Besides the executives of big American firms and the individual businessmen who came to set up new ventures, there were also many American civilian employees and military men who after quitting government service went into business for themselves. A few interesting examples should suffice. Albert L. Ammen, who came to the Philippines in 1899 as an employee of the quartermaster corps, set up the first auto-bus lines in Luzon, first in the Bicol region and then later on in Batangas and Pangasinan. Another former employee of the quartermaster department, George C. Arnold, pioneered in the manufacture of coconut oil. He built and operated several oil mills. Frank H. Goulette who came to the Philippines with the 33<sup>rd</sup> U.S. Volunteers and later joined the Manila Police Force became a movie magnate. By 1916, he owned the Lyric and Savoy theatres in Manila and a string of provincial movie houses from Aparri to Jolo.<sup>45</sup>

The Philippine-based American businessmen, whether they were in business for themselves or acting as agents for big American corporations, grew in wealth and power. These so-called Manila Americans took a proprietary attitude toward the country, and all throughout the American occupation constituted one of the staunchest pressure groups against Philippine independence.

## Consumption Habits

The influx of duty-free American goods drastically changed the consumption habits of the Filipinos and produced a "buy-stateside" mentality with disastrous effects on local production.

One notable example is the smoking habit of the Filipino. During the Spanish occupation the Filipinos were heavy consumers of Philippine cigars and cigarettes. Years of dumping of American cigarettes produced a gradual change in smoking tastes. A preference for Virginia-type cigarettes was built up which persists to the present, to the detriment of the local tobacco industry. By 1914, it was already possible for Liggett and Myers Company to open a branch in Manila. By 1921, the company established a cigarette factory and soon Liggett and Myers brands were being sold in every province of the archipelago.<sup>46</sup>

The transformation of consumption habits which was characterized by a shift to American products has been interpreted as a mark of modernization of Philippine society; actually it was merely part of the essential continuity in the evolving economic pattern that first became discernible in the nineteenth century—the development of raw material exports based on a predominantly agricultural economy. American policy may therefore be characterized generally as a "ratification and rationalization of the status quo."<sup>47</sup>

Tariff policy ensured the profitable development of agricultural products for export in exchange for American manufactures. American land policy favored the traditional landed elite who in turn became the brokers for the continuation of American colonial control and used their influence with American colonial officials to shape policy in their favor. Free trade was based on the assumption "that the exchange of American manufactures for Philippine raw materials was an equitable quasi-permanent relationship."<sup>48</sup>

The distortions in the Philippine economic structure were founded on the colonial motivations of the United States. Save for the processing of raw materials, industrialization was not encouraged. American investments produced increasing control of extractive, public utility, and commercial sectors.

Despite all recent apologetics claiming that the Americans had no deliberate exploitative motivations, one cannot dismiss as irrelevant the fact that during this period of relative disinterest in the Far East, American presidents from Roosevelt

and Taft to Wilson were pursuing a combination of the "big stick" and "dollar diplomacy." It was during this period that American troops warred on Mexico and intervened in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, and Nicaragua in defense of American business.<sup>49</sup>

It would be naive to believe that because American interest in Asia was not as strong as its interest in its southern neighbors, the crass motivations that impelled the United States to intervene in Latin America did not shape American policy toward the Philippines. Rather, the cautious moves in Asia for the time being were perhaps dictated by the active involvement of the U.S. in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors. For some, this caution may have obscured the imperialist goals in this part of the globe, but for the more perceptive, the active program of intervention in Latin America and the aggressive U.S. penetration into the economies of its neighbors clearly pointed out the long-range policies of American imperialism. The economic policies that emerged in Latin America presaged the era of neo-colonial control of the Philippines and other Asian countries.

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# Colonial Society and Politics

The economic exploitation of the colony could be efficiently carried out only under conditions of peaceful acceptance of colonial rule. This required a transformation of the attitudes of the Filipinos toward their new rulers. For this purpose, military suppression had to be supplemented with more sophisticated methods of subduing the spirit and seducing the mind of the Filipino. The re-creation of Philippine society in the image of its conqueror, the conversion of the elite into adjuncts of colonial rule, and the cultural Americanization of the population became integral parts of the process of colonization. A program of virtual de-Filipinization was therefore instituted. This had the effect of gradually dissipating the intense feelings of nationalism that had animated the Revolution and the resistance to American occupation.

A quasi-American society was eventually established which bore the imprint of the institutions, values, and outlook of the colonizing power. The American colonial technique finally earned for the United States the loyalty of millions of Filipinos whose sense of values was distorted, whose children were miseducated, and whose tastes were conditioned to the consumption of American products. It should be noted, however, that generally speaking the degree of loyalty, miseducation and Americanization was in direct proportion to economic and social status.

## Pacification Through Education

The principal agent of Americanization was the public school system, and the master stroke of educational policy was the adoption of English as the medium of instruction.

Miseducated Filipinos invariably regard as one of the un-

qualified benefits of American colonial rule the rapid introduction, on a large scale, of the public school system. They point to the early efforts to put up schools as evidence of the altruistic intentions of the United States government. On the contrary, what initially spurred the establishment of public schools was the conviction of the military leaders that education was one of the best ways of promoting the pacification of the islands. In recommending a large appropriation for school purposes, Gen. Arthur MacArthur frankly revealed his purpose in these words:

This appropriation is recommended primarily and exclusively as an adjunct to military operations calculated to pacify the people and to procure and expedite the restoration of tranquility throughout the archipelago.<sup>1</sup>

General Otis shared this view. He detailed soldiers to act as teachers and officers as superintendents; he even selected the textbooks to be used.<sup>2</sup> The military men assigned to take charge of education advanced the opinion that by teaching Filipinos the English language and inculcating in them an appreciation of American institutions the educational system would be facilitating their "assimilation."<sup>3</sup> Thus, from an instrument of pacification, colonial education became an instrument of assimilation or Americanization.

As early as August 1900, while resistance was still raging and the American army was still conducting a cruel war of suppression, a military officer, seeking to implement his superiors' concept of education as a colonial weapon, recommended to the military governor a series of educational measures. These were: the early establishment of a "comprehensive modern school system for the teaching of elementary English" with attendance made compulsory, the use of English as the medium of instruction in all schools, the establishment of a normal school to prepare Filipino teachers of English, the prohibition of religious instruction in government-supported schools, and the establishment of industrial schools.<sup>4</sup>

## The New Invasion

The Philippine Commission adopted much the same view as the military and on January 21, 1901, passed Act No. 74 establishing a public school system with free public primary education and a normal school in Manila where Filipino teachers were to be trained to take over the educational duties of

American military and civilian teachers. To provide the correct American foundation for the new educational system, six hundred Americans were brought in from the United States to serve as teachers, principals, and supervisors all over the country. A high school system was established the next year and soon after, special schools such as a trade and art school, an agricultural school, and a school of commerce.<sup>5</sup>

A *pensionado* program instituted in 1903 accelerated the production of Filipino transmission belts of colonial education. The first batch of young Filipinos chosen for "stateside" training numbered one hundred. By 1912, more than two hundred young men and women had obtained their university degrees in the United States.<sup>6</sup> This initial advantage enabled them to rise to positions of influence in colonial society, a fact that maximized their utility to the colonial power. Not only did they transmit the ideas they had imbibed from their American education, they could be pointed out as examples of the advancement made possible by American benevolence. Of course, the expenses of these pensionados were shouldered by the insular government, which is to say, by the taxes Filipinos themselves paid.

The pensionado system was one of the ways by which the Americans attracted the Filipino elite to their side. Considering the very limited opportunities for education under Spain, the requirement that pensionados be high school graduates narrowed down the choice to sons and daughters of the well-to-do. As a matter of fact, even up to 1923, high school graduates still came mainly from the upper and middle classes. Taft's instructions to the provincial governors on the qualifications of applicants reveal a definite preference for the children of the local elite. He directed that apart from the usual moral and physical qualifications, weight should be given to the social status of the applicant.<sup>7</sup>

## The Opening Wedge

The single, most far-reaching aspect of the educational program was the imposition of the English language. Although President McKinley's instruction had been to employ the vernacular of the region in the primary schools, he also asked the Taft Commission to establish English as "a common medium of communication." Taft went ahead and made English the medium of instruction on all levels of the public school system.

American officials claimed that the Filipinos were eager to learn English; others dispute this allegation. In any event, whatever his personal opinion regarding English, any Filipino who wanted employment or was ambitious to get ahead was forced to learn the language. Not only was it the medium of instruction in all public schools, but opportunities for employment and advancement in government and in American firms were based on competence in English. Thus, although civil service examinations were initially conducted in English and Spanish, by 1906, there were more Filipinos taking the examinations in English than in Spanish.<sup>8</sup>

In the courts, however, Spanish continued to be the official language. The Americans sought to impose English as early as 1906 but due to Filipino opposition the change was repeatedly postponed. The final compromise was that from 1911, English became the primary official language of the courts with Spanish also an official language until January 1, 1920.<sup>9</sup>

Another instance which demonstrates the American determination to impose the English language was the clash in 1908 between the Philippine Assembly and the Philippine Commission over Bill No. 148. This bill sought to amend the Educational Act of 1901 by providing that the language or dialect of each province or region be used as the medium of instruction in the public elementary schools. The American-dominated Philippine Commission rejected the bill on the ground that it would create confusion, waste and inefficiency. The real objection was that the use of the local dialect would delay the spread of English.<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the Filipino leaders themselves already believed in using English as the common language of the country. Speaker Sergio Osmeña's view was that even after independence had been attained, English would still be the principal medium of instruction with the vernacular confined to the primary schools.<sup>11</sup>

## Handmaiden of Colonial Policy

The Philippine educational system was conceived as the handmaiden of colonial policy. The importance of English in the furtherance of this purpose has been and continues to be little recognized, many holding to the view that language is merely a neutral vehicle for thought. The Filipino experience belies this.



The colonial power gained a tremendous advantage from its imposition of the English language in education and government administration. In government, the insistence on English helped to insure closer supervision since the business of administration was carried on in the language of the colonizer. A measure of competence in English served as a fairly good guarantee that public servants had at least begun their own process of cultural Americanization. Since proficiency in English was an important qualification for advancement, the process of Americanization received a powerful impetus. The psychological advantage the Americans gained cannot be discounted.

The use of English as the medium of instruction in the schools made possible the speedy introduction of the American public school curriculum. With American textbooks, Filipinos began learning not only a new language but a new culture. Education became miseducation because it began to de-Filipinize the youth, taught them to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to theirs and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. These textbooks gave them a good dose of American history while distorting, or at least ignoring, their own.

Such aspects of Philippine life and history as found their way into later school material naturally had to conform to the American viewpoint since the whole system was highly centralized. Until 1935, the head of the Department of Education was an American — a fact that underscores the importance the colonizer gave to the question of education.

## Myths of Colonialism

Predictably, the most serious aspect of the Filipino's miseducation may be found in the myths about American colonialism. Some of the myths that were deeply ingrained in the Filipino consciousness were: that America is the land of opportunity and fair play, that in American society all men are equal, that the Americans came not as conquerors but as friends to give the Filipinos democracy, education, roads, and sanitation, that they trained the Filipinos in self-government to prepare them for independence, and that after granting the country its independence they allowed the Filipinos to enjoy special relations with the United States which were beneficial to the young Republic. Among other ideas subtly inculcated were: a belief that the Philippines is ideally suited to be primarily an

agricultural country, and that free enterprise capitalism is the only possible economic framework for democracy.<sup>1 2</sup>

The transformation of the conqueror into the altruistic benefactor through the alchemy of colonial education was premised on the distortion and outright suppression of information regarding Philippine resistance to American rule and the atrocities committed by the American army to crush that resistance. The use of English as the medium of instruction made the flow of information infinitely more manageable, therefore English became the wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past at the same time that it helped to further separate the educated Filipinos from the masses.

While cultural Americanization assured easier control of the colony, it must not be forgotten that its fundamental objective was to enhance economic exploitation. This objective was successfully attained. The Filipinos became avid consumers of American products and the Philippines, a fertile ground for American investment. For rapid economic penetration, a population that understood English was most useful.

### The New Intermediaries

The other principal objective of early American colonial administrators was the implementation of a policy of attraction directed at the elite of the country. Fundamentally, this was achieved by leaving undisturbed and in fact reinforcing the social structure that had developed under Spanish rule. (See Chapter 14) As an initial step the appointment of ilustrados to high office was quite effective.

Although the policy of Filipinization of the governmental bureaucracy was presented as a policy in pursuance of the American desire to train the Filipinos in the art of self-government, the real motivations that spurred its early implementation had nothing to do with altruism. One motive was the need to mollify critics in the anti-imperialist movement in the United States. Giving Filipinos participation in government could be adduced as evidence of intention to pull out of the country eventually, whether this was actually intended or not.

There was also the financial consideration. It would have been too expensive to employ many Americans considering the salary scale in the United States and the need to pay for their transportation. Filipinization was more practical not only financially but also in terms of getting the goodwill of the upper and middle-class Filipinos. These could then be used as inter-

mediaries to interpret American policy to the people and persuade the latter by example to accept American rule.

Filipinization, like education, was above all a pacification measure. This motive is quite evident in Governor Smith's pleased appraisal of the results of Filipinization:

...it charmed the rifle out of the hands of the insurgent and made the one-time rebel chief the pacific president of a municipality or the staid governor of a province.<sup>13</sup>

Municipal and provincial governments as well as the judiciary were reorganized during the first few years of American rule. The eagerness of the traditional leaders to collaborate allowed the American governors to make a number of shrewd appointments which resulted in some former revolutionary leaders ordering the suppression of revolutionary resistance in their regions and the capture of former comrades in the struggle for freedom.<sup>14</sup>

### Caciques Retained

The reorganization of local governments which the Americans instituted with the advice of prominent ilustrados strengthened the hold of the landed elite on their communities. The technique applied was reminiscent of the Spanish government's use of the pre-Spanish social structure to win over the chiefs. The Americans retained the administrative units that the Spaniards had created, keeping them as before under the control of a strong central government and without much leeway for initiative in the solution of local problems. Furthermore, by carefully restricting the privilege of suffrage, the colonial administrators insured the retention of political power by the elite of each locality.

To vote for municipal officers in the 1905 elections, the voter had to be a male at least twenty-three years old with one or more of the following qualifications: he must have held public office during the Spanish regime, must be paying a minimum of fifteen dollars of taxes per annum, or must be able to read and write in English or Spanish.<sup>15</sup>

With such requirements, only the elite of the towns could vote and be voted upon. Thus, the supposed democratization actually consolidated cacique rule by investing with political power this class that had traditionally controlled the rural population.

But the establishment of local governments did not mean any great measure of local autonomy. The local government system remained under the close supervision and direction of the Executive Bureau, an office under the governor general. Administration was so highly centralized that the governor general's authority reached into the smallest town by virtue of his power over the tenure of office of even the elected officials. In 1909, Governor General Forbes described, perhaps with some exaggeration the extent of his control:

I have the power to remove any officer and disqualify him from holding any office, and everyday I either suspend or remove and often disqualify several.<sup>16</sup>

### The Debating Club

The establishment of the Philippine Assembly carried out on the national level the same pattern that had been set for local governments; namely, the substance of power centralized in the governor general and political positions apportioned among the elite.<sup>17</sup> The creation of the Assembly proved to be one of the most effective techniques of winning over members of the traditional elite all over the country.

The establishment of this body promised in the Cooper Act of 1902 had been hailed by the ilustrados (or in the arrogant terminology of the Philippine Commission, the "Filipino people of the better class")<sup>18</sup> who saw in it a channel for national prominence and influence.

The idea of having a popular assembly was dear to their hearts. Had they not agitated for representation in the Cortes? And had they not with much pomp and ceremony established their own Congress at Malolos? Besides, the stringent qualifications for the electorate made it a foregone conclusion that the body would be dominated by them.

Qualified electors were male persons who were at least 21 years old, had resided six months in their districts, and either had held office prior to August 13, 1898, owned real property worth 500 pesos, or could read, write or speak English or Spanish.<sup>19</sup> Such qualifications precluded the participation of the masses. In fact, out of a population of nearly eight million, only 104,966 registered and only 98,251 or 1.41% of the population voted.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, while the Americans provided for the mechanics of democracy, they made certain that the victors in the election

would come almost exclusively from the class they were building up for leadership. Although the election campaign was heated, electoral contests were generally confined to propertied and conservative families in the province. The masses were given the illusion of vicarious participation while a new local vanguard of colonialism was being developed.

The result of the elections justified the expectations of the Americans and the ilustrados. Among the eighty new assemblymen there were "48 lawyers, four physicians, two journalists, six professors, six agriculturists, two pharmacists, several merchants, one priest and the rest were landowners."<sup>2 1</sup> Twenty-one of the assemblymen had held office under the Spaniards, fifty-eight had served the Malolos government, and seventy-three of the eighty had been either provincial or municipal officials under the insular government. Only seventeen had not served either the Spanish or the Malolos governments and only seven had not occupied any previous position under the Americans. The figures are eloquent proof of elite continuity.<sup>2 2</sup>

### Progress of Filipinization

The process of Filipinization proceeded apace. The Philippine Commission was Filipinized and later supplanted, under a provision of the Jones Law of 1916, by an upper house or Senate consisting of twenty-two members elected by districts plus two appointed by the Governor to represent the "non-Christian minorities." The Philippine Assembly gave way to the House of Representatives with eighty elective and nine appointive members.

Filipinization in the executive branch was relatively slower. Americans were firmly in control until 1913. Up to that year, Filipinos held only minor positions in the civil service. The only national executive position open to a Filipino until 1916 was that of Secretary of Finance and Justice.

During the term of Governor Francis Burton Harrison, the cabinet was Filipinized in accordance with a provision of the Jones Law. Section 23 of this law, however, specifically provided that the Department of Public Instruction should continue to be headed by the Vice-governor and it remained under American direction until 1935. By 1921, all executive bureaus were headed by Filipinos except the Bureau of Education, Prisons, Forestry, Science, the Mint, the Quarantine Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Metropolitan Water District<sup>2 3</sup> which were vital for a colonizing power.

## Roots of Philippine Politics

Any analysis of Philippine colonial politics which seeks to throw light on the characteristic aberrations of the political system of recent years and of the politicians themselves must begin with the elections of 1907.<sup>24</sup>

Of the eighty elected representatives, fifty-nine were *Nacionalistas* and only sixteen were *Progresistas*, with a handful coming from smaller parties. It should be recalled that before the Nacionalista Party was established, there had been several attempts by some of its leaders as well as other persons to set up political aggrupations with a more or less nationalistic orientation. The merest mention of even an aspiration for independence quickly brought a refusal of recognition from then Governor General Taft, unless the organizers dropped all mention of the word "independence."

On the other hand, Taft and his government gave enthusiastic approval and every support to the Federal Party which advocated close collaboration with the Americans and incorporation of the country into the American Union. Despite this assistance from the Americans, or as it turned out, precisely because of this close relationship, the *Federalistas* were unpopular with the people. When the ban on pro-independence parties was lifted in 1906 and the Nacionalista Party was allowed to exist with a platform calling for immediate independence, the *Federalistas* reorganized themselves as the *Partido Nacional Progresista* with a platform calling for "eventual" independence after the Filipinos had demonstrated their capacity for self-government. Despite these opportunistic attempts to adjust their platform to the public temper, the *Federalists-turned-Progressives* were trounced in the elections of June, 1907.

This defeat is rendered more significant by the fact that the Americans had virtually limited the electorate to the "Filipinos of the better class," thus excluding the real backbone of the struggle for freedom. Still, even this limited electorate supported the Nacionalista Party's platform of immediate independence.

### Caught in the Middle

These, then, were the basic factors that were to determine the peculiar characteristics of Philippine colonial politics: on the one hand, a colonial power that gave its wards a semblance

of democratic power but kept for itself the substance of that power, and on the other, a people still resolute in their desire for independence, although growing numbers were accepting the idea that it would come as a "grant" from the United States. Caught in the middle and vacillating between the two were the Filipino leaders of the Assembly who owed their positions to an electorate still influenced by the people's nationalist temper, and their powers and prerogatives to the colonizer. Their own nationalist aspirations would gradually be eroded and they would acquire the habit of resolving the contradictions between their two "masters" by deluding one with oratorical platitudes while entering into compromises with the other for personal advantage.

A new set of leaders was now emerging, still predominantly of the same social stratum as the old ilustrados but with a scattering of middle class elements. These new leaders were now working within a new colonial framework. In the beginning, many were still imbued with the nationalism of the people and they may have sincerely thought that the struggle for independence had to be waged within the limits allowed by American colonialism and that the tactics they were employing were the correct ones for the colony. Some of them would achieve a measure of success in widening the frontiers of the struggle within the limitations of colonialism. On the other hand, their claim that the only way to attain freedom was to work for it within the colonial context was also in part, if not wholly so, a rationalization born of their own career expectations and the need of propertied classes to safeguard their holdings. We cannot generalize and say that these leaders were all conscious opportunists and hypocrites, and it is likewise difficult to periodize just when a particular leader moved from a position of sincere desire for independence to one of mere sloganeering to cater to public clamor. Neither can we discount, especially in the products of American education, the effects of a carefully nurtured colonial mentality which could make them sincerely equate Philippine interests with American interests. But whether they were conscious opportunists and hypocrites or whether they were sincere but misguided, the fact is that their accommodation within the colonial framework and their efforts to make the people adjust to and accept their colonial status contributed to the erosion of nationalist attitudes and was therefore a disservice.

The proven voting appeal of the slogan of independence insured that all ambitious politicians would automatically stand

for immediate independence and vociferously demand it at every public opportunity, whatever might be their private views. Thus Assembly sessions often resounded with speeches and resolutions asking for immediate independence.

Other aspects of the relations between the American administrators and the Filipino leaders had their own effects on the developing nature of colonial politics. During the early years, when an American majority still controlled the Philippine Commission, this body insisted on having the last say on legislation; as a consequence, the Filipino assemblymen developed what Joseph Ralston Hayden described as "a feeling of irresponsibility for the actual process of legislation."<sup>2 5</sup>

This state of affairs had two effects: first, the Assembly became a debating society where pro-independence rhetoric was the basis for recognition and future re-election; and second, the then Speaker Sergio Osmeña of Cebu, took almost sole charge of dealing with the American governor general regarding the bills that should be passed. This gave too much importance to one man and too little responsibility to the others. Furthermore, because the decision as to what bills were to be enacted was privately arrived at in negotiations between the governor and the speaker, it was that much easier to strike a bargain whereby the Americans got the laws they wanted in exchange for patronage and other privileges for the Nacionalistas to help the latter stay in power.<sup>2 6</sup>

### Imperatives of Party Life

Since the Filipino politicians did not really run the government, since practically all were from the elite class and, finally, since electoral survival required that everyone demand independence, the parties that contended for control of the Assembly had no real ideological differences. Affiliation was based on affinities of blood, friendship, and regionalism as well as on personal expedience. Under these circumstances, patronage was vital to the retention of political following, a fact which induced party leaders time and time again to barter the country's long-range interests for short-term bonuses for the party in power.

Besides the demand for independence on which everyone was agreed, actual electoral issues had little to do with party programs, and elections were decided on the basis of personalities and the strength of family alliances. The lack of ideological identity made turncoatism, party splits and coalitions early



phenomena which even then embarrassed no one.<sup>27</sup>

The politicians took care of their individual and class interests. For example, on their first day of session, the Assemblymen of 1907 voted themselves an increase in per diem allowances. The first legislature also passed a bill proposing a five-year tax exemption for uncultivated land outside Manila as well as other measures intended to favor landowners.

The survivals of these early characteristics in Philippine politics of recent times are too obvious to require further comment.

### Dichotomy of Public and Private Views

One aspect of colonial politics requires fuller discussion because it gave rise to a series of betrayals of the people's unwavering demand for freedom that is as yet little understood. This is the disparity between the official and public views of the leaders and their private positions on economic relations with the colonial power as well as on independence. This dichotomy between public stance and private opinion first surfaced clearly on the question of free trade relations.

Upon the expiration in 1909 of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, the Payne Aldrich bill providing for free trade was introduced in the U.S. Congress. The Philippine Assembly opposed the measure. Its reasons reveal an accurate appraisal of the ill effects of this proposal on the economy of the country and on its prospects for sovereignty. The Filipino leaders contended that in the long run, free trade would be prejudicial to the economic interests of the Filipinos.<sup>28</sup> They foresaw the diversion of Philippine exports such as sugar and tobacco from their natural markets in neighboring countries to the United States, a situation which would result in Philippine economic dependence on that country. Besides favoring only the powerful local economic interests, free trade would open the country's commerce, industry, and agriculture to control by big American corporations.

The Assembly also predicted that economic dependence would pose the threat of economic dislocation when independence was granted. Moreover, American firms prospering in the Philippines as a result of free trade might well lobby against the grant of independence or at least for its postponement. Finally, the Assembly charged that free trade would drastically reduce the revenues of the insular government, which losses could not be covered by levying additional taxes because the citizenry was

already heavily burdened as it was. In view of the foregoing and despite the prospect of rapid prosperity which its proponents said free trade would bring, Manuel L. Quezon, then the majority floor leader, summed up the Assembly's position by declaring that Filipinos would rather opt for slow economic growth with the assurance of independence than rapid progress which would mean relinquishing all thought of freedom forever.<sup>29</sup>

### Pro-Forma Opposition

An examination of the course of Philippine economic development after the imposition of free trade demonstrates that the Filipino leaders of that time understood its implications and accurately foresaw its consequences. This makes their subsequent about-face on the issue all the more reprehensible.

Then Vice-Governor William Cameron Forbes took the initiative in convincing Quezon to withdraw his opposition. Reporting to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Forbes revealed that it had been quite easy to convince Quezon that he had taken "a dangerous course" — dangerous to his career, seemed to be the implication. Ever flexible, Quezon tried to get on the good side of the Americans by claiming that had Forbes not been vacationing in Baguio at the time, it would have taken him only two minutes to convince Quezon not to take the position that he did.

After a conference with Governor General Smith and Forbes, the leaders of the Assembly backtracked and privately declared themselves convinced that free trade was for the good of the country. Quezon expressed satisfaction that the limitation on the acreage of public lands that Americans could acquire adequately protected Philippine agriculture from American control.<sup>30</sup>

Of course, whatever position the Assembly took on the issue did not really matter as the establishment of free trade was an imperialist imperative. The politicians, interested in retaining the goodwill of the Americans, adopted a pragmatic approach to the situation. But they could not change their stand publicly because if they did so, political rivals (who might themselves privately favor free trade) would surely accuse them of being traitors for favoring economic dependence. The Assemblymen therefore squared themselves privately with their American mentors, but to save face they maintained a pro-forma opposition to free trade.

All was well, they had protected their political careers.

Before the people, they maintained their pose as protectors of the public interest who dared fight the Americans for the sake of the country; privately they had assured the Americans once more of their malleability. Now they could look forward to benefiting from the increased commerce generated by free trade.

It was the misfortune of the Filipino people that their leaders chose to allow the Americans to disseminate the view that free trade was beneficial for the country. True, the Filipino leaders could not have stopped its imposition, but they could have warned of its dire effects so that the people would at least understand its exploitative nature. Of course, this would have put the leading politicians in the bad graces of the colonial master who could, by various devices, undercut them and then build up other leaders only too willing to dance to their tune.

### Office Not Independence

A similar disparity between the public stance of politicians and their private opinion on the question of independence was frequently noted by the Americans. As early as 1907, before the first Assembly elections, Forbes revealed in his private correspondence that he had asked some close friends of his in the Nacionalista leadership if they would press for independence should they win the elections. He summed up their reply in these words:

... and they practically admitted to me that it was really a catchway of getting votes; that what they wanted was office, not independence ...<sup>31</sup>

Governor-General Smith in a letter to Taft dated October 7, 1907, made the following shrewd observations on Philippine politics which were still valid many years later:

... the first and only genuine political parties that have ever lived and had their being in the Philippines since the establishment of Civil Government — (are) the Ins and the Outs. The Ins are generally conservative, the Outs are always radical — until they get in. The Ins are conservative from conviction, the Outs are radical for convenience.

