The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803; / explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the islands and their peoples, their history and records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commericial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the beginning of the nineteenth century

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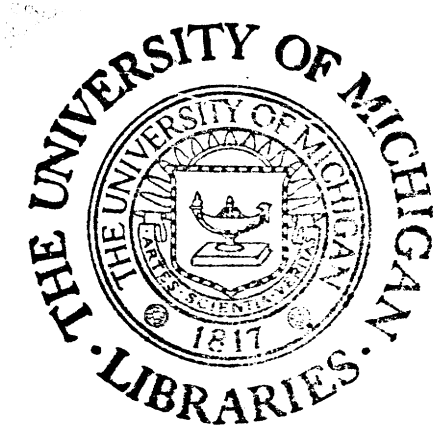
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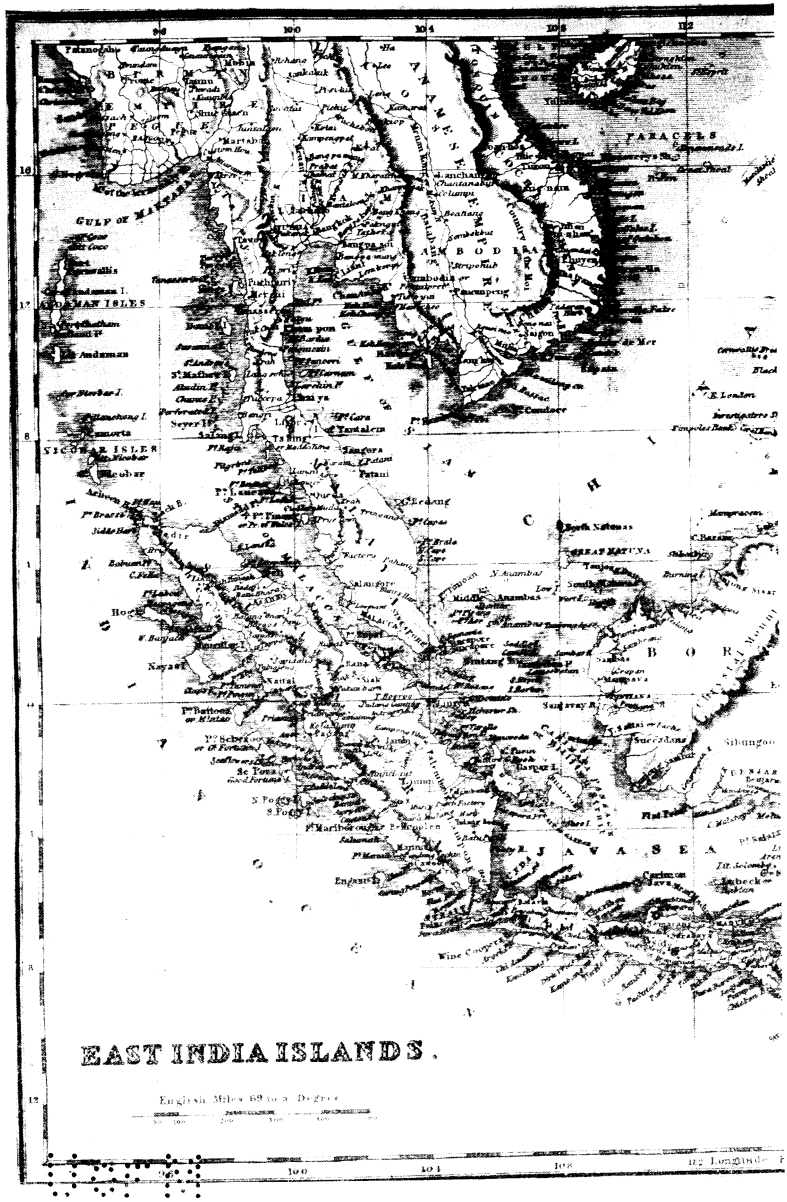
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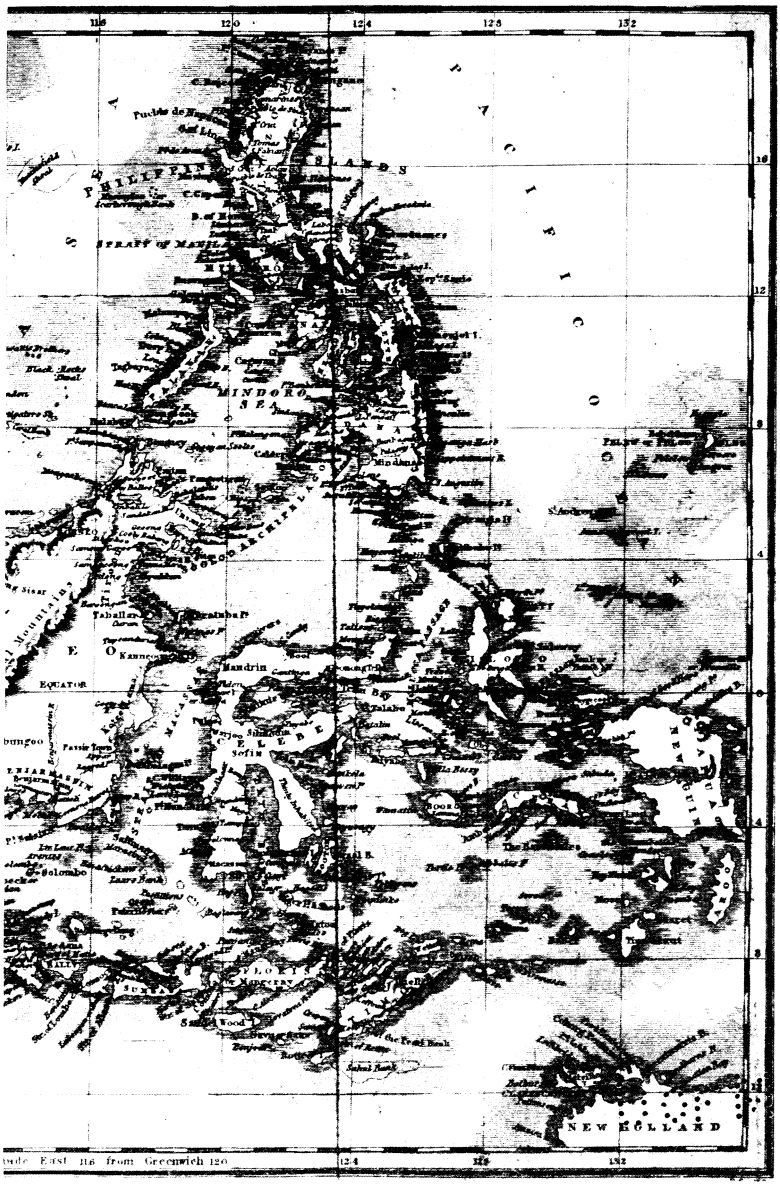
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System of Geography (Glasgow, 1836)
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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

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The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume LII—1841-1898



The Arthur H. Clark Company
Cleveland, Ohio
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PREFACE

In this final documentary volume of our series we present matter which is planned to bring out the salient points of the highly important period from 1841 to 1898, a little more than the last half-century of the Spanish régime, together with such bibliographical aids as will enable students to find readily the best and most available sources for the history of that time. The first two documents (written respectively by a civil official and a military commander) furnish a reliable and intelligent survey, by eyewitnesses, of political, economic, and social conditions in the islands in 1842-43; and thus supplement the similar relations (in VOL. LI) dated fifteen years earlier. The admirable paper by James A. LeRoy, who is well known as the leading authority on Philippine affairs, places before our readers a clear and orderly review of the last four decades of Spanish rule in Filipinas – with keen but impartial comments on conditions, events, and men therein; and with full and well-selected bibliographical references to the best works on the subject. It gives us pleasure to present here the hitherto unpublished constitution of the Liga Filipina, from Rizal's own MS. draft; and the friar memorial of 1898 (a curiously mediæval document for the end of the nineteenth century), which

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heretofore had appeared only in a limited Spanish edition and a partial and unsatisfactory English translation. To these documents is added an appendix on agricultural conditions in Filipinas, giving a view of these in 1784 and another in 1866; an outline of the projects, efforts, and achievements of the noted Economic Society of Manila; and bibliographical references for the use of the reader. Following is a synopsis of the above documents:

Of exceeding interest and importance is the third volume of Mas's *Informe*, on the policy of the Spanish government as regards internal affairs in the Philippine Islands. Intended almost exclusively for the use of the government, but comparatively few copies were published, and hence the volume is of great rarity, and is not mentioned by most of the bibliographers. We know with certainty of four copies: two owned in the Philippines, one by the heirs of Clemente Zulueta, and the other by Epifanio de los Santos (our translation being made from a typewritten copy of the latter); one in the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, and one in the collection of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, Barcelona. Its chief value and importance lie in its treatment of various vital questions that had already begun to present themselves to some minds more or less clearly – the relation of the Filipino-Spaniards to those of the Peninsula; questions concerning the natives, Chinese mestizos, and Spaniards; separation from Spain; and lastly, the proposition to free the islands. The document, while containing many things that are general in nature, and which even appear childish and visionary, is in many other things clear-sighted, and shows deep and keen observation.

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The first two volumes of Mas's work (which have been cited so frequently in this series) were written in order to form a suitable background to the third volume, and thus lead to it naturally, by giving a résumé in succinct form of the history, government, and social and economic conditions of the islands. Proceeding to his purpose, the author states that the intentions of Spain in regard to the colony may be one of three: perpetual possession; utter neglect; or emancipation. He treats only of the first and third. To ensure perpetual possession, there are three principles to be borne in mind and acted upon: the reduction of the white population; the subordination of the natives; and the general reform of the Spanish administration. The growth of the white population fosters the spirit of independence, for the Spaniards of the Philippines look upon the islands as their own country, and have no affection for Spain. Their only concern is to hold possession of the government posts, but they are lazy and ignorant. They are naturally disgruntled by the appointment of peninsular Spaniards to posts in the islands; for, since the promotions are limited, they cannot hope for the advancement that they believe is due them. Their discontent was seen in practical form in the insurrection instigated in 1822 because of the officials brought from Spain by Antonio Martinez; and there was evident discontent because of the new contingent that appeared in 1825. There are more than one thousand Filipino-Spanish males in the Philippines, but only four hundred posts, and their hopes continually wane at the appearance of officials from Spain, although Spain has an evident right to send whom it will to the islands. To obviate the trouble, Mas suggests that only

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single men be sent to the islands from Spain to act as officials, and that they be required to return to the Peninsula after twenty years' service, with the option of returning in ten years. These men will probably marry Spanish women in the islands, and on their return to Spain will take their families with them, thus reducing the white population considerably. It is a mistake to send women to the colony, and a grave error to endeavor to increase the white population there. A plan is proposed for the further reduction of the white population by sending all males to Spain at the government expense, at the age of sixteen, where they shall be educated at the expense of the Manila treasury. The sending of the situado from Spain for the support of the islands was formerly a large factor in keeping the colony loyal, but since that has become unnecessary the one great check on the colony has disappeared. But separation now would mean that the whites would disappear in the mass of the natives, and would even become inferior to them. It is wrong to infer that the whites and the natives will work together, for there is a barrier between them, and the recent outbreak in Tayabas cannot in any way be ascribed to the former. The salvation of the whites lies in agriculture, and great profits are to be acquired therein, although the Spaniards are loath to engage in such work. Their fields can be cultivated by Chinese labor, and by captured Moros, and contracts can be made, in addition, with individual Filipinos, under certain exemptions. Mas favors the system of indentured servants, for self-interest will dictate good treatment to them. To ensure native respect for the whites, the education of the former must be very restricted, and the colleges at

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Manila be closed. Filipino soldiers shall not rise above the rank of private or corporal. Filipino secular priests must be reduced in numbers, and must, in general, act only as the assistants of the regulars. Filipinos cannot maintain the dignity of the priestly office, and instead debauch it, as Mas proves by various letters. Religion is the mainstay of the islands, and the regular curas must be given as much power as possible, and officials must work in harmony with them. The friars must, however, live morally, abstain from trade, and not meddle in temporal affairs. Emancipation will be the ruin of the friars; and, in order that they may conserve Spanish interests, all the curas must be Spaniards from Spain. Curas lose respect among the natives because they are compelled to collect the marriage and burial fees, and the government should come to their aid by collecting these under the form of a specified tax. Above all, the whites must observe religious ceremonies, which they now almost utterly neglect. The laws of the Indias are executed too rigidly, and are too favorable to the natives. The latter are becoming arrogant and impudent, and will end by driving out the Spaniards. Mas would require a distinctive dress for the natives, the chiefs to be the only ones who may wear jackets. The priests have been guilty of destroying rank among them. Natives must salute all Spaniards and show great outward respect. The title of "Don" must be given them no longer, for this gives the idea of equality with the whites. All government officials must be given decent pay, and must be made to spend it liberally. Offices should not be given in order that their incumbents may amass money. Only Spaniards of good character should be allowed to go to the is-

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lands. If the treasury officials are decreased in number and the collections farmed out, this work should be done by natives and mestizos, as this is an odious office, and engenders much ill-will. Race hatred must be developed between the Filipinos and Chinese mestizos as much as possible. The latter are the richer and more intelligent, and in case of emancipation at this moment would soon gain the upper hand. They are hated by the natives. It is highly important to have a respectable and moral Spanish force in the islands, for should the native troops mutiny nothing can be done as matters now stand. Curas should have the power of intervention in the meetings of the principales, as this method will avoid conspiracy. Natives should not be taught how to cast artillery or make firearms and powder. Indeed, the powder factory recently established should be suppressed, as the contract under which it was allowed is not advantageous, and better powder is manufactured in Murcia. Steam vessels are needed for quick communication among the islands, and to repel Moro invasions, and suppress insurrections. Spanish should not be taught to the natives. Newspapers may be allowed, under proper censorship; and curas should translate into the native dialect such articles as are important for the natives. A complete system of police is necessary. Trouble is to be expected from China, but it will be quite safe to allow the entrance of a certain number of Chinese laborers to work on the estates of the whites. They can be counted on in case of trouble with the natives, and in case they themselves revolt native hatred will soon finish them. It is advisable to watch the intercourse between foreigners living in the islands and the natives. A complete reform is

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needed in the administration of the government, which, as now constituted, is honeycombed with laxity and graft. The laws of the Indias are confused and contradictory, as is proved by numerous citations. Government is too little centralized. Spanish statesmen have been guilty of strange errors in regard to the Philippines, through their ignorance. Mas proposes a regency of three men, the president to be a Spanish grandee. The duties of this body are outlined, which in general correspond to those of the governor-general and Audiencia. The plan contemplates a Council of State; and thorough judiciary reforms, in order to render the judiciary independent of the government. The prestige of rank is to be observed, as this is a large factor in preserving the *status quo*. In the provinces, the provincial chiefs (who are to be sent from Spain) shall hold all the power, as at present. The treasury reforms suggested look toward a lessening of graft, and greater economy. In case the Spanish government decides to emancipate the Philippines, the exactly opposite course must be chosen to the one outlined so fully for their conservation. Education and the arts must be encouraged, newspapers allowed with but a mild censorship, and the population must become amalgamated. To effect the last, dowries should be paid to the women in all crossed marriages. Native assemblies should be established in order to train them in political matters. Mas favors emancipation. The islands have been a drag on Spain from the first, and, if a violent separation comes, it will result in a further loss of life and treasure. It is interesting to note that he adds a plea for the greater humanitarianism of the emancipation plan.

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Matta's report of 1843 in regard to the moral condition of the Philippines, and the reforms necessary in administrational and economic matters for the conservation of the islands is of great practical value. The report was called forth by the sedition of Apolinario, the founder of the cofradia of San José, and the revolt in 1843 of a portion of the troops. It sets forth the loss of prestige by both the government and the regular clergy (once the prime support of Spanish authority in the islands), and the confusion that is rife throughout Manila and the provinces, a state approaching anarchy. Political factions, the troubles arising from the contradictory character of the natives, the demoralization in military circles, all demand radical reforms. A system of law taking into consideration the character of the natives is needed, as well as greater centralization in the government, with well defined powers granted to subordinate officials; suppression of various religious educational institutions as breeders of discontent and trouble, and the establishment of commercial and other schools; abolition of the residencia; and other legislative and economic measures. For the development of the islands capital is needed, but reform must precede in order that capital may be attracted. Agriculture is the main support of the islands, and must be developed by the whites, mestizos, and Chinese, who will support the government, and thus offset the immense numbers of the natives. The report calls for extensive military reforms and the establishment of a good police system. Tagálog academies are proposed, so that Spanish officers may learn the native language. It is of great importance to conciliate both Peninsulars and Spaniards born in the Philippines, and to

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show partiality to neither, in order that prosperity may reign.

Mr. LeRoy's contribution to this volume consists of two parts: a general editorial comment on the modern era of the Philippines, and some bibliographical notes and further comments for the study of that period. The first shows the influences working in and through the Philippines and the Filipinos, and is necessarily treated on broad lines, detail being scrupulously avoided. The second part is written in the same spirit, but in notes and titles gives the student full material for the study of the modern era. By the modern era, Mr. LeRoy means roughly the last half of the nineteenth century, but necessarily, in speaking of it, he has been compelled to go back to influences beginning to be felt before that time. Very briefly he sketches the elements making for a broader life in economic and social and political lines; the break-down of old ideas, whose longer continuance was untenable in material, intellectual, and religious progress; and the rise of the greater respect and self-consciousness of the Filipinos. In his bibliographical section, the author treats fairly and impartially of the threefold development of the Filipinos and the Philippines: viz., the social; the economic – under which are discussed general considerations, agriculture, land, etc., the Chinese, industries, commerce, internal trade, navigation, etc., and currency – and the political, under which are discussed the Spanish administration and the Filipino propaganda and revolution. Under the first division of the latter are treated the administrative organism, the administration as actually working, taxation, legal and judicial matters, science and material resources,

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the Moros and pagan peoples; and under the second, the religious question, the friar estates, the Filipino clergy and their cause, the revolt of 1872, reform and demands for more "assimilation," the propagandists, Masonry, the Liga Filipina, etc., the Katipunan, the insurrection of 1896-97, the pact of Biak-na-bató and the question of independence. By its mass of comment and titles, this section fully supplements the first part, and presents to the student a comprehensive survey of Philippine life and development, that will be found the most useful material yet published for detailed study of the modern era.

In "Events in Filipinas, 1841-1872," the attempt is made only to indicate general conditions in the islands, by citing very briefly some of the more important matters during that period in social, religious and economic lines. In addition to this, we have added a short bibliography, from which the student may gather abundant and accessible material for this period.

Through the kindness of Sr. Epifanio de los Santos we are enabled to present in full for the first time the constitution of the Liga Filipina (which was organized by Rizal on July 3, 1892) from a copy made from the manuscript of Rizal. This constitution shows the Liga not to have been formed for the purpose of independence, but for mutual aid and protection of its members, and the fostering of a more united spirit among Filipinos. Nowhere does it contain a word against the sovereignty of Spain or against religion. In it are declared the ends, form, duties of members and officials, rights of members and officials, the investment of funds, and general rules. The one exception that might be taken to the

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constitution is that implicit and unquestioning obedience to all superior commands is required from the members.

As the last document proper in this series we present the Friar Memorial of April 21, 1898, which voices the protest of all the orders (Augustinians, Franciscans, Recollects, Dominicans, and Jesuits), but which was destined never to reach officially those for whom it was intended (the Spanish government, through the minister of the colonies), because of the appearance in Spanish waters of the American squadron, and the defeat of the Spanish fleet. It is fitting, however, to present this document in this series, as it is a complete statement of the friars' standpoint, and especially as the last document of the series, as it marks the passing of the old Spanish régime. The beginning and ending alike express the loyalty of the orders to the Spanish government, and throughout the document is noted the expression of the patriotism of all the members of the orders as Spaniards. The memorial, as a whole, is a protest against the charges brought against the friars from both Spanish and Philippine sources; against free-thought; against Masonry and other secret societies; against the secularization of the orders, episcopal visitation, secularization of schools, and all the other demands of the separatists and insurgents. That the friars are the cause of the insurrection, they indignantly deny. They have ever done their duty, and have worked in the interests of religion and the Spanish fatherland. The insurgents, the filibusters, the separatists, of both Spain and the islands, have directed their whole cry against religion in order to veil their real purpose. The friars have borne all the

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vilification that has been directed against them patiently, but they cannot for their own honor do so longer. They are proud of their record throughout the history of the islands, and are mindful that, as the only permanent peninsular social factor in the Philippines, they have christianized the islands, have maintained peaceful relations therein, and have kept them for Spain. Only since the entrance of those imbued with the revolutionary free-thought, and of Freemasons, have the islands been disturbed – a period of about thirty years. The Katipunan society is nothing else than a society constructed on Masonic principles, and its rapid diffusion of late throughout many districts greatly complicates the problem and renders the remedy more difficult. Had the orders been silent in the face of the attempts of the Masons, of the filibusters, and of the insurgents, they would not have become an object of persecution; but since they always stood out for the traditional religion and for Spain, the storm of abuse and ill-treatment has fallen upon them. They challenge their detractors and calumniators to prove charges that they have not fulfilled their duty, and those of personal immorality. They have not committed abuse in the taking of parochial fees; they are not hostile to education (indeed, all the education of the islands has been established and fostered by them); they do not despise the educated natives, but, as is easily proved, are good friends with them. Most of the graduates from their institutions have remained loyal, and the same is generally true of the wealthy classes. The real cause of the rebellion can be traced back to the government in allowing the entrance of free-thought into the islands and the dissemination of Masonic doctrines, which

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have led to the lessening of respect for religion and for Spain; and, as this has come about, it has been natural for race hatred to spring up. The only way of obtaining peace is to strengthen the religious life of the islands, and to force out all the revolutionary forces of free-thought and Masonry. The mission of the friars must receive government support and respect, else it will be impossible for them longer to remain in the islands. They do not desire temporal honors, or to take part in the civil affairs of government; they are even willing to relinquish the slight official intervention that they possess: but they must demand the honor due to religion which has always been theirs by right. They are governed in their actions by the *Syllabus errorum* of Pius IX. The laws of the Indias, the actions of the sovereigns, the instructions to Legazpi: all commit Spain to the maintenance of friars in the Philippines, and to the greater interests of religion. Even earlier, the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise command respect to ecclesiastical persons. This respect, therefore, the friars demand, if they are longer to remain in the islands, and be the support of the government. This memorial is one by those who are fighting for life, and who see dimly ahead the fate that may overtake them.

The subject of agriculture in the islands is briefly treated in an appendix, showing conditions in the islands in 1784 and 1866, as described by Governor Basco and the German traveler Jagor respectively; the aims and achievements of the Economic Society of Manila; and references to the more important writings on agriculture in the islands. All show how backward were the conditions of that industry, even to the end of the Spanish régime, although various

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efforts were made by Spain to institute reforms and promote the cultivation of the soil; but most of these were too superficial and partial to be successful – indeed, they were continually hindered by the whole system of Spanish colonial administration and the deficiencies in the native character and training.

In conclusion, the Editors desire to express their cordial thanks and acknowledgments for information, suggestions, and other assistance rendered by the many friends of this undertaking. The majority of these have been already mentioned in previous volumes, especially in annotations furnished by them; and the names of several more appear in the list of "Errata and addenda" (at the end of this volume) which is unavoidable in any series so extensive as this. Therein is contained much information which reached the Editors too late for insertion in its proper place, or was furnished by those whose personal knowledge enabled them to correct misstatements in works cited as authorities. The following persons may be mentioned as meriting special thanks for aid rendered to the Editors: Manuel de Yriarte, chief of Division of Archives, Manila; Epifanio de los Santos, Malolos, Bulacan, Luzón; T. H. Pardo de Tavera, of the Philippine Commission, Manila; and Rev. Anthony Huonder, S.J., Luxembourg, Europe.

THE EDITORS

June, 1907.

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DOCUMENTS OF 1841-1898

Internal political condition of the Philippines. Sinibaldo de Mas; 1842.

Matta's report. Juan Manuel de la Matta; February 25, 1843.

The Philippines, 1860-1898: some comment and bibliographical notes. James A. LeRoy; 1907.

Events in Filipinas, 1841-1872. [Summarized from Montero y Vidal.]

Constitution of the Liga Filipina. José Rizal; July 3, 1892.

The friar memorial of 1898. Manuel Gutierrez, O.S.A., and others; April 21, 1898.

SOURCES: The first of these documents, the rare volume iii of Mas's *Informe*, is obtained from a typewritten copy furnished by Epifanio de los Santos from the printed original in his possession; the second, from an unpublished MS. in the possession of T. H. Pardo de Tavera, who furnished to the Editors a typewritten copy of it; the third is written especially for this series by James A. LeRoy; the fourth is summarized from volume iii of Montero y Vidal's *Historia de Filipinas*; the fifth is obtained from a copy, furnished by E. de los Santos, of Rizal's original MS.; the sixth, from James A. LeRoy's copy of one of the printed originals, revised by a printed copy belonging to the Madrid edition.

TRANSLATIONS: All these documents (outside of the third) are translated by James Alexander Robertson.

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INTERNAL POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1842

Report on the condition of the Filipinas Islands in 1842. Written by the author of the "Aristodemo," of the "Sistema musical de la lengua castellana," etc.[1] *Volume III. Their internal political condition. Madrid, January, 1843.*

The twenty-four chapters which I have presented

[1] This is Sinibaldo de Mas, a noted Spanish traveler and diplomat. He was born at Barcelona, in 1809, and studied at Madrid, especially the classic languages, Arabic and other modern languages. In 1834, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Orient, where he visited successively Constantinople, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Calcutta, the Arabian desert, and lastly Manila, where he lived for some months. After his return to the Peninsula, he was appointed Spanish minister plenipotentiary to China. Pardo de Tavera says of him (*Biblioteca Filipina*, p. 253): "The work of Mas is highly interesting, only that, having sojourned a very short time in Filipinas, during which he was sick most of the time, he wrote his work by reference to others, and taking from the chronicles of the friars the elements necessary for the history and the races. He does not cite sources, and it is cleverly written, and passes with some persons as a classic work on Filipinas. . . . His vanity led him to suppress his name. . . ." Pardo de Tavera does not seem to know the third volume. Retana [who possessed a copy of the third volume (No. 2432 in his library, which was sold to the Compañía general de tabacos de Filipinas), says in *Bibliografía filipina*, p. 524]: "This third and secret part has never been described. The author published very few copies of it because of the gravity of its contents. Sinibaldo de Mas, contrary to what those who know his *Estado* [*i.e.*, the first two volumes] may imagine, pronounced in favor of preparation of independence for Filipinas."

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hitherto,[2] have only been preliminary studies, in order that I might treat of the present matter; for it would be an ill thing to speak of the internal administration of the country, or of the line of policy that it is of advantage to adopt therein, without passing in review its anterior data, analyzing its elements, and forming an opinion of its resources.

The laws of every state must have one object, and the wiser and more perfect they are, the better they fulfil their end. To discourse, then, on those laws which are advisable in Filipinas, one must take note of the intentions that the government may have in regard to the islands. These intentions will probably be reduced to the following plans or principles.

To conserve the colony forever, that is to say, without its separation being even thought of.

To consider indifferently its loss or its conserva-

In this third volume Mas precedes the text as follows: "Of this secret chapter, the last of the *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, only some few copies have been printed for the ministers, gentlemen of the Council of the Government, and other persons influential in the affairs of the nation. Consequently, your Excellency is requested to keep it for your own use, without allowing it to circulate or permitting a copy to be made of it." The copy belonging to the Peabody Institute Library belonged to Javier de Burgos. See (in addition to Pardo de Tavera and Retana) *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, xii, p. 537.

[2] The first two volumes have separately-paged chapters as follows: I. Origin of the inhabitants of Oceanica. Condition of the Filipinos at the arrival of the Spaniards. History of the Spanish domination in Filipinas from their discovery until our times. Continuation of the last chapter. Population. Animals. Climate. Minerals. Topography. II. Languages. Vegetables. Agriculture. Interior commerce. Foreign commerce. Industry. Territorial division. Administration of government and the captaincy-general. Public instruction. Ecclesiastical condition. Administration of justice. Army. Navy. Direct and indirect taxes. External political condition. Vol. i contains a chart showing the ancient alphabets of the Filipinos; and vol. ii, a map of the archipelago.

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tion, and the fate of the Spaniards living in the colony.

To resolve upon emancipation, and prepare the colony for giving it freedom.[3]

In regard to the second of these three fundamental policies, nothing occurs to me to say, except that it follows in everything, as hitherto. I shall treat, then, only of the first and last.

In order to conserve the colony, it is necessary, in my opinion, to work with reference to the spirit of the following three principles, which I shall endeavor successively to explain: 1st. It is advisable to reduce the Spanish-Filipino[4] population to the least possible number. 2d. The people of color must voluntarily give respect and obedience to the whites. 3rd. The general administration demands a complete reform.

1st. It is advisable to reduce the population, etc. In the epochs when the light of experience was lack-

[3] A note by Mas at this point discusses the other admissible plan, "namely, to cede the country to some foreign power." But the religious, the majority of the military and civil employes, and the Filipino-Spaniards would prefer independence to transfer, and the simple announcement of such transfer would lead to almost universal insurrection. The fatal results that ensued from the former English policy of sending convicts to their colonies declares against making the Philippines a penal colony. Another plan, namely, to send out Spanish emigrants from the Peninsula, is also not feasible, for Spain has no surplus population, and in fact needs a greater population. On the matter of penal colonies, Forrest (*Voyage*, p. 198) says, "The Spaniards at Manila transport convicts to Samboangan, as England did to America." In 1875-78, there was some discussion of the question as to whether Spain should establish penal colonies (like that of Botany Bay) in the Marianas Islands or in the Gulf of Guinea.

[4] By this term, as well as by "Filipino Spaniards," as used in this document, are meant those of full Spanish blood born in the Philippines, or those who went to the Philippines in childhood.

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ing, it was believed that the most powerful means of assuring the possession of a colony was to increase the white race therein as much as possible; and, as a school for this conviction, they preferred to send thither as employes those who had the most children, especially female. The Council of Indias[5] has, up to its last gasp, given proofs of this erroneous idea. But since then it has been seen that, in fleeing from Scylla, it has fallen into Charybdis; for among this white population born in the country, there is formed a local interest opposed to that of the mother-country, which begins by creating a discontent, and ends by suggesting the desire for independence. [Although a Filipino-Spaniard calls himself a Spaniard, all his sympathies are in the Philippines, and Spain is only secondary in his thoughts. Generally the sons or grandsons of government employes, Filipino-Spaniards, receive but little education, are fond of playing the gentleman, are lazy and dissipated. Little inclined to a professional or business career, they put all their efforts on securing a government post. As it is about one-half of the posts do belong to them, but since the best posts depend upon the favor of the Madrid ministers, the Filipino-Spaniards are constantly disappointed in the promotion which they be-

[5] The Consejo Supremo de Indias, which was established, according to the best authorities, in 1511 by the great Ferdinand, was perfected by Cárlos I, and was reformed by Felipe II. It was composed of a president, a number of togated ministers, and an indefinite number of counselors by brevet, and they all received the same consideration as did members of the Consejo de Castilla. This corporation, which had had so great influence in Spanish colonial matters, was suppressed by royal decree of May 24, 1834, and in its place was erected the Tribunal Supremo de España é Indias, which was renamed Consejo de Estado in 1856. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, v, p. 827.

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lieve belongs to them by right. Consequently, there is much ill-will and complaint. Camba's pamphlet,[6] although chiefly written to prove that there was no disloyalty in the Philippines, yet noted the anger and consequent mutiny (June 2-3, 1823)[7] because of the arrival of Governor J. Antonio Martinez (October, 1822) with a large staff of Peninsular officials and sergeants; as well as the displeasure manifested in October, 1825, by the arrival of a new contingent of civil and military officers with Governor Mariano Ricafort. Still, it is not right to expect that, so long as Spain does not intend to abandon the Philippines, it should refrain from sending Peninsulars to fill the posts there or cease to exercise the appointing or removing power as it sees fit. If all the posts are reserved for the Filipino-Spaniards, it cannot be expected that the islands will remain loyal to a country so distant from them. In fact, the Filipino-Spaniards, under existing circumstances, cannot receive greater consideration than at present. The natural and necessary preference for Peninsulars in the posts of the Philippines engenders the hatred of the Filipino-Spaniards toward them; but, on the other hand, this hatred has been greatly exaggerated by the

[6] The exact title of this work is as follows: *Los diez y seis meses de mando superior de Filipinas, por el mariscal de campo D. Andres G. Camba* (Cadiz, 1839). Pardo de Tavera (*Bibl. Filipina*, p. 79) says of it: "This pamphlet is full of curious revelations and explanations relative to the command of this general, which was so filled with incidents. Retána (*Bibliografía*, p. 57) says that Camba was a democrat *sui generis*. The book is a long exposition of 101 pages, to which are appended various documents (53 pages) on which the exposition is based. The copy of this pamphlet now in the Boston Public Library was formerly in the Retana collection.

[7] See account of this mutiny in VOL. LI, pp. 47, 48.

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Peninsulars, who are intolerant and contemptuous of the colonials. This contempt, Mas illustrates by two examples, of which he was an eyewitness. Such things, together with the contemptuous nickname given them by the Peninsulars, gives rise to much ill-will on the part of the Filipino-Spaniards, who declare that all the cause of the enmity between the two classes comes from the former. The real cause, however, of the hatred, is economic, and a matter of the posts. Each of the male Filipino-Spaniards is seeking a post, but since there are only four hundred posts of all kinds in the islands, while the Filipino-Spaniards number about one thousand, the trouble must be continuous and must even become exaggerated, just so long as a remedy is not applied. Such a remedy would be for the government to refuse them any post in the army or other department of government service in the Philippines, although recognizing them as Spaniards with full rights if they come to reside in the Peninsula. Mas proceeds to elaborate his plan for decreasing the white population of the Philippines. All Spaniards going from Europe to the Philippines before the age of fifteen or sixteen must be regarded as Filipino-Spaniards. It is proposed that only single men be sent to fill posts in the islands, and that they be compelled to return to the Peninsula after twenty years, with permission to return in ten if they so please. It will be natural for these men to marry Filipino-Spanish women, who with their children will accompany their husbands to the Peninsula at the end of the twenty years. Transportation should be at national expense. On a basis of three passages for each family, the cost would be only 450 pesos. Each twenty

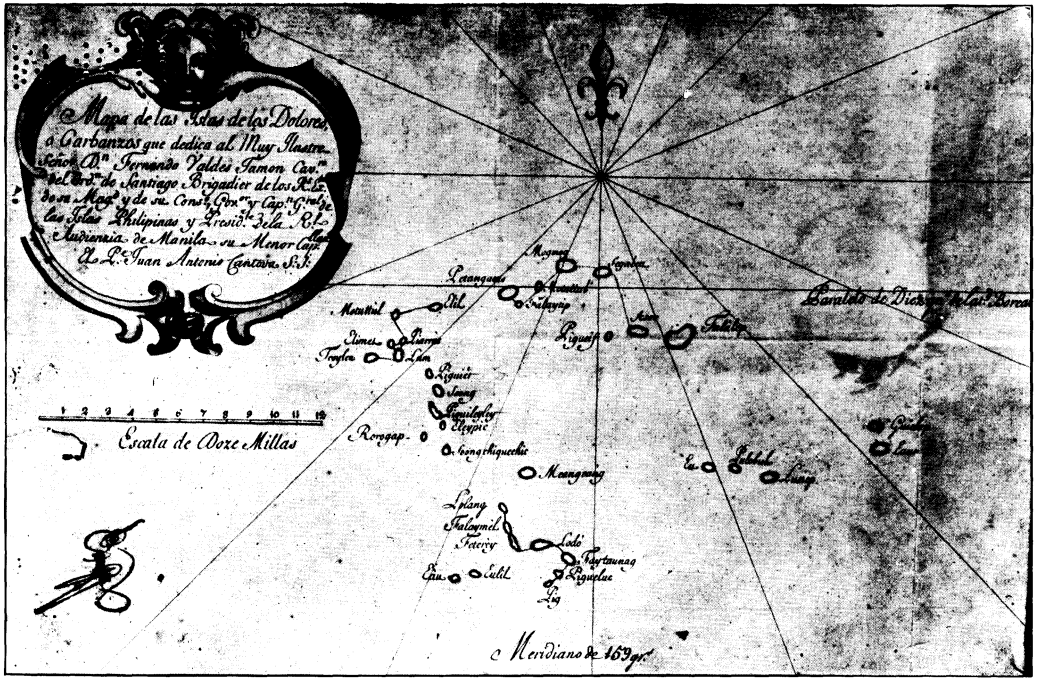
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years, there would be one thousand two hundred return passages to be paid. This would cost only 27,000 pesos annually. In return, four hundred men would have to be sent to the islands each twenty years, or with allowance for deaths and other contingencies, five hundred. At 300 pesos apiece, this would cost annually 8,750 pesos; and the total transportation expense would be only 35,750 pesos. Although transportation is not now paid by the government, the strange mismanagement is practiced of sending married men with families, thus increasing the white population. On the basis that there are three thousand five hundred young Filipino-Spaniards in the islands (both male and female), and reckoning sixty years as the average life of the individual, there would be fifty-eight and one-third individuals for each year of the sixty years, of whom one-half would be women (and hence eligible for marriage with the Peninsulars). All the males shall be taken to Spain at the end of the fifteenth or sixteenth year at national expense, and there educated at the expense of the Manila treasury in whatever profession they choose. These shall reside in the Peninsula thereafter, where they shall be given a post. Some few of the thirty or so of the males reaching the indicated age annually, will doubtless prefer to devote themselves to commerce or industry; hence at the most there will be only about twenty-five passages of young men to reckon on annually, which will be an inconsiderable expense. If this plan be carried out there will be few children to transport after sixteen years. European Spaniards, if prohibited from marrying native Filipino and mestizo women, will marry only Filipino-Spanish

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women. Hence, as they continue to retire to Spain, the white population will constantly decrease. There will not be a sufficiently large number of whites to become turbulent, and the domination of the Peninsula over the islands will be ensured. This plan can be carried out at an annual expense of about 40,000 pesos, and probably much less. This will really be a saving over present expenses, for retirement and widows' pensions cost more, the widow of an oidor receiving 18,000 reals vellon. Hence, the passive classes receive about 175,000 pesos annually. However, Mas does not advocate that those receiving pensions at present be deprived of them or sent to Spain, as this would be unjust and cause discontent. In former years the quarrels and discontent did not lead to desire for independence. The population was not so great as now; also (and especially) since an annual situado was sent from the Peninsula to pay the government employes, and the latter thus depended on the Spanish treasury, they would have gained nothing by rebelling. This is the case at present in the Marianas Islands, where the officials are paid and supported from the money and food sent there, and the few whites there, consequently, have no desire for independence.] It will also be asked, in addition, whether, in case the Philippine colony separated at present, it would be possible for the white population to become masters of the country, or would there be a tendency for them, perhaps, to amalgamate with the colored population. The observation is very just. The Filipino-Spaniards do not think of forming a body with the (Indian) natives, nor is it possible for them to desire it, for now they are the masters and in such an event they would

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Map of the Dolores or Garbanzos Islands (the Carolinas), 1731; drawn by Juan Antonio Cantova, S.J.

[*Photographic facsimile of original MS. map in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

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become equals and even inferiors, since the vast mass of the natives would quickly reduce them to nullity in the matter of government, and in place of the privileges and exemptions from paying taxes, which they at present enjoy, they would more than once have to obey and humble themselves before the very one who now mops the ground that their foot touches. In the recent occurrence of Tayabas,[8] when the first news of the insurrection arrived, I was at a gathering of several Spanish leaders, and they all believed, or at least suspected, that the whites of the country had compromised themselves in the matter. I maintained immediately, and obstinately, that they were mistaken in this, since however disloyal and intemperate one may fancy the Filipino-Spaniards, it was impossible for me to believe that it would ever enter their heads to arouse and arm the natives. In fact, the true spirit of the movement was soon known, and it was seen that the Filipino-Spaniards were as alarmed at the result (if not more so) as were the Europeans. Their hopes and plans, then, can only be based on the persuasion that the natives and Chinese mestizos will continue quiet, and pay the tribute as at present, and that they will make their patrimony from the country, and share its posts. This idea is highly absurd, no doubt. Much less loved by the natives than the Europeans, without the support of the friars (for even granting the case that those living in the country should remain, others would cease to go from the Peninsula), without capital, in a weak minority for the subjugation of more than two hundred thousand rich, active, and intelligent mestizos, and three and one-half millions of

[8] See *post*, pp. 92, 93, note 37.

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natives (who have already rebelled against the Spaniards themselves, in spite of the great prestige of the reënforcements that could be received from the other side of the seas), and compelled by force of circumstances to adopt a liberal and intelligent system with reference to these same natives, which would speedily make the latter more arrogant and exacting than at present, it is quite easy to see that the government of Filipinas, would within a very few years, fall into the hands of the Indian Filipinos, or, perhaps, into those of the Chinese mestizos, or of the two races mixed, and that the whites would become submissive to the people of color – if they were not despoiled of all their property, as having been usurped and without valid title, just as happened to the Turkish families who had acquired possession in that land during the long rule of the Turks in Greece, in which, since the insurrection, not a single Mussulman has remained. It is clear, therefore, that this Spanish population, long established in the country, is the one that has most to lose. In case of an outbreak, the Europeans would return to España, where they would continue their professions and would find their kin. The Filipino-Spaniards, however, would have to change utterly, for they would lose everything, and would have to seek another country. These are obvious and important truths, and nevertheless, can we tax the individuals in question with being blind or stupid, when we see repeatedly in the history of popular revolts that a Bailly, a Danton, in fine, that the most clever and eminent men persuade themselves that they are able to stop a revolution at the line which they trace, and do not suspect that they are going to be the victims of the masses who rise?

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For the white population that remains in the country, and for all who are living there at present, agriculture offers an abundant resource. Very fatal is the deep-rooted idea that Spaniards cannot prosper in it. [Mas cites several instances to prove that Spaniards can succeed in agriculture in the Philippines. He also cites the instances of the Ansaldos family as told by father Agustin de Santa Maria, who acquired great wealth from agriculture, and who moved to the Peninsula during the English invasion.] Reflection: Just as the two Ansaldos brothers, leaving the life of trade, which the Spaniards in the Indias generally follow, applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil through their own efforts, lived many years, and succeeded in amassing a fixed and permanent capital, why could not the same be done by so many idle spongers who go about Manila with their white faces begging, deceiving, terrifying, exciting, and confounding all the inhabitants?

The present superintendent of the islands, Don Juan M. de la Matta,[9] whose opinion I greatly respect, because I truly believe that he is one of the few Spaniards who know the country, and that he has the capacity, honor, patriotism, and energy to do something good and solid there, wrote me in a letter now before me: "It is necessary for the Spanish population to stick to agriculture, the only source capable of providing abundantly for their necessities, for which the profit from any other employ in the different careers of the state is indeed very insufficient. I have already called the attention of the ministry of the treasury to this particular, showing

[9] See *post*, pp. 91-111, the report by Matta.

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that a wretched generation, and consequently, one dissolute and turbulent, is increasing daily, and that the government must prevent in time the fatal consequences, by inviting them to turn their attention to agriculture.[10] In fact, there are rich and extensive lands which have been abandoned, which ought to invite the attention of a Filipino-Spaniard more than the posts, for with an estate not only can he live in ease and independently, but he can also establish a rich patrimony for his descendants. Lands that now are worth little, or even nothing, will in time have a greater or less price by reason of the population of the territory and the perfection to which its cultivation is carried. There is today in the charity hospital of Sidney an aged woman, whose husband owned a bit of land, which he sold thirty years back for three pounds sterling, and at this moment it is worth one-half million pesos fuertes. And this, only because of the rapid increase in population! In Filipinas itself, any one can be convinced of this manifest fact, which is a trivial truth among economists. In Laguna and other provinces, there are most fertile fields, abandoned and at the disposal of the one who will take them; and in Bulacan and Tondo, whose soil is very inferior, all have owners and a value. In the environs of Malolos and Manila, land costs one thou-

[10] In a long note at this point, Mas severely criticises Camba's book, which he has already mentioned. He declares it lacking in knowledge of the Philippines, and says that it was written to prove that the Philippines are thoroughly loyal in every respect. Mas's own experience pointed to the existence of an independence party among the Spaniards of the colony. Mas condemns Camba's policy of giving posts to the natives; as well as Camba's assertions of the immunity of the governor from removal at the will of the monarch. Camba is accused of a change of sentiment from that which he had during his first years of residence in the country.

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sand pesos fuertes per quiñon. One hundred years ago, this same quiñon could be bought for fifty."

[The difficulty in attracting the whites to an agricultural life lies in the labor question. Mas does not consider advisable the system of the Dutch in Java,[11] and prescribed by certain laws of the Indies, of compelling the natives to work in estates at the established wage scale, "as the natives have been accustomed for three centuries to be humored and allowed freely to work or live in idleness according to their fancy." He proposes that the heavy tribute of the Chinese who cultivate the lands of the Spaniards be reduced to the small amount paid by the Chinese mestizos; also that negritos, Igorots, and captured Moro pirates be made to cultivate the fields for the Spaniards. He also recommends the plan of indenturing the condemned criminals out to the cultivators, as England did with its criminals, who were sent to America in former periods. This system Mas does not consider as unjust or inhumane, but quite the contrary, for the farmers, since their pocket book is touched, will be more considerate than the prison officials. He recommends the awarding of prizes for the cultivation of cacao and coffee; and "finally, the authorization of individual contracts, by means of which Filipinos may bind themselves to work on

[11] Mas refers to the culture system practiced by the Dutch in the island of Java, 1830-1870. Clive Day (*Policy and administration of the Dutch in Java*, New York and London, 1904) compares it to the system of forced cultures established by Spain in the Philippines in 1780. In addition to the above book, see the following for the history of Dutch colonization in Java: J. W. B. Money's *Java, or how to govern a colony* (London, 1861); P. J. Veth's *Java* (Haarlem, 1896–); Jules Leclercq's *Un sejour dans l'île de Java* (Paris, 1898); Wilhelm Krüger's *Das Zuckerrohr und seine Kultur* (Magdeburg und Wien, 1899); and Pierre Gonnaud's *La Colonisation hollandaise à Java* (Paris, 1905).

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the estate of a Spaniard for a certain number of years, as is done in the military service, such Spaniards then remaining subject until the termination of the contract. These persons, during said time, shall be exempt from service in the army, and exemption from polos and personal service may even be conceded to some (for instance, to one for each quiñon of land)."]

2d. People of color must voluntarily respect and obey the whites. In order to attain this object, it is necessary to maintain the former race in an intellectual and moral condition which will make of their numerical majority a political force less than that which resides in the second, just as a pile of straw in the balance weighs less than a gold nugget. The farmer or the goatherd does not read social contracts, or know more than what takes place in his own village. This is not the class of people who have overthrown absolutism in España, but that class who are educated in the colleges, and who know the price of guarantees, and fight for them. We must not depart from this point of view, if we are to discuss the matter sincerely. The making of liberals must be necessarily avoided, for in a colony the words liberal and insurgent are synonymous. The consequence of this idea will be to admit the principle that each step forward is a treading backward. It is necessary to circumscribe the education to primary schools where reading, writing, and arithmetic will be taught, continuing as at present with one school in each village, and leaving their direction to the curas. The colleges for males now existing in Manila must be closed.[12] In English India, whose educational insti-

[12] A note at this point by Mas mentions a recent pamphlet by

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tutions and free government are of so much weight with some, there is nothing similar to this, and an Englishman who wishes to become a lawyer, a notary, a physician, or a military or civil official, has to go to England for study and graduation – I say Englishman, for the natives do not even enter into the question.

In the service of arms, they must not rise beyond privates or at the most corporals. It is much better to make a sergeant or officer from a Spanish farmer, even though he cannot read and write, than from the more capable native. On the contrary, the more dexterous and deserving is the latter, so much greater will be the mistake committed. Here the one who plays for gain loses. It is less dangerous and more tolerable to bestow the rank of officer on a very stupid, vicious, and cowardly fellow.

It is necessary to provide that a Spanish cura be placed in each village, and it is preferable to leave a village without a minister rather than to place it in charge of a Filipino secular priest. Between Filipinas and España there is no other bond of union than the Christian religion. This bond is very powerful, and may induce the islanders to love and to defend the Spanish domination as a duty. In no place better than in España is it known of what the religious influence on the masses is capable, even in violation of their most direct interests. To imagine that the natives will become fond of our government because they judge it good or the best possible, I

a Cuban who advocates complete autonomy for the colonies, and freedom of the press. This author says that long before the French revolution free negroes and mulattoes were being educated in Paris; but Mas says people of that class in Cuba do not travel in foreign countries or receive an education in European colleges.

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believe a vain project. Their ignorance regarding the condition of other peoples does not permit of their entering into such comparisons; and those who might be capable of doing it, will discuss political matters; and, however excellent such men consider our domination, they would always think that it would be more advantageous for them to withdraw from the yoke and seize the scepter in their own hands, and pass by this method from their humble condition of vassals and subjugated to that of masters and mandarins. Therefore, just as the community is sustained by virtue and the monarchy by fidelity, this colony, in my opinion, must be maintained by religion. Starting from this beginning, nothing can become so direct an agent for promoting emancipation, as the ordaining of priests among the natives.[13] Some persons observe that they are unfit and vicious, and consequently, do not infuse respect, exercise influence, or cause fear. More, if a Filipino secular priest lives in a state of intoxication, and even commits, as has indeed happened, atrocious crimes which lead him to the scaffold, he does not for this cease to be a priest; and thus he degrades the class to which he belongs, and undermines the prestige of

[13] Mas cites a passage from Captain Gabriel Lafond's *Quinze ans de voyages autour du monde* (1840) to the effect that the Philippine conquest was one of religion. The power of the friars grows because they are permanent in the colony. Their influence over the natives is all powerful, and they regard foreigners and even other Spaniards with suspicion. The friars asserted that the natives to be happy had no need of European civilization; yet they prevented progress by not allowing the entrance of industry. Spain did not suppress the orders in the Philippines, fearing lest it lead to independence. The native priests are those most hostile to the friars. They are almost without education and often dissolute; and are sure to be the first authors of a revolution. Natives should be excluded from the priesthood.

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sanctity surrounding the character of a religious man. And this idea, namely, that because they are Filipinos, they cannot have any influence, has been destroyed by merely the recent insurrection in Tayabas, where a lay-brother, a young fellow, without any personal or antecedent quality that could make him respected, was able, by means of a religious matter – without the printed copies of the admonition of the archbishop of Manila, or the Spanish friars of the neighboring territory, being able to prevent it – to cause a settlement to mutiny and to arm a crowd of three or four thousand men, even to the point of firing upon their own pastors, who only saved themselves by means of flight; to kill the governor of the province; and attack the national troops. And so that my opinion in regard to this matter is, and has been, that of many others who studied the country, I shall copy a few extracts illustrative of the matter.[14]

[14] The insurrection which occurred recently in Tayabas is a patent proof of these truths. The cura of the village where the confraternity of San José was established, advised the alcalde of the province in time of the suspicions with which it infused him. And since the alcalde-mayor refused to consider the matter, he wrote him: "You will be the first victim," as in truth he was. The cura of the next village also took great interest in it, and so many letters were written to the archbishop of Manila from various places, that the latter sent an official communication to the captain-general. Orders were then issued for the arrest of Apolinario de Santa Cruz, but he fled. The brothers [of the confraternity] held their meetings in the village of Mahahay. The cura informed the archbishop thereof, telling him that, notwithstanding all that he had done, he had been unable to dissuade them from this undertaking. The archbishop sent this advice to the government. To the curas, then, was due the discovery of that crafty conspiracy; and it is almost beyond the pale of doubt that if there had been no others than Filipino parish priests in the villages (as has been once ordered by the government), there would not have been the slightest suspicion of it, until it had been so firmly and generally organized that our ruin would have been the work of a week. (Note by Mas.)

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[Mas's first extract is from a communication to the king from Governor Aguilar, dated November 25, 1804. In this letter, Aguilar characterizes the native secular priests as lazy and dissolute. He cites a recent example of a village, evidently previously in charge of the native seculars, where a Recollect priest has been placed in charge, and where in consequence the church has been completed and order preserved. Although there are some good native priests, they do not infuse the respect that the regulars do, for the latter are never intimate with their parishioners, while the native priests, on the other hand, live on an intimate footing with them, and enter into every detail of their lives. Consequently, the regulars can manage the natives better than the native secular priests. Again the religious have no ties, and hence their only care is their church and their duty. The native seculars are burdened with relatives, who even live in the curacies with them, and hence, they neglect their churches which soon fall into ruin. It would be bad indeed for the islands if the bishops were to transfer the curacies to the native seculars. That might be done when there are Spanish secular priests who possess the right qualities, but to transfer them to the natives would be committing a great wrong. If all the villages in charge of native secular priests had friar curas, they would be in a much better condition. In Negros, which is in charge of the native seculars, nothing is done, a ruinous condition prevails, and the villages are greatly depopulated. If the matter were left to him, he would not allow a single native secular priest to have charge of a village. They might profitably be used as assistants to the regulars.]

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[The second letter is one from the Manila Ayuntamiento, dated July 12, 1804. This letter is highly laudatory of the friars, who spare no pains to fulfil their duties. The native secular priests however, are only in few instances found efficient, and are in general only fit to act as assistants to the friar curas. The Filipinos with their weak intellects, seem unfitted for the office of priest, by reason of their lack of constancy. They have not the education requisite for the office of priest, for the conciliar seminaries are little more than a name in which a few native secular priests, themselves without sufficient education, attempt to teach. The regulars subjected to the royal patronage would be much better than any native seculars. After Mindoro was transferred from the Recollects to the native seculars, the missions quickly declined, churches were ruined, Moro raids increased, and the tribute of the villages fell off. In consequence, the government now wishes to replace the native clergy by the Recollects. The regulars also further the temporal affairs, and have done notable things in agriculture. The Ayuntamiento hopes that the complaints against the regulars will be disregarded, "for although there are some defects which they may have, they are always useful to religion and the state."]

[The third citation is from San Agustin's famous letter on the character of the natives.[15]]

Taking the Christian religion as the foundation

[15] Either Mas has simply indicated the letter in his heading, or the person who transcribed the copy from which we translate failed to copy the extract in question. It will be remembered that Mas published most of the letter in his vol. i, in the chapter on population. The reference is evidently to sections 95-100 (*q.v.*, VOL. XL, pp. 270-277).

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upon which our domination is sustained, it is evident that everything that contributes to destroy the religious spirit, destroys and undermines this foundation. Under this idea nothing can have more direct harm than the degradation and corruption of the minister of divine worship, and experience has demonstrated this truth. For just as the first sectarians of Jesus Christ extended his religion rapidly by means of the enthusiasm which took possession of their minds, and by means of the martyrdoms which they suffered, so also, in all places where the priests have given themselves to effeminacy, to feasting, to ambition, and to vices, the belief of the peoples has diminished from that moment, and they have ended by falling into religious indifference. The government ought, then, to consider the clergy as a power; and just as great care is taken not to introduce insubordination and demoralization into an army, so also the government ought to watch over the conduct of the curas. Let them have all the influence possible over the village, but let them always be Spanish Europeans, and allow them to feel no other interest than España. This is the vital question. If the matter be considered under this point of view, one cannot exaggerate the harm that a goodly portion of the friars are doing, and the moral force that our government is losing because of the manner in which they are living. The most general weakness is that of concubinage. Many keep a mistress (who is there called a stewardess [*despensera*]), inside or outside the convent. The convent in Filipinas has no cloister, as it is a parochial house. And this fault, if one considers the climate of the country, the circumstances, and the ideas of the natives, is, to say truth, the most excusable and the least harmful.

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The most pernicious and transcendental fault into which many curas have fallen especially for some time back – a fault ten times more harmful than the one to which we have referred – is that of avarice, fed by the practice of trading. It is well known that the mode of trading in that country usually consists in usury, that is, in advancing money in order later to receive products in kind at a very low price. And even leaving aside this aspect of the matter, it happens, as is natural, that the minister, as soon as he has become a speculator, contrives to get some profit from his position, and from the influence which his ministry and the policy indispensable in that country give him, and thinks little or nothing of the means so long as they conduce to the increase of his capital. Sometimes this vice is united with the first, and the stewardess or her husband – who is generally one of the servants of the convent, whom the friar has married to her, in order to save appearances – is charged with the gathering, magazines, shops, sales, etc. But it must be confessed that the government has had a great part in this corruption, by protecting the religious against their superiors. Two left during the term of General Lardizabal, taking a large amount with them. When the Augustinian provincial, Father Grijalvo, went with his secretary, Father Fausto Lopez, to see him [*i.e.*, Lardizabal] about one of them (Father Jarava)[16] who wished to go away with his money, and said provincial asserted to him that

[16] Manuel Grijalbo (*sic*), O.S.A., went to the Philippines in 1810, and after acting as cura and holding the highest positions in the province, was appointed bishop of Nueva Cáceres, being consecrated Jan. 28, 1849. He died at the episcopal palace, Nov. 13, 1861.