\* \* \* \*

But why this radicalism, this urgent, not to say furious demand for immediate independence before the elections and then the sudden calm

after the votes were counted and the office secured? All very simple when it is remembered that the insurrection against Spain came from the bottom and not from the top; when it is remembered that the top are short on numbers and that the top must always depend on the bottom to vote or fight.<sup>32</sup>

Secretary of War Jacob Dickinson's official report of his trip to the Philippines in 1910 disclosed substantially the same impression. Dickinson reported having received "reliable evidence" that many of the important Filipinos while they could not oppose the public demands for immediate independence "would regard such a consummation with consternation."<sup>33</sup>

It may be objected that the foregoing opinions are biased, coming as they did from Americans who were against independence. Perhaps the Filipino leaders were only trying to please them by pretending to hold the same views as they did. Unfortunately, quite a number of other Americans who came in close contact with Filipino leaders had the same impression of the latter's fears about independence.

As for the possibility that they might have been dissembling their real sentiments, the contrary is probably closer to the truth: that is, that they were in fact more frank with the Americans than they were with their countrymen. At any rate, their own acts are the best evidence that they had come to fear the consequences of that which they vociferously demanded.

### Secret Fears

The election in 1912 of a Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, and a Democratic Congress revived Filipino hopes for an early grant of independence. There were public celebrations in many parts of the country. The Philippine Assembly passed a resolution congratulating the new American president and reiterating its hope that Wilson would now recognize the independence of the Philippines.

But privately, if General J. Franklin Bell, then commanding general of the American forces in the Philippines is to be believed, the Filipino leaders were worried. Quezon and a few other leaders consulted him as to the possibility that independence might be granted immediately. Gen. Bell claimed that Quezon showed "some signs of hedging."<sup>34</sup>

In March, 1912, Representative William A. Jones of Virginia introduced the first of a series of independence bills. This one provided for independence by 1912. It failed to pass, but

prospects of its being approved the following year seemed good. Writing about this period some years later, Forbes repeated his earlier view that Filipino politicians demanded immediate independence as a vote-getting gimmick but actually did not want it. They told him so privately. He claimed that

No less a person than the Speaker of the Assembly, (i.e., Osmeña) told me that the Filipinos wanted independence only while it seemed to be getting farther off and the minute it began to get near they would begin to get very much frightened.<sup>35</sup>

This is perhaps the most succinct and accurate description of the position of most of the Filipino politicians, but not of the Filipino people. This is not to say that the Filipino leaders did not want independence eventually; rather, that having accepted the concept of tutelage and allowed the development of an economy dependent upon free entry of its raw materials into the U.S. market, the politicians felt at each instance when independence seemed near that the country was not yet ready for it. Dependence had become a bad habit.

### Private Maneuvers

Forbes further revealed that Quezon had been working secretly against the Jones Bill. This revelation is borne out by the details of Quezon's conversations in December, 1913 and January, 1914 with General Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department. From McIntyre's memoranda of the conversations, it appears that Quezon was not only opposed to immediate independence but even to fixing a date for such independence. Obviously trying to forestall the passage of a new Jones Bill which Jones himself had told Quezon would provide for absolute independence within three years, Quezon, according to McIntyre, said that what he wanted was a new organic act which would stabilize the relations between the Philippines and the United States for the next twenty-five years at least. He admitted, however, that such an agreement would be harder to sell in the Philippines at this time because of renewed hopes for independence.<sup>36</sup>

Here was the second most important leader of the Filipinos working to postpone independence indefinitely at a time when he himself acknowledged that this was more than ever his countrymen's desire. Moreover, he declared that what Osmeña and he really wanted was first, a formal declaration by the

United States that it would recognize Philippine independence (without however specifying when) and second, more autonomy.

The first request was designed to relieve the constant pressure of the people on their leaders to demand independence. Lately, the matter had become more urgent because the continued reluctance of the United States to issue such a declaration had made the people suspicious that the Americans in fact had no intention of leaving the country. Since the leaders no longer wanted immediate independence, to have to demand it at every turn in order to stave off electoral defeat must have become increasingly onerous for them, especially when there was the danger that the U.S. Congress might grant the demand.

The second request was closer to the political chieftains' hearts. Greater autonomy meant greater power, also more patronage. Having learned to enjoy the benefits colonialism dispensed to its loyal allies, the political leaders much preferred, at least for the time being, their subsidiary status to the political uncertainties and economic sacrifices that an independent existence might have in store for them.

### Quezon's Real Views

Quezon, then Resident Commissioner, asked McIntyre's assistance in drafting a bill which would incorporate his ideas. The McIntyre draft is worth examining as a reflection of Quezon's real views. It provided for an almost completely autonomous government and called for a census to be taken in 1915 and once every ten years thereafter. When a particular census showed that 75% of male adults were literate in any language, or 60% were literate in English, and provided there was general and complete peace throughout the Islands, the Philippine legislature could then request the President of the United States to take steps toward the recognition of the complete and absolute independence of the Philippines.

The provision on independence seemed to have been McIntyre's idea, for according to McIntyre, Quezon objected to it although he acknowledged that it would be well received by his countrymen. Since he was sure that the literacy requirement would not be reached until perhaps the next generation, Quezon declared himself satisfied with this part of the bill as prepared by McIntyre.

This was his private position. His public posture remained that of a fiery freedom fighter who bemoaned the fate of his

generation which seemed destined not to see the attainment of national independence. The rationalization, one supposes, is that he had to say what the people wanted to hear although he knew better than they that independence at that time would place the country in serious economic difficulties.

The Jones Act as passed in 1916 incorporated some of the suggestions Quezon had made to McIntyre: an elective bicameral legislature, a requirement that appointments made by the Governor General be confirmed by the Philippine Senate, and a provision that the Governor-General be limited to a suspensive veto with the U.S. President alone exercising absolute veto over acts of the Philippine Legislature.<sup>37</sup>

Here we have an example of the direction in which the Filipino leaders expended their efforts. They were eager to use every opportunity to diminish the powers of the governor general and acquire these for themselves.

In its preamble, the Jones Act promised independence as soon as a stable government had been established. But this preamble was merely an expression of Congressional desire and was not binding. The promise was merely a platitude and at the same time a warning.

### Rationale of the Junkets

Since the first election to the Philippine Assembly in 1907, politics had become a channel of expression of the people's nationalist spirit. Of course, this spirit was being steadily eroded by the process of Americanization, but Americanization did not operate on the people as thoroughly and as fast as it did on the elite leadership. Persevering in their desire for freedom, the people were the force that kept the demand for independence alive. Thus, the many independence missions that were sent to the United States were meant to prove to the people that their leaders were working to achieve the national aspiration. Meanwhile, American education and the elite leadership were inculcating the concept that Filipinos must prove their capacity for self-government before the American government would grant them their independence.

The piece-meal attainment of political autonomy was represented as the road to independence. Hence, the so-called independence missions became, despite the pro-independence rhetoric, really begging expeditions for concessions of power to Filipino leaders, which was what the latter really wanted. Thus was born the pernicious practice of campaigning for electoral

votes in Washington, since politicians who secured concessions gained renown and came back as conquering heroes. The corollary belief that Filipinos must elect leaders who were in the good graces of Washington also began to gain currency.

An exchange of letters in June, 1922 between Representative Horace M. Towner, then chairman of the House Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, and President Warren G. Harding illustrates this practice and also reveals that the Americans understood the situation and knew how to take advantage of it.

Describing to Harding his meeting with Quezon and Osmeña, Towner reported that the two were asking for the appointment of a Filipino Vice-governor or for a Filipino majority in the Philippine Supreme Court. They alleged that pressure for independence would be allayed by such appointments. Towner warned them that if they asked for any new legislation at that time, they ran the risk of getting "total independence."<sup>38</sup>

It is a sad and shameful irony that an American official could warn an independence mission not to press its demands for more autonomy lest they be given independence instead.

Harding's reply to Towner gives us an insight into the way the colonial power accommodated its favored stewards to insure their continued tenure. Harding wrote Towner that he himself had conferred confidentially with Quezon and Osmeña and he had decided to help them obtain posts for their proteges in the cabinet of Governor General Wood so that they could "maintain their political prestige."<sup>39</sup>

### Quezon vs. Osmeña

Independence became a political football. In a sense, the issue was subordinated to the political fortunes of the two foremost politicians in the country, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon. The jockeying for political primacy between Quezon and Osmeña dominated the political scene up to the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth.

As Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, Osmeña was the principal Filipino politician until 1916. Quezon, elected majority floor leader and later appointed Resident Commissioner, was second man with ambitions to replace Osmeña. His opportunity came with the enactment of the Jones Law which provided for an elective bicameral legislature, a Quezon proposal. Elected President of the Senate, Quezon began to challenge Osmeña's



leadership, accusing the latter of exercising a personal and autocratic leadership. Prior to the elections of 1922, the Nacionalista Party split into *Unipersonalistas* led by Osmeña and *Colectivistas* led by Quezon.

Both men ran for the Senate, Osmeña defending his record as party leader and Speaker and Quezon raising the issues of inefficiency, corruption, and autocracy against Osmeña's leadership. Quezon advocated a collective leadership, won the contest, and was re-elected Senate President. The opposition *Partido Democrata* which was itself an earlier splinter of the Nacionalista Party, had offered its Senators' votes to Osmeña to elect him Senate President, the *quid pro quo* being the election of Democrata Representative Claro M. Recto of Batangas as Speaker of the House and other concessions. Osmeña, however, decided to support Quezon's candidate for Speaker, Manuel Roxas of Capiz.

Osmeña was then elected Senate President pro-tempore, thus paving the way for the eventual reconciliation of the two NP groups. Securely in power, Quezon promptly chucked collectivism out of the window. It had been no more than an excuse for the attainment of personal ambition.

This political episode presaged future political contests in its use and even fabrication of issues to serve personal goals, in its focus on personalities, in the jockeying for the spoils, in its total irrelevance to the people's problems. The NP split and the subsequent reconciliation of the warring sectors would be repeated many more times. Break-away groups would provide the only challenges to NP supremacy since no serious opposition party managed to exist after the demise of the Democrata Party in 1932, and even this party had been moribund for many years before its formal dissolution.

The first open fight between Osmeña and Quezon also saw the emergence of Recto and Roxas, two auxiliary personalities who would figure prominently in Osmeña's return challenge to Quezon's leadership in the "Pro" and "Anti" fight over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. Recto would be Quezon's lieutenant against Osmeña and Roxas.

## Reconciliation

The reconciliation between Osmeña and Quezon (with the latter firmly in the saddle) had another motivation besides the desire to resolve the leadership question in the Legislature. This

was the need to confront the threat to their power in the person of Governor General Leonard Wood. During the eight years that Francis Burton Harrison was governor (1913—1921), he had been most accommodating to the Filipino politicians, especially as regards appointments of their proteges. A prominent member of New York's Tammany Hall, Harrison understood the uses of patronage.

Wood proceeded to retrieve the prerogatives of his office in accordance with a strict interpretation of the Jones Law. He was instrumental in securing the abolition of the Board of Control through which Filipino officials shared with the governor power to manage the government corporations; he vetoed 124 out of 411 bills submitted by the Legislature; he insisted that under the Jones Law the members of the cabinet were responsible to him and not to the Legislature. This last position of the Governor General precipitated a cabinet crisis. Upon Quezon's instructions, the Filipino members of the cabinet resigned.

In October, 1923, the Legislature passed a resolution demanding Wood's recall, and in November, Speaker Roxas was sent to Washington to present the grievances of the leaders and to ask either for Wood's relief and the appointment of a Filipino governor general, or for independence.

The people enthusiastically supported the politicians' fight against Wood. They resented President Calvin Coolidge's support of Wood and his restatement of the traditional Republican policy against independence until some vague future time. When the American auditor suspended disbursements for the expenses of the Roxas mission, meetings were held all over the country and funds were raised not only for its support but also to send the other leaders to Washington. Public enthusiasm and the American auditor's action persuaded even the opposition Democratas to make common cause with the Nacionalistas.

### Anti-Americanism in 1923

In the controversy between Wood and the Nacionalistas, the Democratas had earlier taken the side of the Governor. They were probably not unhappy that he was clipping the wings of their political rivals. In the special senatorial elections of 1923, the astute Quezon charged the Democratas with being pro-Americans and cast himself and his party in the role of anti-Americans. It was in these elections that Quezon used the now famous slogan: "I prefer a government run like hell by

Filipinos to a government run like heaven by Americans.”

It sounded like a nationalist battle-cry. But Quezon, the consummate politician, was actually playing to the gallery in a clever effort to parry Democrata charges of Nacionalista corruption. The latent hostility of the population toward American rule came to the fore. Recto who was then a Democrata stalwart recalled the results many years later in these words:

The issue of anti-Americanism was so popular that it made the electorate overlook the ten years of corrupt administration the so-called anti-Americans had been giving the people and which had all but ruined the country.... Seventy per cent of that electorate voted anti-American.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the people's growing disenchantment with Nacionalista leadership because of rampant corruption, mismanagement, and grave economic and financial problems, Quezon was able to rally the people behind his leadership by arousing the Filipinos' hatred of foreign domination and associating himself with this sentiment.

### The Old Refrain

When Quezon, accompanied by Osmeña and Recto left to join Roxas in Washington in April, 1924, he went as the leader of a people who had just demonstrated their anti-Americanism and their desire for freedom at the polls and in public meetings. But once in Washington, Quezon and company reverted to their old roles.

At this time, both houses of Congress seemed to favor immediate independence. Legislators representing interests hurt by the free entry into the United States of Philippine sugar, cigars, and other products, were predisposed to pass the new Cooper bill which provided for the creation of a constitutional convention to draft a constitution for an independent Philippine government. Alarmed by this trend, other American interests in the Philippines and in New York began to exert counter-pressure on the administration. This pressure induced General Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to resurrect a draft his office had prepared in 1922 at the instance of Osmeña and Quezon. This became the Fairfield Bill, a compromise measure designed to forestall further congressional action on the Cooper Bill.<sup>41</sup>

Among the supporters of the Fairfield Bill were American businessmen in the Philippines such as the president of the Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce who actually had a hand in drafting the bill, and the president of the Manila Electric Company and the Philippine Railway Company. It is therefore not surprising that as an independence measure the bill contained many objectionable features, among them being a provision that English should continue to be used as the medium of instruction, a provision for tariff relations that would perpetuate Philippine economic dependence on the United States, a provision that empowered the U.S. Commissioner upon instruction of the U.S. President to take over any executive function of the government, and a twenty-year waiting period before the recognition of independence. However, the governor-general would be a Filipino.

### The Missioners Exposed

The sponsors of the bill discussed it in detail with Quezon and the others. The Filipinos suggested some amendments. Subsequently, Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas declared before the Congressional Committee that the Fairfield Bill would be acceptable to the Filipino people and would end the constant agitation for independence. The missioners were therefore greatly disconcerted to learn that there was general opposition to the bill at home. The three Nacionalistas decided it would be expedient to reverse their position.

But Recto, wishing to capitalize on the popular sentiment to boost his own party, decided to upset their plans. At a popular banquet tendered in his honor upon his return from Washington, he delivered a speech in which he maintained that Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas had accepted the Fairfield Bill.<sup>42</sup> The three leaders issued a joint declaration denying Recto's allegation. The bitter polemics reached a climax at the joint session of the Philippine Independence Commission where, at the wily Recto's request, the three submitted a report which contained, as Recto expected, the allegation that they had refused to accept the Fairfield Bill and had registered Philippine protest against the administration of Governor General Wood.

Immediately thereafter, Recto announced that he would write a dissenting report. In the course of a marathon eight-hour session Recto single-handedly engaged Quezon, Osmeña, and Roxas in debate, focusing his attention not on the merits of the Fairfield Bill but on the insincerity of the three.

He accused Quezon, Osmeña, and Roxas of double-dealing with the Filipino people because, contrary to their claim that they had worked for the recall of Governor General Wood, they had in fact pledged to cooperate with him. Furthermore, they had not vigorously opposed the Fairfield Bill as they claimed they had done, but in fact had promised to work for its acceptance at home. Delivering a well-aimed *coup de grace*, he read extracts from letters written by General McIntyre to Governor Wood which clearly supported his charges.

Recto's revelations were front-page stuff for days and public indignation ran high, but in the end the followers of Quezon and Osmeña in the Legislature approved their report and even praised them for their "discreet and patriotic" attitude in "declining to support the Fairfield Bill." Then, to complete the farce, a resolution demanding "immediate, absolute, complete independence" was unanimously adopted.

In the course of the word war, the Democratas questioned the expenditures of the mission. Democrata Representative Gregorio Perfecto revealed that each of the mission members had received a clothing allowance of \$900 plus an expense allowance apart from transportation amounting to \$90 a day for Quezon and Roxas, and \$45 a day for Osmeña and Recto. All in all, the mission had spent \$150,000 in six months.<sup>4 3</sup>

### Political Brokers

For Recto, recalling the time Quezon had branded the Democratas as pro-Americans, it must have been a pleasurable tit-for-tat. Sadly for the country, the battle royale was essentially meaningless. It presaged many similar events in which the people's enthusiasm and patriotism would be engaged in favor of one or the other side in a political combat the issues of which were more personal than patriotic.

In this instance, Recto was not attacking Quezon and company for abandoning the ideal of independence; he was not concerned with the Fairfield Bill itself, but simply with exposing his political enemies and making political capital out of such exposure for his benefit and for that of the Democrata opposition. As a politician, he could not allow the other side to curry public favor by posing falsely as rejecters of the unpopular Fairfield Bill. But this deception was the only thing he objected to, for he himself admitted he was in favor of the bill as the best that could be secured at the moment.

The truth is that by this time the Filipino leaders had become

habituated to performing the role of brokers between the colonizer and the people. Having completely accepted colonial status, they sought to harmonize the people's demands with what the colonial power was willing to grant. Rather than point out more clearly to the people the truth about colonization, they played the role of interpreters of the colonizer's will.

Fiery in their demands for immediate, complete, and absolute independence for public consumption in the Philippines, they asked mainly for one thing during private negotiations in Washington: that any largess, any concession be coursed through them so that they might continue to hold power as the only leaders who could realize their countrymen's aspirations. It was of course the ambition of their political enemies to supplant them in this dual role of official spokesmen of the people on the one hand, and on the other, men whom the colonizer would find it convenient to deal with.<sup>44</sup>

### Contemporary Ring

Recto's criticisms of the majority party, expressed soon after he was elected Senator in 1931, give us valuable additional insights into the nature of colonial politics then. They are also instructive in their striking similarity to recent political practices.

For example, in criticizing the majority's penchant for holding secret executive sessions, Recto also broadly hinted at a number of anomalies familiar to present-day Filipinos. Recto charged:

Secrecy is, indeed, the spinal column of your government. State secrets in the management of funds of independence campaigns; state secrets in the administration of the finances of government-owned companies; state secrets in your negotiations with the sovereign power about the future political status of the Philippine Islands; state secrets in the discussion and approval of legislative and administrative measures in the internal administration of the government.<sup>45</sup>

Senator Recto also charged that this same secrecy had given rise to graft and irregularities in the Philippine National Bank which had become the private preserve of politicians. He criticized the majority for having adopted a practice of the United States Senate known as "courtesy of the Senate" according to which the senator of one state was given by his

colleagues the decisive vote in the consideration of appointments in which he had particular interest. This meant that senators accommodated each other's political proteges regardless of the latter's qualifications. The practice brings to mind the notorious quota system of more recent times according to which each majority senator and congressman was customarily allocated a certain number of appointments in various entities of the national government for his relatives, friends, and political supporters.

### Patronage

But the most useful of his perorations against the party in power was the one in which Recto gave posterity a clear picture of the nature of colonial government and of its leaders. He exposed the collaboration between the governor general and the majority party which gave both what they wanted at the expense of the country. Recto saw clearly how the colonial power granted the politicians' personal requests and in exchange exacted fundamental concessions. This is how he put it:

The important aspect of this combination to which you have given the gentle name of "cooperation," because of the benefits that the system gives you, is not, then, other than the patronage, or the appointments, since only in this and in the approval of your share in the pork barrel although not in the fundamental matters, the representative of the sovereign country cooperates with you through illimitable concessions. The counterpart, which is onerous to the country, consists in that, in exchange for those vain gifts, you approve all legislations which he is pleased to demand from you, from those laws which go beyond the limit set by the organic act on the powers of the governor general and convert the legislature into a mere agency of the executive power, like the perpetual martial law that gives Malacañang its advisers, to those measures which at bottom tend to transfer to big capitalist organizations huge portions of our lands, as in those amendments which in an unfortunate hour you introduced into our corporation and public laws.<sup>46</sup>

The political bonds between the American governor-general as the local representative of American colonialism and the Filipino leaders as colonial intermediaries were soldered with the economic ties which free trade fostered between the two countries. One bondage reinforced the other.

## Hedging on Independence

Although the people still responded to the old slogan of immediate and absolute independence and indeed demonstrated in the popular unrest that characterized this period their impatience over its delay, other voices were also being heard expressing misgivings over the expected loss of the U.S. market once the country became independent. The export barons were now openly fearful of severing relations with the United States. Free trade had brought them prosperity and part of the benefits had seeped down to those sectors of the middle class directly or indirectly dependent on these export industries. The unlimited entry of American products aided by cultural Americanization had resulted in a drastic reorientation of Filipino consumption tastes toward American products.

In the space of thirty years, Philippine imports from the United States increased ninety-one times while Philippine exports increased thirty-two times. By 1934, 80% of Philippine exports went to the U.S. while American products accounted for 65% of Philippine imports.<sup>47</sup>

Colonial consciousness made free trade seem indispensable to economic prosperity and increased the feeling of dependence on the United States. The economic and political elite — the groups were coterminous or at least intimately interrelated — were becoming increasingly reluctant to trade their prosperous dependence for the uncertainties of freedom.

Although immediate and absolute independence had long been tacitly discarded as a demand from the colonial power, independence missions continued to be sent to the United States for political effect, because they provided an excellent cover for junkets, and because in the local political intramurals, some minor concession or vague new promise brought home from Washington could be used to boost a leader's political stock. Thus Osmeña headed a mission in 1926 and Quezon another in 1930.

Quezon's mission report is worth mentioning because it indicates that the fear of losing free trade privileges was making Filipino leaders dread even the sham independence the U.S. would grant them, thus fulfilling the prediction they themselves had made when free trade was first imposed in 1909. Quezon proposed that the next mission try to obtain one of the following: immediate independence with free trade for ten years, or an autonomous government now with free trade and a plebiscite ten years hence to allow people to vote either for



absolute independence or for autonomy with preferential tariffs.

### "Friends" of Independence

It was not the agitation of Philippine political leaders that was responsible for the establishment of a Commonwealth which led to the final "grant" of independence. In the United States, powerful economic interests worked for Philippine independence to eliminate competition from Philippine products and labor while other similarly powerful interests wanted to hold on to the islands to continue extracting their monopoly profits and for future imperialist maneuverings in Asia. The resulting neo-colonial status adequately satisfied the requirements of both.

The various independence bills that were presented to the U.S. Congress were motivated by the self-interests of specific sectors of American society. The opponents of these bills also acted on the basis of their own interests. An early example was the opposition of the Catholic Church which caused the defeat of the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Bill. This amendment which provided for independence within four years was defeated because of the opposition of twenty-eight Roman Catholic Democratic Representatives.<sup>48</sup> According to Governor General Harrison, Cardinal Gibbons had used his influence on these gentlemen at the instance of the American bishops in the Philippines. It should be recalled that the Church had always opposed independence and had used its good offices to effect the desired transfer of control from Spain to the United States so as to protect its properties in the Philippines. In 1916, the Vatican feared that an independent Philippines might ultimately fall under the domination of a pagan Japan.<sup>49</sup>

From the inception of America's imperialist venture in the Philippines, farm and labor groups had consistently supported the anti-imperialist movement. Desirous of protecting their home market from the incursion of Philippine exports, agricultural interests demanded high tariffs. Failing to get tariff protection because of the demands of other economic interests for free trade, they redoubled their agitation for early independence for the colony.

After World War I, Philippine agriculture experienced a boom under the stimulus of high wartime prices. Increased production resulted in more exportation to the United States. As noted earlier, sugar exports increased by 450%, coconut oil by 233%,

and cordage by more than 500% in the decade from 1920 to 1930. (See Chapter 15)

By 1932, American farm and dairy interests, hard hit by the deep economic crisis, renewed their clamor for immediate Philippine independence so that a protective tariff wall could be raised for their benefit. Three national farm organizations, two national dairy organizations, congressmen from twenty-seven beet and cane-growing states, and American investors in Cuban sugar, including the National City Bank of New York, were actively promoting independence legislation.<sup>50</sup> They were joined by labor organizations such as the American Federation of Labor which wanted to exclude cheap Filipino labor.

### Enemies of Independence

Groups opposed to independence were American corporations with investments in the Philippines, beneficiaries of free trade like importers of Philippine products and manufacturers who exported to the Philippines, and the "Manila Americans," long-time residents with businesses in the Philippines.

Firms with investments in the Philippines were particularly active and spent large sums of money on anti-independence propaganda. Notable among them were American public utility companies such as the Manila Electric Company, the Philippine Islands Telephone Company and the Philippine Railway Company, the Spreckels sugar interests, the California Packing Company which had a pineapple plantation in Mindanao, the Spencer-Kellogg Company which had invested \$5,000,000 in machinery to convert copra into coconut oil, and in ships to transport the oil to the United States, and Standard Oil which had begun prospecting in the vast tracts of land it had acquired in Tayabas and elsewhere.

All these economic interests were aware that the depression had greatly increased the pressure to get rid of the Philippines. Resigned to the idea that an independence bill would be passed, they now directed their efforts toward securing as long a transition period as possible in order to consolidate colonial control. Some demanded thirty years but most were willing to settle for twenty.<sup>51</sup>

### Pro and Anti

The climate was therefore highly favorable for the passage of an independence measure when the Osmeña-Roxas Independ-

ence Mission arrived in Washington in December, 1931. In 1932, Congress passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill and when President Herbert Hoover vetoed it, the legislators promptly overrode his veto.

Predictably, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill contained many objectionable features which insured that the Filipinos would be independent in name only. Among these features was a ten-year transition period during which the U.S. president would control the currency system and the conduct of foreign affairs and American goods would be allowed free entry into the Philippines whereas Philippine exports to the U.S. such as sugar, coconut oil, and abaca would be subject to restrictions. The bill also directed the United States to retain land for "military and other reservations."

Recto, now Quezon's lieutenant, excoriated on the Senate floor this "edition de luxe of colonialism," as he called the bill, and analyzed its implications for the nation's future. He warned that its various economic provisions guaranteed to the United States "the complete and unlimited enjoyment of our market" during the Commonwealth and would in effect force Filipinos to continue consuming American products. He charged that the law sanctioned "intervention and permanent interference in the exercise of our sovereignty" and "the dismemberment of our national heritage even after independence is proclaimed."<sup>5 2</sup>

### Ominous Prediction

Recto likewise assailed the colonial power's technique of satisfying ambitious Filipino leaders with high official titles while retaining the real power for itself, and accurately predicted the kind of independence the Philippines would have if its leaders persisted (as in fact they did) on the course they were taking in their dealings with the United States. Recto foretold that the Filipinos would finally receive

a freedom which is only nominal, a freedom rendered unholy by mercenary motives, a freedom incarcerated on land and on sea by the powerful navies of a foreign power, in a territory which has been parcelled out to give alien hands their share in the most unequal transaction and the most ignominious surrender.<sup>5 3</sup>

Although the objections were valid, they were not the real

reason for the impassioned rhetoric. The underlying cause for the polemics against the act and the bitter political fight that revolved around it was the paramount question of political supremacy.