Fausto Lopez, O.S.A., was born in 1811, took his vows at Valladolid in 1828, and went to the Philippines in 1829. He was lo-

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this was a very bad example, as there were many who would devote their energies to making money, and then leave, although religious are so necessary in these islands, the said general answered him: "Do not believe it. You are not so necessary. You are deceived in this. The English government in India has no friars, and yet that country is sustained and prospers." Nevertheless, in Singapor, he [*i.e.*, Father Jarava] boasted in conversation with the good Bishop Courvery (as the latter mentioned to me) of the gold which he carried; and told him of the presents which he had had to bestow in Manila in order to obtain his passport, especially to the assessor of the government. The most illustrious bishop wrote that to that capital, and on learning it, the guileless general Lardizabal was angry enough to tear his hair, as was mentioned by the secretary of the government, Cambronero.[17] In 1840 they went to inform the alcalde-mayor of a province that all those who went away with indigo, unless provided with a pass by the cura, were detained in the *bantayan* (a kind of sentry-box) of a village in his jurisdiction.

cated in Cebú until 1837, when he became provincial secretary. Afterwards he held several offices and acted as cura until his death at Manila, April 17, 1866.

Manuel Jarava, O.S.A., was born at Zaragoza in 1804 and professed at Valladolid in 1827. He was in the Philippines from 1829 to 1834, returning in the latter year to Spain. The date of his death is unknown.

See Pérez's *Catálogo*.

[17] Manuel María Cambronero was a Spanish jurisconsult. He was born in Orihuela in 1765 and died in 1834. During the French invasion, he acted as secretary of the Council of State, on account of which he was compelled to leave the country when the French left. He later returned to Madrid, where he opened a buffet, which was the most celebrated one of his time. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, iv, p. 330.

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The alcalde ordered the matter to be investigated, and found it to be so; and some passes were brought to him, which stated little more or less than "permit So-and-so to pass with so many quintals of indigo." The reason for this was that the cura had advanced money to them, and feared that if they carried away the indigo and sold it, it would afterward be impossible to collect the money. The alcalde ordered a verbal process to be formulated, in which two friars and two secular priests made their depositions in the most effective terms against the cura in question. [The alcalde-mayor wrote to the vicar of the province, who answered him under date of Batac, July 25, 1840, to the effect that the freedom given by the government to the friars, who had been relieved of obedience to their prelates, accounted for this. The government and the ideas of the present time were to blame, consequently, not the friar prelates. The friar of whom the alcalde-mayor and the vicar wrote boasted that when he was attacked on the one side he took refuge in the jurisdiction of the other. Although he boasted that he intended to take his 40,000 pesos and enjoy life with a female companion, yet he obtained governmental permission to remain in his curacy.] The curas generally suffer from another defect, namely, that of meddling in temporal matters, or rather, of endeavoring to abrogate all jurisdictions, and then assume these in themselves. It is evident that there must be a limit to everything, and that those friars who display an insolent spirit and are usurpers of command must restrain themselves within limits. But this evil is one of the least, if our chief and vital object be considered to be the conservation of the state. Is it or not a fact that,

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for España to maintain this colony under its dominion, it needs the influence of the religious over the inhabitants? If it is a fact, one must consider these persons as instruments; their influence must be positive; the alcaldes and other employes must be wheels of the machine, who must be in communication with them, and to a certain point move at their impulse. So long as the villages obey the voice of the friars, the islands will be Spanish, for the friars can do no less than be so. Emancipation would inevitably cause their ruin. This will appear hard and unendurable to many who are not friends of theoretic intervention, especially among the present military and civil officers of Filipinas; but I understand it in this way, and do not see by what other agency a handful of Spaniards can, at six thousand leguas' distance, and without Spanish troops, keep obedient a vast and wealthy country, which has need of us for nothing, in which there are not a few elements of independence, and which is coveted by many foreign nations.

And if all this is a fact, we can do no less than lament the unjustifiable imprudence of having printed in the ordinances of good government now in force, which were printed and distributed throughout the whole country, the following:

[Here follow ordinances 17, 18, 24, 30, 31, 85, 87, 89, 91 and 92 (some only in part), for a synopsis of which see VOL. L, pp. 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, and 256-261. Mas continues:]

In no part did the animosity with which these ordinances were written appear so much as in these last two articles, for they treat of the construction of convents, churches, and royal houses; and since none

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of these edifices can be erected without the instructions of a special measure and by authorization, it follows that the government is dictating provisions to itself, and consequently, it was quite useless to insert them in a public law; and although it was intended that they should contain the expression of the royal will, the latter would always have been sufficient provided that action were taken in the proper bureau. Moreover, what ordinance 91 says about the possibility of the sumptuous convents being used as a shelter by the enemy, as was experienced in the war with the English, seems to me to be lacking in common sense. For if they are susceptible of being used as fortresses, they will be an advantage to those possessing them, who may, if they wish, burn them when they have to abandon them. In the same category are all the strongholds. For example, in the war with the English above mentioned, the latter captured Manila, and immediately made use of the forts to protect themselves from Anda's troops. Consequently, according to the argument, the fortifications of Manila ought to be demolished. If the enemy defend themselves in the convents, it will be because they have to flee from us, and then we can desire nothing better than that they shut themselves up, so that we may surround them and take them prisoners. If the Spaniards are in such a condition that they look upon the convent as a refuge, they can, since they are in their own country, get aid at any moment. A large and beautiful church, in the midst of a village of bamboo or board houses, contributes not a little to inspire a lofty idea of what is within it. All the sumptuous edifices of the ancients were temples.

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The utility of protecting the religious spirit having been admitted, the Spaniards of the province, who in general give a contrary example, by not fulfilling their church duties, do great harm. This is so much more harmful, as they are in the sight of the entire village, which knows quite well the actions of their most private life. Finding myself on the day of Corpus Christi at a place where a large procession and Church function were being made, not a single Spaniard of the several who were there, went to mass, including the governor of the province. For an alcalde not to go to mass, becomes so much the more scandalous, as it is the custom for the gobernadorcillo with all the community and past captains to go to get him at the royal house in order to accompany him as a matter of ceremony to the church.

It happens on account of this that it is enough for them to give notice of a Spaniard to the cura so that the latter may have the cura told that he is not at home – a thing which contributes to destroy the prestige of our name and dominion. Surely, this, joined with other motives, has contributed to diminish the spirit of devotion, especially for the last fifteen or twenty years. This decrease is not imaginary. I have assured myself of it through several channels, among others, through a house that formerly traded in books of religion and prints. From this I deduce that our foundations are becoming weaker, and if they are not strengthened, it may be delayed more or less, but the edifice will fall. I opine then, that if the colony is to be conserved, it is absolutely necessary to take positive measures to check the exterior manifestations of irreligion; to cause the priests to appear under the most possible venerable point of

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view; and to endeavor to have their influence over the masses powerful. One of the acts to which the curas now see themselves obliged, and which robs them of great prestige, is the collection of the parochial fees at marriages and burials. A person who has lost a child or a parent by death, has in addition to the grief for his loss, the expense which it occasions. He goes to the cura weeping, and tells him that he has no money. The cura, nevertheless, must show himself inexorable; finally the native hands the cura a portion of the sum; the parish priest bids him go get the part lacking; he returns with another portion; and after seeing that the pretense of his poverty avails him nothing, he pays the whole fee. There are some who come with the money divided into the four corners of their handkerchiefs, and unwrap them one after the other, trying each time to avoid the payment. The same thing happens in marriages; and there are many who live in concubinage, waiting until the cura marries them free of charge. These scenes are very unpleasant to the religious, and yet, they can do no less than show themselves hard, for if they did otherwise they would be unable to collect any of the fees which belong to them and form the greater part of their income. And the worst of all is, that this money which the cura would lose, would probably not be used in reproductive investments, but would be spent in feasting and the cockpit. It would be, then, much more advisable, and very much to the taste of the religious, to have a general tax imposed, and collected by the alcalde, as now happens with the *sanctorum*.[18] One-half real

[18] A tribute paid to the church by all Filipinos from the age of sixteen.

"Since 1852 the tribute amounts to 12 reals, and in some dis-

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annually for each soul would be sufficient and would compensate, as some of them have assured me, for the present sum of the parochial fees. The display in the ceremony of marriage and burial ought to be suitable and designated by rules. Those who desired

tricts special rates are fixed. Not until 1841 was the payment of the tribute in cash made universal. There are, besides, three other taxes; the *sanctorum*, 3 reals; the *comunidad*, 1 real; and the *recargo*, ½ real. The total of imposts, then, is 16½ reals; or for each single person one dollar and ¼ real. The *sanctorum* is for [the expenses of] worship; but it is paid to the government, which pays the minister at the rate of 180 dollars for 500 tributes. The *comunidad* is a charge for the communal fund. The *recargo* is a charge introduced since the suppression of the brandy monopoly, to cover the deficit resulting therefrom. In Mindanao and the Bisayas no additional charge is collected. According to Agius (*Memoria*, doc. 5) each single tribute-payer now contributes 6.25 reals, plus 0.55 reals of *recargo*, in all 6.8 reals, not considering the *sanctorum* and *comunidad*. The inhabitants of Abra, Ilocos, and Union pay, besides, 1½ to 2¼ reals for the permission to buy their tobacco outside the monopoly dealers." "Mestizos by a Chinese man and an Indian woman pay a tribute of $3.00 a year since 1852; earlier, it was less. The Indian woman married to a mestizo of this class pays the same tribute as he during their marriage; but when she becomes a widow she pays only as an Indian woman. Mestizos who, like the natives, cultivate the soil with their own hands, also pay only as the latter do. The mestizos form their own barangays when there are 25 to 30 tributes of them living together; otherwise they belong to the nearest barangay of natives. Every Chinaman – excepting tillers of the soil, from whom only 12 reals are collected – pays since 1852 a [capitation] head-tax of $6.00, and, besides this, an industrial tax of $100, $60, $30, or $12."

"A law issued Nov. 3, 1863 (*Legis. ultramar* [compiled by Rodriguez S. Pedro, pub. at Madrid, 1865] iii), actually decided that every male inhabitant of the Philippines – European or native, Spanish or foreign – must render personal service for twenty-four days in the year, or else procure release from it by a money payment. But this law was not put into execution, and Europeans are free from all imposts. Mestizos by Spaniards and Indian women are similarly exempt, save that they pay 7 reals for the sanctorum, and ½ real as a tithe for the government; little care, however, is taken for exactness in the enumeration of the mestizos, especially of their women." (Jagor, *Reisen*, pp. 293-295.)

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any music or some extraordinary mourning decorations could pay something extra. In that way, the parishioners would experience nothing more from their parish priests than agreeable things – counsel, protection, and alms.

Since it is very important that the religious, as guides of public opinion, have essentially Spanish hearts, it is absolutely necessary for all these men to be born, to have been educated and ordained in España. From this is deduced the need of protecting the colleges existing at present, and where friars are made who take a vow for Filipinas.[19]

Their pride must be entirely broken, and they must in all places and on all occasions consider the Spaniard as their master, and not their equal. Our laws of Indias, dictated in the most beneficent, but not always in the most wise, spirit, not only concede them all the rights of Spaniards, but seem in several points to prefer them to the Spaniards, especially in the possession of lands. These benevolent regulations, often executed with exaggeration by the auditors of the Audiencia, the protector of the Indians, and the governors-general who come from España, overflowing with ideas of philanthropy and humanity, and without knowing the natives otherwise than by their humble hypocritical exterior with influential persons, have raised their pretensions to an alarming degree.

[The natives have committed many acts of violence and contempt. A Recollect cura was beheaded in Talibong, Cebú; the provincial governor of Negros was assassinated in 1833, and another Spaniard

[19] The Colegio de Agustinos, or Colegio de Filipinas, at Valladolid, would probably come under this category.

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severely wounded; the alcalde-mayor of Capis was attacked in 1836, but saved himself by his presence of mind; the house of the alcalde-mayor of Antique was burned and he barely escaped the flames; another alcalde-mayor was taken prisoner to Manila in an iron cage; the cura and government employes were ridiculed in pantomimic dances in Capan in 1841; a comedy was to have been enacted at the feast-day celebrations at Santa Cruz, Laguna, in 1840, in which the alcalde-mayor and his court were to be held up to ridicule, but it was avoided by the arrest of the actors. It has happened sometimes that the gobernadorcillo remains seated in the presence of a Spaniard with whom he has contests in the ayuntamiento. The members of the village ayuntamientos are not accustomed to rise when a Spaniard enters the town hall, and even laugh at them; and should the Spaniard grow angry and strike any of them, complaint is forthwith made to the governor, who punishes the Spaniard. An artillery captain and an advocate were stoned without cause in a Laguna village. A Spaniard, angered by the insolent answer of a native, struck him, whereupon the native threatened his life. In Manila, the natives are insolent. They do not yield the sidewalk to Spaniards; coachmen and porters do not rise in the presence of Spaniards; Filipino women do not yield to Spanish women either in the stores or the church. Since the new governor, Oraá, has ordered a verbal process against a commandant for punishing a servant, they have become more insolent than ever. Other acts of insolence are noted. These things are not heard of by the governor, or they lay no stress upon them as they do not recognize their political importance.

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"Before the justice, the Spaniards and the Filipinos are equal." The latter, however, get better treatment from the governors, who have even punished provincial governors severely, while they have treated the natives with clemency. The prestige of the Spanish name must be preserved. "He who merits it must without doubt be punished, not only for the crime which he commits against humanity and justice, but also because it obscures the luster of the Spanish character, from which righteousness, benevolence, and liberality ought always shine forth. But it is advisable that this be among Spaniards, and that no account or satisfaction of it be given to the natives. Place them in the way of rights, and they will not pay until driving us from their soil." It is wrong to treat the native with less severity than the Spaniard. Mas asserts that in all the countries in which he has traveled, he has had to exercise patience to no greater degree than in the Philippines. The insolence and disrespect which he has witnessed do not allow him to see safety and security for the Spaniards. "It seems to me that the islands were more secure in the times when a native got down on his knees when a Spaniard passed." Mas advises that Spaniards alone be allowed to wear the neckerchief, and that natives and mestizos be distinguished by the loose shirt and straw hat which they have chosen themselves. Principales only should be permitted to wear jackets. The religious have destroyed distinction in rank among the natives in great measure, but while this is generous and democratic, "the destruction of rank also destroys the principle of ambition, the stimulus for economy and work."] The places of cabezas de barangay must not be

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hereditary, but these posts ought to be filled by the most wealthy. Among these people aristocracy of money has great influence, but not that of family. In the colony, there must be no noble blood except the Spanish. When the Filipino or mestizo meets a Spaniard, the former shall be obliged to stop (except at Manila) to salute him. If seated, he shall rise when the Spaniard addresses him or passes in front of him. He who raises his hand against a Spaniard, although it be to defend his own life, shall incur the penalty of laboring on the public works all his life. If the offense is verbal, the punishment shall be decreased in proportion to the case. A Spaniard shall not give a seat in his house to a Filipino or mestizo, much less sit at table with him. He who falls into this fault of decorum, shall be punished the first two times by a fine, and the third time he shall be exiled from the colony. No Spaniard, under any consideration, shall be allowed to contract marriage with any Filipino or mestizo woman. The Filipinos or mestizos who desire to use a carriage or a saddle horse, shall have to obtain a permit for which an annual tax shall be charged, so that those who sustain this luxury may be very few. [Mas condemns the custom of giving the title "Don" to gobernadorcillos and principales. Even almost naked Tinguianes and Igorots are found with that title – which is ridiculous. Let the Filipinos use their own native equivalents for "Don" and "Doña." Also the natives should not be allowed to present petitions which are disrespectful because of their ignorance of the language, such as for instance calling the governor a robber.]

Government employes should be well paid, for in

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a country where appearances count for so much as in the Philippines, it is not well to live in a miserly manner. There are no Spanish grandees in the colony, and but few of the merchants can afford to live luxuriously. Mere living expenses are cheaper than in Spain, and one could if he desired save more, but if the natives live better than the ruling class, there will be a loss of prestige. Better salaries are paid in the Philippines than in Spain, but this is necessary. The governor, for instance, must really give some idea of the royal master whom he is serving, and this can be done through a certain amount of display. Each official ought to spend at least two-thirds of his pay.

No Spaniard ought to be allowed to go to the provinces who is not of well-known good behavior, and who does not leave in Manila a bondsman for the debts which he may contract. Passports are at times given to poor Spaniards, soldiers, or licensed corporals, for example, who go through the villages of the interior defrauding, guzzling, entering the houses of the town in an unbecoming manner, asking perhaps, food or baggage without paying for them, and finally obliging the natives to arrest them. The pernicious consequences of these examples are incalculable.

[In case that the employes of the treasury are decreased in number, and collections are made by contractors, only natives and Chinese mestizos should be accepted as such, on account of the odium incurred. The latter class will probably take the contract, which will result in good as it will tend to develop race hatred between them and the Filipinos.]

Those races are the ones who make up the popula-

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tion. The one excels and is strong through its number, and the other through its intelligence, activity, and wealth. The ability of the government will consist in keeping them always separated, and at swords' points, in order that they may never form a common mass or public spirit, but that, on the contrary, the one may serve as an instrument to subject the other. Filipinos would rather associate with mestizos than with Spaniards, for although the first tyrannize over them, and draw them under the yoke so far as possible, they invite them to dine, and treat them so that they all appear united. The Spaniards, for the most part, always talk to them with an air of superiority, and keep them at a certain distance – a thing which naturally disgusts the Filipino.

[The Filipinos do not, however, like the Chinese any better, but on the contrary, respect the Spaniards more as coming from a higher race. They regard the mestizos as a bastard race and beneath themselves. There are many lawsuits between the two classes for preference in rank. In villages where there are both mestizos and natives, each class has its own gobernadorcillo, although that of the latter has now been declared superior in rank, and in case of the death or absence of the alcalde-mayor, takes his place. They are jealous of these privileges, and in case of immediate separation, the mestizos would not become the dominant force in the country. This rivalry is useful for Spanish interests and must be preserved. The Chinese mestizos will within a century have grown to at least one million by natural increase and immigration from China; and will possess the greater part of the wealth of the islands. They are the proprietors, merchants, and educated

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people of the country, and will dominate public opinion. This class has no sympathy for Spain and will be difficult to subdue. Therefore, the moral force of the natives must be preserved, and the rivalry between the two classes fomented, so that the natives may not become the vassals of the mestizos. Mas proposes a land tax on the mestizos and a distinctive dress. Theaters for both natives and mestizos, where they can rival and ridicule each other will be helpful. Arts and the prosperity of the country must be stimulated, for if the natives are left to their natural incapacity and sloth, they will be in the power of the Chinese mestizos within a century.]

[A Spanish force of at least one thousand or five hundred men is needed. If the native soldiers mutiny, nothing can restore discipline unless there is a Spanish force. Some of the governors have opposed even Spanish corporals and sergeants. The country seems quiet but a terrible mutiny and revolt may occur any day. There were only Spanish soldiers in the old days, and respect was more manifest. Native regiments are of modern date. The disreputable regiment of Asia made up largely of criminals has caused the Spanish soldiers to lose prestige among the natives. And besides they have been wretchedly treated. It would be well to have soldiers from Borneo or other islands outside the archipelago. If the British do not object, men might even be enlisted cheaply in India. This would relieve the natives from service, from which they would gladly be free; and the country would be more secure, and more prosperous.]

[The principales should be allowed to hold meet-

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ings only in the presence of the cura. It is well known that they plot against the alcalde-mayor and the cura at times when they assemble for any common matter.]

The Spanish language ought not to be taught them, but they ought to learn to read and write in their own. It is impossible to avoid the introduction of papers and books into the provinces which it is unadvisable for them to read, and experience demonstrates that those who know our language, are almost always the restless ones of the villages and those who murmur at, censure, and act contrary to the curas and alcaldes.

[It is folly to teach the natives how to make artillery and firearms. Factories for the manufacture of these are now being finished in the islands. It would be better to send everything of this nature from Spain. Another imprudence is the manufacture of powder. Besides its inferiority to Spanish powder, and the danger of allowing the natives to learn to make it, it costs more than that sent from Spain. Although after the delivery of twelve thousand quintals, the factory and its effects are to become national property, the works which are now not worth more than ten thousand pesos, will be worthless.]

[Mas recommends the use of steam vessels for inter-island communication, for the rapid moving of troops, and the better protection of Spanish interests. They can also be used against the Moros[20] with better effect than the small squadron of sailing vessels now employed, and will be more economical. Coal

[20] The use of steam vessels against the Moros was introduced in 1847, and proved an immediate benefit.

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and wood abound in the islands and can be used as fuel.]

The publication of a newspaper shall be permitted under the supervision of the government. In them shall be inserted descriptions of the best methods of making sugar, indigo, etc., dyeing thread, tempering iron, and in fact everything that may conduce to the instruction of agriculture and manufacture; the edicts and orders of the government; and political news, both peninsular and foreign, edited in the manner that is found advisable. [All the village ayuntamientos shall be compelled to subscribe to such a paper, and the cura shall be asked to translate into the native vernacular all useful articles. Foreign papers are admitted without any charge, and prove, instead of a benefit, an injury, for they are all democratic in tone, and foment disorder and discontent.] The non-existence of newspapers in Filipinas causes a very bad result among foreigners, who consider them and with reason, the foremost mark of civilization, and at the same time, the government is deprived of the advantage of guiding public opinion.[21]

A system of police must be established, especially in the capital. Not many years ago, there was a commission of public vigilance, which was abolished, I believe, during the government of General Camba. The neglect of the captains-general in this regard at present is scarce credible.

[Although China has caused and will cause trouble in the future, still the salutary punishments that the Chinese have received, and the rapid increase in the Filipino population, justify the admis-

[21] See VOL. LI, notes 6, 7, 14, 16, 31.

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sion into the islands of 15,000 or 20,000 more Chinese, on the basis that there are only 8,000 or 10,000 now in the islands. These can be scattered through the islands and would work only on the estates of Spaniards.] Twenty thousand Chinese could work 10,000 quiñons of land, which planted with sugar cane would yield annually 2,000,000 picos of sugar. This sugar sold at Manila at only 3 pesos fuertes [per quintal] would produce the sum of 6,000,000 pesos fuertes. [In case of a popular insurrection the Chinese would all side with the government and if an attack were threatened from China, it would be sufficient to turn them over to the Filipinos, who, because of their hatred for them, on account of their superior industry, would soon make short work of them.]

[Foreigners are useful because of their knowledge and capital, and create much wealth for the islands through their continual traffic with their own countries. But their presence does not promote the conservation of the colony.] Formerly the feeling against this class of persons was very pronounced, owing in great measure to the religious, who always spoke of the English, Dutch, etc., as heretics, drunkards, and barbarians. The antipathy thus engendered was highly important, in case of an outside attack. [The natives are now friendly to foreigners, who pay more liberally than Spaniards, and even Spaniards at Manila are aping the English and are friendly to them. Undesirable books have and will surely be introduced through the foreigners; and consequently, the laws forbidding them to go to the provinces must be enforced, and entrance to Manila must not be easy. La Place, the Frenchman, al-

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though he wrote many inaccurate things of the islands,[22] recognized the danger from foreigners, when speaking of the slaughter of the foreigners in 1819 during the cholera.]

3rd. The administration requires a complete reform. The command of Filipinas has always been entrusted to a governor and captain-general, as if it were a province of España. To set some balance to his power, because of the distance from the throne, certain privileges and preëminences have been granted to other persons, especially to the Audiencia, even to the point of making of the latter a court of appeal against the measures of the chief of the islands. Besides, the revenues have been removed from his jurisdiction, and the office of the intendant has been constituted, who obeys no others than the orders communicated to him by the ministry of the treasury from Madrid.[23] It is very obvious that this single point is quite sufficient to paralyze completely the action of the governor-general. Besides, since there are many matters which require to be passed on by distinct ministries, it happens that two contrary or-

[22] This was Admiral Cyrille-Pierre-Théodore Laplace, who was born at sea Nov. 7, 1793, and died at Brest, Jan. 22, 1875. The book mentioned by Mas is the *Voyage autour du monde par les mers de l'Inde et de la Chine* (1833-39). The matter on the Philippines is contained in vol. i, pp. 353-470, 547-553, and is as follows: "Manille; description de Luçon; quelques details sur son gouvernement, ses habitants, leurs mœurs et leur industrie;" and notes. See *La grande encyclopédie*, xxi, p. 947; and the Philippine bibliography issued by the Library of Congress.

[23] The office of army intendant was created by royal orders of July 17 and 26, 1784, in accordance with the proposition of Governor Basco; to the office was united that of the subdelegate superintendency of the treasury. The new office was independent of the superior government of the islands. The first incumbent of the new office was Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, then auditor of the

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ders touch the same matter, or that one order is lacking, which is enough to render its execution impossible, the contingency moreover arising that a chief may detain a communication, even after he has received it, if it does not suit him. This system of setting obstacles in the way of the governor of a distant colony is wise and absolutely necessary, but since the *Leyes de Indias* are not a constitutional code, but a compilation made in the year 1754[24] of royal orders despatched at various epochs and by distinct monarchs, in which are decided points of government, justice, war, politics, revenue, procedure, etc., there results rather than a balance among the various departments of authority a confusion of jurisdictions, the fatal fount of eternal discord. [Mas cites laws from *Leyes de Indias* showing the great confusion and contrariety of the orders to governor and Audiencia. This confusion has given rise to scandalous and tragic events because of the contests over authority. During these latter years have occurred many offenses of like nature. General Enrile had them with the intendant, and General Camba mentions several during the period of his government. To these difficulties, is added another, in order that the chariot may run right and easily: the government of the provinces is in charge of an alcalde-mayor,[25] who is at once judge of first instance, chief of the political matters, subdelegate of the treasury, and war captain or military commandant, for whose different attri-

royal Audiencia and assessor-general of the government. See Montero y Vidal, *Historia general*, ii, pp. 311, 312.

[24] The first edition of the *Recopilación de leyes de Indias* was published at Madrid in 1681.

[25] For the powers of the alcaldes-mayor, see VOL. XVII, pp. 323, 324, and 333, 334.

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butes he is subject to authorities distinct from one another. This appears inconceivable, but yet it is a fact, although the cleverness of our India legislators has not been so great that it could free the system of the inconveniences which necessarily must obstruct it.

Whatever difficulty occurs in the fulfilment of an order, it must be solved by means of a conference and advice [*consulta*],[26] from which a reply is not obtained until from twelve to fourteen months. These difficulties are more frequent in Filipinas than in a province of the Peninsula, because of the lack of knowledge of the country generally possessed by the ministers who dictate the measures. Things have gone so far that it has been ordered that the cultivation of the balate (a fish) be encouraged; and that the situado of Zamboanga be sent overland, because of the loss of the ship which was carrying it across to the island of Mindanao, where D. Infantes was then governing said presidio. The superintendent Enriquez says in the document which he printed on leaving his post in 1836,[27] that in the short period

[26] *i.e.*, A report of the matter must be made to the government, through its respective ministries, and after deliberation the course to be followed would be ordered. Throughout the history of the Philippines, this method often proved a great drawback to effective government, because of the distance from Spain and difficulty of communication; so much so that when the answer was received, the matter was already wellnigh or completely a dead letter.

[27] On leaving his office Francisco Enriquez left two printed documents as follows: *Oficio al Secretario de Estado dando cuenta de haber hecho entrega de la Intendencia á D. Luis Urrejola* (Manila, June 11, 1836; 2 leaves on rice paper); and *Entrega que hace de sus funciones, en este dia, el Intendente general de Ejercito . . . al Ecsmo. Sr. D. Luis Urrejola* (Manila, July 11, 1836; in 16 leaves). The document mentioned by Mas must be one of these. See Retana's *Bibliografía filipina*, pp. 54, 55 (the title to the first document is made by Retana).

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in which he filled the superintendency, he sent to the court six hundred and twenty-seven questions for resolution. And to these springs of torpor in the administration of the government, we must add that the captains-general scarcely decide any question whatever, without handing the matter for report to the assessor, fiscal, Audiencia, etc., because of the distance and impossibility of consulting España, and through their fear of compromising themselves, since on many occasions, measures have been obtained against them in Madrid, through agents and representatives or through complaints sent from the islands. The same thing happens with regard to the intendant and other authorities. From this practice arises the system of expedientes[28] which reigns, and which is so fatal to the prosperity and good government of the country, since very often the arrangement that appears good to some, is contrary to the opinions or interests of others. [Expedientes lasting for years have been formulated for matters requiring immediate attention. For instance, one lasting for years was formulated in regard to an expedition against the Moro pirates. An expediente is formed when a foreigner arrives at Manila without a passport from Spain and asks permission to remain in the country, although the law on this point is explicit. Thus much valuable time is lost and the expedientes result in only a waste of paper, besides great injury to the islands. The governor often has to conform to the opinions expressed in the expediente, although he knows they will be the cause of

[28] *i.e.*, All the papers belonging to any matter, judicial, legislative, or executive, consisting of orders, opinions, reports, and all other measures.

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injustice.[29] On the other hand, the governor is often directly at fault, because he enforces his own opinion on his assessor, who has often obtained his position through favoritism and is not a lawyer, and decides questions according to the will of the governor. Besides, the governor has the armed force at his disposal. The chiefs of the various departments at Manila carry on correspondence with the directors-general of their respective departments in Madrid, without the knowledge of the governor, a fact that increases the confusion and disorder. The director of the mails even is at fault in this, and renders accounts to the general post-office department in Spain.] A sub-inspector of engineers newly created, just went to Manila with orders to extend the fortifications of the capital to its suburbs. The suburbs contain about fifty thousand inhabitants scattered throughout various villages which are composed of

[29] A note at this point states that the polo and service tax had not been extended to the Chinese mestizos, who were not in existence when the tax was first imposed, or were but few, until a few years back, when the natives of Lingayen brought up the matter. Chinese mestizos formed the wealthiest part of many villages; and it was decided that since they were to the natives as 1:6, they should pay such taxes for one month to the natives' six. At Vigan, Ilocos Sur, the natives also presented a petition against the mestizos because natives alone were compelled to furnish provisions, etc., to the troops in their province at the schedule price, while the mestizos escaped; and for which reason many of the natives joined the mestizo ranks, saying that the state profited thereby because as mestizos they paid a double tribute. Governor Oraá, however, imposed a fine for such denaturalization. As regards the petition against the mestizos, an expediente was formed, and in July, 1841, the natives were ordered to send a salaried agent to conduct a suit against the mestizos. But they being poor could not do so, while it was understood that the mestizos had paid a bribe of 1,000 pesos to the assessor. Consequently, it appears that notwithstanding the efforts of the alcalde-mayor and Mas, nothing could be done, as the governor was so hedged in.

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houses all of one story in height, which is enough to give an idea of the extension of the imagined fortification. The amount of artillery for garrisoning their walls, the workshop necessary to keep the artillery in good condition, the garrison necessary for their defense, besides the operating gangs: all were to be in the greatest magnitude, and demand an annual expense which the treasury of the colony could not even remotely meet. And if one reflect that the enemy can take all the other islands and even disembark at any point of Luzon itself without the necessity of going to Manila; that if this capital were besieged, it would be by enemies coming by sea, and hence, being masters of the port, they would very quickly take by hunger a place of one hundred and fifty thousand souls, or indeed it would be surrendered by the natives, and then the inhabitants, instead of contributing to the defense, would open their doors to the aggressors; and that the concentration of the forces, the property, the archives, and public and private wealth, at one single enclosed point, is to form a target to call the attention of exterior and interior enemies: we can do no less than agree that the plan of extending the fortifications of Manila to all its suburbs lacks all reasonable foundation, and that it will be advocated only by the many people who possess houses on the shores of the Pasig River, within cannon range, because of their fear lest, if the events of 1762 are again repeated, all those edifices which they were by a fatal lack of foresight permitted to raise successively (an evil which it is now very difficult if not impossible to remedy), would be leveled to the ground.

[However, the present condition of the treasury

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will not allow this plan to be executed. The sub-inspector of the artillery has petitioned that all companies of the regiment be commanded by captains of the staff. This would cause discontent among the subalterns who would see all hope of promotion vanish forever. They can rise now only to captain, and some of them are even now angry. The artillery corps has always been loyal to the government and it is advisable to keep it so. Officers might indeed be trained in the military college, but in that case the promotion of the sergeants must be arranged for. Complaints of the military in the Philippines mean more than they do in Spain where the complainers are retired or exercise patience. But this substitution may be made without consulting the governor, as it is a matter concerning the artillery itself.]

In the various departments of the administration there may also be abuses to examine or correct, which will never be known or exactly proved by chiefs resident in Madrid, because of the distance which is so favorable to the distortion of facts. For example, the brigadier of the navy, Don J. Ruiz de Apodaca, told me before the sub-inspector of artillery and another chief that all the articles which were bought by the treasury for the arsenal, were charged at a much higher price than those for the fort, etc., and he invited me to go to his house where he would prove it to me with the documents. On the other side, I have heard complaints that after a contract had been made with the treasury for cables, iron, etc., it is impossible to get a receipt for them in the arsenal, unless for a bonus; that quantities of timber will not be receipted for and those who have transported it to Cavite have to sell it at any price; and that it is

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bought by the very ones who have qualified it as useless; that many houses have been built in Cavite with the timber given out as no good, only with the object of making new bargains. Don F. Ossorio told me in the house of the secretary of the government, and in the presence of several respectable persons, that when he was commandant of artillery at that place, he made all the furniture of his house with wood which he bought in the arsenal as firewood. It is a fact that naval construction is very dear, and that the fragata "Esperanza" cost more than 600,000 pesos fuertes. During my stay in the islands, there has been talk of trickery in the outlay of tobacco, besides a defalcation in the magazines of three thousand eight hundred bundles of leaf. It was declared that there was introduced, for example, into the factory magazines, a quantity of bundled tobacco, in which was one part composed of fillers [*palos*] which had to be burned as useless; but if these fillers amounted to five thousand arrobas, only four thousand were destroyed. The other thousand arrobas were taken out as leaf of the best brand [from the magazines] and was carried to private houses where it was manufactured as contraband. This leaf was replaced by the fillers which ought to have been burned. For that reason, the cigars which were sent to the tobacco shops of the provinces, and even those which were sold to the trade, were sometimes of the worst quality; that the boxes were short weight; that choice lots were finished with care, and marked with a mark, and papers were given authorizing the exchange of tobacco in the factory, by which means the associates in these speculations could buy the poor tobacco which was given to the public, and leave it in the

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national magazines, taking in place of it, that manufactured properly and reserved. But what I know to be a positive fact in this matter is that few or many superior or fine boxes were made, which were obtained by favor in Manila; and that when Don Luis Urrijola[30] left the intendancy, the tobacco had lost its credit, and nine thousand boxes were held in the magazines, which no merchant then or since has cared to buy. The new superintendent, Don J. M. de la Matta took direct and positive measures by separating the magazine from the factory, and reducing the functions of the latter to the manufacture only, etc., whereupon the requests for the new tobacco were renewed, so that when I left Manila, it was impossible by a great amount to meet the demands of the trade. But had it not been for the providential appointment to the superintendency of said clever and zealous employe, perhaps that revenue would have entirely ceased. This is one of the foremost resources of that country, and the governor-general would at this moment find himself, perhaps, in the greatest straits, and it would be impossible to prevent the evil, although he knew its origin and progress, as he had no intervention in the department of the treasury, which is, nevertheless, the soul of all government. In the same place I also heard talk of the sale of posts, of abuses in the pay of vouchers and other matters. [These things may be

[30] Francisco Enriquez succeeded Urrijola (who had been appointed October, 1820, as intendant-general of the army and treasury), in the office of intendant in 1828, being granted more ample powers than the latter had enjoyed. By a royal decree of October 27, 1829, it was ordered that the superintendency should be held by the intendant of the army and royal treasury, and accordingly Enriquez took such charge on September 9, 1630. See Montero y Vidal, *Hist. gen.*, ii, pp. 457, 521.

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misrepresentation or calumny, but they are ever increasing in force and are being repeated with exaggeration – which tends to weaken Spanish prestige which is the source of their moral strength.]

I believe that all that I have observed is enough and more than enough to show that the actual system of administration suffers from capital defects, and to assert that, in my opinion, the organization of a government is peremptory, which besides being a check on despotism and a barrier to ambition, by means of correction and reform through itself, contains the elements of unity, concord, prudence, rectitude, power, and duration. Here follows for what it may be worth, a plan circumscribed on fundamental bases.[31]

[Mas's plan provides for a regency or commission of three persons, one of whom shall be the president and exercise the powers of the governor-general. A fourth member is to be elected as a substitute in case of death or illness, who, until called upon to fill any vacancy, shall travel through the provinces and study the conditions of the country. All matters of importance, especially money matters must be decided at a meeting of the regency, and appear by an act signed by all three. The president shall communicate and sign all orders, and all official communications must be sent to him. The two secretaries, political and military, shall receive orders only from the president, and shall attend the meetings of the regency without vote. The president alone shall decide questions of detail and procedure and execution, in accordance with the regulations, always express-

[31] See José Cabezas de Herrera's *Apuntes históricos sobre la organización político-administrativa de Filipinas* (Manila, 1883). This is an excellent treatise on the governmental administration of the Philippines.

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ing whether any measure has been voted on or not. The secretary shall send concise daily reports of all communications signed during the day by the president, noting after each one whether it was with or without the vote of the regency. Thus the other two regents having it in their power to call for the rough draft of any measure, can easily tell whether the president has overstepped his executory powers and encroached on the powers of the entire regency. This provision will obviate any such tendency on the president's part, and will remove the jealousy of his two associates. The plan further provides for a commander-in-chief of all the army; a commander of the navy; a superintendent of the treasury; a court of justice; and a Council of State, to be composed of the officials above mentioned, together with the chiefs of artillery and fortification, the contador-mayor of accounts, the contadors of the army and treasury, the archbishop of Manila, and the provincials of the religious orders. The Council which has no power to assemble of its own accord, shall be assembled to consult on serious matters by the regency. At the death of the president, the senior regent shall assume his office, the substitute shall take a regular seat in the regency, and the Council shall appoint a new substitute to act provisionally until the court make a regular appointment, which shall never be the provisional appointment of the Council. The deliberations of the Council shall be secret and the regents shall only state the matters for discussion and then retire. The Council may be assembled at the request of the regents acting either singly or in accord. In impeachments of the president, if the impeachment is sustained, the senior regent shall take

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his place; if it is not sustained, the Council shall retire, but may be assembled any number of times for the same matter. There is a clause against lobbying in the Council to influence the votes of the members. In case of two summons at the same time, the Council shall obey the one emanating from the president or senior regent first.]

The members of the regency shall be jurisconsults, owners of estates, or military men, and the regularly-appointed president shall always be a grandee of España. It is highly important that, at that distance, the first chief impose some personal respect, and that even his very lineage make him appear superior to all the others.

[The dissension manifest in Basco's term as governor was due to his low rank, as he was only a captain of fragata when he went to the islands as governor, a fact that gave rise to envy. He was an excellent governor, but the ministry that supported him did not know the sentiments that move the human heart. Governor Lardizabal also was of lower rank than some who served in subordinate positions in the islands. It would be better to appoint a grandee to the post of governor; for, having his estates in Spain, he would be more loyal. A grandee also could better support the prestige of the government than a poor soldier or man of no rank, as he would be more accustomed to the duties of that life. A soldier generally desires to make money, and will neglect his real duties. As a rule there are no battles to be fought, while there are many duties of an administrational and industrial character. The governor must have tact with the natives, and look carefully after foreign, commercial, and industrial relations, and the

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progress of the islands. It would be highly advisable to choose such a man when General Alcala is relieved.]

[For the government of the provinces, advocates shall be appointed from Spain, and they shall remain no longer than twenty years in the islands. There shall be three classes of provincial governments with distinct salaries. In addition to the requisite number of provincial governors there shall be six or eight substitutes in case of vacancies. These shall receive a salary of fifty pesos per month, so long as they are not called upon to fill a vacancy, and shall meanwhile do the bidding of the regency. A vacancy in the governments of the first class shall be filled by the regency from the governors of the second and third classes; and one in the third class from the substitutes. Governors may be transferred at will by the regency, and the relative importance of the various provinces may also vary.]

The provincial governors shall be as now political chiefs, judges of first instance, subdelegates of the treasury for the receiving of the direct incomes, managers of the mails, and war captains. This centralization has many advantages, a very chief one being the economic. The inconveniences which follow from it, will disappear when there is one supreme authority in the islands.

The limits of the provincial courts shall be enlarged to include both civil and criminal cases. This will increase the power of the subordinate authorities, and decrease the troubles of the Audiencia. The party [in the suit] shall always have the recourse of appeal.

The superior court of justice shall be composed

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of three persons, one of whom shall be the president. It shall try criminal, civil, and contentious matters as well as trade questions by appeal. Appeal may be had from its sentences to the regency, which shall appoint three advocates to judge the case. These latter shall become joint judges, and together with the three judges shall form the court of appeal. This court shall be presided over by one of the regents or by the substitute with a vote, the jurisconsult member being rightly preferred for this if there is one in the regency.

[The fees of the court of appeal shall be larger than those of the Audiencia; and if the decision of the latter is found correct the penalty shall be increased; the death sentence, however, being abolished. A vacancy in the court of justice shall be filled provisionally by the regency, and regular appointment shall be made from Madrid, which must be otherwise than the provisional one made by the regency, unless such appointment be made before the action of the regents is known in Spain. This will tend to make the judiciary independent of the government.]

[In regard to the treasury employes a plan similar to that of the provincial governors shall be adopted. The custom of sending employes for any of the treasury posts from Madrid, many of whom are ignorant even of bookkeeping, means death to the hopes of those already in the islands, and breeds discontent.]

[This plan does not involve any extra expense. The president shall have a yearly salary of 12,000 pesos, in addition to the palace of Manila and the house at Malacalang; the two regents shall each receive 6,000 pesos and 1,000 pesos extra for a house;

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and the substitute 4,000 pesos – a total of 30,000 pesos.[32] Posts of rank in Manila have lately been increased, and now there are a lieutenant-general, a mariscal de campo, six brigadier-generals, and many colonels and commandants; and yet men of lower rank than all these have been appointed governor of the islands. There is no need of so many military titles. A brigadier-general, with 6,000 pesos' pay acts as second commandant of the navy, which consists of but a few gunboats; and a sub-inspector of engineers has just arrived who has only two officers under him. Colonels can serve in place of brigadiers, and since they receive 2,000 pesos less, this will be a saving of at least 10,000 pesos. This added to the 7,000 pesos that can be saved from the affairs of justice being managed by three persons, who have no administrational duties, the 13,000 pesos saved from the present salary of the captain-general, and the 1,000 pesos given as a gratification to the commandant of the marine corps, will mean a total saving of 31,000 pesos.]

[Mas also proposes the establishment at Madrid of a ministry of the colonies,[33] through whom all the

[32] See the budget of receipts and expenditures in the Philippines for the year, July, 1885-June, 1886, in Montero y Vidal's *El archipiélago filipino*, pp. 169-186. The expenditures involve: general obligations, 1,523,335.07 pesos; state, 125,000 pesos; grace and justice, 1,085,769.62 pesos; war, 3,494,923.31 pesos; treasury, 1,356,031.30 pesos; navy, 2,423,518.91 pesos; government, 1,267,007.43 pesos; public works (*fomento*), 349,322.87 pesos; total, 11,624,908.51 pesos. The receipts were 11,528,178 pesos.

[33] The administrative affairs of the colonies were placed in charge of the *ministerio de la gobernación* (ministry of the government) in 1832, and were added in 1836 to the *ministerio de marina* (ministry of the navy), which was after that called *secretaría del despacho de marina, comercio y gobernación de ultramar* (department of the navy, commerce, and colonial government).

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communications of the regency shall pass. It should have departments of government, war, navy, revenues, and justice. It can easily turn over to other ministries what primarily concerns them, and work in harmony with them. For instance it would not elect bishops, but would determine their number and salary.]

Thus far I have given minute details on the three principles which, in my opinion, I said it was necessary to adopt as basic policies in order to conserve the Filipinas: namely, to avoid the increase of the white population; make of the colored population, a docile and well-inclined mass; and reform the present administration. I have still to add that I conceive it to be of the foremost interest to always have in that treasury a sufficient store of spare funds to at least cover the expenses of one year. [It will be impossible to realize loans in case of either internal or external war. The treasury has been continually exhausted for years, and has drawn on the obras pías. Notes have been drawn on the Manila treasury for

After various other changes, the *ministerio de ultramar* (ministry of the colonies) was established by royal decree, May 20, 1863. The duties of the ministry are outlined as follows: to modify the organization or administrational régime of the colonies; to fix or change the annual budget of receipts and expenditures; to dispose of the surplus products of the colonies; to adopt any rule relative to the establishment or suppression of imposts; to propose persons for the offices of governor and captain-general, intendants, and regents of the Audiencia; to grant titles, etc., to persons in the colonies; to adopt any measure affecting the exterior regimen of the Church or the royal patronage; to decide any serious matter according to the judgment of the minister; to draw up preparatory measures of resolutions allowing expenses or advances of funds by the public treasury of the Peninsula, which resolutions belong to the ministry of the treasury; to transmit communications of the ministers of state, war, and navy, to the authorities of those provinces, and the communications of the latter to the respective ministers. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, xiii, pp. 131, 132.

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over three million pesos, on which interest is being paid, and there is no hope of paying the principal.] Such a method of doing things, is, in my opinion, a political imprudence twice over – in the first place because the islands are left exposed to reverses from a faction or from a foreign enemy; in the second, because it causes certain murmurs among their inhabitants, and a discontent difficult to conceive of here, and which may precipitate their ruin.

After having discussed the means of conserving the colony, supposing that this is always the intention of the government, let us consider the other extreme, taken in review, namely, to resolve to emancipate it and prepare it for giving it liberty.

In order to attain this end, it becomes natural, as is necessary, to adopt a system diametrically opposed to the first. The chief object must be that it does not cause the shedding of blood, that the relations of friendship and of trade with España are not interrupted, that the European Spaniards living there do not lose their chattels or landed property, and, especially, that our race there, the Filipino-Spaniards, preserve their estates and their rights of naturalization, and free from the unfortunate fate that threatens them, and which is even inevitably expected for them, if the colony separates by force and at this moment. It is needful to encourage public instruction in all ways possible, permit newspapers subject to a liberal censure, to establish in Manila a college of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy: in order to break down the barriers that divide the races, and amalgamate them all into one. For that purpose, the Spaniards of the country, the Chinese mestizos, and

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the Filipinos shall be admitted with perfect equality as cadets of the military corps; the personal-service tax shall be abolished, or an equal and general tax shall be imposed, to which all the Spaniards shall be subject. This last plan appears to me more advisable, as the poll-tax is already established, and it is not opportune to make a trial of new taxes when it is a question of allowing the country to be governed by itself. Since the annual tribute is unequal, the average shall be taken and shall be fixed, consequently, at fifteen or sixteen reals per whole tribute, or perhaps one peso fuerte annually from each adult tributary person. This regulation will produce an increase in the revenue of 200,000 or 300,000 pesos fuertes, and this sum shall be set aside to give the impulse for the amalgamation of the races, favoring crossed marriages by means of dowries granted to the single women in the following manner. To a Chinese mestizo woman who marries a Filipino shall be given 100 pesos; to a Filipino woman who marries a Chinese mestizo, 100 pesos; to a Chinese mestizo woman who marries a Spaniard, 1,000 pesos; to a Spanish woman who marries a Chinese mestizo, 2,000 pesos; to a Filipino woman who marries a Spaniard, 2,000 pesos; to a Spanish woman who marries a Filipino chief, 3,000 or 4,000 pesos. Some mestizo and Filipino alcaldes-mayor of the provinces shall be appointed. It shall be ordered that when a Filipino chief goes to the house of a Spaniard, he shall seat himself as the latter's equal. In a word, by these and other means, the idea that they and the Castilians are two kinds of distinct races shall be erased from the minds of the natives, and the families shall become related by marriage in such manner that

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when free of the Castilian dominion should any exalted Filipinos try to expel or enslave our race, they would find it so interlaced with their own that their plan would be practically impossible.

After some years, when this population was sufficiently trimmed off, an assembly of deputies shall be formed from the people, in order that they may hold sessions in Manila for two or three months every year. In those sessions they shall discuss public affairs, especially those treating of taxes and budgets. Then after some time of such political education, our government may be withdrawn without fear, fixing before doing that the kind of government that is to be established – probably some constitutional form analogous to those of Europe, with a royal prince at its head chosen from among our infantes.

My task is concluded. Which of the two plans, above analyzed, it is the most just or advisable to follow, does not concern me to recommend, much less propose.

I will add, however, a page to express my opinion as an individual of the Spanish nation. If I had to choose I would vote for the last. I cannot see what benefits we have had from the colonies: depopulation, decadence in the arts, and the public debt, which come in great measure from them. The interest of a state consists, as I see it, in having a dense and well-educated population, and I do not speak only of literary or political education, but of that general education, which makes each one perfect in his trade, I mean in that education which constitutes a cabinet-maker, a weaver, a blacksmith, the best cabinet-maker, weaver, or blacksmith possible. The greater

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or less number of machines is, in our century, an almost sure thermometer by which to gage the power of empires.

A colony cannot be useful except with the end of filling one of the following three objects: to make of it a tributary country, for the increase of the income of the mother-country (as Holland effects by means of a compulsory and exclusive system); to erect it into a second country, and a place of immigration of the surplus population (such as are especially Australia, Van Diemen's land and New Zealand); finally to procure in it, a place wherein to expend the products of the national manufactures (as is the principal aim of the modern colonial establishments). For the first, we have already seen that the Filipinas are a poor resource, and will be for a long time; and I shall not wonder that before losing them, they will cost us, on the contrary, some millions. As for the second, they are not necessary, for we have no surplus population to unload. And for the third they are useless, for we ourselves have no manufactures to export. Barcelona, which has the most factories in the Peninsula, does not have the least direct communication with the islands. All that is taken there from Cadiz consists of a little paper, oil, and liquors. If it were not for the tobacco and the passengers who go and come, one or two vessels annually would be enough to take care of all the mercantile speculations between both countries. [Separation will not deprive Spain of a future rich market in the Philippines, as the case of the American colonies and England shows. Even if Spain should have a surplus population within a century, the Philippines will also have no lack of inhabitants, and it will be

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necessary for the Spaniards to emigrate to the Marianas. Mas is not concerned by the argument that separation would mean the loss of the Christian religion in the islands. To the argument that the islands might fall into the hands of the British, French, Dutch, or Chinese, he asks why Spain should become a knight errant for all unprotected peoples. Spaniards in the islands can always return to Spain. People assert that since Spain has spent over 300,000,000 pesos on the islands, it is but proper that that country be reimbursed; but although it has also spent much on the holy land, it never expects any return therefor. Let the Filipinos pay heavier taxes under their own government; why is that any concern? Even if ninety per cent of the population should desire to remain under Spain's domination, that is no sign that there may not be a better condition.] In conclusion, if we are conserving the islands for love of the islanders, we are losing our time, and merit, for gratitude is sometimes met with in persons, but never can it be hoped for from peoples; and indeed through our love, why do we fall into an anomaly, such as combining our claim for liberty for ourselves, and our wish at the same time to impose our law on remote peoples? Why do we deny to others the benefit which we desire for our fatherland? By these principles of universal morality and justice, and because I am persuaded that in the midst of the political circumstances in which España is at present, the condition of that colony will be neglected; that none of the measures which I propose for its conservation (this is my conviction) will be adopted; and that it will emancipate itself violently with the loss of considerable property and many lives of

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European Spaniards and Filipinos: I think that it would be infinitely more easy, more useful, and more glorious for us to acquire the glory of the work by being the first to show generosity. Hence, the foreign authors who have unjustly printed so many calumnies against our colonial governments, authors belonging to nations who never satisfy their hunger for colonies, would have to say at least this once: "The Spaniards crossing new and remote seas, extended the domain of geography by discovering the Filipinas Islands. They found anarchy and despotism there, and established order and justice. They encountered slavery and destroyed it, and imposed political equality. They ruled their inhabitants with laws, and just laws. They christianized them, civilized them, defended them from the Chinese, from Moro pirates, and from European aggressors; they spent much gold on them, and then gave them liberty."[34]

[34] In 1803 a Spanish pamphlet was published at Philadelphia, advocating the opinion that Spain "ought to get rid of all her colonies in America and Asia, in order to promote agriculture and industries in the Peninsula;" it is attributed to the Marqués de Casa Irujo (Vindel, *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, no. 1797).

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MATTA'S REPORT, 1843

Communication from the intendant of the army and treasury [*Intendente de Ejercito y Hacienda*] of *the Filipinas Islands, Don Juan Manuel de la Matta,*[35] *to the governor and captain-general of said islands, Don Marcelino Oraá, in regard to the moral condition of the country after the insurrection of a portion of the troops of the third regiment of the line, which happened at daybreak of the twenty-first of last January; and declaration of the chief legislative reforms, and of the peremptory measures of precaution and security, demanded by said condition.*

[The recent disaffection of a portion of the Philippine troops has caused the government to issue instructions in case of the occurrence of any excitement, insurrection, or alarm in the city of Manila and its environs. Matta, on receiving these instructions, has transmitted secretly to the commander of the revenue guard[36] (whom he has advised in case

[35] Matta took possession of the above office on June 2, 1841; he had long been connected with the affairs of the colony. In 1837 he had drawn up a detailed report on the advantage which would result from introducing steamboats into the islands. (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, ii, p. 573.)

[36] *Cuerpo del Resguardo*: the guards employed by the treasury to look after the customs and excise duties on the government monopolies of tobacco, wines, liquors, etc.

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of any danger to assemble all his command in the tobacco factory of Binondo) the portion of the instructions that concerns him. Also the forces of the station of San Fernando are to be embarked on the boats in the river belonging to the revenue guard, and placed in command of the port captain. In addition to the instructions above cited, it seems advisable, "considering the moral condition of the country, to adopt radical measures to avoid the evil before having to punish it, thereby to shelter the colony from new seditions, which cannot be repeated without imminent risk of sad consequences." The suppression of the attempts of the insurgents and the calming of Manila was due to the loyalty of the artillerymen quartered at the fort of Santiago and the presence of other loyal troops.]

The sedition of Apolinario[37] in the province of

[37] For accounts of the confraternity of San José, see Manuel Sancho's *Relacion expresiva de los principales acontecimientos de la titulada Cofradía del señor San José* (first published by W. E. Retana in *La Política de España*, no. 21, *et seq.*); *Memoria histórica de la conducta militar y politica del Teniente General D. Marcelino Oraá* (Madrid, 1851), probably written by Pedro Chamorro; and Montero y Vidal, *Hist. gen.*, iii, pp. 37-56. This confraternity was founded by Apolinario de la Cruz, a Tagálog, a native of Lucban in the province of Tayabas, who was a donné in the hospital of San Juan de Dios in Manila. The new confraternity soon had many adherents in the provinces of Tayabas, Laguna, and Batangas, and in the middle of 1840 began to hold meetings in Lucban, to which both sexes were admitted, and at which letters from Apolinario were read. The attention of the friar parish priests was directed to the confraternity, and the meeting of October 19, 1840 was surprised and about 243 persons out of the 500 or 600 attending it, arrested. The governor of Tayabas province, however, who regarded the matter as entirely one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, ordered the prisoners to be released. Through the representations of the parish priest of Lucban, the provincial governor finally intervened, and the adherents to the confraternity thereupon held their meetings secretly in Majayjay in Laguna Province. The meeting of Sept. 19, 1841, at the latter place, was

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Tayabas, at the end of October, 1841, and the insurrection of part of the third regiment of the line, which occurred in the capital at daybreak of January 21,[38] have in little more than one year placed

surprised and some arrests made, although but few, as information of the intended raid had been received. The departure of the provincial governor of Tayabas, Joaquin Ortega, for Manila, was favorable to the new sect, as a native adherent or sympathizer was left in charge of the government. Through his acquiescence, the members of the confraternity who had gathered in armed bands at the village of Bay in Laguna (where they were joined by Apolinario, who had fled from Manila), were allowed to ensconce themselves in Igsaban, Tayabas. From thence they opened negotiations with the government at Tayabas to be allowed to occupy that city, the substitute governor requesting from the parish priest that they be allowed to hold a novena in his church. Negotiations failed, and Ortega, returning on the twenty-second of October, ordered the natives to disperse, and on their refusal attacked them the next day with a force of over three hundred men. The natives, aided by a band of Negritos who had joined them, repulsed this force and killed Ortega, and then retired to Alitao to celebrate a novena. There they were attacked on the first of November by a force composed of troops sent by Oraá, and those of the province of Tayabas, and after a severe engagement the natives were defeated. Apolinario, who fled, was soon captured and shot on the fourth, others of the leaders being also arrested. Apolinario was but twenty-seven years old, and evidently worked on the superstitious nature of his countrymen, who believed that he was immune from danger and that the rebel forces would be aided by the direct intervention of heaven. His followers baptized him under the name of "The king of the Tagálogs." No one except pure-blooded natives were allowed to become members of the organization, from which circumstance the Spaniards have always professed to believe that the confraternity was political in nature and that religious motives were merely a blind. Some (as in Vindel's *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, no. 1895) assert that the confraternity was a sort of Katipunan. It is quite probable, however, that its origin was entirely religious, but religion mingled with superstition and fanaticism. The fact that Apolinario attempted to legalize the existence of the organization through both ecclesiastical and government centers, which was refused in both instances, indicates that the insurrection was forced by the Spaniards, through either fear or contempt. It is highly unlikely that the organization had at the beginning any political motive, and its attempted suppression was a mistake of the religious and civil authorities.

[38] The defeat and slaughter of the members of the confraternity

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these important possessions at the verge of a terrible civil war, and have compromised great interests.

[The discipline of the third regiment of the line before the insurrection was poor, a fact that was attributed, among other things, to the bad condition of the barracks. On the other hand, a corps composed of native troops recruited from Manila and the neighboring places remained loyal, and was used to good effect in putting down the insurrection. In the opinion of many, native troops officered by Spaniards (even to the sergeants and corporals) would prevent disaffection in the future, and be much better than Peninsular troops. In this treatise it is Matta's purpose to set forth "the measures by which the tranquillity of these inhabitants and the conservation of this precious portion of the Spanish monarchy, will be conserved in the future." The moral condition of the islands is most delicate and merits the close attention of the government, "and most especially of your Excellency, to whom is chiefly confided the tranquillity and conservation of these important possessions – which now demand radical administrational and economic reforms that will permit the development of the wealth of their fertile soil, and the welfare of all their inhabitants; and peremptory

of San José angered the native soldiers from the Province of Tayabas, who were quartered in Malate. Conspiring with some of the garrison of the fort of Santiago, also from the same province, they attacked and took that fort Jan. 20, 1843, under the leadership of two brothers (mestizos and officers of the regiment), after killing the officers on guard. The mutiny was quickly stifled by Oraá, and the commander of the insurgents, a sergeant, Samaniego, and some of the other leaders were shot on the twenty-second at the camp of Bagumbayang. The other native soldiers remained loyal and aided in quelling the mutiny. See Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, iii, pp. 58, 59, and note.

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measures of foresight and security, which will render those advantages lasting, keep the country loyal, and inalterably bind the union of the islands with the mother-country." In consequence of the civil wars in Spain, the Spanish government has been compelled to draw heavy sums against the treasury of the Philippines, by which not only has the treasury been exhausted but a debt of more than four million pesos incurred – a debt that cannot be met for years, "both because the needs of the colony are increasing annually, and because the remainder left from the revenues, after covering the ordinary obligations of the budgets, is almost all spent in tobacco leaf, which is sent for the comsumption of the mother-country, in accordance with the orders of the government." In regard to the military defense of the country, conditions are as bad. "There are but few arms and they are in poor shape. The provinces are undefended. The army is composed almost exclusively of natives, and they are so few in number that the army is insufficent to defend the capital and fort of Cavite in case of a foreign invasion." Indeed, in case of invasion it might be best to raze the fortifications built at the expense of so great sacrifices.]

In general there is to be seen considerable indifference, and even disaffection, to Peninsular interests. Ideas of emancipation are sheltered in many bosoms. Discontent swarms in all places. It is given utterance with effrontery, and is developed and fomented in various manners. Since the beginning of the colony, boldness, deceit, and acrimonious speech have had a foremost seat, but greed is today the dominant passion in the white people. Their needs are many and there are few means of satisfying them. The hot climate especially contributes to captious-

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ness, and the development of vehement passions. A multitude of jealous, complaining, and evil-intentioned men foment the discontent, to which also pusillanimous persons contribute by their indiscreet and excessive fear. Although by means of different passions, there is a manifest tendency to constantly discredit the dispositions of the government, to attack maliciously the authorities who represent it, and to foment rivalry and discord among them, to which both the complexity of the legislation and the burning climate lend themselves. Thus all concur in weakening the prestige that gives force to the government. The malcontents have the necessary time to gather new proselytes, to consolidate a faction against the mother-country, to prepare the will of the masses; and they await the time and opportunity for the realization of their desires. This plan is not in writing, but is engraven in the hearts of those who direct it, shows itself by its works, and is the result of the tendency of the age, of the calamitous circumstances in which the mother-country finds itself, and of the kind of abandonment in which these important possessions are held.

[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 freely 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. All things have combined to destroy in Manila "the prestige and moral force that have been hitherto the principal foundation of our domination."]

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[Although the provinces are not yet so greatly disaffected as is Manila], their moral condition is very different from that when they generally pronounced against the English in 1762 and gave the victory to Anda. Mejico belonged to España, and its treasury contributed to the support of the islands, which had the exclusive benefit of a traffic which the public especially valued, and whose conservation was inseparable from union to the mother-country. North-American independence and the French revolution had not yet come to fix the future destiny of all the colonial possessions of the world.[39] The regular clergy, the principal base of our domination, then exercised an influence over the inhabitants, which time has almost entirely vitiated. Little care is taken for the instruction of their members, from which it results that some of them with their gross manners, stupid pretensions, and exactions from the chiefs of the provinces, and the gobernadorcillos and notables of the villages, occasion anger, quarrels, and discord which disturb the quiet of the inhabitants,

[39] The Spanish government decided to aid France against England, and declared war against the latter power in June, 1779. The Spaniards aided the Americans against the British in Florida and Mississippi, and in March, 1780, captured Mobile. Martin A. S. Hume says in *Modern Spain* (New York, 1900), p. 6: "As Aranda himself foresaw, and set forth in a most remarkable prophecy, the aid lent by Spain to the revolt of the English North American Colonies formed a dangerous precedent for the separation of her own colonial dominions, and promoted the establishment of a great Anglo-Saxon republic in America, which in time to come should oust Spain from her last foothold in the New World. 'This new federal republic,' wrote Aranda to Floridablanca, 'is, so to speak, born a mere pigmy, and has needed the support of two powerful nations like France and Spain to win its independence. But the day will come when it will grow into a giant, a terrible Colossus. It will then forget the benefits it has received, and think only of its own aggrandizement.' "

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distract and embarrass the authorities, and nourish those indiscreet and tenacious struggles in which all lose, and which have contributed so greatly to the rapid undermining of the base of our power in the provinces. The mistrust of a sad future leads many of them to engage in commercial business, and conduces to avarice and to a worldly life, so that they have lost their religious prestige, without gaining the respect and the consideration due to eminent and beneficent citizens. Without doubt there are respectable men among the individuals of the regular clergy, who, superior to circumstances, devote themselves entirely to the fulfilment of the duties of their sacred ministry; who as true fathers of their parishioners, look carefully after their comfort and welfare; and who, for that reason possessing their esteem, are, consequently, one of the chief supports of the action of the government in the villages. It is with reference to these that I have remarked in another place that both religion and policy recommend them. Let all be placed in the same category, and let strict watch be put on the instruction and conduct of the parish priests, in which, truly, there is much to correct; and the happiness of the provinces will be secure, if, in addition, the improvements demanded by the state of civilization and of wealth in some of the provinces, and by the genius and circumstances of the various races inhabiting them, and the differences of the times in which we are living, are made in their government and administration.

For that purpose it must be kept in mind that ambition is wont to affect the Spanish people transplanted to these distant and hot climes; that arrogant presumption is the distinctive characteristic of their

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descendants; and we must consider duly the characteristic qualities of the natives.

As I have remarked to your Excellency on a different occasion, I consider the moral picture of the Indian as very difficult to draw, for frequently one finds united in him abjectness and ferocity, timidity and a wonderful fearlessness and courage in danger, and indolent laziness and slovenliness combined with industry and avaricious self-interest. It is impossible to represent exactly under one single stroke all the phases of their contradictory character. But in general the Indian is pacific, superstitious, indolent, respectful to authority, heedless, distrustful, and deceitful. Dominated by his first sensations, and most fertile in expedients to extricate himself from difficulties, or to carry out his design at a moment's notice, he must be considered as a minor who follows the dictates of his own will; and, as such, he must be directed for his own good, his difficulties must be forestalled, corrected and punished. The natives are also spiteful and revengeful when they believe themselves offended; and at such times, hiding their ill-will under the veil of a deceitful humility, they await the opportunity for satisfying it, and generally give rein suddenly to their ill-will with perfidy and ferocity.

[The contradictory character of the Filipino native explains the ease with which a large province can be governed by one official with the aid of the parish priests and two or three dozen soldiers; while, on the other hand, the insurance companies of India refuse to stand the risks of mutiny in a vessel employing half a dozen natives from Manila in its crew. The natives know no middle path between abject respect and insolent contempt, in their attitude toward

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the whites. In case of a foreign or internal war the governors or alcaldes-mayor of the provinces would be the least capable of directing affairs, because of their ignorance of the native languages and customs, and because they are in continual conflict with the natives over the collection of the tribute, while at the same time they exercise a monopoly in trade.]

For a very long period the elements of discord among the authorities have been numerous for lack of a special and analogous legislation, enacted with regard to the genius and circumstances of the various peoples inhabiting these islands and the enormous distance separating them from the mother-country. During these latter years, there have been heaped up on this unfavorable foundation the elements emanating from the civil war which has covered the mother-country with mourning, and those of our own political dissensions; the development and tendencies of the revolutionary principles common to all the colonial possessions of the world, and which only force, supported by the interest of self-preservation, is capable of restraining; and lastly the impressions which it has been impossible to keep from transmission to the natives and other races, in proportion as the knowledge of our language becomes general to them, and as they become civilized, and contract our tastes and necessities through the increase of commerce and industry, and observe from anear the confusion resulting from our lack of harmony. This is, in my opinion, the chief cancer of this body politic, and will finish it very speedily unless your Excellency, acting with the discretion and the energy so strongly charged in the laws, and especially in the royal order of April 25, 1837, apply the remedy peremptorily demanded by our situation.

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[Discord and confusion and the spirit of resistance are rife throughout the provinces. The events of 1820 and 1823, the sedition of Apolinario in October, 1841, and the mutiny of the troops, although different in their origin, all exhibit the "perfidy and ferocity that always accompany movements of *color* in Ultramar." The prestige of the government is weakened, which formerly was, with religion, the chief foundation of Spanish domination. The political factions that have arisen in the last six years, and which are now perfectly organized, are greatly to blame. The Peninsulars and Spanish Filipinos will end by destroying each other if the fitting remedy is not speedily applied. In a report made to the government after the sedition of Apolinario had been put down, Matta said that the origin of the confraternity consisted "only in the character of the superstition which distinguishes these natives, who most readily believe whatever is presented to them under the veil of religion and of the marvellous; asserted that it became fanaticism as soon as measures were taken against Apolinario and his confrères, and that it became a declared sedition when the unfortunate Ortega attacked them in Ygsaban with more valor than prudence; and that from that time presenting the appearance of a near insurrection in the neighboring provinces, it is to be feared that it would have been converted into a revolution capable of compromising the conservation of these important possessions had not the seditious ones been promptly defeated and severely punished in Alitao." Matta's report also said that probably Apolinario's expulsion from the hospital of San Juan de Dios in Manila, and the measures taken against his associates, together with the suggestions of the adherents of in-

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dependence, contributed to the holding of the novena in Tayabas in spite of the precautions taken by the military and ecclesiastical authorities. These occurrences were principally the effect of superstition and fanaticism; and although the ideas of emancipation have been present in the Philippines, as in all colonies since the Spanish-American revolution, yet ideas of emancipation are limited in the islands to a few Spaniards who do not even form a political party, but only a crowd of complainers who are either not government employees, or are employees who take it ill that Spaniards are sent from the Peninsula to fill offices that they believe belong properly to themselves.[40] The ideas of emancipation have not yet contaminated, nor will they in a long time contaminate the Chinese, the Chinese mestizos, Spanish mestizos, or the natives, with the exception of a few of the "secular clergy, as insignificant because of their ignorance and few resources as by their lack of influence among their countrymen." Whatever be the opinions of the influential Spaniards born in the islands, they recognize that political upheavals would be as fatal to themselves as to the Peninsulars. In the insurrection of last January, among the six white officers assassinated or wounded, three of those killed and one wounded belonged to the revolting regiment, while the two remaining who were wounded were Europeans. The safety of all lies in the stability of the government; but it must be noted that events are daily more serious and that the discontent is spreading. Important reforms are necessary, but matters must be viewed only in the light of the public cause. "Without virtues there can be

[40] See Mas's remarks in this connection, *ante*, pp. 32-34.

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no prestige; and, without prestige, it will also be impossible for the lesser part to dominate the great whole." The conservation of the islands depends on "radical reforms in their legislation, and peremptory measures of precaution and security." Such reforms are:]

1st. The formation of a special law for these islands, analogous and framed with reference to the genius and circumstances of the various peoples inhabiting them, and to their great distance from the mother-country. [Matta believes in a law that will outline the duties of the governor and captain-general, and place under his general supervision real heads of the various departments of government, who shall be responsible. A Colonial Council or Cabinet for consultation on affairs of general public interest should also be formed. This separation of duties into specific classes, the heads of each department to be subordinate to the governor, in accordance with law ii, título ii, book iii, will ensure the right use of the governing functions. To continue so many unconnected duties under the governor will only add to the confusion.]

2d. The improvement of the government and administration of the provinces by organizing them with reference to their present state of civilization and wealth. For they cannot now, without serious inconveniences, without transcendental harm, have the government, judicial, military and revenue functions, together with commercial occupations and cares, united under one person alone. [The system of placing one person in command of all these departments is opposed to civilization and to the mercantile spirit that has penetrated into the provinces.

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Civil governors should be appointed who should have charge of the government, administration of justice, and the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants. Such governors should have learned the native tongue and should know something of the native manners and customs. The collection of tributes should not be entrusted to them, and their posts should be permanent, except for transfers, promotions, and suspension by the governor and captain-general, or sentence by the suitable tribunal. This will give such provincial chiefs the necessary prestige, in accordance with the royal order of December 10, 1839. In the provinces, passion often takes the place of reason, and anything at all can be justified because of the facility with which the natives contradict and perjure themselves. The position of the provincial chief demands that his authority be very vigorous and held in respect. The native must be kept respectful by tact, justice, punishment, and energy. *Jueces pesquisidores*[41] and judges to take the residencia should not be sent to the provinces, as that tends to weaken the authority of the provincial chief. Easy recourse can be had in the provinces to the tribunals and superior authorities of the islands, while the natives and Chinese can appeal to their protectors, who are generally very zealous in their behalf.]

3rd. The suppression of the colleges of Santo Tomas, San Jose,[42] and San Juan de Letran of this

[41] Magistrates appointed to inquire into the circumstances of a violent death.

[42] The college of San José sent out the following bishops: José Cabral, bishop-elect of Nueva Cáceres; Rodrigo de la Cueva Jiron, bishop of Nueva Segovia; Francisco Pizarro de Orellana, bishop of Nueva Segovia; Jeronimo de Herrera, bishop of Nueva Segovia; Felipe de Molina y Figueroa, bishop of Nueva Cáceres;

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capital, and the conciliar seminaries of the bishoprics, as perpetual nurseries of corruption, laziness, or subversive ideas, as contrary to the quiet and welfare of the villages as to peninsular interests. [The suppression of the last three can be made at once, and they should be replaced with schools of agriculture,[43] arts,[44] and commerce, which will conduce to the prosperity of the colony. As regards Santo Tomas, inasmuch as immediate suppression would anger the Spaniards and Chinese mestizos who have control of almost all the capital of the islands, a new plan should be adopted by which desire to attend it would be gradually decreased until it can be suppressed without any trouble. Sensible Spaniards generally believe that the suppression of these institutions would conduce to the good of the islands and of Spain. From them come the swarms of ignorant and vicious secular priests, and the pettifogging lawyers, who stir up so much trouble among the natives, and cause the provincial chiefs so great incon-

Domingo de Valencia, bishop of Nueva Cáceres; José de Andaya, bishop of Ovieda, Spain, bishop-elect of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, and archbishop of Mexico; and Ignacio de Salamanca, bishop of Cebu. The college also sent out one auditor, one royal treasurer, two alcaldes-mayor; 39 Jesuits (of whom three were martyrs), 4 provincials, 11 calced Augustinians, 10 Recollects, 8 Franciscans, and 3 Dominicans. These statistics are given by Pablo Pastells in a letter in 1902, a translation of which is in the possession of Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A.

[43] Vindel says (*Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, no. 756) that the school of agriculture in Manila was organized by Rafael García López. In regard to this school, which was founded in 1889, see VOL. XLV, pp. 314-318.

[44] On May 4, 1869, a society was authorized for "the promotion of instruction in the arts and trades in the Filipinas Islands;" but it was of short duration, as schools of this sort were soon afterward established by the government. (Vindel, *ut supra*, no. 1661; see also VOL. XLV of this series.)

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venience. Although not much attention is paid to this class, they are the most vicious and worthless in the islands. Public convenience demands the teaching of agriculture, the arts, and commerce, instead of the theology and law to which the institutions above mentioned are devoted. It should not be forgotten that the Spanish-American revolutions were fostered by curas and lawyers, who since they know both the native language and Spanish, have great influence with the masses. The influence of the friar parish priests is now very much weakened, for they have almost entirely abandoned the spiritual administration to their native assistants. These assistants, by working on the superstitious character of the natives, can rouse them to any act that will satisfy their own desires for vengeance.]

4th. The eternal abolition of the sentences of residencia, to which, as governors, the captains-general of the provinces of Ultramar are still subject. [These sentences have been of no use to the inhabitants of the islands, but on the contrary of great harm. Appeal lies to the Audiencia from the judicial acts of the governor, and to the Spanish court from his purely administrational acts. The free press, in which all things are bruited, is also of great use. Communication with Spain is now frequent. The governor and the chief of the treasury have been divested of almost all governmental authority through the residencia. The judicial and contentious have invaded everything and obscured the action of the provincial chiefs, as well as the superintendent and intendant and the governor. The chief authorities of the islands need more energy and freer action.]

5th. [The adoption of various other legislative

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and economic measures which Matta has before proposed to the government.]

[Capitalists and workers are needed in the islands, but, in order to attract them, there must be governmental and administrational reforms. The natives must be considered and various reforms made concerning them, and the heavy tribute on the Chinese must be reduced to not more than the twelve reals per annum for those engaging in agriculture. The public wealth of the islands must be increased. Whites, Chinese, and mestizos must be encouraged to go to the islands in greater numbers, in order to correct the laziness of the natives, and, by their wealth and prestige, to offset the numerical majority of the natives. The increase of consumers in the islands will give a greater outlet to Spanish products from the Peninsula. The revenues must be increased in proportion to the public wealth, in order to sustain the increase of necessary forces.]

[The reforms looking toward security and conservation which are urgently demanded by the moral condition of the country are as follows:]

1st. The reëstablishment of the well-organized military commission of police, vigilance, and public safety. [This would be able to check all sorts of disorder and conspiracy. Its members should be paid by the state, such pay to come from the licenses issued to travelers going to the interior, from licenses to carry arms, from fines, and from the fourth part of all contraband goods confiscated.]

2d. The institution of night-watches in the city and villages outside its walls, which require them, as almost all the traders and a considerable portion of the white population live therein. [These night-

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watches would relieve the troops of patrol duty in many instances. They would be under the alcaldes-in-ordinary, and paid from the municipal funds.]

3rd. The constant maintenance of a guard of at least one thousand European troops. [These are necessary for the garrisoning of the fort at Santiago, the palace, the Parián gate, and the other necessary points. Matta's plan also calls for the reëstablishment of the Spanish guard of halberdiers of one hundred men, to act as interior palace guard, and serve as a source of supply for sergeants for the native regiments. He recommends the establishment of Tagálog academies in order that the Spanish officers and sergeants may learn the native language.[45] Certain privileges are proposed for the European soldiers, whereby their pay may be greater than that of the native soldiers, for their necessities are greater. The term of service in the Philippines ought to be eight years, as provided by royal order of July 26, 1836; but those who are fit ought to be allowed to reënlist and be transferred to the revenue guard [*cuerpo del resguardo*], in order to save cost on transportation. Matta is against having fewer Europeans in the service as has been urged by many persons of experience in the Philippines. The system outlined by him is not one merely of military occupation, but looks to a close bond with the mother-country and to the industrial development of the islands. Agriculture is the best occupation for the whites, and is in fact the only one that will give a good comfortable living. A greater number of Europeans will mean

[45] Vindel mentions (*Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, p. 50) "arrangements regarding the Philippine Institute, and chairs of Tagálog, Bisayan, and practical land-surveying," in the *Boletin oficial del Ministerio de Ultramar*, vol. i.

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a greater proportion of mestizos;[46] and if these, together with the Chinese and some of the whites, engage in agriculture they will throw their influence on the side of the government, because of self-interest. Exaggerated ideas are voiced regarding the Peninsulars. They are never more dangerous than during the first few years in the islands; but, as they become accustomed to the climate and learn to know the inhabitants, their ideas moderate. Consequently, for this reason, and because of the expense, Matta is against frequent reliefs of soldiers. Vacancies in the ranks should always be filled with recruits from Spain, and never with natives. Discipline must not be relaxed on the voyage from Spain; and the soldiers must be kept in good form physically. A special boat is recommended for the transport of soldiers to and from Spain; and cost of transport can be reduced.]

4th. The completion of the organization of the valuable corps of the revenue guards [*cuerpo del resguardo*]. [This can be done by carrying out the royal order of October 18, 1837, and the three parts of the regulations drawn up by Matta's predecessor June 4,

[46] "There was still at Manila another caste of mestizos, originating from Japanese and the Indian women. These Japanese landed on the island of Luçon, about fourscore years ago, in a dismantled vessel, and destitute of everything; I saw them in 1767. They numbered, I believe, at most sixty or seventy persons, all Christians. But as the form of government doubtless did not please them, nor perhaps did the Inquisition, they had demanded to return [to their own country]; and all, or nearly all, actually departed in that same year, 1767, and returned to Japan, where they have probably resumed the faith of their fathers." (Le Gentil, *Voyage*, ii, pp. 53, 54.) Concepción states (*Hist. de Philipinas*, vii, p. 6) that in 1658 a number of Christian Japanese were living in the barrio of San Anton, near Manila; some of them had come on a Japanese ship that was driven to Cavite by storms, and remained with their countrymen at Manila.

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1841, the first two parts of which have already been approved. Matta has endeavored without avail, and supported by various officials, to gain the governor's approval to the third part. The corps of the revenue guards is always loyal to the governor. With the increase provided in the plan for organization, this corps will be the most suitable to defend the country either against foreign or internal foes. Since the immediate object of the revenue guards is the custody, defense, and guard of the revenues, they ought to depend immediately on the treasury department, although they may be available when the public safety demands it for any other duty. By a decree of Matta's predecessor, of April 25, 1839, the revenue guards of the various departments – those of the Bay, and of the tobacco and wine and liquor monopoly revenues – were united into one corps. This extensive corps, which absorbs annually the sum of 191,589 pesos, has no adequate organization, a matter to which immediate attention should be given.]

5th and last. That the attempt be made, in a truly impartial and foresighted system, to conciliate the minds of people, and to put an end to that pernicious mistrust that has been introduced between the peninsular Spaniards and the sons of the country [*i.e.*, the Spaniards born in the Philippines], which is so contrary to the common interest. [The government must not be partial to any one class of men, for each class contains good men who should be rewarded and advanced, and bad men who should be closely watched and punished. Merit should be the only cause for advancement. In closing Matta says that his private life in the islands and his long public serv-

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ice have given him abundant opportunity to observe and study people and conditions. This memorial is dated Manila, February 25, 1843.] [47]

[47] A list of many practical plans and regulations for the benefit of the Philippine Islands, appearing in the *Boletin oficial del Ministerio de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1875-83) may be found in Vindel, *ut supra*, pp. 49, 50. Many other lists of interesting articles regarding the islands, found in periodical publications, are given therein, pp. 46-62; also in Beleña's *Recopilacion* (p. 67).

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THE PHILIPPINES, 1860-1898 – SOME COMMENT AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY JAMES A. LEROY

The "modern era" in the Philippine Islands – which indeed, in certain respects, did not really begin until after the establishment of American rule – coincides roughly with the last half of the nineteenth century. It is impossible to assign arbitrarily any date as precisely that of its commencement. One will be inclined to lay stress upon this or that circumstance, and to choose this or that date, as he places importance mostly upon matters connected with economic development, or with social progress, or with political reforms. The truth is that there was advancement in all these lines, as also there were hindrances to progress in each of them, and that only by surveying it in each of these phases of its development can we come to understand in how considerable a degree Philippine society was remade during this period.

Looking primarily at the expansion of trade and foreign relations, we might date the new era in the Philippines from the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Yet that event, while greatly stimulating trade and agricultural development, did not inaugurate the

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modern era in that respect. The presence of foreign traders, introducing agricultural machinery and advancing money on crops, was the chief stimulus to the opening of new areas of cultivation, the betterment of methods of tilling and preparing crops for the market, and the consequent growth of exports; indeed, one may almost say that certain American (United States) and English trading houses nurtured the sugar and hemp crops of the Philippines into existence. And their pioneer work in this respect was done before the opening of the Suez Canal brought the Philippines into vital touch with Europe by means of steam navigation – American influence being then, in fact, already on the wane. One might more readily, from this point of view, assign importance as a date to 1856, when Iloilo (and soon after Sebú) was opened to foreign trade (hitherto confined to one port of entry, Manila) and foreigners were permitted to open business houses outside of Manila and to trade and traffic in the provinces; or, even, to 1859, when the first steam sugar-mill was set up in Negros island. But the entering wedge had been driven by foreign traders into Spain's policy of exclusion even before the cessation of the galleon-trade, the monopoly which confined Manila's trade to a few Spaniards resident there and their backers in Mexico, who saw in Manila only a depot of exchange for Chinese and other Oriental commodities, and commonly despised the idea of giving any attention to the crude products of the Philippines or endeavoring to stimulate Philippine agriculture and exportation properly so called. From the date when this ruinous monopoly expired with the occupation by Mexican insurgents of Acapulco, the port to which

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the galleons brought their silks, cottons, etc., attention was perforce turned upon Philippine products as a source of trade, and Philippine exports began to grow.[48] Spanish traders being too few, and utterly untrained in the ways of competition, and Spanish ships being scarce in the Orient, foreign traders and foreign ships gathered the bulk of the business even in the face of useless and annoying restrictions, until finally these foreigners had broken down the barriers sufficiently to enter and take a hand in actively fostering agricultural development in the Philippines. Hence, the opening of the Suez Canal only gave a new turn and a great acceleration to a movement that, as regards Philippine internal development, may more logically be dated from 1815, the year of the last voyage of the galleon.

In one sense, indeed, the opening of the Suez Canal tended to lessen, relatively, the influence of foreign business and banking houses in the development of the Philippines, in that it led to direct steamship connection with Spain, awakening interest at home in this hitherto neglected colony and bringing to the Philippines for the first time in three hundred years more than a mere handful of Spaniards. After the early adventurers and encomenderos had disappeared, the number of Spanish civilians in private life was few indeed, numbering the favored merchants who had shares in the galleon trade-monopoly, and an occasional planter, descended perhaps from a family of encomenderos rooted in the Philippines, or being

[48] Some credit should also be given to the Royal Philippine Company (*Real Compañía de Filipinas*), which, though unsuccessful financially, stimulated considerably the development of Philippine agriculture between 1790 and 1820, after which year it did little until its dissolution.

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an ex-army officer who had remained in the islands. Moreover, the small army maintained in the islands was to a considerable extent officered by Mexican creoles or half-castes, its soldiers being mostly Filipinos and Mexicans. The list of civilian officials was itself small, the governor (alcalde mayor) of a province combining with his executive functions and (very commonly) his command of the troops garrisoned therein, the powers of a superior judge for both civil and criminal jurisdictions. The members of the religious orders constituted the largest numerically, as well as the most influential, element of Spaniards in the Philippines. Outside of this class, the Spanish population of the archipelago, always very small even in its total, was mostly gathered in a few places, Manila containing by far the greater proportion. The general rule in the provinces was that only one white man, the friar-curate, was to be found in a town, a number of the smaller towns, moreover, not having a friar-curate, but a Filipino secular priest.[49] The movement of Spaniards to the Phil-

[49] Comyn's *Estado* says that in 1810 the number of Spaniards, born in the Peninsula or elsewhere, and of Spanish *mestizos*, of both sexes and all ages, classes, and occupations, did not exceed 3,500 to 4,000. Diaz Arenas (*Memorias históricas y estadísticas de Filipinas*; Manila, 1850) quotes official figures showing 293 Spaniards settled in the provinces, outside of Manila and Tondo, in 1848; and he records 7,544 as the number of Spanish mestizos in the islands, including Tondo, as Manila province was then called. Cavada (*Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas*; Manila, 1876), taking his figures apparently from the governmental statistics as to houses and their occupants for 1870, gives for that year 3,823 Spaniards (all but 516 of them males) from the Peninsula, and 9,710 "Filipino-Spaniards," the latter classification apparently including Spanish mestizos with such pure-blooded Spaniards as had been born in the Philippines. Among his Peninsular Spaniards would be included over 1,000 members of religious orders, an approximately equal number of soldiers, and

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ippines had, indeed, begun before the opening of the Suez Canal. The inauguration of the Spanish-Philippine Bank in Manila in 1852 afforded evidence

the civil officials of Spanish blood (except a relatively small number born in the islands themselves, mostly in the minor categories of officials). J. F. del Pan (*La poblacion de Filipinas*; Manila, 1883), and F. Cañamaque (*Las islas Filipinas*; Madrid, 1880) both report the parochial statistics of 1876 as showing the total of Spaniards, apart from members of the religious orders, the civil service, and the army and navy, to be 13,265; Cañamaque speaks of this latter class as "Spaniards without official character (Peninsulars and Filipinos)," and Del Pan calls them "persons not subject to the capitation-tax on account of being of the Spanish race." At least some of the Spanish mestizos in the islands would appear to have been included in this total. A statistical résumé for 1898 (*La Política de España en Filipinas*, 1898, pp. 87-92) gives the number of Spaniards in the Philippines at the end of Spanish rule as 34,000 (of whom 5,800 are credited as officers and employees of governments, 3,800 as the normal number of Spaniards in army and navy, and 1,700 as of the clerical estate). These figures, like various other estimates in pamphlets of recent years, are considerably exaggerated; they are reconcilable only on the supposition that they include not only Spaniards of Philippine birth, but also Spanish mestizos. In 1903, only 3,888 Peninsular Spaniards were found in the archipelago. The census of 1896 would have shown separately Spaniards and Spanish mestizos; but it was not completed for all provinces, and has never been published. The foregoing estimates and figures do, however, show the great relative increase of Spaniards and Spanish influence in the Philippines in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Apropos of Mr. LeRoy's note the following is of interest as regards the population of the eighteenth century. "The number of Spaniards who are in the part of Manila not occupied by the friars is very inconsiderable; in 1767, they did not exceed eight hundred persons. It can be said that the friars are masters of the city, for all the houses, except perhaps five or six, belong to them. This makes a fine revenue for them, since the houses are very dear – from two hundred to four hundred piasters (one thousand to two thousand livres). They are still dearer in the suburb of Santa Cruz, where they are worth at least five hundred piasters, for it is there that all the foreign merchants from India or China lodge. Manila is still peopled by the Tagálogs, who are the natives at once of this city and of its bishopric; the Tagálogs serve the Spaniards as domestics, or live by some petty trade or occupation." (Le Gentil, *Voyage*, ii, p. 104.)– Eds.

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much less, however, of the growth of Spanish commercial interests than of a desire to foster the growth of such interests by supplying credit facilities more nearly up to date than those hitherto available (at ruinous rates of interest) from the old "pious funds" [*obras pías*] of various sorts, especially since the foreign trading houses were virtually performing the functions of banks in their ways of extending credit to agriculturists, or were being aided by private bankers associated with them.[49] * The loss of Spain's colonies on the mainland, besides turning many loyal or proscribed Spaniards toward Cuba and the Peninsula, had in a small degree encouraged such emigration to the more distant Philippines, and the history of certain of the most prominent Spanish families in the Philippines dates from the decades immediately following the political upheavals in Spanish-America. In the main, however, such immigrants as came to the Philippines in this way were government employees who, being ousted from the American continent, must rest as pensioners on the home government if the latter could not find them places in the Spanish Antilles or the Philippines. Such immigration, it need not be said, was not altogether an unmixed good; and some of the various "administrative reforms" designed for the Philippines in the fifties and sixties showed the influence of this pressure to provide places for office-holders with a claim on the government. The number of Spaniards who came to the Philippines on their private initiative was very small until direct

[49] * "The Spanish-Filipino Bank, the oldest bank in the islands, was founded (1852) by an order of the Spanish government uniting the *obras pías* funds of the four orders of friars in the Philippines." (*Census of Philippine Islands*, iv, p. 541).– EDS.

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steam communication with the Peninsula was opened, and though it never became large during the last thirty years of Spanish rule, Spanish commercial interests in the islands gained relatively on those of foreigners after the opening of the canal. A direct steamship line from Barcelona was soon established under subsidy. The domestic shipping laws of Spain were even more fully extended over the Philippine archipelago, and the already existing preferential customs duties and regulations aided the growth of Spanish trade in the islands thereafter more than they had done before.[50]

The opening of the Suez Canal and the entry of Spaniards into the archipelago in greater numbers marks an epoch even more in a social way than as respects trade and commerce. And the new social era then inaugurated was closely allied thenceforward with the discussion of political reforms, with the essay of some such reforms on the part of government, and finally with an organized Filipino propaganda for greater social and political freedom. When the Spanish revolution of 1868 occurred the Philippines were still far remote from the mother-country, with its disturbing agitations, wherein violence and utopianism were destined to prepare the way for the reaction; the new governor-general sent out by the reformers who expelled Isabel II came to Manila by the Cape of Good Hope, the old voyage which took four months or more to bring even the news of what was going on in Spain. The Constitution of 1868 had been proclaimed in the Philip-

[50] In the tariff revision of 1891, Spanish goods in Spanish ships were made free of customs duties in Philippine ports; prior to that time they had, as a rule, paid one-half the duties assessed on foreign goods.

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pines but a few months back when, early in 1870, the first steamer arrived direct from Barcelona via Suez. Thenceforward, the capital of this remote Spanish outpost in the Orient was but one month distant from Barcelona for mail and passengers; soon after ocean cables to the ports of China (eventually extended to Manila) put the Philippines in daily touch, as it were, with important occurrences in Spain. The old régime of slumbering exclusion, already breaking down under the influence of trade, was ended.

The influx of Spaniards from this time forward had in it, from the first to the last, more of "politics" than of individual initiative. More of them came out to take governmental positions than to engage in trade, or, less frequently, in agriculture, though many who lost their places by changes in administration stayed in the islands and occupied themselves in private enterprises. It was the "reformers" of the revolutionary period in Spain who first undertook to make a "clean sweep" of the offices in the Philippines, putting in their friends. Administrative reforms, and to a considerable extent a change of officials, was needed; but a more or less complicated bureaucracy was introduced along with some laudable reforms, and there was then inaugurated the pernicious custom of changing the lower Spanish officials in the Philippines, as well as the higher, with every change of administration in Spain – the "dance and counter-dance of employees," as one writer has named it.[51]

[51] In 1898, for instance, when the war with the United States began, the governor-general of the Philippines who had recently negotiated a peace with the insurgent chiefs, had just turned over his place to a new man, a stranger in the islands, and sailed for home. The new Liberal administration, which came into power

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There is undoubtedly some truth in the charge made by the defenders of the Philippine friars that the entry of Spaniards, especially officeholders, during the latter part of the nineteenth century lowered the prestige of the Spanish name in the islands, and was a cause (the friars would make it the chief or sole cause) of the discontent, eventually the rebellion, of the Filipinos. Administrative reforms, some of which were highly beneficial, such as the abolition of the tobacco monopoly[52] and the reorganization of provincial governments, nevertheless had the chief effect, in the eyes of the Filipinos, of raising direct taxes and of burdening them with the support of new sets of officeholders, whose presence was not infrequently distasteful. By far too large a proportion of these officeholders, who came out to an unhealthful clime to take places which were miserably paid and might be taken away from them in two or three years, were concerned rather with the "pickings" than with the duties attached to their offices. Some were openly contemptuous of the natives, and thus helped to destroy the former good feeling between the races. The grievance of the friars was, however, far more frequently vented upon a class of Spanish officeholders quite different from those who gained odium through tyranny or corruption or both; the special hostility of the friars was visited upon their countrymen who gained great popularity with

in Spain in October, 1897, had also sent to the Philippines a new set of provincial governors, to take the place of men who had served, in many cases, less than two years. Some of these new governors had not gone to their posts when Commodore Dewey's squadron arrived, and they were consequently blockaded in Manila.

[52] This was accomplished on December 31, 1882 – (but see *post*, p. 141).–EDS.

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the natives, because of their more democratic beliefs and manners. Such men were commonly of the anti-clerical party in Spain, and the bitterest element in home politics was thus transferred to the Philippines. One may recognize that such men were all too commonly quixotic and indiscreet, as Spanish Liberals notoriously are. To refuse to kiss the friar's hand, and to speak contemptuously of him and all his kind (perhaps even to stir up scandal against them), may have seemed to such men a very natural and proper method of asserting their political beliefs and their sense of individual independence; yet the friars have rightly said that such actions, and the many things growing out of them, struck a blow at the very foundations of the structure upon which Spanish supremacy had been built in the islands. Hence it was that not infrequently a more far-seeing Liberal, after some years of experience in the islands, would come out as a defender of the Philippine friars and their views as to the political régime to be maintained there; he would perhaps explain it by saying that he was "a Liberal at home, but in the Philippines all ought to be Spaniards and only that."

Even if we give full faith to the complaints of the friars' defenders on this score – and their representations of the last half of the nineteenth century are very one-sided – even if we admire and accept as truthful the picture they draw of a sort of Eden in the Philippines back of 1860, and particularly in the two preceding centuries, wherein the humble Filipino lived practically free of taxation, exempt from abuses from above, guileless of serious crime, and watched over by a paternal superior who directed his steps to the eternal bliss of the other world: still,

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accepting the friars' case at its face value, it is plain that they asked for and expected the impossible when they fought to perpetuate medieval conditions in a country opened to trade and commerce and to modern thought and contact with the world at large. We may doubt that ignorance was bliss even in the "good old days;" but it was certain that those days must come to an end when the Philippines were awakened by steamships, telegraph lines, newspapers, and books (even though under clerical and political censorship). Clear-sighted prophecy was that of Feodor Jagor, the German scientist who traveled through the Philippines just before 1860, and who, though he found much to praise in the old paternal régime, said:

"The old situation is no longer possible of maintenance, with the changed conditions of the present time. The colony can no longer be shut off from the outside. Every facility in communication opens a breach in the ancient system and necessarily leads to reforms of a liberal character. The more that foreign capital and foreign ideas penetrate there, the more they increase prosperity, intelligence, and self-esteem, making the existing evils the more intolerable." [53]

[53] F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873), p. 287. Also of interest in this connection are Jagor's remarks in the following two citations from the same book (pp. 288 and 289, respectively). "Government monopolies mercilessly administered, grievous disregard of the creoles and the rich mestizos, and the example of the United States, these were the principal causes of the loss of the American possessions [of Spain]; and the same causes are menacing the Philippines also. Of the monopolies sufficient account has been given in the text. Mestizos and creoles are not, it is true, shut out, as formerly in America, from all offices; but they feel that they are deeply injured and despoiled by the crowds of office seekers whom the frequent changes of minis-

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The echoes of Spanish partisanship and the talk of nineteenth-century reforms had been heard in the Philippines before the revolution of 1868 and the

ters at Madrid bring to Manila. Also the influence of the American elements is at least discernible on the horizon, and will come more to the front as the relations of the two countries grow closer. At present these are still of little importance; in the meantime commerce follows its old routes, which lead to England and the Atlantic ports of the Union. Nevertheless, he who attempts to form a judgment as to the future destiny of the Philippines cannot fix his gaze only on their relations to Spain; he must also consider the mighty changes which within a few decades are being effected on that side of our planet. For the first time in the world's history, the gigantic nations on both sides of a gigantic ocean are beginning to come into direct intercourse: Russia, which alone is greater than two divisions of the world together; China, which within her narrow bounds contains a third of the human race; America, with cultivable soil enough to support almost three times the entire population of the earth. Russia's future rôle in the Pacific Ocean at present baffles all calculations. The intercourse of the two other powers will probably have all the more important consequences when the adjustment between the immeasurable necessity for human labor-power on the one hand, and a correspondingly great surplus of that power on the other, shall fall on it as a problem." "But in proportion as the commerce of the western coast of America extends the influence of the American elements over the South Sea, the ensnaring spell which the great republic exercises over the Spanish colonies will not fail to assert itself in the Philippines also. The Americans appear to be called upon to bring the germ planted by the Spaniards to its full development. As conquerors of the New World, representatives of the body of free citizens in contradistinction to the nobility, they follow with the axe and plow of the pioneer where the Spaniards had opened the way with cross and sword. A considerable part of Spanish America already belongs to the United States, and has, since that occurred, attained an importance which could not have been anticipated either during Spanish rule or during the anarchy which ensued after and from it. In the long run, the Spanish system cannot prevail over the American. While the former exhausts the colonies through direct appropriation of them to the privileged classes, and the metropolis through the drain of its best forces (with, besides, a feeble population), America draws to itself the most energetic elements from all lands; and these on her soil, free from all trammels, and restlessly pushing forward, are continually extending further her power and in-

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opening of the Suez Canal, though it was only after these events that the people generally began to be stirred, and then only in the most populous districts. Because the clerical influence was all-powerful anyway, and the whole fabric of Philippine government reposed upon it, Carlism was felt in the islands before 1850 rather as an influence in certain military mutinies and as a source of strife between rival sets of civil officials than as involving primarily a defense of ecclesiastical privilege. Foremost among the events of the decade preceding the revolution of 1868 may be put the return of the Jesuits to the islands in 1859 (allowed by decree of 1852) and the beginning of educational reform with the decrees of 1863 ordering the establishment of a normal school and of primary schools under government control and supported directly by the local governments.[54] The Jesuits had already opened a secondary school in Manila, introducing for the first time something besides merely theoretical instruction in natural sci-

fluence. The Philippines will so much the less escape the influence of the two great neighboring empires, since neither the islands nor their metropolis are in a condition of stable equilibrium. It seems desirable for the natives that the opinions here expressed shall not too soon be realized as facts, for their training thus far has not sufficiently prepared them for success in the contest with those restless, active, most inconsiderate peoples; they have dreamed away their youth." Some writers have carried the evolution one step farther, as for instance, the following: See Count Edward Wilczek's interesting study on "The historical importance of the Pacific Ocean," in H. F. Helmolt's *History of the World* (N. Y., 1902), i, pp. 566-599; he predicts a future contest which "will have to decide whether, by the permanent occupation of the northern Pacific, the white race shall accomplish its world-embracing destiny, or whether, with the goal already in sight, and for the first time in its history, it will have to make way for a stronger" – that is, for the yellow race, in the form of Japan and China.– EDS.

[54] See the most important of these decrees in our educational appendix, VOL. XLVI.– EDS.

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ences, and more modern methods of instruction generally. Their secondary school was subsidized by the city government of Manila, their meteorological observatory was subsidized by the insular government, which also employed them to inaugurate and conduct the new normal school.[55] From this time forward the Society was both directly and indirectly a stimulus to educational progress in the Philippines, was influential both in diffusing more generally primary instruction and in improving methods and widening curriculums of higher instruction. In a large degree, the educational program remained to the end of Spanish rule a pretentious but most superficial thing, more sounding brass than solid achievement. But we may fairly date a new epoch in this respect from the return of the Jesuits and the decrees of 1863.

In another way the return of the Jesuits is to be associated with the beginning of a new era in the islands. They were not permitted to resume the parochial benefices which their order had held prior

[55] In 1899 and 1900, the American government continued the subsidies to the Jesuits to sustain the normal school and Manila Ateneo. With the establishment, however, of an educational system under the Taft Commission, the subsidy to the Ateneo was withdrawn and a Manila public high school established. The normal school was established in the old buildings of the exposition of 1887, and was the first special school organized under Dr. Atkinson. The vacation normal school is due to Dr. Barrows, who established it in the spring vacation of 1901, in order that the teachers from the provinces might be gathered together for brief instruction in new methods, exchange of ideas, and general inspiration. The regular normal school has been a very notable feature since 1901, and in some ways the most striking thing in the new school system. Its woman's dormitory has been a center of Filipino gatherings and a constant theme of praise by the Filipino press. (From a previous communication to the Editors by J. A. LeRoy.) See VOL. XLVI, p. 95, note.– EDS.

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to their expulsion in 1768, but were to engage in missions in Mindanao and in educational and scientific work. Their resumption of the old missions in Mindanao was accomplished at the expense of the order of Recollects, which was thereupon given the provision of certain parishes, including several wealthy parishes in Luzon, which had for greater or less intervals been held by the more prominent and able of the secular priests, Filipinos of pure native blood or half-castes.[56] The cabildo of the Manila cathedral, including the more notable of the secular priests, and the curates of the few conspicuous parishes (in central Luzon) which it fell to the lot of the secular clergy to occupy, had come to regard these benefices as their property, in a "corporate" sense, as it were, quite as each religious order felt that certain parishes, or whole provinces "belonged" to it as an order. It is significant that here, for the first time, one notes a feeling of solidarity among the Filipino secular clergy – for the demonstration of which feeling one has looked in vain, except in isolated cases, prior to that time, above all in connection with the effort (1770) of the Spanish archbishop, Santa Justa y Rufina, to secularize the parishes and displace the friars with native priests. Only the bolder of the Filipino priests expressed the complaints of their fellows, even now, and open talk of a campaign for secularization of all the parishes was

[56] This exchange of Mindanao missions by the Recollects for parishes in and around Manila and in Mindoro was closely connected with the pro-seculars' campaign made in Manila and Madrid at that time – Father Burgos of the Cathedral standing out preëminently on behalf of his fellows the native priests, a direct step in the way toward his execution in connection with the Cavite mutiny of 1872. (James A. LeRoy, in a personal letter dated January 6, 1906.) See XXVIII, pp. 342, 343.– EDS.

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scarcely heard until some courage was infused into these few and the small party of Filipino Liberals (mostly half-castes or Spaniards of Philippine birth) after the revolution of 1868 and the arrival of a governor-general who permitted public demonstrations in behalf of Liberal reforms. From the time of the execution of three Filipino priests for alleged complicity in the Cavite mutiny of 1872[57] – the proofs of whose guilt the public has not seen, if the military courts which tried them did – there was added to the campaign for the expulsion of the friars[58] on account of their landed estates and of their stifling of intellectual freedom the demand that Philippine parishes be entrusted to a native priesthood. Only since American occupation has the demand for a *national* clergy found full expression, but it had for a quarter of a century before that been an important phase of the sentiment of nationality, a sentiment that was growing steadily, though slowly and in the main secretly until 1896 in the Tagálog provinces and 1898 in the archipelago at large.

The reactionary party had partially regained the

[57] See *post*, pp. 170, 171, note 119. With the three priests was also executed one Francisco Saldúa. Máximo Inocencio, Enrique Paraíso, and Crisanto de los Reyes were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Others were also condemned to death, some of whose sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. The following persons were deported to Marianas: Antonio María Regidor, 8 years; Máximo Paterno; Agustín Mendoza, parish priest of the district of Santa Cruz de Manila; Joaquín Pardo de Tavera, a regidor of Manila and university professor, 6 years. Some of the latter and others lost their qualification as advocates of the Audiencia.– EDS.

[58] In a pamphlet by Manrique A. Lallave (Madrid, 1872), an ex-Dominican missionary from Filipinas, he declares that "the friars at that time possessed property to the value of eleven millions of pesos fuertes." (Vindel, *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, no. 1846.)– EDS.

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upper hand when the mutiny occurred in Cavite in 1872. Instead of treating it as its comparative insignificance demanded, and as prudent statecraft would have counseled, they employed it as an excuse for vengeful violence, as a means for resuming full control of Philippine policy, and continued for twenty-five years thereafter to point to it as their most useful "horrible example," as an evidence of what must follow the inauguration, even in the slightest degree, of a liberal policy in the government of the islands. Rightly or wrongly, the people of that and the succeeding generation in the Tagálog provinces, and to a less degree in the others, were schooled in racial resentment through the belief that the native priests had been done to death, upon a pretext of manufactured evidence, by the malevolence of the friars. The proscription of the more conspicuous of the then small Liberal element among the Filipinos had consequences of no less importance. Those who were sent into exile for alleged complicity in the Cavite mutiny were certain conspicuous half-castes and a few Spaniards of Philippine birth or of long residence in the islands. The native element proper was for the moment scarcely affected, even in Manila and its environs; and no one has ever demonstrated that the few more advanced men of Spanish blood who were moved by the revolution in Spain to take a stand for Liberal measures in the Philippines were engaged in anything but legitimate political discussion, or indeed that they talked of going so far in this direction in the Philippines as had already been done in the Peninsula. These proscriptions powerfully stimulated the idea of a "Filipino cause." Some of the exiles escaped to

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Hongkong, and there founded a Filipino colony. Others settled eventually in Europe; the more progressive and ambitious Filipinos began sending their sons to Madrid and Paris for education in contact with the thought of modern Europe; and in these capitals, and later in Japan, little Filipino colonies became centers of discussion of political reforms, and through letters, publications in the Liberal periodicals of Spain, and finally through their own books and periodicals of propaganda, greatly influenced the growth of a public opinion in the backward society of the Philippines. Spanish Masonry gradually extended the circle of its initiations and of its secret operations (necessarily secret to an extraordinary degree) in the islands. At first only Spaniards had been admitted to a few lodges, then mestizos were admitted, and finally natives of some degree of education without regard to race. In the eighties and nineties, there seems to be no doubt, a sort of independent Grand Lodge in Spain (asserted by some to be of spurious Masonry),[59] managed by zealous Liberal propagandists with whom certain of the Filipino propagandists in Barcelona had associated themselves, directed the active organization of lodges in as many Filipino towns as contained favorable material, for the purpose of fostering in the islands a demand for political reforms, of distributing the literature of the propaganda, and of collecting funds to support the campaign in Spain for the extension of greater social, political, and religious freedom to the Filipinos. The Spaniards associated with this movement were for the most part men of no standing and quixotic visionaries. Some of the

[59] See *post*, p. 182.– EDS.

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Filipinos who figured in the propaganda abroad were quite as unpractical, being inexperienced and excitable youths, full of jealousy of each other, while some few of them, moreover, misused the funds raised for them by their fellows at home. The whole program for "assimilation" of the Philippines to Spain as a province of the Peninsula, giving a distant archipelago in the Orient with its widely different population, social status, and economic conditions and needs, a government just like that of European Spain was manifestly absurd and inimical to the interests of the Filipinos themselves, not to add that its realization was an utter impossibility. But these things should not have been allowed to hide the justice of the demand for such reforms and privileges as were practical and compatible with the needs and conditions of the archipelago and its people: for a spokesman or spokesmen of the Philippines in the Cortes at Madrid; for reforms in judiciary and fundamental laws, not blindly copied from those promulgated in Spain, but adapted to the Philippines, or if necessary especially drafted for them; for administrative reforms, above all as to the civil service and looking toward an increasing recognition of the native element in government, and toward a decentralization that should be gradually extended as far as deeply rooted habits and long-standing customs would permit; and, finally, for greater individual and social freedom, both in a political and a religious sense. This last was really the crux of the whole situation, so far as the continuance of Spanish sovereignty should not come to depend purely on force. In the old days it had rested on religious teachings, on the friars in fact, with the

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sense of race-prestige in the background to support Spanish authority. It was futile for the friars to cry out for a return to the old conditions, and to denounce as dangerous any reforms in the direction of freedom of thought or of speech; the pages of history could not be turned back. The idea of future independence from Spain was, to be sure, in the minds of some at least of the Filipino propagandists. But their present campaign was for greater political liberty, and the measures they advocated, and even the methods they employed almost to the last, would have been legitimate in any free country – were, in fact, legitimate even then in the Peninsula itself, where they could advocate publicly what they must whisper among their fellows at home. The very fact that such organizations as these spurious Masonic lodges were under the ban, and that even to be suspected of belonging thereto was to invite the danger of deportation from home as a "conspirator," is sufficient proof of the essential righteousness of the propagandists' cause. And the campaign that began with a few Spanish-Filipinos in Manila and gradually extended to the more independent men of education in the provinces eventually, under half-educated leaders of the small middle class, reached in a perverted form the masses themselves, especially in central Luzon, and found expression at last in violence and an outburst of race-hatred. The Katipunan was not Masonic, as the friars asserted, only copying some of the Masonic formulæ; but it was a natural and logical outgrowth of the smothering of what had been a legitimate movement for the expression of Filipino reform sentiment.

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The title to these notes has indicated the year 1860 as marking in a general way the opening of the modern era in the Philippines, without reference to any one particular event. It is proposed to give here, briefly, such further notes as will afford a working bibliography on this period, while calling attention to some subjects and certain points that are commonly disregarded in the bibliographies and published works dealing with the last years of Spanish rule in the Philippines. No pretense to completeness is made. The aim is to call attention, under their proper heads, to the more distinctly useful (or, in some cases, the more unreliable, and hence to be avoided) titles already listed in the Philippine bibliography that is to be most readily obtained, and which is also the most complete and satisfactory work of this sort, viz., that published at Washington in 1903;[60] and also to supplement these titles with others there unnoticed and with other data not easily found. In the main, only such works are cited as the writer has himself consulted, though in some cases the notes or recommendations of others have been followed.

The first essential to a study of this period is a fair and comprehensive survey of Philippine conditions in the years just preceding – the "old régime," as we may call it, though it was then breaking down in certain particulars. One book alone will serve the student's purpose in this respect; and, whatever oth-

[60] *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, 1903), comprising under one cover these two volumes which were also published separately by the Library of Congress: *A List of Books (with references to periodicals) on the Philippine Islands in the Library of Congress*, compiled by A. P. C. Griffin; and the *Biblioteca Filipina* of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. For information regarding general bibliographies and bibliographical lists of Philippina, see VOL. LIII of this series.

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ers are read, Jagor's[61] is indispensable. Next to him, and in addition to the documents appearing in this series immediately preceding the present volume, may be cited the 1842 *Informe* of the Spanish diplomat in the Orient, Sinibaldo de Mas, and the two-volume treatise of 1846 by the Frenchman, J. Mallat. In certain respects, the latter has closely followed Mas; but his is no mere translated plagiarism, like that of John Bowring (1859), who was only a temporary visitor entertained by Spanish officialdom in Manila. The work of Paul de la Gironière, not his *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, but his more serious work of 1855 (*Aventures d'un gentilhomme breton aux îles Philippines*), merits attention as containing the observations of a cultivated foreigner who had the advantage of years of residence in Manila and a neighboring province.

As was indicated at the beginning of these notes, to make a thorough study of this period, we should consider it under three heads, viz., economic development, social development, and political development. Not only has there been no comprehensive review of the period as a whole, but there exists no review of it under any one of these heads, nor even any group of writings which can be offered to the inquirer as covering the field of inquiry in any one of these respects. For one thing, we must draw mainly upon Spanish sources of information, official and private, and rare indeed is the Spanish writer

[61] Reference has already been made in another footnote to the German original; English and Spanish translations of this work, both defective, were also published. It has not been deemed necessary in this brief sketch to append the bibliographical details, except when they may not be found in *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands*, under the names of the authors herein cited.