### Same Dog, Different Collar

Osmeña and Roxas headed the independence mission the year the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill was passed. At home, Quezon was beginning to sense that the triumphant return of the OsRox Mission with an independence act in its pocket could endanger his leadership. In an effort to minimize their success, Quezon ordered the two leaders to come home before the bill was finally approved, on the ground that a pending administrative reorganization required their presence and talents. But the two, old pros themselves, saw through Quezon's maneuver and ignored his order that they return home, even after Quezon stopped further disbursements for the mission.

Quezon prepared to do battle. When Osmeña and Roxas returned on June 11, 1933, a bitter political conflict ensued which cut across party lines. The Nacionalistas were divided into Antis (Anti-Hare-Hawes-Cutting) and Pros (Pro-Hare-Hawes-Cutting). The old Democratas were also split, some joining the Antis, others the Pros.

With Quezon in control of the Legislature, Osmeña was deposed as President Pro-tempore of the Senate and Roxas was replaced as Speaker of the House. On October 17, 1933, the Legislature rejected the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and instructed Quezon to head another independence mission to the United States. The Americans accommodated him with the Tydings-McDuffie Act which was practically a word-for-word copy of the earlier bill he had so roundly criticized. Quezon and his lieutenants made much of the minor differences between the two acts, but the real reason for the acceptability of the second version was that Quezon had brought it home. In the elections that followed, the Antis trounced the Pros, thus virtually assuring the fulfillment of Quezon's lifetime ambition — to become the first Filipino Governor General or the first President of the Commonwealth.

### Con-Con '34

In fulfillment of a provision of the Tydings-McDuffie Law, elections were held in July, 1934 to choose delegates to the

constitutional convention. Election statistics reveal that the delegates were selected by only forty per cent of the electorate. The majority of the qualified voters just did not bother to cast their ballots. In Manila, of the 71,000 qualified electors, only 28,000 voted.<sup>54</sup> The electorate's interest had not been sufficiently aroused because neither Quezon nor Osmeña were candidates and because their energies and enthusiasms had been fully taken up with the recently concluded elections which had decided the Quezon-Osmeña duel for supremacy.

Democracy for them had come to mean elections run like exciting popularity contests and nothing much more.

Of the 202 delegates, 120 were Antis, 60 were Pros and the rest independents. Claro M. Recto was unanimously elected President; he had been Quezon's personal choice. The presidency of the convention was his reward for his yeoman service in the Pro-Anti fight in behalf of Quezon's personal ambitions.

### A Colonial Document

Several strong factors militated against the emergence of a constitution reflective of the nationalist aspirations of the Filipino people and responsive to their needs. The Tydings-McDuffie Law specifically directed the inclusion in the constitution of all the reservations of power it had provided for the United States. The constitution itself had to be approved by the American president even before it could be submitted to the Filipino people. But perhaps the most important factor that insured the writing of a colonial document was the colonial mentality of the delegates themselves. More than three decades of colonial education and cultural Americanization had produced a ruling elite that regarded the American concepts of government and American political institutions as the highest development of democracy.

Fittingly enough, the final act of the constitutional convention was the approval of a resolution expressing

On its own behalf and in the name of the Filipino people, its profound gratitude and appreciation to the government and the people of the United States, and to all those who aided the cause of freedom of the Filipino people, for the opportunity to write its own Constitution and to become an independent nation.<sup>55</sup>

The constitution was approved by President Franklin D.

Roosevelt on March 23, 1935 and ratified by the Philippine electorate on May 14.

The stage was set for the climax of Manuel L. Quezon's political career: the presidency of the Commonwealth. A rapprochement was achieved between the Pros and the Antis thus allowing the two wings of the Nacionalista Party to merge once more for the greater glory of its leaders. Quezon ran for president with Osmeña as his running mate. General Emilio Aguinaldo and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, head of the Philippine Independent Church, also ran for president but the Quezon-Osmeña team won overwhelmingly.

### Transition to Neo-Colonialism

The Philippine Commonwealth was inaugurated on November 15, 1935. The colony was in transition to becoming a neo-colony.

American colonial policy had successfully trained Filipino politicians to be colonial spokesmen. Colonial education had effectively transformed the image of the colonizer from conqueror to benefactor. Philippine society in its middle and upper levels now strove to imitate most aspects of American society. Even the masses were to a degree infected with colonial culture and with illusions about the United States peddled by the educational system.

Ultimately, however, no amount of miseducation and misinformation can conceal the objective reality of economic exploitation that is the fundamental motive for colonization. Since in a colonial society it is the masses that suffer the double exploitation of the colonizer and of their own ruling class, it is their unrest and their movements that express the real colonial condition.

Thus, although the local elite and its subsidiary classes had effected their accommodation within the colonial order and even as they were celebrating the successful completion of their colonial tutelage, mass unrest continued to erupt in rebellions which belied the claim that all was well in America's "show-window of democracy" in Asia.

## XVII.

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# Turbulent Decades

During the process of integration of the Filipino elite into the colonial apparatus, while prominent leaders of the Revolution were finding accommodation within the political structure through appointment or election to public office, and throughout the period when a new crop of American-educated leaders learned to use the independence campaign as a means to enhance their personal power and position, the masses persisted in their allegiance to the goal of national independence.

The tradition of the Revolution remained real in their minds. There would be, however, one marked difference in their subsequent struggles: since the elite articulators of their aspirations had already compromised with the new colonizer, the people's movements would henceforth be directed not only against the conqueror but in most instances against his native allies and overseers as well.

### Growing Unrest

This separation of the elite from the stream of the popular revolution had a negative and a positive effect. The negative effect was temporary and minor; the positive effect, long-range and fundamental. The end of ilustrado participation in the people's movements led to a proliferation of mystical organizations. Lacking theoretical guidance, resistance in various areas reverted to a form of nativism or fanaticism reminiscent of early rebellions against Spanish rule. Such movements were doomed to a tragic end.

But objective conditions and the instinctive wisdom of the masses — a product of their own experience — gave rise to a growing social awareness. Freed from the old ilustrado leadership, many new organizations began to acquire a quasi-class

orientation. Secret patriotic societies, peasant associations, and labor unions began to project more clearly their socio-economic goals. In some of these groups, the economic objectives became paramount so that their demand was merely for better working conditions within the colonial framework. This retrogression was the consequence of the relative success of propaganda regarding the altruistic motives of the colonizer, the inroads of Americanization into native institutions and values, and the influence of those new purveyors of Americanization: the products of the public schools.

Other groups, however, began to perceive with greater clarity the interconnection between their economic demands and the national goal of independence. They saw that the fight against exploitation must be combined with the struggle against colonialism and for independence. Thus, labor unions and peasant movements finally evolved into radical political associations of workers and peasants.

Studying the history of the ebb and flow of rebel movements in the Philippines, one notes that after the post-revolution resistance was crushed, a period of relative quiescence followed. This was probably due mainly to exhaustion after the years of bitter struggle and in part to the adoption of a wait-and-see attitude among the people as the propaganda about the benefits of American colonialism seeped down to the villages and farms. One must also consider the latent tendency of the peasantry to regress into passivity. But as conditions failed to improve and in fact worsened, agrarian unrest flared up resulting in the reactivation of old organizations and the emergence of new ones.

Urban workers in Manila also began to organize. By the twenties, unrest erupted in strikes in the city and violent risings occurred in the countryside. Many new organizations were formed: some secret, some open, many of them radical and seditious in nature. The worldwide economic crisis of the late twenties and early thirties further depressed the living standards of the masses and drove them to desperate violence on the one hand, and to affiliation with more radical organizations on the other.

Throughout the American occupation, a bewildering variety of organizations appeared on the scene, some briefly, others persisting for longer periods. But underlying their particular characteristics and demands was the unifying element of economic exploitation. Sometimes the demand for relief from economic oppression was subsumed under the demand for



independence, at other times it was the sole motivation for organization and action.

## Exports and Tenancy

Peasant unrest was the result of increasingly grave economic exploitation. In pre-Spanish Philippines, each barangay had been self-sufficient in food. Each member of the barangay could be assured of land to till within the communal holdings of the group. Spanish colonization deprived Filipinos of their ancestral lands and reduced more and more of them to the status of tenants or leaseholders, subject to the exploitation and physical abuse of landowners.

The country's linkage to world capitalism resulted in concentration on production for export. This development caused more hardship on those peasants who no longer produced their staple food. This trend continued under American occupation. American trade and tariff policies were designed to stimulate the cultivation of those agricultural products that sectors of the American economy needed. Thus sugar cane, coconut, tobacco, and abaca became major export crops while rice production declined and the cereal had to be imported in large quantities every year. The demand for these export crops greatly stimulated the rise of large haciendas just as the early capitalist impulse under Spain had done. (See Chapter 9)

Many landowners increased their holdings in much the same way as they had done during the Spanish occupation — by fraudulent surveys and land titling, through foreclosure of mortgages, and by purchase. Whether these lands were acquired "honestly" or not, the end result was the dispossession of many small landowners and many more cultivators whose families had tilled the land for generations though they had no formal title to it. Independent farmers were forced to become sharecroppers or agricultural laborers.

The opportunities for cash profits provided by the demand for export products stimulated greater exploitation of tenants by hacenderos. Furthermore, their wealth and their involvement in colonial politics encouraged more and more landlords to live in Manila or in the provincial capitals. Absentee landlords entrusted the administration of their haciendas to overseers, a fact which compounded the traditional abuses of the tenancy system. In the past, when the landlord lived on his property, actively managed it, and was in daily contact with tenants many of whom he probably inherited with the land, he could not help

but develop a paternalistic attitude toward them. This mitigated the exploitation to some extent. Tenants used to be able to run to their landlord for some help in personal emergencies or when harvests were poor. Landlords were acquainted with their tenants and intervened in their personal problems.

This quasi-feudal relationship gave the peasants a measure of security and also concealed the real nature of the relationship since their landlord appeared in the guise of a father-figure. But this relationship was gradually dissolved as haciendas became larger, as their owners became absentee landlords, and as more and more of them responded to the commercial spirit of the times. Such landlords were no longer inhibited by personal ties with their tenants; they could therefore easily order the discontinuance of certain traditional practices in order to maximize their profits and to institute a more business-like management of their haciendas. Certain advances which used to be interest-free were now charged interest, and higher rates were levied on traditionally interest-bearing loans. Tenants were told with greater frequency to seek loans outside of the hacienda for their personal needs.

When only the economic ties remained, the real nature of the relationship became clearer to the peasantry. Discontent and hostility grew, as more and more peasants recognized the contradiction between their interest and that of the landowners. Other factors were contributing to the unrest as they further depressed living conditions and reduced the peasants' options for improving their status. A higher population density meant not only that idle lands for homesteading had become scarce, but more significantly, that landowners could easily get replacements for recalcitrant tenants. Moreover, it was useless to move from one master to another because the practices of landowners had become almost uniform.<sup>1</sup>

It should be pointed out, however, that although fundamentally the same landlord-tenant relations prevailed throughout the country, the conditions just described applied with greater intensity to Central Luzon, particularly Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, and Bulacan. The incidence of tenancy in Central Luzon was the highest in the country. Its proximity to Manila was an aggravating factor for it meant, on the one hand, a larger number of absentee landlords and, on the other, more contact between the peasantry and workers in Manila (many of whom were rural migrants from near-by provinces who periodically returned to their homes) and greater interaction between the city's leaders and Central Luzon peasant leaders. Hence, deteriorating

material conditions in this area spurred greater unrest and a higher degree of political awareness and unity among the peasantry.

### Land Tenure System.

The land tenure system kept the peasants in a condition of bondage from which they seldom if ever escaped. Tenants were either *inquilinos* (cash tenants) or *kasamas* (share tenants). The *inquilino* leased a piece of land for which he paid a yearly rent in cash. In addition he was often required to render various services, including domestic services, for free. Whenever an *hacendero* wanted to construct a road or dike or build a warehouse in the *hacienda*, he would oblige his *inquilinos* to work without compensation. He might even collect from them a contribution called *bugnos* to help defray the expenses. Refusal to contribute or to work could mean dismissal from the *hacienda*. Since no other *hacendero* would accept a "rebellious" *inquilino*, the latter had no choice but to suffer the impositions of his landlord.<sup>2</sup> This system of land tenure was not as common as the *kasama* system. By the 1930's most *inquilinos* had been converted into share-croppers mainly because they could not pay their fixed rents and were chronically short of capital.<sup>3</sup>

The *kasama* or share-cropper provided the labor and shared the harvest on a 50-50 basis with his landlord after deducting the planting and harvesting expenses. The landlord supplied the necessary implements as well as the *carabao*. The landlord advanced his tenant cash and/or *palay* for his needs and for his half-share of the expenses, the amount to be repaid in *palay* and deducted from the tenant's share at the next harvest. He was also expected to render free labor of various kinds at the discretion of the landowner.

Although the 50% share of the landlord was already an exorbitant price for land use, the usurious rates of interest customarily charged for the advances or *gastos* compounded the exploitation. Repayment of advances was collected in *palay* at harvest time. Interest rates varied from 50 to 100%. In some areas, for every two *cavans* of *palay* borrowed, three had to be returned; in other regions, two *cavans* were paid back for every *cavan* advanced. If the tenant had borrowed money, this too was paid in *palay* computed at the price of grain at harvest time, the lowest of the year. This meant that the *hacendero* had the additional advantage of being able to store his *palay* and to sell it at the higher prices usually prevailing just before the next harvest.<sup>4</sup>

It was not unusual for a tenant to have nothing left of his share after he had settled accounts with the landlords. In fact, more often than not, he sank deeper and deeper into debt. It became customary for his children to serve the landlord as domestic servants to help pay the interest on these debts. Moreover, since only the landlord kept accounts — most tenants being illiterate — the latter could be cheated mercilessly. And even if the tenant knew he was being cheated, there was nothing much he could do about it.

The manager of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas which owned fifteen thousand hectares in Isabela reported that with few exceptions Tabacalera tenants remained with the company for generations.<sup>5</sup> The manager regarded this as a compliment to the company; actually, it is an indictment of a society that condoned such stagnation for the majority of its people.

### Tenants and Rural Workers

On an average, a tenant farmed around two hectares. His methods were the age-old inefficient methods, therefore his productivity was low. Low productivity and cacique exploitation insured a standard of living well below subsistence. A study published in 1934 estimated the tenant's labor at only six centavos an hour while his carabao's labor was worth nine centavos an hour. Another study published in 1938 revealed that sixty to ninety per cent of the tenant's income was spent on food.<sup>6</sup>

The rural laborer on the sugar plantations was even worse off. The sugar industry was one of the most prosperous beneficiaries of free trade and at its inception was dominated by American capital, yet the cane field worker was even more exploited. His annual income was lower, his living standard was more marginal and, being hired by the day as needed, he had less security. As of 1937, laborers were paid fifty centavos a day during the slack season and about seventy centavos during the peak season when a sixteen-hour day was not extraordinary. Women and children were paid thirty-five to fifty centavos and worked eleven hours. In the sugar centrals, 30% of the workers received less than a peso and 27% less than P1.20. They worked from eight to twelve hours per day.<sup>7</sup>

In the middle thirties, the *pakiaw* system began to gain ground. For a fixed fee, labor contractors hired out to the

haciendas gangs of laborers recruited from near-by provinces, and in turn underpaid these men mercilessly. Moreover, workers were robbed of their miserable wages by being forced to buy their food and other needs at the hacendero's canteen where they were charged as much as 80% more than the prevailing prices for the goods they bought. To assure themselves of labor at the milling season, hacenderos often allowed laborers to accumulate a small debt at the canteen.

As of November, 1938, of four million persons employed in the Philippines, three and a half million were in agriculture. One and a half million were rural laborers, and most of the remainder were sharecroppers.<sup>8</sup>

## The Friar Lands

A special source of grievance arose from the question of the friar lands. It will be recalled that abuses on the friar estates had spurred many discontented tenants to join the Revolution and that one of the strongest demands of the people had been the distribution of these lands to their cultivators. Recognizing the passion that surrounded this issue, the American government announced as one of its early policies the break-up of these estates and their eventual redistribution to their tenants. It was part of the policy of attraction.

In 1903, the Insular government did buy a total of 166,000 hectares of these estates. But the avowed objective of redistributing these lands to the peasants was never seriously implemented. First, most of the lands the friar orders sold were the less arable and the sparsely populated of their properties; second, since the Insular government was determined to recover the purchase price plus interest, the selling price proved to be beyond the reach of most tenants; and finally, no credit facilities were made available to persons of modest means who might want to buy a few hectares. Consequently, the land-owners became the chief beneficiaries of the supposed redistribution, for only they had the funds with which to buy the lands offered for sale.<sup>9</sup>

It should also be recalled that a number of prominent Americans were interested in these properties. As a matter of fact, there was some scandal regarding transactions involving American officials associated with Taft. Taft himself had consistently favored a policy of encouraging large agricultural holdings. (See Chapter 15)

The friar estates — those that remained the property of the

Church and those that passed to other hands — would figure prominently in the peasant unrest. Many organizations would arise on these haciendas to demand their partition among the tenants.

### Minor Messiahs

Grinding poverty, high taxes, usury, oppressive treatment by caciques, the frustration of the tenants' hopes of acquiring plots of their own, dispossession of poor farmers through land-grabbing, fraudulent titling and other legal trickeries employed by the rich and powerful — all these formed the backdrop for a new upsurge of peasant unrest in the twenties.

Movements led by self-styled messiahs, secret societies with roots in the revolutionary tradition, and revivals of old organizations such as the pulajanes and the colorums burst upon the scene not only in Luzon but in the Visayas and in Mindanao as well. In Occidental Negros there was a revival of the old pulajanes under two leaders, one of whom had been a lieutenant of Papa Isio. (See Chapter 14) All sorts of religious groups with more or less seditious objectives kept the Constabulary busy. Among them were the *Liquitan* in Samar, the Jesus Maria Jose in Siquijor and Oriental Negros, the Soldiers of Christ in Dao, Iloilo, a secret society in Cavite pledged to the creation of a Filipino army, another secret society with a rumored membership of four thousand in Pangasinan, Bulacan, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija which was said to be collecting funds for the purchase of guns to be sent to General Artemio Ricarte in Japan to continue the Revolution.<sup>10</sup>

For the most part, American officials and Filipino politicians contemptuously dismissed them all as fanatical movements or plain banditry and without more thought to their significance, assigned their detection and suppression to the Constabulary. Though poorly armed, members of such groups fought back, were defeated, and their leaders imprisoned or hanged.

Ideologically confused and poorly organized, they were blindly groping for solutions to real and grave socio-economic problems. However ridiculous some of their beliefs and practices might have been, despite the limitations of their leaders, these movements deserve serious attention because of their capacity to enlist the devoted support of the masses and because their goals, however inadequately formulated, were reflections of popular grievances and aspirations.

## The Colorums

Colorum organizations were active in many provinces during the 1920's.<sup>1 1</sup> There was the *Sociedad de la Confianza* in Leyte and Samar, and the *Caballeros de la Sagrada Familia* with one thousand followers in Pampanga, Bulacan, Pangasinan, and Nueva Ecija. Other colorum groups were established in Tarlac, Rizal, Pangasinan, La Union, Batangas, and Surigao.

These groups were not related to one another organizationally or even in terms of beliefs and practices. However, they did have two characteristics in common which marked them as spiritual descendants of the original colorum movement of Hermano Pule in the 1840's. (See Chapter 9) First, all colorum groups were characterized by religious fanaticism. Their religion was a melange of Catholic devotion, hero-worship and folk-superstition. Second, membership was recruited from the peasantry and the urban poor. The colorum movements were articulations of an oppressed people who sought in messiahs the means of their redemption.

The colorums of Tarlac worshipped Jose Rizal and Apo Ipe Salvador and believed in their resurrection. (See Chapter 13) They also believed that anting-antings made all members invulnerable to the bullets of the enemy. The colorums in Manila and neighboring towns made yearly pilgrimages to the "Garden of Eden" of the original colorums on Mount San Cristobal in Laguna, there to listen to the sermons of "*Amang Dios*" which were supposed to emanate from a cave.<sup>1 2</sup>

Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and Jose Rizal characterized the colorum group in Surigao. Worshipped as a god, Rizal was supposed to have resurrected from the dead. The colorums believed that one day he would rule the Philippines. When this came to pass, the property of all those who were not colorums would be confiscated and apportioned among the members. Like other colorums elsewhere, the Surigao group believed themselves invulnerable to the enemy's bullets. If any were killed, they would rise and live again within five days. The group grew in numbers and the organization spread from Surigao to Agusan, Cotabato, Samar, and Leyte.<sup>1 3</sup>

### "Bread and Freedom"

By the end of 1923, the colorums of Surigao began their uprising by killing five Constabulary soldiers. They followed

this up with an attack on a Constabulary detachment which resulted in the death of the provincial commander and twelve soldiers. "Colorum towns" in Samar, Leyte, and Agusan also rose up in revolt. The government had to dispatch an American warship and hundreds of Constabulary reinforcements to suppress the colorum rebellion which lasted from January to October, 1924.<sup>14</sup>

Out to avenge the death of its officers and men, the Constabulary gave the colorums no quarter. Col. H. Bowers, head of the expeditionary force, ordered the town of Socorro burned for being the center of the rebellion. The corpses of colorums were allowed to rot where they were killed in order to prove that colorums did not in fact come back to life. One hundred colorums lost their lives, five hundred surrendered to the authorities, and the rest were dispersed. The leaders were tried for sedition and meted out long prison terms.

While the suppression campaign was still in full swing, the government this time gave indications that it was aware of the economic and nationalistic aspect of the rebellion. It referred to the colorums as "religious fanatics and recalcitrant taxpayers" and Governor General Wood, recognizing the nationalistic spirit that animated the rebellion, prohibited the display of pictures of Filipino heroes in all public schools in Mindanao.<sup>15</sup>

But after it was all over, government authorities dismissed the uprising as a mere movement of religious fanatics, racketeers and crackpots while the Constabulary, proud of its success, declared that further disturbances of this sort could easily be suppressed by a show of force. Yet it was clear enough that underlying the mystical and apocalyptic aspects of the rebellion were basic economic demands that the rebels believed would be satisfied only by overthrowing the colonial government. It was the old cry of "bread and freedom" in mystical dress. The dream was a redistribution of property by a government of their own under their own hero and compatriot, Jose Rizal.

While the Constabulary was busy putting down this colorum uprising, another revolt was brewing in Nueva Ecija. In March, 1923, Pedro Kabola organized a secret society which he called *Kapisanan Makabola Makarinag*.<sup>16</sup> Small farmers victimized by land-grabbers, and tenants exploited by greedy caciques joined Kabola's *Kapisanan* by the hundreds. By 1924, he had an estimated twelve thousand members many of whom were undergoing some sort of rudimentary military training. His program was naive in the extreme but its direct simplicity was



attractive to the peasantry. They were to attack the municipal building of San Jose and execute all town officials. Kabola apparently believed that after his group had set the example, other peasants would likewise rise against their own officials. Independence would then be proclaimed, all caciques and Americans would be expelled from the country, and all land would then be equally apportioned among the poor. But before the appointed date for the uprising, the plan was discovered. Constabulary troopers broke up a Kapisanan meeting. Kabola resisted and was killed. In a panic over rumors of secret peasant armies planning a general uprising, Nueva Ecija officials and the Constabulary arrested hundreds of Kapisanan members. Neighboring provinces also rounded up suspects. Seventy-six were meted out jail terms for conspiracy and sedition.

Although Governor-General Wood saw clearly enough that the revolt had been caused by the abuses and land-grabbing activities of caciques, the Filipino cabinet members who constituted the investigating committee blamed it all on agitators like Kabola who had incited the ignorant masses to make unreasonable demands on the landlords and on the government.

In 1927, a new movement in the Visayas once again demonstrated how desperate the masses were for any kind of solution to their problems. From Iloilo, the movement led by a flamboyant eccentric by the name of Florencio Intrencherado spread through six Visayan provinces and gathered a following estimated at 26,000.<sup>17</sup>

Although Intrencherado's vision of establishing a kingdom with himself as emperor was obviously a ridiculous delusion, it did not appear so to the simple peasants and the urban poor for he projected their own deepest aspirations: relief from their extreme poverty and independence for their country, and they saw these two as interconnected. Intrencherado's movement advocated equal distribution of wealth and declared itself against foreign control and high taxes. He attracted many followers with his promises to reduce the cedula or poll tax from two pesos per year to twenty centavos when he became emperor. Meanwhile, he charged a three-peso membership fee plus twenty centavos for the cedula, thus netting a tidy profit of P1.20 per head. The cedula had been a traditional source of grievance since Spanish times. That a poll tax of only P2.00 per year caused such hardship is telling evidence of the poverty of the people.

Intrencherado's followers began collecting money to pur-

chase uniforms and equipment for a proposed army to fight the enemies of independence. They attacked a number of towns in Negros Occidental following orders to seize government buildings, burn all documents, and confiscate the property of Chinese and Japanese businessmen, the last in implementation of Intrencherado's promise to redistribute wealth.

Intrencherado was charged with sedition but the Iloilo Court rendered a verdict of insanity and directed that he be confined in a mental hospital. His followers armed themselves and vowed to die defending their emperor. Fortunately, a bloodbath was narrowly averted when Intrencherado consented to surrender peacefully to the authorities. Intrencherado lived out his days in the San Lazaro Hospital in Manila. His movement died as quickly as it was born. On the surface, it left no trace. Landlords who saw peasant movements as nothing more than aggrupations of ignorant people misled by racketeers or crackpots could sigh with relief. But the problems remained and the oppressed peasants only awaited another leader, another hope to launch yet another blind assault.

In a sense, the landlords were right: as long as peasants depended on messiahs for deliverance, their movements would die with the capture or capitulation of these men. Only when they learned to rely on themselves and to build strong organizations of their own would their movements survive reverses and be capable of sustained effort. Meanwhile, worsening rural conditions would continue to force peasants in many areas to desperate and futile actions, and a landlord-oriented government would escalate its suppression measures.

## Tayug 1931

Conditions in Pangasinan were ripening for another rural uprising. Hacenderos owned most of the fertile lands in that province. Peasant grievances were building up especially in the large haciendas, notably the five thousand-hectare hacienda of the Gonzalez family and the four thousand-hectare hacienda, *El Porvenir*, belonging to the Lichaucos.<sup>18</sup> An Ilocano named Pedro Calosa began organizing a colorum group in 1929.

Calosa had spent many years as a laborer in the sugar fields of Hawaii, but plantation authorities dismissed him when they discovered he was attempting to organize his co-workers. Sent back to the Philippines, he finally settled in Pangasinan where he worked in the rice fields. Soon he teamed up with two leaders of the Makabola uprising who had just been released

from prison after serving their terms.

At its inception, Calosa's colorum society operated behind two new groups dedicated to the amelioration of barrio conditions: the *Sociedad ti Mannalon* or Society of Land Tenants, and the *Sinarauay*. Secret initiation rites, oaths, and passwords lent his operations an attractive air of mystery. Members were given ranks ranging from corporal to general, with Calosa as *Primero General*. They wore colorful red and white uniforms with anting-antings embroidered on them and they had their own flag, a variation of the Filipino flag.

Although these aspects of the organization certainly increased its popularity with the rural folk, there is no doubt that the colorum goals reflected the deepest aspirations of its devoted followers for justice, for land, and for that elusive independence which they firmly believed would be the solution to their age-old exploitation.

In January, 1941, the colorums decided to attack the prosperous town of Tayug. This was supposed to be the spark that would ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution that would achieve independence for the country and reward all participants with equal shares in lands confiscated from caciques. Armed with knives, bolos, and a few guns, Calosa and his followers marched on Tayug in the dead of night and, taking the Constabulary garrison by surprise, managed to rout the soldiers. They burned the barracks then proceeded to the municipal building which they entered unopposed, the municipal officials and the local police having fled at the first inkling of trouble.

As some peasant groups during the Spanish occupation had done, the colorums seized from the municipal building tax records, land titles, debt records and tenancy contracts.<sup>19</sup> These documents were burned in a bonfire at the plaza. They also burned the houses of municipal officials and wealthy residents, most of whom had fled the town. When a Constabulary detachment arrived, the colorums retreated into the convent. Predictably, the superior firepower of the Constabulary forced a quick surrender after the rebels had run out of ammunition. Pedro Calosa escaped but was captured a few days later. The armed uprising had lasted but a day.<sup>20</sup>

## The Grievances

The testimonies of those arrested revealed that abuses committed by Tayug officials, especially the town president,

the treasurer and the justice of the peace, and by some Constabulary soldiers had led the peasants to seek to overthrow the municipal government by force. The colorums also declared that they fought the Constabulary in order to secure the independence of the country. For them, independence would bring equal division of lands and would establish the Philippine Independent Church as the State Church.<sup>21</sup>

In an interview years later, Calosa himself disclosed that his own disenchantment sprang from the failure of the courts to give justice to tenants in their complaints against their landlords and the activities of land-grabbers in connivance with Bureau of Lands officials.<sup>22</sup> Many of the colorums were tenants who had been ejected by hacenderos, or small farmers deprived of their lands by land-grabbers who used both the courts and the police to advance their nefarious schemes.

A woman colorum expressed her own grievance upon her arrest:

We don't want policemen or the Constabulary. We cannot endure what they are doing to us any longer. They took my boy away from the barrio and locked him up for no cause at all. They beat him. We cannot forget that.<sup>23</sup>

Another colorum gave his group's position in this manner:

We are poor and work very hard. And yet we work on land that is not ours. We want an equal division of the lands in our country. That is what we think is the meaning of equality before the law.<sup>24</sup>

## Official Reactions

Public officials continued to ignore the real root of peasant discontent. Secretary of the Interior Honorio Ventura dismissed the uprising as a case of ignorant people being exploited by unscrupulous leaders and declared that the solution to the problem of rural unrest was simply to add ten thousand more men to the Constabulary force and distribute them in all municipalities.<sup>25</sup> Jorge B. Vargas, then Undersecretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources, declared after an on-the-spot investigation that the uprising had not been the result of any agrarian disputes between landlords and tenants.<sup>26</sup> Speaker Manuel Roxas blamed it all on fanaticism.<sup>27</sup> Senate President Manuel Quezon ascribed the revolt to the ignorant mass being

led by professional agitators, a statement which provoked an angry protest from the *Congreso Obrero Proletario*.<sup>28</sup> The press, however, saw in Tayug a warning that the situation in the countryside was becoming dangerous.

All but three of the colorums arrested and tried were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms of from fourteen to forty years.

A comical sidelight of the tragic Tayug uprising was provided by the government's claim that a suspected "Red agent on the payroll of the Soviet Government" was the "brains" of the movement. The poor fellow was arrested and held incomunicado. He turned out to be an agent all right, but an agent of an American packing company who had come home from the United States after many years to search for the wife he had married in Tayug before he left.

### The First Labor Groups

If the material basis for unrest was partially obscured by the trappings of religious fanaticism in the movements we have discussed, the economic objectives were clearly defined in another group of organizations, the labor unions and peasant mutual aid societies. Some of these groups evolved into radical organizations of class-conscious peasants and workers.

The earlier labor unions were led by ilustrados who infused into these organizations their own political outlook. While they saw in unionism a means for improving the living standards of workers, they did not regard the interests of labor and management as antagonistic. Rather, unionism, in the words of Isabelo de los Reyes, "aimed to achieve the longed-for alliance of labor and capital." He invited industrialists and property owners to join him in the executive committee of his labor organization.

Of equal importance to ilustrado labor leaders was the opportunity to use the unions as vehicles for nationalist propaganda since pro-independence political parties were still banned. In this connection, their principal drive was to counter the argument of American retentionists that the Filipinos were incapable of self-government. They were therefore much concerned with the civic and moral education of their membership as their contribution to the building of a responsible citizenry which could be entrusted with independence.<sup>29</sup>

The *Union de Litografos e Impresores de Filipinas* formed in January, 1902 by Isabelo de los Reyes was the first labor union

organized in the Philippines, if we except two religious guilds or gremios that had existed briefly in the late nineteenth century. Soon after its founding, the members decided to reorganize themselves into the *Union Obrera Democrata* (U.O.D.), a federation of smaller unions of printers, lithographers, cigar-makers, tailors, and shoemakers. Within the year, the federated union claimed to have 150 affiliated unions with 10,000 members. This number is misleading, however, since it included the workers' families. Functioning as a mutual aid society to promote the education of the workers and to provide them with sickness and funeral benefits, the U.O.D. also demanded higher wages and staged a number of strikes for this purpose. Hemp pressers, printers, and cigar makers went on strike.

As a result of one of these strikes, Isabelo de los Reyes was imprisoned. Pardoned by Taft a few weeks later, Don Belong, who was not a worker anyway, retired from unionism to become a politician.<sup>30</sup>

The U.O.D.'s new leader was Dr. Dominador Gomez. A Spanish mestizo, he had served as a surgeon with the Spanish army in Cuba but was later dismissed for allegedly abandoning his post. Under his leadership the number of union members rose to forty thousand. On May 1, 1903, Gomez led a large group of laborers in a demonstration before Malacañang during which he spoke in a most inflammatory manner. But Gomez was a controversial figure whose loyalties became suspect after he performed the role of intermediary between the Americans and Macario Sakay in a treacherous scheme which ended in the latter's capture.

Lope K. Santos, a printer and newspaperman, was the last president of the U.O.D. which under him became known as the *Union del Trabajo de Filipinas*. Political rivalries led to the dissolution of the union in 1907.

## New Slogans

In his newspaper, *Muling Pagsilang*, Lope K. Santos advocated the setting up of a common organization of workers and peasants to protest the abuses of landlords and capitalists. He organized a union among the laborers of the Katubusan Cigar and Cigarette Factory. The Union slogan was, "The whole product of labor for the benefit of workers."<sup>31</sup>

In 1906, the *Union de Impresores de Filipinas* which had seceded from the U.O.D. adopted the significant slogan, "the

emancipation of the workers shall be realized by the workers themselves." Felipe Mendoza was elected president and Crisanto Evangelista secretary general.<sup>32</sup>

The unions took one necessary step forward in 1907: they prohibited employers from becoming union members. In past years, workers and management were often members of the same organization.

### Political Adjuncts

Unfortunately, in that same year organized labor took a step which was to prove disruptive: unions supported candidates in the national elections, thus splitting the fledgeling labor group into warring political camps. This decision set back the cause of labor over the years, some labor organizations deteriorating into mere adjuncts of political machines and pawns of politicians who quickly learned to buy corrupt labor leaders.

At this time, union leaders themselves believed that a workers party was impractical. They felt that the goal of independence would be better served by supporting the Nacionalista Party which had gained public confidence by its demand for immediate and absolute independence. They believed that a show of political unity was essential.<sup>33</sup> But there were others of course who supported established politicians for opportunistic reasons.

An attempt was made on May 1, 1913, the first officially celebrated Labor Day in the country, to bring a measure of unity to the labor movement. Labor leaders organized the *Congreso Obrero de Filipinas* (C.O.F.). This Congress approved resolutions demanding an eight-hour working day, child and women labor laws, and an employer's liability law.<sup>34</sup>

Politics seriously undermined this first attempt at unity barely four years later when Vicente Sotto established his *Asamblea Obrera* which he used to boost his candidacy for the House of Representatives. In 1917, Joaquin Balmori founded the *Federacion del Trabajo* to support the candidates of the Partido Democrata. The Congreso Obrero for its part backed the Nacionalista Party's candidates. Other groups also seceded from the Congreso Obrero as a consequence of personal and political rivalries. But these were minor problems compared to the coming disputes that would later arise from the radicalization of some sectors of labor.

A factor that spurred unionization was the modest and temporary impetus toward manufacture provided by World War

I. Since American manufacturers were being mobilized to meet the suddenly increased needs of a war economy, local businessmen were able to establish small scale manufacture and expand production to take care of local demand. Business expansion brought together larger groups of laborers, thus encouraging the formation of new unions. Statistics list six labor disputes involving 1,880 workers in 1912. By 1918, the year the war ended, the number of labor disputes had risen to 84 involving 16,289 workers.<sup>35</sup>

### Peasant Unionization

The activation of labor was matched by heightened peasant awareness of the need for collective action. The *Union ng Magsasaka* was formed in Bulacan in 1917 to fight the evils of tenancy and usury. Barrio brotherhoods quickly expanded into municipal brotherhoods. Unfortunately, this development was also undermined by the intrusion of politics. The union of peasants was split into Nacionalista and Democrata supporters.

In 1919, the peasant leaders of five Pampanga towns organized *Anak-Pawas* with the intention of unionizing the tenants and rural laborers of the entire province. That same year, Jacinto Manahan who had been the secretary general of a Bulacan peasant union, formed his own group in view of the decline of the original peasant association. He called it the *Union de Aparceros de Filipinas*. Its objective was ambitious: to unite in one federation all peasant organizations of the country. For this purpose, the First Tenant Congress was held in Manila in August, 1922. It passed many resolutions denouncing usury and the evils of tenancy and urging the amendment of certain laws to alleviate the plight of the peasantry. It was also decided during the Congress to form the *Katipunan ng mga Manggagawa at Magsasaka sa Pilipinas, or Confederacion Nacional de Aparceros y Obreros Agricolas de Filipinas*.<sup>36</sup>

### Unions and Politics

Also in 1919, the *Legionarios del Trabajo* was formally organized as an offshoot of the strike against the Manila Electric Company. Its objectives were strongly influenced by masonic ideals but, in addition, it projected a number of nationalistic demands such as the protection of Philippine products from foreign competition and the adoption of Tagalog as the national language. Crisanto Evangelista, one of its organizers, later quit



the association over the adoption of masonic initiation rites.<sup>37</sup>

Evangelista, organizer of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (C.O.F.) and active in the labor field since 1906, was at that time also a middle-level leader of the Nacionalista Party. To generate labor support, he was included in the 1919 independence mission to Washington. For Evangelista, the trip was a radicalizing experience. He observed at close range the activities of members of the independence mission. According to him, he was disillusioned to find that mission members were more interested in junketing and having a good time than in working for independence. In the United States he came in contact with American labor leaders and radical politics.<sup>38</sup>

In 1924, Evangelista, Domingo Ponce, and Cirilo Bognot, failing to secure berths in the Nacionalista Party slate for Manila councilors, formed the *Partido Obrero de Filipinas*. This party, though organizationally weak, saw itself as a counterpoise to the colonial political parties. It attacked the conventional politicians as traitors to independence.<sup>39</sup>

The platform of the Partido Obrero showed a strong Marxist influence. In fact, this labor group became the nucleus of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its program was the basis for that of the CPP.

The year 1924 saw the holding of the Second Tenants Congress of the National Confederation of Tenants and Farm Laborers led by Manahan. Besides the resolutions concerned with the improvement of the lot of the peasantry, the Congress also passed a resolution asking the American Federation of Labor, the American Labor Party, the Socialist Party and the American Farm and Labor Party to help push the Philippine demand for independence.

The early period of labor unionism in the Philippines was marred by disunity and dissension because of the personal ambitions of labor leaders and because of the intrusion of politics. Although most unions succeeded in advancing the material interests of the workers, many of them were plagued by corruption and there were some reports of malversations of union funds. This early period also saw the emergence of militant leaders with a Left orientation.

### International Contacts

The radicalization of some of the labor leaders was given impetus by their attendance at world conferences and their affiliation with international organizations of the Left. Labor

leaders attended the Hankow, China conference of the League Against Colonial Oppression in the Far East and the Second Brussels Conference of the League Against Imperialism. In 1927, the C.O.F. affiliated itself with the Red International of Labor Unions and during its convention, such subjects as communism, the class struggle, and proletarian internationalism were discussed. The next year, Congreso Obrero leaders Evangelista and Bognot attended the Red International of Labor Unions Conference in Moscow. They stopped off at Shanghai where they conferred with leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, among them Chou En-lai. The peasant leader, Jacinto Manahan, also attended the Moscow conference and met with Chinese Communist leaders in Shanghai. These international contacts influenced these leaders to attempt a reorientation and reorganization of their workers' and peasants' groups.<sup>40</sup>

At the 1928 convention of the National Confederation of Tenants and Farm Laborers, this organization led by Manahan changed its name to *Katipunan Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas* (KPMP). Manahan was elected president and Juan Feleo vice-president. Manahan was determined to make his group a militant radical force in Philippine society, and to this end secured the passage of a resolution endorsing the affiliation of KPMP to the Christentern or Peasant International.<sup>41</sup>

### The Communist Party

The radical labor leaders were no less active. During the 1929 congress of the C.O.F., the conservative elements clashed with Crisanto Evangelista and his group over the proposals submitted by the latter. Among these recommendations were the organization of factory committees as a first step toward the formation of industrial unions, the establishment of a workers' political party, the advocacy of class struggle, the condemnation of the Nationalista and Democrata parties, and a demand for independence from the United States.

The radicals found themselves in the minority. Charging that the conservatives had packed the Congress with their own delegates, Evangelista and his followers walked out and immediately launched the *Congreso Obrero de Filipinas* (Proletariat) otherwise known as the *Katipunan ng mga Anak-Pawis ng Pilipinas* or K.A.P. Evangelista was elected executive secretary of this new group and Manahan vice-president in charge of the peasant movement.<sup>42</sup> Other officers were Jose Hilario, Antonio

Ora, Cirilo Bognot, Patricio Dionisio and H.C. Hao.

The aims of the K.A.P. were:

1) unite the workers and peasants and the exploited masses in general in their own class organizations; (2) struggle against the rule of American imperialism in the Philippines; (3) struggle for the betterment of the living and working conditions of the workers and peasants; (4) struggle to achieve immediate, absolute, and complete independence of the Philippines and establish a real people's government; (5) unite with the revolutionary movements the world over, especially among the colonial countries; and (6) establish the Soviet system in the Philippines.<sup>43</sup>

When the Communist Party of the Philippines was formally established on Nov. 7, 1930, all the officers of the K.A.P. except Hao and Hilario became members of the first Central Committee of the CPP.

The legal life of the CPP was short. It could not have been otherwise; the declared objectives of this organization made government action a foregone conclusion. As a matter of fact, even prior to its formal establishment, government officials already firmly believed that the rash of labor strikes and peasant actions was the work of communists. The crackdown came after a series of strikes in Occidental Negros and Iloilo.<sup>44</sup>

### Outlawing of the CPP

The Communists organized a meeting of unions based in Manila at which a resolution was adopted expressing solidarity with the Negros and Iloilo strikers and promising moral and financial support. Soon after, Antonio Ora, a CPP Central Committee member, was arrested in Manila. While he was being taken to prison, he died in an automobile accident near Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija. Regarding the accident as highly suspicious, the Communists planned a mass funeral and demonstration for January 25, 1931. The Manila Police first refused permission but later allowed the plans to be carried out. It was estimated that more than ten thousand workers marched carrying red flags and placards with anti-imperialist slogans.<sup>45</sup>

The other leaders — Evangelista, Manahan, Dominador Ambrosio, Guillermo Capadocia, and Alfonso Pangilinan — were arrested in February and charged with sedition on the basis of the "platform, actions, and demands" of the Communist Party. They were found guilty by the Court of First Instance of Manila

and sentenced to jail. The CPP was declared an illegal organization. This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court on October 26, 1932.

Although the CPP ceased to have legal existence, its influence continued to be felt in various peasant and workers' organizations.

## The 1929 Crash

The late twenties saw a great intensification of unrest and of organizational activity in both the peasant and labor fronts. This was a reflection of steadily deteriorating conditions which would culminate in the depression of the early thirties. The market crash of 1929 brought economic prostration to the Philippines. Prices of the basic export crops dropped drastically, causing grave hardship on the peasantry. Many were evicted from land and home and even those who continued working sank deeper into debt. Urban workers lost their jobs as businesses failed. Others suffered cuts in wages as employers passed on to them part of their reverses.

It is therefore not surprising that the late twenties and the thirties were turbulent years. Some tenants revived claims to lands grabbed from them, others mounted demonstrations in front of Malacañang asking the government to buy haciendas and to parcel these out to the tillers. There were disputes with landowners regarding irrigation fees, division of the harvest, increase in land rentals, dismissal of tenants for unpaid debts, usury, abuses of landlords and their overseers. In most cases, tenants formed their own unions to press their demands collectively or affiliated with established organizations.<sup>46</sup> Some disputes were taken to court, but others erupted in violence.

## Peasant Actions

In Baliwag, Bulacan, members of the *Katipunan Magsasaka*, dismissed for demanding more rights and refusing to pay irrigation charges, destroyed the dikes, thus paralyzing the irrigation system. In the Hacienda Esperanza in Nueva Ecija an *Union de Arrendatarios* was organized by lease holders to protest the changes made by the owners in the terms of their contracts. In the Hacienda Tuazon in Bagong Bantay, Caloocan, two hundred tenants tried to seize the harvest by force. In an hacienda in Candaba, Pampanga, tenants seized from the hacendero's warehouse the rice he had taken from them as debt

payment. In Bulacan, Pampanga, and Nueva Ecija 30,000 tenants and farm hands in rice and sugar haciendas declared a strike demanding that they be exempted from irrigation expenses, that the contribution of the landlord for the cultivation of the land be fixed, and that amounts advanced for expenses be interest-free.

Such unrest could not but result in a proliferation of peasant organizations, some still semi-religious, others purely economic, and a few having discernible communist influence. Among the semi-religious societies were remnants of *colorem* groups in Bulacan, Leyte, Tayabas, and the Bicol provinces, the Holy Family in Cebu, and the Soldiers of Rizal in Albay and Camarines. The *Union* in Camarines Sur was for Philippine independence and advocated the abolition of the *cedula* as well as internal revenue and land taxes.<sup>47</sup>

### Strike Fever

Nor was discontent limited to the tenants. Urban strikes occurred with increasing frequency from 1925 to the end of the thirties. There were numerous strikes at cigar factories, at the Franklin Baker coconut factory, at the waterfront, in the port of Iloilo, in a lumber mill in Negros Occidental, in sugar centrals in Negros, Pampanga, and Laguna. There were railroad strikes and transit strikes, strikes at the Manila Gas Company, among abaca plantation workers in Davao, mine laborers in Ilocos, embroidery workers in Manila, and workers in rice-mills in Nueva Ecija. Some involved a few hundred men, others as many as eight thousand workers. Most strikes were due to demands for higher wages and better working conditions, particularly strict compliance with the eight-hour law. Sympathy strikes, strikes demanding reinstatement of dismissed co-workers and strikes calling for collective bargaining and closed shop further attested to the growing strength of unionism.

According to the Department of Labor, by the end of 1939 there were 84,015 union members. It may be safely presumed that the actual figure was far larger, for the Department based its estimate only on the membership of registered unions. But since registration required the filing with the Labor Department of lists of members with their thumbprints, many union leaders refused to register their unions, fearing that some of their more militant members might be black-listed. Besides, registered unions were required to keep books and records of the minutes of all their meetings.<sup>48</sup>

## Tangulan

Communists, though they were relatively few, were active in both peasant and labor organizations. Patricio Dionisio, founder of the *Tangulan*, was a member of the Communist-led Congreso Obrero or Kapisanan ng Anak Pawis in 1929 and became a member of the Central Committee of the CPP when this was formed in 1930. He quit the CPP early in 1931 during the government crackdown.

Dionisio, a *Taliba* columnist, founded the *Tangulan* in 1930 as a patriotic secret society. Workers in Tondo and Sampaloc formed underground chapters and discontented peasants of Bulacan swelled the ranks of the organization. Within a year, the *Tangulan* claimed a membership of forty thousand. From its bases in Manila and Bulacan, the *Tangulan* spread to Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Pampanga, Tayabas, Cavite, and Bataan.<sup>49</sup> Although without a clearly defined program, *Tangulan's* principal objective was the attainment of independence through an armed uprising. Chapter members were enthusiastic and impatient for action; leaders of local chapters began to make plans for local struggles. The Constabulary discovered one such plan being hatched to begin an urban insurrection in Manila on Christmas Eve, 1931. Ten days before the scheduled uprising, Dionisio and his chief lieutenants were arrested and charged with sedition.

Another CPP member who led an armed revolt against the government was Teodoro Asedillo. His taking to the hills, however, was not a party decision but rather the unforeseen consequence of his participation in a strike against La Minerva Cigar Factory. A Constabulary force dispersed the picket line, killing five workers and wounding many others.<sup>50</sup> When the Constabulary tried to arrest Asedillo for being one of the strike leaders, he resisted arrest and fled to his home province of Laguna where the communist-led Katipunan ng Mga Anak Pawis had a base among the peasantry.

### Asedillo and Encallado

Asedillo joined forces with capitan Nicolas Encallado, a sixty-year old veteran of the Revolution and of the resistance against U.S. occupation. Encallado fled to the mountains because of some personal grievances he had against municipal officials in his town. Upon his capture, Encallado revealed that he had joined Anak Pawis because Asedillo told him that the

organization was fighting for independence.

From Encallado's accounts, one learns that Asedillo frequently held meetings in the barrios to explain the objectives of Anak Pawis and to recruit fighters for its cause. He also advocated resistance to tax collections. Roaming the barrios of Laguna and neighboring Tayabas, Asedillo recruited many peasants into the Anak Pawis. The Constabulary estimated, for example, that 95% of the residents of the town of Sampaloc, Tayabas were members of Anak Pawis. Many town officials were suspected of having connections with Asedillo and the Constabulary charged that some of them even attended meetings of Anak Pawis.

Asedillo became a legend among the peasants of the region, a sort of Robin Hood who took from the rich and gave to the poor. It was said that he could walk the streets of his town in broad daylight and be safe. People fed and sheltered him. Asedillo's men confiscated carabaos of big landlords and broke into their warehouses to supply themselves with rice. They also kidnapped and killed a number of municipal officials, policemen, Constabulary agents, and informers.

After the killing of three municipal officials of Longos, Laguna and several Constabulary agents, government forces launched in November, 1935 a massive manhunt for Encallado and Asedillo. Troops were posted around the border towns of Laguna and Tayabas. The area where the wanted men were believed to be hiding was declared a war zone and inhabitants of surrounding towns and barrios were ordered to abandon their homes, concentrated in two towns, and kept under surveillance. After weeks of meticulous preparation, the Constabulary aided by volunteers under the governors of Laguna and Tayabas began operations. A Constabulary team headed by Lieutenant Jesus Vargas<sup>51</sup> finally found Asedillo's hideout with the help of an informer. Asedillo and two bodyguards were killed. The Constabulary then decided to take Asedillo's bullet-riddled body from town to town to serve as an object lesson to the masses that "crime does not pay."

Encallado surrendered to Governor Maximo Rodriguez of Tayabas in January, 1936, two weeks after Asedillo's death. From his testimony, the interviews he gave the press, and his subsequent actions, one gathers that personal grievances had been the principal motivation for his taking to the hills. At least some of his contradictory testimony regarding his relations with Asedillo whom he blamed for every killing attributed to their group was obviously intended to mitigate the sentence that would be meted out by the state. In this he was successful, for

after two years in prison he was pardoned by President Quezon.

## Sakdalism

The popular movement with the greatest immediate impact spawned by the turbulent thirties was the *Sakdal* led by Benigno Ramos. Ramos, a poet and a fiery orator, attracted the attention of Senate President Quezon who appointed him a Senate clerk in 1922. In 1930, however, Quezon and his protege parted ways. The immediate cause was a student walkout at a Manila high school which had been provoked by derogatory remarks made by an American teacher against Filipinos. Ramos joined the student picket against the American teacher. Not wishing to offend the Governor-General, Quezon ordered Ramos not only to desist from supporting the students but to denounce their walkout. Ramos' adamant refusal so angered Quezon that he demanded the Senate clerk's resignation. This event led Ramos to establish a tabloid called *Sakdal* with the defiant masthead: "Independent with no master but the people."<sup>5 2</sup>

Published weekly in Tagalog, *Sakdal* became the vehicle for bitter denunciations of the colonial establishment. The American administrators, Quezon and his "lackeys," hacenderos, churchmen, and the Constabulary were targets of criticism not only by *Sakdalistas* but also by other radicals like the Tanguan spokesmen whose views were given space in the *Sakdal* paper.

The tabloid accused both Quezon and Osmeña of being the servants of the Americans and charged independence missionaries with insincerity. It adopted the position that independence is not given but must be taken through the united action of the people. The paper ranged itself against the political and economic oligarchy and proved with statistics the widening gap between rich and poor: It soon became immensely popular with all sectors that disapproved of or had grievances against the status quo. These readers became the nucleus of the *Sakdalista* organization.

## Anticipating Goals of Future Protests

In 1933, during the Quezon-Osmeña split over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, Benigno Ramos decided that the time was ripe for a third political party. The *Sakdalista* convention voted to field a number of candidates for the 1934 elections.

In campaign meetings and through their paper the *Sakdalistas*



presented to the people positions that were not only radical for the time but in fact anticipated many of the demands of future protests.

On three issues — education, American economic control, and military bases — the Sakdalistas adopted stands that would be taken up again and again by protest movements in the next thirty years and more. They branded the educational system as colonial and criticized in particular Camilo Osias' grade school Readers for their glorification of American culture. Favoring neutrality, the Sakdalistas objected to the proposed establishment of American military and naval bases in the country, charging that such bases would benefit only the United States. Above all, Sakdal meetings in the provinces tried to make the people understand that the root cause of their poverty was the "American stranglehold" on the Philippine economy. The Sakdalistas opposed further investment of American capital in the exploitation of the natural resources of the country.

Gearing their political demands to the needs of the peasantry, the Sakdalistas stood for "complete and absolute independence" by December, 1935, the abolition of all taxes after said date, with government to be financed by state control of natural resources and public utilities. They also promised the confiscation of large landholdings for redistribution to the landless and government assistance in the marketing of farm produce.

The party quickly gained devoted support from the long-suffering peasantry which flocked to its meetings despite government harassment. When permits for public rallies were refused, the Sakdalista leaders convened their followers in private houses, in *tiendas*, or even in barbershops. At times, pretending to be fishermen, they put out to sea in *bancas* and held their meetings in Manila Bay or in the middle of Laguna Lake.

### Placards for All Seasons

The placards the peasants carried at their public meetings were expressive of the grievances and hopes of generations of rural poor. Some of them read:

*"Ibagsak ang mapaniil."* (Down with oppressors)

*"Babaan ang buwis ng lupa."* (Reduce land taxes)

*"Alisin ang nagpapayaman sa Katungkulan."* (Remove corrupt officials)

*"Kasarinlan ang aming hangad at hindi ang pagsakyod."* (Independence, not subservience is our goal)<sup>53</sup>

In the elections of 1934, the Sakdalistas made an impressive showing. All three of their candidates for representative won handily. Two came from Laguna and the third from Tayabas, Quezon's native province. The Sakdals also elected a governor in Marinduque and won various municipal posts in Laguna, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Rizal, and Cavite.

### Opportunism of Ramos

Unfortunately, a victorious Benigno Ramos, aware of the future possibilities of his organization, drastically scaled down his demands, thus following the pattern of all conventional politicians who anticipate their ascendance from oppositionists to power holders.

He denied the charge of anti-Americanism saying that the Sakdalistas wanted independence only so that the country's resources could be fully developed. Then he proceeded to present a list of "reasonable" objectives most of which were directed toward peripheral problems. Ramos demanded a new investigation of the question of friar lands, the formation of a 50,000-man army, reductions in the per diems of senators and representatives and increase in the pay of policemen, constables, teachers and laborers, the teaching of native dialects in public schools, and the use of voting machines to prevent frauds during elections. The basic nationalist demands which had attracted so many to the Sakdal fold were conspicuously absent.