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who does not either proceed regardless of the economic point of view, or else give entirely secondary consideration to the vital matter concerned in the economic and social progress of a people independently of political forms and governmental influences. The result is that Spanish writers, with them the Filipinos, and to a great extent the writers of Philippine treatises in other languages (drawing hastily upon Spanish sources), have over-emphasized the political history of this Philippine period. Of course, in Spain and the Spanish countries long-standing habit makes it the tendency to look to government for everything, and to think of all amelioration of evils and all incitements to progress as coming from above; while social and economic conditions in the Philippines are such as to emphasize this tendency, the aristocracy of wealth and education standing apart from the masses and being, to the latter, identified in the main with the government, with the "powers above." Nevertheless, it is to be insisted that social and economic progress in the Philippines during the last half-century should be considered separately and studied more particularly than they have been thus far.

It need hardly be said, for another thing, that it is not possible to make an absolute separation of this subject under the headings thus indicated. Such a thing cannot be done with any people in any period of history. In this particular case, one need only mention the Religious Question, with its phases as a contest between friars and native clergy, as a demand for modern freedom of thought and speech, and as an agrarian question, to show at once that matters social, economic, and political are here interwoven.

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So also the Spanish administration cannot be considered wholly apart from its bearing upon economic and social as well as purely political matters. No rigid classification is possible, but the student who approaches the history of this period – which, apart from its own interest, has had ever since 1898 the most vital bearing upon a public question of great importance in the United States today – will avoid confusion by giving consideration to these separate points of view.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

One would welcome an attempt by some one of the more ambitious Filipino writers and students whose attention has been occupied almost exclusively with political controversy to write the social history of his people during this last period of Spanish rule. The materials for such a study, so far as they now exist in print, are very fragmentary, and the work could hardly be well done by any but a resident of the islands during that period. But few references need be given here, and the inquirer must derive most of his information on this line from the numerous books and pamphlets whose object is primarily political questions and from the economic and fiscal tables and studies which shed light upon the general status of the people.

General historical surveys of the period are lacking. Montero y Vidal's three-volume history comes down only to 1873. And, though it is the best Philippine historical work for reference purposes, it is, after all, hardly more than a chronology of important events and compilation of official orders and projects, touching the life of the people scarcely at all. The

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same author's work of 1886, *El archipiélago filipino*, merits attention also in this connection, though primarily it sets forth facts geographical, statistical, etc. The works of Manuel Scheidnagel deserve also citation as those of a Spanish official of long and varied experience in the Philippines, and as shedding, incidentally to the particular subjects which they treat, light upon the conditions of country and people in general.[62]

The foreigners who traveled in the Philippines during this period, and who have written thereon, were occupied in most cases with scientific pursuits, and have confined themselves mainly to these objects in what they have published. The *Luçon et Palaouan* (Paris, 1887) of Alfred Marche touches upon the customs and conditions of the people in its record of six years' scientific research for the government of France. Edmond Plauchut's contributions to the *Revue des deux mondes* for 1869 and 1877, in lighter vein and perhaps not always accurate, are, like Gironière's writings of earlier date, interesting as presenting the observations of a resident foreigner. Among the works in English, revised or written since 1898 to meet the demand in the United States for information about the Philippines, Dean C. Worcester's *The Philippine Islands and their People* (New York, 1898), brings us nearest to the life of the people, particularly in the rural districts and regions most remote from modern changing influences. The treatises of the British engineers and experts in tropical agriculture, Frederick H. Sawyer and John Foreman, are written by men who were, naturally, best prepared

[62] Particularly his *Las colonias españolas de Asia. Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1880).

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to discuss the agricultural conditions and the material resources in general of the Philippines. Outside of these matters, except when reciting personal experiences and observations, both are compilers whose reading in Philippine bibliography has been very fragmentary. Foreman in particular has undertaken to cover the entire field of Philippine history and politics, and has, to state the plain truth, made a very bad botch of it. He has been so often quoted in the United States as authority for erroneous statements that it is time to make this fact clear. It is commonly impossible to draw the line in what he has written between fact and gossip, conjecture, or partial truth. His latest edition (1906) contains most of the old glaring errors or even worse omissions, with a full measure of new ones in his recital of the history of events since 1896. Some data contained in Foreman's book are not readily available to an American student outside of the large libraries; but a caution is to be uttered against relying upon him, even for his recital of fiscal details or for his statistical tables. Sawyer is very much more accurate and reliable, just as he is less pretentious in the program of his work.

In studying the social process of the Filipino people from about 1860 onward, the subject of education holds the first place.[63] It is, however, unnecessary to occupy ourselves here with the bibliography of the subject, which has been very fully covered in VOLS. XLV and XLVI of this work, the appendices to those volumes giving, in connection with other documents

[63] It is closely related also with the political questions of this period, with the friar controversy, and with matters of administration as such.

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in this series and with the bibliographical notes, the most comprehensive treatment of the subject of education in the Philippines that is yet available in any language.

As we might expect from what has been said, the social life of the Philippines, at least from about 1875, may best be studied in the periodicals of Manila. In this connection it is only necessary to mention Retana's *El periodismo filipino*, which covers the subject down to 1894. *La Revista de Filipinas*, edited by J. F. del Pan, 1875-77, deserves special mention among the many periodicals of short life. Among those of longer duration may be named *El Diario de Manila*, and also, for the closing years of Spanish rule, *La Oceanía Española, La Voz Española* and *El Comercio*.[64] One should also consult these Spanish periodicals of Manila for the political history of these years, particularly of 1896-98. It must be remarked, however, that, just as these periodicals reflected mainly the life only of the capital, and that quite exclusively from the Spanish viewpoint, so also they treated political and administrative matters not merely under the constraint of their editors' notions as to "maintaining Spanish prestige" but also with a censorship in the background, maintained by and for the political and the ecclesiastical authorities.[65]

[64] *El Diario de Manila* was established in 1848, a name which was changed to *El Boletin oficial de Filipinas* in 1852, and again to the former name in 1860; papers called *El Comercio* were founded in 1858 (probably), and in 1869; *La Oceanía Española*, in 1877 (which succeeded *El Porvenir Filipino*); *La Voz Española* was founded in 1888 under the name of *La Voz de España*, the issue of March 5, 1892, marking the change of name. See Retana's *El periodismo*.– EDS.

[65] See also Griffin's *List* for a list of periodical articles (mainly from American magazines, although some foreign titles are also noted.)– EDS.

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Down to 1898 the Philippine law of censorship of 1857, modeled on that of Spain in the days of Isabel II, was in force, and it covered the publication of books and pamphlets of all sorts and of newspapers, the importation and sale of books, pictures, etc., and the regulation of theaters.[66] One will, therefore, look almost in vain in these periodicals prior to 1898 for expressions of the Filipino point of view, or, till the close of 1897, for any frank expression of liberal political views on the part of Spanish editors. The few Manila periodicals started by Filipinos before 1898, usually printed in Spanish and Tagálog, had but an ephemeral existence.[67] One must look for the expression of Filipino aims and ideas to the periodicals that have been published since 1898; indeed, even the Spanish press of Manila has treated Filipino questions with freedom only since American occupation began.

For population statistics, all practical purposes are served by the tables and comparisons of the American census of 1903.[68] Here one may find also the best data for reconstructing before his eyes the social and economic status of the Philippines and its inhabitants at the close of Spanish rule. The Spanish civil census of 1896 was unfortunately never published, nor completed in some provinces. The civil

[66] Retana reproduced this *Reglamento de Asuntos de Imprenta* of 1857 in volume i of the *Archivo*. Retana, who was for a time a newspaper man in Manila, says it was not known by the newspaper editors or by the political censor; in other words, the censor did about as he pleased.

[67] The Filipino press of propaganda, published abroad, will merit attention further on, when "Reform and Revolution" are discussed.

[68] *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1903). In vol. ii, pp. 17-22, are tables comparing Spanish estimates and censuses, with references to such.

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census of 1887, though published in very condensed form, merits attention.[69] Certain of the more notable statistical works of private individuals will require notice in connection with agriculture, industry, and commerce; here the student may be referred to the *Bibliography* under the names of Agustín de la Cavada, J. F. del Pan, and José Jimeno Agius.[70]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Using, as throughout these notes, the *Bibliography* as a starting point, the student is referred to the first part of that work, viz., the *List* of the Library of Congress, under the headings Agriculture, Commerce, Finance, and Political and Social Economy; and to Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca* under the alphabetical lists of Aranceles, Balanzas, Boletín, Estatutos, Exposición, Guía, Instrucción, Memoria, and Reglamentos. Some of the works therein cited are obviously indispensable, and occasional biographical and bibliographical notes are also afforded, especially by Pardo de Tavera under the names of authors cited, which will help in forming an opinion on the value of their works.[71] It is in point here to designate among these works those most useful as references in a general way upon Philippine eco-

[69] *Archipiélagos filipinos en la Oceanía, Censo de población verificado el 31 de Diciembre de 1887.* . . . (Manila, 1889).

[70] For population alone, there may also be mentioned the table of various civil and ecclesiastical estimates, based mainly on the returns of the tributes, in Sancianco y Goson's *El progreso de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1881), pp. 175-186; and the summaries of five Spanish censuses and tables of the 1896 census in *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, ii, appendices HH and II.

[71] If possible, Pardo de Tavera's bibliographical comments should be checked up by those made by Retana to some of these works in his various bibliographies.– EDS.

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nomic matters, to add some not listed in the *Bibliography*, and to give some special references under the particular headings of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry.

General.– Jagor's book, already noted as the best introduction to the study of this period, is again mentioned here as affording data on the tobacco monopoly (which lasted until 1884, before its affairs were wound up), the attitude of the Spaniards toward the entry of foreign traders, and the part these foreigners played in developing the culture of *abaká* and sugar. Cavada's *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas* (Manila, 1876) has a good arsenal of data drawn chiefly from the civil statistical inquiries of 1870, though, like almost all such works in Spanish, it is without a topical index and is put together in a disorderly manner most exasperating to the searcher for facts or figures on a specific point of inquiry. Of the works of José Jimeno y Agius, his *Memoria sobre el desestanco del tabaco* (Binondo, 1871) and *Población y comercio de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1884) should be especially mentioned. Gregorio Sancianco y Goson's *El progreso de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1881), especially valuable on administrative matters just prior to the revision of the fiscal régime in connection with the abolition of the government tobacco monopoly, has also many data on land, commerce, and industry. Scattered through the eight volumes of the fortnightly *La Política de España en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1891-98) are useful items on Philippine currency and exchange, trade, etc., with occasional studies of these questions and those of Chinese and European immigration, in most cases hasty, unreliable pieces of work, often even

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fantastic for their utter disregard of the fundamentals of political economy. Foreman's book has already been characterized; nevertheless, checked up with Sawyer's, it is of use in this connection. Of the consular and other official reports, those of the British Foreign Office[72] are the most valuable as a series, though the comprehensive reports of the French Consul, M. de Bérard, covering the years 1888-92, merit first place as individual treatises.[73]

The testimony and memoranda presented before the American Peace Commission in Paris in 1898, together with some magazine articles on the Philippines, form appendices to *Senate Document no. 62,* 55th Congress, 3rd session; only the memorandum of General F. V. Greene (pp. 404-440) and Max L. Tornow's *Sketch of the Economic Conditions of the Philippines* require any consideration in this connection.[74] The reports on civil affairs (1899-1901) of the United States military government in the Philippines and the reports of the Philippine Commission have much retrospective value in connection with the previous economic and fiscal régime, and merit a general perusal in that light; some of their more

[72] See Library of Congress *List*, etc., pp. 9-11.

[73] Cited in Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca* as nos. 269 and 2,003. The American consular reports are given in a separate table in the Library of Congress *List*, pp. 178-180. Only those of Consul Webb, 1888-90, need be mentioned as containing some data of interest.

[74] Both the papers cited have subsequently been reproduced in several other government bulletins, which will be cited in their places. E. W. Hardin's *Report on the Financial and Industrial Condition of the Philippines* (*Senate Document no. 169,* 55th Congress, 3rd session) was similarly reproduced. All three of these documents, which were useful to American inquirers immediately following the events of 1898, may be disregarded by the student who resorts to the Spanish and other sources herein given.

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especially pertinent revelations will be hereinafter cited. The *Report on Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies in the Orient* (Washington, 1902) by Jeremiah W. Jenks, special commissioner of the United States government, is of course of comparative value primarily, but contains some general remarks on Philippine conditions as regards currency, labor, land, and taxation. In many respects the best economic study ever made of the Philippines is Victor S. Clark's *Labor Conditions in the Philippines* (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor no. 58, Washington, May, 1905); though discussing the labor question, and that under American occupation, it has been written with a view constantly to past conditions in the Philippines, social and political as well as economic.[75]

Agriculture, Land, etc.—Beyond the general references given, no special work can be recommended on the subject of Philippine agriculture. The reports and bulletins of the present Philippine Bureau of Agriculture (1902 to date) shed much light incidentally on past conditions and methods of cultivation. Numerous official provisions and some private treatises on the Spanish land laws are cited by Pardo de Tavera; but these remained for the most part dead letters, and for all practical purposes a little compilation in English[76] by the present Philippine Forestry

[75] A 36-page pamphlet, *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands* (London 1905), by A. M. Regidor y Jurado and J. W. T. Mason, is quite inaccurate and in part gossipy, but may be noted as containing some nineteenth-century data on foreign traders and bankers not elsewhere in print.

[76] *Spanish Public Land Laws in the Philippine Islands and their History to August 13, 1898* (Washington, Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1901). These laws and conditions of land tenure under Spanish rule are also succinctly summarized by D. R. Williams in

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Bureau suffices. In a report on the establishment of land banks in the Philippines, José Cabezas de Herrera provided a historical review and abstract of landed property in those islands.[77] In connection with his arguments in behalf of a tax on landed property as just and as also necessary in order to support a really efficient government in the Philippines, Sancianco y Goson gives considerable information on conditions of land tenure and cultivation down to 1881.[78]

Chinese.– Discussion of the Chinese in the Philippines is related more particularly to questions of industry and retail trade. Nevertheless, the Spanish government maintained almost to the end the theory – it was hardly more than an empty theory – that the Chinese immigration was being so regulated as to constitute a stimulus to agriculture. The subject also falls into place here because, from about 1886, when

Official Handbook of the Philippines (Manila, 1903); in other respects the *Handbook*, a Washington library compilation prepared for the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, has no independent value and is often inaccurate.

[77] According to Retana, who cites this *Informe emitido. . sobre bancos hipotecarios* (Madrid, 1889) in the *Estadismo*, ii, p. 151*. Pardo de Tavera (*Biblioteca*, p. 76) says that this report led to the official decision that, in view of the general lack of titles, the establishment of land banks would be premature.

[78] Following are special citations from his *El progreso de Filipinas*: Land tax, and arguments therefor, pp. 9, 10, 28-34, 48-53, 56, 65-80; tax on real estate in towns, pp. 81-89; deficiency of provisions for obtaining title to unoccupied lands, pp. 48-53, 54-56, 57-66, 222-223; data (mostly from Jordana y Morera) regarding development of forest and agricultural resources and amount of cultivated land, province by province, to 1873-74, pp. 187-204; value assigned to land, province by province, result of official inquiry of 1862, pp. 212-223; Filipino laborer and his share in development of agricultural resources, pp. 223-237; rates of interest on real-estate loans, pp. 253-254; land measures in use, pp. 257-258.

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a campaign for the exclusion of the Chinese was started by Spanish merchants and newspaper men, a program for fostering the immigration of Spaniards into the Philippines, and especially into the undeveloped areas of Mindanao and Palawan, was quite regularly coupled with the arguments for Chinese exclusion. This program was usually presented without regard for the climatic and economic considerations involved; that it was a "patriotic" scheme was sufficient for some of these writers, who never stopped to ask themselves if their plans were practical.[79] Among the pamphlets on the Chinese in the Philippines cited by Pardo de Tavera, those of Del Pan and Jordana y Morera deserve attention. A good survey of the subject, though not accurate in its statistics, is G. García Ageo's *Memorandum on the Chinese in the Philippines* in *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, ii, pp. 432-445.[80]

Industries.—The general references already cited must be relied upon, and it is a rather wearisome task to uncover the data for a study of Philippine industries from statistical tables, treatises and pamphlets which have given the subject a cursory or fragmentary treatment. The British and French consular reports may, however, be especially remarked. Also, the reports of the Chief of the Bureau of Internal Revenue in the reports of the Philippine Commission since 1904, when a new scheme of internal taxation was adopted, contain much information on industrial conditions, past and present.

[79] The intemperate and fantastic writings of "Quioquiap" (Pablo Feced) in *El Diario de Manila* and *La Política de España en Filipinas* are in point.

[80] See also *ibid.*, i, pp. 150-159.

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Commerce, Internal Trade, Navigation, etc.—The Spanish statistical annuals, tariff regulations, etc., are fully listed by the Library of Congress and Pardo de Tavera, under the headings above noted for general references on economic matters. The most comprehensive survey of trade statistics, and one which almost serves the purpose by itself alone, is contained in the *Monthly Summary of Commerce of the Philippine Islands*, for December, 1904, published at Washington by the Bureau of Insular Affairs. It presents classified tables covering Philippine imports and exports for the fifty years 1855-1904; they were prepared from the best available Spanish trade statistics, reduced to terms of American gold currency at the average rate of exchange for each year, and, so far as the writer has checked these figures, they are the most reliable that are presented anywhere.[81] Among the very few Spanish writings, Azcárraga's *Libertad de Comercio* (Madrid, 1872) and Jimeno Agius's *Población y comercio* (1884) deserve special mention, also once more the useful little book of Sancianco y Goson, for brief but useful data for 1868-80 in its appendices.[82] For 1891-

[81] These tables entirely supersede those presented, earlier in the period of American occupation, in the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* for November, 1899, and July, 1901 (which also reproduced the memoranda of Greene, Tornow, and others, already cited). Some of the tables presented in *Bulletin No. 14, Section of Foreign Markets, Department of Agriculture* (Washington, 1898) give in convenient form Philippine trade statistics by countries, both for imports and exports.

[82] *El progreso de Filipinas*, pp. 238-244, foreign commerce, entry of Spanish and foreign vessels, etc., for 1868; p. 244, table of exports for 1871, in quantities (66 per cent of the hemp and over 50 per cent of the sugar going to the United States in that year); pp. 245-249, internal trade and inter-island shipping; pp. 253-255, rates of interest and kinds of money in circulation; pp. 255-258, weights and measures in use (about 1880).

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98, *La Política de España en Filipinas* has some scattering figures on trade and commerce, year by year, highly unsatisfactory for the most part. Besides the general references upon the Spanish customs tariffs, one will find in *Senate Document no. 134*, 57th Congress, 1st session (Washington, 1902), in its Exhibit D, a comparison of the 1901 tariff with the Spanish tariff of 1891.[83]

Currency.—The *List* of the Library of Congress, under the heading Finance, cites a few Spanish and foreign treatises on Philippine currency prior to 1898, and the earlier American official reports on the subject. One will get more enlightenment upon the actual conditions prevailing during the last years of Spanish rule from memoranda and testimony in certain of these American reports than from any of the printed sources of date earlier than 1898. Nevertheless, the petition of the Manila Chamber of Commerce in 1895 reproduced in *La Política de España en Filipinas*, v, no. 105, brings out in part the highly unsatisfactory conditions produced by the Spanish government's inaction and disregard of well-established economic principles. In *ibid.*, vii, p. 217, is given the text of the decree of April 17, 1897, providing for the new Philippine silver peso which was beginning to circulate in the islands when American arms intervened, and which was proclaimed as a "settlement" of the Philippine currency evils, yet would obviously not have proved sufficient, unsupported as it was by provisions to sustain it in the face of the decline of silver. In much of the loose talk about economic depression in the Philippines

[83] Questions of customs administration belong with the subject of Spanish administration, further on.

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since the wars of 1896-98 and 1899-1901, not enough attention has been paid to the fact that "hard times" had really begun before, during 1891-95 particularly, and that an unstable currency and exchange fluctuations had then played their part in producing these conditions; also that it was the Filipino laborer and small producer who was especially mulcted of his due by conditions produced in part officially and in part by governmental neglect.[84] In addition to the American documents listed by the Library of Congress, reference should be made, as regards currency and exchange evils before 1898, to the survey of the subject by the Schurman Commission (*Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, i, pp. 142-149), and the testimony of Manila bankers and business men in the same report (vol. ii); to magazine articles by Charles A. Conant printed as appendices in *Report of the Commission on International Exchange* (Washington, 1903); and, for a few details on previous conditions, with exchange tables, to the reports of E. W. Kemmerer, Chief of the Division of Currency, for 1904 and 1905.[84*]

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT – SPANISH ADMINISTRATION

Our object here being primarily the political progress of the Filipino people, we are concerned incidentally, as it were, with the subject of Spanish

[84] It is another instance of the old tendency to emphasize political evils and remedies, and neglect economic considerations, in the Philippines. The labor monograph of V. S. Clark, above cited, brings out the fact that higher wages for Filipinos since 1898 are in part only a compensation for the previous penalization of the Filipino laborer through a declining medium of exchange.

[84*] In *Report of Philippine Commission*, 1904, iii, pp. 487-503; and *ibid.*, 1905, iv, pp. 71-87.

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administration considered by itself alone. A good study of that subject, be it said, is lacking, and it may be recommended as an opportunity worth improving.

No one who has read even a little about the Philippines and Filipinos need be told that it is necessary to trace the political development of this people along two lines – unfortunately, it proved for Spain, lines that are divergent in considerable degree. Hence the subdivision of this heading, regarding, first, development under Spanish Administration and then the Filipino Propaganda, first of Reform and finally of Revolution. We are concerned in the first instance, that is, with reforms and progress realized in consequence of measures "from above." It has already been said that very considerable progress had been made by the Spanish government from about 1860 onward, and was being made when the Tagálogs appealed to arms in 1896.[85] It is also true that the stimulus to the Filipino reform propaganda came in considerable degree from the movements toward betterment of the government itself, and from the agitations for reform in Spanish home politics.[86] But the development of the Filipino people, social, political, and economic, proceeded at last more rapidly, or less haltingly at least, than the progress in reform from above; the reform measures were only partial, often unpractical or ill-adapted to Philippine conditions; abuses of administration continued under so-

[85] See M. Sastrón, *La insurrección en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1897 and 1901), chap. i, for a summary of the reforms of the '80's and 1893.

[86] It is thus that, from their point of view, the Philippine friars and their Spanish clerical-conservative defenders have branded the Filipino campaign, eventually for separation, as entirely produced and fostered by Spanish Liberalism.

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called Liberal periods as well as in times of full clerical domination; in the action and reaction of Spanish politics, in which so often are party divisions merely nominal and superficial, the course of progress was so irregular and uncertain as to lend justification to the feeling of the Filipinos that they were being treated with insincerity; and all the while, in the midst of bitter partisan and religious controversy, conducted on both sides by writers most rabid and intemperate, the two peoples were constantly growing apart from each other, and were losing the mutual good-feeling of past years which, though always superficial in large part (as in any such domination of one race by another), had nevertheless had a foundation of genuine esteem.

The administrative organism.–For present purposes, it almost suffices to refer simply to the *List* of the Library of Congress under the headings Finance, Law, Political and Social Economy, and to Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca* under the names of authors cited in the above *List* and the alphabetical headings Aranceles, Balanza, Boletín, Colección, Disposiciones, Exposición, Guía, Memoria, Proyectos (those of 1870 for all sorts of reforms proposed after the Spanish Revolution of 1868), and Reglamentos. The bibliography of Colonization published by the Library of Congress, besides these special works on the Philippines, lists also works on Spanish colonies and works on colonization in general.[87] Of the compila-

[87] *List of Books (with references to periodicals) relating to the theory of colonization, government of dependencies, protectorates, and related topics*, by A. P. C. Griffin (Washington, 1900). It is inserted also in O. P. Austin's *Colonial administration, 1800-1900* (from *Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* for March, 1903).

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tions, annuals, etc., listed in these bibliographies, special attention may be directed to those cited under the names of Rodriguez San Pedro (to 1869) and Rodriguez Berriz (to 1888). The most complete reference work on Spanish legislation, executive regulations, etc., is the *Colección legislativa de España*, and this work contains provisions enacted at Madrid with regard to the Philippines down to and including 1898. For the full official record, not only of enactments at Madrid, but of the forms under which these were carried into effect in the islands themselves, the Philippine governmental regulations, proclamations, etc., covering this entire period down to the end of Spanish rule, the official gazette of the Philippines (published under the name *La Gaceta de Manila*, 1860-1898) is the final source; but the writer knows of no full collection thereof in any library of the United States, though there is of course one in the archives at Manila. In this connection, it should be remarked that the governor-general had very wide, and in some respects not very exactly prescribed, powers, one of the most indefinite and sweeping of which was that requiring any general law or special provision of Madrid, before it actually acquired force in the Philippines, to be published with the governor-general's "*cúmplase*" ("let it go into effect"). This might be, and usually was, a mere formality; but it was capable of being used so as at least to postpone the execution of a legislative decree or ministerial order which was distasteful to the chief authority of the Philippines, was violently opposed by the influential interests in the islands (particularly the ecclesiastical element), or, as happened in some cases, was manifestly inapplicable to Philippine con-

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ditions. Of course, the governor-general could readily be overruled, but even so, he could, if he desired, secure thus a delay and possible reconsideration of the matter, and the frequent changes of party administration in Spain encouraged delays of this and like sorts, not a few reform decrees remaining thus dead letters in the Philippines. It is often important, therefore, to discover not only what was the law or regulation provided for the Philippines in Madrid, but how it was put into force in the islands, or if it actually took effect at all. For this purpose, the Official Guide of the Philippines (*Guía de forasteros* to 1865, *Guía oficial* from 1879 to 1898) supplements in some respects the official gazette and the collection of Rodriguez Berriz.[88]

Of surveys and summaries of Spanish administration in the Philippines listed in the *Bibliography* may be mentioned Cabezas de Herrera's *Apuntes* (1883) and Fabié's *Ensayo histórico* (Madrid, 1896), also José de la Rosa's *La administración pública en Filipinas*.[89] In the compilation by Jesuit fathers published at Washington in 1900 under the title *El archipiélago filipino*, there is to be found in vol. i, a survey of the governmental organization and the

[88] The *Statesman's Yearbook* and such general works of reference will merit consultation; but it should be remarked that, prior to 1898, encyclopedias, annuals, etc., commonly treated the Philippines rather cursorily and not always accurately, while, generally speaking, the Spanish colonies have had very inadequate consideration at the hands of English and American authors and editors. For the special subjects of military and naval organization, see Salinas y Angulo's *Legislación militar* (Manila, 1879), and Rodriguez Trujillo's *Memoria sobre la Marina* (Manila, 1887), both cited in the *Bibliography*.

[89] Published in *La España Oriental*, Manila, 1893, and *La Política de España en Filipinas*, 1893-94. See Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca*, no. 1496; note also his no. 2702, under Tiscar.

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various activities of the government both under civil and ecclesiastical control. This is reproduced in English in vol. iv of *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*. In vol. i of this report of the Schurman Commission (part iv, chapter i, also pp. 122-123) is an abstract of the Spanish system of government which, so far as the framework of that government is concerned, serves the purpose for one who can not readily consult the Spanish official sources from which it was drawn.[90] The major portion of this abstract is occupied by a translation and summary of the law reforming the Philippine local governments in 1893, commonly called the "Maura Law" after the Colonial Minister who promulgated it.[91] As put in force by Governor-General Blanco, however, it was somewhat altered and revised, and many of its more promising provisions for local autonomy had in most towns remained in reality dead letters up to the time when revolt broke out in the Tagálog provinces in 1896; elections under the

[90] It is to be emphasized, however, that this abstract shows only the *framework* of that government, and that just as it stood (*on paper*) at the beginning of 1898, its author not having traced the development of that organism even for a few years back nor learned that some of the provisions he outlined were not really in practice.

[91] Grifol y Aliaga (VOL. XLVI, p. 109, note 48) is very naïve, seeking to waive away the effect of the Maura law's plain provisions in the same way as did some friar and other writers. In his decree providing regulations for carrying out the law, Blanco explained that the parish priests were to retain their inspection of the schools as regards the teaching of *religion and morals*. The municipal tribunals were expressly created as schoolboards – an institution of which Zamora (*Las corporaciones religiosas*) bitterly complains. In reality, however, this reform remained a dead letter in most villages, except in the provinces most advanced in the propaganda, where the Filipino local officials asserted their power of regulation (Bulakan, Batangas, Manila, etc.). (From a previous communication from Mr. LeRoy.)– EDS.

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new law were suspended, and martial law established. For this law in its original text and as promulgated by Blanco, with regulations and model forms for the municipalities, see Felix M. Roxas's *Comentarios al reglamento provisional de las juntas provinciales* (Manila, 1894).[92]

The administration in actual operation.—What most interests us is the actual working of this machine in Manila, the provinces and towns, and the works above cited will mostly provide for us only its skeleton on paper. To make it an effective machine, we must resort to personal testimony, occasional revelations thrown upon it by such of our writers as looked beyond mere routine, and perhaps most of all to the periodical literature of the times.[93] Few of the resident writers of the old régime thought it was quite patriotic, or would serve their personal interests, to discuss matters as frankly, for example, as did Sancianco y Goson.[94] Testimony before the

[92] Pedro A. Paterno's *Regimen municipal de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1893), reproducing Minister Maura's decree in its original form, with notes, was therefore premature. Except in some of its comments, however, this work is at least not merely ridiculous, as are this author's writings on an imaginary primitive religion and civilization of the Filipinos. Don Pedro has a lively imagination, too lively for politics and history, but capable of providing good entertainment when he exercises it as a dramatist. One finds him much more pleasing in this rôle than as a Filipino reform propagandist, though in the latter capacity he seems to have been taken very seriously by Doctor Schurman and Mr. Foreman, and by various Spanish officials before them, including, for a time, Governor-Generals Primo de Rivera and Augustín.

[93] Once more, the Manila press since 1898 merits attention here. The Filipino press has not been always fair in treating of the old régime, but both in the Filipino and the Spanish press of Manila since 1898 some things have been brought to light which were either suppressed for private gossip or not frankly discussed at the time of their occurrence.

[94] Notes from his *Progreso de Filipinas*: Lack of public im-

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Schurman Commission (vol. ii of its report) in 1899 brings out, here and there, revelations as to how the former government was actually administered.[95] Philippine government reports under American rule bring to light here and there revelations about the former administration, especially in fiscal and judicial matters. The customs collections benefited the treasury far less than they should have done; perhaps fully as much as was turned in was "absorbed" in one way and another.[96] Special surtaxes on the customs and port dues were collected at Manila for the improvement of its harbor from 1880 to 1898, amounting during the last five years alone to 3,500,000 pesos. Yet the work, when at last inaugurated, dragged along in desultory fashion and the value of

provements and defects of public services, especially education, pp. 26-34; defects in administration of justice and its expensiveness, pp. 134-136; lack of development of material resources, pp. 205-211, 253-254; restriction of opportunities for Filipino laborers, and the evils of caciquism, pp. 212-237. A study of caciquism (subjection of the masses) and its deep roots in Philippine social, economic, and political conditions may be found in J. A. LeRoy's *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York, 1905), chap. vi; also the same in part by the same author in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1905.

[95] Though unsupported evidence here given, particularly when obviously gossip or when coming from partisan witnesses, is to be accepted with caution. F. H. Sawyer's reminiscences of the administrations of various governor-generals are subject to the same caution, except where the author plainly speaks from a personal knowledge of the facts; nevertheless, that such opinions on the highest officials of the islands could pass current even as gossip among Spaniards and foreigners in Manila is in itself alone very significant of the tone of public life in the islands. Note Sawyer also on the administration of justice, and Foreman on the "pickings" of officials in the provinces.

[96] Note especially *Military Governor of the Philippine Islands on Civil Affairs* (*Report War Dept.*, 1900, i, part 10), pp. 8-13, 79 *et seq.* See also, for defects and corruption in the customs administration up to 1881, Sancianco y Goson, pp. 36-37, 125-131.

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the breakwater constructed and the equipment in hand in 1898 amounted to no more than $1,000,000 gold.[97]

Taxation.– No one of the works on administration just cited treats this subject in a comprehensive or satisfactory manner. The only special study of the subject that is known to the writer is Carl C. Plehn's *Taxation in the Philippines* (*Political Science Quarterly*, xvi, pp. 680-711, and xvii, pp. 125-148), and the author of this excellent survey had to drag his data forth from the official records and compilations. This survey gives all the most necessary information as to kinds of taxes, their incidence, and amounts; but for the most part there lie outside of its scope the questions one wishes to have answered as to methods of collection and the working of the fiscal administration in general, the actual receipts and expenditures for government purposes, and particularly the special local revenues so far as separate from gen-

[97] Part of this money was spent in campaigns against the Moros, and perhaps for other purposes not covered by the budget of ordinary expenses. See *La Política de España en Filipinas*, v, no. 116, for an account of progress in this work up to 1895. The press of Manila has published during the past few years various articles on the funds collected by subscription in Spain and the Philippines for the relief of the sufferers from the earthquake in Manila in 1863. See particularly *El Renacimiento*, Manila, September 18, 1906, for a report on the subject by Attorney-General Araneta. It would there appear that nearly $450,000 were collected; by 1870, only some $30,000 had been distributed to the sufferers themselves; whether they received further shares at a later date does not appear, but $80,000 were loaned from this fund to the *obras pías* in 1880, and about $15,000 were used for cholera relief in 1888-89. Governor-General Ide instructed the attorney-general to demand the return of the $80,000 from the *obras pías*, and recommended that, when $50,000 of this fund had been recovered, distribution of it among those who suffered losses in 1863 should begin – almost a half-century later, and under another government!

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eral revenues. Sancianco y Goson again helps to fill the gap, as regards the system of taxation prevailing before the abolition of the tobacco monopoly and the reform of the tribute and the corvee in 1884.[98] Anyone who has had experience with Spanish fiscal tables need not be told that they do not always show what they appear to show. It is thus that the writers who have reproduced in English since 1898 Philippine budgets for various years[99] have unwittingly

[98] The new industrial (or income) taxes had, however, been inaugurated before he wrote. See his *Progreso de Filipinas*, pp. vii, 81-87, 93-94, on this subject; pp. 5-15, for extracts from a project of economic reforms in 1870 (which see, in the *Biblioteca*, no. 2041); pp. 9, 10, 28-34, 48-53, 56, 65-80, 81-89, arguments for a real-property tax; pp. 6-10, 100-124, 142-143, the tribute; pp. 133-143, miscellaneous taxes; pp. 142-143, local taxes proper.

[99] Dr. Schurman drew from Spanish official publications the budget of 1894-95 for his exposition of the former Philippine government (*Report of Philippine Commission*, 1900, i, pp. 79-81), and this has been considerably quoted, with the assumption that it represented the full cost of government, in recent comparisons with the American régime. Sawyer (in an appendix) gives the budget of 1896-97, with just a note showing that charges for collection and for local government made the actual collections for the poll-tax considerably larger than the insular budget showed. Foreman, in his 1899 and 1906 editions, only reproduces from his first edition a fragmentary statement of the 1888 budget, without showing that this was only partial and without developing the later changes and increases in taxes. Retana, in the *Estadismo*, *apéndice H*, under *Rentas é impuestos del Estado*, gives the general totals of the budgets of 1890 and 1893-94 (likewise *net* totals for the central government alone). See Sancianco y Goson for proposed budget for 1881-82. The insular budget was published annually at Madrid under the title *Presupuestos generales de gastos é ingresos de las islas Filipinas*. The budget was made up at Madrid for each fiscal year, and put into effect by a royal decree (after its receipt in Manila, some few months after the beginning of the fiscal year which it was to govern). Some changes or additions were allowed to be made by the governor-general in imperative circumstances; otherwise the effort was to regulate Philippine finances just the same as if the islands were a province of the centralized government of the Peninsula itself. The folio volumes of *Presupuestos* published at Madrid, running to sev-

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misled their readers as to the real cost of government under Spain. The figures shown in these budgets were the totals of *net* collections (and expenditures), *for ordinary purposes,* for the *central government* of the islands alone. They did not include the purely local licenses and other taxes, the surcharges on general taxes for local government (to be expended under supervision of the central authorities), the percentages that went to collectors, the other fees forming part or all of the compensation of some judicial and other officials, special surcharges for port works and other purposes not covered in the ordinary budget, etc. Naturally, no estimate was included of the value of the forced-labor levy. The products of "squeeze" and "pickings," in some cases so fully established as to be notorious, were of course not included; nevertheless, they represented part of the cost of government to the people. Finally, an ecclesiastical establishment, really a part of the government itself, drew support from the people in many ways beyond what would have been provided had not the power of government been behind it, under a system of voluntary contributions, for instance,

eral hundred pages, are valuable for giving in minute detail the *expected* items of expenditures, down to the last petty employee on salary; but they can give, of course, only the *estimate* of the revenue expected under each item, and actual collections sometimes varied considerably from these figures. Above all, these *Presupuestos* bear out the general remark that the Spanish budget as published tends to conceal rather than to reveal the actual burden resting on the people. They are *not* budgets for the insular government alone, hence the budgets for the city of Manila and for the local governments (provinces and towns), published separately in some years at Manila, must be consulted to get total *net* collections for all branches of government. In addition, one must dig out for himself from the laws governing taxation, etc., and from the archives the data regarding fees for collection, notarial, legal and other fees accruing to private pockets, surcharges for special purposes, etc.

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apart from the communities which paid rent to the friars as landlords.[100]

The Spanish-Philippine debt of 40,000,000 pesos, incurred in 1897 in consequence of the insurrection, has not had sufficient notice as being originally the cause at Paris of the payment of $20,000,000 by the United States to Spain in connection with the clause of the treaty providing for the cession of the Philippines. Had the islands remained under Spanish sovereignty, they would have carried this their first public debt, expended wholly for war purposes, part of it being loaned for the payment of military operations in Cuba.[101]

Legal and judicial.– In the introduction to the *List* of the Library of Congress, under the heading Law, and on the pages of the *List* cited in that note will be found the formal bibliography of the subject.[102] Some

[100] The subject can not be thoroughly discussed here. For some data and references thereon, see contributions by the writer to the *Political Science Quarterly*, xxi, pp. 309-311, and xxii, pp. 124-125. Regarding ecclesiastical dues and exactions, the share of the ecclesiastical establishment in local revenues, etc., see, besides citations there given, M. H. del Pilar's *La soberanía monacal en Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1888, and Manila, 1898).

The above contributions cited by Mr. LeRoy are his criticism of H. Parker Willis's *Our Philippine Problem* (New York, 1905), and his *Rejoinder* to Mr. Willis's *Reply* to that criticism (March, 1907). See also Mr. Willis's remarks on this matter in his *Reply* (pp. 116-119), which have been fully met in Mr. LeRoy's *Rejoinder*.– EDS.

[101] In confirmation of the first statement above, and for details regarding this debt, see *Senate Document no. 62*, 55th Congress, 3rd session, protocols 11, 12, 15, and 16; *ibid.*, p. 412 (Greene's memorandum); *Senate Document no. 148*, 56th Congress, 2nd session, for cablegrams between the President and the American peace commissioners from October 27, 1898, on, especially p. 44 (details of this loan); also Sastrón's *La insurrección en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1901), pp. 284, 285.

[102] Special attention may be directed to Clifford Stevens Walton's *The Civil Law in Spain and Spanish-America, including Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines* (Washington, 1900).

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references upon the actual conditions of the administration of justice in the Philippines have already been given. For this purpose, note also a comparison of the old criminal procedure with that introduced in 1899 in *Military Governor on Civil Affairs* (*Rept. War Dept.*, 1900, i, part 10), pp. 17-20. The compilation of Rafael Morales y Prieto[103] is also to be specially mentioned for the criminal law and procedure, 1880 to 1894, and also for an appendix containing circulars as to judicial fees of various sorts. For brief summaries in English of the old judicial organizations see Exhibit J of the *Report of the Taft Philippine Commission*, 1900, a résumé by Chief Justice Arellano, especially for a statement as to the conflict of laws and codes, old and new, and as to the relative degree of authority of these codes; and *Census of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905), chapter on the Judiciary.[104] Justice Willard's brief *Notes on the Spanish Civil Code* (Manila, 1903) also merits consultation.

Science and material resources.– So far as the scientific work of the period has a direct bearing upon our present purposes, it relates rather to the section on Economic Development. But the materials are sufficiently listed in the *Bibliography*, and the subject is introduced here only to say that this is one of the lines along which, in recent years, Spanish administration was beginning to make progress. This was

[103] Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca*, no. 1770.

[104] Data obtained from Justices Arellano and Torres cover very well the judicial organization of recent years. For earlier years, it is often in error, the Washington editor having tried to improve the manuscript with data drawn from various sources and presented without a real understanding of the legal, judicial, and administrative system of Spain and the Spanish colonies.

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true, however, chiefly of forestry and mineralogy, and was due almost entirely to the Spanish officials Abella y Casariego, Centeno y García, and Sebastian Vidal y Soler, and to the stimulus of the work of foreign investigators, especially Germans. The work of the Jesuits in meteorology should also be specially mentioned. It will be noted that little headway was made in the matter most vital for the Philippines, viz., agriculture; nor can we say that even a beginning was made in industrial chemistry or other researches calculated to foster either incipient or undeveloped industries, while the public health service was lamentably defective and scientific research relating thereto amounted practically to nothing. Reference may be made to the already large list of publications of the present Philippine government's Bureau of Science, Board of Health, Agriculture, Forestry, and Mining bureaus as showing the state of scientific investigation before 1898, also for bibliographical data.[105]

Moros and pagan peoples.– Ethnology as a science does not claim a place here.[106] We are concerned with

[105] See especially Bulletin no. 22 of the Bureau of Government Laboratories (Manila, 1905), for a catalogue of the new scientific library in Manila.

[106] It may be said, however, that the real foundations of that science are only now being laid in the Philippines. Most of the Spanish writings in this line are, speaking strictly from the scientific point of view, unreliable or, in some cases, worthless. Blumentritt, who has written most voluminously on this subject, was never in the Philippines, but drew largely from these Spanish sources, and he has confused the subject rather than shed light upon it. The German and French scientists who visited the islands were, in most instances, not primarily ethnologists, and have done but fragmentary work in this field. Needless to say, all these sources must be consulted, especially for the historical side of the subject; but the science of Philippine ethnology proper is still in its infancy.

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the Spanish advance toward the establishment of effective control over large areas either partly occupied or kept in a wild state of nature by backward or warring tribes; though considerable headway was made in the last half of the nineteenth century, Spanish sovereignty over these areas was after all only nominal in 1898. Moreover, especially as regards the Moros, the materials and bibliography have been presented in other volumes of this series.[107] Attention is called to a useful compilation of Spanish campaigns against the Moros by Lieut. W. E. W. McKinley,[108] especially for its reviews of Malcampo's campaign of 1876, Terrero's of 1886-87, Weyler's of 1888-91, and Blanco's of 1894-96.[109] The American military reports from 1899 to date and reports on the Moro Province since 1903 contain scattered data on Spanish relations with the Moros and also the hill tribes of Mindanao. Similarly, the reports and publications of the Philippine Ethnological Survey from 1902 to date contain references to Spanish contact in recent years with the pagan peoples of Luzón, Mindoro, and Palawan.[110]

[107] Especially in the appendix of VOL. XLI.– EDS.

[108] Appendix vii to report of Major-General G. W. Davis, commanding the division of the Philippines (*Rept. War Dept.*, 1903, iii, pp. 379-398).

[109] *La Política de España en Filipinas* reproduces Retana's eulogy of Weyler (Retana was made a deputy for Cuba in the Cortes during the Weyler régime in Cuba) and occasional articles on the Blanco campaign in the Lake Lanao region, among which note (vi, p. 18) Blanco's letter of Oct. 19, 1895, describing the beginning of a railroad and other work around the lake. *Ibid.*, vii, p. 170, has the protocol of April 1, 1907, whereby Germany and Great Britain accept a modification of the Sulu archipelago protocol of 1885, permitting the prohibition by Spain of traffic with Joló in arms or alcoholic liquors. The projects to colonize Mindanao put forward in connection with the Lanao campaign have been mentioned.

[110] The reports are in the annual *Report of the Philippine*

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT - FILIPINO PROPAGANDA AND REVOLUTION

Religious Question.– It need scarcely be repeated that the "friar controversy" enters not only into this, but every phase of our discussion, and in one form or another, is touched upon in almost all our sources of information about the Philippines. For one thing, however, we are not here concerned with a historical judgment upon the work of the friars in the Philippines, though it is proper to note that there has of late been evident a reaction in their favor from the tendency common in the United States immediately after 1898 to judge them wholly by recent events, and their work is now more fairly viewed in its three-century perspective. We are, moreover, excused from entering upon a comprehensive survey of literature about the friars and their work in general by the fact that the subject has been constantly to the fore throughout this series. What is needed here is only the citation, supplementary to the *Bibliography* and to the great accumulation of bibliographical references in other volumes of this series, of certain titles easily overlooked (some because of recent publication) and of such special passages in all these works as elucidate particular matters of importance.

As with all the political literature of the Philippines, 1860-1898, the reader is to be warned against the exaggerations of both sides. Always and everywhere, religious privileges and prejudices have aroused discussion both violent and intolerant; and in this case we find, on one side, a defense of religious and ecclesiastical privileges of a medieval character,

Commission. Among the special publications, note Jenks's *The Bontoc Igorot* (Manila, 1905), chap. ii, for some notes on Spanish relations with the Igorots.

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and in a tone and temper inherited from those times. Nor, even setting the purely ecclesiastical and religious questions aside, need we expect to find in this literature any review or discussion written in a calm and scientific spirit. Spanish political literature is almost entirely polemic, and Spanish polemics is *sui generis*. So, as with the friars and their defenders, we find here the principles of modern political science, which appeal properly to cool reason and the tolerance of liberalism, put forward by Spaniards and Filipinos in a language and with a spirit that hark back to times which we have come to think of as far remote from ours.

The bitterness of tone, the intolerance and contempt of the Filipino, and the flaunting of "race superiority," which came to characterize the writings of the friars and their defenders in this period – and which played no small part in leading the Filipinos to the brink of separation – are shown to the full in the numbers of *La Política de España en Filipinas*, 1891-98. The purpose of this organ was to combat in Spain the program of those who would further liberalize the régime of society and government in the Philippines. W. E. Retana, at first an associate editor with José Feced, was after 1895 its sole editor. Just what were the relations of the Madrid establishments of the Philippine religious orders with the business department of this periodical is not known; but it is admitted that "the friars helped by subscriptions" at least, and it has generally been supposed that their connection with it was really closer, in short that it was practically an organ of theirs.[111] In it will be

[111] Its columns could also be used to further personal interests, as already shown in the case of Weyler. Retana has since 1898

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found the pro-friar and anti-liberal account and view of events and matters current during the years of its publication, and also various studies of earlier years written from the same point of view. The case for the friars, especially for the period from 1863 on, may also be found quite typically set forth in a single volume of five hundred pages by a Philippine Augustinian, Padre Eladio Zamora (*Las corporaciones religiosas en Filipinas*, Valladolid, 1901).[112] Testi-

executed a " right-about-face," as has been best shown in his recent biographical study of Rizal. Herein, in various editorial notes in vol. v of the *Archivo* (1905), and in various letters to the Filipino press of Manila, he has many times virtually apologized for his political writings up to 1898, has declared that he was always a " Liberal " at heart, and has thus written an impugnation of his own writings in behalf of friar-rule. In a letter to I. de los Reyes (reproduced from *El Grito del Pueblo* of Manila in *El Renacimiento*, Manila, July 24, 1906), Retana carries this note to the point of practically abject retraction, saying he never has been really a Catholic, never confessed since his marriage, etc., and referring to Rizal (whom he bitterly reviled from 1892 to 1898) as a " saint," etc. Regarding Retana and Blumentritt, see also a letter by J. A. LeRoy in the *Springfield Republican* for July 7, 1906.

In this connection see Retana's opening paragraphs in his *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal*, in *Nuestro Tiempo* for 1904-06.—EDS.

[112] This work furnished almost the sole basis for the discussion of the work of the friars by Stephen Bonsal in the *North American Review* of Oct., 1902; but Mr. Bonsal, whose article is thus entirely one-sided, did not state the source of his information. More than this, Mr. Bonsal has, in translating, made even stronger some of the extreme claims of Friar Zamora. The latter (pp. 483-498) cites praise for the friars from various governors-general: Gandara (1866), De la Torre (1871), Moriones (1877), Weyler (1891), and Primo de Rivera (1898). It is to be hoped he has not garbled them all as he did the statement of Primo de Rivera, omitting its most significant expressions of opinion and exactly reversing its import. Moreover, Mr. Bonsal, in translating these passages from Zamora, thought it best to leave out, for his American readers, the statement by Weyler. Much the same ground as covered by the claims of Zamora is traversed, with citations, by J. A. LeRoy in the *Political Science Quarterly*

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mony given before Hon. William H. Taft in 1900 regarding the friars and their part in the old régime, by the Spanish archbishop and heads of the orders themselves as well as by Filipinos on the other side will be found in *Senate Document no. 190*, 56th Congress, 2nd session.

Friars' Estates.– The above document, which is entitled *Lands held for ecclesiastical or religious uses in the Philippines*, also gives information on the friars' rural estates. One will find no comprehensive treatment of this subject before 1898, though it is usually touched upon, often with great inaccuracy, in the anti-friar pamphlets. For further data upon the subject in American official reports, see: *Report of War Department*, 1900, i, part 4, pp. 502-508 (General Otis); *Report of Taft Philippine Commission*, 1900, pp. 23-33; *ibid.*, 1903, i, Exhibits F, G, H, and I; *ibid.*, 1904, i, Exhibit I (Report on Examination of Titles to Friars' Estates); and *Report of Secretary of War*, 1902, appendix O (Rome negotiations of 1902).[113]

The Filipino clergy and their Cause.– Contests between secular and regular ecclesiastics, and over the

for December, 1903 (also in the same author's *Philippine Life*, chaps. v and vii). See also, *in re* extreme claims for the friars that they brought about all the internal development, settlement of towns, development of agriculture, etc., Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas*, pp. 212-223, official data as to agriculture and lands by provinces in 1862, at the beginning of the modern era of trade and industry.

[113] The official correspondence in the negotiations of Governor Taft with the Vatican, above cited, may also be mentioned here as discussing the question of recognition of the native clergy in the Philippines, and, in general, the status which the friars came to have there. Many loose assertions made with regard to the friars' titles to the Philippines will be corrected by a perusal of the legal report on their titles cited above.

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subjection of friar-curates to ordinary jurisdiction had filled many pages of Philippine history in every century. But, when revived under somewhat new forms from about 1863 on, as remarked in the introduction to these notes, they speedily assumed a new and rather distinct phase. The introduction has noted the connection of the Jesuits' return with the encroachment upon the Filipino secular priests and with the counter demand for the belated subjection of the friar-parishes to the ordinary ecclesiastical legislation and jurisdiction of the Church; under the encouragement of the 1868 revolution in Spain, these demands grew apace from 1868 to 1872, and became interlaced with strictly political demands, until finally we may regard the cause of the Filipino clergy as a part of the campaign for Filipino nationalism. The reaction of 1872 and immediately subsequent years checked it, and it has found full expression only since Spanish sovereignty was overthrown; but it is best considered in its broadest scope, as a part of the Filipino movement toward nationality, though it may have been but dimly or not at all felt as such by some of its most active protagonists.

For the documents showing what was the modern phase of the question regarding parishes in its beginnings, see the pamphlets cited in the *List* of the Library of Congress under Agu[a]do (p. 64), and in Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca* under the same name and numbers 681, 873, 1,348 and 1,962.[114] We must

[114] The political phase of the attack on the friars' privileges which rapidly developed, especially in view of the events of 1868, are discussed from the friars' side in the pamphlet *Apuntes interesantes* (1870), condemned by Pardo de Tavera (no. 91) and ascribed to Barrantes. Retana (*Estadismo*, ii, p. 135*) praises the work and ascribes it to Friar Casimiro Herrero. A general

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come down to the period of American rule for full statements of the case of the Filipino clergy against the friars. A Spanish cleric, formerly an Augustinian friar-curate, who was excloistered on his own petition some time before the end of Spanish rule and has since continued to reside in the islands, has been the chief spokesman for the Filipino clergy. He is Salvador Pons y Torres, and, apart from frequent contributions on the subject to the press of Manila since 1898 and various pamphlets, he undertook to review the entire subject in his *Defensa del clero filipino* and its supplement *El clero secular filipino*, both published at Manila in 1900; while in connection with the visit of Delegate Chapelle, a campaign was being conducted for fuller recognition of the Filipino clergy by the Vatican.[115] Their claims are set forth in *Memorial elevado á Sa Santidad El Papa*

argument against the friars in those times is that of Manrique Alonso Lallave, *Los frailes en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1872), parts of which were reproduced in *El progreso*, Manila, August 8-11, 1901. His figures on friar revenues, etc., are grossly exaggerated. He was an excloistered Dominican, later turned Protestant in Spain, and went to the Philippines as a Protestant missionary in 1890, being poisoned in Manila, according to V. Diaz Perez (*Los frailes de Filipinas*, Madrid, 1904, p. 10).

[115] See the *Biblioteca*, nos. 2,000 and 2,001. Both put forward the claims of the Filipinos on grounds of ecclesiastical rule and practice (the Council of Trent particularly), but it is to be feared that the author's judgment on matters of authority purely ecclesiastical is sometimes warped by political or personal feeling. The same author's *Mi último grito de alarma* (Bigan [Luzon], 1903) is an answer to *Constitución apostólica Quae mare sinico* (Manila, 1903), which is a defense of the Pope's Philippine bull of 1903 by Presbyter Manuel E. Roxas, a Filipino priest. Father Pons also had a part in *Impugnación de la censura impuesta . . al Presbítero Adriano García* (Manila, 1900), a notable case which much aroused the Filipino clergy in Chapelle's time. Here and in *Defensa del clero filipino* are references to the torturing of native priests by the friars at Bigan in 1896, to make them confess complicity in a supposed plot for revolt in Ilokos.

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León XIII por el Pueblo Filipino (Manila, 1900).[116] For the full exposition of the question, one must study it under the Filipino revolution against the United States and in the history of the Aglipay schism since 1903.[117]

Revolt of 1872.—That the chief victims of this episode were prominent Filipino priests connects it rather with religio-political than with purely political matters. The civilians who were arrested for too great activity in agitating for political privileges were deported to Guam, whence their escape to foreign ports was perhaps winked at, while after a time some of them returned to the Philippines.[118] But the three most prominent priests who were tried for complicity in the mutiny at Cavite (Burgos, a Spanish-Filipino, Zamora, a Chinese-Filipino, and Gomez, a pure-blooded Filipino) were condemned to death by a very speedily summoned court-martial and were promptly executed. If we had the record of the proofs submitted before this court-martial

[116] *Biblioteca*, no. 1689. Note also no. 1675.

[117] For the latter, consult especially *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, organ of the schism, which was published in some sixty numbers between October 11, 1903, and early in 1905; also the recent pamphlet *Documentos interesantes de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (Manila, 1906). The history of the religious question under the Malalos government and guerrilla warfare, and especially of Aglipay's part in it, has yet to be written from the documents (at least, unless those who participated are more frank in future than in past statements).

[118] See for citations and statements (in part conflicting), about the deportees of 1872, Montero y Vidal, *Historia*, iii, p. 591 and footnote; Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca*, nos. 1462 and 1463; and notes by Felipe G. Calderón in supplements to *El Renacimiento* for Aug. 11 and 18, Sept. 1 and 18, 1906. Several Filipino priests were also deported with these civilians, who were, as has been noted in our introduction, for the most part of Spanish, not of Malay, blood, though of Philippine birth.

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(which acted very summarily and under pressure of official and other demonstrations of indignation, not to say vindictiveness), and the statement of its conclusions, we should be in better position to judge whether or not a great injustice was done. But neither officially nor semi-officially was the guilt of the condemned ever shown, and we have either to accept very vehement and intemperate assertions about it having been proved, or to incline to the belief that these men were struck down by a power which stretched out its hand in the dark, and that their death was a punishment for having ventured under the preceding Liberal administrations to advocate the withdrawal of the friars as curates of parishes. Certainly this became the belief of the Filipino people, propagated from year to year by word of mouth (acquiring thus exaggerated and distorted details as being of sober truth), and occasionally finding expression in print.[119] The usually sober and

[119] Note especially Rizal's introduction to his novel *El Filibusterismo*, as showing Filipino opinion on the matter. A story circulated among the people to the effect that the friars brought from Sambales province a native who looked like Father Gomez and who impersonated the latter in order to implicate him in the mutiny at the Cavite arsenal, with similar details, is related in an "Appeal for Intervention" presented by certain Filipinos in Hongkong to the Consul-General of the United States at that place in Jan., 1897. This document, by the way, has never received notice in the United States so far as known to the writer, who has a manuscript copy of it.