### The Outbreak

The 1934 elections during which the Sakdalista showing raised hopes that a real opposition party might emerge at last also dimmed that promise with the coalition of the two bickering wings of the Nacionalista Party. The Sakdalistas denounced this coalition as a victory of the local elite and predicted the further entrenchment of American economic power. The Sakdal leaders continued their barrio campaigns, this time to rally the people to boycott the plebiscite for the Commonwealth Constitution in pursuance of their demand for complete and absolute independence not later than 1935.

The governor general issued a ruling that branded as seditious any campaign against the plebiscite. Under this dictum, many

Sakdalistas were arrested and all permits for assemblies were revoked. Harassed in their campaign for passive resistance through electoral boycott, angry Sakdals began to think of revolt. Agents who had infiltrated the organization began reporting on the existence of a definite trend toward violence.

At midnight on May 2, 1935, one hundred fifty peasants armed with bolos and *paltiks* marched to the municipal building of San Ildefonso, Bulacan, hauled down the American and Philippine flags, and raised the red Sakdal flag. Other Sakdalistas quickly followed suit, one thousand of them invading the presidencias of Tanza and Caridad in Cavite and other groups rising in Cabuyao and Santa Rosa, Laguna and fourteen other towns in Bulacan, Cavite, Rizal, and Laguna.<sup>54</sup> Altogether, almost sixty thousand peasant Sakdalistas were involved. Disorganized and poorly armed, the peasants were no match for the Constabulary detachments dispatched to San Ildefonso, Cabuyao, and Santa Rosa, the centers of the rebellion. By noon of May 3, it was all over. Fifty-seven peasants had lost their lives, hundreds had been wounded, and around five hundred were in jail.

The uprising had been a decision from below. Benigno Ramos himself was in Japan on one of his frequent trips to that country, ostensibly arranging for Japanese support for his party. Disowned by their leadership, the peasants drifted away from the organization, and the Sakdalista influence practically disappeared from the countryside. A pro-Japanese core surfaced later as the *Ganap*, dedicated to the propagation of the Japanese-sponsored concept of "Asiatic Monroeism."<sup>55</sup>

### Milestone in Politicization

The Sakdalista movement, despite its opportunist and fascist-inclined leadership, was a genuine expression of protest and a milestone in the politicization of the people. The insights into the colonial establishment that it propagated, its projection of the interrelation between colonialism and the poverty of the people, its denunciation of the elite leaders and its exposure of the economic strings attached to independence as "granted" by the Americans — all these raised the level of consciousness of the masses.

Other radical organizations were already very much on the scene during the heyday of the Sakdal movement and no doubt

they contributed many of their political ideas to Sakdalism. There were the radical peasant and labor unions, there was the Socialist group of Pedro Abad Santos, there was the Communist Party of the Philippines. In fact, many Sakdal members were recruited from towns regarded as strongholds of the CPP, a fact which was said to have contributed to the hostility of the latter to the Sakdal movement.<sup>5 6</sup>

But the greatest educative factor was the economic reality itself. Exploitation, intensified as a result of the world-wide depression, taught the masses in the city and in the farms to act collectively in self-defense. That in acting together to protect their rights and interests they sometimes broke the law and took matters into their own hands was both a measure of their desperation and their conviction that they had a right to a better life, although not all of them by any means had a coherent idea of how this was to be achieved. Messiahs preached instant land redistribution; Left leaders projected the Soviet solution.

### Tempo of Protest

The tempo of collective protest in the farms and strikes in the urban centers continued to accelerate between 1935 and 1940. Around one thousand peasants dressed in red and waving red flags held a congress near Manila in 1935. They were reported to have demanded rejection of the Philippine Constitution, establishment of a Soviet form of government, and a nationwide strike. That same year, May Day was celebrated with a parade in which 30,000 workers took part. The size of the participation was an indication of Labor's growing strength. The display of red flags was first forbidden but later allowed.<sup>5 7</sup>

In the big haciendas and in the sugar centrals, peasants and rural laborers continued collective agitation. Attempts of the officials of the Tunasan Estate in San Pedro, Laguna to evict tenants behind in their payments and demolish their houses were opposed by eight hundred tenants. Their resistance resulted in a bloody incident in which administrators of the estate were mobbed and severely wounded. Despite police intervention, the tenants were successful in preventing the evictions.

In Tarlac, tenants formed committees to coordinate rent strikes.<sup>5 8</sup> In Nueva Vizcaya, there were rice demonstrations during which peasants raided the landlords' rice granaries.<sup>5 9</sup> In

Pangasinan, hundreds of tenants marched to the municipal building to present their grievances against the administration of Hacienda Esperanza. In Bataan, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental, rural workers burned many hectares of sugar cane as a result of the landlords' refusal to heed their demands for higher wages, rigid enforcement of the eight-hour day, and reinstatement of dismissed workers. The tenants of Pampanga's sugar plantations and the laborers in Pampanga's sugar centrals engaged in strike activities which featured a wide variety of tactics ranging from the legal, like sit-down strikes, to the illegal, like the burning of scores of hectares of sugar cane fields.

### Ominous Slogans

In the large haciendas, peasants conscious of their common grievances formed organizations to advance their specific objectives. Some of these groups were purely local and remained so, others were set up by radical peasant leaders affiliated with other groups, still others subsequently joined up with national peasant organizations to work for larger national objectives. The names they adopted had a uniformly ominous tone which reflected a common sense of urgency and impatience with their age-old problems. The similarity in names also suggests a common influence or, at least, awareness of each other's movements.

One of these organizations was the *Kapisanan Panahon Na* (The Time Has Come) composed of tenants in haciendas owned by the Catholic church in Dinalupihan in Bataan, San Rafael, San Ildefonso, Bigaa, and Polo in Bulacan, San Pedro Tunasan in Laguna, and Lian in Batangas. These tenants were mainly concerned with agitating for government purchase of Church lands for resale to the tillers.<sup>60</sup>

Other similar organizations were *Dumating Na* (It Has Come) composed of tenants of Hacienda Buenavista in San Rafael<sup>61</sup> and *Handa Na* (We Are Ready) in San Ildefonso.<sup>62</sup> Another was *Oras Na* (It Is Time)<sup>63</sup> in the Jesuit estate at San Pedro Tunasan, Laguna. Still another organization called *Yapak* (Barefoot) emerged in San Pedro, Laguna. Its objective was to seize the estate owned by the Colegio de San Jose and real property recently acquired by the government and to distribute these among Yapak members.<sup>64</sup>

On the whole, the peasant-worker mass actions of the thirties revealed a new level of political consciousness and organization

derived from the accumulated experience of the past and from the sharper economic contradictions of the period.

## Don Perico

From 1935 up to the outbreak of the war, the recognized leader of the peasantry in Central Luzon, center of the deepest unrest and the highest militancy, was Pedro Abad Santos. Don Perico, as he was known all over Central Luzon, was a member of the landed aristocracy. His career, until his later years, followed the standard pattern for his class. After completing his early schooling in his home province, he entered Letran College in Manila where he earned his A.B. degree. He then moved to the University of Santo Tomas to study medicine.

Abad Santos fought during the Philippine-American war. After the capture of General Maximino Hizon whom he served as *aide-de-camp*, he himself was captured. The Americans court-martialed him and sentenced him to be hanged, but his sentence was commuted and he was freed by virtue of the general amnesty proclaimed in 1902.

Abad Santos studied law by himself, took the bar examinations which he topped, then went back to Pampanga to publish the first newspaper of the province. He entered government service as a justice of the peace of San Fernando, Pampanga and was later appointed acting provincial fiscal. In 1917, Abad Santos was elected to the Philippine Assembly and during his second term was a member of the independence mission to the United States. Subsequently, he ran for governor of Pampanga but was defeated.<sup>6 5</sup>

In 1929, Abad Santos founded his Socialist Party. Regarded by his hacendero province-mates as a traitor to his class, the frail intellectual devoted the remaining years of his life to the cause of the peasants. His influence rose steadily, especially after the failure of the Sakdal uprising in 1935.

Abad Santos was a leader with a sophisticated mind and a keen grasp of reality. He believed that "if the masses are to be saved" it should be "by their own efforts." For this reason, he preached that "every strike must be a school, even if it is lost." Under his guidance, the peasants and rural workers conducted many protest actions during which they used a wide variety of tactics, from passive resistance to electoral campaigns, from protracted strikes to the burning of rice and cane fields and the carting away of farm produce.

## Left Ideology, Elite Status

Abad Santos disliked demagoguery and severely criticized as fascistic in tendency the Sakdalista adoration of their leader, Benigno Ramos. He declared:

Sakdalism is essentially hero worship. We don't believe in such silly stuff, we believe in mass action to secure our end — the welfare of the masses.<sup>66</sup>

The mass action Abad Santos envisaged did not include armed struggle. Mindful of the tragic Sakdal revolt, he regarded armed resistance as suicidal at that time. The combination of radicalism with legalism, Left ideology with elite social status made Abad Santos a difficult leader for the government to counteract or undermine. During the second half of the decade, his Socialist movement spread throughout Central Luzon.

The Sakdal uprising, the popularity of the Socialist Party, and the numerous other manifestations of peasant discontent finally forced the officials of the new Commonwealth to the conclusion that unless they quickly found some solution to the popular restlessness that was building up to dangerous proportions, the government was in serious trouble. Something had to be done.

### “Social Justice”

President Quezon appointed a fact-finding committee which reported to him that what the peasants desired was a radical change in their relations with the landowners. The committee summed up its findings in these words:

In all provinces surveyed, it has been found that the average tenant does not enjoy his constitutional and inalienable civil and political rights. He cannot openly join associations nor participate actively in any movement organized for his betterment without courting the displeasure of the landowner and running the risk of being deprived of the land he tills.<sup>67</sup>

With his characteristic flair for drama, President Quezon launched his Social Justice Program. It was billed as the panacea for all the ills that plagued the countryside. The claim was made that this program could usher in a new social system extravagantly advertised as “Quezonian Communism.” Quezon

wanted to draw the masses away from what an aide of his called "the idle and dangerous occupation of theorizing on an impracticable and strange social system."

Quezon's own definition of social justice was the following:

... social justice means justice for all, laborers and employers, the poor and rich alike. Over and above the interests of class or group is the interest of the people, and in the upholding of the supremacy of the public interest there will be no compromise.<sup>68</sup>

And Supreme Court Justice Jose P. Laurel warned that "the promotion of social justice. . . is to be achieved not through a mistaken sympathy toward any given group."<sup>69</sup>

### To Placate and to Reassure

It is clear from the foregoing statements that the Social Justice Program was intended to placate one group while reassuring the other. This is not to say that constructive legislation was not attempted; in point of fact, a number of laws designed to protect the working classes had been passed years ago. Unfortunately, they were either not implemented, or ended up favoring the elite. For example, a program for rural credit was taken advantage of not by small farmers but by a handful of big sugar planters who borrowed the funds the government deposited in commercial banks to be lent out to farmers. We have already noted that the purchase by the government of friar and other estates for subdivision among tenants hardly benefited the latter who were in no position to pay for the lands they tilled. More often than not, the lands only changed hands and the tenants merely changed masters.

The government's resettlement project in Koronadal Valley in Mindanao which was supposed to decongest the foci of peasant unrest in Central Luzon failed because the government did very little to make the new communities viable. As for the law limiting working hours, it provided for so many exemptions as to virtually exclude rural workers from its purview.

The Share Tenancy Act of 1933 which was supposed to regulate share tenancy contracts for the protection of the peasantry became a dead letter because of a provision, no doubt inserted by landed interests, that the law could be invoked only upon petition of the majority of municipal councils in a province. Since the landowners usually controlled such councils, it is not surprising that not one ever petitioned for application



of the Share Tenancy Act. This law provided for a written contract in the dialect of the region, a 50-50 sharing of costs and crops, and 10% as the maximum interest rate on debts.<sup>70</sup>

Three years later, the Share Tenancy Act was amended to make a written contract mandatory in areas designated by the President of the Commonwealth. Quezon ordered implementation of this amendment in all the Central Luzon provinces. Again a law which was supposed to strengthen the position of the tenants vis-a-vis their landlords only served to compound their problems. The law had an important loophole: contracts were only for one year. Those tenants who knew about the law and were brave enough to insist on its implementation found out that landlords could eject them by simply refusing to renew their contracts after the year was over. Peasant organizations agitated in vain for a law that would make the contract automatically renewable for as long as the tenants fulfilled their obligations. By 1939, thousands in Central Luzon were being threatened with wholesale eviction.

More and more peasants realized the bitter truth: that because the landlords had economic power, they had the political power as well to influence national legislation. In the event that certain provisions of the law did not suit them, they had enough control over law enforcement agencies to ignore the law or reinterpret it to favor their interests. In the eyes of the peasants, the national police was practically the private army of the landlords since it was so often used to break strikes and enforce evictions. As for the courts, legal processes were too expensive and subject to dilatory tactics by landlords who knew that a tenant could not afford to let his family starve while waiting for a court decision.

### Preaching and Practice

It should be noted that the measures and policies intended to alleviate agrarian unrest, weak and poorly implemented as they were, were already responses to pressures exerted by peasant organizations. The *Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magbubukid* (PKM) or National Peasants' Union, the largest and most militant, listed the following objectives in 1930: extension of bank credit facilities to small farmers, purchase of big estates for resale to tenants on easy terms, and "humanization" of tenant-landlord relationships.<sup>71</sup>

Notwithstanding Quezon's well-publicized Social Justice Program, the government was not really embarking on a new

direction. A shrewd and flexible politician, Quezon quickly understood the relevance of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal policies to the Philippine situation. Those policies were Roosevelt's attack on the depression to restore stability to the American economy. Quezon believed that a little New Deal in the Philippines would stave off the growing unrest, achieve social equilibrium and thus secure the positions not only of the politicians but also of the propertied groups most of these politicians represented.

From 1935 when the Commonwealth was inaugurated up to the Japanese invasion, Quezon and his aides pushed the slogan of Social Justice for all it was worth and secured from an often more conservative Assembly laws intended to give it some substance.

The purchase of large estates and land distribution continued, the National Rice and Corn Corporation was established to undercut usurers and Chinese middlemen by providing small farmers with storage facilities, the position of public defender was created to give legal assistance to peasants in court proceedings, and a Court of Industrial Relations was set up to mediate labor disputes. Unfortunately, these measures were hardly effective, for none of them disturbed in any way the existing social structure and property relations.<sup>72</sup> While political power remained securely in the hands of the propertied classes, even the best of laws could be circumvented, and they often were. While economic power remained in the same hands, the exploitation would continue, and with it unrest.

The one concrete achievement of this period lay in the greater freedom for organization allowed the people. Unions were given the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Activities of peasant associations were tolerated and at times, especially when leaders appealed publicly to Quezon, these movements were extended a measure of government protection.

## The Reaction

These activities of the peasants and rural workers were met with organized and violent resistance by the large landowners. Many provincial governors, themselves landowners or proteges of the landed class, blocked the implementation of laws intended to alleviate the working conditions of the peasantry. Mild as the Social Justice legislations were, hacenderos opposed them with vehemence and charged the government with abetting the spread of radicalism. The *Philippines Herald* in

June, 1935 deplored the government's tendency "to pamper the masses," calling this a defect of democracy. Pampering had caused the *taos* to forget their place, the *Herald* charged, adding that the masses, fancying themselves persecuted, had become insolent and prone to violence. The hacenderos declared that by pampering labor the Social Justice Program was responsible for the growth of communism in Central Luzon. Rep. Fausto Gonzalez-Sioco of Pampanga demanded that since the government had passed legislation to protect labor from capitalist exploitation, it should likewise "protect capital and prevent it from being abused by labor."

Cacique fears of Communist ascendancy in Central Luzon had some basis in fact. Most of the Communist leaders had been granted pardon in December, 1936 and the CPP began to function legally again from October, 1937. Two of its leading members, Balgos and Capadocia, even ran for the Philippine Assembly but lost. In 1938, the CPP and the Socialist Party merged, with Abad Santos assuming the post of Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.<sup>73</sup> The merged groups exerted great efforts to expand their influence in the provinces as well as in Manila.

By the end of 1938, there were some forty organizations of peasants and rural workers, most of them, however, concentrated in Central Luzon.<sup>74</sup> Although not all these groups were under Communist leadership, the larger and more militant ones were. The General Workers Union (AMT) which united 50,000 workers from Pampanga, Bulacan, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija was under the leadership of Socialists and Communists. The Philippine Confederation of Peasants (KPMP) with 60,000 members, was led by a CPP Politburo member, Juan Feleo, and the 80,000-strong Katipunan ng Anak Pawis (KAP) was likewise under Communist leadership. This meant that a total of 190,000 of the labor force of the country were under communist influence.

Workers joined Left organizations in large groups. It was reported, for example, that 450 workers of the *Central Azucarera de Tarlac* applied together for membership in the Socialist Party. Worried landlords of Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija estimated that 80% of the farm and industrial workers in their provinces were socialists.

### Private Armies

While they demanded government protection, caciques

employed a variety of coercive measures of their own against the peasantry. Hacenderos countered peasant unions with their own associations, the largest of which was the *Cawal ning Capayapaan* or Knights of Peace founded by Governor Sotero Baluyot of Pampanga. Although Baluyot described the Cawal as a "conservative labor union" which did not believe in violence, this uniformed group was in reality a private army often used for strike-breaking purposes.

Hacenderos of Pampanga engineered the passage of restrictive provincial ordinances and financed the strengthening of the provincial police. For instance, some landowners and businessmen bought a truck for the police of San Fernando, Pampanga to make patrols more mobile during "emergencies." "*Tambuli Ordinances*" were passed in the province forbidding the "gathering of two or more people after dusk."<sup>75</sup> Governor Baluyot urged all mayors to suppress all radical activities within their jurisdiction while the governor of Bulacan demanded a much larger police force to fight "gangsterism."

The landlords refused to implement the new laws on tenancy. Only the collective pressure of peasant organizations forced compliance with the law in places where these organizations were strong enough to exercise some leverage on the government. The tenants' groups in Bulacan were able to secure equal sharing of planting and cultivation expenses as provided by law. In Nueva Ecija, when the landlords refused to give seedlings and advances unless their tenants signed contracts dictated by them, the tenants held a demonstration in front of the municipal building of Cabanatuan and were successful in getting the government to intervene in their behalf.<sup>76</sup>

## Focus on Central Luzon

In the summer of 1939, landowners of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, and Pampanga, acting in concert, attempted a wholesale eviction of tenants who insisted on their rights and joined peasant organizations for collective defense. So as not to antagonize either side, Quezon tried to steer a middle course by calling for an appropriation of P500,000 to be used to improve the machinery for detection of violations of the tenancy law and to increase the Constabulary force. He personally went to San Fernando, Pampanga to address 50,000 farm workers and asked them to give him a chance to solve the problem.

But tension continued to rise on both sides. Two weeks later,

Guillermo Capadocia and Pedro Abad Santos urgently asked that workers be allowed to arm themselves. They charged that landlords were "hiring thugs and ex-convicts to kill tenants and laborers."<sup>77</sup> The various associations of tenants and rural workers of the four Central Luzon provinces banded together into the United Peasant Center with Juan Feleo as secretary. This group threatened a general strike should the landlords begin ejecting tenants. After a conference with Quezon, the landlords abandoned their plans for mass ejection.

Provincial officials in Central Luzon were openly on the side of the landlords. Governor Baluyot had one hundred Socialists arrested and charged with "coercion" claiming they had forced sugar plantation hands to support a strike of refinery workers. Baluyot kept up a running feud with Pedro Abad Santos, blaming the latter for all the agrarian unrest and terrorism in the province. The governor accused the Socialists of boycotting everyone who was not a Socialist and of practising what he called Soviet marriages. Charges of "godless immorality" and rumors that communism advocated holding wives in common were rampant at the time. Abad Santos countered by distributing 10,000 leaflets all over Pampanga denouncing Baluyot for waging a civil war against the masses and urging Constabulary soldiers not to allow themselves to be used as tools of the enemies of the peasants.<sup>78</sup> Tenants were striking back against landowners where it hurt the most. In retaliation for some abuse by their landlord, they would refuse to harvest his share of the crop, taking only their own.

Animosities erupted in violence. Arrests and shootings were common. There were bloody clashes between the private armies of landlords and peasant organizations. There were cases of peasants beating up overseers and instances of overseers firing on tenant groups.

### International Fascist Incursions

But agrarian unrest and labor agitation were not the only problems that confronted the Commonwealth government. Fascism in Europe spawned a local threat from the Right in the form of a *Falangista* movement which counted prominent Spaniards in its leadership, notably the financier Andres Soriano.

Many Francophiles were to be found among members of the Catholic hierarchy, particularly the Spanish priests of the Dominican order running the University of Santo Tomas and

Letran College. Father Silvestre Sancho, Rector of U.S.T., was a rabid Falangista. He arranged for his university to honor Francisco Franco with the title of "Rector Magnificus," and the fascist dictator reciprocated by knighting Sancho in the Order of Alfonso X. Under Sancho's administration, the U.S.T. library banned magazines carrying articles that were anti-Franco, anti-Hitler or Anti-Mussolini. An affinity for the totalitarian governments of Europe was manifested in a number of radio programs produced by the Ateneo de Manila praising the corporative state of Portugal.<sup>79</sup>

There is no doubt that the Fascist ascendancy in Europe and the pro-Axis leanings of the Vatican at the time influenced the drift in sectors of the Catholic hierarchy toward the Fascist alternative, but a more telling factor was the local situation. On the one hand, there was the rapid growth of mass organizations with a definite socialist orientation; on the other, there was Quezon's flirtation with the Left and his Social Justice Program which in partially responding to mass demands had to proceed, however mildly, against the land-owning religious corporations.

Some friction with Quezon was therefore inevitable. Quezon complained about the interference of the Church in affairs of state and the Church in turn attacked him. Peasant agitation was strong in Church landholdings thus forcing the government to demand the sale of the most troubled estates. The Church was of course reluctant to dispose of its profitable holdings and in one instance agreed to sell only after the government threatened an investigation of land titles.<sup>80</sup>

## Popular Front

Voices from the Right — sections of the Church, the Falangistas and the landlords — projected the "Red menace" to justify their demands for stronger suppression measures against labor and peasant organizations. The Left tried to protect its organizational gains by embarking on a united front policy. It sought to forge unity with other sectors on the basis of a common interest in the improvement of the living standards of the masses, the defense and enhancement of democratic rights, and the attainment of independence. The result of these efforts was the Popular Front, a coalition of left-wing unions, peasant organizations, the merged Socialists and Communists, the Aglipayan Church, and a few professional and white collar group.<sup>81</sup>

The Popular Front tested its strength at the polls during the

provincial and municipal elections of 1940.

Predictably, the results were most heartening for the Popular Front in Pampanga where the incumbent Governor Sotero Baluyot barely managed to win over Pedro Abad Santos despite the fact that the former had the strength of the Nacionalista Party behind him and 50% of Abad Santos' followers were not qualified voters. Abad Santos obtained 33,000 votes to Baluyot's 40,000. Though Abad Santos was defeated, eight of the twenty-one towns of Pampanga, including the provincial capital, elected Popular Front mayors. Popular Front candidates for mayor and councilor won in four towns in Tarlac and one town in Nueva Ecija. Guagua, Pampanga elected a Popular Front provincial board member.<sup>82</sup>

### Escalating Tensions

The projection just before the outbreak of the war was for heightened conflict in the Central Luzon provinces. Although the workers and peasants had elected some of their candidates to public office, there was ample evidence that parliamentary successes would be neutralized. Besides, these election victories were minor within the context of the total number of officials elected. The Nacionalista Party had throughout its long history absorbed its opposition by various means. Quezon was a leader skilled in the diverse arts of winning over, undermining or buying out the opposition with the spoils of office. So anxious was he to retain undivided power that in 1940 he began toying with the idea of a one-party government to which he later gave the beguiling name of partyless democracy.<sup>83</sup> This was obviously a ploy to eliminate any opponent in his bid for re-election.

For the peasants and laborers of Central Luzon, the dark prognosis was for increased clashes with the State. The Left organizations actively resorted to legal actions like rallies, demonstrations, strikes and passive resistance but in some cases also engaged in acts of violence. In 1940, province-wide strikes were being planned in Pampanga and Nueva Ecija, involving 15,000 KPMP members in Nueva Ecija alone. It should be noted that in December, 1939, Socialist leaders had already decided to organize a sort of Socialist special militia to protect themselves, their carabaos, and the lands they tilled.<sup>84</sup>

By mid-1941, Pampanga was placed under Constabulary control and soon after, the Constabulary took over all the municipal forces in Pangasinan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Zambales, Cavite, Rizal, Batangas, and

Laguna. Thus a few months before Pearl Harbor, it looked as if Central Luzon was on the verge of another uprising.

### On the Eve of War

On another front, however, Left groups joined other organizations in the anti-fascist fight. They helped to organize anti-Hitler conferences with student leaders and civic workers in Manila. An Anti-Hitlerism Rally at Plaza Moriones was sponsored by the Philippine Youth Congress and Pedro Abad Santos. Guillermo Capadocia, then Secretary General of the CPP, was the master of ceremonies and speakers were drawn from the Civilian Emergency Administration, Young Philippines, the Nacionalista Party, the Civil Liberties Union, the League for the Defense of Democracy, the League of Women Voters, the Philippine Youth Congress, the Legionarios del Trabajo and some other civic organizations — a wide political spectrum.

For the moment, the international situation dictated that the principal struggle should be against the Axis powers. All other contradictions would be set aside though by no means obliterated in a realignment of forces against a common enemy.



# Part IV

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## PROLOGUE

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## A Usable Past

The past as a concrete historical reality must be viewed as an integral part of the process of unfolding total reality. The present must be perceived as part of the process constituted by a real historical past dissolving into a real historical future. Only when the present is seen as a continuation of a historical process, as part of history in flux, can the future be consciously shaped.

The past should not be the object of mere contemplation if the present is to be meaningful. For if the past were viewed as a "frozen reality" it would either dominate and immobilize the present or be discarded as irrelevant to today's concerns. The blind dynamics that gave rise to various developing tendencies would not be harnessed and man would not learn any lessons from history.

The various justifications for our subjugation emanated from an adroit utilization of the past in order to serve colonial ends. Thus our "liberation" by the Spaniards during the early days of occupation underwent successive rationalizations. The Americans, too, projected various rationalizations for their invasion until they were finally able to convince us that they came to educate us and to teach us the ways of democracy. These justifications have become part of our national consciousness. We learned to regard the cultures imposed on us by Spaniards and Americans as superior and, despite sporadic attempts to assert our national identity, we still tacitly accept the alienation of our own culture and the deformation of our economy as natural and unobjectionable developments. We look up to our conquerors and depreciate ourselves; we give respectful consideration to their viewpoint and interests and defend our own with diffidence or equate our interests with theirs. Nationalist voices have had some impact during the last two decades but

the dead weight of colonial consciousness and the continuous influx of foreign cultural influences steadily erodes whatever gains have been made. A study of history which seeks to clarify the genesis and development of our peculiar consciousness can be a powerful factor in effecting our independence, both economic and intellectual.

The previous chapters have tried to project the developing tendencies in Philippine history more than the "facts" which have been the stuff of most historical writing. We have tried to record the changes in the consciousness of the Filipino in his long struggle for emancipation. In this last chapter it may be appropriate to recapitulate in brief the changing features of that struggle. But before doing so, we should note that the discussion of the progression of the Filipino people's struggles that has been the principal subject of this book does not present the complete picture for the country because of the omission of the separate development of the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu and other tribal groups in the country. These are rich areas of study that await future scholars.

## From Rebellion To Revolution

The inhabitants of the fragmented communities encountered by the Spaniards were politically immature. Living in scattered villages dominantly ruled by kinship ties, they had no concept of nationality. Their initial responses to foreign conquest were therefore fragmented and ranged from instinctive resistance to foreigners as such to awed accommodation within the new polity, but with resentments building up as economic exploitation and social control produced material hardship and cultural modification. Their struggles became successive quantitative inputs of experience which finally underwent a qualitative transformation — from localized revolts against iniquities within the colonial order to a national political awareness of the need for doing away with the colonial order itself; that is, from rebellion to revolution.

Because of their primitive economic environment, their subsistence agriculture, and the absence of class rule, the early uprisings were localized struggles for redress of grievances in which entire communities took part. They were specific actions of a spontaneous nature and without ideological underpinnings. Different villages and regions reacted in like manner to oppression. Awareness of common suffering was the initial

factor which produced a sense of supra-group solidarity.

The earliest manifestations of protest with a minimal content of demands for the palliation of severe economic conditions took mystical, nativistic forms. They were backward-looking, for in rejecting Spanish rule they sought to return to the *status quo ante*. Hence they contraposed their old gods to the god of their conquerors, a natural enough development since the visible symbol of Spanish power in most communities was the Spanish priest.

Subsequent developments in the nativistic form of protest attest to the success of Catholic proselytization. From a total rejection of Catholic religion, nativistic revolts began to engraft onto their old religious traditions some aspects of Catholic dogma and adaptations of Catholic rites although they became more strongly anti-friar as the religious became large landholders. The next step in this Catholicization of nativistic protest introduced a qualitative change — this was the demand for equal rights within the Church. The agitation for the Filipinization of the parishes was also part of the demand for equal rights, which contributed to the articulation of concepts of nationhood.

Religious confrontation was a principal channel for struggle because Spain anchored her right to rule on the superiority of her religion, and because the most ubiquitous symbol of colonial power was the priest. But although rejection of the Catholic religion had become transformed after centuries of proselytization into demands for equal place within the Church, although the cry for the old gods was finally muted by acceptance of Catholic dogma, the protest movements continued to be subversive because they remained firmly opposed to frialocracy and because the economic demands which underlay the religious protest were so often directed against friar landlords.

The revolutionaries of 1896 made a clear distinction between the Catholic religion and the Church as an economic power and a co-principal in colonial rule. They retained their belief in Catholic dogma and strongly supported the cause of the Filipino priests at the same time that they demanded the confiscation of Church lands and the expulsion of the Spanish clergy. It was only the unremitting hostility of the friars toward the Revolution and toward the impulses of religious nationalism that finally produced a demand for a national church unaffiliated with Rome.

## Identity and Hostility

Another aspect of the people's continuing struggle that must be noted in its various levels of development and transformation concerns its leadership. The early revolts against Spanish rule, whether in religious guise or not, were actions which involved whole communities without distinction as to economic or social strata. But the Spanish practice of using village chiefs as administrative conduits, agricultural progress, and commercial linkage with the outside world gradually changed the configurations of traditional village society. The chiefs were transformed into colonial intermediaries between the Spaniards and the people and while fulfilling this function became beneficiaries of colonial rule. The *principalia* emerged. Experience with colonial power at its lower levels developed a degree of political awareness among *principales*. A taste of material wealth from the crumbs of colonial exactions whetted their appetites for more. The situation produced a real though latent bifurcation within native society.

The intermediary position of the *principales* between the colonial power and the people forced them to vacillate between the two. They participated with the colonizer in the exploitation of the people but since they, too, were subjected to exactions and suffered (though to a lesser extent) from the same abuses and indignities as did the people, they could also lead the struggles of the masses against the Spaniards. But in these *principalia*-led revolts, the division emerged more and more clearly as the *principales* began to use the people as leverages against the colonizer. *Principales* who led revolts sought to replace the colonizers. They assumed the titles of kings and assigned royal ranks to their subordinates in an instant caricature of Spanish hierarchy. The rise of the Chinese-mestizos from a racial segment of influential because affluent members of the community provided the people with new native exploiters but also with articulators against colonial oppression.

## Inputs of Experience

The participation of the people in the various uprisings inevitably endowed them with the beginnings of political awareness. They saw what concerted effort meant; they were able to experience the sensation of collective and therefore intensified hatred against their oppressors. In a few instances

they even rebelled against their own principales. The latter, however, were minor variations or discontinuities in the struggles of the period although they pointed to the emerging contradictions within colonial society. The principal continuity was the growing unrest among the people in wider and wider areas of the country paralleled by the increasing dissatisfaction of the local elite with Spanish rule which denied them political rights and economic opportunities commensurate with the wider vistas that their own material progress opened before their eyes. The two streams flowing together strengthened each other, the people providing the revolutionary push to the reformist and assimilationist inclinations of the elite, and the elite supplying the ilustrado ideologues and articulators for a national struggle.

## Unity and Division

The tradition of struggle against a common enemy was a principal factor in forging a consciousness of nationality. The other factor was colonialism itself. Administrative measures national in scope, and economic policies which resulted in the emergence of a national market, welded the separate islands into one country and one people ready to fight an anti-colonial war. The Revolution was the culmination of the unarticulated and confused strivings of generations; it was also the final act in the forging of a nation. At no time were the people more united, yet the seeds of division remained discernible beneath the surface unity and became increasingly patent when the Aguinaldo forces took over from Bonifacio, installed an elite leadership, proceeded to water down revolutionary demands, and finally concluded the surrender at Biak-na-Bato. Aguinaldo's return under American auspices and his conception of Philippine independence under American protection forecast a second period of vacillating leadership the implications of which the people were, unfortunately, unable to comprehend. Intent on pressing their fight for freedom against Spain and later against the United States, they accepted the ilustrado pre-emption of leadership without misgivings. But when most of the ilustrado leaders went over to the American side, they courageously continued the resistance to the new conqueror although the corrosive effects of defections and their own exhaustion after years of combat took their toll.

## Transmutation of the Struggle

Without ilustrado leadership, resistance became fragmented again and soon developed mystical and millennial characteristics reminiscent of much earlier revolts. Despite these retrograde developments, these movements kept the resistance to American occupation alive at a time when the ilustrado leaders of the Revolution had already opted for accommodation within the new order. Despite their ideological and organizational limitations, for all that the Americans and their Filipino proteges tried to dismiss their resistance as banditry or fanaticism, these movements were genuine vehicles for the expression of the people's dream of national liberation and economic amelioration.

The suppression of the last of the resistance movements gave the authorities a brief respite but soon afterwards, the age-old inequities in the landlord-tenant relationship began building up unrest in the rural areas. New organizations emerged, especially in the large haciendas in Central Luzon, all demanding relief from the exploitative practices of the landlords and some resorting to sporadic uprisings. In the urban areas, Manila in particular, labor organizations projected their own demands and it was not long before peasants and workers joined together, having become aware of common objectives and of the need for unity.

After the last colorum uprisings of the early 1930's the mystical movements all but disappeared. In their place were large, better organized associations of class-conscious and militant peasants whose leaders exhibited growing political sophistication. But despite their militancy, these organizations in general still suffered from a narrowness of outlook. Their enemies were the landlords; their principal objectives were the attainment of higher wages, a better share in the harvest, lower interest rates on their loans and, less often, ownership of the lands they tilled. Although they still supported the goal of independence, the rank and file had only a superficial appreciation of the fundamental interrelation between their economic plight and the colonial status of the country. Independence as a goal was seen in its political aspect; the implications of a colonial economy were not clearly understood.

### Distorted Perceptions

Several factors were responsible for this inadequate per-

ception of reality. Among them were: first, colonial mis-education which had distorted the history of the American occupation, Americanized Philippine culture and tastes, and blinded the Filipinos to the drawbacks of a colonial economy; second, general acceptance of the premise that independence would come as a gift from the United States; and third, the Filipinization of the colonial administration which concealed American control.

The more politicized among the leaders of the peasants and workers tried to project anti-colonial and nationalist demands to make the masses aware that American colonialism was a fundamental factor in their poverty and oppression, but the anti-landlord thrust of peasant struggle remained primary. Thus, by the end of the turbulent thirties, the country was faced with the curious prospect of a heightened conflict within a colonial society with the colonial power practically exonerated from any responsibility for typically colonial problems.

The success with which American colonialism was able to escape the onus of responsibility for the country's problems would continue to be a severe drawback in the development of an anti-colonial consciousness so necessary for the successful prosecution of the struggle for real independence. Moreover, such modest advances as had been achieved in creating an anti-colonial consciousness were virtually wiped out with the outbreak of the Pacific War when all efforts were directed against the common enemy.

Towards the close of the year 1941, the various forces ranged against each other were forced to subordinate their growing enmity and conflicting interests to confront the immediate task of resisting the fascist invasion. The feeling of resentment against the Japanese was genuine, and all throughout the occupation the people exhibited strong unity against Japanese domination. Everywhere, guerrilla forces could be almost one hundred per-cent sure of support or protection. It was this near-unanimous antipathy for the Japanese that made the resistance groups viable despite their limited resources. The civilian population amply demonstrated its dogged determination to live under enemy occupation without giving the enemy more than token recognition.

### From Tojo to MacArthur

The occupation and the resistance that it provoked released historical forces and energies which greatly affected the



configurations of post-war national life. The resistance provided the people with another experience in struggle. For the civilian population, it was an exercise in silent dissent, while members of the resistance gained experience in guerrilla operations.

Unfortunately, the valuable lessons of the anti-Japanese struggle were to a great extent dissipated by the lack of an independent national goal. On the whole, the people premised their active and their passive resistance on the return of the Americans. Long years of American tutelage and miseducation had trained them to depend on the United States. They could no longer conceive of themselves in actual combat for the real independence of the country — from the Japanese as well as from the Americans. Independence was awaited as a grant; it was no longer to be fought for. Throughout the occupation, many yearned for the good old days which they considered ideal compared to the deprivations they were suffering under the new conquerors.

Thus, resistance was characterized by a general dissatisfaction with the existing master and a longing for the return of the old one. The naked brutality of the Japanese made the Americans seem all the more benevolent. Already forgotten was the brutality the Americans had inflicted on our forbears. Most guerrilla groups, no less than the people, were afflicted with the virus of "awaitism"; their overriding concern was to dove-tail their activities with U.S. military operations in order to hasten Gen. MacArthur's promised "liberation."

But in Central Luzon and parts of Southern Luzon, protest over landlord oppression was transmuted into an anti-collaborationist struggle especially against those caciques who acted as the allies of the Japanese. This had a historical significance in the growing consciousness of the people.

The traditional leadership once again showed its immanent tendencies. Many leaders who had collaborated with the Americans were now the mainstays of the Japanese. The peasants now struggled against two entities: their local class enemies and the Japanese conquerors. But they failed to see that the fight for freedom should have also involved the setting up of safeguards and defenses in the mass consciousness against a returning power whose aggression had robbed us of the freedom we had already won from Spain and whose own colonial record here and elsewhere could not inspire confidence that we would be allowed our independence without strings.

## Freezing the Colonial Structure

What American "liberation" really meant became painfully evident soon after the Americans returned. Those who were considered staunch allies were rewarded; those who were regarded as a threat to the status quo were isolated and even persecuted.

The colonial elite were again called upon to perform their historical role and history repeated itself. The Spaniards had been able to transform the chiefs into colonial intermediaries; the ilustrados compromised the revolution in an effort to preserve their positions, then collaborated with the Americans when they were assured places within the colonial framework; leaders from the same upper stratum collaborated with the Japanese, and now the Americans were reimposing the status quo ante with the aid of this same group.

The end of the war saw new shifts in the strategy of the United States in its attempts to consolidate its world economic position. Though now formally independent, the Philippines was forced to undergo a series of adjustments which froze its colonial structure. Hacenderos entered the business and industrial world. Opportunities for new connections with giant American corporations led to the proliferation of banking, commercial, and industrial ventures which tied these landowning classes all the more to America's apron strings. A new crop of American-oriented entrepreneurs and technocrats became pillars of the new economic establishment. New forms of relationship with the metropolitan power gave rise to a new socio-economic milieu. The corresponding political structures, values and behavior tightened American control. Inevitably, disenchantment spread to wider sectors of the population, a fact which led to new and wider forms of protest and struggle.

## Poverty-Breeding Society

The neo-colonial status of the country was assured by preserving the economic ties that made the Philippines more and more dependent on the United States. Those who were anxious to dismantle this condition were harassed and persecuted. Imposed on a war-ravaged country, the Bell Act, the military bases agreement, and all other treaties that placed impediments on the country's free development determined the

dimensions of the future national crisis.

Philippine politics showed more and more its true colonial color as more sophisticated techniques of control were conceived and implemented. A new generation of leaders emerged. Products of American-oriented education, they were strongly conscious of the decisive power of the United States in Philippine affairs and therefore continued the mendicant policy of securing prior American support for their political ambitions. The American imprimatur was always a necessity for their existence. Considerations of personal ambition often prevented even those who perceived the tragic implications of American policies on the Philippine economy from making more than feeble, ineffectual protests.

Despite a variety of stop-gap measures, the economic situation of the people gradually deteriorated while the colonizers and their local allies steadily appropriated a larger share of the national wealth.

The majority who had always occupied the lower rungs of the economic ladder did not have the authority to plan their lives; the poor were not given the opportunity to develop their capabilities through correct education based on their aspirations.

Thus a poverty-breeding society was nurtured, and the widening gap between a wealthy few and the impoverished majority became an apparently insoluble problem. State power was manifested in various ways, all leading to the suppression of any move for basic change. A bureaucracy with a vested interest in participation in the exercise of power was established; unproductive expenditure for luxuries was encouraged because the economy provided few incentives for Filipino investors; skills were developed which would have been useful in a different social milieu; export crops predominated over produce to feed a grossly expanding population; and the government was burdened with a type of foreign aid which insured that the debtor would be in constant debt to the creditor. Philippine economic development was tailored to fit the demands of the dominant power and this meant prosperity for foreign investors and their local partners and continuing poverty for the people.

## Relations of Dependence

Despite the attainment of formal independence, the relationship of dependence was not abolished. Instead, the culture, the

institutions, the sciences and the arts that evolved only served to confirm in the minds of orthodox Filipinos the need for some form of dependence on the United States. The economy that prevailed reversed development by concentrating not on local needs but on the needs of the foreign corporations. The culture that was popularized produced a built-in affinity for the so-called American way of life which itself was a distortion because it was a caricature of the lives of the American elite. The people were maneuvered into abandoning self-reliance and were denied the opportunity to exert their own efforts creatively in order to solve their problems. Reliance on American experts and on foreign models of development became the order of the day.

As the economy deteriorated, so did the social fabric. A growing social anarchy which originated in the dislocations of war and was exacerbated by the new type of politics which saw warlordism and neo-feudalism built on the decaying pre-war social system spawned a multitude of problems. The local power elites that developed in every region of the country produced more anarchy with their corruption and their private armies and thus brought closer to the people the ugly reality of a parasitic leader class that used office for enrichment. A general breakdown in morality was the consequence principally of the example of corruption in the upper echelons of public life. Violence became the norm of conduct. The example of official corruption and the desire to get rich quick, urged on the one hand by the conspicuous consumption of the local elite and on the other by the lack of opportunities for gainful employment, attracted many people to criminal pursuits. Some joined private armies, others became entrepreneurs in the business of crime. The flourishing smuggling syndicates reflected the corruptibility of law enforcement agencies as well as the Americanization of consumer tastes.

### Limitations on Consciousness

The forces of protest, blind for centuries, misdirected during the middle years of Spanish occupation, pre-empted during the Revolution and afterwards muted or distorted by sophisticated American colonial techniques, were once again stirred up to confront a hitherto unquestioned system.

But those who sought to organize dissent and channel its attention to the fundamental causes of Philippine social and economic problems rather than have it dissipated on peripheral

issues found their efforts hampered, whether they were conscious of it or not, by a number of factors. One such factor consisted of the new inroads that the old pro-American mental conditioning made into Philippine consciousness from the time American forces recaptured the country. While sharp disillusionment with U.S. post-war policies in the Philippines seized segments of the population soon after the return of the Americans, the majority easily fell victim to the euphoria of "liberation". A revitalized faith in the United States made all the more difficult the task of clarifying the connection between poverty and imperialism which even at the height of pre-war militancy had not been sufficiently projected. This problem would persist over the years. Without an anti-colonial consciousness, the people were unable to register a firm-enough objection to their leaders' capitulation to American impositions which were presented as assistance to bail out a floundering ward and were naively accepted as such.

A second factor was the expansion of the petty bourgeois stratum after the second world war. This heterogeneous group composed of professionals, intellectual workers, petty traders, agricultural businessmen, employees, shopkeepers etc. was swelled by a greatly expanded parasitic mass of service industry workers and assorted beneficiaries of political patronage and corruption. Petty bourgeois values seeped down to some extent even to peasant and rural workers lured by city life and living standards.

The consciousness of these groups is characterized by an ambivalent orientation. On the one hand they have the typical petty bourgeois desire for peace and order and the satisfaction of individual material expectations inspired by American institutions and values. On the other, they experience the radicalizing effect of Western concepts brought about, however unsystematically, by education and by the desire for equality with the more Westernized and affluent sector. Volatile and individualistic, the petty bourgeois vacillates between political poles in search of a social order than can satisfy his personal expectations. But once his individual interests are partially satisfied, he readily withdraws from group action. Besides his instability, his individualism makes it difficult for him to accept and to sustain the discipline and subordination of self-interest that organized action for the general good requires.

A third factor is to be found in the inadequacies of the dissenters themselves, among these being their chronic inability

to work together and their own share of colonial consciousness which causes them to import foreign models and methods not always suited to Philippine conditions. But perhaps this failing is not so much the product of a colonial mentality as of a lack of knowledge of Philippine reality, part of which is surely traceable to an inadequate understanding of the Philippine past.

## History and Consciousness

The history of the people's movements through the centuries has been characterized by a groping for consciousness. The development of a higher level of political consciousness has had its leaps and retreats. One important way by which past gains in awareness may be consolidated and developed to higher levels is through a study of history. When there is an attempt to understand society not in terms of myths and theories but in terms of the concrete experience and sufferings of the people, history acquires practical significance. For only if they are armed with a concrete understanding of Philippine reality can the Filipino people act correctly to change that reality. And this understanding can come about by a systematic and patriotic effort to synthesize the experience of the past in order to obtain a concrete vision of the future.

History, then, should serve the purpose of integrating seemingly isolated facts and events into a coherent historical process so that a view of the totality of social reality may be achieved. Only then can facts be really understood and not be merely known; only then can this understanding of facts become an understanding of society; only then can history be perceived as a unified process. Only then can history have a goal.

And when history has a goal, the past ceases to dominate the present and to hold back the future. Then history can be consciously made.

# Notes

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## CHAPTER 1

- 1 Gabriel Kolko, "American Goals in Vietnam," 1972 (Ms.).
- 2 Some insights into this problem may be found in Syed Hussein Alatas, "Theoretical Aspects of Southeast Asian History," *Asian Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 247-269. On p. 254, the author succinctly states, "The proper problem to pose, and this is a crucial one, is how to interpret the past, and to ask what is the most truthful and worthy interpretation in the light of present requirement."
- 3 "... the questions we raise and the problems we pose are at times more important than the available sources. These problems and questions suggested at the beginning of an investigation eventually direct the process of historical reconstruction and subsequently determine the emerging pattern of the historical narrative." *Ibid.*, p. 259.
- 4 A parallel approach is contained in Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation*, trans. by Elena Vialo, New York, Vintage Books, 1972, pp. 7-8. In his introduction Maldonado-Denis says, "... the historian must be selective, must assign certain facts greater significance than others. That is to say, he maintains certain criteria by means of which he determines  $x$  issue to be more important than  $y$ . Every historian conscious of his craft makes manifest to himself and to his reader these criteria, this cross section of concepts within which he links together that which he considers of greatest historical meaning."
- 5 The unity and separation of national identity and national consciousness is discussed in Renato Constantino, "Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience," a paper submitted to the VIII World Congress of Sociology, Aug. 19-24, 1974, Toronto, Canada.

## CHAPTER 2

- 1 Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of Spain*, New York, Free Press, 1965, pp. 53-58; Hutton Webster and John B. Wolf, *History of Civilization*, Boston, Heath & Co., 1947, Vol. I, p. 426.
- 2 Chapman, pp. 71-77. Castile derived its name from the many castles on its frontiers with the Moors.

- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
- 4 Salvador de Madariaga, *Spain—A Modern History*, New York, Praeger, 1958, p. 25.
- 5 J.H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*, New York, Mentor, 1966, pp. 56-57; Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. 156-159.
- 6 Elliot, pp. 56-57.
- 7 Chapman, pp. 177-179.
- 8 See the accounts of the voyages of Loaisa, Saavedra and Villalobos in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1919 (hereinafter cited as *BR*), Vol. II, pp. 23-77; see also Horacio de la Costa's two articles in the *Bulletin of the Philippine Historical Association*: "The Voyage of Saavedra to the Philippines, 1527-1529" (June, 1958) and "The Villalobos Expedition, 1542-1546" (September, 1958).
- 9 Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 4-26; Gerald Brennan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 11; Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*. . . , pp. 18-19.
- 10 William C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, Middlesex, Penguin, 1960, p. 136; Harold Livermore, *A History of Spain*, Minerva Press, 1968, pp. 280-281.
- 11 Elliot, pp. 57-58.
- 12 Chapman, pp. 316-319.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 303-35.
- 14 See Madariaga's own views on this question in *Spain*. . . , pp. 25-27, 40-41.
- 15 John Leddy Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," *The Americas* (January, 1957), pp. 221-239; Horacio de la Costa, "The Legal Basis of Spanish Imperial Sovereignty," *Philippine Studies* (September, 1953), pp. 156-157.
- 16 That the clergy feared a rebellion of the inhabitants against the encomenderos could result in their expulsion can be seen in the report of Fr. Alonso Sanchez, S.J. in Francisco Colin, *Labor Evangelica*, Barcelona, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 377-386.
- 17 "The Collection of Tributes in the Filipinas Islands," *BR*, Vol. VII, pp. 268-312.
- 18 Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects. . .," p. 222 n.
- 19 "Letter from Governor Don Francisco Tello to the King," *BR*, Vol. X, pp. 253-255.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286. "The chieftains of Laguna de Bay, expressed



interest in the proposal of submission, but they requested a year's delay before giving a final answer on the grounds of needing more time to think the matter over and to consult with other chieftains. Whether the chieftains of Laguna de Bay ever did commit themselves is not known." See Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects. . ." p. 238.

### CHAPTER 3

1 An insight into the unreliability of these clerical accounts may be gleaned from Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Religion Antigua de los Filipinos*, Manila, Imprenta de El Renacimiento, 1909, pp. 12, 31-32. De los Reyes faults clerical commentators with "copying and adding figments of their imagination" to the report of 1604 of Father Pedro Chirino (who was in the Philippines from 1590 to 1602) regarding the conversion of the natives of the islands. (See Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. by Ramon Echevarria, Historical Conservation Society, Manila, 1969.) De los Reyes accuses Father Colin of attempting to invent a native cosmogony paralleling that of the Genesis. Colin in turn was copied, with additions, by other commentators. On the resultant "pedagogical mischief" that has been perpetrated on students of history, see William Henry Scott, "The Contributions of Jose E. Marco to Philippine Historiography," *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*, University of Santo Tomas Press, Manila, 1968, pp. 104-136. Scott exposes the fabrications of Marco which until the present are still accepted by some scholars.

2 A milestone in this academic effort is Cesar Majul's *Muslims in the Philippines*, U.P. Press, Q.C., 1973. Majul correctly argues that the Muslim struggle should be viewed as part of the heritage of the Filipino people's historical struggle for freedom. A recently published work on the resistance of the people of the Gran Cordillera Central Mountains of Northern Luzon is William Henry Scott's *The Discovery of the Igorots — Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, New Day Publishers, Q.C., 1974.

3 W.E. Retana, "Relacion de las Encomiendas Existentes En Filipinas El Dia 31 De Mayo 1591 Años," *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino*, Madrid, Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1898, Vol. IV, pp. 41-73.

4 Robert R. Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State*, Manila/Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1967, p. 29. Robert Fox estimates a population of less than half a million in the late proto-historic period. See his article, "Prehistoric Foundations of Contemporary Filipino Culture and Society," *Comment* (1st Quarter, 1958), p. 43.

5 Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," *BR*, Vol. VII, p. 174.

6 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippine Islands — 1565," *BR*, Vol. II, p. 203.

7 Miguel de Loarca, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands," *BR*, Vol. V, p. 39. See also Miguel Bernad, "Philippine Culture and the Filipino Identity." *Philippine Studies* (October, 1971), pp. 577-579. Bernad recounts how Legazpi would perform the blood compact with the chief of one village thinking that by so doing he had made friends with all the natives of the islands, only to find out that the compact bound only the

members of one village. He cites as examples the cases of Katuna and Gala of Bohol and Tupaz of Cebu. Bernard quotes Legazpi on the fragmented nature of native society of the time.

8 Fox, "Prehistoric Foundations. . .," pp. 43-44.

9 Diego de Artieda, "Relation of the Western Islands Called Filipinas," *BR*, Vol. III, pp. 201-203.

10 Francisco de Sande, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands, June 7, 1576," *BR*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

11 Diego de Aduarte, "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores," *BR*, Vol. XXXII, p. 199.

12 Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism*. . . , pp. 25-26; see also Guido de Lavezars, "Two Letters to Felipe II, July, 1574," *BR*, Vol. III, p. 273.

13 Robert Fox, "Ancient Filipino Communities," Filipino Cultural Lecture Series No. 1, Manila, PWU, 1966, pp. 1-13.

14 Horacio de la Costa, "Philippine History: A Survey," Ateneo University Press, p. 13. (Mimeographed) Writing was done on sections of bamboo tubes on which letters were carved with a knife or a pointed instrument. "This laborious process precluded any but the briefest items. . ." Thus, ballads and epics had to be transmitted orally. See also Miguel Bernad, *The Christianization of the Philippines: Problems and Perspectives*. Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila, 1972, pp. 150-151.

15 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of the Character and Conditions of the Inhabitants," *BR*, Vol. III, pp. 56-57.

16 John Alan Larkin, *The Pampangans*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972, p. 21.

17 The term freemen is used here for lack of a better one. This is a tentative solution to the problem created by the unreliability of the accounts of early Spanish chroniclers as exposed by contemporary authorities and by the absence of studies in depth in this area. As Robert Fox says, "In addition, the fundamental characteristics of pre-Spanish social and political organization preclude as meaningful terms such as 'kings,' 'nobles,' 'baranganic confederations,' and many others found in textbooks. These ambiguous terms contribute to a myth-building suitable perhaps for the comic books but not for analytic scholarship." "Prehistoric Foundations. . .," pp. 44-45.

18 *Ibid.*, p.46.

19 John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1959, pp. 20-21; Jose Arcilla, S.J., "Slavery, Flogging and other Moral Cases in the Seventeenth Century Philippines." *Philippine Studies* (3rd Qtr., 1972); Phelan, "Free and Compulsory Labor: Mexico and the Philippines, 1540-1648," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (January, 1959), pp. 199-200. The term dependent has been selected instead of Phelan's debt peons or Arcilla's indentured servants since the latter two terms imply a harsher connotation. Debt peonage is thus used here as an approximate term until future studies in this area categorize the relationship more accurately.