Rizal dedicated his novel *El filibusterismo* to the three priests executed in consequence of the Cavite uprising of 1872. That dedication is as follows: "The Church, by refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime that has been imputed to you; the Government, by surrounding your trials with mystery and shadows, causes the belief that there was some error, committed in fatal moments; and all the Philippines, by worshiping your memory and calling you martyrs, in no sense recognize your culpability. In so far, therefore, as your complicity in the Cavite

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colorless Montero y Vidal becomes very rabid in his recital of this episode in Philippine history and is very positive not only in denouncing the priests who were executed and the deportees as guilty but in proclaiming their movement as actually separatist in character. He ridicules at length the account of the Frenchman Plauchut in the *Revue des deux mondes* for 1877; but Plauchut, as well as Montero y Vidal himself, was resident in or near Manila at the time of these occurrences. Finally, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, a nephew of one of the prominent Philippine Spaniards who were deported, supports Plauchut's version and impeaches Montero y Vidal's.[120]

Reforms and Demands for more. "Assimilation." – The reactionists had regained the saddle in the Philippines even before the Republic in Spain came to an end; they used the incident of the Cavite

mutiny is not clearly proved, as you may or may not have been patriots, and as you may or may not have cherished sentiments for justice and for liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil which I undertake to combat. And while we wait expectantly upon Spain some day to restore your good name and cease to be answerable for your death, let these pages serve as a tardy wreath of dried leaves over your unknown tombs, and let it be understood that every one who without clear proofs attacks your memory stains his hands in your blood!" See J. A. LeRoy's *Philippine Life*, pp. 149, 150.– EDS.

[120] No real attempt to sift the evidence in the case is known to the writer. Montero y Vidal, *Historia*, iii, chap. xxvii (also read the three preceding chapters), gives the version of one side, with principal citations. Cf. Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca* under these names, and see his version in *Census of the Philippine Islands*, i, pp. 575-579. His *Reseña histórica de Filipinas* suffered some alterations as published in the Spanish edition of the *Census*, and was separately printed at Manila in 1906, drawing forth a series of articles in the Dominican periodical *Libertas* (by Friar Tamayo), which also appeared in pamphlet form (*Sobre una "Reseña histórica de Filipinas,"* Manila, 1906). As regards the 1872 affair, Friar Tamayo has drawn almost entirely from Montero y Vidal.

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mutiny as a "horrible example," and succeeded in repealing or nullifying all reforms not to their taste even in educational or purely administrative matters. Till after 1880, the "Filipino cause" was in hiding. But meanwhile young Filipinos of wealth were going abroad for education, and above all a new generation of Filipinos were coming from the new middle class produced by the better industrial opportunities consequent upon expanding trade and commerce, were breathing in popular ideas of hostility to the friars in the more advanced rural districts, and were exchanging ideas, and imbibing in the exchange a new sentiment of nationality, when they met, in constantly increasing numbers, in the colleges and normal school at Manila, Tagálogs, Ilokanos, Bisayans and others of the hitherto separate communities. Regional feeling was still strong, but it was beginning to break down.[121] Those who went abroad for education soon began to propagate the idea, already half expressed at home, that Philippine education, even with the improvements, was still archaic and in some ways anti-modern; and every avenue out of this condition was found to be blocked by the friars. If in reality the men of Spanish blood (in whole or part) who had agitated for greater political liberties during 1868-72, had aimed at separating the Philippines from Spain – and all the reasonable probabilities are opposed to such a belief – at any rate, the new generation of Filipinos who took up the cause in the eighties were ardent and, for some time at least, sincere advocates of Spanish-Philippine union. They

[121] As, for example, when José Rizal, yet a mere youth, scandalized the friar and "patriotic" Spaniards in Manila by presenting verses for a school celebration in Manila on "*Mi patria*" ("My fatherland").

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carried the matter, indeed, to the extreme, in the campaign for "assimilation," which has already been characterized as unpractical.

Reforms of a partial nature, any statesman could predict, would breed the demand for more. So, during the eighties, when most headway was made in administrative and legal reforms under Liberal administrations, we find the Filipinos formulating demands for the first time; and it is significant that they all centered about the friars. Under the liberal Governor-General Terrero, and with sympathetic Spaniards in the posts of secretary of the civil administration and civil governor of Manila, officers of some of the Tagálog towns ventured to display a sense of independence of the traditional friar-dictatorship in local affairs, even (in the case of Malolos and the Binondo district of Manila) to carry contests with the friars over the personal tax-lists before higher authority; the friars' tenants around Kalamba, where José Rizal's parents lived, challenged the administrator of that Dominican estate, and aired their protests publicly in 1887;[122] and in 1888 a public demonstration against the friars, and especially Archbishop Payo, took place in Manila, and a petition for the removal of the friars was addressed to the Queen Regent. In 1887 these civil authorities of Liberal affiliation had issued official orders regarding cemeteries and church funerals, contravening, on grounds of public health, long-standing practices of the friar-curates; and the friars, even the archbishop, had been almost

[122] Rizal himself returned from Europe to the Orient in 1887, and visited his home, but was persuaded by parents and friends to go abroad again. He is said to have edited various circulars which were sent from Hongkong and distributed in the Philippines.

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openly intransigent about the matter, indicating the belief that they would soon upset this régime of affairs by the exercise of their power at Madrid. The demand on the part of some Spanish periodicals of Manila that the proposed government trade school should not be surrendered to the Augustinians was another indication of the current of the times.[123]

In form at least, there was nothing in any of these demonstrations or representations which would not be perfectly legitimate under any free government. Yet, even before the expiration of Terrero's term, he was prevailed upon to send home Centeno y García, the civil governor of Manila, and the processes of law had been set in action by judicial authority against some of the participants. And, even before the downfall of the Liberal ministry at Madrid, the mere display of a disposition on the part of Filipinos to speak for themselves as a people had started the currents of reaction there. Weyler was the successor

[123] Marcelo del Pilar's pamphlet *La soberanía monacal en Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1888; reprinted at Manila, 1898) was written with especial reference to these incidents, documents regarding which are given as appendices. Retana analyzed the 1888 petition against the friars, and discussed its signers, in his pamphlet *Avisos y profecías* (Madrid, 1892), pp. 286-308. See also Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca*, nos. 1597-1599 and 2807, the latter being a separate print of the petition to the Queen, which appears in Del Pilar's pamphlet, appendix ix. The reply of the petitioners to the accusation that they really covered separatist aims under their attacks on friar-rule is worth quoting:

"The aspiration for separation is contrary, Señora, to the interests of the Filipinos. The topographical situation of the country, divided into numerous islands, and the diversity of its regional dialects demand the fortifying aid of a bond of union such as the ensign of Spain affords; without such a bond, it would be daily exposed to a breaking-up process hostile to its repose, and the very conditions of exuberant fertility that its fields, mines, and virgin forests afford would offer a powerful incentive to draw upon it international strife to the injury of its own future."

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of Terrero as Governor-General. The friars' representations at Madrid obtained, while the Liberal minister Becerra [124] was still in office, the omission of the provisions for civil marriage and registration from the Civil Code as it was extended to the Philippines in 1889. Weyler used force to quell the subsequent disturbances at Kalamba, and among the score or so of deportees were some of Rizal's family.[125]

The Propagandists.– A full history of the Filipino Propaganda would list a large number of names, both of members of the Filipino colonies abroad and of secret agitators and wealthy contributors at home. But the story must be developed from the various sources to be cited, and we are concerned here with those who figured most actively by their writings. Of these, Marcelo H. del Pilar and José Rizal were altogether the most notable, their prominence indeed leading to the formation of factions about them and the display of those personal jealousies which wreck or threaten to wreck every Filipino movement.[126] It

[124] Becerra, as minister for the colonies, met in social reunions with the Filipino circle of Madrid, and presented in the Cortes projects for "assimilation," religious liberty, and the secularization of education in the colonies and partial municipal reforms for the Philippines which were the forerunners of the "Maura law."

[125] Friar Tamayo, in his reply to statements by Pardo de Tavera, points out that Weyler's action was in consequence of decrees of the courts (*Sobre una "Reseña histórica de Filipinas,"* pp. 194-195). This Kalamba episode seems to have had a connection with the royal order of December 4, 1890 (under the new Conservative ministry) empowering the religious orders to dispose of their estates without intervention of the Crown, as had been provided by royal orders of 1834 and 1849. The friars had begun to make transfers to private corporations (really only fictitious "holding companies") before 1898.

[126] One finds guarded references to his enemies among the Fili-

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is significant that the propagandists coming to the front in the eighties were, one may say, genuine "sons of the people" though associated with them were others who were sons of the half-caste aristocracy. It is significant also, that, though these two leaders Del Pilar and Rizal, came from Bulakan and Laguna provinces respectively, the heart of the more advanced communities of Tagálogs around Manila, yet the islands as a whole were beginning to be represented in the propaganda, notably by the Lunas, from Ilokos, and Graciano Lopez Jaena, a Bisayan. The latter started the first Filipino periodical of consequence, *La Solidaridad*, and published eighteen numbers of it at Barcelona up to October 31, 1889, when Del Pilar took charge of it, transferred it to Madrid and edited it there as a fortnightly till 1895. It was face to face with *La Política de España en Filipinas* from 1891, and, as the latter is the chief source for the pro-friar and anti-liberal side of the controversy, so *La Solidaridad*, which circulated among the educated Filipinos in many parts of the archipelago despite the censorship, is the chief source for the writings of the propagandists.[127]

pinos themselves in some of Rizal's private letters. The part played during the propaganda by hints of treachery in camp, also of dishonesty in the use of the funds raised by subscription in the Philippines, is alluded to in various of the writings to be cited further on.

[127] Mariano Ponce (*El Renacimiento*, Manila, Dec. 29, 1906) tells of an earlier periodical of propaganda, *España en Filipinas*, started at Barcelona in 1887, Lopez Jaena being one of its board of editors. In this connection may be mentioned *Ang Kalayaan* ("Liberty") organ of the Katipunan, which published one number (perhaps two) in Tagálog at the beginning of 1896, ostensibly in Yokohama, but really on a secret press at Manila. Data about it, and a translation of some of its contents into Spanish may be found in Retana's *Archivo*, iv, *Documentos políticos de actualidad*, no. 15. Of Gracíano Lopez Jaena may also be noted

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Marcelo H. del Pilar had taken an active part in stimulating opposition to the friar-curates, particularly in matters of local government, in his native province (Bulakan) for some years before the troubles of 1888. When the pendulum swung towards reaction, he left his family (being then a man of middle-age) and went to Spain to carry on the fight close by the center of government, support of his campaign being pledged by a committee who undertook to secure Filipino subscriptions, certain wealthy Filipinos being identified privately with the cause. Del Pilar's writings show nothing of the poet or dreamer, as do Rizal's; he had, in some degree, an "economic mind," though entirely untrained in that line, and he was at the outset of the active propaganda in Spain (1889) a maturer man than Rizal. Coming straight from the problems of actual life among his people, he stated their grievances with more practical reference to direct and immediate remedies and with special reference to their economic status; while Rizal, as a student in contact with modern European life and thought, dreamed of and preached, in more general terms but on a far wider scope, the social regeneration of his people and the expansion of their political rights. Del Pilar would have made a good representative of his people in the Cortes. But Rizal was a genius, who with the touch of imagination and satire lifted the cause of the Filipinos to a place in the thought of the world, and at the same time, as poet and patriot combined, fired the enthusiasm of his own people and became their idol. And, in the course of events,

the pamphlet *Discursos y artículos varios* (Barcelona, 1891). He died in Spain in 1895.

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it was Rizal who proved the soberer, the more mature as time went by. He was opposed to means of violence, even to the last, and the whole record bears out his protestations on this score; he still looked to the future as a dreamer-patriot, but he also looked to the present state of his people and saw that the most vital problem was the teaching them that they must raise themselves by their own efforts, must deserve a better destiny. Del Pilar, disappointed by the failure to achieve greater immediate, practical results by relying upon the progress of Liberalism in Spain, after seven years of propaganda along these lines, was starting for Hongkong or Japan, to conduct there a really revolutionary campaign, when death overtook him shortly before the Tagálog revolt in 1896. He had, apparently, lost faith in the ideals of "assimilation," of Spanish-Filipino unity, which he had set forth in glowing phrases in 1888 and 1889. He had also, apparently, become convinced that the upper-class Filipinos, especially the most wealthy and prominent, were too lukewarm or too prone to temporize for safety's sake, that the time had come to make the cause more distinctly one of the people as a whole. He is credited with having suggested and outlined the organization of the Katipunan, and he seems to have concluded that it was time for the Filipinos to resort to Cuba's example and not to political petitions only.[128]

[128] Epifanio de los Santos (one of the propagandists, now an official under the Philippine government) is publishing a biography and bibliography of M. H. del Pilar, reproducing documents and letters in *Plaridel* (pseudonym of Del Pilar), a weekly started at Bulakan, Luzon, Jan. 1, 1907. Besides *La Solidaridad* and *La soberanía monacal*, the writings of Del Pilar most deserving mention are the pamphlets *La frailocracía filipina* (Barce-

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Even in *Noli me tangere*, first published under his own eye at Berlin in 1887, when Rizal, at the age of twenty-six, was just fairly setting out in life, there are many evidences that the author, if he meant primarily to set before the world the backwardness of the existing social and political régime in the Philippines, its stifling of thought, and its many tyrannies, had also in mind to set before his people, in some of his instantaneous photographs of Philippine life, their own defects. In *El filibusterismo* (Ghent, 1891), the more mature reformer preached yet more plainly the necessity of social and political progress beginning from below, and not simply inspired from above. That his people took the lessons meant for themselves (and take them still today) less to heart than they responded to the satire and invective directed against the form of rule imposed upon them, was the fault not of Rizal but of human nature, prone to apply the preacher's words only to the other fellow.

It is a great misfortune that we have in English no real translation of *Noli me tangere*,[129] and none at all of *El filibusterismo*, which, as a political document, is the stronger of the two.[130] It is no less regrettable that no biography of Rizal, tracing his

lona, 1889), and *Los frailes en Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1889), by "Padpiuh."

[129] The two alleged translations published in the United States under altered titles, do not merit even a mention; one is a garbled and partial translation from the Spanish, the other an "adaptation" from a French version of the original, boiled down to give the "story" and thus shorn of the very descriptive passages and delicious bits of satire which make the work notable, not as a novel, but as an exposition.

[130] The various Spanish reprints (also a French one) of these novels may be found cited in Retana's recent work, mentioned below. The best to date, but no longer easily attainable, are

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mental development and his relation with the events of 1880 to 1896, nor even a good biographical sketch of him, has been published in the English language. Retana's biographical and bibliographical notes, published in a Madrid monthly, *Nuestro Tiempo*, 1904-06, and about to appear in book form, are indispensable as the only comprehensive work on the subject, and resort must be had to them for a full array of citations, as also for many documents not available elsewhere.[131] Rizal's edition (Paris, 1890) of Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* has already been cited in connection with that work in VOLS. XV and XVI of this series (see note 3 of former). Its an-

editions of both novels printed at Manila in 1900 by Chofre & Cia.

[131] There must also be seen the collections *Documentos políticos de actualidad* in Retana's *Archivo*, iii and iv, especially those in the latter volume connected with Rizal's trial and execution. Besides the documents there reproduced – the diary of Rizal as a student in Madrid (now in the library of Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago), notes and documents furnished to Retana by various friends and coworkers of Rizal (especially by Epifanio de los Santos) – use has been made in Retana's latest work of data published in the Filipino press from 1898 to date, particularly in the special numbers which appear annually in connection with the anniversaries of Rizal's execution (December 30). Among these may be named especially: *La Independencia*, Sept. 25, 1898, and Jan. 2, 1899 (Rizal's letters to Blumentritt regarding his relations with Blanco and recall to Manila for trial; also quoted by Foreman); *La Patria*, Dec. 30, 1899; *La Democracia*, *Homenaje á Rizal*, separately printed at Manila, 1899, with seventeen Rizal articles, sixteen reproduced from *La Solidaridad; La Democracia*, Dec. 29, 30 or 31, 1901-06, especially Dec. 29, 1905 (notes by Santos); *El Renacimiento*, same dates; *ibid.*, April 28, 1906 (notes by Retana); *ibid.*, May 26, June 2, and Dec. 29, 1906 (notes by Mariano Ponce); *ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1906 (notes by Edouardo Late); *La Independencia*, Sept. 12, 14, 17, and 18, 1906 (Rizal's correspondence from his place of exile at Dapitan with Father Pastells, the Jesuit superior, regarding his religious belief, and incidentally his loyalty to Spain).

See also *La Juventud* (Barcelona), *El Doctor Rizal y su obra*, published in 1897.– EDS.

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notations are Rizal's chief contribution to the history of his people, and it must be said that his political feeling has crept into them to the damage often of their scientific value.[132] There also deserve mention here Rizal's discussion in 1889 of the future of his people,[133] and some of Blumentritt's writings about Rizal and in his defense.[134]

Masonry, Liga Filipina, etc.– In almost all the Spanish writings about the Philippine insurrection, especially those by friars, we find it ascribed primarily to " Franc-Masonería," the terrible bugaboo in naming which the Spanish friar sums up in one word his notion of all that is pernicious in modern life since the French Revolution, and the chief cause of the loss by Spain of her American colonies. So, as to the Philippines, the argument is, had not Spanish Masons been able secretly to organize there, and to pervert the minds of certain Filipinos, the colony would have remained in its loyalty of primitive simplicity and happiness. The truth is that Masonry played a very secondary part in the Filipino agitation for reform, furnishing simply a convenient medium for conducting the propaganda. Up to the last ten years of Spanish rule, only a few lodges of Spanish Liberals and foreigners, into which some of the half-

[132] Morga, who gave a more truly scientific and in many respects more favorable view of the Filipinos at the time of the conquest than the later friar-chroniclers, had been neglected by Spanish writers and students, and Rizal's purpose in bringing out the *Sucesos* was primarily to correct many recent exaggerations in the literature about the Filipinos. The bitterness with which his work (and even Morga himself) was assailed revealed the political spirit of the times.

[133] *Filipinas dextro de cien años*, in *La Solidaridad*, reprinted in Retana's *Archivo*, v.

[134] Library of Congress *List*, pp. 99, 100; and Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca*, nos. 307, 308, 339 and 341 (also 1087).

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castes and more well-to-do Filipinos had been admitted, had been organized in the Philippines, and had led a rather irregular existence. At about the time when *La Solidaridad* was moved to Madrid, a Spanish-Filipino Association was there formed, in which Spaniards and Filipinos combined to agitate for reform. This circle was virtually identified in membership with a certain Spanish Grand Lodge (probably spurious, as regards the legitimate parent organization of Free Masonry), which delegated agents to conduct the active organization of new Philippine lodges dependent upon it. It appears certain that this was done with the idea definitely in view of being able thus to propagate liberal political ideas and secretly distribute such literature among the Filipinos, also the more easily to raise funds for the work. But had not such a favorable means of conducting the propaganda been presented, it would have been improvised. One must subject to critical examination the Spanish writings, and will readily discover their exaggerated deductions from such facts as came to light.[135] Interesting reading is afforded by the confidential Royal Order of July 2,

[135] As also their tendency to assume that every Spanish official who favored a more liberal political régime in the Philippines did so because he was a Mason. The books of Sastrón and Castillo y Jimenez (especially pp. 372-376, 382), also the friar pamphlets of García-Barzanallana (Library of Congress *List*, p. 103) and Navarro (*Biblioteca*, no. 1,811), are especially in point. See, for accounts from the same point of view, the report of the Spanish officer of the civil guard, Olegario Diaz, no. 77 of *Documentos políticos* in the *Archivo*, iii, and other documents in that series in vols. iii, and iv. *Masones y ultramontanes*, by Juan Utor y Fernandez (Manila, 1899), is a defense of Masonry by a Spaniard who founded lodges in the Philippines. V. Diaz Perez in the pamphlet *Los frailes de Filipinas* brings out from the same point of view some figures and other data on Masonry in the Philippines.

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1896, addressed to Governor-General Blanco.[136] It approves his deportation of the *principales*, or headmen, of Malolos and Taal (who had defied the local friar-curates), and orders him to have provincial and other officials watch and report confidentially on all secret organizations (forbidden by the Laws of the Indies, as recited in Royal Order of August 2, 1888) and list all persons of whom "there may be indications enough to believe that they are affiliated," etc. (opening up thus a splendid opportunity for private denunciations). He is to use in this secret work only officials who are Peninsulars, never natives; so also he is to invite coöperation of "the parish-priests who belong to the religious orders." As to punishments, it is preferable to deport the "suspected," fixing their residence in the Moro country or Guam, rather than to exile them, as they would then join the colonies abroad and conduct a propaganda.

The project of Marcelo del Pilar for an association called *Solidaridad Filipina*,[137] which came to nothing practical, and the *Liga Filipina*, organized by Rizal just before his deportation from Manila in July, 1892, though in part modeled after Masonry, are among the things which show that the Filipino propagandists did not confine their efforts to Masonic organization. Our Spanish sources would have it that the *Liga Filipina* was really separatist in character, and the prosecution deliberately based upon this charge the demand for Rizal's conviction in 1896. It remains unproved, and the statutes of the League as prepared by Rizal[138] entirely support his

[136] In his *Memoria al Senado* (Madrid, 1897), pp. 158-163.

[137] See *Biblioteca*, no. 2,665.

[138] Cited in their original draft, somewhat skeletonized, in the

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assertion that the design of the League was to foster coöperation among the Filipinos, to "raise the arts and sciences," and develop Filipino commercial and economic interests generally. The organization was a fraternal society, in effect, the aim being to bring Filipinos closer together in a "brotherhood," and incidentally to undermine the control of Chinese and others upon the trade of the country – in which respects it would likely have proved mostly utopian, even had not political conditions and Rizal's deportation brought it virtually to naught. In the pledges of its "brothers" to stand by each other for the "remedy of abuses" as well as for other things, the League very plainly looked toward unity of action in matters social and political, and no doubt the idea of bringing his people together for such political action as might become possible was foremost in the mind of Rizal and its other organizers. But this does not prove the charge that it merely covered up a plan to get arms and rise in rebellion as soon as possible.

The Katipunan.– We come now to the parting of the ways. Just as Marcelo del Pilar had concluded that the time was at hand for more vigorous measures, so on the other hand some of the Filipinos of education and social position (cautious also, in some cases, because of their property) had become discouraged and faint-hearted. The deportation of Rizal had its effect in 1892, and the local government reforms of 1893-94 were followed by a reactionary government in Spain which might nullify even such

notes furnished for Retana's *Vida y escritos de José Rizal* by E. de los Santos, and by the latter also furnished in a manuscript copy to the writer (of which see the translation *post*, pp. 217-226).

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concessions, in the face of the constant demand for a check upon the half-liberal régime of Blanco. Some of the middle-class leaders of Manila, who had been drawn into the Masonic movement, had decided that the time had come to organize the masses, at least in the Tagálog provinces. Andrés Bonifacio, an employe of a foreign business house in Manila, was the leading spirit; gathering his ideas of modern reform from reading Spanish treatises on the French Revolution, he had imbibed also a notion that the methods of the mob in Paris were those best adapted to secure amelioration for the Filipinos. His ideas were those of a socialist, and of a socialist of the French Revolution type, and he thought them applicable to an undeveloped tropical country, where the pressure of industrial competition is almost unknown, and where with the slightest reasonable exertion starvation may be dismissed from thought. There was in this new propaganda an element of resentment toward the wealthy, upper-class Filipinos, the landed proprietors in general, as well as toward the friar landlords and the whole fabric of government and society resting on them. Summing up all the evidence he has been able to obtain on the Katipunan, the writer agrees with Felipe G. Calderón, a Filipino, in his opinion[139] that its socialistic character negatives the assertion of the Spanish writers that the upper-class Filipinos were its real supporters and directors, working in the background; and that, while this propaganda from below looked to independence and the substitution of Spanish rule by Filipino rule, yet it was without any political program, properly

[139] Notes, etc., in *El Renacimiento*, Manila, Aug. 11 and 18, Sept. 1 and 18, Oct. 13, 1906.

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speaking, and there was merely a crude idea in the minds of the masses that they were somehow going to shake off their masters, get rid of the whites, and divide up the big estates not only of the friars but of Filipino landholders as well. Calderón does not discuss the alleged plan of the Katipunan to assassinate the whites, especially the friars. It is certain that such bloodthirsty ideas were in the minds of some of the leaders; but the more direct documentary evidence that has been produced on this point is perhaps open to the suspicion that it was manufactured in connection with the courts-martial which operated with such fury after the outbreak of revolt in 1896.[140] After all the furore that had been made, the actual revelations as to the importance of the organization, character of its leaders, number of its followers, and extent of its operations, would have made the whole affair somewhat ridiculous, had it not been represented that behind this humble organization of perhaps forty thousand initiates in the Tagálog towns there was a great program for setting up an independent government and that the upper-class Filipinos were simply using this organization as a stalking-horse. The truth appears to be that, while these over-important Katipunan leaders thought in terms grandiloquent, and led their humble

[140] This is especially true of the documents given by José M. del Castillo y Jimenez, *El Katipunan ó el Filibusterismo en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1897), pp. 114-117, 118-123, whence they have been quoted by various other writers. It is to be noted, first, that the source of these documents has never been given; they are not among the extracts from the official records of the courts-martial reproduced in Retana's *Archivo*, iii, and iv; and, finally, certain passages in them read suspiciously as if prepared for the purpose of proving the most exaggerated statements about the Katipunan and of magnifying the scope and aims of the whole movement.

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followers in the towns around Manila most affected by the propaganda to indulge in futile and ridiculous dreams of a coming millennium (while some of themselves were quarreling over the obols contributed), the movement was mostly talk even up to the time when an Augustinian curate in Manila made himself the hero of the rabid Spanish element in Manila by "exposing" an organization about which the governmental authorities had had partial information for some weeks, or even months. Bonifacio started this separate organization in 1894, but Calderón seems to be correct in saying that work in the towns outside of Manila was only begun in the spring of 1896. The humble followers were assured that the Japanese government would help them oust Spain, and that rifles to arm the whole population would come from there. But Japan never in the least violated her obligations to Spain, and, if the leaders even *bought* any rifles in Japan, they must have been few indeed.[141] When Bonifacio sent an emissary to Dapitan in the spring of 1896, to propose to Rizal a plan of armed revolt and that he should escape on a steam vessel sent for the purpose, and join in this campaign, Rizal rejected the proposition as folly, and displayed his great impatience with it.[142] On every ground, it seems probable that, had not Friar Gil and the Spanish press of Manila been so insistent on giving great publicity to some Katipunan engraving-stones, re-

[141] See on this subject an article by J. A. LeRoy, *Japan and the Philippine Islands*, in *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1906. Primo de Rivera, in his *Memoria* (1898), several times declares that the Cavite insurgents of 1896-97 never had more than 1,500 firearms, including rifles of all sorts, shotguns, and revolvers.

[142] This was allowed to appear even in the testimony as written down by the Spanish military court (Retana's *Archivo*, iii, *Documentos políticos*, nos. 35, 46, and 55).

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ceipts for dues, etc., kept in hiding by the affiliated employes of a Spanish newspaper, the revolt might never have come about at all. Certainly, no date was set for it (though various future dates had been vaguely discussed), till the sudden arrests of August 19 and 20, 1896, sent Bonifacio and his companions fleeing to Bulakan Province where, practically without arms, they appealed to their fellow-workers in Bulakan, Manila, and Cavite provinces to rise in revolt on August 30. The friars and the rabid element of Spanish patriots were so anxious to force the hand of Blanco, and to discredit him, that, it may be, they forced upon a military commander whose troops were mostly in Mindanao a revolt that, a few months further on, might either have dissipated itself or have been avoided by an adequate show of force.[143]

Because the friars are so much to the fore in all the discussions of these events, we must not overlook the part played by governmental abuses, as already described. The Civil Guard, given a more extensive organization and scope of action during these closing years of Spanish rule, by its abuses (committed, for the most part, by Filipinos upon their own fellows) played probably the foremost part in drawing odium upon the government.[144] Next to police abuses, and

[143] Besides Castillo y Jimenez, the Katipunan will be found discussed in nearly all the sources to be cited on the 1896-97 insurrection. Data on Bonifacio are scanty, but see *El Renacimiento*, April 23, 1903; *ibid.*, for the notes of Calderón, above cited, and of Aug. 30, 1906, for a letter by Pio Valenzuela; also comments by A. Mabini and notes by J. A. LeRoy in *American Historical Review*, xi, pp. 843-861. A pamphlet, *The Katipunan* (Manila, 1902), by Francis St. Clair (?), published in order to put before Americans the friar view of the Filipino revolutionists, contains an English version of the report of Olegario Diaz, cited above; its notes, drawn indiscriminately from Retana, Castillo y Jimenez, and others, are full of errors.

[144] Friar Zamora (*Las corporaciones religiosas en Filipinas*,

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sometimes allied with them, were the misuses of the powers of local government (with which alone the great majority of the people came into direct contact), especially in regard to the levy of forced labor; and here again, the humble Filipino's complaint was chiefly against his own fellow-countrymen of power and position. But, summing up all the administrative abuses and all the evils of the government system, we are still left a long way from agreement with the friars' assertions that the masses loved them and that governmental abuses were the sole cause of rebellion.[145]

Insurrection of 1896-97.—No history from the

pp. 324-325) says the forces of the Civil Guard sent to the Bisayas were recruited not from the best men in the Filipino infantry regiments, as the Governor-General ordered, but from the worst, because these were the men whom the infantry colonels would let go. "We parish-priests knew this, because the Civil Guard officers themselves so told us; we saw, a few days after the posts were established in the towns, that the majority of the Guards ought to be serving, not in that corps of prestige, but in some disciplinary corps or in the penitentiary. Nevertheless, from our pulpits we recommended and eulogized what caused us disgust and displeasure, because it was so ordered by the Governor-General to the provincial of the monastic orders, and directly to the parish-priests themselves through the medium of the governors of provinces."

[145] Joaquin Pellicena y Lopez, a Spanish journalist of Manila, an admirer of the Jesuits (in some degree, perhaps, an exponent of Jesuit views on recent years in the Philippines), in the pamphlet *Los frailes y los filipinos* (Manila, Jan., 1901), defends the work of the friars as a historical whole, but condemns their unwillingness to progress with the times. As one proof that the rebellion of 1896 was against the friars, not against Spain, he says (pp. 27-28) that Governor-General Polavieja's demand for 25,000 fresh troops in April, 1897, was only a pretext to cover his resignation. Polavieja, who came out to succeed Blanco and under whom Rizal was almost immediately executed, had suddenly become convinced, says this journalist, by reading correspondence of Aguinaldo with the Jesuit superior, that the real cause of the trouble was the friars. As virtually emissary and appointee of the friars, the inference is, Polavieja concluded it would be impossible for him to settle the difficulties successfully.

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Filipino side has yet come to light, and there are certain points that can be cleared up only by the frank testimony of the Filipino participants.[146] We are dependent chiefly on Spanish sources, written in the passion of the times by men not careful about sifting the facts. All things considered, the two best sources, both for what they say and for what may be inferred from them, are the so-called *Memorias* of two Governor-Generals, prepared in order to defend their administrations before the Spanish Senate and the public; that of Blanco covering the preparatory stage and early months of the rebellion, that of Primo de Rivera its closing stages. Between these two Governor-Generals, the work of Monteverde y Sedano covers the military operations under Polavieja.

Blanco's *Memoria*[147] affords, unconsciously, the most severe indictment that could be passed on Spain's fitness to hold the Philippines (or her other colonies) in 1898. This man was really of liberal temperament; he had formed a just conception of the real insignificance of the Katipunan movement; and he strove, when the crisis was prematurely forced on him, to restrain the vindictiveness of the rabid Spanish element, and really believed in the efficacy of a "policy of attraction." But instead of setting forth on broader grounds the reasons for his course of action and discussing with sincerity and frankness

The letters of Aguinaldo to Pio Pí are most interesting, at least (see *La Política de España en Filipinas*, vii, pp. 326-328).

[146] Notably the "removal" of Andrés Bonifacio in 1897 (regarding which the Bonifacio note above cites incomplete data), and the Biak-na-bató negotiation, treated below.

[147] *Memoria que al Senado dirige el General Blanco acerca de los últimos sucesos ocurridos en la isla de Luzón* (Madrid, 1897).

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a policy for the Philippines, he felt compelled after his return to Spain to bow before the howls of press and public. He defends himself before his clerical-conservative critics not by showing the folly of their illiberal policy for the colony, but endeavors to prove that they were wrong in accusing him of lack of severity as well as of energy. Thus we learn (p. 20) that, even under a Blanco, before the outbreak came, one thousand and forty-two persons had been deported "as Masons, disaffected and suspicious or harmful to their towns." During the night of August 19-20, 1896, following the sensation created by Friar Gil, there were forty-three arrests in Manila, and three hundred more within the next week. During September, thirty-seven men taken in arms were shot, after summary trials (p. 25.) The number of Filipinos, mostly men of some position, who had not taken up arms, but were arrested for alleged complicity in the Katipunan, and involved in the trials before a special court for conspiracy and sedition, very soon mounted to five hundred, including those sent in from the provinces. Some remained *incomunicados* for more than forty days. The men executed from September 4 to December 12, 1896, when Blanco surrendered command to Polavieja, numbered seventy-four in all.[148]

Evidence as to the "reign of terror" that was inaugurated in Manila may be drawn from the Spanish treatises to be cited, wherein the episode is re-

[148] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-68, 163-169. The real Blanco expresses himself in these sentences: "For some people, proof of character and energy is given by ordering executions right and left, at the pleasure of the public, which is wont to be excited by passion; but, on the contrary, energy is shown by resisting all kinds of abuses, and this one most of all. To shoot men is very easy; the difficult thing is not to do it."

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cited with gusto. The Spanish press of Manila for 1896-98; also that of Spain, especially Philippine letters of 1896-98 in *La Política de España en Filipinas, El Heraldo, El Imparcial* and *El Correo* of Madrid, furnished the original source of information for these writers, and should be used to supplement this history of the insurrection. Transcriptions of testimony taken by the special court for sedition and conspiracy appear in Retana's *Archivo*, iii and iv, and evidences that the more yielding witnesses had their phraseology, and sometimes their statements of fact, dictated to them will be noted by the careful reader, especially if he be familiar with Spanish methods of judicial procedure. References to the common use of torture to make witnesses (in some cases eager enough to insure their own safety by "delation") sign such testimony, will be found in the Filipino press since 1898, occasionally also in Spanish periodicals of Manila since 1898.[149] These same sources also supplement the citations on Rizal already given, for the story of his trial and execution, and the increase of severity and terrorism after Polavieja took charge. They are also, in the main, our sole, fragmentary sources on the state of Cavite during insurgent control of the province, the insurgent organization, etc.[150]

[149] See also *Senate Document no. 62* for hearsay testimony by foreigners at Paris regarding the "reign of terror," tortures, etc.; and the books of Foreman and Sawyer for similar testimony.

[150] It is to be noted that some of the worst stories of Filipino outrages upon Spanish captives, especially friars, later proved to be rumors, or were exaggerated, though some brutalities were committed. See *La Democracia*, Manila, July 12, 1906, for an alleged confession by Friar Piernavieja (extorted from him, and dictated to him in bad Spanish); *ibid.*, July 14, 1906, for data regarding the execution of him and two other friars in Cavite, in

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The Spanish treatises and pamphlets on the insurrection are:[151] José M. del Castillo y Jimenez, *El Katipunan, ó el Filibusterismo en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1897). Partial accounts of events of 1896-97; already characterized as rabid and cheaply patriotic.

Ricardo Monet y Carretero, *Comandancia general de Panay y Negros. Alteraciones de órden público . . . desde Octubre de 1896 á Marzo de 1897* (Iloilo, 1897). Mostly official proclamations, etc., by the author as commander in the western district of Bisayas, regarding disturbances there and symptoms of a tendency to revolt.

E. Reverter y Delmas.–*Filipinos por España. Narración episódica de la rebelión en el archipiélago Filipino* (Barcelona, 1897); 2 vols. The title of a later edition is *La insurrección de Filipinas.* Known to the writer only by title.[152]

" reprisal " for the execution of Rizal. Isabelo de los Reyes's pamphlet *La religión del Katipunan* (Madrid, 1900), as also other writings in *Filipinas ante Europa* and *El defensor de Filipinas*, a periodical edited at Madrid, 1899-1901 by Reyes, may be mentioned here, as to Aguinaldo and the revolutionary movement in general; statements therein are commonly unreliable.

[151] A few are in the *List* of the Library of Congress, under Political and Social Economy, and American Occupation, 1898-1903. Some may be found under the authors' names in Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca.*

[152] So also *La soberanía nacional*, by D. Paradada, a Jesuit (Barcelona, 1897), cited by Pardo de Tavera, as " stupid." In this connection may be cited the following titles of Spanish writings on the events following May, 1898, which contain some backward glances upon the earlier phases of the Filipino revolution, also some Spanish imprevision; Juan y José Toral.–*El sitio de Manila* (Manila, 1898). José Roca de Togores y Saravia (secretary of Council of Administration of Philippines).–*El bloqueo y sitio de Manila.* V. M. Concas y Palau.–*Causa instruida por la destrucción de la escuadra de Filipinas y entrega del arsenal de Cavite. Notas taquigráficas* (Madrid, 1899). Isern.–*Del desastre nacional y sus causas* (Madrid, 1899). Luis Morero Jerez. –*Los prisioneros españoles en poder de los tagalos* (Manila, Dec.,

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Enrique Abella y Casariego, *Filipinas* (Madrid, 1898). More temperate than most other Spanish writings. Treats of the development of the insurrection, and of the course of events under Blanco, Polavieja, and Primo de Rivera.

Federico de Monteverde y Sedano, *Campaña de Filipinas, La división Lachambre. 1897.* (Madrid, 1898.) Excellent account of the campaign of Polavieja by his aide; somewhat grandiloquent, considering the comparative insignificance of the military operations themselves.

Les Philippines et l'insurrection de 1896-1897 (Paris, 1899); a thirty-nine-page reprint from *Revue militaire de l'étranger.*

L. Aycart–*La campaña de Filipinas. Recuerdos é impresiones de un médico militar* (Madrid, 1900). Contains some charts and some interesting data on the military campaign as such.

Manuel Sastrón–*La insurrección en Filipinas y guerra hispano-americana* (Madrid, 1901).[153] Writ-

1899). Carlos Ria-Baja (a prisoner of the Filipinos).–*El desastre filipino* (Barcelona, 1899). Antonio del Rio (a prisoner, Spanish governor of Laguna Province).–*Sitio y rendición de Santa Cruz de la Laguna* (Manila, 1899). El Capitan Verdades (Juan de Urquía).–*Historia negra* (Barcelona, 1899). Joaquín D. Duran (a friar prisoner).–*Episodios de la revolución filipina* (Manila, 1900). Ulpiano Herrero y Sampedro (a prisoner).–*Nuestra prisión en poder de los revolucionarios filipinos* (Manila, 1900). Graciano Martinez (a friar prisoner).–*Memoria del cautiverio* (Manila, 1900). C. P. (Carlos Peñaranda).–*Ante la opinión y ante la historia* (Madrid, 1900); a defense of Admiral Montojo. Bernardino Nozaleda (Archbishop of Manila).–*Defensa obligada contra acusaciones gratuitas* (Madrid, 1904); especially for communications to Blanco, 1895-96, *in re* Katipunan, etc.

[153] First published under the title *La insurrección en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1897), but the later volume, covering also the events of late 1897 and 1898 and the war with the United States, is more complete.

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ten by a Spanish official in Manila during this time, and composed of accounts and documents drawn mainly from the press of Manila. It is, however, the most useful arsenal of data.

Major John S. Mallory–*The Philippine Insurrection, 1896-1898* (appendix viii to report of Major-General G. W. Davis, commanding the division of the Philippines, in *Report of War Department*, 1903, vol. 3, pp. 399-425). A non-critical compilation, mostly from Sastrón and Monteverde y Sedano. It is, however, by far the best review of the 1896-97 insurrection as such that is available in English, and is a fairly satisfactory account for one who cannot consult the Spanish sources. Far better than Foreman's account.

M. Arroyo Vea-Murguía–*Defensa del sitio de Naic (Filipinas). Antes y despues.* (Madrid, 1904.) Of little value.

The Pact of Biak-na-bató.– Purposely, the word "treaty," so often applied to this transaction, is here avoided; for, apart from technical objections to a word that applies to agreements between sovereign powers, this was no treaty in any sense of the word. There was some mystery surrounding the negotiations by which the insurgent chiefs surrendered a few hundred nondescript firearms and retired to Hongkong; untrue or half-true charges were bandied back and forth, for political effect, in the Cortes and the press of Spain; and, of the chief actors in the affair, only Primo de Rivera has given his account–perhaps not with entire frankness.[154] Agui-

[154] *Memoria dirigida al Senado por el Capitán General D. Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte acerca de sa gestión en Filipinas. Agosto de 1898* (Madrid, 1898). Pp. 121-158 cover the Biak-na-bató negotiation.

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naldo has confined his statements on the subject to the most brief assertions of a general nature[155] to the effect that reforms by the Spanish government were promised. Primo de Rivera categorically denies this; while Pedro A. Paterno, the go-between, has made no statement at all during the nine years that have passed since the conflicting statements have been before the public, involving directly the question of his own veracity and good faith. Primo de Rivera is an *ex parte* witness, to be sure; but his statements upon the more vital points involved are corroborated by the very insurgent documents on this subject captured by the American army in 1899 and now in the War Department at Washington.[156] Primo de Rivera says that, when Paterno presented a paper early in the negotiations containing a full program of reforms,[157] he rejected the document absolutely,

[155] *E.g.*, In his *Reseña verídica* (only signed, not written by him), an English translation of which appears in *Congressional Record*, xxxv, appendix, pp. 440-445.

[156] See *Congressional Record*, xxxv, part 6, pp. 6092-94, for English translations with explanatory notes. See also *Senate Document no. 208*, 56th Congress, 1st session, part 2, for the documents showing the discussion of the *junta* of Filipinos at Hongkong in February and May, 1898, relative to the Biak-na-bató money payments and the obligations thereby contracted toward the Spanish government. When the Philippine Insurgent Records now in manuscript in the War Department, edited by Captain J. R. M. Taylor, are published, all the captured documents on this and later matters will be brought together.

[157] The same as has frequently been cited as the program of reforms promised by Primo de Rivera, or even as being contained in an actual treaty. Such statements have usually been reproduced from Foreman or directly from insurgent proclamations. It is notable that in these (*e.g.*, that of the *La Junta Patriótica*, Hongkong, April, 1898) it is only declared that Primo de Rivera "promised" these reforms, and that he himself would remain in the Philippines during a three-year "armistice," as a guarantee that the reforms would be carried out.

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saying he could not discuss such matters with the insurgent chiefs, that the Spanish government would accord such reforms as it thought wise, and he could only interpose his good offices to make recommendations in that respect. The copy of this document now in the War Department at Washington shows the clauses about reform to have been crossed out. Primo de Rivera says that, from that time forth, the negotiation was purely on the basis of a payment to the rebel chiefs to surrender their arms, order the insurgents in the other provinces to do the same, and emigrate to foreign parts. The only documents bearing signatures on both sides, either of those published at Washington or elsewhere, refer exclusively to these particular points of money, surrender of arms, and program of emigration, though Paterno inserted in a preliminary of the final contract on these subjects a clause as to reposing confidence in the Spanish government to "satisfy the desire of the Filipino people."[158] Primo de Rivera recommended the transaction to his government for one reason, expressly because it would "discredit [*desprestigiando*] the chiefs selling out and emigrating."[159]

The first proposition of the insurgents was for 3,000,000 pesos; Primo de Rivera acceded, under

[158] The document cited by Foreman (2nd ed., pp. 546-547; 3rd ed., pp. 397-398), read in the Cortes in 1898, was not the final agreement and the terms of payment are incorrect. It is either spurious, or was superseded by the document, number 5 (of the same date) published in the *Congressional Record, ut supra.* This appears to have been the only document in Aguinaldo's possession bearing the signature of Primo de Rivera, and it is merely a program prescribing the movements of the rebel chiefs from December 14 on, terms of payments, surrender of arms, amnesty, etc.

[159] *Memoria*, p. 125, cablegram of October 7, 1896.

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authority from Madrid, to 1,700,000 pesos; and the total sum named in the contract signed on December 14, 1897, is 800,000 pesos. When Aguinaldo and his twenty-seven companions reached Hongkong, they received 400,000 pesos and never any more. Though really looking at it as a bribe, the Spanish government had consented to the money payment ostensibly on the ground of indemnity to widows, orphans, and those who had suffered property losses by the war, and to provide support for the insurgent chiefs abroad. That it was the idea of at least some of the insurgent leaders that the money was to be divided between them is shown by a protest signed by eight of those who remained behind to secure the surrender of more arms than the paltry number of two hundred and twenty-five turned over at Biak-na-bató, appealing to Primo de Rivera for "their share."[160] The latter says he turned over to these men and Paterno the 200,000 pesos of the second payment (the actual disposition of which is unknown[161]); and that he turned over the remaining 200,000 pesos to Governor-General Augustín in April, 1898, when it was evident that peace had not been assured, after all. As to the remaining 900,000 pesos which Primo de Rivera had authority to pay, but which did not appear in the final contract, Primo de Rivera says (pp. 133, 134) that Paterno omitted them from the document because they were to be used to "indemnify those not in arms," and that he did not "think

[160] A slightly modified copy of this appeal is quoted by Primo de Rivera (*Memoria*, pp. 140-141), and in *Senate Document no. 208*, pt. 2, pp. 2, 3. The writer has a copy taken from one of the originals.

[161] Pardo de Tavera remarks *(Rept. Phil. Comm.*, 1900, ii, p. 396) that someone "forgot he had this sum of money in his pocket."

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it prudent to inquire further about them at the time." [162]

Enough has been developed to show the demoralizing character of the transaction. In justice to Aguinaldo and his closest associates, it is to be said that they had kept the money practically intact, for use in a possible future insurrection, until they spent some of it for arms after Commodore Dewey's victory in Manila Bay.[163] Nor are we able to say categorically that Aguinaldo and the other leaders in Biak-na-bató were not led to believe that specific reforms had been promised verbally by Primo de Rivera in the name of his government; Aguinaldo and Paterno could clear up that matter, but neither speaks. Just what informal discussion of this subject there was between Paterno and Primo de Rivera, we do not know; but the latter's own version will warrant the conclusion that he at least permitted Paterno to lay before the insurgents the fact that he was making recommendations on this line, and to hold out the expectation of results, once he was not confronted with armed rebellion.[164] He declares that

[162] Paterno has apparently given to Foreman a partial version of the transaction for the latter's 1906 edition. Therein Foreman comes around to imply that there was, after all, no "treaty" about reforms, but he is still very much confused as to the money payments, etc., and almost every sentence contains an inaccuracy. He appears to have seen the *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes*, at least for one or two speeches on this subject in 1898, when there were heated debates on Philippine matters in the Cortes, but it is strange he never consulted Primo de Rivera's detailed account of the affair.

[163] It was declared, however, in the press of Spain that Aguinaldo projected a residence in Europe and had started for Paris when Consul-General Pratt found him at Singapore in April, 1898.

[164] The change of Spanish administration in October, 1897, bringing the Liberals again into power, with Moret, who had proposed secularization of education in 1870, as Colonial Minister,

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a scheme of Philippine reform, covering also the friar question, had been drawn up and agreed upon, when Premier Cánovas was assassinated and the Conservatives soon after fell from power; but he does not tell us what were the reforms as to the friars. Primo de Rivera continued to give his ideas as to the need for reform in provision of parishes, church fees, local government, education, civil service, etc., after the Liberals came into power. Yet, though stating the case against the friars in strong terms, virtually confirming every charge made against them, he appears to have advised only a curtailment of their power and a more rigid discipline, not their elimination as parish-priests, which was the aim of most of the insurgents.[165] When a Spanish editor in Manila began writing in February, 1898, of political reforms in the direction of "autonomy," without submitting his articles to previous censure, Primo de Rivera suspended publication of the periodical.[166] That Spanish circles in Manila as well as the Filipinos were in expectation, in late 1897 and early 1898, of the announcement of some comprehensive scheme of

was another reason for expecting liberal measures in the Philippines as well as in Cuba. It was this new ministry which urged Primo de Rivera to conclude the Biak-na-bató negotiation speedily. One of the indications that the Biak-na-bató documents in the War Department, above cited, were "doctored" in some particulars is the insertion in Paterno's letter to Aguinaldo of Aug. 9, 1897, of a reference to Moret being Minister; the change of cabinet in Madrid occurred two months later.

[165] See the *Memoria*, pp. 159-176, on Reforms. In a temperate, judicial way his discussion of the friars, from experience as Governor-General from 1881-83 and during the insurrection, is perhaps the severest arraignment they could receive, above all since it came from a man appointed by a Conservative administration.

[166] See the *Memoria*, pp. 144-154. The incident is related in various tones by other writers.

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Philippine reform, is apparent from the press of the time.[167] The Liberal press of Madrid and Barcelona was also actively agitating reform for the Philippines, and Spanish Liberals and Filipinos addressed petitions on the subject to the government at Madrid.[168] The general belief at Manila was also that some sort of promise of reforms had passed at Biak-na-bató, even that it included the gradual withdrawal of the friars.[169] That the religious orders themselves knew that they were the storm-center is sufficiently shown by the Memorial of April 21, 1898, reproduced *post*, pp. 227-286.[170]

The Question of Independence.—We have, on one hand, the assertions of rabid Spanish writers that separation from Spain was throughout the real aim of the Filipino leaders, who merely covered it under

[167] See the pamphlets, reprinting articles from two of these periodicals: Juan Caro y Mora, *La situación del país* (Manila, 1897), series in *La Oceanía Española*; and *El gran problema de las reformas en Filipinas planteado por El Español, periódico diario de Manila* (Manila, 1897). These articles appeared while the Biak-na-bató negotiation was pending, and with full official sanction; but they touched the religious question only very cautiously, and mostly to defend the friars. The articles of Caro y Mora especially merit consideration in connection with the study of Spanish administration in its last stage.

[168] See especially *El Liberal*, of Madrid. The writer has a copy of a broadside dated at Madrid Jan. 26, 1898, *Exposición elevada á sa Majestad la Reina Regente sobre la insurrección en Filipinas*, by Vital Fité, a Spanish journalist, once provincial governor in the Philippines. It represents friar-rule as the chief grievance, but recites also abuses and defects of administration.

[169] See J. Pellicena y Lopez, *Los frailes y los filipinos* (Manila, 1901).

[170] An earlier indication of the friars' fear of coming reforms is the pamphlet, *Filipinas. Estudios de algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Madrid, 1897), by Eduardo Navarro, procurator of Augustinians, who advocates "reform" by means of "a step backward."

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a plea for reforms (the friars say, under a false assertion that the Filipinos were opposed to them). We have, in direct opposition, the assertions of Spanish Liberals and of some Filipinos that the movement was inspired by genuine loyalty to Spain, and was only a protest and appeal for reforms even in its last phase as an outbreak in arms, 1896-98. This view was accepted by the Schurman Commission in 1899. Again, during the years from 1898 to date, when demands for independence were made upon the United States, the more radical Filipino leaders, first in insurrection, now in political agitation, have asserted that complete political independence was definitely the aim in 1896-97, and was the ideal in mind for some years before. Thus they would corroborate the assertions of the more rabid Spaniards who claimed that Rizal and all his co-workers, both in the aristocratic ranks above and in the Katipunan below, were hypocritical in their protestations of loyalty to Spain. Where does the truth lie?

The fact is, one can sustain any view he prefers to take of this subject, by detached citations from documents of one sort or another. The real answer is to be found only by a careful survey of all the evidence as to Filipino activities and aspirations. We note that, when Rizal discusses the possibility of future independence for his people, he sets it as a century hence. We need not take him literally, nor, on the other hand, need we say his title was merely hypocritical, and he was insidiously inciting his people to think of immediate independence; we shall be fairer to survey his writings as a whole, probably reaching the conclusion that the independence of his people was constantly in his mind, but sober reason warned

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him to restrain his and their youthful impatience on the subject. In discussing Del Pilar and Rizal, it has already been pointed out how the former changed places with the younger man and became the more impatient of the two; and the connection of this growing impatience with the more violent nature of the Katipunan has been shown. So it is not enough to cite detached passages from Rizal or Del Pilar, for example, to prove either that they were just filibusters under cover of protestations or, on the contrary, that they never dreamed of independence.[171] The propagandists felt differently at different times, under the pressure sometimes of self-interest, influenced sometimes by momentary incidents or passions. It is plain that, with some of them at least, a new tone had been adopted toward Spain when, at the beginning of 1896, the manifesto of the Katipunan organ to the Filipinos bitterly exclaimed:

"At the end of three hundred years of slavery ....., our people have done nothing but lament and ask a little consideration and a little clemency; but they have answered our lamentations with exile and imprisonment. For seven years in succession *La Solidaridad* voluntarily lent itself and exhausted its powers to obtain, not all that they ought to concede, but only just what of right is owing to us. And what has been the fruit of our effort unto fatigue and of our loyal faith? Deception, ridicule, death, and bitterness.

"Today, tired of lifting our hands in continual

[171] As, *e.g.*, does Pellicena y Lopez, in *Los frailes y los filipinos*, to prove that separation was not the aim of the propagandists. The citation from Del Pilar's *Soberanía monacal* (paragraph v), is almost identical with the paragraph of the 1888 petition to the Queen, quoted already.

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lamentation, we are at last ourselves; little by little our voice has lost its tone of melancholy gained in continual complaint; now . . we raise our heads, so long accustomed to being bowed, and imbibe strength from the firm hope we possess by reason of the grandeur of our aim. . . . We can tell them bluntly that the phrase 'Spain the Mother' is nothing but just a bit of adulation, that it is not to be compared with the piece of cloth or rag by which it is enchained, which trails on the ground; that there is no such mother and no such child; that there is only a race that robs, a people that fattens on what is not its own, and a people that is weary of going, not merely ungorged, but unfed; that we have to put reliance in nothing but our own powers and in our defense of our own selves."

Rizal put in the mouth of the old Filipino priest in *El Filibusterismo* (1891) the view of the thoughtful Filipino patriot, considering the social defects of his people: "We owe the ill that afflicts us to ourselves; let us not put the blame on anyone else. If Spain saw that we were less complaisant in the face of tyranny, and readier to strive and suffer for our rights, Spain would be the first to give us liberty. . . . But so long as the Filipino people has not sufficient vigor to proclaim, with erect front and bared breast, its right to the social life and to make that right good by sacrifice, with its own blood; so long as we see that our countrymen, though hearing in their private life the voice of shame and the clamors of conscience, yet in public life hold their peace or join the chorus about him who commits abuses and ridicules the victim of the abuse; so long as we see them shut themselves up to their own egotism and praise with forced smile the most iniqui-

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tous acts, while their eyes are begging a part of the booty of such acts, why should liberty be given to them? With Spain or without Spain, they would be always the same, and perhaps, perhaps, they would be worse. Of what use would be independence if the slaves of today would be the tyrants of tomorrow? And they would be so without doubt, for he loves tyranny who submits to it."

Doubtless Rizal felt that his people had made progress toward social independence in the five years that followed, till the Katipunan outbreak came; but he condemned that beforehand as a foolish venture, and reprobated it as harmful to Filipino interests before his death. Though in a sense this was a movement for independence, we have seen that only vague ideas of a political organization were in the minds of the leaders, while the deluded masses who followed them with, for the most part, *bolos* only, had virtually no idea of such an organization, except that Filipinos should succeed Spaniards.[172] The prematurely commenced revolt, as it gained at the outset, some defensive advantages over the bad military organization of Spain, developed ideas and aspirations quite beyond the early crude dreams of its leaders; they were really surprised at their own (temporary) success, and emboldened thereby.[173]

[172] The author of the preliminary report of the Schurman Commission, Nov. 2, 1899, must simply have blindly followed Foreman and must have somewhat misunderstood his Filipino informants, in order to make these remarkable statements (*Report*, i, pp. 169, 172): "This movement [rebellion of 1896] was in no sense an attempt to win independence, but was merely an attempt to obtain relief from abuses which were rapidly growing intolerable." "Now [June, 1898] for the first time arose the idea of independence [in Aguinaldo's camp]."

[173] A quite sufficient answer, if there were not plenty of others, to Dr. Schurman's statements quoted above is afforded by this passage in a proclamation of Aguinaldo as *Magdalo* at Old Cavite

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Even after the loss of Cavite, when the revolutionists were hemmed in and hiding in the Bulakan Mountains, they put forward, in an "Assembly" at Biak-na-bató, a more comprehensive and ambitious political program (a Filipino Republic, in short) than had ever before been drawn up by Filipinos.[174] We know also that no small part was played by the "reign of terror" in turning even the moderate Filipinos against Spanish rule as an entirety. We should be far from the truth if we should say that this Tagálog rebellion, and the demonstrations of sympathy with

(Kawit), Oct. 31, 1896 (Castillo y Jimenez, *El Katipunan*, pp. 298-302): "The revolutionary committee addresses to all Filipino citizens who love their country a general call to arms for the proclamation of Filipino liberty and independence as [a matter of] right and justice, and the recognition of the new revolutionary government established by the blood of its sons." And, on the same date, in a proclamation outlining a rough revolutionary organization of Cavite province and each of its towns, he says: "Filipinas witnesses today a fact unprecedented in its history: the conquest of its liberty and of its independence, the most noble and lofty of its rights." Yet, in March, 1897, Aguinaldo discussed in the correspondence with the Jesuit superior, as already mentioned, the reforms he thought the country asked, and expressly disclaimed for the revolutionists the aim for independence. So also his proclamations and interviews on leaving for Hongkong after the pact of Biak-na-bató (see *La Política de España en Filipinas*, viii, pp. 46, 47).

However, in a letter to Fray Tomas Espejo (undated, but written probably in January, 1898), Aguinaldo says: "A great work is this, which demands great sacrifices, followed by the shedding of quantities of blood. But what matters that, for it is very little compared to the sublime and holy end which we hold before ourselves in attempting to take arms against España. For this we have resolved to sacrifice our lives until we shall hear issue from the mouths of our compatriots, the blessed phrase 'All hail, Filipinas! forever separated from España, and conquered through the heroism of their inhabitants.'" (*La Política de España*, viii, p. 44).– EDS.

[174] See Sastrón's account of Biak-na-bató in chapters v and vi of his *Insurrección en Filipinas* for some fragments of documents on this subject.

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it in other provinces, brought the Filipino people together in a unanimous sentiment for independence. That it did greatly stimulate this feeling is certain. He would be a bold man who would now assert that independence was not the common aspiration, when outside pressure suddenly pricked the bubble of Spanish authority in 1898 and released the people for the free expression of their sentiments. But he is equally bold who asserts that the Filipino people had been suddenly and miraculously transformed into a real *nation* by these events, or that the Aguinaldo government had the support of or really represented the whole country, above all of the most sober-thinking Filipinos.

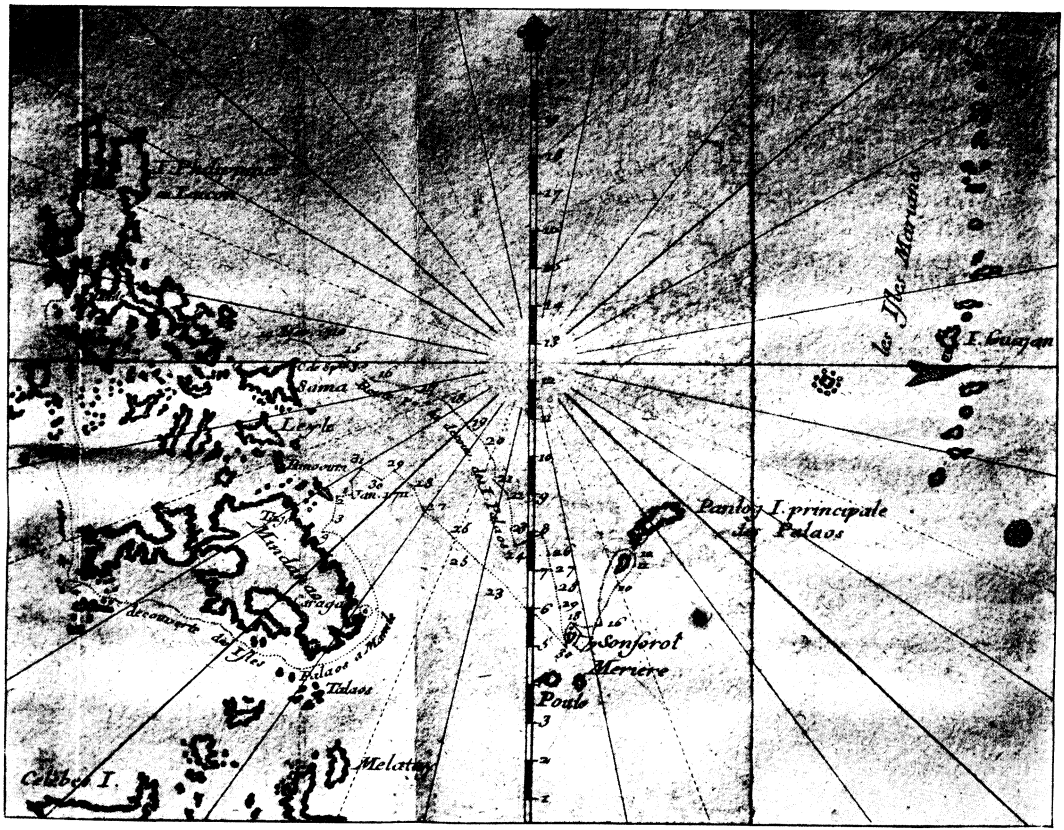
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EVENTS IN FILIPINAS, 1841-1872

This period, opening with the coming of Governor Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri, and closing during the governorship of Rafael de Izquierdo y Gutierrez, is one of the most important and critical in the history of the Philippines. It witnessed the insurrection of Tayabas (1841) under the leadership of Apolinario de la Cruz (*q.v., ante,* pp. 92, 93); the use of steamships against the Moros (1848), whereby the Spaniards gained great advantage; approval for the Spanish-Filipino bank, August 1, 1851, with a capital stock of 400,000 pesos, and 2,000 shares of 200 pesos each, of which 1,000 shares were to be acquired by the obras pías and 1,000 were open to the public (the bank beginning operation in 1852); the reinstatement of the Jesuits (October 19, 1852; although the first band did not arrive until the middle of 1859), whereby education was given a slightly freer movement;[175] the famous educational laws of

[175] A royal decree of Jan 22, 1784, by Carlos III, declared the ex-Jesuits competent to acquire and hold property; and, in the case of those secular coadjutors who had married, to bequeath their property to their heirs. That monarch died in 1788; and was succeeded by his eldest son, as Carlos IV. In Oct. 1797, the government learned that the Spanish ex-Jesuits were determined to return to Spain, on account of the persecutions and even death which menaced them in the Genoese territories, owing to a change in the government there, and that some of them had already

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Map of the Philippine and Mariana Islands; from *Lettres édifiantes* (Paris, M.DCC.XV)

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December 20, 1863, and other educational orders, decrees, and regulations (*q.v.*, VOL. XLVI); the Spanish revolution of 1867-68, and the new constitution; the opening of the Suez Canal (November 17, 1869),

reached the Spanish ports; it therefore decided that they should be allowed to remain in the country, but must live in certain abandoned convents. The Jesuits objected to this, and finally the government permitted them (1798) to retire freely to the homes of their families or into any convents they might choose, save that they were not allowed to reside in Madrid or other royal seats. "Many ex-Jesuits returned to their fatherland, and others decided to remain in Italia; but this situation did not last long, for in the year 1801 another decree was issued condemning them anew to proscription." Orders were given that within one week all Jesuits should leave their homes and present themselves at Alicante or Barcelona, where new orders would be given them. Some fathers advanced in years were allowed to remain in Spain; but all the rest were for the second time shipped to Italy, where they suffered great hardship. In 1808 the Spanish government felt more leniently toward these unfortunate exiles, considering, moreover, the difficulty of furnishing their pensions, and the fact that all those moneys were thus taken out of Spain to foreign countries, to find their way ultimately into the hands of her enemies; and a royal decree by Fernando VII, dated Nov. 15, 1808, granted permission to those Jesuits who desired to return to Spain, with the same pension which they had been receiving. After the war between Spain and France was ended, urgent requests were made to Fernando VII by various personages prominent in ecclesiastical, educational, and municipal affairs that he would reëstablish in his dominions the Society of Jesus; and permission was given by a royal decree dated May 9, 1815, for the Jesuits to have houses in the towns and cities which had asked for them. A year later, after various preparations for this change had been made by the government, another decree extended the reëstablishment to all the towns where the Jesuits had formerly had their institutions. "In virtue of this, all the Spanish Jesuits who were residing in Italy returned to España, at the expense of the court. All these decisions were adopted in España in fulfilment of the bull of Pius VII dated Aug. 7, 1814, *Solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, by which the Jesuits were reëstablished in all the Catholic countries – that of Clement XIV, which decreed the extinction of the order, being thereby annulled.* Not five years

* A letter from Mariano Fernandez Folgueras, dated Manila, Aug. 18, 1819, mentions the decrees of Fernando VII by which the Society of Jesus is to be established throughout Spanish dominions, and promises obedience to the royal orders.

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by which communication with the mother-country was rendered quicker and easier, and liberalism given more decided tendencies; and lastly, the Cavite insurrection of 1872, which ended with the execution of three native secular priests. During this period

had passed after the reëstablishment of the Society of Jesus in España when, the revolution of 1820 having been successful, the Cortes assembled; and the Spanish monarch, by decree of September 6 in that same year, again suppressed the [Jesuit] institute, together with the other monastic orders, allowing the Jesuits, however, liberty to reside in España. Fernando communicated to his Holiness the above decision, and Pius VII replied in a letter of September 15, expressing the displeasure with which he had received the tidings; but in 1823, the constitutional government having been destroyed, the regency issued a decree on June 11, reëstablishing the Society and the rest of the regular orders in the same condition in which they were before March 7, 1820. Fernando VII died on Sept. 29, 1833, and the civil war began; and on July 17, 1834, occurred the lamentable massacre† of the Jesuits and other religious. By royal decree of July 4, 1835, the Society of Jesus was anew declared extinguished; and its property was ordered to be sold, in order to apply the product thereof to the extinction of the public debt. In spite of this decision, the Jesuits remained established in España; and it was necessary, in the last revolutionary period, to issue the decree of Oct. 12, 1868, suppressing the Society of Jesus in the Peninsula and the adjacent islands; and commanding that within the space of three days all their colleges and institutions should be closed, and possession be taken of their temporalities in the form provided on this point by the royal decree of July 4, 1835. To these provisions were added this, that the individuals of the suppressed Society might not again reunite in a body or a community, nor wear the garb of the order, nor be in any way subordinate to the superiors of the order who existed either within or without España, those who were not ordained *in sacris* remaining subject in all matters to the ordinary civil jurisdiction. But the realization of this measure was ephemeral; for when the constitution of June 5, 1869, was published, the right of every person was declared – and repeated in the constitution of June 30, 1876 – to associate with others for all the purposes in human life which are not opposed to public morals; and, by favor of this liberty, the individuals of the Society of Jesus

† An epidemic of cholera was raging in Madrid, and some malicious persons persuaded the common people that it was caused by the friars having poisoned the water. A mob broke into the Jesuit convents and murdered many of the inmates; and over a hundred friars were killed for the same reason.

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there were in all fourteen regularly-appointed governors, and eleven provisional terms, in the latter, Ramon Montero y Blandino serving three times, and Joaquin del Solar twice – the average of each term (regular and provisional) being slightly over one year. This was comparatively a period of newspaper activity, about thirty newspapers being founded during these years. The entire period may be called the period of adolescence.

Conditions in Spain were to a certain extent reflected in the islands. Confusion and uncertainty in the Peninsula had their counterpart in the colony. The administrational experiments of the Madrid officials extended to the government of the colonies, and there were many changes which vitally affected the Philippines. Some of the new laws were good; others show a greater or less ignorance regarding the islands. Throughout, however, the prevailing tone is one of greater liberalism.

To be classed under foreign politics of the period were the laws regulating foreign commerce; the slight contact with the Dutch who appeared to be making overtures for a settlement in the Southern Islands; some negotiations with the celebrated Rajah Brooke; and the campaign of Cochinchina, in which the Spaniards aided the French.

considered themselves authorized to form an association and found anew colleges and houses in the Spanish dominions."

A brief of Pope Leo XIII, dated July 13, 1886, finally re-established the Society of Jesus throughout the world, and abrogated that of Clement XIV which in 1773 suppressed the order. The pope took occasion to express this permission in the warmest and most forcible terms; and " the rehabilitation of the Society of Jesus could not have been more complete or more satisfactory." " It is pleasant to observe that, after three centuries of strife, the principle of authority has triumphed." (Danvila, *Reinado de Carlos III*, iii, pp. 613-625.)

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Local politics show great activity. Provincial limits were changed and fixed, and new provinces were created. Special subordinate governments were created for the Visayan Islands and for the Marianas. Police regulations were made, and bodies of police created. There were city improvements in Manila. Reforms were instituted in the various provinces in regard to the alcaldes-mayor. Various departments of the government were also reorganized. In 1867-68 new regulations were adopted for the management of the Audiencia of Manila.

In nothing is the upward trend more strongly marked than in economic lines. The measures passed were often groping, it is true, but yet on the whole looked toward the greater light. There was an attempt to exploit the coal mines of the islands, and mining regulations were made. Agriculture received attention (see *post*, appendix on agriculture). Commerce was given greater concessions, and the customs duties were revised. Provincial chiefs were forbidden to engage in trade. Various acts of legislation regarding monetary conditions, the establishment of a mint, and the coinage of special money for the Philippines attest the greater commercial activity. There was considerable legislation in regard to tobacco. The many laws regarding the Chinese have a purely economic basis. Topographical maps which were ordered made and the new roads ordered constructed indicate a desire to know the country and its conditions better. Exhibits of Philippine products were made at the world's fair in London in 1851 and 1862. Telegraphic regulations were made in 1869.

For religious and educational influences of this

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period see the religious appendix in our VOL. XXVIII, and the educational appendices in VOLS. XLV and XLVI. An important order of January 15, 1849, forbade the religious orders to alienate their property. A decree of June 20, 1849 gave the Recollects charge of the island of Negros, and they did considerable work there and developed the island somewhat, although they but built on previous efforts, and did not accomplish as much as has been claimed. The reëstablished Society of Jesus was given control of the mission work of Mindanao in 1861. The suppression of the house of St. John of God in Manila and the establishment of the Sisters of Charity were asked from the pope in 1852, at the time of the reëstablishment of the Jesuits. The conciliar seminaries were given into charge of the Fathers of St. Vincent de Paul on their establishment in the islands. The Franciscans were allowed to maintain a college in Spain for the training of missionaries for the Philippines.

The history of the development of the people during this period has been greatly neglected. There was a decided advance educationally and politically, as well as a growing discontent, that were due to a complexity of factors, among which were the easier communication with Spain, the greater number of Spaniards in the islands, and the spread of books and papers through the capital and provinces. On the side of the government there were expeditions into the north country against the Igorots and other tribes. In the south there were almost continual campaigns against the Moros, over whom some important victories were obtained. The usual decrees ordering good treatment of the natives were issued, with as little effect as of old. The liberal policy that the gov-

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ernment was inclined to adopt toward the natives is evidenced by the efforts made to secure educational laws, and by the regulations of 1863. By an order of October 31, 1844, a casino was opened for the natives in Manila. Another order prohibited the smoking of opium by Chinese and natives. Discontent in the native body is seen in the revolts of native soldiers and police. It was forbidden to carry arms without a license. The lottery established in 1850 had a bad influence. The vaccination board established at Manila and the leper hospital established in 1850 at Cebú, were on the other hand good measures, but were not welcomed so heartily as the lottery. The surreptitious introduction and circulation of books and plays caused the government in 1854 to attempt to regulate the book trade. Government pawnshops were opened in 1860 in Manila. Pensions were granted to the parents of those natives who were killed in the service of the country. The earthquake of 1863 proved especially disastrous, and the cholera epidemic of the same year, while not so severe as that of 1820, decimated the people considerably. The Moret decrees (see VOL. XLV, pp. 163-165) were distinctly in favor of the natives, but were never carried out. The discontent ever grew more pronounced, and at last broke out actively in the Cavite rebellion, which was instigated and promoted by the secular clergy and others. There has been no attempt to do more than point out general tendencies during this period, and to note some of the most important matters. For a good working bibliography, which will be found to cover this period see Mr. LeRoy's article *The Philippines, 1860-1898–Some comment and bibliographical notes*, which immediately precedes the present document.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE LIGA FILIPINA

Ends:

1. To unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogeneous body.
2. Mutual protection in every want and necessity.
3. Defense against all violence and injustice.
4. Encouragement of instruction, agriculture, and commerce.
5. Study and application of reforms.

Motto: *Unus instar omnium* [*i.e.*, one like all.]

Countersign: . . .

Form:

1. To set these ends in operation, a Popular Council, a Provincial Council, and a Supreme Council shall be created.
2. Each Council shall consist of a Chief, a Fiscal, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and members.
3. The Supreme Council shall consist of the Provincial Chiefs, just as the Provincial Council shall be composed of the Popular Chiefs.
4. The Supreme Council shall have command of the Liga Filipina, and shall deal directly with the Provincial Chiefs and Popular Chiefs.
5. The Provincial Council shall have command of the Popular Chiefs.

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6. The Popular Council only shall have command of the members.

7. Each Provincial Council and Popular Council shall adopt a name different from that of their locality or region.

Duties of the Members:

1. They shall pay monthly dues of ten centimos.

2. They shall obey blindly and promptly every order emanating from a Council or a Chief.

3. They shall inform the Fiscal of their Council of whatever they note or hear that has reference to the Liga Filipina.

4. They shall preserve the most absolute secrecy in regard to the decisions of the Council.

5. In all walks of life, preference shall be given to the members. Nothing shall be bought except in the shop of a member, or whenever anything is sold to a member, he shall have a rebate. Circumstances being equal, the member shall always be favored. Every infraction of this article shall be severely punished.

6. The member who does not help another member in the case of need or danger, although able to do so, shall be punished, and at least the same penalty suffered by the other shall be imposed on him.

7. Each member, on affiliation, shall adopt a new name of his own choice, and shall not be able to change the same unless he become a Provincial Chief.

8. He shall bring to each Council a service [*trabajo*; evidently a service done for the organization], an observation, a study, or a new candidate.

9. He shall not submit to any humiliation or treat anyone with contempt.

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Duties of the Chief:

1. He shall continually watch over the life of his Council. He shall memorize the new and real names of all the Councils if he is the Supreme Chief, and if only a Popular Chief those of all his affiliated members.

2. He shall constantly study means to unite his subordinates and place them in quick communication.

3. He shall study and remedy the necessities of the Liga Filipina, of the Provincial Council, or of the Popular Council, according as he is Supreme Chief, Provincial Chief, or Popular Chief.

4. He shall heed all the observations, communications, and petitions which are made to him, and shall immediately communicate them to the proper person.

5. In danger, he shall be the first, and he shall be the first to be held responsible for whatever occurs within a Council.

6. He shall furnish an example by his subordination to his superior chiefs, so that he may be obeyed in his turn.

7. He shall see to the very last member, the personification of the entire Liga Filipina.

8. The omissions of the authorities shall be punished with greater severity than those of the simple members.

Duties of the Fiscal:

1. The Fiscal shall see to it that all comply with their duty.

2. He shall accuse in the presence of the Council every infraction or failure to perform his duty in any member of the Council.

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3. He shall inform the Council of every danger or persecution.

4. He shall investigate the condition of the funds of the Council.

Duties of the Treasurer:

1. He shall enter in a ledger the new names of the members forming the Council.

2. He shall render strict monthly account of the dues received, noted by the members themselves, with their special countermarks.

3. He shall give a receipt and shall have a note of it made in the ledger in the hand of the donor, for every gift in excess of one peso and not over fifty.

4. The Popular Treasurer shall keep in the treasury of the Popular Council, the third part of the dues collected, for the necessities of the same. The remainder, whenever it exceeds the sum of ten pesos, shall be delivered to the Provincial Treasurer, to whom he shall show his ledger, and himself writing in the ledger of the Provincial Treasurer the amount delivered. The Provincial Treasurer shall then give a receipt, and if it is in accordance with the accounts, shall place his O. K. in the ledger of the other. Like proceedings shall follow when the Provincial Treasurer delivers funds in excess of ten pesos to the Supreme Treasurer.

5. The Provincial Treasurer shall retain from the sums handed to him by the Popular Treasurer one-tenth part for the expenses of the Provincial Council.

6. Whenever any member desires to give the Liga Filipina a sum in excess of fifty pesos, he shall deposit the sum in a safe bank, under his vulgar name and then shall deliver the receipt to the Treasurer of his choice.

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Duties of the Secretary:

1. At each meeting he shall keep a record of proceedings, and shall announce what is to be done.

2. He shall have charge of the correspondence of the Council. In case of absence or incapacity, every authority shall name a substitute, until the Council name one to fill his place.

Rights of the members:

1. Every member has a right to the moral, material, and pecuniary aid of his Council and of the Liga Filipina.

2. He may demand that all the members favor him in his trade or profession whenever he offers as many guaranties as others. For this protection, he shall transmit to his Popular Chief his real name and his footing, so that the latter may hand it to the Supreme Chief who shall inform all the members of the Liga Filipina of it by the proper means.

3. In any want, injury, or injustice, the member may invoke the whole aid of the Liga Filipina.

4. He may request capital for an enterprise whenever there are funds in the treasury.

5. He may demand a rebate of all the institutions or members sustained directly by the Liga Filipina, for all articles [sold him] or services rendered him.

6. No member shall be judged without first being allowed his defense.

Rights of the Secretary [*sic*; Chief?]

1. He shall not be discussed unless an accusation of the Fiscal precede.

2. For want of time and opportunity, he may act by and with himself, as he has the obligation to perform the charges which may be laid on him.

3. Within the Council he shall be the judge of every question or dispute.

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4. He shall be the only one who shall be empowered to know the real names of his members or subordinates.

5. He shall have ample power to organize the details of the meetings, communications, and undertakings, for their efficacity, security, and rapid despatch.

6. Whenever a Popular Council is sufficiently numerous, the Provincial Chief may create other subordinate Councils after first appointing the authorities. Once constituted, he shall allow them to elect their authorities according to the regulations.

7. Every Chief shall be empowered to establish a Council in a village where none exists, after which he shall inform the Supreme Council or Provincial Council.

8. The Chief shall appoint the Secretary.

Rights of the Fiscal:

1. He shall cause every accused person to go out or appear while his case is being discussed in the Council.

2. He shall be able to examine the ledgers at any time.

Rights of the Treasurer:

He shall dispose of the funds in an urgent and imperious necessity of any member or of the Council, with the obligation of giving account and answering before the tribunal of the Liga Filipina.

Rights of the Secretary:

He may convoke extra meetings or assemblies in addition to the monthly meetings.

Investment of the funds:

1. The member or his son, who while not having

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means, shall show application and great capacities shall be sustained.

2. The poor shall be supported in his right against any powerful person.

3. The member who shall have suffered loss shall be aided.

4. Capital shall be loaned to the member who shall need it for an industry or for agriculture.

5. The introduction of machines and industries, new or necessary in the country, shall be favored.

6. Shops, stores, and establishments shall be opened, where the members may be accommodated more economically than elsewhere.

The Supreme Chief shall have power to dispose of the funds in needy cases, whenever he later renders an account to the Supreme Council.

General Rules:

1. No one shall be admitted without a previous and unanimous vote of the Council of his village, and without satisfying the tests to which he must submit.

2. Offices shall end every two years, except when there is an accusation by the Fiscal.

3. In order to obtain the posts, three-fourths of all the votes present shall be required.

4. The members shall elect the Popular Chief, the Popular Fiscal, and the Popular Treasurer. The Popular authorities shall elect the Provincial authorities; and the Provincial authorities shall elect the Supreme authorities.

5. Every time that a member becomes the Popular Chief, that fact shall be communicated to the Supreme Chief, together with his new and old names;

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and the same shall be done whenever a new Council shall be founded.

6. Communications in ordinary times, shall bear only the symbolical names both of the writer and of the persons for whom they are intended, and the course to be pursued shall be from the member to the Popular Chief, from the latter to the Provincial Chief or the Supreme Chief, and vice versa. In extraordinary cases alone shall these formalities be omitted. However, in any time or place, the Supreme Chief may address anyone directly.

7. It is not necessary for all the members of a Council to be present to render decisions valid. It shall be sufficient if one-half the members are present and one of the authorities.

8. In critical moments, each Council shall be considered as the safeguard of the Liga Filipina, and if for any cause or other the other Councils are dissolved or disappear, each Council, each Chief, each member, shall take upon himself the mission of reorganizing and reëstablishing them.[176]

[176] This constitution was partly printed at London, at the London Printing Press, No. 25 Khulug St., in both Spanish and Tagálog. Those parts printed (the ends, duties of the members, and the general rules) contain some changes from Rizal's MS. Preceding the constitution proper is the membership pledge to the Liga. It is as follows: "Number. . . . To . . of . . I . . of . . years of age, of . . state, profession . . , as a chosen son of Filipinas, declare under formal oath that I know and entirely understand the ends aimed at by the Liga Filipina, whose text appears on the back of the present. Therefore, I submit myself, and of my own accord petition the chief . . of this province, to admit me as a member and coworker in the same, and for that purpose I am ready to unconditionally lend the necessary proofs that may be demanded of me, in testimony of my sincere adhesion!" The ends of this printed text are the same as those of the MS. The motto is the same, and there is also a place for a countersign. The duties of the members are somewhat changed, the changes being as follows:

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" 1. He shall pay two pesos for one single time, as an entrance fee, and fifty centimos as monthly fee, from the month of his entrance. 2. With the consciousness of what he owes to his fatherland, for whose prosperity and through the welfare that he ought to covet for his parents, children, brothers and sisters, and the beloved beings who surround him, he must sacrifice every personal interest, and blindly and promptly obey every command, every order, verbal or written, which emanates from his Council or from the Provincial Chief. 3. He shall immediately inform, and without the loss of a moment, the authorities of his Council of whatever he sees, notes, or hears that constitutes danger for the tranquillity of the Liga Filipina or anything touching it. He shall earnestly endeavor to be sincere, truthful, and minute in all that he shall have to communicate. 4. He shall observe the utmost secrecy in regard to the deeds, acts, and decisions of his Council and of the Liga Filipina in general from the profane, even though they be his parents, brothers and sisters, children, etc., at the cost of his own life, for this is the means by which the member will obtain what he most desires in life." Articles 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 are the same. The general rules of the printed version are as follows: " In order that the candidate may be admitted as a member to the Liga Filipina, he must possess morality, good habits, not have been proceeded against justifiably as a robber, shall not be a gambler, drunkard, or libertine. The candidate must solicit and petition his entrance from a member; and the latter shall communicate it to his Fiscal, for the investigations that must be made in regard to his conduct." On Dec. 30, 1903, a monument was erected to Rizal, to his companions, and to other founders of the Liga Filipina by the village of Tondo, on a site given by Timoteo Paez, one of the members of the Liga. On the monument is the following inscription: " Remember [this word in English, the rest in Spanish]. Facing this site and at house No. 176 Ilaya St., Dr. Rizal founded and inaugurated on the night of July 3, 1892, the Liga Filipina, a national secret society, with the assistance and approval of the following gentlemen: Founder, Dr. Rizal; shot. Board of directors – president, Ambrosio Salvador; arrested. Fiscal, Agustin de la Rosa; arrested. Treasurer, Bonifacio Arevalo; arrested. Secretary, Deodato Arellano; first president of the national war Katipunan society; arrested. Members – Andres Bonifacio; supreme head of the Katipunan, who uttered the first warcry against tyranny, August 24, 1896. Mamerto Natividad; seconded, in Nueva Écija, the movement of Andres Bonifacio, August 28, 1896; shot. Domingo Franco; supreme head of the Liga Filipina; shot. Moises Salvador; venerable master of the respected lodge, Balagtas; shot. Numeriano Adriano; first guard of the respected lodge, Balagtas; shot. José A. Dizon; venerable master of the respected lodge, Taliba; shot. Apolinario Mabini;

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legislator; arrested. Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista; first patriot of '68; arrested. Timoteo Lanuza; initiator of the manifestation for the expulsion of the friars in 1888; arrested. Marcelino de Santos; arbitrator and protector of *La Solidaridad*, the Filipino organ in Madrid; arrested. Paulino Zamora; venerable master of the respected lodge, Lusong; deported. Juan Zulueta; member of the respected lodge, Lusong; died. Doroteo Ongjunco; member of the respected lodge, Lusong; owner of the house. Arcadio del Rosario; orator of the respected lodge, Balagtas; arrested. Timoteo Paez; arrested."– EPIFANIO DE LOS SANTOS.

See Retana's account of the Liga in *Nuestro Tiempo* for Aug. 10, 1905, pp. 202-211. He says mistakenly that the constitution was printed in Hong-Kong.

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His Excellency, the Minister of the colonies:

We, the superiors of the corporations of the Augustinians, Franciscans, Recollects, Dominicans, and Jesuits, established in Filipinas, in fulfilment of the statement of the telegram presented to his Excellency, the governor-general and viceroyal patron,[191] on the first instant, to be transmitted officially to your Excellency, and which has been done by the said superior authority, as he has condescended to inform us, have the honor of presenting this exposition to his Majesty, King Don Alfonso XIII (whom may God preserve), and in his royal name, to her Majesty, the queen regent, Doña María Cristina, to the president and members [*vocales*] of the Council of Ministers of the Crown [*Ministros de la Corona*],[192] and most especially to your Excellency, as minister of

[191] This was Fernando Primo de Rivera, whose term ended April 11, 1898.

[192] The *Consejo de Ministros* is the council formed by the ministers of the various departments, in order to discuss the most important and arduous matters, or for the purpose of working harmoniously in the discharge of their respective duties. The sovereign presides, or the minister chosen as chief of the cabinet, who is called president of the Council of Ministers. These councils are ordinary and extraordinary, according as they are held periodically or when demanded by circumstances. Thus the meetings of the council are analogous to those of the cabinet of the United States. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, v, p. 823.

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the colonies. We send it directly to your Excellency, in accordance with law and custom, so that, in due time, you may condescend to lay it before the lofty personages above mentioned, and even, if you deem it advisable, before the entire nation, duly assembled in the Cortes of the kingdom.

In writing this exposition, to us, the religious of the corporations existing in the country from ancient times, united in one soul and one heart, as faithful brethren, is reserved the honor in the very beginning of fulfilling respectfully the most acceptable duty of reiterating our traditional adhesion to the king, to his government, and to all the authorities of the fatherland, to whom we have always considered it an honor to keep ourselves subject and obedient, by the law of conscience, which is the strongest human bond, endeavoring continually and in all earthly things, from our respective sphere of action, to coöperate with every class of endeavor for the maintenance of public order in Filipinas, for its legitimate and holy progress, for the development of its intellectual and even material interests; and, in a very special manner, for the propagation and conservation of the divine teachings of Catholicism, for the encouragement of good morals, and for the security of the moral prestige, the only force which has been until now the great bond of union between these beautiful lands and their dear mother the mother-country [*metrópoli*].

Motive for this exposition. Truly, your Excellency, if extremely troublesome circumstances, by which Spanish authority in the archipelago is threatened, and the bitter campaign (or better, conspiracy) of defamation and anti-monastic schemes, incited

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against us, especially since the outbreak of the insurrection, did not compel us to talk, very willingly would we leave it to politicians to occupy themselves with the problems that concern this country, and we would maintain the silence that has fittingly been our norm of procedure for many years, not speaking except when questioned officially, being jealous, by that manner of retirement, of avoiding the criticism which has so often been heaped upon us with audacious flippancy or malice, that we meddle with the temporal government of these islands.

But now the hour is come, when, as loyal patriots and constant supporters of Spanish authority in Filipinas, we must break that silence, in order that one may never with reason repeat of us, either as religious or as subjects of España, that terrible accusation of the prophet, *canes muti non valentes latrare*.[193] The hour is come, also, when we must emerge in defense of our honor, atrociously blemished in many ways, of our prestige that has been trampled upon, of our holy and patriotic ministry, which has, finally, been subjected to the most terrible calumnies and the most unqualified accusations. Though private persons may at any time make a noble renunciation of their good name that has been defamed, offering to God the sacrifice of what civilized man esteems highest, never is that allowed in any form, according to the teachings of the holy doctors of the Church, to public persons, to prelates, to superiors, to corporations, who must defend and preserve their prestige, their credit, and their reputation, in order to worthily fulfil their respective functions. A religious cor-

[193] *i.e.*, "Dumb dogs not able to bark," a portion of Isaias lvi, 10.

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poration discredited and publicly reviled, is in its class like a nation whose flag is insulted or whose laws are disavowed. It should die struggling for its honor, rather than allow its good name to be trodden under foot, and its rights to become unrecognized and unrevered.

Abandonment of the religious corporations and their patience and prudence under these circumstances. Truly, one cannot qualify us as hasty and imprudent, in that we now address ourselves to the exalted authorities of the fatherland. We have borne patiently the continual insults and vilifications for more than eighteen months of masons and filibusters, open or hidden, in newspapers, clubs, and public assemblies, who have attributed to us the blame for the insurrection, and heaped dishonor on our persons and ministries by the most unjustifiable attacks, cast in their majority in the mold of demagogism and free thought. With Christian meekness have we endured the return to the Peninsula of a multitude of persons who have resided a greater or less period in the islands, who have shown so little honor to our habit and profession; but if, instead of being religious, we had been seculars, and if, instead of being a question of ecclesiastical corporations, it had been one of civil or military corporations, they would have refrained from speaking ill of us – and we can be quite sure of that, and there are eloquent daily proofs of this assertion – for the effective means that such corporations generally practice would have tied their tongues, and would have made them recognize their flippancy and their injustice by imposing a vigorous corrective to their extensions. We religious have no sword; we cannot pronounce judgment; we do not

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glitter with gilt braid; we do not belong to a corporation, whose individual members take part in the government of the fatherland, or in exalted considerations of the same; we are neither military men nor functionaries of the judicial or administrative profession; we do not have weight in any political party; we do not intervene in elections; we do not form (for conscience forbids us) great federations that become feared; we do not incite the public, except to obedience and submission to all constituted authority; we are unable in determined cases to distribute appointments, or offer promotions or remunerations; we are not accompanied by a fattened retinue of friends or flatterers, who defend us for their own personal advantage, and who are the blind paladins of the general, of the politician, of the exalted dignitary, of the opulent banker; neither have we any influence over the press; we do not possess a nucleus of attached partisans to shout for us and overexcite so-called public opinion: in one word, we are without all the methods that are used in modern public life to gain respect and fear, to influence the nation, and cause all the shots of slander or ignorance to strike ineffectually against us.

The religious of Filipinas, far remote from Europa, alone in their ministries, scattered even throughout the farthest recesses of the archipelago, without other associates and other witnesses of their labors than their dear and simple parishioners, have no defense other than their reason and right, which, although established on justice and law, and secured by the protection of the divine Providence – which mercifully has not failed us hitherto and which we hope will not fail us in the future – do not have, nev-

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ertheless, in their favor (nor ever, although we might have done so, would we avail ourselves of them) those most powerful modern auxiliaries which are attaining so much vogue and so great success in societies in which the great Christian sentiments having grown cold, reason is not heard easily unless supplied with the force of cannon or with the armor-plate of the high bench, of vast political parties, or of fearful popular movements.

Alone with our reason and our right, although with our conscience satisfied at always having fulfilled, yea *always*, our duties, of having been as patriotic as the greatest, or more so, and of having fulfilled the obligations of our sacred ministry, we have endured silently and in all patience, in accordance with the advice of the apostle, the insults and vilifications, even of persons to whom we have offered in Christian sincerity our affection and civilities, even by persons who call themselves very Catholic, but who, perchance, infected with the contagion of the practical Jansenism of certain present-day reformers, forget the remark of that great Christian emperor, who said that if he should see a priest who had fallen into any frailty, he would cover him with his cloak, rather than publish his weakness.

Alone, with our reason and our right, and confident that reason would at last clear the pathway, and that light would at last illumine the dense obscurity created by hatred of sect, by the separatist spirit, and by flippancy, envy, and the false zeal of certain persons, we have endured the insinuations, made in the Cortes [*parlamento*][194] of last year which showed

[194] The Spanish Cortes is made up of the Senate (*Senado*) and the congress (*congreso*), and in them, together with the king, re-

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scant respect to the orders; the assertions made, not only in private, but also in centers of great publicity, and by persons of considerable popularity in military circles [*politica militante*], that the religious prestige of Filipinas was so broken that it was necessary to substitute it with armed force; the publishing of the recourse of an eminent politician, sacrificed by anarchy, to the orders for information and advice in Philippine matters, as a dishonorable censure; the grave accusations directed against us, as well as against a most worthy prelate, in a memorial presented to the senate, although veiled under certain appearances of impartiality and gentle correction; the different-toned clamoring from day to day, with more or less crudity, in order that the historic peninsular period of 1834-40 might be reproduced in the islands, and in order that measures might be adopted against us, so radical that they are not taken (and the discussion of them is shameful) either against the centers of public immorality, or against societies and attempts that have no other end than to discatholicize the nation and to sow in it the germs of thorough social upheaval.

Why the religious have been silent until now. We believed and thought that our prudence and long silence, adorned with the qualities of circumspection and magnanimity which religious institutions should always possess, ought to be sufficient for discreet and

sides the legislative power, according to the constitution of 1876. The present Cortes is the outgrowth of the Cortes formerly assembled by the king before the adoption of the constitution, or rather it is the substitute that has supplanted them; for the inherent principle today is that sovereignty resides in the nation instead of the king. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, v, pp. 1166, 1167.

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fair-minded people, so that they would immediately impugn those accusations and form a judgment by which those repeated attacks would not make a dent in our credit and prestige. We supposed that that campaign of diatribes and reproaches would vanish at last as a summer cloud formed by the effluvia cast off from the forges of masonry and filibusterism.

But instead of being dissipated the storm appears to be increasing daily. The treaty of Biac-na-bató [195] has again placed in the mouth of many the crafty assertion, made now by the rebel leaders that the institutes of the regulars have been the only cause of the insurrection. The secret society [196] of the Katipunan, which is extending itself throughout the islands like a terrible plague, has established by order of its Gran Oriente,[197] the extinction of the religious as one of the first articles of their program of race hatred.

[195] See *ante*, pp. 195-201. See also *North American Review*, August, 1901, "The Katipunan of the Philippines," by Col. L. W. V. Kennon, p. 212; and Primo de Rivera's *Memorial*.

[196] The original is *carbonario*, a word used to indicate the member of a secret society, or the society itself. It is from the Italian *carbonaro*, literally coal or charcoal dealer, and its origin is the secret political sect of Italy, formed early in the nineteenth century, with the avowed purpose of destroying tyranny and establishing freedom.

[197] The first Filipino freemason lodge in the Philippines was founded in Cavite about 1860 by two Spanish naval officers under the name of Luz Filipina. It was established under the auspices of the Gran Oriente Lusitana, and was in correspondence with the Portuguese lodges at Macao and Hong-Kong. Gradually other lodges were established and natives and mestizos were admitted to membership. The "Gran Oriente" of the text is the Spanish division of the order, Spain and Portugal having split into two divisions after 1860. It is claimed by Catholics that the Katipunan was the fighting branch of the masonic order. It is probably true that it borrowed some few things from freemasonry in matters of form, but there the analogy seems to end. For the friar viewpoint of masonry in Spain and the Philippines, see Navarro's *Algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Madrid, 1897), pp. 221-277;

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In the Peninsula and here, the masons, and all those who, in one way or another, second them, have rejuvenated [*recrudecido*] their war against us. Manifestos have been published in Madrid, in which misusing the names of Filipinas, measures highly disrespectful and vexatious to the clergy are demanded. Even in the ministry of the colonies, although officiously, persons have managed to introduce themselves, who, pursued by the tribunals of justice as unfaithful do not hide their animadversion to the religious corporations. Now, if we were to continue silent in view of all these circumstances, our silence would be taken with reason as cowardice, or as an argument of guilt; our patience would be qualified as weakness; and even firm and sensible Catholics who recognize the injustice of the attacks directed upon us, could with reason infer that we were stained, or that we had come to such a prostrate condition that one could with impunity insult and mock us, as if in downright truth we were old and decayed entities whose decadence is the last symptom of death.

Prius mori, quam fœdari,[198] said the ancients; and the most loyal Maccabæans, "*It is better to die in the battle than to see the extermination of our nation and of the sanctuary.*"[199] As long as the corporations exist, they will glory, as they ought, in repeating with St. Paul: "*Quamdiu sum Apostolus, ministerium meum honorificabo.*"[200] We have always

and Pastells's *La masonización de Filipinas*. Sawyer's account (*Inhabitants of the Philippines*, pp. 79-81) is very inadequate.

[198] *i.e.*, "It is better to die than to federate."

[199] This passage (1 Machabees, iii, 59), reads in the English Douay version: "For it is better for us to die in battle, than to see the evils of our nation, and of the holies."

[200] *i.e.*, "As long as I am the apostle, I shall honour my ministry," a portion of Romans, xi, 13.

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endeavored to honor our ministry, and we shall always continue to honor it, now and in the future, by the grace of God, which we trust will not fail us. Consequently, we do not vacillate in addressing ourselves today to the exalted authorities of the nation, taking shelter in our confidence, that, though we are poor and helpless, and have no other protection than our spotless history, our immaculate honor, and our secure rights, we are talking to those in whom intelligence and good sense are brothers to nobility of thought, who are always ready to listen, especially to the poor and weak, and in whom their respect and love to Catholic institutions and to the so eminently glorious and meritorious title "Regular Clergy of Filipinas," shelter them from the suggestions of sects and the prejudice of anticlerical and separatist parties.

They are persecuted because of their religious significance. What reason have the religious corporations of Filipinas given that they should be persecuted with so great passion? Ah! your Excellency, that reason is no other than because they are very Catholic, because they are very Spanish, because they are effective supporters of the good and sane doctrine, and because they have never shown weakness toward the enemies of God and of the fatherland.[201] If we

[201] In the Ayer collection is a document dated Manila, January 17, 1888, by one Candido García, a native Filipino, an inhabitant of San Felipe Neri, in which he complains against the friar parish priest Gregorio Chagra, O.S.F., who has endeavored to have him deported as anti-Spanish. The reason of this is because García had complained that the friar disobeyed the law in regard to burials as well as other laws. He also accuses the friars of not wishing to have the Filipinos learn Spanish, as they desire them to have no communication with Spaniards. He thus charges the friars with disobedience and disloyalty.

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religious had not defended here with inviolable firmness the secular work which our fathers bequeathed us; if we had shrunk our shoulders in fear before the work of the lodges and before the propagation of politico-religious errors that have come to us from Europa; if we had given the most insignificant sign, not only if not of sympathy, yet even the least sign of mute passivity, to the advocates of the false modern liberties condemned by the Church; if the flame of patriotism had become lessened to us; and innovators had not met in each religious in Filipinas an unchangeable and terrible adversary to their plans, open or hidden: never, your Excellency, would we religious corporations have been the object of the cruel persecution now practiced on us; but on the contrary, we regulars would have been exalted to the clouds, and so much the more as our enemies are not unaware that, granting the influence that we enjoy in the archipelago, our support, even if passive and one of mere silence, would indisputably have given them the victory.

But they know that our banner is none other than the *Syllabus* of the great pontiff, Pius IX,[202] which has been so often confirmed by Leo XIII, in which all rebellion against legitimate authorities is so vig-

[202] A brief statement by the pope of errors condemned in 1864, and known under the title *Syllabus errorum*. It was appended to the encyclical *Quanta cura*, condemning eighty doctrines, which it calls "the principal errors of our times." These heresies had all previously been pointed out by Pius IX in consistorial allocutions, and encyclical and other apostolic letters. It is a protest against atheism, materialism, and other forms of infidelity. It condemns religious and civil liberty, separation of Church and State, and preëminence of the Church of Rome. See Philip Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom* (New York, 1877), i, pp. 128-134, and ii, pp. 213-233 (this last the Latin and English text of the *Syllabus*.)

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orously condemned. They know that, as lovers of the only true liberty – Christian liberty – we would rather die than consent, in whatever pertains to us, to the least lack of the purity of the infallible Catholic teachings, of the holiness of Christian customs, and of the most complete loyalty due the Spanish nation. Consequently, they hate us; consequently, veiled under divers names and with divers pretexts, they are making so cruel war upon us, that one would believe that the masons and filibusters have no other enemies in Filipinas than the religious corporations. In such wise does that honor us that we can very well say with the prince of the apostles: "*If you be reproached for the name of Christ, you shall be blessed: for that which is of the honor, glory, and power of God, and that which is his spirit resteth upon you* (1 Peter iv, 14)."[203]

And for their patriotic significance. Apart from their essentially religious character, the regulars of the archipelago have another significance that makes them odious to the separatists. They are the only permanent and deeply-rooted Spanish institution in the islands, with a suitable and rigorous organization, perfectly adapted to these regions. While the other Peninsulars live here in the fulfilment of their duty more or less time, as is convenient to their private interests, and with no other bond that follows them to Filipinas than their own convenience, being ignorant of the language of the country and having no other relations with the natives than those of a super-

[203] We have taken the reading of the English Douay version. Translated directly from the Spanish, this verse reads: "If you be reproached for the name of Christ, you will be blessed; for the honor, glory, and virtue of God, and His own spirit rest upon you."

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ficial intercourse, we religious come here to sacrifice our whole life. We form as it were a net of soldiers of religion and of the fatherland in the archipelago, scattered even to the remotest villages of the islands. Here we have our history, our glories, the ancestral house, so to speak, of our family. Bidding an eternal farewell to our native soil, we condemn ourselves voluntarily, by virtue of our vows, to live forever consecrated to the moral, religious, and political education of these natives, for whose defense we have in all ages waged campaigns, which, without the pious boastings [*crudezas*] and exaggerations of Las Casas,[204] have constantly reproduced in Filipinas the figure of the immortal defender of the American natives.

Craftiness of the insurgent leaders of filibusterism. In this point it must be confessed that the insurgent leaders of filibusterism are logical. "Do the regulars," they have asked themselves, "who are the Spaniards most deeply-rooted and most influential in the country, and the most beloved and respected by the people, agree to, or will they ever agree to our projects? Then let us petition their expulsion, and their disappearance in one way or another. If we do not succeed in it, let us destroy them. Since there are many peninsulars, who, influenced by modern errors or carried away by ignorance or evil passion, lend ear

[204] Bartolomé de las Casas or Casaus, who was born in Sevilla in 1474, and died in Madrid, in July, 1569, and because of his great exertions for the Indians called the "apostle of the Indies." Much has been written concerning this romantic and sincere character of early American history. He wrote various books, some of which have been published. Mr. Ayer of Chicago possesses one volume in MS. of his three-volume *Historia general de Indias*. This history (covering the years 1492-1520) was begun in 1527 and completed in 1559.

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to those who inveigh against the religious, let us inveigh loudly. Let us form a powerful cry against them. Let us conspire in lodges and political clubs. Let us petition at any risk measures looking to the lowering and destruction of the regular clergy. Those peninsulars will listen to us without us having any fear that they will hold us as filibusters. It will be said of us that we are liberals, that we are reformers, that we are democrats, that we are even masons and free-thinkers: but that does not matter. Many peninsulars are the same. They also inveigh against the religious. They also petition freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of association, secularization of education, ecclesiastical disamortization, suppression of the privileges of the clergy. They also inveigh against the terrible theocracy, and do not cease to defame the religious and to impute to them all sorts of crimes."

That, your Excellency, is the watchword that has been given to all the filibusters, and to all who will procure the emancipation of the country in one way or another, for their separatist ends, and especially since the treaty of Biac-na-bató. "There is nothing against España, nothing against the king, nothing against the army, nothing against the Spanish administration: say if you have seized arms that it has been exclusively because of the abuses of the clergy, that you were not attempting separation from the mother-country; that you wished only modern liberties and the disappearance of the orders. And even though all the documents, judicial and extrajudicial, in which appear the plans of the conspirators, and all the acts of the canton of Cavite, during its ephemeral emancipation, demonstrates the contrary, let us exert

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ourselves to say that that was not the intention of the rebels, that that was an affair of some enthusiasts or madmen, but that the great mass of the insurgents seized arms only through coveting those liberties. The multitude of lay Spaniards of every class and profession sacrificed; the countless natives killed or harassed in innumerable ways, because of their unswerving loyalty to the fatherland; the cries of 'Death to the Castilas!' and 'Long live the Tagálogs!' the stamps of a Tagálog republic, a Filipino republic,[205] an army of freedom; the speeches and circulars of the assembly or supreme council; the fiery Katipunan constitution written in characters of a mysterious key, and that written at Biac-na-bató; and in their style, an infinite number of deeds and documents, many of them very recent, which even to satiety evidently demonstrate the anti-Spanish and separatist character of the insurrection: all that we shall now conceal by crying 'Down with the friars!' 'Long live democratic liberties!' 'Long live España!' and with those cries are we certain of being heard, and in that way shall we be able to more easily attain the final goal of our desires."

That is the logic and the tactics of the filibusters, and it must be confessed that in it they show themselves to possess practical talent, and to be thoroughly acquainted with the society that surrounds them. Had they said that the insurrection had been provoked by the excesses of the government employes, of the military, of the governors, of the directors of

[205] Aguinaldo states that after he had been driven to the mountains in May, 1897, he established a republic. See *North Amer. Rev.*, August, 1901, p. 212. See also the constitution of the so-called republic in *Constitución política de la Republica Filipina promulgada el dia 22 de Enero de 1899* (1899).

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the treasury; had they placed in relief the multitude of abuses that have been committed against the native in one form or another (although never by the nation, or by the majority of its sons); had they attributed the armed insurrection to that: they would now be opposed by all the peninsular element, and their voice would have had not the slightest echo, as it would have been stifled by the more powerful voice of others who would have cried out in defense of the Spanish name, and who would have locked on them the door to all the means of propaganda and agitation which they are now exploiting. But when they declaimed against the clergy, when they demanded the liberties that the clergy cannot in conscience approve, they had at least assured their campaign, and in part, perhaps, the success of the same.

Their real purposes. Does not this show, your Excellency, that, in talking of the supposed or enormously exaggerated abuses of the clergy, they are not moved by love of justice and morality, and much less by love for España? What then, do they not recognize that for one religious who has committed abuses, it is to be surmised, from their employment, that there have been many more laymen in proportion (and let it be clear that we accuse no one, and least of all the worthy official corporations) who have converted their office, totally or partially, into a means for illegal advancement? Have the insurgents not cried out at other times, and during the preparatory period of the insurrection, against the meritorious civil guard, against judges and alcaldes, against the army, against the peninsular resident in the island, against the administration in general, and even against the superior authorities of the archipelago?

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Is not this proved by the books of the unfortunate Rizal, by the *Solidaridad*,[206] and other documents and pamphlets of the laborers, although one must not forget that their favorite watchword was always to cruelly attack the religious? Undoubtedly so, but it was not now advisable for them to declare it. Now was come the opportunity to show themselves very Spanish, very loyal to the king (they who were affiliating themselves to the extent of their ability with the most radical parties), very fond of the army, and to attack only the religious!

Accusations against the orders. They work deceitfully, we shall say with the Psalmist (Psalm 35),[207] they talk of peace and of love outwardly, but evil and hate are hid in their hearts; *supervacue exprobaverunt animam meam.* Most vainly do they wrong us, we shall add, in respect to the accusations that they direct against us. "Unjust witnesses rising up have asked me things I knew not. They repaid me evil for good: and have sworn my destruction. But thou, O Lord, wilt destroy their plans, and wilt save my existence." (Psalm 35.)[208]

Yea, your Excellency, unjust witnesses, for where

[206] See *ante*, p. 176.

[207] This is Psalm 34 in the Douay version, but, as here, 35, in the Vulgate, and common English versions. Psalm 9 in the Douay version is equivalent to 9 and 10 in the other versions. After verse 21 in the Douay version is the sub-head "Psalm according to the Hebrews," and the following verses are numbered from unity. The Vulgate has the same heading, but regards the subject-matter as a new psalm.

[208] We follow the Douay version to the word "good" (Psalm 34, 11, and part of 12). The rest of the passage we translate directly, as it has no exact equivalent in this Psalm. The direct translation of the first two clauses of the Spanish is "Unjust witnesses have risen up, and charged me with things of which I am ignorant."

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are those abuses, those excesses, those vices, those outrages, of which their mouths are so full, and which furnish them matter for their speeches of a demagogical club of the rabble? What do the religious corporations maintain, when viewed with a deep synthetical standard, which is not in accordance with the canons of the Church and the rules of their institute; which is not fitting to the holy ministry that they profess; which is not greatly beneficial to the supreme interests of the fatherland? We turn our eyes in all directions, and however quick-sighted may be our eyes, unless one views the orders through the pharisaical or separatist prism, they discover nothing that does not merit the heartiest applause. "*Laudet te alienus*," says the sacred book of Proverbs, "*et non os tuum*."[209] But it is not our intention to praise ourselves here. It is our intention to vindicate ourselves; to defend our honor unjustly impeached; to demonstrate our eminently Spanish mission; and to maintain our good name, which is our treasure, which is the great title of nobility that we can never abdicate nor allow to be vilified. "By your good works stop the mouth of the ignorance of foolish and senseless men," says St. Peter to us. (1 Peter ii, 15.)[210]

"We walk not in craftiness, nor by adulterating the word of God; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God; that is our glory, the testimony of our conscience," is also taught us by St. Paul. (2

[209] *i.e.*, "Let another praise thee, and not thy own mouth," the first half of Proverbs xxvii, 2.

[210] In the Douay version this verse reads: "For so is the will of God, that by doing well you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."

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Cor. iv, 2.)[211] From our dishonor follows the dishonor of the holy and Spanish mission that we exercise; and God has told us that we should be the salt of the earth and the light of the world, and that we should shine in such manner that men may see our good works, and glorify our father who is in heaven.[212]

How they have fulfilled their duties. Our good works are in the gaze of all men, and our good works, thanks to God, are the brightest gem of the corporations. Not only do we preach the gospel here; not only do we carry the Christian and civilized life to the barbarous and fetish-encumbered inhabitants of these islands; not only did we obtain the incorporation of the archipelago into the Spanish crown, working in harmony with the other official entities, and preserved it, as is well known, in a peaceful and happy condition for the space of three centuries; but also, in all time, even now when we are wronged so deeply by some ingrate Filipinos, whom we pity, have we been the constant defenders of the Indians, enduring for that reason innumerable loathings, and all kinds of persecution on the part of many peninsulars, who did not understand the devotion and patriotism of our conduct. In all time have we been zealous for the purity of the faith and for the conservation of good morals; and illegal exactions, bribery, extortions, outrages, ease, immoral gambling, and a licentious or little restrained life, have

[211] The Douay version reads: "But we renounce the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor adulterating the word of God; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God." The last clause above is evidently taken from 2 Cor. i, 12.

[212] A reference to Matthew, v, 13-16.

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always had in us a severe judge and the most inexorable censor.

Can it be said of the religious institutes, whether collectively or in the vast majority of their individual members, that they have prevaricated; that they have ever abandoned the duties entrusted to them in the administration of the sacraments, in the celebration of divine worship, in Christian preaching and catechising, in the vigilance of good manners, in the tutelage of moral interests, in protection and relief to the needy and weak, in advice and consolation to all about us, in the maintenance of obedience to the mother-country, in the extension of education, in the campaign against every kind of superstition and erroneous practice, in repression of concubinage, and of other public irregularities and scandals? Does not the tenet enter the head of the most exalted sectarian, if he has any lucid moment, that we religious have fulfilled with assiduous self-abnegation the obligations of our ministry?

We have become wearied with reading, your Excellency, whatever has been written and published against us for years, and we know also how much is said now in assemblies and gatherings. With our hand upon our heart, with our foreheads raised aloft, as one who walks in the light and fears not to have his deeds examined and discussed in the light, we challenge and defy our detractors and calumniators, and those who flippantly, or by any other unjust and inaccurate motive, talk and murmur, to show us with exact data and with perfectly authentic information, not only the accuracy of all their accusations, but the mere probability of whatever they allege against our honor and well-established credit, touching the

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fulfilment of our duties, both religious and patriotic.

Their procedure in respect to parochial obventions, to education, and intercourse with intelligent persons. It is said that we commit abuse in the exaction of parochial fees. Let the laws of the Church be consulted, let the doctrines of the moralists and the principles of positive natural and divine law be cited; and then submitted to that only sure rule as a criterion, let them tell us whether we abuse the public in that matter, and whether our procedure, within just bounds, is not that employed by the most disinterested priests.

It is said that we are hostile to education and the advancement of knowledge. But if by education and knowledge, doctrines not condemned by the Church, our Mother, are not meant, let them tell us whether the islands have any education that has not been established, protected, sustained, and encouraged by the clergy, in all branches of instruction, both primary, and secondary and superior.