- 20 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, with annotations by Jose Rizal, Paris, Libreria de Garnier Hermanos, 1890, p. 295 n.
- 21 Victor S. Clark, "Labor Conditions in the Philippines," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* (May, 1905), p. 783.
- 22 George Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, London, 1961, Vol. II, p. 17.
- 23 Larkin, *Pampangans*, pp. 38-39.
- 24 George H. Weightman, "The Philippine Intellectual Elite in the Post-Independence Period," *Solidarity*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 25.
- 25 Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, edited with an Introduction and notes by Eleanor Burke Leacock, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972, p. 20.
- 26 Larkin, p. 22.
- 27 Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia*, London, Paladin Books, 1971, p. 25.
- 28 Clark, "Labor Conditions. . .," p. 773.
- 29 Phelan, *Hispanization. . .*, p. 117; Leslie Bauzon in his "Notes to Rural History," *PSSC Social Information* (January, 1974), disagrees with Phelan and claims, citing Plasencia as his authority, that pre-conquest inhabitants already had notions of private ownership in land. If we were to grant that he is right, we would have to point out that such notions do not correspond with the concept as we know it today because land had no value in terms of a money economy. It was not the object of sale. Perhaps he equated the tradition of free use of definite lots by individuals or families with the modern practice of private property in land.
- 30 Florencio D.R. Ponce, *The Philippine Torrens System*, Quezon City, Phoenix Press, 1964, pp. 11-12.

## CHAPTER 4

- 1 *Coleccion de Documentos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organizacion de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar*, Tomos 2 y 3 de las Filipinas, Madrid, 1886-1887; for the English translation of the instructions to Legazpi, see *The Christianization of the Philippines*, Historical Conservation Society and the University of San Agustin, Manila, 1965, pp. 257-273; Andrew Sharp, *Adventurous Armada*, New Zealand, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1960, pp. 11-13.
- 2 Sharp, p. 10.
- 3 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Rizal Centennial Edition, Manila, 1961, pp. 16-19; see also Horacio de la Costa, *Asia and the Philippines*, Manila, Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967, p. 25.
- 4 On the origin of the term, see Leslie E. Bauzon, "The Encomienda System as a Spanish Colonial Institution in the Philippines," *Silliman*

*Journal* (2nd Qtr., 1967), p. 198 n. Bauzon, quoting Sir Arthur Helps, states that the term belongs to the military orders in Spain and corresponds to the English word *commandery* or *perceptory*.

5 Bonifacio S. Salamanca, "Background and Early Beginnings of the *Encomienda* in the Philippines," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* (March, 1961), pp. 69-71.

6 In 1520, the king had already decreed the abolition of the *encomiendas* because of the abuses in the Antilles. This decree, however, was ignored by the conquistador, Hernan Cortes, who proceeded to grant *encomiendas* in Mexico. See Bauzon, "The *Encomienda* System. . .," pp. 204-207; Salamanca, "Background and Early Beginnings. . .," p. 54.

7 Lesley B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966, pp. 145-198.

8 Elliot, *Imperial Spain*. . ., pp. 73-74.

9 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Letters to Felipe II of Spain 1567-1568," *BR*, Vol. II, p. 238.

10 "Encomiendas Assigned by Legazpi," *BR*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 304-310; "Affairs in the Philippines After the Death of Legazpi," *BR*, Vol. III, p. 185.

11 An enlightening discussion on this subject may be found in Bonifacio Salamanca, "Was the Philippine *Encomienda* a Land Grant?" *Historical Bulletin* (March, 1963), pp. 34-51; see also Helen Tubangui, "The *Encomienda* as a Social and Economic Institution in the Philippines," unpublished MA thesis, Ateneo, 1956; for other aspects of the *encomienda*, see A.M. Avellanosa, "The *Encomienda* System in the Philippines," unpublished MA thesis, MLQ Educational Institution, 1953.

12 Wilhelm Roscher, *The Spanish Colonial System*, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1904, pp. 4-5.

13 "Instructions to Dasmariñas, August 9, 1589," *BR*, Vol. VII, pp. 156-157.

14 Tubangui, pp. 22-23. While Tubangui was citing Zavala regarding the law applying to New Spain, it is presumed that said law was applied to the Philippines. Ascertaining the uniformity and extent of enforcement of these laws is a task that should be undertaken in connection with an extensive study of the *encomienda* system in the Philippines. So far, discussion of the subject has been based mainly on the practice in Spain's colonies in America.

15 Antonio de Morga, "Report of Conditions in the Philippines," *BR*, Vol. X, p. 96.

16 Domingo de Salazar, "Affairs in the Philippines Islands." *BR*, Vol. V, pp. 223-234.

17 See Jose Arcilla, "Slavery, Flogging. . .," p. 402.

18 See Salamanca, Bauzon, and Tubangui; see also de la Costa, "Three Lectures on History," *Philippine Historical Bulletin* (September, 1960), p.

19 For some instances of abuse during this period see "Opinion of Fray Martin Rada," *BR*, Vol. III, pp. 252-259, and "Reply to Rada's Opinion" *BR*, Vol. III, pp. 260-271; also "Memorial to the Council, by Citizens of the Filipinas Islands," *BR*, Vol. VI, pp. 190-191; Arcilla, pp. 200-402.

20 Pedro de Sant Pablo, "Compulsory Service by the Indians," *BR*, Vol. XIX, p. 72.

21 For discussion on the bandala, see de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History*, Manila, Bookmark, 1965, pp. 79-80; "Ordinances of Good Government," *BR*, Vol. L, pp. 204-205, 221; Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *Tratados Historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1676, pp. 304-305; Phelan, *Hispanization*. . . , pp. 99-100.

22 Hernando de los Rios Coronel, "Reforms Needed in the Philippines," *BR*, Vol. XVIII, p. 318.

## CHAPTER 5

1 Antonio de Morga, "Events in the Philippine Islands," *BR*, Vol. XVI, pp. 87-91; for a fairly complete list of flora brought into the islands by foreigners, see E.D. Merrill, "Notes on the Flora of Manila with Special Reference to the Introduced Elements," *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Sec. C, Botany (September 2, 1912); also Phelan, *Hispanization*. . . , pp. 110-112, and Conrado Benitez, *History of the Philippines*, Boston, Ginn and Company, 1940, pp. 56-59.

2 De la Costa, *Readings*. . . , p. 37; William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, New York, E.P. Dutton, 1959, p. 30.

3 For a good discussion of the *situado* see Leslie Bauzon, "Mexican Financial Aid: The Situado," *Philippine Historical Review* (1971).

4 Still the most comprehensive discussion of the galleon trade and its multiple socio-economic effects on the Philippines is Schurz' *The Manila Galleon*.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 43-44.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 Benito F. Legarda, "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century Philippines," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1955, pp. 39-40; Schurz, pp. 125-145. Nicholas Cushner's *Spain in the Philippines*, Hong Kong, Cathay Press, 1971, Chapter 6 contains a documented account of trading and financial practices during the Spanish period.

10 Suburbs outside the city walls. They are now known as districts, for example, Ermita and Malate south of the Pasig River, and Santa Cruz, Tondo, and Sampaloc north of the river.

11 Intramuros was the original city of Manila. It was enclosed by walls and surrounded by moats.

12 Parian refers to the place where the Chinese community lived. There were several parians outside the city walls. See Alberto Santamaria, "Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)," *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, ed. Alfonso Felix, Jr., Manila, Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966, Vol. I, pp. 67-118 for the origin of the word and the history of the several parians in the Philippines.

13 Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965, pp. 6-7. See also, *The Chinese. . .*, ed. Felix, Jr.; Margaret Wyant Housely, "Sangley: The Formation of Anti-Chinese Feeling in the Philippines — A Cultural Study of the Stereotypes of Prejudice," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1950, Chapters 4-7.

14 Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," *Journal of South East Asian History* (March, 1964), pp. 62-100.

15 Legarda, "Foreign Trade . . .," pp. 99-100.

16 For a fuller discussion on resettlement policies and its results, see Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism. . .*, Chapter 4.

17 Diego de Aduarte, "Historia . . .," *BR*, Vol. XXXII, p. 273; Phelan, *Hispanization . . .*, p. 44.

18 Reed, pp. 55-59.

19 On local government and government officers, see Jose Montero y Vidal, "Political and Administrative Organization," *BR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 328-332; Sinibaldo de Mas, Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842, " *BR*, Vol. XVII, p. 324; C.H. Forbes-Lindsay, *The Philippines Under Spanish and American Rule*, Philadelphia, John Winston Co., 1906, pp. 189-191; Reed, pp. 84-87.

20 "Letter from Benavides to Felipe III, July 6, 1603," *BR*, Vol. XII, p. 120; "Petition of a Filipino Chief for Redress," *BR*, Vol. XIV, pp. 327-329; "Letter from Felipe III to Silva," *BR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 151-152; Phelan, *Hispanization . . .*, pp. 116-118.

21 Aside from making a good review of class stratification during the Spanish occupation, Reed's *Hispanic Urbanism . . .*, Chapter 7, lists many reference sources which could be the basis for a thorough study of the process of class differentiation.

## CHAPTER 6

1 De la Costa, *Readings . . .*, p. 65.

2 Julia Iturralde, "The Development of Filipino Anti-Clericalism During the Spanish Regime: An Analytical Study of Social Change," unpublished MA thesis, Ateneo de Manila, 1955, p. 88.

3 Phelan, *Hispanization . . .*, pp. 37-40.

4 Chapman, *History of Spain*, pp. 39-41.

- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 C.H. Forbes-Lindsay, *The Philippines Under Spanish and American Rule*, p. 130.
- 7 "Letter from Salazar to Dasmariñas, March 21, 1591," *BR*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-56.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Forbes-Lindsay, *The Philippines. . .*, pp. 130-132.
- 10 Iturralde, *Development of Filipino Anti-Clericalism. . .*, p. 74.
- 11 See Antonio Regidor, "The Filipino Case Against the Friars," *The Independent* (February 7, 1901), pp. 317-320; Donald Dean Parker, "Church and State in the Philippines, 1565-1896," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, Illinois, 1936, pp. 28-29.
- 12 Regidor, *Ibid.*
- 13 Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Sensacional Memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes sobre la revolucion Filipina de 1896-1897*, Madrid, 1899, p. 13.
- 14 Iturralde, pp. 65-66.
- 15 De la Costa, *Readings. . .*, pp. 127-128, citing Tomas de Comyn; Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 45-48.
- 16 Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*, Quezon City, UP Press, 1956, p. 3.
- 17 "Usurpation of Indian Lands by Friars," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 27-34.
- 18 See James Le Roy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, New York & Boston, Houghton & Mifflin, 1914, Vol. I, p. 18.
- 19 See Anda's "Memorial, 1768," *BR*, Vol L, pp. 137-190.
- 20 *Ibid*; see also Le Gentile, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas*, Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964, p. 50.
- 21 "Usurpation of Indian Lands. . .," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 33.
- 22 Donald Dean Parker, "Church and State. . .," p. 317; see also James Le Roy, "The Friars in the Philippines," *Political Science Quarterly* (December, 1903), pp. 657, 678-679; United States Congress, *Senate Document*, Vol. V, No. 112, p. 33.
- 23 Ralph Maillard, "An Investigation of the Philippine Friar Land Case and Related Problems," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Loyola University, 1942, pp. 5-6. The figures in hectares are conversions from acres, from the *Report of the Taft Commission to the Secretary of War*, November 30, 1900, p. 27, and the *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, Washington, 1904, Pt. I, p. 202; see Bonifacio Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913*, Shoestring Press, 1968, p. 10 and p. 204 n.

- 24 Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 127; see also Nichoias Cushner, *Spain. . .*, pp. 139-151.
- 25 Cushner, pp. 78-79.
- 26 Schurz, p. 165; Tomas de Comyn, *State of the Philippines in 1810*, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969, pp. 182, 225-226.
- 27 *Los Frailes Filipinos por un español que ha residido en aquel pais*, Madrid, 1898, p. 59.
- 28 Albert Galloway Keller, *Colonization, A Study of the Founding of New Societies*, Boston, Ginn. and Co., 1908, pp. 350-351.
- 29 Parker, *Church and State. . .*, p. 78; see also, *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901, pp. 25-26; Vidal Fite, *Las Desdichas de la Patria*, Madrid, Impr. de Enrique Rojas, 1899, pp. 80-82.
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- 31 "Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on their Capital Manila, 1819-1822," *BR*, Vol. LI, p. 113 n.
- 32 "Dasmariñas to Felipe II, June, 1592," *BR*, Vol. VIII, pp. 278-279.
- 33 "Letter from Governor Hurtado de Corcuera to Felipe IV," *BR*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 116-125.
- 34 Teodoro Agoncillo and Milagros Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, Q.C., Malaya Books, 1970, p. 100.
- 35 Schurz, pp. 51-53; on the conspiracy against and death of Bustamante, see *BR*, Vol. XVII, p. 295; Vol. XLIV, pp. 155-159, 160, 169-171, 182, 183.
- 36 Forbes-Lindsay, *The Philippines. . .*, pp. 130-132.
- 37 An *oidor* (hearer) was one of the judges of the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court.
- 38 A good account of this incident appears in Charles Cunningham "Origin of the Friar Land Question in the Philippines," *The American Political Science Review*. (Vol. X, 1916), pp. 465-480. See also Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, "Sobre Una Reseña Historica de Filipinas Hasta 1903," *Philippine Census* (1903), p. 37; Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Philipinas*, Madrid, Impr. y Fundicion de Manuel Tello, 1887, Vol. I, p. 385; Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Manila, Impr. del Seminario Conciliar y Real de S. Carlos, 1788-92, Vol. VIII, p. 193 *et seq.*
- 39 John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, p. 205.



## CHAPTER 7

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- 2 "Conspiracy Against the Spaniards," *BR*, Vol. VII, pp. 95-111.
- 3 "Salazar to Felipe II, June 20, 1590," *BR*, Vol. VII, pp. 256-257; see also Salazar's "Letter to the King," *BR*, Vol. L, pp. 210-247.
- 4 Domingo Salazar, "Affairs in the Philippines Islands," *BR*, Vol. V, pp. 212-226.
- 5 "Letter to Felipe II from various officials," *BR*, Vol. VI, p. 238.
- 6 "Letter from Francisco Tello to Felipe II, April 29, 1597," *BR*, Vol. X, p. 43.
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- 8 Antonio de Morga, "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas," *BR*, Vol. XV, p. 52 n.
- 9 Phelan, *Hispanization. . .*, pp. 99-101.
- 10 Juan de Medina, "Historia de la Orden de San Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas," *BR*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116-118; "The Agustinian Recollects in the Philippines," *BR*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 327.
- 11 "Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century," *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 87-94.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 215-223.
- 13 For additional information on labor conscriptions, see *BR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 79-81, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130-132, Vol. XIX, pp. 71-72.
- 14 Extracts from the accounts of Murillo Velarde, Agustin Diaz and Juan de la Concepcion are found in "Insurrections by Filipinos Against the Spaniards," *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 100-139.
- 15 An account of the Linao revolt can be found in "Historia de los religiosos descalzos. . ." by Luis de Jesus, Madrid, 1681, which is contained in *BR*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 126-136.
- 16 For background on the institutionalization of pre-conquest patterns of debt peonage and sharecropping which provided the chiefs with new sources of economic and political power, see Francisco de Santa Ines, *Cronica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno*, Manila, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 56-62; Juan J. Delgado, *Historia Sacro-Profana, Politica y Natural de las Islas del Poniente*, Manila, 1892, pp. 349-352; "Letter of Domingo de Salazar to Felipe II, June 26, 1586," *BR*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-253; Colin, *Labor. . .*, Vol. I, p. 449; "Recommendations as to reforms needed in the Islands," *BR*, Vol. X, pp. 117-118; and Phelan, *Hispanization. . .*, pp. 113-115.

- 17 Navarette, *Tratados historicos. . .*, pp. 304-305.
- 18 Accounts of this "revolt" may be found in Baltazar Sta. Cruz, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas*, Zaragoza, 1693, pp. 331-334; de la Concepcion, *Historia General. . .*, Vol. VII, pp. 9-26; Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus*, Impr. de la Compañia de Jesus por D. Nicolas de la Cruz, Manila, 1749, pp. 253-255; Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, Valladolid, 1890, pp. 568-590, in *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 139-160.
- 19 "Insurrections by Filipinos. . .," *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 150.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 163-181.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 181-204.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 205-215.
- 24 Accounts of this long rebellion may be found in Gregorio Zaide, *Dagohoy: Champion of Philippine Freedom*, Manila, Enriquez, Aldaya & Co., 1941; de la Concepcion, *BR*, Vol. XIV, pp. 79-107, Vol. XI, pp. 40-43; "Events in Filipinas, 1739-1762," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 147-148 n.; summary of Ricafort's report in *BR*, Vol. LI, pp. 51-52 n.; Austin Craig, *The Filipinos Fight for Freedom*, Manila, Oriental Commercial Co., 1933, pp. 198-199; Montero y Vidal, *Historia. . .*, Vol. II, pp. 509-511.
- 25 Zaide's *Dagohoy. . .*, is a study of the rebellion which is based not only on the above-mentioned sources but also on the author's researches in the Recollect Archives. The materials he used were: Fr. Narciso Jesus Maria, "Noticias de 1827, 1828, 1829," unpublished Diary about Dagohoy written by an eyewitness; Fr. Jose de Santa Orosia, "Carta dirigida al Gobernador General." Zaide also used "Respecto a F. Dagohoy," a manuscript in his collection, Gov. Mariano Ricafort, *Reduccion de Bohol*, Manila, 1829, Fr. Lucino Ruiz, *Reseña Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas*, Manila, 1925, Vol. I.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Viana's "Memorial of 1765," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 202.
- 28 "Agustinian Recollects," *BR*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329.
- 29 "Events in Filipinas, 1739-1762," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 147-148.
- 30 Zaide, *Dagohoy*.
- 31 "Events of 1801-1840," *BR*, Vol. LI, pp. 51-52.
- 32 Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas*, Sampaloc, 1803, pp. 662-668; see account of Jose Arcilla, S.J. based on sources found in the Dominican Archives in Sto. Domingo Church, "The Pangasinan Uprising," *Philippine Historical Review* (1911), pp. 35-52. A more recent work that discusses the revolt at length is Rosario M. Cortes, *Pangasinan, 1572-1800*, U.P. Press, 1974, Chapter 7. The author brings out the fact that the real leader

of the uprising was Don Andres Lopez, a native chief who also became *maestre de campo*.

33 Montero y Vidal, *Historia. . .*, Vol. II, pp. 85-111; for other accounts see BR, Vol. XLIX, p. 160 n.; Foreman, *Philippine Islands*, pp. 100-101; Zuñiga, *Historia. . .*, pp. 654-662.

34 Short for *caja de comunidad* or community fund.

35 Montero y Vidal, *Historia. . .*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

36 Foreman, pp. 100-101.

37 Other accounts of Silang's revolt may be found in Pedro de Vivar, *Relacion de los Alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la Provincia de Ilocos en los años 1762 y 1763*, Manila, 1893; Montero y Vidal, *Historia. . .*, Vol. II, pp. 85-111; Isabelo de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, Manila, 1890, Vol. II; Zuñiga, *Historia. . .*, pp. 654-666; Fernando Ferrer, *Apuntes sobre alzamientos o sublevaciones en Ilocos*, Manila, 1909; Nicolas Zafra, *Outlined Readings in Philippine History*, Manila, 1914, pp. 147-155.

38 *Manilha Consultations, 1762-1763*, Madras, 1946, Vol. V, pp. 124-125.

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*

42 Gregorio Zaide, *The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times*, Manila, R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1949, pp. 429-430.

## CHAPTER 8

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2 Converted Jews who were called *conversos* or *Marianos*. On the plight of the new Christians, see Elliot, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 103-108, Atkinson, *History of Spain. . .*, pp. 12, 177, 249.

3 Carlos Recur, *Filipinas: Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales*, Madrid, Impr. de Ramon Moreno, 1879, p. 110.

4 See Edgar Wickberg, "Early Chinese Economic Influence in the Philippines, 1850-1898," *Pacific Affairs* (Fall, 1962), pp. 275-285; Rafael Bernal, "The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1790," in *The Chinese. . .*, ed. Felix Jr., Vol. I.

5 John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh 1820, Vol. I, p. 135.

- 6 Serafin D. Quiason, *English "Country Trade" With the Philippines, 1644-1765*, Quezon City, UP Press, 1966, pp. 2-3.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.
- 10 Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, p. 195. An exhaustive study of the Royal Company is Maria Lourdes Trechuelo-Spinola, *La Real Compania de Filipinas*, Seville, 1965.
- 11 Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life. . .*, pp. 21-23.
- 12 Legarda, "Foreign Trade. . .," Part II, Chapter 4, p. 190.
- 13 See Eduardo Lachica, "The Age of Awakening," *Historical Bulletin* (December, 1963), pp. 349-351.
- 14 Wickberg, *The Chinese. . .*, pp. 46-47.
- 15 Cushner, *Spain. . .*, p. 208.
- 16 For changes that occurred during this period see Wickberg, *The Chinese. . .*, pp. 45, 69-70; *Los Chinos en Filipinas*, Manila, 1886, pp. 22-25; Montero y Vidal, *Historia. . .*, Vol. III, p. 171; Cushner, pp. 207-209; Benito F. Legarda, "The Philippine Economy Under Spanish Rule," paper given as part of the lecture series, "Philippine Perspectives: *Lahi and Hispanidad*," Ateneo de Manila, February 12, 1964.
- 17 Clarita T. Nolasco, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," unpublished M.A. thesis, Far Eastern University, 1969, pp. 124-125; Charles Wilkes, "Manila in 1842" in Austin Craig, *The Former Philippines Through Foreign Eyes*, Manila, Philippine Education Co., 1916, pp. 469-510; see also Elias Ataviado, *The Philippine Revolution in the Bicol Region* trans., Juan T. Ataviado, Manila, Encol Press, 1953, pp. 130-131.
- 18 See Jose Montero y Vidal, *El Archipiélago Filipino y las Islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos*, Madrid, 1886, p. 234, Wickberg, *The Chinese. . .*, pp. 96-97; Feodor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, London, Chapman & Hall, 1875, p. 316.
- 19 Benito F. Legarda, "Foreign Trade. . .," Part III, pp. 466-467; see "Trade in Panay, 1857-67," (four letters by Nicholas Loney) in Robert McMicking's *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines*, Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967 Appendix, pp. 202-287. Francisco Varona's "*La Isla de Negros*," Manila, 1938, gives additional data on the progress of the sugar industry in West Visayas.
- 20 Clarita Nolasco, "The Creoles. . .," pp. 116-119. John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, London, Smith Edder, 1859, p. 243; for more figures, see McMicking, Chapter 33.
- 21 See Chapter 10 for the evolution of the term "Filipino."

- 22 So far the most illuminating study of the subject of Chinese mestizos is the essay of Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," pp. 62-100; his book, *The Chinese in Philippine Life* also contains much data on the mestizos which he gathered from his researches in the National Archives.
- 23 Wickberg, *The Chinese*. . . , p. 23.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, The Chinese were previously expelled in 1596, 1686 and 1744.
- 25 Wickberg, *Early Chinese*. . . , pp. 277-278; Sinibaldo de Mas, "Internal Political Conditions in the Philippines, 1842," *BR*, Vol. LII, p. 64.
- 26 Jean Baptiste Mallat de Bassilans, *Les Philippines histoire, geographie, moeurs, agriculture, industrie et commerce de colonies espagnoles dans l'Oceanie*, Paris Artheas Bertrand. 1846. Vol. I, p. 97.
- 27 Wickberg, *The Chinese*. . . , pp. 99-100; Sinibaldo de Mas, *Report on the Conditions of the Philippines in 1842*, Part III, Interior Politics, Historical Conservation Society, 1963, p. 164.
- 28 Marshall S. McLennan, "Land Tenure Patterns in the Philippines — Their Origins and Evolution," *Solidarity* (November, 1973), p. 6.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
- 30 J. Martinez de Zuñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1893, Vol. II, pp. 48-51.
- 31 Donald E. Douglas, "A Historical Survey of the Land Tenure Situation in the Philippines," *Solidarity* (July 1970), pp. 66-67; see also Leslie Bauzon, "Rural History, Land Tenure and the Negros Hacienda Complex: Some Preliminary Notes," *PSSC Social Science Information*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 7-21.
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- 33 See McLennan, "Land Tenancy in the Central Luzon Plain," *Philippine Studies* (October, 1969).
- 34 Larkin, *Pampangans*, pp. 59-60.
- 35 Constantino, *Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience*, Malaya Books, Q.C., 1974, pp. 22-24.

## CHAPTER 9

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- 2 Montero y Vidal, *Historia*. . . , Vol. I, pp. 385-387.
- 3 de la Costa, *Readings*. . . , p. 193.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-118, 147, 169-172; Cushner, *Spain*. . . , p. 203; Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, pp. 101-102.
- 5 Mas, *Informe*. . . , Vol. II, p. 97.
- 6 Montero y Vidal, *Historia*. . . , Vol. II, pp. 422-427.
- 7 *Ibid.*; for other accounts of the events, see Mas, *Informe*. . . , Vol. I, parte 2da, pp. 58-64; Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, "La Sublevacion de Sarrat," *Efemerides Filipinas*, Manila, Impr. y lib. de I.R. Morales, 1914, Vol. I, pp. 229-234; Retana, *Archivo*. . . , Vol. IV, pp. 171-180.
- 8 For various accounts of this movement see Manuel Sancho "Relacion Espresiva de los principales acontecimientos de la titulada Cofradia del señor San Jose," in *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, No. 21; Montero y Vidal, *Historia*. . . , Vol. III, pp. 37-56; *Memoria Historica de la conducta militar y politica del Teniente General D. Marcelino Oraa*, Madrid, 1851; Felipe Govantes, *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas*, Manila, 1877, pp. 379-380; a recent study has been made by David Sweet, "The Proto-Political Peasant Movement in the Spanish Philippines: The Cofradia de San Jose and the Tayabas Rebellion of 1841," *Asian Studies* (April, 1970).
- 9 Montero y Vidal, *Historia*. . . , Vol. III, pp. 58-59.
- 10 "Matta's Report, 1843" in *BR*, Vol. LII, p. 96.
- 11 Eduardo Lachica, "The Age of Awakening," Part II, *Historical Bulletin* (December, 1963).
- 12 "Loney to Farren, April 12, 1857," in McMicking, *Recollections of Manila*. . . , p. 229; de la Costa, *Readings*. . . , p. 156.
- 13 Cited in Legarda, "Foreign Trade. . .," Part II, pp. 271-276.
- 14 Melanio Seduripa Figuracion, "Background and Development of Philippine Nationalism 1872-1899," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1958, pp. 103-108.
- 15 Wickberg, *The Chinese*. . . , pp. 128-130.
- 16 Lea S. Zapanta, *The Political Ideas of Marcelo H. del Pilar*, Q.C., University of the Philippines, 1967, pp. 20-21.

17 Mas, *Report on the Conditions of the Philippines in 1842*, Part III, Interior Politics, Historical Conservation Society, 1963, p. 164.

18 Accounts of this mutiny may be found in Montero y Vidal, *Historia*. . . , Vol. II, pp. 468-476; Paul P. de la Gironiere, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1962, pp. 25-28.

19 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 131-135.

20 See note 76 in the annotations of T. Pardo de Tavera on the "Memoria of Simon Anda y Salazar" in *BR*, Vol. L, pp. 142-143.

21 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 136; John Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos: Priest and Nationalist*, Q.C., Ateneo University Press, 1972, p. 28.

22 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 137, other accounts are in Edmund Plauchut, *La Algarada de Cavite de 1872*, Manila Impr., Manila-Filatelica, 1916. Le Roy, *Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59; John Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895*, Manila, Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973, pp. 7-8, 41, 94-95, 208 n.

23 Renato Constantino, "The Filipino Elite" in *Dissent and Counter-consciousness*, Q.C., Malaya Books, 1970, also in *The Making of a Filipino*, Q.C., Malaya Books, 1969, p. 4-11; an expanded discussion on the development of the concept of Filipino appears in Chapter I of this book.

## CHAPTER 10

1 For a fuller discussion of this subject, see Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino*, pp. 4-12; the same theme is discussed in "The Filipino Elite" and "Veneration Without Understanding" both in Constantino, *Dissent*. . . .

2 From here on the term Filipino will be used instead of native as heretofore.

3 Graciano Lopez Jaena, *Discursos Y Articulos Varios*, Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1951, pp. 203-227.