It is said that we despise the intelligent men of the country, and that we make them the object of every kind of persecution. That assertion is so rare and stupendous that we wonder whether our enemies will write in imaginary spaces. A multitude of youths are graduated annually with the degree of bachelor or after the conclusion of some higher course, from the Ateneo Municipal, from the colleges of Manila and the provinces, and from the university. We are honored by the friendship of the vast majority of them, and take no little satisfaction in seeing them prosper and in knowing that they respect the Christian and solid education that they have received. It is known that very few of the

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great number of students that attend our lecture halls, and of the not few graduates that are scattered throughout the islands, have taken part in the rebellion; and that the vast majority of them have kept loyal to España, in fulfilment of the oath that they took on receiving the investiture of their professions. But what happens in the old world with the apprentices of free thought happens here: all those *modestly* call themselves intelligent who think that they exhibit signs of knowledge and talent by showing contempt for priests and religious; while it is a fact that a goodly proportion of those who express themselves in that manner have been unable to complete their courses with us, and are the refuse of our lecture halls.

Regarding the sanctity of their private life. An outcry is being made against the vices and immorality of the regulars in terms that seem to be inspired in Protestant and anticlerical centers of low quality. But in that, as in other things, saving what can never be avoided even in the communities most sanely organized, by the severest legislation and the most exquisite care, all who view us near at hand are not ignorant that nothing can be thrown into our face.

The words of Father St. Augustine, when defending his institute against accusations similar to those directed against the orders of Filipinas, are very opportune and efficacious in this matter. "Tell me, brethren, is my congregation, peradventure, better than Noah's ark, in which, of the three sons Noah had, one was evil? Is it, peradventure, better than the family of the patriarch Jacob, in which, of his twelve sons, only Joseph is praised? Is it, peradventure, better than the house of the patriarch Isaac, in

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which, of the two sons born to him, one was chosen of God, and the other damned? Is it, peradventure, better than the household of Jesus Christ, our Savior, in which, of His twelve apostles, one was a traitor, and sold him? Is it, peradventure, better than that company of the seven deacons filled with the Holy spirit, chosen by the apostles to take charge of the poor and widowed, among whom one, by name Nicholas, became a heresiarch? Is it, peradventure, better than heaven itself, whence fell so many angels? Can it be better than the earthly paradise, where the two first parents of all the human race, created in original justice and grace, fell?"

Ah! the religious corporations of Filipinas, caring for the sanctity and salvation of all its sons, on seeing one of their individual members fail in his duties, after correcting him, and after taking, in accordance with law and religious prudence, measures efficacious to repair, if he did it, the scandal, and even, if necessary, to destroy and fling aside the rotten branch, cry out in pity with the apostle like a true mother: "*Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?*" "Who becomes sick spiritually and I do not suffer with him? Who suffers scandal and I am not burned?" That is what all should say who learn of the backslidings of their neighbor; that is the dictate of charity and of justice; that is demanded by respect and consideration to the ministers of the church. And so long as our systematic accusers do not prove that the orders *consent and do not check* the sins, in great part humanly inevitable – considering the conditions under which those dedicated to the ministry live – of the very few religious who have the misfortune and weakness to fall, they

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have no right to dishonor us and to cry out against what we are the first to lament and to try to correct.

Will they prove it sometime? We are quite assured of the opposite; and that though they have at hand, as many methods of inquisition and proof as the judge most interested in any cause can desire. Our convents, our ministries, our persons, are in sight of all. Our parish priests and missionaries are alone and surrounded by a multitude of natives. Whatever we say, do, or neglect to do, is seen and spied by all the people. Our habitations are of crystal for all classes of people. Our publicity as Europeans and our condition as priests place us in such relief in the missions and parishes, that it would be stupid simplicity to try to hide our doings and actions. Consequently, everything is favorable to our adversaries in the trial to which we provoke them, and to which each regular voluntarily submits himself, from the moment that, faithful to his vocation and obedient to his superiors, he sacrifices himself to live among these natives, his very beloved sheep of the flock of Christ. Our honor, our reputation rests in their hands. It would be easy for our adversaries to confound the religious institutes if truth presided over their accusations. But since truth is that which does not glitter in their words, the saying of Holy Writ becomes verified in their conduct: "They spake against me with a lying tongue, and with the speech of hate did they attack me;" and in regard to us the saying of St. Peter: "You shall keep an upright conscience with modesty and fear, so that as many as calumniate your upright procedure in Christ, shall be confounded."[213]

[213] The first reference is to Psalm cviii, 2 (Douay version) but

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Other equally unjust charges. We shall not compare our conduct with that of the respectable and very estimable native priests of the secular clergy, whom the majority of the separatist Filipinos flatter, undoubtedly because it is not to the purpose of their plans to combat them. We shall not rebut the shamelessness of supposing that part of our property has a criminal origin, and that we are certain despots in our rural estates who suck the blood of our tenants by various methods, an infamy so often refuted with authentic data of overwhelming proof. We shall not speak of the vast imposture of imputing to us all the executions by shooting, imprisonments, tortures, trials, and confiscation of property of those implicated in the last insurrection. We scorn the absurd fable that we are absolute masters, not only of consciences, but of all the archipelago, at the same time that they, obviously contradicting themselves, as error is wont to do, declare that our prestige and influence in the islands is lost. We neglect to attribute to ourselves whatever hate and censure, according to them, have been made in the country by the military [*institutos armados*], the governors, the judges, and all the public organisms, in deportations and other kinds of punishment; as if we religious managed to our liking the machine of the government and administration of this territory, and as if, from the governor-general down to the last agent of the police, all were but the blind executors of our will. We lay aside those and other things – poorly executed arguments – which certain misguided sons of this country are still em-

cxix, common English version. The second reference is to 1 Peter, iii, 16. Neither one is an exact quotation, and hence we translate directly.

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ploying, and which are unfortunately repeated by certain peninsulars, in order to manifest their hatred or prejudice against the clergy; and pass on to speak of the insurrection and of the imperious necessity of remedying the extremely embarrassing situation of the religious corporations in the archipelago.

Fundamental causes of the insurrection, and who are to blame for it. The government is able only too well to recognize the causes that have produced the insurrection, and we shall not be the ones who try to give it lessons in that regard. The government is aware that until several years ago, every separatist idea, every rebel tendency in the country, which was enjoying the most enviable peace and felt respect to authority with the same unreflecting, although patent and holy, force, with which domestic authority in all parts is obeyed and respected, was exotic and an anachronism. Then was submission to España and subordination to all authority an element truly *social*, rendered incarnate by the religious in the mass of the Filipino population, which neither dreamed, yea, your Excellency, *neither dreamed* of ideas of political redemption, nor imagined that, in order to keep themselves loyal to the mother-country, one single bayonet was necessary in the country. The public force of the *cuadrilleros* and of the *guardia civil*[214] (the latter of very recent creation) was necessarily created to check and restrain thieves and *tulisanes*;[215] while every one thought that the

[214] The *cuadrilleros* formerly acted as a police in the Philippines. (See VOL. XVII, p. 333.) The *guardia civil* or civil guard was created in imitation of the *guardia civil* of Spain (the most efficient body of police of that country, and analogous to the *carabinieri* of Italy) in 1869. (See Montero y Vidal, *Historia general*, iii, p. 494.)

[215] Or robbers. They generally went in bands and had their retreats in the woods and hills.

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wretched army then in the archipelago had no other object than to combat Mindanaos and Joloans, and to be ready for any conflict with the neighboring powers. España was able to be sure of its dominion here, and to live so carelessly, with respect to political movements as in the most retired village of the Peninsula. All authority was obeyed, was respected, by conscience, by education, by tradition, by social habit, passively and by custom, if one wishes, but with so great strength and firmness, with so indisputable and universal submission, that more indeed than individual virtue it was the virtue of the mass of the whole population, it was the spontaneous homage to God, which, represented in the powers of the fatherland, all felt and practiced, not conceiving even the possibility of rebellions and insurrections. Thus had they been taught by the religious, who always unite the names of God and His Church with the names of their king and of España. Consequently, by bonds of conscience, did all the archipelago love and obey him, and no one thought then of political liberties, nor in lifting yokes that existed for no one.

Are there then no abuses? No, your Excellency, it could have very well happened that there were abuses on a greater scale than in the epoch immediately preceding the present events. But since these people were educated in the doctrine that it is never legal to disobey authority, under pretext of abuses, even if some are true; since these people had not yet been imbued with the new modern teachings, condemned a hundred times by the Church; since no one had spoken here of popular rights, many of them as false as senseless; since the propaganda against priests and religious had not yet reached Fili-

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pinas: it resulted that, considering those abuses, as one of so many plagues of humanity (from which regulated societies are not free, according to the principles of the newest erroneous law, but rather they are, on the contrary, suffered with greater intensity and with greater loss to the fundamental interests of the social order) these inhabitants tolerated them patiently, and had recourse for their remedy to the just methods taught in such cases by Catholic ethics, with the greatest advantage to individuals and to nations.

Consequently, as many as have contributed, in one way or another, to introduce those revolutionary doctrines, and those germs of social and political disturbance into the archipelago, whether peninsulars or islanders, of whatever class or rank, are the true authors, conscious or unconscious, of the great weakening of the traditional obedience to the mother-country, of which the whole archipelago was in peaceful possession until thirty years ago, that was disturbed by no one or by no influence. The introducers of those doctrines and tendencies are beyond all doubt the culprits of the insurrection, for they are the ones who have done their utmost to prepare for it and with success to unroll it, even supposing that they have not directly and deliberately procured it.

Who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind; who introduces principles must accept the consequences; who generates hate must not wonder that war results; who teaches the pathway of evil cannot declare himself free from responsibility for the disorders originated by his teaching.

Partial causes: masonry. Will it be necessary to explain this simple consideration? We do not think so. But should we desire to unfold it, it would be

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easy for us to add that the anti-religious propaganda; the ideas of erroneous liberty and forbidden independence, incited and aroused in certain Filipinos by European politicians and writers; the antipathy and opposition, clearly shown by certain Spaniards, even by those ruling and by government employes, against the religious corporations; the establishment of masonry and of other secret societies, the former's legitimate offspring; the most favorable reception that the revolutionary Filipinos found for their plans in many centers and papers of Madrid and other places; the lack of religion in many peninsulars; the ease with which the ancient laws of Filipinas have been changed; the mobility of public functionaries which, giving opportunity for many irregularities, has contributed greatly to the continual lessening of the credit of the Spanish name; and in part, the backwardness, which has been observed sometimes in the sons of the country with regard to public appointments: [all these] are partial aspects, various phases and confluent factors (of which we do not attempt to enumerate all) of the fundamental and synthetical cause that we have expressed.

No one is unaware that the chief of all those partial phases and factors of the social disorganization of the archipelago has been masonry. The *Asociación Hispano-Filipina* of Madrid was masonic. Those who encouraged the Filipinos in their campaign against the clergy and against the peninsulars here resident, were masons in almost their totality. Those who authorized the installation of lodges in the archipelago were masons. Those who founded the *Katipunan*,[216] a society so mortally masonic, that

[216] See Col. L. W. V. Kennon's article in the *North Amer. Review*, for August, 1901, "The Katipunan of the Philippines."

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even in its terrible suggestive *pact of blood* it has done naught but imitate the masonic *carbonarios*, were masons.

Practical consequences of that. The traditional submission to the fatherland, diffused and deeply settled in the archipelago by the religious corporations, having disappeared in part and having been greatly weakened in part; the voice of the parish priest, thanks to the above-mentioned propaganda, having been disregarded by many natives, especially in Manila and conterminous provinces, who were taught in that way to give themselves airs as intelligent and independent men; the prestige of the Spanish name having been greatly tempered, and the ancient respect with which every peninsular was formerly regarded in the islands having been almost annihilated in many towns: is it strange that race instincts should have asserted themselves strongly, and, considering that they have a distinct language, and distinct lands and climate, that they should have discussed and have attempted to raise a wall of separation between Spaniards and Malays? Is it not logical that, after having been made to believe that the religious is not the father and shepherd of their souls and their friend and enthusiastic defender, but a vile exploiter, and that the peninsular here is no more than a trader constituted with greater or less authority and rank, that they should madly and illegally have imagined that they could easily separate from España and aspire to self-government?

Gloomy situation of the archipelago and omens of its future. We shall not insist, your Excellency, on this order of consideration, for it rends our soul, it

Many other writers speak of this society, but as yet no real authentic account of it has appeared, as we are still too near it.

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cleaves our heart in twain, to consider how easily so many rivers of blood, so great and extravagant expenses, and so extraordinary conflicts, might have been spared, which in a not long lapse of time, may, perhaps, result in the disappearance of the immortal flag of Castilla; how easily the military situation, originated by the insurrection, a situation that was threatening to make of Filipinas another Cuba, might have been avoided; and with how little trouble the archipelago might have been continuing at present in the same tranquillity and peacefully progressive situation as it had years ago: if having the power, as was a fact, but that was not attempted or thought of, the door had been shut on the disturbers; if masonry had never been allowed in the country; and if every tendency contrary to the moral prestige, the most powerful social bond, immensely superior to all armies and all political institutions which united these countries with their beloved and respected mother-country, had been effectively restrained in their beginnings.

Has the present most gloomy situation any remedy?

It is somewhat difficult, and even dangerous, to answer the question, for if the Katipunan was six months ago relegated to the hills of Laguna and Bulacan among the rebel leaders who were fugitive there, or was dragging out a shameful existence in certain villages that were in communication with the insurgents, today the plague has spread. For the ones pardoned at Biac-na-bató, breaking the promise given to the gallant and energetic marquis de Estella,[217] obedient to the watchword received, have spread through the central provinces; and by using threats

[217] This was Governor Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobre-

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and terrible punishments, which have no precedents in the pages of history, nor even of the novel, have succeeded in attracting to their ranks a great number of Indians, even in villages which gave eloquent proof of loyalty to the holy cause of the Spanish fatherland before the submission of Biac-na-bató. They have also succeeded in establishing themselves in Cápiz and in other points of the Visayas: and indeed the movement of Zambales, of Pangasinan, of Ilocos, of Cebú, and of the Katipunans, are at present open in Manila.

The thought of what may happen to this beautiful country at any moment terrifies us, for we do not know to what point sectarian fanaticism may go, exploiting the suggestibility of this race and their weak brain by the deeds that they are heralding, brought to a head by them, in regard to the army, whose increase in the proportion that would be necessary to establish a complete military situation, they know to be impossible; by the published exemption from the *cédula*[218] and other tributes; by the supposed immunity of amulets, called *anting-anting*; by the illusion that none but Indians will hold office, and that the alcaldes and generals will be from their ranks; by the remembrance that money and confidence were given to the rebels of Cavité, Bulacan, and other points; by the news that their partisans were sending them from Madrid and Hong-kong; by the example of goodly numbers of peninsulars, who are not on their guard against showing their hostility to the re-

monte, who wrote a *Memorial* on his record in the Philippines, which was published at Madrid in 1898.

[218] A required paper of identification carried by the natives, and for which they were taxed.

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ligious, in order by that manner to procure the latter's disregard by their parishioners, who even dare to lay hands on them; and by innumerable other methods, too many, in short, to enumerate, but terribly destructive, and of maddening and vigorous influence in these Malayan villages.

The thought of what consist the *secrets* of the revolution, which the learned gentleman, appointed as arbitrator[219] by the so-called government of the insurgents to arrange with the superior authority of the islands as to the conditions of submission and the surrender of arms, swore to keep secret, as appears from the justificative document of his authorization, is also terrifying. We are ignorant of what those *secrets* may be, which apparently are not the politico-ecclesiastical reforms which are now demanded in Madrid, since those matters are mentioned openly in the abovesaid document signed by Aguinaldo in the name of the rebel assembly; and the most courageous heart is terrified at the fancy that there might be an organization more powerful, more far-reaching, more general and active of revolution, somewhat like the Katipunan, which we now see to be rapidly spreading, and which at a moment's notice, would effect a general rising, whose most saddening results one can easily foresee, and avoid with the greatest difficulty, unless every labor association be effectually prosecuted and extirpated in time.

Remedy for that situation. Laying aside for the meanwhile those dangers, which are daily obscuring the Filipino horizon more deeply, and supposing, as we desire, that peace may be obtained throughout the islands, the situation of the archipelago has a

[219] This was Pedro Alejandro Paterno.

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remedy, and one, as is clear, that consists in removing all the causes that have produced so deep a confusion and in prudently and with justice adopting the measures that, assuring peace, will protect and encourage the legitimate interests of these inhabitants. The great mass of the country is not corrupted. It suffers from an access of hallucination and fanaticism produced by sectarian preachings and practices, but its heart and head are not perverted. If it be attended with care, it will return to its former pacific habits and submission. The wealthy and intelligent classes, still healthy, protest against all those movements, and since they are loyal and friendly to us, desire the normal mean to be reëstablished as soon as possible, and will contribute, together with the institutions of the mother-country, to the most glorious undertaking of restoring order and the pacific and progressive trend of the archipelago.

It pertains to the government to direct and manage those forces in order to obtain so satisfactory an end, by reëstablishing the mainsprings of government, now so nearly disappeared or very much weakened; by giving prestige to all the conservative elements; and with an administration, grave, intelligent, active, stable, moral, acquainted with, and fond of the country, and one dissociated with every political doctrine, to continue and perfect the just and benevolent, and Catholic and Spanish regimen: whereby the mother-country would gain the sympathies of these inhabitants and establish its dominion securely.

This is strange material for the peculiar objects and character of this exposition, which has no other purpose than to defend the honor of the religious

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institutes and demonstrate the necessity of supporting and invigorating their ministry, if they are to continue their noble and patriotic mission in the archipelago. We do not intend to mix in politics, however much we may have as much or more right than any society or individual to speak of these things. But indeed we must be the defenders of the rights of the Church, and of the regular clergy. We are indeed under obligations to watch over Spanish interests, which are not at variance with, but perfectly amalgamated with religious interests.

What the orders need and claim. As religious then, and as Spaniards, we address the government, and without circumlocutions or subterfuge (for these are not the times for paraphrases and euphuisms which cloak the truth), we believe that we can tell the government that if the interests of Spanish domination in the archipelago have incurred and are incurring so serious danger of shipwreck, it is because they have rather been, and are, profoundly combative of the interests of religion; and that if the revolutionists have succeeded in making themselves heard by a multitude of natives, it is because they have been taught, before and during the ingrate rebellion, to despise and even to persecute the religious who taught them a doctrine of peace and obedience. He who does not see this, suffers great blindness, or it is an obvious sign that he is infected with the terrible evil that has brought so dire consequences to Filipinas. He who closes his ears to the lessons of Providence – sorrowful, but indeed healthful lessons – and believes that it is possible to restore order here and establish a prosperous and tranquil progress without strengthening religious influences,

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is not far from the separatist camp, or shows that he is unable to learn from great social catastrophes.

It is not sufficient for that purpose to recognize the need of morality and of religion. One must recognize them in all their integrity and purity, such as our holy Mother, the Church, makes them known. It is not sufficient to talk to the people of the great doctrines of the Crucified, and instruct them not to attempt to attack the legitimate interests of Catholicism – vagaries that so very often cover mischievous and pharisaical intentions, in order afterward, under pretext of abuses, to tell them by word and deed, not to listen to the priests who preach those doctrines to them and inculcate in them respect for those interests. If one would attempt to effectively establish the peace of the archipelago upon a firm base, he must support *in toto* and *in solido* the mission of the religious corporations, so that they may be fruitful in the proportion that these inhabitants demand, who are still affectionate to the faith and to civilization, and so that the natives may be strengthened in the solid conviction that they are obliged to obey and respect España, their true fatherland in the social and civic order, by bonds of conscience and not by human considerations which are always unstable and shifting.

Consequently, we regulars who have more than sufficient reasons to recognize to their full extent the evils that affect the archipelago, so beloved by us, and who have been for some time experiencing the fact that, far from religious action being strengthened, it is restricted and opposed in various ways, do not waver in telling the government with blunt frankness that, if it do not consent to give that

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support, daily more necessary, to the Church, the social disturbance of the country will continue to increase daily, and that by not applying any remedy to that evil, the stay here of the religious is becoming morally impossible.

Of what use is it for us to force ourselves to fulfil our religio-patriotic duties, if others take it upon themselves to destroy that labor on the instant; if they, by methods that flatter evil passions so greatly, gain the favor of the same people whom we have taught to be docile and submissive, by saying to them continually that they should pay no attention to us? Would it suffice, peradventure, to preach respect to property, if, at the same time, there were no laws that protected it and public force that effectively restrained those covetous of another? Would any professor be assured of the effects of his teaching, whose pupils were to be told by respectable persons or through vexatious methods, as they left the lecture room, to forget or despise the lessons of their masters? Then in like case do we find ourselves in Filipinas.

We do not want, your Excellency, temporal honors or dignities, which we have renounced by choosing for our profession a life hidden in Jesus Christ. We do not belong to those who, in whatever they do, think immediately, even when deserving them, of recompenses and decorations. We do not desire, as our enemies believe (who judge us, perhaps, from themselves), to preponderate in the civil government and administration of the villages, nor even at least to continue our slight official intervention assigned to us in certain secular matters by law and tradition. If one desires to strip the parish priest

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or the missionary of all administrative, gubernatorial, and economic functions, in which, without us ever claiming it, yea, *ever*, the secular authority has come to solicit our modest coöperation, let it be done at a seasonable time. Those who adopt such an inclination will see what is most advisable for the exalted interests of the fatherland; but from them and not from us, who have ever (even enduring because of that intervention, annoyances, censures, and persecutions, and considering it a true burden) been docile auxiliaries of the civil authority, will be demanded the responsibility of the consequences that may be occasioned by so far-reaching a measure.

We have come to the islands to preach and to preserve the Christian faith, and to instruct these natives with the celestial food of the sacraments and the maxims of the gospel; to prove that the principal intent of España, on incorporating this territory with its crown, was to christianize and civilize the natives. We have not come to become alcaldes, governors, judges, military men, agriculturists, tradesmen, or merchants; although the concord and fast union that should prevail between the Church and State be granted, and the fact that we constitute here the only *social* Spanish institution, never have we refused to contribute with our might as good patriots and submissive vassals to whatever has been demanded of us, and which we have been able to perform, without dishonor to our priestly and religious character.

What they as Catholic institutions contradict. All who have written upon Filipinas consider the benefit that the country, and very chiefly the Spanish dominion, has obtained, from that system in which the parish priest and the missionary were the intermedi-

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ary, more or less direct, between the public authorities and the mass of the Filipino population. It does not belong to us to demonstrate that, for well does the history of this archipelago show it, and it is being told in eloquent, although tragic voices by the present fact, with the deplorable consequences that España is feeling, and to which it has been guided by a senseless and suicidal propaganda against the religious orders. What we have to say at present is, that if the civil authority be not most diligently attentive to the maintenance, encouragement, and guaranty of religion and morality in the islands, as it must be through its solemn promise contracted before the supreme pontiffs and before Christian Europe, in accordance with the teachings and precepts of our most holy Mother, the Church; if it do not oppose a strong wall to the avalanche of insults, taunts, and systematic opposition to the religious of Filipinas, which is coming down upon the peninsula and the archipelago; if it do not prosecute the secret societies with the firmness of a foreseeing government; if it do not cause us to be respected and held as our quality as priests and Spanish corporations demand, in public and in private, in all the spheres of the social order, in whatever concerns España and its agents, repelling every project that in one way or another attempts to remove our prestige and to lessen our reputation, hindering the fruit of our labors: there is no suitable and meritorious way – and we say it with profoundest grief – in which we can continue in the islands.

We cannot be less, your Excellency, in our order, than military men, to whom their profession is an

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honor and exaltation, as well as an exaction; less than the class of administrative functionaries whose rights and prerogatives are defended and guaranteed by the State; less than the mercantile and industrial companies and undertakings, who are considered and protected as impelling elements of public wealth; less than legal, medicinal, and other professional – scientific, artistic, or mechanical – associations, which are honored and respected in every well-organized society. We believe, and this belief is not at all exaggerated, that, as Catholic institutions, we have a right to all the honors, exemptions, and privileges, that the Christian Church and State, and the laws – in accordance with which the religious orders were established in Filipinas – extend to ecclesiastical persons and corporations, and especially to the regulars; and that as Spanish institutions, we ought to have the same consideration as the other entities that have arisen and exist under the protection of the flag of the fatherland.

As Catholic institutions, we must, with all the energy of our soul, repel, as contrary to the imprescriptible and supreme laws of the true and the good, and to the original laws of the Church, freedom of worship, and the other fatal and false liberties that are the offspring of the thought, of the press, and of association, which certain men are trying to bring to this archipelago, and which conflict with the most rudimentary duties of the patronage that España exercises here, as is clearly set forth in various places in the *Recopilación de Indias.* In like manner do we repel, inasmuch as it contradicts the rights of the Church, the pretended secularization of education, in accordance with what we are taught

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in propositions 45, 47, and 48,[220] of the *Syllabus*, and which are obligatory on all Catholics, and very especially on Christian princes and governments. Contrary to those rights, and entirely abusive and tyrannical, would be every measure that the secular power might try to adopt in regard to the religious orders of the archipelago: whether in meddling with their regular regimen and discipline ; whether in secularizing them; whether in disentailing their property, or fettering their free disposition of the same; whether in freeing their members from their obedience; whether in depriving them of the honors or privileges which they possess according to the canons, the laws of the Indias, and Christian common law, as is expressed in proposition 53 of the above-mentioned *Syllabus*.[221] Every law that at-

[220] These three sections are as follows:

45. The entire direction of public schools, in which the youth of Christian states are educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of episcopal seminaries, may and must pertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the taking of degrees or the choice and approval of the teachers.

47. The best theory of civil society requires that popular schools open to the children of all classes, and, generally, all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophy, and for conducting the education of the young, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference, and should be fully subject to the civil and political power, in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinions of the age.

48. This system of instructing youth, which consists in separating it from the Catholic faith and from the power of the Church, and in teaching exclusively, or at least primarily, the knowledge of natural things and the earthly ends of social life alone, may be approved by Catholics.

It must be understood that Pius IX condemns these three sections as the entire eighty of the *Syllabus* as errors or heresies. (See Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, ii, pp. 224, 225.)

[221] This section or error is as follows:

53. The laws for the protection of religious establishments, and

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tempts to suppress, diminish, or weaken the sacred laws of personal, royal, or local ecclesiastical immunity is contrary to the sacred rules of the Church. Also contrary to the Church, and smacking of the heresies of Wickliffe and Luther, is every ordinance that denies the clergy the right to the stipends and fees that are due them from their holy ministry, and that tries to meddle with matters of parochial fees, a thing that is peculiar to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is contrary to the honor and sanctity of the religious estate to suppose it incapable of exercising the care of souls, and to say that, in governing the parishes, we violated the canons, when in exact accordance with them, we christianized this country, and since have continued to minister it. It is vexatious to the regular clergy, and opposed to the rights legitimately acquired, for the civil authority to attempt to despoil the religious corporations of the ministries and missions founded and ruled by them, under the protection of the *Leyes de Indias* and the sovereign ordinances of the apostolic see. Incompatible with the vow of obedience that binds every religious, is the complete subjection of the individuals of the regular clergy who discharge the care of souls to the authority of the diocesan, depriving his prelate of the attributes that he possesses over his subjects; and the bishop cannot be allowed, to the loss or detriment of the rights of the regular superior

securing their rights and duties, ought to be abolished: nay, more, the civil government may lend its assistance to all who desire to quit the religious life they have undertaken, and break their vows. The government may also suppress religious orders, collegiate churches, and simple benefices, even those belonging to private patronage, and submit their goods and revenues to the administration and disposal of the civil power. (See Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, ii, pp. 226, 227.)

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to suppress the regular curacies at his pleasure, since the ministries depend immediately on the corporation which appoints those religious who are to fulfil the duties of them.

The need of keeping intact the authority of the regular prelate over his curas and missionaries. No one is ignorant that the religious corporations of the archipelago are communities composed in their vast majority of parish priests and missionaries. If that be so, and it must be so, in order that the orders fulfil the peculiar end for which they came to Filipinas, how could the jurisdiction of the regular prelate be maintained, if the attributes that he has received from the holy see, the only immediate authority to which the regulars are subject, for the government of his subjects, of whatever class they be, be lessened? By pontifical laws, the religious assigned to the doctrinas and missions are considered absolutely as *viventes intra claustra*, which signifies that they are governed by their peculiar superiors, rights, and attributes, which are binding on every subject strictly conventual. If it were not so, the individual life would be established to a greater or less extent in the orders; their communal bonds would disappear; the regular prelates would become mere figureheads; and the religious corporations, losing the internal discipline that gives them so much vigor and strength, would be converted into associations of priests [*presbiteros*], who although they pronounced religious vows one day, would afterwards have no other bonds with their superiors than the corporative habit and name, and too, perchance, the possession of the open door in order to take refuge in the convent whence they went out, whenever they so desired or the bishop ordered it.

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The action of the regular prelate over the curas and missionaries of his order must be so active, immediate, energetic, and universal, that he can change, remove, or transfer them, or give them another occupation and appointment, and his authority over them must remain in everything as powerful as if it were a question of the last one of the conventual religious. That is required by the regular discipline; that is demanded by the vow of obedience. In proportion as the attempt is made with the individual to restrict or weaken the jurisdiction of the order, it is equivalent to jesting at the intention of us religious, who do not profess to be subjects of the bishop, but only to occupy ourselves in the business of religion which our prelates assign us; it is equivalent to disnaturalizing the religious corporations, and consequently, to destroying them, the very thing that the separatists are attempting.

Such a thing will not happen, we are sure; for the moment that a law freeing the parish priests and missionaries from subordination to their prelate, or lessening or restricting the latter's power, is dictated, no religious, by bonds of conscience, would dare to continue at the head of his parish or mission, and all would retire to their convents at Manila. Such a thing will not happen, for the bishops themselves would be energetically opposed to it, and would confess, as they do, that precisely because the vast majority of their parish clergy are regulars, their clergy live so morally and apply themselves so assiduously to their ministry, and that scarcely would they find that in secular priests [*presbiteros*] or in regulars not fully subject to their order, and that they are consequently interested, through love of

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their flock, in having the parish ministries of the archipelago continue to be ruled by the same laws as hitherto. And such a thing will not happen, we say, because the holy see, jealous guardian of the interests of Christianity in the islands, not less than of the prestige of the regulars, will not permit it; while, at the last, the government would be placed in the dilemma, namely, that either a suitable and sufficient personnel be proposed to it, which might replace the religious corporations of Filipinas in a stable and worthy manner, or, on the contrary, that the latter continue discharging their actual duties, without the least diminution of the jurisdiction of their respective regular prelates.

España's obligation to send ministers of the Catholic religion to these islands and to solidly guaranty that religion. Such a thing will not happen finally, for the government of the country can never forget (regarding this point and the others with which the present exposition is concerned) the will of Isabel the Catholic, the fundamental and capital law of these dominions, by which the government is obliged to send here prelates and religious and other learned and austere persons of God, in order to instruct their inhabitants in the Catholic faith, and to instruct and teach them good morals ; for nothing must be desired ahead of the publication and extension of the evangelical law, and the conversion and conservation of the Indians in the holy Catholic faith. "Inasmuch as we are directing our thought and care to this as our chief aim, we order, and to the extent we may, charge the members of our Council of Indias that *laying aside every other consideration* of our profit and interest, they hold especially in mind the mat-

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ters of the conversion and instruction, and above all that they be watchful and occupy themselves with all their might and understanding in providing and appointing ministers sufficient for it, and take all the other measures necessary so that the Indians and natives may be converted and conserved in the knowledge of God our Lord, the honor and praise of his holy name, so that, we fulfilling this duty which so tightly binds us and which we so desire to satisfy, the members of the said Council may discharge their consciences, since we have discharged ours with them." (Law i, tít. i, book ii and law viii, tít. ii, book ii of *Recopilación de Indias.*)

The Council of Ministers together with the ministry of the colonies[222] has been substituted for the Council of Indias, of whose devotion and zeal in fulfilling the fundamental duties of their trust, we cannot harbor the least doubt.

Very expressive also to the question in hand is law lxv, tít. xiv, book i of the same *Recopilación.* "We order the viceroys, presidents, auditors, governors, and other justices of the Indias, to give all the protection necessary for that service to the religious of the orders resident in those provinces and occupied in the conversion and instruction of the natives, to our entire satisfaction, by which God has been, and is, served, and the natives much benefited, and to honor them greatly, and encourage them to continue, and do the same, and more, if possible, as we expect from their persons and goodness."

Words of the instructions to Legaspi; of the laws of Partidas;[223] *of Felipe II.* Thus was it com-

[222] See VOL. LI, pp. 146, 147, note 103; and *ante*, pp. 83, 84, note 33.

[223] The *Código de las siete partidas*, so called because divided

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manded scores of times to the authorities of these islands, and in harmony with that legislation, in the instructions to the great Legaspi, it is expressly stated:

"You shall have special care in all the negotiations that you shall have with the natives of those districts to have with you some of the religious, both in order to make use of their good counsel, and so that the natives may recognize and understand the great consideration in which you hold them; for seeing that and the great reverence given them by the soldiers, they will also come to respect them. That will be very important, so that, when the religious impart to them the matters pertaining to our holy Catholic faith, they may give them full credit; since you know that his Majesty's chiefest end is the salvation of the souls of those infidels. For that purpose, in whatever district, you shall take particular care to aid the said religious . . so that, having learned the language, they may labor to bring the natives to the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, convert them to it, and reduce them to the obedience and friendship of his Majesty." (*Colec. de Doc. Inéd. de Ultramar*, ii, p. 188.)[224]

That is the genuinely Spanish spirit, the glory of the human race, and especially of Christianity, which caused our legislators to write in the *Partidas* (*Partida* i, tít. vi, law lxii, and tít. xi): "Laymen must honor and regard the clergy greatly, each one according to his rank and his dignity: firstly, be-

into seven parts, were compiled by Alfonso the Wise, the work of compilation beginning June 23, 1256, and being concluded probably in 1265. See *Dic. encic. Hisp.-Amer.*, xiv, pp. 982, 983.

[224] See Synopsis and extracts of the instructions given to Legazpi in our VOL. II, pp. 89-100.

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cause they are mediators between God and them; secondly, because by honoring them, they honor Holy Church, whose servants they are, and honor the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is their head, for they are called Christians. And this honor and this regard must be shown in three ways; in speech; in deed; and in counsel." "The churches of the emperors, kings, and other seigniors of the countries, have great privileges and liberties; and these were very rightfully [given them], for the things of God should have greater honor than those of men."

That is the spirit that was expressed by the mouth of Felipe II when he answered those who proposed to him the abandonment of these islands, in consideration of the few resources that the public treasury derived from them: "For the conversion of only one soul of those there, I would give all the treasures of the Indias, and were they not sufficient I would give most willingly whatever España yields. Under no consideration shall I abandon or discontinue to send preachers and ministers to give the light of the holy gospel to all and whatever provinces may be discovered, however poor, rude, and barren they may be, for the holy apostolic see has given to us and to our heirs the duty possessed by the apostles of publishing and preaching the gospel, which must be spread there and into an infinite number of kingdoms, taking them from the power of devils and giving them to know the true God, without any hope of temporal blessings."

Duties of the government and of others in regard to religious interests in the islands. Consequently, those offenses that should be most prosecuted in Filipinas, and against which the government should

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prove especially active, are offenses against religion and against ecclesiastical persons, as such offenses are those which wound the greatest social welfare, and are most directly opposed to the fundamental obligation that España contracted on incorporating these islands with its crown. Hence, masonry, an anti-Catholic and anti-national society, ought not to be permitted, but punished severely; every propaganda against the dogmas, precepts, and institutions of our holy Mother, the Church, ought to be proscribed; outrages against the clergy and religious ought to be punished with greater rigor than when committed against any other class of persons, giving such outrages the character of sacrilege, which they positively possess; all, from the governor-general to the lowest dependent of the State, ought to exert themselves to demonstrate by their word and example, in public and in private, and without those conventional exteriorities of pure social form (a Catholicism that becomes naught but mere observance and courtesy, and which, unfortunately, abounds so widely), that they love and respect the Catholic religion, and that they esteem more the duties toward God and toward His holy Church that proceed from it, than any other duty and obligation, however exalted and respectable may be the institution that imposes it.

Hence the government of the nation and exalted authorities must be the first who ought to destroy, not only in their official, but in their private acts, and as politicians, authors, government employes, military men, in the different orders of social life, the ridiculous and contemptuous idea that free thought has sown against priests and religious, per-

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mitting themselves to talk of them in a tone that honors the clergy so little, and which when known by the elements of other inferior social classes, cause respect to the Catholic priest to become weakened daily, many judging that the religion of officials is frequently nothing more than a social hypocrisy and a practice of pure political convenience. Hence the government ought to very carefully see that all its personnel in the archipelago be sincere and earnest Catholics, in order that the sad spectacle may not be again seen, that we have so often and so prodigally witnessed, by which the chief ones, in opposing the apostolic labor of the religious corporations, are the very ones, who, inasmuch as they are functionaries of a Catholic state, ought to be those who support and strengthen it the most. Hence every association, assembly, or undertaking which is trying to sow here anti-religious or anti-clerical ideas, under any color or pretext, even the exercise of political rights, ought to be prevented at all hazards from having any representation or branch in these islands; and the previous censorship over every kind of book, pamphlet, and engraving that comes from outside, and over those which shall be published here, should be restored, or better said, strengthened. Hence, the close union of all the peninsular element here resident becomes more necessary, so that, all united for the protection of our divine religion, by all respected and obeyed, we may resist the enemies of the fatherland with greater force; may not by our discords give the rebel camp opportunity to gain strength; and as far as possible, may succeed in elevating the moral prestige, today, unfortunately fallen so low. Hence, likewise, is the

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great necessity of the disappearance in gubernatorial circles of an erroneous idea, most fatal and extremely disrespectful to the orders, which, propagated by sectarian spirits or by bad or lukewarm Catholics, seems now to be a postulate of many politicians in Madrid, and of the majority of peninsulars who come to this archipelago.

Infamous idea in regard to the importance of the orders and the manner in which they are generally regarded. We refer to the idea which began to spread after the revolution of '68, which looks upon the religious of Filipinas as an evil necessity, as an archaic institution, with which differences must be composed for reasons of state; as a purely political resource, and a convenience to the nation, which cannot be substituted with others. That infamous idea, manifested at times frankly, and at times with reticence or with insinuations that cut more deeply than a knife, is known by our declared enemies. It is known by the natives of the country who have been in the Peninsula. It is known, because it has been propagated in newspapers and other products of the press that have penetrated the archipelago, by a vast number of natives, who, with having left Filipinas, are notably offended by it. All the peninsulars who make war on us, whether by anti-religious prejudices, by doctrinal compromise, by personal resentment, by flippancy, or by envy (for among all those classes do we have enemies) help to spread and propagate that idea throughout the islands.

From that idea many deduce the opinion that we are dragging out in this country an existence of pure compassion and condescension; that we are living

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here, tolerated and as if on alms, instead of honored and respected as any other institution of the mother-country; that in many ways, one would believe that we religious are less and have less value than the military, than the government employes, or than those of other professions and careers; and that with wonderful facility one imputes to us, as to the most abandoned and destitute, the blame for all the evils that afflict the country, governors and other representatives of the government and administration of the islands availing themselves of our name of obliged appeal, in order to evade and shun responsibilities, whenever any calamity comes upon them or whenever there is any unpleasant event to bewail in their conduct. For all, there is indulgence, for all, excuse, for all kindness and the eyes of charity. The epoch is one of adjustment and respect for all manner of extensions, although with the loss of morality and justice. Only in what concerns priests and religious must one look with contemptuous pride, with extreme rigor, and with despotic exaction. The religious has to pay it all; on him must all the blame be cast; to him belong the feelings of anger, the aversions, the censures, the expressions of contempt. We appear, your Excellency, to be only the *anima vilis*[225] of the archipelago.

It is evident that we, as the priestly and religious class, and as a Spanish corporation, cannot in any manner consent to this humiliating position, which, as private persons, obliged to greater perfection than the generality of Christians, we endure patiently, remembering the words of the apostle "*tamquam purgamenta hujus mundi facti sumus omnium peripsema*

[225] *i.e.*, "The offscouring;" literally "worthless soul."

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usque adhuc,"[226] and of which we would not speak if the evil were restricted to one of so many annoyances annexed to our ministry; so much the more as we unfortunately see that that injurious and erroneous idea is greatly injuring our ministry, and is daily causing our influence among the people who are entrusted to us to become lessened, since they are assailed strongly and tenaciously by all the disturbing agents that have caused the insurrection.

Respect that they merit as religious and as Spaniards. The religious corporations ought to be greatly honored and distinguished (and it grieves us deeply, your Excellency, to have to speak of these things): firstly, because their individual members are adorned with the priestly character, which is the greatest honor and dignity among Christians that men can have; secondly, because their apostolic mission has here propagated and preserves the splendors of Catholicism. They are priests and they are religious: thus they unite the two devices that inspire the greatest veneration among any society, which feels some needs superior to the material, or those of their proud reason divorced from Jesus Christ.

Not less respect do they merit in their character as Spanish entities. Besides being here ministers of the official religion, they are public ecclesiastical persons, recognized by the state. They live under its safeguard, as do the military and civil entities. They have labored, and are laboring, for the fatherland, at least as much as any other class of Spaniards residing in the archipelago. And in the point of intelligence, within their respective profession and of mor-

[226] *i.e.*, "We are made as the refuse of this world, the offscouring of all even until now," the last part of 1 Cor., iv, 13.

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ality and private and civic virtues, they rise not only collectively, but individually, to so great a height as the class that is considered the most high and reputable in the archipelago.

There is one most special reason and one of extraordinary importance which demands that that respect should be sanctioned by the laws and supported by customs, namely, that the religious in his respective duties, becomes, as a general rule, the only peninsular, and, therefore, the only representative of the mother-country in the majority of the Filipino villages. Consequently, Spanish prestige is greatly interested in that he be the object of such considerations and guaranties that these inhabitants far from seeing, as unfortunately they have not a few times seen, that he is despised and humbled, be daily more fortified in the traditional idea that their cura or missionary is, at once the minister of God and the representative of España, a lofty idea that has redounded, and redounds, so greatly to the favor of the mother-country, and says so much in honor of all the Spanish entities.

We came to the archipelago through our love to religion and España, and have remained in it more than three centuries, ready to continue here so long as conscience does not dictate the contrary to us. Gross temporal considerations do not move us, nor sentiments of pride and of mere personal dignity. In the fulfilment of our duties, we have striven to attain even sacrifice and by the grace of God, we shall continue the sacrifice. A good proof of this is offered the impartial critic by the present epoch of rebellions and insurrections. The cura and missionaries, in spite of persuasions that they were putting their lives

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in great danger by the continual plots of the ferocious Katipunan, have steadfastly maintained themselves in their posts, foreseeing that if they abandoned their parishioners, a general rising of the islands was almost certain. This procedure, if not heroic, is sufficiently near it, and has cost us many victims, snatching away our dearest brethren from us, some treacherously assassinated and others immolated by reckless mobs seduced by filibusters and masons. And although this sad sacrifice has seemingly not been bewailed and appreciated, as perhaps it ought to be by the loyal sons of España, we trust that God, the compassionate and generous remunerator of every good deed, will in His infinite mercy, receive it as a propitiation for the evils of this unfortunate country, and will have rewarded the martyrs of religion and of the fatherland.

Character and objects of this exposition. May the nation, government, and your Excellency, pardon this slight extension of our sentiments of dignity, offended as religious and as Spaniards. This is not a memorial of merits and services, since we have never solicited applause or recompense, which never constitute the lever of our labors. Neither is it a panegyric, which we are not called upon to make, and which we do not believe is wanting, since the history of the religious corporations of Filipinas detaches itself so patiently and cleanly in all kinds of just and upright progress. It contains some apologetic matter and much of most sensible complaint because of the unjustifiable injuries that almost daily are received by us. It is the weak expression of the profound bitterness that seizes upon us at contemplating and viewing from anear the condition of vast dis-

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turbance in which this beautiful portion of the fatherland finds itself. With the utmost respect and submission, laying aside absolutely whatever proceeds from political parties and much more from private persons, it tells the government with Christian simplicity and synthetically that it should adopt and maintain a perfectly logical criterion with regard to the religious corporations of Filipinas; and that, therefore, if it thinks, as is just and decorous, that we, the religious corporations, exercise a most lofty and necessary mission in the archipelago, honorable and worthy of the greatest consideration, of its own accord and without utilitarian considerations and false reasons of state, it so manifest clearly and with nobility, making a beginning by giving a practical example of that in its laws and decrees, and in its instructions to the authorities of these islands, and that it do not allow us to be annoyed or insulted; and so much the more since being weak and helpless, and bound as we are by religious weakness and patience, we have no other means of defense than our right and the protection of the good, and we can never appeal to the means of repression and influence to which we allude in the beginning of this expository statement.

But if the government, on the contrary, by an error that we would respect, not without qualifying it, in our humble judgment, as most fatal to the interests of religion and the fatherland, should believe that the religious have terminated their traditional mission here, let it also have the frankness to say so. We shall listen to its resolution calmly. But let it not imagine, in adopting measures which, attaching, although without claiming it, the privileges of the Church, our profession as priests and regulars, and our honor as refined Spaniards, that in practice it

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might appear that it was trying to burn one candle to Christ and another to Belial, that it was trying to please masons and Catholics, good patriots and separatists, by placing the orders in a so graceless situation that they might become like the mouthful that was thrown into the jaws of the wild beast in order to silence its roars for the time being.

Synthesis of the same. Such would happen if the secularization of the regular ministries; the secularization of education; the disamortization of the property of the corporations, or the expression of the liberty that belongs to them to enjoy and dispose of them; the declaration of the tolerance of worship; the establishment of civil marriage; the permission of every kind of association; and the liberty of the press became law. Such would happen, in what more directly concerns us, if the government continuing here and there its campaign against us, unjustifiable from every point of view, were to show by its acts that it actually conceives that we have been the cause of the insurrection, and that we are opposed to the progress of these islands, and to the unfolding of their legitimate aspirations. Such would happen, if the government, failing to rigorously prosecute secret societies, and to effectively correct the seditious ones who are exciting the ignorant masses of the people against the regulars and against all that is most holy and Spanish in the islands, should desire the religious to continue in their ministries, liable at any moment to be sacrificed, as is the terrible watchword of the sect, and which has already unfortunately occurred, without, perhaps, their having even the consolation that those sacrifices are appreciated.

If we religious are to continue to be of use in

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the islands to religion and España, no one can have any doubt that it must be by thoroughly guaranteying our persons, our prestige, and our ministry; it must be by knowing that the fatherland appreciates and treats us as its sons, and that it must not abandon us as an object of derision to our enemies, and as victims to the rancor of masonry and separatism. Martyrdom does not terrify us, but only honors us, although we do not consider ourselves worthy of so holy an honor: but we do not desire to die as if criminals, enveloped with the censures of friends and enemies, and perhaps, abandoned and despised by those who ought to protect and esteem us.

That is the extremely gloomy and graceless situation in which the orders find themselves, especially since the beginning of the Tagálog insurrection, and above all, since the extension of the Katipunan, a situation that threatens to become worse, if the government becomes the echo of the filibusters, of the masons, of the radical elements, which, it seems, have conspired together to give the finishing stroke to the great social-religious edifice, raised in these islands by Catholic España.

By that no one should be surprised that we religious, placed in so imminent a peril, desirous of not offering abstracts to the policy of any government, and of avoiding the censure that we are the cause of the evils of the country and the bar to its progress, should choose the abandonment of our ministries, exile, and expatriation, in preference to our continuance in the islands in a situation, which, if prolonged for a longer time, will result as decidedly dishonoring to our class, and would make our permanence in the archipelago unfruitful.

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We have fulfilled our duty here as good men; such is our firm conviction. Should we go elsewhere, there, by the grace of God, we shall also be able to fulfil our duty. And for that result, the holy see, if contrary to all our just expectations, it cannot succeed in making itself heard by the Spanish nation, will not deny us the opportune permission.

Fortunately, we have trust in the noble sentiments and deeply-rooted Catholicism of her Majesty, the queen regent; we trust in the devotion and patriotism of the ministers of the crown; we trust in the sensible opinion shared by the majority of the Spanish people; we trust in the intelligence and spirit of justice of the Catholic minister of the colonies; and we trust that, after listening to the most dignified prelates of these islands, and after taking into consideration the prescriptions of natural and canonical law, the exalted advantages of the fatherland in these regions, and the undeniable services that the religious orders in Filipinas have contributed, no resolution contrary to the teachings and precepts of our holy Mother, the Church, will be adopted, and which is contrary to the prestige of the regular clergy, but that, on the contrary, the Catholic institutions of this archipelago will be once more affirmed and strengthened, as is imposed by both religion and the fatherland.

In this confidence, and reiterating our traditional adhesion to the throne, and to its institutions, we conclude, praying God for the prosperity and new progress of the monarchy, for the health of his Majesty, the king, and of her Majesty, the queen regent (whom may God preserve), and for prudence of the Cortes and the government in their reso-

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lutions, and very especially for your Excellency, whose life may God preserve many years.[227]

Manila, April 21, 1898. Your Excellency.

FRAY MANUEL GUTIERREZ, provincial of the Augustinians.

FRAY GILBERTO MARTIN, commissary-provincial of the Franciscans.

FRAY FRANCISCO AYARRA, provincial of the Recollects.

FRAY CÁNDIDO GARCIA VALLES, vice-provincial of the Dominicans.

PIO PÍ, S.J., superior of the mission of the Society of Jesus.

Notice. Because of the impossibility, due to the length of this exposition, of drawing up the copies necessary for the archives of each corporation, it has been agreed by the respective superiors, to print an edition of fifty copies, ten for each corporation, which are destined for the purpose stated above.

Collated faithfully with its original, and to be considered throughout as an authentic text. In affirmation of which, as secretary of my corporation and by the order of my prelate, I sign and seal the present copy in Manila, April 21, 1898.

FRAY FRANCISCO SADABA DEL CARMEN,
secretary-provincial of the Recollects.[228]

There is a seal that says: "Provincialate of the Recollects."

[227] This *Memorial* is most inadequately published in the *Rosary Magazine* (a Dominican periodical) for 1900, by Ambrose Colman, O.P. It is translated only in part, the translation often being faulty and giving a wrong meaning, and translation and synopsis not always being sufficiently indicated.

[228] This "notice" does not appear in the copy printed (probably from one of the fifty copies) at the press of Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Rios, Madrid.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The documents in this volume are obtained from the following sources:

1. *Internal condition of Philippines.*– From a typewritten copy furnished by Epifanio de los Santos from the rare printed original (volume iii of Mas's *Informe)* in his possession.

2. *Matta's report.*– From an unpublished MS. in the possession of T. H. Pardo de Tavera, who furnished to the Editors a typewritten copy of it.

3. *The Philippines, 1860-1898.*– Written especially for this series by James A. LeRoy, Durango, Mexico.

4. *Events in Filipinas.*– Summarized from volume iii of Montero y Vidal's *Historia de Filipinas.*

5. *Constitution of Liga Filipina.*– From a copy, furnished by Epifanio de los Santos, of Rizal's original MS.

6. *Friar memorial.*– From James A. LeRoy's copy of one of the printed originals, revised by a printed copy belonging to the Madrid edition.

7. *Appendix on agriculture.*– The first section, from a printed copy of Basco's decree (Sampaloc, 1784) belonging to Edward E. Ayer; the second, from Jagor's *Reisen* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 303-306, from a copy in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis;

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the third, from Fernandez and Moreno's *Manuel del viajero en Filipinas* (Manila, 1875), pp. 172-178, from a copy belonging to the Editors.

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APPENDIX: AGRICULTURE IN FILIPINAS

By Joseph Basco y Vargas (Arayat, March 20, 1784), and others.

SOURCES: The first section of this document is obtained from a printed copy of Basco's decree, in the possession of Edward E. Ayer; the second part, from Jagor's *Reisen*, pp. 303-306; the third, from Fernandez and Moreno's *Manual del viajero en Filipinas*, pp. 172-178.

TRANSLATIONS: All these are made by Emma Helen Blair.

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APPENDIX: AGRICULTURE IN FILIPINAS

A decree by Basco in 1784

Don Joseph Basco y Vargas, Balderrama y Rivera, knight of the Order of Santiago, commander of a division in the royal navy, governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands and president of their royal Audiencia and Chancilleria, commander-in-chief of the troops of his Majesty in these dominions, general superintendent of the royal treasury, and of the royal revenue from tobacco, and delegate superintendent of that from the mail service, etc.

[The author begins by showing the importance, necessity, and advantage of agriculture to both the state and the individual, with illustrations drawn from history and observation in various countries of the world, and continues:]

Since agriculture is so necessary for the subsistence of mankind, and the maintenance of kingdoms, it is not wonderful that it should be so cared for by the wise and by kings, and that the lawmakers of nations should have ennobled this pursuit with special privileges. Especially have been distinguished in this direction the Spanish monarchs, who, besides other privileges granted in favor of the farmers,

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have thought it well to decree that neither the implements for their labors, nor their lands, should be taken from them for any civil debt; and also they granted to these laborers the privilege that they could not be imprisoned for any civil debt in the season for their harvesting and field labors, authorizing the superior judges to grant them delay in such cases. But besides these so useful and valuable benefits the natives of Filipinas enjoy still others more extraordinary. For their security, besides having ordained that their goods shall not be seized for costs in lawsuits, nor shall they be punished with pecuniary fines, conferring upon them other favors of the same kind, it has been likewise commanded that no one may lend money to them above the sum of five pesos, under the penalty of losing what is lent them beyond that. In all these things the monarchs have sought to release the farmers from many oppressions and injuries, and to prevent the losses and deficits which otherwise, for most of the vassals, are caused by caring for the interests and profits of a few individuals. But it occasions the greatest sorrow that in Filipinas, contrary to the pious and Christian intention of our kings – and especially that of the wise monarch, who is now prosperously governing us, our lord Don Carlos III (whom may God preserve) – Spaniards should have acted, in regard to these exemptions, without any heed or consideration for the injuries which have resulted here to the Indians and their agriculture, and with notable loss of the wealth which the fertility and valuable products of this country promise.

And since this chief executive, actuated by what he himself has observed in this province of Pam-

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panga, in that of Bulacan, and in those of Tondo and Laguna de Bay (which he has visited personally), cannot any longer permit such extortions and injuries as are caused, among all classes of persons, to the farmers and poor Indians in the said provinces, and in the other districts to which this decree will also be made to extend: I command that in future the implements of labor – such as carabaos, plows, hemp-combs, and other field utensils belonging to the Indians, mestizos, creoles, Spaniards, or any other class of persons – shall not be seized for a civil debt, any more than their lands, since most of them have no ownership in these. Moreover, they shall not be arrested at the times when they must work in the fields, such as plowing, and gathering their harvests: and, at the times when they can be arrested, authority shall be given to the alcaldes-mayor so that they can grant them a respite of six months, without loading them with fees or other exactions.

And, as the backward state of agriculture in Filipinas proceeds also from the fact that, notwithstanding there are many industrious, laborious and charitable persons in the villages, there are also many others in whom sloth and idleness reign – for instance, many chiefs and their sons, and the heads of barangay; and generally those who have exercised the office of magistrate (who, on account of having served in these employments, afterward refuse through a sort of vanity and pride to go back to field work), all these caring only to subjugate the common people by compelling them to work without pay in their fields, and trying to exempt themselves from the common labor, and from the

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other burdens to which those who pay tribute are subject – likewise this chief executive has resolved to declare that such exemptions ought not to be understood for the classes of persons who are mentioned above, unless they possess at least eight cabalitas of their own land cultivated and worked by their servants or day-laborers, expressly forbidding that they rent these lands to others – always provided that they are not prevented by age or infirmities from carrying on their farm-work in person, since in this case they are allowed to rent them.

And although, in regard to the contract of *casamajan*[229] which they commonly practice, absolute prohibition ought to be made to them on account of the burden which ensues from it to the poor, and also to their own consciences, on account of the many usurious acts which are committed therein, [yet] considering, as has been already stated, that there will be many who, on account of age and sickness, cannot themselves attend to the cultivation of their land, this chief executive consents to grant such persons a contract of that sort, under the condition that whatever loan is made to the farmers by their partners, it shall be in the form of palay, and they shall collect it in the same; that is, if they shall lend, for example, four cavans [of rice], they shall receive four others. And the same is ordained in regard to money, so that if they shall lend, for example, two pesos they shall receive only two pesos; and, if they shall lend cloth, if it is not returned they may only receive its just value at the time when the bargain was made – under the penalty that no judge shall admit any claim in contravention of this ordinance,

[229] A Tagálog word, meaning "that which is in partnership."