4 There is so far no comprehensive biography of del Pilar. Of various attempts the following may be cited: Magno Gatmaitan, *Marcelo H. del Pilar*, Q.C., Muñoz Press, 1965, Epifanio de los Santos, *Marcelo H. del Pilar*, Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas, 1957. Lea S. Zapanta, *The Political Ideas of Marcelo H. del Pilar*, Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1967. The reader may also refer to the *epistolario de Marcelo H. del Pilar* (2 vols.), Manila, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1955 and 1958. His works are contained in *Escritos de Marcelo H. del Pilar* (2 vols.), Manila, Publicaciones de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1970; the original Tagalog works referred to are in the appendices of Gatmaitan.

5 There are many biographies of Rizal, among them: Austin Coates, *Rizal, Philippine Nationalist and Martyr*, Hongkong, Oxford Univ. Press, 1968; Leon Maria Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, Manila, National Heroes Commission, 1963; Frank C. Lauback, *Rizal: Man and Martyr*, Community Publishers, Inc., 1936.

6 An illuminating account of the activities of the Spanish Filipinos in Spain during this period together with their relations with the "genuine Filipinos" can be found in Clarita Nolasco's "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," pp. 361-393. This account is based on the correspondence of the reformists as published by the National Heroes Commission and the "legajo de Licencias de Armas y Licencias de Radicaciones," Philippine National Archives. An identification of the racial origins of the reformists can readily be made by consulting the appendix of this work, pp. 510-513.

7 Gregorio Zaide, "The Propaganda Movement and La Solidaridad," *Historical Bulletin* (December, 1967), pp. 391-400.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *La Solidaridad*, February 15, 1889, translated into English by the author.

10 Jose Rizal, "The Truth for Everybody," *La Solidaridad* (May 31, 1889), translated by the author.

11 On the role of Philippine Masonry, see Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Philippine Masonry, Its Origin, Development, and Vicissitudes Up To The Present Time* (1920), an English translation from Spanish by F.H. Stevens and Antonio Amechazura, Manila, McCullough Printing Co., 1956; Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*. . . , Chapter 9.

12 John N. Schumacher, "The Decline and Death of *La Solidaridad*," *Solidarity* (January, 1971), pp. 54-62.

13 For one interpretation of the Liga, see Cesar Majul, *A Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation*, Diliman, 1959.

14 Schumacher, "Decline and Death. . ." p. 57.

15 T.M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution*, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo Centennial ed. Mandaluyong, Jorge B.Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969, p. 8. The full name of the Katipunan was *Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang manga Anak ng Bayan*, KKK for short.

16 See David R. Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure and its Relation to Agrarian Unrest," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1958; and Nick Joaquin, "Apocalypse in Cabaruan," *Philippines Free Press*, December 20, 1969, pp. 6-7, 64-66.

17 Edilberto C. de Jesus, "Manila's First Factories," *Philippine Historical Review* (December, 1971), pp. 98-102.

18 Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, translated into English by Leon Ma. Guerrero, Manila, National Historical Commission, 1969, Vol. II, pp. 146-147.

19 Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Sensacional Memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes, sobre la revolucion filipina*. This passage was translated by de la Costa in *Readings*. . . , pp. 234-235.

20 U.S. War Department, *Reports of the Philippine Commission to the President*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 142-149; see Le Roy's "Bibliographical Notes," *BR*, Vol. LII, pp. 147-148; see Clark, *Labor Conditions*. . . , pp. 781-782.



- 21 For a summary of these reforms, see Manuel Sastron, *La Insurreccion en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el Archipelago*, Madrid, Impr. de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1901, pp. 15-24.
- 22 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , p. 9.
- 23 Esteban F. Paredes, "The Unsung Heroes of the Revolution," *Philippines Free Press*, August 24, 1957, pp. 24, 48-49.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 E.A. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, Q.C., 1955, p. 60.
- 26 Esteban de Ocampo. "The Life and Achievements of Bonifacio," *Philippine Historical Bulletin* (December, 1966), pp. 23-39; Leopoldo Serrano "Mga Pangyayari sa Buhay ni Andres Bonifacio," *Historical Bulletin* (September, 1960), pp. 90-99.
- 27 T.M. Kalaw *Revolution*. . . , pp. 21-22. For more biographical data on Bonifacio, see Epifanio de los Santos, *Marcelo H. del Pilar*.
- 28 "Letter to Rizal, May 24, 1889," *Epistolario de del Pilar*, Vol. I, pp. 130-131.
- 29 "Letter to Icasiano, May 3, 1889," in *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 30 Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History*. . . , pp. 147-148.
- 31 Arturo Ma. Misa, "Del Pilar and the Katipunan," *Philippines Free Press*, July 4, 1959, pp. 34-35.
- 32 Leon Ma. Guerrero, "Del Pilar," *Philippines Free Press*, December 13, 1952, pp. 10-11, 98-99.
- 33 For the decalogue and Kartilla of the KKK, see T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 6-7, 21-22.
- 34 Another discussion of the same theme can be found in Constantino, "Roots of Subservience" and "Veneration. . .," in *Dissent*. . .

## CHAPTER 11

- 1 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , p. 12.
- 2 Gregorio Zaide, *The Philippine Revolution*, Manila, Modern Book Co., 1954, p. 95; see the discussion of Agoncillo in *Revolt*. . . , pp. 283-291.
- 3 On June 18, 1931, General Guillermo Masankay led a group which included Teodoro M. Kalaw to visit the caves and they saw the faint traces of the inscription; see Cornelio de los Reyes, "Clearing up Doubts About the Cry of Balintawak," *The Herald Midweek Magazine*, July 8, 1931; T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , p. 13.
- 4 Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History*. . . , pp. 193-194.

- 5 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , p. 20.
- 6 Pedro S. de Achutegui and Miguel Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution — A Documentary History*, Ateneo de Manila, 1972, pp. 58-86.
- 7 For an account on the *Kalayaan*, see Pio Valenzuela, *Memoirs of the K.K.K. and the Philippine Revolution* (translated by Luis Serrano), Press Division, Malacañang, N.D., pp. 19-24.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Sastron, *La insurreccion en Filipinas*. . . , p. 141.
- 10 *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1900, Vol. II, p. 399.
- 11 The investigations of Francisco Roxas and Antonio Luna can be found in Retana, *Archivo*. . . , Vol. III, pp. 272-285; on Luna's denunciation of the Katipunan, see Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, Manila, 1949, p. 104; for a list of rich Filipinos who were approached by the Katipunan, see Zaide, *Philippine Revolution*, p. 97.
- 12 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 196.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 14 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*, . . . , pp. 18-21.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 17 For a revisionist view of Rizal, see Constantino, "The Lonely Hero," *Graphic*, June 19, 1968, and "Veneration. . .," in *Dissent*. . .
- 18 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 26-27.
- 19 Achutegui and Bernad, *Aguinaldo*. . . , p. 5.
- 20 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 36-39; see also John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection of the Philippines Against the United States*, ed. Renato Constantino, Pasay City, Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971 (hereinafter cited as *Taylor*), Vol. I, Exh. 21, p. 288; the document appears also in Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 35-37; also in Maximo Kalaw's "Philippine State Papers: State Paper No. 4," *Social Science Review* (Vol. 3, 1931).
- 21 See Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 32-33 for the text of the manifesto.
- 22 *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 21, p. 288; T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 37-39.
- 23 Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , p. 203.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.
- 25 Artemio Ricarte, *The Hispano-Philippine Revolution: Memoirs*, Manila, National Heroes Commission, 1963, p. 25.

- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 47-48; Ricarte, pp. 25-27.
- 28 Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , p. 205.
- 29 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , p. 48.
- 30 Ricarte, *Memoirs*, p. 27.
- 31 Quoted in Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , p. 214.
- 32 The original letter in Tagalog appears in Appendix I, No. IV of Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , pp. 414-419.
- 33 Ricarte, p. 47.
- 34 Their affiliations are carefully presented by Agoncillo in *Revolt*. . . , p. 209.
- 35 Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , p. 230.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 235. Agoncillo's account is based on an interview with Aguinaldo.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 265.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 39 Records of the trial of Bonifacio and his brother may be found in Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio*, Manila, Manila Bonifacio Centennial Commission, 1963, p. 22-132.
- 40 Agoncillo, *Revolt*. . . , p. 257.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 301.
- 43 Sastron, *La Insurreccion*. . . , pp. 235-236; Le Roy, *Americans*. . . , Vol. I, p. 117.
- 44 Achutegui and Bernad, p. 236. Sastron, pp. 226-227; Ricarte, p. 53.
- 45 Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 431-433; see also *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 44, p. 372.
- 46 Achutegui and Bernad, the September manifesto is on p. 448.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- 48 Zaide, *Philippine Revolution*, pp. 154-155.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 For the text of the proclamation see Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 89, p. 290.

- 51 Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, p. 123; Rivera's proclamation may be found in Achutegui and Bernad, 417-419.
- 52 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 138, pp. 492-494; see also *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 38, 39, 40, pp. 357-366.
- 53 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 140, pp. 500-502.
- 54 For accounts of the negotiations, see Pedro Paterno, *El Pacto de Biaknabato*, Manila, Imprenta "La Republica," 1910, pp. 173-188; Primo de Rivera, *Memoria Dirigida al Senado* Imprenta y Litografia del Deposito de la Guerra, Madrid, 1898, pp. 121-158; Sastron, pp. 311-325.
- 55 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 127, p. 448; *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 44, p. 372.
- 56 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 143, pp. 513-516.
- 57 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 208; copy of the constitution may be found in Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 458-462.
- 58 The same pattern of behavior would be repeated in Malolos, this time vis-a-vis the Americans. See Chapter 12.
- 59 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 133, pp. 473-474; see also *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 56, p. 406.
- 60 *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 60, p. 414.
- 61 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Exh. 65, pp. 422-429.
- 62 *Ibid.* One must allow for inaccuracies in the transcript of this long interview. It was, however, an eyewitness account and published soon after the event. Decades after the event, Aguinaldo confirmed in part his statement to the correspondent when he told one of his biographers, Carlos Quirino, that he did lead the *Vivas* for Spain. He averred, however, that he had to play the role of hypocrite and hide his real views. Carlos Quirino, *The Young Aguinaldo*, Manila, Regal Printing Company, 1969, pp. 218-219.
- 63 *Taylor*, p. 426.
- 64 *Ibid.*, Exh. 69, pp. 435-437. Agoncillo became the diplomatic representative of Aguinaldo's government.
- 65 "The Money of the Revolution," *Philippines Free Press*, September 7, 1929, pp. 4, 32. See T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution. . .* for another version, p. 68.
- 66 *Ibid.*, "Money. . .," p. 4, 32.
- 67 *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 73, pp. 451-452.
- 68 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Exh. 78, pp. 462-463.
- 69 S.V. Espistola, "The Hongkong Junta," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* (March, 1961), pp. 9-11.

- 70 Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, pp. 138-140.
- 71 David R. Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure. . .," p. 199.
- 72 Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, pp. 138-140; accounts of the recrudescence of struggle may be found in Leandro Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic*, New York, Columbia University, 1926, pp. 44, 49-51; Taylor, Vol. II, pp. 2-5; Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 401-408; T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution. . .*, pp. 80-83; Sastron, pp. 334, 342-344.
- 73 Le Roy, Vol. I, p. 139.
- 74 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution. . .*, pp. 80-81.
- 75 Fernandez, *Philippine Republic*, pp. 50-51.
- 76 Taylor, Vol. I, Exh. 81, pp. 469-471; Vol. III, Exh. 130, pp. 221-227.
- 77 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution. . .*, pp. 81-82.
- 78 Taylor, Vol. V, pp. 755-756; Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, p. 140.
- 79 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution. . .*, pp. 82-83.
- 80 Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, p. 140.

## CHAPTER 12

1 Many recent studies on this period of American history have shed new light on the dynamics of American imperialism and effectively debunked the apologists for American expansionism. Among these works are: Claude Julien, *America's Empire*, Pantheon Books, New York 1971; E. Berkeley Tomkins, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate*, Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1970; Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire — American Resistance to the Philippine War*, Cambridge, Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972; David Healey, *U.S. Expansionism — The Imperialist Urge in the 1890's*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1970; William Appleman Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*, Anthony, Blond Ltd., London, 1970; *American Imperialism and the Philippine Insurrection, Testimony Taken from the Hearings on Affairs in the Philippine Islands before the Senate Committee on the Philippines — 1902*, edited by Henry F. Graff, Boston, 1969, Beacon, 1969; Gabriel Kolko, *The Roots of American Foreign Policy*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1969. The current studies of Jonathan Fast, an American scholar doing work on Philippine economic history, focus on the efforts of the U.S. sugar interests to insure the annexation of the Philippines. This view is outlined in Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda Francisco, "Philippine Historiography and the De-Mystification of Imperialism: A Review Essay," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 4 No. 3, 1974.

2 Agoncillo was the diplomatic representative of Aguinaldo's government. He was in Hongkong during the revolution against Spain. Later, he went to the Paris Peace Conference and then to Washington to present the Philippine case.

- 3 Taylor, Vol. I, Exh. 82, p. 472. See also S.V. Epistola, "Hongkong. . . ."
- 4 Emilio Aguinaldo with Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look at America*, New York, Robert Speller & Sons, 1957, pp. 30-31. Aguinaldo here reiterates what he stated in his *Reseña Veridica de la Revolucion Filipina*, Tarlak, 1899 which appears in English as Exh. 2 in *Taylor*, Vol. III, pp. 4-27.
- 5 Artacho's complaint is found in *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 80, p. 467.
- 6 An account of the negotiations between Aguinaldo and Pratt together with the necessary documentary citations may be found in James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912*, New York and London, 1913, reprinted by Malaya Books, 1968, pp. 4-15. See also *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 2, pp. 475-476.
- 7 Cited by Aguinaldo in *A Second Look. . .*, p. 36.
- 8 Epistola, "Hongkong. . .," p. 23; *Taylor*, Vol. I, Exh. 91, p. 507.
- 9 *Ibid.*, *Taylor*, pp. 505-509.
- 10 Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History. . .*, p. 219.
- 11 *Taylor*, Vol. III, Exh. 97, pp. 196-197.
- 12 Contantino, "Roots. . .," in *Dissent. . .*
- 13 *Taylor*, Vol. III, Exh. 4, p. 29.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Exh. 5, pp. 30-31.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Exh. 7, p. 32.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Exh. 35, p. 113.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 18 Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. I, p. 194; *Taylor*, Vol. III, Exh. 3, p. 28.
- 19 Felipe Buencamino Sr., *Sixty Years of Philippine History*, Manila, Philippine Historical Association, 1969, pp. 22-25.
- 20 Sastron, *Insurreccion. . .*, p. 409.
- 21 *Taylor*, Vol. III, Exh. 28, pp. 102-106.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.
- 23 Constantino, "Origin of a Myth," in *Dissent. . .*
- 24 Cesar Adib Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution*, Quezon City, UP Press, 1960, pp. 174-175.
- 25 See Letter of Mabini to Jacinto in Jose P. Santos, *Buhay at Mga Sinulat ni Emilio Jacinto*, 1935, p. 12.

- 26 Taylor, Vol. III, Exh. 6, p. 31.
- 27 Constantino, "Roots. . .," in *Dissent*. . ., p. 100.
- 28 Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic*, p. 65.
- 29 George Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy*, New York, Scribner's, 1913, p. 247.
- 30 The conversations between Aguinaldo and American military leaders are related in detail in Blount, Chapters 2-5. This particular quotation was taken by Blount from an article by Gen. Anderson which appeared in the *North American Review* of February, 1900. See pp. 54-66 of Blount's book.
- 31 United States Senate, 57th Congress, First Session, *Senate Document 331*, Part 3, p. 2928.
- 32 Emilio Aguinaldo, "Reseña Veridica" in Taylor, Vol. III, p. 18.
- 33 Le Roy, *Americans*. . ., Vol. I, pp. 290-293.
- 34 Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History*. . ., p. 233.
- 35 Zaide, *Philippine Revolution*. . ., p. 253.
- 36 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 234.
- 37 Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos, the Crisis of the Republic*, Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1960, p. 420.
- 38 Zaide, *Philippine Revolution*. . ., p. 229.
- 39 T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . ., pp. 129-131.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- 41 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. II, p. 355.
- 42 Taylor, Vol. V, pp. 755-756.
- 43 T.M. Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*. . ., p. 134.
- 44 Constantino, "Roots. . .," in *Dissent*. . .
- 45 Cesar Majul, "Social Background of the Revolution," *Asian Studies* (April, 1967), pp. 1-23.
- 46 *La Republica Filipina*, December 3, 1898.
- 47 *El Heraldo Filipino*, January 26, 1899, cited in Zaide, *Philippine Revolution*. . ., p. 266.
- 48 See Harper's *History of the War in the Philippines*, ed. Marrion Wilcox, New York and London, Harper & Brothers, 1900, p. 73 for photo reproduction of the menu.
- 49 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 238.

- 50 Felipe Calderon, *Mis Memorias Sobre La Revolucion Filipina*, pp. 239-240, cited and translated in Cesar Majul, *Mabini. . .*, p. 209.
- 51 Majul, "Social Background. . .," p. 39.
- 52 Full text of the speech translated in English may be found in Frank D. Millet, *The Expedition to the Philippines*, New York and London, Harper & Brothers, 1899, pp. 264-266.
- 53 *Taylor*, Vol. III, Exh. 361, pp. 467-469.
- 54 *Ibid.*,
- 55 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 248-249.
- 56 *Le Roy, Americans. . .*, Vol. II, p. 5.
- 57 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 249-250.
- 58 Quoted in Maximo Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics: 1872-1920*, Manila, Oriental Commercial, 1926, p. 185.
- 59 Peter W. Stanley, *A Union in the Making — The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921*, Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 54; Le Roy, *The Americans. . .*, Vol. I, p. 292; War Department, *Report of the Major General Commanding the Army, August, 1899*, Pt. 2. pp. 356-357, 367; William Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism, Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia*, New York, International Publishers, 1970, p. 66.
- 60 M. Kalaw, *Philippine Politics. . .*, p. 190; Le Roy, *Americans. . .*, Vol. II, pp. 89-90.
- 61 M. Kalaw, *Philippine Politics. . .*, p. 192.
- 62 Encarnacion Alzona, "The Election of Mabini as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Republic," *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 330-333.
- 63 See *Taylor*, Vol. IV, Exh. 882, pp. 641-644 for the full interview which appeared in *La Independencia*, May 20, 1899.
- 64 *Le Roy, Americans. . .*, Vol. II, p. 93 n.
- 65 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 253-254; see also *Taylor*, Vol. IV, Exh. 893, pp. 656-660.
- 66 The Concepcion version is discussed in M. Kalaw, *Philippine Politics. . .*, pp. 207-210.
- 67 *Taylor*, Vol. IV, Exh. 657, pp. 99-100.
- 68 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Exh. 998, pp. 105-106.
- 69 Interesting examples may be found in David Sturtevant, "Guardia de Honor, Revitalization within the Revolution," *Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 342-352; other documented incidents may be found in *Taylor*, Vol. II, Chapter IV.



- 70 Le Roy, *Americans*. . . , Vol. II, p. 121.
- 71 Aguinaldo's *Odyssey as told in the diaries of Col. Simeon Villa and Dr. Santiago Barcelona*, Manila, 1963, p. 11.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 74 U.S. War Department, *Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900*, Vol. I: *Annual Reports of the Secretary of War*, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1900, Pt. 4, pp. 208-210.
- 75 U.S. War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901*, Vol. II: *Report of the Chief of Engineers*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1901, Part 5, pp. 61-62.
- 76 The full text appears in T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 280-282.
- 77 Constantino, "Roots. . .," in *Dissent*. . . , pp. 105-109.

## CHAPTER 13

- 1 United States Senate, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Documents*, 62, Vol. I, p. 387.
- 2 Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, p. 113.
- 3 Agoncillo, *Malolos*. . . , p. 374.
- 4 Romeo Cruz, "Filipino Collaboration with the Americans, 1899-1902," unpublished M.A. thesis, U.P., 1956, pp. 83-84.
- 5 Agoncillo, *Malolos*. . . , p. 375.
- 6 Further discussion on Filipino collaboration during the period may be found in Cruz, "Filipino Collaboration. . .," pp. 76-80, 85-88; Constantino, *Making of a Filipino*, pp. 10-22 and "Origin. . .," in *Dissent*. . . , pp. 84-89.
- 7 Villa, *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*. . . , pp. 28-29.
- 8 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1901*, Pt. I, p. 16.
- 9 Cruz, "Filipino Collaboration. . .," pp. 88-89.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.
- 11 *U.S. Senate, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 331*, pp. 820-825, 2709-2745; Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism*. . . , pp. 69-70.
- 12 Le Roy, *Americans*. . . , Vol. II, p. 93; *Eminent Filipinos*, Manila, National Historical Commission, 1965, pp. 57-58.

13 United States Congress, *Report of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, 1901-1903*, p. 231.

14 Villa, *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*. . . , p. 27.

15 John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines*, Boston, American Tract Society, 1905, pp. 69-71; Homer Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East*, New York, Eaton & Mains, 1904, pp. 143-144.

16 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. II pp. 22-23.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 379.

18 T.H. Pardo de Tavera, "Origin and Growth of the Federal Party," letter addressed to General MacArthur, May 14, 1901, quoted in M. Kalaw, *Philippine Politics*. . . , p. 276.

19 D.R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines*, New York, Doubleday Page & Co., 1925, p. 118.

20 *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, p. 17.

21 In 1972, a Statehood U.S.A. movement was launched by Rufino Antonio. This movement aroused a great deal of controversy terminated only by the declaration of Martial Law.

22 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 295-296.

23 Quoted in T.M. Kalaw, *Revolution*. . . , pp. 287-288.

24 *Senate Document 331*, p. 9.

25 *Taylor*, Vol. V, Exh. 1301, pp. 603-605.

26 Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism*. . . , p. 93, *et seq.*

27 *Ibid.*

28 Cruz, "Filipino Collaboration. . .," p. 34.

29 The background to the organization and early difficulties in arming a native police force may be found in G. Yarrington Coats, "The Philippine Constabulary 1901-1917," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ohio University, 1968, Chapter I; and Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary*, New York, 1938, Chapter III.

30 These quotations appear in Claro M. Recto, *The Law of Belligerent Occupation*, Manila, 1946, pp. 344-345.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 332.

33 *Soldiers' Letters Being Materials For the History of a War of Criminal Aggression*, Boston, Anti-Imperialist League, 1899, pp. 3-16.

34 For a fuller account of the events in Samar, see Joseph L. Schott, *The Ordeal of Samar*, New York and Indianapolis, 1964.

35 Bernard Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife*, quoted in Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism*. . . , p. 96.

36 Henry Parker Willis, *Our Philippine Problem: A Study of American Colonial Policy*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1905, p. 23.

37 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906, Pt. II, p. 4.

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## CHAPTER 14

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- 24 *Ibid.*; see also J. P. Santos, *Ang Tatlong. . .*
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- 26 For accounts of the Ola-Toledo movement see Coats, Chapter IV; Hurley, pp. 56, 95, 147.
- 27 *Manila Times*, February 13, 1903.
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- 29 For biographical data on Ricarte see Armando J. Malay's Introduction in Ricarte's *Memoirs*; for an account of the Ricarte Movement see Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction. . .*, pp. 180-182; William Brecknock Watson, "The Christmas Eve Fiasco and a Brief Outline of the Ricarte and Other Similar Movements From the Breaking Up of the Insurrection of 1899-1901," in Appendix N, Ricarte, pp. 157-216.

- 30 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*, Pt. III, p. 100; Coats, Chapter 3 for the Rios Movement.
- 31 *Manila Times*, November 26, 1901.
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- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- 34 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906*, Pt. II, p. 239.
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- 38 *Ibid.*
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## CHAPTER 17

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- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-64.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 66. Lorimer claims that this organization first met in 1922, was addressed by Quezon and was at that time still for worker-capital cooperation.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-77, 75-76. For further discussion on the CPP, see Luis Taruc, *Born of the People*, New York, International Publishers, 1953, and A.B. Saulo, *Communism in the Philippines*, Q.C., Ateneo University Press, 1969. The Cirilo Honorio collection of clippings is a rich source on the subject.
- 43 Santayana, p. 12.
- 44 Hoeksema, pp. 96-97.
- 45 *Philippines Free Press* (January 26, 1931).
- 46 Accounts of most of these incidents may be found in the issues of the *Manila Tribune* of the period, copies of which are preserved in the library of the *Manila Times*.
- 47 *Ibid.*, see also Gerrit J. Huizer, "Philippine Peasant Organizations," *Solidarity* (June, 1972), pp. 17-32.

- 48 Crippen, "Philippine Agrarian Unrest. . .," p. 348.
- 49 Kerkvliet, "Peasant Society. . .," p. 174.
- 50 James Wingo, "Asedillo Eulogized, Quezon Discredited, Neutrality Explained," *Philippines Free Press* (April 11, 1936), pp. 9, 45.
- 51 Vargas later became Chief of Staff and Defense Secretary.
- 52 Accounts of the Sakdal uprising may be found in Milagros Guerrero, "The Sakdal Uprising," *Praxis* (August-September, 1968), pp. 41-55; Sturtevant, pp. 154-196, Crippen, pp. 345-347. For the goals and purposes of the Sakdalistas, see *Manila Tribune*, (June 24, 1934); Sturtevant, "No Uprising Fails," *Solidarity*, Vol. I, No. 4 (1966).
- 53 Guerrero, "Peasant. . .," p. 42.
- 54 *The Tribune* (May 3, 1935).
- 55 Crippen, p. 346.
- 56 Santayana, pp. 20-21.
- 57 Hoeksema, p. 155.
- 58 Crippen, p. 346.
- 59 *Philippines Free Press* (December 21, 1935).
- 60 *The Tribune* (August 17, 1937).
- 61 *Ibid.* (April 24, 1938).
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- 63 *The Tribune* (October 4, 1938).
- 64 *Ibid.* (January 11, 1941).
- 65 On the career of Abad Santos, see Luis Taruc, *Born of the People*, Chapter 5.
- 66 *The Tribune* (February 6, 1938).
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- 68 Manuel L. Quezon, address of August 28, 1938, *Philippine Commonwealth, Labor Bulletin*, I (August, 1938), p. 1.
- 69 *Labor Bulletin*, IV (July-August, 1941), p. 216.
- 70 Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. Macmillan, *The Rural Philippines*, Manila, Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, 1952, p. 43.
- 71 "Peasant War. . .," pp. 379-390.
- 72 Sturtevant, pp. 206-208.



- 73 Hoeksema, pp. 179-186, see Santayana's version, p. 16 *et seq.*
- 74 *Labor Bulletin*, II, p. 372.
- 75 *Manila Daily Bulletin* (October 3, 1938).
- 76 Crippen, p. 351.
- 77 *Philippine Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 149.
- 78 *Manila Daily Bulletin* (November 28, 1939).
- 79 Renato Constantino, *Fascism: Prospect and Retrospect*, Quezon City, Malaya Books, 1970; see also Alan Chase, *Falange, the Axis Secret Army in the Americas*, New York, G.P. Putnam's, 1943, Chapter 2.
- 80 See *Philippine Magazine*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 124-305.
- 81 Hoeksema, pp. 178-179.
- 82 *Bulletin of Philippine Statistics* (1st and 2nd Quarters, 1938), p. 401.
- 83 Manuel L. Quezon, "The Essence of Democracy," address before the U.P. Convocation, July 16, 1940, in Ricardo Pascual, "Partyless Democracy," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 2-4, Appendix A; in "A Partyless Government in a Democracy," address before the U.P. Alumni, August 7, 1940, Quezon replies to the author's editorial, "Democracy Up to Date," in the *Philippine Collegian* issue of July 23, 1940, and rechristens his proposal "partyless government," Appendix B, Pascual.
- 84 *Manila Daily Bulletin* (January 7, 1940, May 25, 1940).

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