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and the complainants shall lose what they had lent.

Besides this, I have in the same manner heard of the unjust and vile bargains which the usurers make in regard to the cultivated lands, and even the trees which the farmers cultivate in their gardens, and their houses, binding them with the agreement of *retrovendendi*,[230] as it is commonly called, exacting from him who is bound – sometimes for many years, and sometimes forever – the produce and the ownership [of those possessions], for a small amount which the lender has furnished. They also exact a premium for the money which they lend, sometimes in valuables, and sometimes besides these. This is done by a multitude of usurers who overrun the island, with great offense to God and injury to their neighbors. In order to redress such evils, which provoke divine justice against the islands, this chief executive has also resolved to ordain that in future such contracts shall not be made, either by writing or in words; for they are null and void, and usurious. And we forbid all the magistrates of these islands to give hearing to any claim arising from these contracts; if they contravene this order, they remain responsible for all losses and injuries, with the penalty, besides, of a fine of five hundred pesos.

Besides this, the inhabitants of all the islands ought to have understood that the lands which they obtained are all royal [*realengas*] or communal,

[230] *Pacto de retrovendendo*: "A certain agreement accessory to the contract of purchase and sale, by which the buyer obliges himself to return the thing sold to the seller, the latter returning to the buyer the price which he gave for it, within a certain time, or when the seller shall require it, according to the terms in which the agreement is drawn up." (*Diccionario* of the Academy, cited by Dominguez.) Cf. the political use of the same phrase in the treaty of Zaragoza (VOL. I, p. 232).

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with the exception of those which they possess through inheritance, or through legitimate purchase from the native chiefs [*caciques*] who were cultivating them at the time when the Catholic faith was established in Filipinas, and when they rendered fidelity, obedience, and vassalage to the august Spanish monarchs; and of those which were purchased from his Majesty with title of ownership from the royal Audiencia. [They should also understand] that for this reason the royal lands cannot be absolutely sold or alienated, since they only enjoy the use and usufruct of them; consequently, those who fail to cultivate them for the years appointed by the Audiencia lose this right of use, and the magistrates ought to assign these lands immediately to another person. As for the rest of the lands, no one can obtain them except by right of purchase and agreement with the tribunal of indults and compositions[231] of lands, which his Majesty has established

[231] The word "composition" (Spanish, *composición*) as here used has "a technical meaning as applied to lands, and may be defined as a method by which the State enabled an individual who held its lands without legal title thereto to convert his mere possession into a perfect right of property by virtue of compliance with the requirements of law. Composition was made in the nature of a compact or compromise between the State and the individual who was illegally holding lands in excess of those to which he was legally entitled, and, by virtue of his compliance with the law, the State conferred on him a good title to the lands that he had formerly held under a mere claim of title." Under Spanish administration, there was great confusion and uncertainty in land-titles; the laws in force were too complicated and slow in operation, and left too much power in the hands of indifferent or mercenary officials. Some benefits were yielded by regulations for the composition of State lands which were in force from 1880 to 1894, and in the latter year more definite and positive provisions were made by royal decree (constituting the "public-land law" in force in the islands when occupied by the United States) for the settlement of uncertain land-titles; but in neither case were the results very satisfactory. The same may be said of the registration system

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for this purpose. In the same manner, the lands which they hold by this tenure, as those inherited, or purchased from native chiefs, they cannot sell without the intervention of the court of justice. For this reason, warning is given that in the house-lots of the villages also they have no more than the use of the land; on this account, whenever the term of three years has passed without those who had formerly lived on them building houses on these lots, it has been and is the duty of the court to assign these lots to other persons – without allowing or accepting lawsuit or claim, when this neglect is evident, either through general report or by the verbal deposition of witnesses who have resided there a long time and are conscientious; for these house-lots are common property of the villages in which they are located, and for this reason the ownership of them cannot be sold, because this title does not belong to those who dwell in them. In regard to this matter, and with observation and knowledge of the injuries connected with it, this chief executive (having been actually present in this province of Pampanga, and in the others that have been named) likewise ordains that the house and house-lot cannot be seized from any debtor, of whatever class he may be, as is commonly done – leaving in the street, and

known as the *Ley hipotecaria* (or mortgage law), which in 1889 was extended to Filipinas. During the period of revolution and war (1896-99) many of the land records were destroyed in the provinces, which further complicated questions of land ownership; and the U. S. Philippine Commission was obliged to make provision for the settlement of these by the "Land Registration Act," which became effective on February 1, 1903. For account of its provisions and mode of operation, see the chapter on "Land Titles" (pp. 127-137) in *Official Handbook of the Philippines* – where also is presented a more detailed account of the regulations made by the Spanish laws.

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exposed to beggary and other evils, a multitude of Indians who perhaps would again be self-supporting, if they could have recourse to their own sheltering roof (which hardly would be worth as much as ten pesos), and the trees which they enjoyed on their own land. Proceedings must be taken only against their goods, without leaving them or their wives destitute; for it is very well known (as those who lend ought to know) that no one can lend to a native more than five pesos – an amount which he can easily pay with his work, or with some article of luxury which he may possess. This regulation must serve for the magistrates, as they are ordained and commanded, in order that they may conform to it; and, in virtue of the ordinance by his Majesty that in cases involving from one to five hundred pesos formal claim shall not be brought into court, the alcaldes-mayor shall decide these verbally, without receiving formal complaints, or anything else except the [original] documents, or the verbal declaration or confrontation of the parties. It must be noted that in cases where this is necessary, and the complaining party shall name some valuable article which is worth the amount of his demand, the magistrate shall proceed to sell it in the public square; and by selling it to the highest bidder, in one day (which shall be announced by the public crier), payment shall be made to the claimant, handing over the rest to the debtor, and deducting only such fees as are proper for the few hours of time which the judge may have spent on the case. By this, however, must be understood that in such cases their wooden houses which may have some value (as they actually do in most of the villages) shall not remain exempt from seizure; for it is certain that the owners of such

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houses, if through ill-luck or calamity they come to misfortune, can never lack some means among their own relatives for establishing themselves in some humble house, which they can erect as cheaply as I have just stated.

In regard to the repartimientos of people for the royal works, which are constructed in the provinces near Manila, as also in regard to the domestic servants [*tanores*], and other people who are assigned for work on the churches, government buildings, and jails, and guards [*bantayes*], etc., various regulations have been made; but, knowing that these are not sufficient to uproot so many wrongs, injuries and oppressions as the Indians suffer from the magistrates of their villages, and from the heads of barangay – making the villages contribute a greater number of people than is needed and required, and exempting from their turn of service those who should render it (both of these proceedings serving to defraud the poor, who, in order not to leave their grain fields, yield whatever the magistrates and chiefs ask from them, according to their caprice and the extent of their greed) – it is ordained and commanded that both these repartimientos be carried out with the knowledge and consent of the parish curas. To each individual cura must be sent a statement of the number of people necessary, and of the quota from each village; and the headmen shall be under strict obligation to obtain certificates from the said father curas that they have carried out the repartimiento in conformity with the decrees. It must be understood that these repartimientos cannot be made in conscience, and without contravention of the law, among the farmers and artisans who are occupied in their tasks, so long as there are

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wandering and idle people, since these last are the ones assigned by the law for these necessities. As little are the sons of the chief exempt, or the heads of barangay who have no occupation, or those who have held an official position, if, relying on this sort of privilege, they do not return to their former occupation or duties in the field.

Finally, it is ordained and commanded to all the governors, corregidors, alcaldes-mayor, and other magistrates throughout the island, that they most punctually observe and fulfil whatever is here decreed, in order thus to render greater service to God, and to the king – who has entrusted to the carefulness, conscience and vigilance of this supreme government the welfare of these islands and of all their inhabitants; also their social condition, just government, promotion, and reputation. And the said governors, corregidors, alcaldes-mayor and other magistrates here mentioned are warned to fulfil whatever is here decreed, under a penalty of five hundred pesos fine; and on the alcaldes of the natives, the mestizos, and others of their class a fine of twenty pesos is imposed, both fines to be applied in the usual manner. These fines shall be exacted from them whenever any application shall be presented that is founded upon any transgression of this decree, or when its infraction shall be proved in any manner. And as it is necessary that the parish priests shall aid, on their side, and shall be zealous for its fulfilment, the reverend and illustrious archbishops and bishops and the devout provincials of the islands shall be urgently requested to incite and oblige their parish priests to the observance of these wholesome regulations and ordinances, charging upon their consciences that if they know of any failure to observe the decree, they shall com-

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municate it to the supreme government. The said reverend prelates shall also be notified that this supreme government expects – from their well-known zeal and love for their flocks, and because they have resigned all else for the greater service of God and of the king – that they will coöperate by their utterances and with their effective persuasions in fulfilling by all means the desires and intentions of the governor, who considers himself under the strictest obligation to issue this ordinance, and to command that it be carried out until his Majesty shall be pleased to confirm it. Before his royal throne will be presented the merit and activity of each one of those who excel in solicitude for its observance, a full account of which will be given to his Majesty in our next despatches. And, in order that this decree may be known in all the villages and in all the districts of the island, and published with all possible fulness and clearness, it shall be translated into all the dialects; and as many copies as shall be necessary shall be printed, in two columns, the first in Castilian, and the second in the respective idiom of the province to which it shall be sent. Copies of these shall be posted everywhere in the magistrates' offices of the villages, and printed copies shall be supplied to all the courts of the capital, in order that they may observe and fulfil the decree, so far as it belongs to them.

At the village of Arayat, on the twentieth day of the month of March, 1784,

DON JOSEPH BASCO Y VARGAS

By command of his Lordship:

VIZENTE GONZALES DE TAGLE, notary-public *ad interim* of the government.[232]

[232] At the foot of the last printed page is a note, evidently writ-

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Agricultural conditions in 1866

[The following article is taken from Jagor's *Reisen*, pp. 303-306.]

Excepting some large estates acquired in earlier times through donation, landed property originated mainly through the right of occupation by the possessor and his rendering the land productive which even now is a common right recognized in the laws of the Indias in favor of the indigenous inhabitants. In the exercise of this right, the native takes possession of such unused land as is necessary for his house and tilled fields, and loses it only when it remains uncultivated for two years. Setting aside these native (and likewise very poor) landed proprietors, landed property is legally acquired in the following manner: through purchase from the state of a certain area of unimproved crown lands [Spanish, *realengas*]; through actual purchase from the natives who possess property; through contracts (called *pactos de retro*) concluded with the natives; and through the pledging or hypothecation of bonds, which even these natives are accustomed to agree to, especially in commercial dealings.

The first of these means ought to be a source of wealth; but it is not, for various reasons. At present very few persons are familiar with the legislation regarding the unused crown land, which consists of numberless single decrees forming a casuistical, dis-

ten by some person in the secretary's office of the Council of Indias (to which body this copy of the decree appears to have been sent), which reads in translation: "It came with a letter from the governor of Philipinas, Don Joseph de Basco y Vargas, dated June 16, 1784, and received at the secretary's office on March 19, 1785." A penciled memorandum on the fly-leaf indicates that it was published at Sampaloc, 1784.

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connected, complicated, and confused mass. . . . By a royal order of 1857, the first offer for untilled crown lands was fixed at fifty dollars a quiñon; and the concession could not be secured without a previous public auction. From that time private persons held aloof from such demands; to the former evils are added the high price, and the danger of being outbidden in the auction, and thus of losing one's trouble and expense for the examination of the lands. In 1859 the decree was modified, and the former price of four reals a quiñon as first offer was established; but this decree is not yet published.

In order that capital may flow into agriculture – without which that industry cannot possibly be developed to the production of grain and colonial products for exportation – it is absolutely necessary to overcome all obstacles which discourage men of wealth. Among these hindrances stands in the first rank the local administration, in regard to the granting of untilled crown lands; in the second, the obstructions which are placed in the way of both [Spanish] natives and foreigners who wish to acquire rights of settlement and citizenship in the community. Besides the difficulty of acquiring large possessions, still others exist. The planter can easily find laborers, to whom he must make considerable advances in food, cattle, and money; but the Indians pay little attention to fulfilling their contracts, and the legal means at the command of the planter for compelling them to fulfill their past engagements are as burdensome and ruinous as even the abandonment of his rights. Unless the alcalde is active and shows good-will, the planters usually prefer not to press their claims; they endure the loss,

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and many are thus induced to abandon their enterprises. This cancer on agriculture will disappear as soon as every Indian possesses a certificate of citizenship [*Bürgerbrief*; Spanish, *cédula de vecindad*]. If one weathers the first year, storms, locusts, and business crises are to be expected later, all of which depress the price of his product. In such cases it is for the planter the greatest evil that no credit exists. There are no mortgages, at least there is no compulsory registration of mortgages; accordingly, no one dares to lend his money on such estates, or he does it only at crushing rates of usurious interest. An improvement in this respect is urgently demanded by the agricultural interests, both great and small, by the mercantile class, and by large and small estates; it would place a limit to the *pacto de retro*, as well as to the usurious contracts which are called in Luzon *tacalanan*, in Bisaya *alili* – the furnishing of loans on the proceeds of the next harvest – to which must be ascribed the misery and the backward conditions that prevail in many places. . . .

The *pacto de retro* is one of the most usual modes in which landed property passes from the possession of the natives to others. A considerable part of Pampanga, Bataan, Manila, Laguna, Batangas, and other provinces has, within a few years, changed owners in this way. Thus also do the inexpressibly cunning and thrifty mestizos usually acquire their landed possessions, the cultivation of which they then improve; but that does not prevent this custom from being detrimental to the public welfare. The native who possesses a piece of land through placing it under cultivation and actually occupying it, but almost never (or very seldom) by purchase from an-

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other owner, when he finds himself in pressing need of money offers his land as a pledge for the desired loan from a capitalist; but where he has no document to establish and prove his just claim, no foundation exists for a loan on mortgage under moderate conditions, since the applicant is free from all burdens and obligations. The capitalist therefore looks for his own security in immediate possession. The hypotheca is converted into an antichresis security (*prenda pretoria*), and as it is with great difficulty (or at least it very seldom occurs), that the Indian who receives the money consents to pay it back at the appointed time, and it is not to the lender's interest to force him to pay it, the result is, that for a sum corresponding to the secured loan – that is, for a half or a third of the value of the security – the piece of land finally changes proprietors. Not seldom it happens that the former proprietor remains on the land as a farmer (that is, as a laborer, in reality as a slave to his debts). Often the Indian is seduced into contracts of this sort by his passion for cockfighting and gambling.

The laws of the country require the Indians to live in villages, uniting their farms into hamlets, so that they can be watched over and their tributes collected. In ordinary circumstances, the Indian builds for himself a hut in his field, where he lives while he is working his land, and goes on Saturday evenings to the village in order to hear mass on Sunday. His field has no great value for him, since he can always put another piece of land into cultivation, so great is the surplus of land in all the villages remote from the capital. The facility with which he can abandon one tract to take possession of another is

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very detrimental to the development of agriculture. A small landed proprietor, who has planted a bit of waste land with rice or potatoes without asking any one's permission, raises an outcry if his garden is entered by a cow or a horse that grazed there years ago; and, since the law stands in his favor, he is allowed to receive from the owner of the cattle payment for often imaginary damages, while the loss from such causes should be borne by him who cultivates a field without enclosing it.

This same small proprietor avails himself for his own benefit, of all the privileges and rights of an entire village of Indians, if a wealthy man desires to lay out a plantation in his neighborhood. The capitalist who has decided on such a plan often finds that on land which was before entirely untilled and waste, when he has after long difficulties acquired control of his property, and has reckoned a certain amount [of expense], some Indians have planted a grain field; and through testimonies covered with signatures, which are presented in the court, they assert that they inherited these very lands from their fathers, and have never ceased to work them.

A remedy for these abuses would consist in the limitation of districts, and the jurisdiction of the municipality, so that, for the purpose of increasing the landed property for the inhabitants of a village, so much land should remain free as they could at the time reasonably claim – more or less than the so-called municipal field (*legua comunal*), of which, besides, no law makes mention. All the remaining land located within the jurisdiction should be declared the property of the crown, and the title to all possessions then located outside of municipal control

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should be valid; but in future all possessions that shall not conform to the said rules shall be declared invalid. Within the municipal limits or the legal property of the village (which may not extend beyond the sound of the bell) the native farmer should be allowed to dwell, [even] outside of the village, in the midst of the lands cultivated by him; and only in case he alienates or abandons these should he be compelled to live in the village. The natives should bring new plots under cultivation within the municipality, and be able to acquire these by paying to the communal treasury a small ground-rent, or a moderate sum once for all. Such grants should proceed, with all publicity, from the entire body of the notables, with the coöperation of the parish priest, and be recorded in a safely-kept book in every village, and should never contain a greater area than the applicant can till with his own carabaos [*Büffeln*]. If such grant of state land does not exceed a quiñon, it should be issued, according to the aforesaid forms, by the alcalde[233] of the province; if of greater extent, in the capital of the colony; but all ought to be recorded in the land-register of the province and village concerned. Those measures that were taken for the benefit of the natives and the promotion of cattle-raising, but which have an opposite effect, ought to be abolished. Agriculture, like every other occupation, needs no protection save clearness and security in its essential conditions of life.

Economic Society of Friends of the Country

[The following account of this association and the

[233] By royal decree of Feb. 26, 1886, the alcaldes-mayor of the provinces were restricted to judicial functions, and in others they were replaced by civil governors.

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more notable of its achievements is obtained from Fernandez and Moreno's *Manual del viajero en Filipinas* (Manila, 1875), pp. 173-178. This subject is presented here as being so largely connected with the progress of agriculture in Filipinas.]

Founded in the year 1781, in virtue of a royal order dated August 27 in the preceding year (issued in consequence of advices from the excellent governor Don José Basco y Vargas), in 1787 it suspended its meetings, on account of the gradual and progressive decline of the society. In 1819 it resumed its functions, but suffered a period of discouragement and paralysis as a result of the Asiatic cholera morbus, which appeared then for the first time in these islands; and until October, 1822, the few meetings which the society held had no other object than questions of internal order, having little interest or importance for its history.[234] A memoir published by the society with date of January 1, 1860,[235] makes the following statement: "From that date (October 22, 1822), it can be said, begins the series of the society's labors and services – achievements all the

[234] Bernáldez, in his account (dated 1827) of "Reforms needed in Filipinas" (already presented in our VOL. LI) says of this association (fol. 29): "Although in Manila there is an Economic Society organized to promote public prosperity by means of the industries of the country, composed as it is of miscellaneous members, nominated without [their own] solicitation, and without inclination for that sort of occupation, there is little, if anything, to be expected from the activities of a body which has already gone to pieces once through its own inaction, and has been reëstablished only to comply with the sovereign's command, and not by the activity or encouragement of the citizens of Filipinas themselves."

[235] Evidently referring to the pamphlet, *Noticia del origen y hechos notables de la Real Sociedad . . segun sus actas y documentos oficiales* (Manila, 1860); but this is a second edition, the first having been issued in 1855.

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greater and more valuable, inasmuch as they proceeded from slight and ephemeral causes, and from a corporation which could not depend on material resources even remotely proportioned to the magnitude of its object; and which plunged into labors [which meant] nothing less than the advancement and civilization of a virgin country, containing more than 8,000 square leguas of surface, with 3,000,000 of inhabitants still half-barbarous, and without stable or established mercantile relations with any part of the world (on account of the recent crisis in the privileged commerce, which had just been abolished), with a capital of 30,000 pesos, at 5,000 leguas distance from European civilization, and with a government occupied besides with the political situation and calamities of those days, confiding only in its patriotic enthusiasm and in its desires for the aggrandizement and prosperity of the country." In the above memoir are concisely recorded three hundred forty-seven notable achievements, all beneficial to the country, accomplished by that distinguished society in the space of thirty-seven years. We would gladly reproduce entire in our modest book the relation of services so important; as we cannot do this, we indicate those which, in our judgment, are the more notable.

1823. February 1 – Free distribution of one thousand three hundred twenty copies of [books of] grammar, orthography, and reading-lessons, for popular use. February 15 – The society bestows a gold medal on Don Doroteo Punzalan Estrella, for opening a channel which gave a new and more convenient direction to the river of Tondo; and another of silver on Don Agustin Campuzano and Pedro An-

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tonio for other and similar services rendered, to the benefit of the country. March 1 – The society resolves to give two hundred fifty pesos annually to endow in this island a chair of agriculture; and it appoints a prize for the best memoir which should be written "on the causes which hinder the development of the agriculture of the country." October 8 – Translation and printing by the society of the book entitled, *Guide for the Lancasterian Mutual System of Education*,[236] which manual was distributed gratis, by decision adopted on March 9 of the following year. December 2 – Establishment of a school of drawing; the first examinations for graduation from the said school took place April 9, 1828. The society resolves to send to India, on its own account, an intelligent person to study the method of dyeing the cambaya fabrics; and to order from North America three machines for hulling rice.

1824. March 9 – Offering of prizes for the best pieces of cloth woven in Filipinas in imitation of those from China, and for the most successful experiments in dyes for cambayas; the prizes were awarded on September 22 of the same year. September 22 – It is agreed to pay the cost of instructing eight Indians in the art of dyeing, in order to extend this knowledge through the country; on October 6, 1825, the first dyers from the society's school are examined and approved.

[236] Probably referring to the book *The Lancasterian System of Education, with Improvements*, published (Baltimore, 1821) by Joseph Lancaster on his newly-invented educational system (commonly known as the "monitorial"). He was an Englishman, born in 1778, and a member of the Society of Friends; he visited the United States, where he published the above work; and his death occurred in 1838.

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1826. February – Orders are given to reprint a manual presented by Don José Montoya on the cultivation and preparation of indigo.

1827. April 24 – Printing of a memoir on the cultivation of coffee. October 30 – The society votes the sum of eight hundred pesos for aid of the hospital for the poor in this capital.

1828. November 26 – The society orders the printing of a manual of the elements of drawing.

1829. November 8 – Machines for hulling rice are received, sent by the Economic Society of Cádiz. December 13 – The society supports the government's project for establishing a bank in this capital.

1830. March 21 – Reorganization of the *Mercantile Register*.[237]

1833. August 13 – The society discusses and reports on the project of cultivating the poppy and making opium in Filipinas.

1836. June 30 – Voluntary donation of five hundred pesos in behalf of the necessities of the State, on account of the war in España.

1837. June 27 – The society awards a prize of one thousand pesos to Don Pablo de Gironier[238] for

[237] See account of this periodical in VOL. LI, p. 48, note 16.

[238] This was Paul de la Gironière, a French surgeon who went to Manila in 1820, and who escaped, almost by a miracle, from the massacre of foreigners by the natives in that year. He married a Spanish lady of Manila, the Marquesa de las Salinas, and spent twenty years in the islands, where he founded a colony at Jala-Jala, and kept a large estate under cultivation, besides performing, at various times, official functions entrusted to him by the Manila government. He returned to France, where he died about 1865. He was author of a book, *Aventures d'un gentilhomme breton aux îles Philippines* (Paris, 1855), which had considerable vogue, and is regarded as an interesting and in many respects valuable description of the islands, their resources and people, and social conditions there. He also wrote *Vingt années aux Philippines* (Paris, 1853), of which an English abridgment was pub-

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what he had done in exhibiting a coffee plantation of more than sixty thousand trees, in readiness for its second crop.

1838. December 10–Another prize, of five hundred pesos, bestowed on Don Vicente del Pino for a second coffee plantation of sixty thousand trees.

1839. July 12–The society assigns the sum of one hundred fifty pesos a month, for one year, to the publication of a periodical of industries and commerce.[239] Information regarding the uncultivated and crown lands of Filipinas is furnished by the society, by reason of the royal decree of May 13, 1836.

1840. March 21–The sum of five hundred pesos awarded to Father Blanco for the costs of printing and publishing the *Flora filipina*, which bears his name.

1843. September 14–A prize is offered for the invention of a machine for combing abacá [fiber].

1844. March 14–A memoir by the society on the cultivation of sugar cane.

1845. August 22–An informatory report on the increase of population and the necessity for protection to agriculture.

1846. September 22–Prizes of one thousand and 500 pesos to Don Iñigo Gonzales Araola for two plantations of coffee, in accordance with the conditions of the royal decree of April 6, 1838. The society resolves to send young men from Filipinas to study mechanics in foreign countries.

lished in London soon afterward, called *Twenty Years in the Philippines*. (See Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca filipina*, pp. 185-186.) An English translation with the same title was published at New York (1854), "revised and extended by the author."

[239] Apparently alluding to the short-lived periodical *Precios corrientes de Manila* (1639-41); see VOL. LI, p. 71, note 31.

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1847. February 3 – A fifth prize, of five hundred pesos, to Don Antonio Ortega for the cultivation of coffee. The society allots five hundred pesos to the support of the university; and five hundred pesos for the erection of nipa houses to aid the unfortunate [rendered homeless] in the burning of the village of Santa Cruz. November 25 – A proposal for improving the construction of buildings in this capital; and decision that the society build a house and afterward raffle it.

1849. October 10 – The society votes one thousand pesos for a second attempt to acclimate in these islands the martin, a bird which destroys the locusts. On February 27, 1850, was added another allotment of five hundred pesos; and on November 16, 1852, another of one thousand three hundred eleven pesos, with the same end in view.

1850. August 16 – Report is made in regard to a museum, and to the provisional allowance of one thousand five hundred forty-seven pesos to arrange that such museum be formed. The sum of five hundred pesos is voted, to be spent for specimens of articles representing the industries of the country, so that these can be exhibited at the London Exposition; in consequence of this exhibit, the society receives (April 12, 1853) from the Universal Exposition of London a prize for the specimens that were sent there of fabrics woven from vegetable fiber, and a special prize for the weaving of the cigar-cases [*petacas*] of Baliuag.[240] On May 13, 1858, it re-

[240] One of the largest and richest towns of the province of Bulacán; and both town and province are renowned for various native manufactures – hats, cigar-cases, piña fabrics, and *petates* (*i.e.*, mats) – of fine quality, and often very costly. See Jagor's account (*Reisen*, p. 48) of the manufacture of these cigar-cases

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ceives from London a new medal as a prize for articles from Filipinas.

1852. November 16–Systematic report on the opening of more ports to the external commerce of Filipinas; on June 15, 1855, the society congratulates the government on the establishment of the ports of Iloilo, Sual, and Zamboanga.

1853. April 12–Prize of two thousand pesos and honor of a medal awarded to Don Cándido Lopez Diaz for the invention of a machine for cleaning the abacá. November 15–The sum of one hundred pesos is voted to the subscription for the necessities of Galicia.

1854. March 17–Contribution of five hundred pesos for aiding the necessities of the village of Tondo, in consequence of the fire which occurred there some time before that date.

1855. January 9–The society offers the government twenty per cent of its capital, without interest, for the improvement of the construction of public buildings; on July 23, 1857, money is paid out for public works. May 18–Gives information on the importance to the country of the government being favorable to the free exportation of rice. August 26–Project for instituting a school for small children. October 3–Distribution of elementary books provided by the society, treating of the cultivation of coffee, the preparation of indigo, and the principles of drawing.

1856. March 4–Report in regard to sending

at Balivag; the fibers of which they are made are obtained from a certain species of *Calamus* (rattan), and the cases cost from two to fifty pesos each. It appears that the word *petaca* comes (as does *petate*, "mat") from the Mexican word *petlatl*, meaning "a mat."

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young men to Europe, in order that they may devote themselves to mechanical studies.

1856 [misprint for 1857?]. July 27–Votes a grant of one thousand pesos to purchase objects for the museum and preserve them with those already therein. December 12–Consideration of matters relating to a company for [operating] steamboats.[241]

1858. September 6–Scheme for rendering uniform the weights and measures of Filipinas. November 15–Consideration of two crops of rice in Filipinas, and report favorable thereto by Señor Govantes (a member), who furnished information on the mode of improving and making dikes without any cost or difficulty.

In this interesting account of meritorious deeds we have omitted, in order not to make it too long, the numerous reports sent out by the society for draining marshes, loans of money for promoting agriculture and the mechanic arts, rewards to literary works, etc. We should state that at present [in 1875] the society holds the meetings provided for in its by-laws; and that each member, in order to defray in part the expenses of the corporation, contributes annually twelve pesos from his own funds. We do not doubt that it will continue its vigilant efforts, in order to realize, as far as possible its motto, "Public felicity." The chronological record of its resolutions from 1822 to 1860 also forms a memorial of the

[241] "In 1848 were procured from London the steamers 'Magallanes,' 'Elcano,' and 'Reina de Castilla,' which were the first vessels of this class that were seen in Filipinas; and to their excellent services are due the rapid transformation which was wrought in the prosperity of the country, and the repression of the piracies of the Moro Malays." (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, iii, p. 87.)

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progress which has been made in this country in agriculture and industries;[242] and, although it is not strictly proper for this place, we set down here, in continuation, some data referring to the said acts, for the purpose of bringing together in this section of our work all the activities in which the said Economic Society has exerted an influence.

1822. November 25 – Woolen cloth [*paño*] woven, the first in Filipinas, by one of its members, Don Santiago Herreros.

1823. July 18 – First cards for wool made in Filipinas, by a member of the corporation, Fray Diego Cera. It sends to China a plant and some seeds of the vanilla of the country. The existence of *cerpentaria* [*sic*] is recognized, a plant equally valuable with *xiquilite*[243] for the production of indigo. On April 24, 1827, report was made of a record of experiments made for extracting from the said plants the fecula [*i.e.*, coloring matter] of the indigo; and on September 5, 1828, a botanical description was furnished of the *cerpentaria*, and an analysis of the fecula which it produces. September 4 – Seed of the sugar cane of Filipinas is sent to Habana, and that of rice (or palay) to the Economic Society of Sevilla.

1824. September 2 – The first permanent dyes for cotton and *nipis*. October 19 – Wool, silk, and shellac [*goma laca*] are produced in Cebú.

[242] In the Archivo general de Indias at Sevilla are MS. reports of this society's labors for a number of consecutive years.

[243] *Jiguilete* (or *xiquilite*): the name given in India to the indigo shrub. The *cerpentaria* here mentioned is not identifiable, unless it be some other species of *Indigofera*, several of which are cultivated in Filipinas. The "Vanilla" is presumably a plant described by Blanco, which he calls *Vanilla ovalis*, greatly resembling *V. aromatica*, except that it lacked the fragrant odor of the latter.

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1825. April 2–First report of the society on the establishment of a paper-mill; the second report on the same subject was issued on March 14, 1835.

1826. February 11–Spinning machinery is ordered from the United States. June 13–The first of the goods called "Coast" cambayas and kerchiefs, [but] of inferior quality, are woven and dyed, through the influence of the corporation. December 9–The cochineal insect is brought into these islands.

1827. April 24–Importation of a horse and two mares of superior blood, presented to the society in order to improve the breed in these islands.

1828. November 26–Information regarding the pine, the torch-wood [*tea*] of northern Luzon, and of a plant which produces a blue dye like the indigo.

1834. February 24–Reports for the acclimation of tea in Filipinas; the first trial of this cultivation was undertaken on August 14, 1837, and five hundred plants ordered from Batavia. August 8–Abacá is exported for the first time. December 12–Information upon the existence of mineral coal in Cebú, Surigao, Angat, and Monte de San Mateo.

1835. March 14–Information collected regarding the silk industry in Caraga, various kinds of fiber for cordage (including one which appears suitable for replacing hemp), a bark suitable for dyeing black, and the discovery of a copper mine in Masbate. September 15–First sowing of abacá in Laguna; on March 19, 1837, the first specimens of the said product are presented.

1836. April 23–Machines for hulling rice by steam power, and on a large scale, introduced by Don Eulogio de Otaduy. Cottonseed sown in Antique, using seed from Pernambuco.

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1839. July 12 – Caldrons [made] of red copper from the mountains of Pangasinan.

1841. January 29 – Propagation here of the cotton from North America known by the name of "[Sea] Island;" and request for seeds is sent to the United States.

1843. March 14 – Importation of a steam machine for extracting the fiber of [*para acorchar*] abacá.

1848. June 14 – Inquiry into the existence in the country of the white poppy from which the opium is extracted. (On April 20, 1849, the society issues a very explicit report on the cultivation of the said plant and the preparation of opium[244] in Filipinas.) December 22 – A note regarding gutta-percha and gamboge, by Don Jacobo Zobel, a member.

1849. April 30 – Acquisition and planting of

[244] See Jagor's chapter (*Reisen*, pp. 309, 310) on the opium monopoly which was established in Filipinas on Jan. 1, 1844, and later confirmed by the Spanish government, after much discussion and controversy. Various arguments of policy, health, and morality were brought forward on both sides, but that which finally triumphed was evidently the one thus stated by the governor-general, "The revenue from opium is indispensable for our treasury." The use of opium in the islands was intended for the Chinese residing there (being forbidden to the Indians and mestizos), and then only under certain restrictions; but Jagor found that, besides the 478 public opium-joints – which were "actual hotbeds of immorality, and always full of Chinese" – hundreds of individuals were allowed, contrary to the law and to the intentions of the government, to smoke opium in their own houses. The revenue from opium amounted in 1860 to 98,000 escudos; in the fiscal year of 1865-66, to 140,000; and in 1866-67, to 207,000. Montero y Vidal cites in *Archipiélago filipino* (published in 1886), the tariff schedule of 1874, "The importation of opium is prohibited; and only that will be allowed which, in small quantities, is destined for the pharmacies, and all that which may be imported by the lessees of the right to sell this drug to whom the Treasury has granted that exclusive right in the provinces there – in which case it will pay duty according to item 80" (that is, at eight per cent).

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eleven roots of the tallow-tree,[245] at the country-house of Malacañan.

1850. November 4 – Introduction of new apparatus and methods proposed by Señor Sagra for the manufacture of sugar. Report on the promotion of abacá culture.

1851. May 5 – Memoir on clays in the environs of this capital, and their application in the art of pottery. Wild *cha* [*i.e.*, tea] found in abundance in the island of Masbate. July 18 – Report on the exportation of rice.

1854. August 29 – Appointment of a commission to report to the society upon the present state of agriculture in the country, and obstacles which must be removed for its complete development.

1855. January 9 – Gutta-percha found in Romblon.[246] July 28 – The society grants a gold medal to Don Juan B. Marcaido for his efforts and studies in the method of extracting the abacá fiber from all the species of bananas which grow in the country.

1856. March 4 – Communications referring to the method of securing the [edible] birds'-nests in Calamianes.

1857. October 1 – Presentation of specimens of soaps made in the country.

1858. April 19 – Knowledge of a gum called *conchú* found in Marianas. August 15 – Information given by Señor Barbaza, a member, relative to a hundred kinds of rice in Visayas.

[245] A tree found in China (*Stillingia sebifera*), which yields a substance resembling tallow, which is used for the same purpose as the latter.

[246] Regarding the gutta-percha industry, see *Official Handbook of the Philippines*, pp. 91-95.

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1859. May 10–Project regarding agriculture and commerce.

(We have endeavored to make note of the important activities in which the said society has taken the initiative or has shared since 1860, up to the date of the printing of the *Manual*; and here is the result of our investigations.)

1860. February 11–The society makes a subscription of five thousand pesos to defray, in part, the expenses of the African war.

1861. October 8–The society votes to contribute two thousand pesos from its funds for the expenses of sending articles from Filipinas to the London exposition. Efforts are made to acclimate in Filipinas the cochineal insect.

1862. March 8–It decides to give a prize to the cotton-grower who produces most. May 26–Full report by the society in favor of the establishment of a school of agriculture, theoretical and practical. Report on conducting water to the capital.[247] September 30–The society resolves to obtain seed of cotton from Egypt, to distribute it among the farmers. October 30–The society receives official notice of the prizes awarded to the Philippine exhibitors in the London exposition.

1863. May 23–A specimen of spirits of turpen-

[247] The water supply of Manila is taken from the Mariquina River, eight miles from the city, being pumped thence to a reservoir halfway to Manila, from which it is distributed. "The works are owned by the municipality, having been largely paid for with a fund, the proceeds of a legacy, left by the will of a citizen, Francisco Carriedo, who died in 1743." (*Official Handbook*, p. 269.) This was one of the obras pías founded by a public-spirited citizen, Francisco Carriedo y Peredo; he was born in the town of Santander in 1690, and died at the age of 53, "having during his life conferred immense benefits on Filipinas." (Vindel, *Catálogo*, i, pp. 155, 156.)

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tine is presented to the society, having a strength of 37° by Cartier's areometer, obtained from the trees of the country; a prize is granted to the person who prepared it. October 27 – The society subscribes five hundred pesos to relieve the necessities of the artisans and laborers who suffered in the earthquake of June 3.

1864. July 8 – Full report regarding the rebate of import duties on wheat flour.

1865. July 17 – The society votes three gold medals and five of silver, and five prizes of one hundred pesos each, for the owners of new houses which may be built, which in the greatest degree shall combine the requirements of solidity and economy, and in which no nipa shall be used. October 31 – Full report on the establishment of a quarantine station in the bay of Manila. The society resolves to contribute a sum monthly for the promotion of the botanical garden, a practical school of botany.[248]

1866. December 22 – The society votes seven prizes in money for the best exhibitors, in the fair at Batangas: for cows with their calves, for the two finest female carabaos [*caraballas*] with their calves; for the two finest mares with their colts; to the fe-

[248] The botanical garden of Manila was created by Governor Norzagaray (by decree of Sept. 13, 1858); and, as a result of this, a royal decree of May 29, 1861, founded there a school of botany and agriculture, under the control of the governor of the islands and immediate supervision of the Economic Society. The locality called Campo de Arroceros ["the rice-dealers' field"] was set apart as a botanical garden, for the practical work of that school, with approval of the expenditures incurred by the governor for the establishment of both institutions; and the sum of 6,000 pesos a year was allowed for their maintenance. (In 1894-95, the budget included for the expenses of these two establishments the sum of 37,294 pesos.) See Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, iii, pp. 260, 261, 317, 318.

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male weaver who shall present [specimens of] the best ordinary fabrics of cotton or abacá for common use in the garments of the people; for the best fabrics of silk; for rewarding makers of hats or *petacas*; and for the horse-races.

1867. October 30–The society resolves to spend five hundred pesos in purchasing plows, spades, and other farming implements, to distribute them among the farmers of Ilocos and Abra who may have suffered the greatest losses in consequence of a terrible inundation.

1868. July 11–The society decides to reward, with a gold and a silver medal, the authors of the best two memoirs which shall be presented proposing "the means which the government and the society can employ to secure the development of agriculture in the country. October 16–Motion for the establishment of a savings bank and public loan office.

1871. December 11–A gold medal is granted to Don Santiago Patero for the memoir presented to the society by that gentleman upon the cultivation of coffee and cacao, besides the printing of five thousand copies of the said treatise in order that it may be brought to the knowledge of the farmers.

1874. Project for an annual fair and exposition at Manila. A study of the mutual use of bills of exchange in Filipinas. Preparation of a memoir on the cultivation and manufacture of sugar; and others on the trade in coffee and cacao, and the abacá industry. Appointment of a commission for studying the project for establishment of an agricultural bank.

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[The limitations of our available space compel us to omit any detailed account of agriculture in the islands; we have chosen to present, in the preceding papers, a view of agricultural conditions at two different periods – in Basco's decree, 1784; and in Jagor's account, 1866 – with an outline of the efforts and achievements of the Economic Society from 1781 to 1874 (which aimed to develop the agricultural resources of the country and with these its manufactures and commerce), and references to the leading authorities on this subject, most of these works being easy of access for the student and thus rendering unnecessary our further use of them in this series. These references here follow: Comyn, *Estado*, pp. 6-21, and chart ii at end; Mas, *Informe*, ii, section on agriculture (47 pp.); Mallat, *Les Philippines*, ii, pp. 255-282; Buzeta and Bravo, *Diccionario*, i, pp. 169-206; Jagor, *Reisen*, in various places; Montero y Vidal, *Archipiélago filipino*, pp. 204-216; Worcester, *Philippine Islands*, pp. 503-510 – and, for description of native methods,[249] his

[249] Worcester says of the Ifugaos (*ut supra*, p. 829): "Their agriculture is little short of wonderful, and no one who has seen their dry stone dams, their irrigating ditches running for miles along precipitous hillsides and even crossing the faces of cliffs, and their irrigated terraces extending for thousands of feet up the mountain sides, can fail to be impressed (Pl. xxvi, xxxvii). When water must be carried across cliffs so hard and so broken that the Ifugaos cannot successfully work the stone with their simple tools, they construct and fasten in place great troughs made from the hollowed trunks of trees, and the same procedure is resorted to when cañons must be crossed, great ingenuity being displayed in building the necessary supporting trestle-work of timber. The nearly perpendicular walls of their rice paddies are usually built of stone, although near Quiangan, where the country is comparatively open and level, walls of clay answer the same purpose, and are used. The stone retaining walls are sometimes forty feet high, and so steep are the mountain sides that the level plots gained by building such walls and filling in behind them are often not more than

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"Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," in *Phil. Journal of Science*, October, 1906; the *Annual Reports* of U. S. Philippine Commission; *Official Handbook of Philippines*, pp. 99-118; *Census of the Philippines*, iv, pp. 11-394 (including detailed and classified statistics of the subject for the year 1903); and the *Farmers' Bulletins* published by the Insular Bureau of Agriculture, Manila. Cf. also the chapters on agriculture, titles to land, and agricultural products, in "Remarks by an Englishman" and Bernaldez's "Memorial," in VOL. LI; the section on agriculture in LeRoy's contribution to the present volume; and titles of works on these subjects which are enumerated in Griffin's *List of Books on the Philippines*, Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca filipina*, Vindel's *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, and Retana's *Aparato bibliográfico de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1906).]

twenty or thirty feet wide. I know of no more impressive example of primitive engineering than the terraced mountain sides of Nueva Vizcaya, beside which the terraced hills of Japan sink into insignificance."

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUMES I-LII

VOLUME I

P. 91, lines 1-3: This is not correctly stated; see p. 30, last sentence in first paragraph.

P. 130, middle: Navarrete, cited; "edition 1858" should read "edition 1859."

P. 185, last paragraph: The following information is furnished by the courtesy of Prof. Winslow Upton, director of Ladd Observatory, Brown University: "The first and second methods enumerated in this quotation refer to that now known as the Method by Lunar Distances, which was already in use in the sixteenth century. In the former the position of the moon was to be determined by its measured distance from some star, in the latter from the sun. Since risings and settings at an assumed horizon are specified, it is probable that the distance between moon and sun was determined by the time interval of their respective risings and settings. The fourth method is that still known by the same name. The statement of the third method is obscure. It may mean that the longitude was to be found by a measured distance on the surface of the earth from a station whose longitude was already known. This distance could be turned into difference of longitude if the length corresponding to a degree of longitude in that latitude were first determined. This method is used today in geodetic operations."

P. 218, note 184: The India House of Trade (*Casa de Contratación*) was created by a decree of Isabel of Castilla (January 14, 1503) as both a commercial board and a tribunal; and it partly replaced the admiralty court which had been established in Sevilla since the thirteenth century, the quarters of the latter (in the old Alcázar) being assigned to the India House when the latter was first organized. The powers of the India House increased greatly in the course of time, and it was subordinate to no council save that of the Indias; in 1583 a chamber of justice was added to it. This institution was, by a decree of 1717, removed in the following year to Cádiz. An

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interesting study on the India House is found in *Los trabajos geográficos de la Casa de Contratación* (Sevilla, 1900), by Manuel de la Puente y Olea. This work – prepared by careful examination of the documents in the archives – is devoted to the early voyages of discovery that were undertaken under the auspices of the India House and its navigators, ending with that of Loaysa (1525); the geographical studies made by its cosmographers, and other scientific researches connected with its enterprises; and the enrichment of the fauna and flora of the New World due to the conveyance thither of useful plants, fruits, and animals through the agency of the House. See also the detailed account of this institution, its organization, policy, and methods, by Bernard Moses, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association, 1894, pp. 93-123; a large part of that paper also appears in his *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (N. Y., 1898), chap. iii.

P. 275, note 201: For "inflicted" read "afflicted."

P. 282, note 202: "During the process of exploration and settlement, authority in America rested in the hands of leaders of expeditions and colonies, who usually bore the title of *adelantado*. This was the title formerly applied in Spain to the military and political governor of a frontier province. Standing face to face with the Moors, he held the general military command of the province, and had power to gather the people under his standard. In his capacity as a civil officer, he took cognizance of such civil and criminal cases as arose within the limits of his territory. [Santamaria de Paredes, in *Derecho politico*, p. 487, has described the adelantados as 'governors of great territories, with a character chiefly military.']" (Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, p. 68.)

P. 297, note 205: For "Strait of Magellan" read "La Plata River."

P. 300, in address of letter: For "Cel." read "Ces." Line 2 from end: For "Avises" read "Avisos." The endorsement should read thus: ["De cochin a 23 de Dic^{e}. de 1522." "A su mag xxjx de agosto."] For dates of these letters see data thereon in the bibliographical volume (LIII) of this series.

VOLUME II

P. 73, end of paragraph: For detailed account of early expeditions previous to that of Legazpi, see the *Historia general* of Fray Rodrígo de Aganduru Moriz, published in *Doc. ined. hist. de España*, tom. lxxviii and lxxix (Madrid, 1882).

P. 75: To list of translators add, "the ninth, by Francis W. Snow."

P. 79, line 9: For "secular" read "layman."

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P. 83, line 16: For "Lepuzcua" read "Guipuzcoa."

P. 84, line 4 from end: For "buttock-timbers" read "futtock-timbers."

P. 115, line 9: For "Panay" read "Panaon."

P. 126, line 12 (and in many similar cases): The word "painted" is the literal translation of the Spanish *pintado*, and here refers to the custom of tattooing the body.

P. 129, near end: The "lofty volcanoes" may have been Canlaon and Magasú, in Negros Oriental.

P. 167, line 7 from end: For "novelty" read "innovations."

P. 173, note 84: Evidently "Pito" was in the original "Pito," for "Polito;" the man being actually "[Hy] polito the drummer."

P. 192, paragraph 4: "S. S." stands for "Señores," meaning the native grandees of those countries.

P. 193, middle: For "cloths" read "canvas."

P. 194, line 2 from end: After "fifty" add "thousand."

P. 197, line 1: Bancroft (*Hist. Mexico*, ii, p. 600) says that Arellano tried to secure the reward offered for discovering the return route from the Spice Islands.

P. 220, line 8 in heading: For "PRONE-" read "PROUE-."

P. 231, end of text: This letter was probably written by some one belonging to Arellano's ship, or who obtained his information from that captain's followers.

P. 237, middle: For "officers" read "artisans."

P. 276, line 5: For "by" read "with."

P. 297, last line: The viceroy's name should be Luis de Velasco.

P. 332, paragraph 2: For "leg. 1, 23" read "leg. $^{1}/_{23}$."

VOLUME III

P. 29, lines 1-7: "The intimate relation between the king and his American dominions necessitated a regular organized system of postal communication. As early as 1514, by a royal warrant, Dr. Galindez de Carvajal was made postmaster of the Indies, and by a subsequent order of the Council of the Indies, issued in 1524, all persons were restrained from interfering with him in the dispatch of messages concerning the affairs of the Indies. The lines of this service covered the distance between Seville and the other ports, and Madrid, as well as the distances between Spain and America. The postmaster of the Indies was an officer of the India House. . . . Rigorous laws enjoined all persons from intercepting and opening letters and packets. Of the amount paid for this service the postmaster was allowed one tenth part." (Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, pp. 64, 65.)

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P. 33, note 1: For "Spain" read "Nueva España."

P. 77, middle: *Agias*, probably meaning the clusters of fruit on the variety of pepper which is called *aji* (or *agi*) in America.

P. 113, line 3: For "seventy" read "sixty-eight."

P. 118, line 5 from end: For "twenty-eight" read "eighteenth."

P. 223, note 73: For "pp. 108-112" read "pp. 54-61."

VOLUME IV

Pp. 46 and 47: These are transposed in the "make-up."

P. 68, note 6: See Worcester's interesting account of the Tinguians in his "Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," p. 860; he praises their abilities, industry, eagerness to learn, and excellent traits of character, and their relatively high degree of civilization, as compared with that of their neighbors.

P. 131, note 14, line 3 from end: Regarding Batachina, see VOL. XXVII, p. 105, note 39.

P. 139, line 3 under "SOURCES:" for "original MS. documents" read "MS. copies."

P. 150, line 4 from end of text: Delete "[caliph?]."

P. 166: By an error in the "make-up" the last five lines on the page are misplaced; they belong at the top.

P. 205, line 9 from end: For "Pablo" read "Pedro." The same correction should be made on p. 247, line 13 from end.

P. 284, line 9: For "up" read "above." Note 38: The chief early authority on the islands of Mindanao and Joló, with their people, is Combés's *Hist. de Mindanao y Joló*, which has been used frequently in this series. His descriptions of the latter are thus located in his book: the tribes, cols. 27-44; their boats and weapons, 70-76; their customs, 61-70; their character, laws, and government, 49-61; their sects and superstitions, 44-48. Another excellent authority is Forrest, whose *Voyage* contains much valuable information. The best account of the history and culture of the people is that given by N. M. Saleeby, in his "Studies in Moro Law, History, and Religion," already cited by us. Cf. also late U. S. government publications on the islands, in which there is much matter regarding the Moro tribes.

P. 289, last line: For "an" read "on."

P. 320, line 2 from end: For "forty MSS." read "forty-one MS."

VOLUME V

P. 31, line 2 from end of text: For "and two priests" read "two of them priests." ("Theatins" is here used for "Jesuits," as explained in VOL. XIX, p. 64.)

P. 39: Cf. the statistics of population, throughout Loarca's

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Relación, with those in "Account of Encomiendas," VOL. VIII, pp. 96-141; also in U. S. *Census of Philippines*, 1903, ii, pp. 123-209.

P. 41, lines 22, 23: For "On the other side of the above-mentioned native communities" read "Besides the above-mentioned natives, there is" – and, in fifth line below, omit "is" before "a village." In last line, for "village" read "Spanish settlement."

P. 43, line 1: This should read "There are more than thirty encomenderos." End of line 7: For "treasury," read "revenue."

P. 49, line 6: For "other" read "except two of the."

P. 51, line 4: For "Cavigava" read "Carigara." Line 2 of paragraph on Panaon: For "lies" read "lie respectively." In next paragraph: For "built around" read "located along."

P. 55, line 4: For "well-disposed" read "shrewd traders."

P. 57, line 1: For "seen" read "discovered."

P. 61, paragraph on tree-dwellings: For "in each one a house is built which can contain" read "in one house at the top of a tree live;" and after "fortress" insert "for defense." End of this page, and line 1 of p. 63: For "formerly did much harm to the natives" read "the natives of this island have done them much harm;" and for "making" (line 2) read "the ships make."

P. 63, paragraph on Mindanao: For words after end of bracketed clause, read "but it is not necessary on this account to seize all that is discovered in the island of Mindanao."

P. 65, line 2 from end: This is a line of type set in here by mistake; for it read "belongs to an encomendero in the."

P. 69, lines 11 and 12 from end: For "from the cases which are brought before the law for settlement" read "from other commissions which are entrusted to the magistrate."

P. 71, line 12 from top of page: After dash insert "and."

P. 73, line 13: For "cocoa-beans" read "cacao-beans." In next paragraph: For "mats – the latter from rushes" read "*petates*, which are mats."

P. 75, paragraph on Buracay: The last sentence is incorrect; the second clause should read "no rice is cultivated there, but they have a source of income in some goats."

P. 77, line 11: For "wheat and produce" read "grain and collect." Line 4 from end: omit "larger."

P. 79, line 8 from end: For "righting" read "cleaning;" *adreçar* in the text is evidently a phonetic rendering of *aderezar*.

P. 83, line 4: For "monks" read "friars."

P. 95, line 8 from end: For "dependencies" read "lands belonging to it."

P. 113, line 2 from end: For "returning from" read "in the direction of."

P. 117, line 4: For "no" read "hardly any."

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P. 118, line 8: For "ouo" read "uno."

P. 125, line 8 from end of text: For "Inheritances" read "Maganitos;" this refers to the superstitious ceremony described on p. 131, near middle.

P. 187: The sentence after Loarca's signature should read, "He was one of the first who came to these islands, and is greatly interested in these matters; and therefore I consider this a reliable and accurate account" – apparently an indorsement of the "Relation," by Governor Peñalosa.

P. 189, last paragraph: For "Amanicaldo" read "Amanicalao;" for "Luanbacar," "Tuanbacar;" for "Capaymisilo," "Capa and Misilo."

P. 201, note: For "Sevillano" read "of Sevilla."

P. 222, line 2: In regard to the cruelty displayed by the Spaniards to the Indians, see George E. Ellis's "Las Casas, and the relations of the Spaniards to the Indians," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ii, pp. 299-348. Cf. Karl Häbler's remarks in Helmolt's *History of the World* (N. Y., 1902), i, pp. 390-396.

P. 239, lines 8 and 9: By a printer's mistake, a line of "dead" type was inserted instead of the one which belongs here; for "volves" to "will" inclusive read "if it is managed in this manner. Let your Majesty."

P. 249, line 11 from end: For "will" read "should."

P. 257, section 2: For "lay" read "secular" (it refers to the municipal council of Manila).

P. 258, note 37. On this subject, consult the magnificent work of Henry C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain* (N. Y., 1906-07), the only full and scholarly account thus far given, and based on extensive researches in the Spanish archives. He discusses the origin and establishment of that institution, its relations with the State, its jurisdiction, organization, resources, practice, punishments, spheres of action, etc.

P. 263, lines 9, 10, 13: For "from" read "in regard to." Note 38: Concepción states (*Hist. de Philipinas*, ix, p. 204) that the public sentence of anathema against those who were contumacious to the edicts of the Inquisition, whether for heresies or sins – a sentence which that tribunal commanded to be read every three years – had been pronounced only twice up to his time (1790). This was done by the Augustinian commissary Paternina, in 1659; and by the Dominican commissary Juan de Arechederra, in 1718.

P. 265, near middle: For "prudence" read "conduct."

P. 280, section 14: For "report to" read "take residencia of."

P. 286, line 6 – also p. 287, last line of section 35: For "except" read "even." P. 287, section 37, line 1: For "inability" read "disability."

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P. 289, near middle: For "remit" read "refer." Line 4: For "buildings" read "works."

P. 291, line 5: For "machinery" read "industries."

P. 293, section 56, lines 4 and 5: Instead of "bishops," etc., read "bishop for the clergy whom we present to benefices."

P. 299, section 74: For "caciquedoms for" read "authority as chiefs on account of;" and for "milreis," "maravedis."

P. 305, section 103: For "when they exact" read "that they may exact."

P. 307, section 113: For "receive" read "levy." For "superintendents" read "tax-collectors;" *calpiste* means "the steward or collector whom the encomenderos stationed in the Indian villages," and *calpisque* "the collector of the taxes or tributes which belong to the lord of the village" (Dominguez, supplement). Section 114, lines 1 and 2: For "granted in encomiendas by" read "allotted in." Section 121, line 1: This should read, "The registers must be examined and marked with a signet."

VOLUME VI

P. 78, note 18: Omit words in parentheses. The Portuguese form of the name, Macao, ends in a nasalized sound, unsuited to the Spanish tongue; the Spaniards represent this by calling it Macan; and Macau is apparently only a transcriber's error.

P. 241, line 2: For "written" read "received." Line 3: For "for" read "from."

VOLUME VII

P. 39, note 5: This name should be Bay, instead of Bombon.

P. 134, middle: For "river Madre" read "the waters of the river."

P. 167, line 8 from end: Delete "[Siam]."

P. 174, lines 7-9: The sentence between dashes is evidently an interpolation by the editor of Santa Inés's *Cronica* (to which this account by Plasencia is appended), and referring to the preliminary ten chapters of that work, which furnish a description of the islands and their people.

P. 194, line 1: "In almost every large village [he is speaking of Samar and Leyte] there are one or more families of Asuáns, who are universally feared and avoided, and treated as outcasts, and who can marry only among their own number; they have the reputation of being cannibals. Are they perhaps descended from men-eaters? The belief is very general and deeply rooted. When questioned about this, old and intelligent Indians answered that certainly they did not believe that the Asuáns now ate human flesh, but their forefathers had without doubt done this." "Cannibals, properly speaking, in the Philippines were not mentioned

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by the early writers. Pigafetta had heard that on a river at Cape Benuian (the northern point of Mindanao) a people lived who cut out only the heart of a captured foe, and ate it with lemon-juice. Dr. Semper (*Philippinen*, p. 62) found the same practice, except the use of lemon-juice, on the eastern coast of Mindanao." (Jagor, *Reisen*, p. 236.)

P. 197, line 4: For " Felipe II " read " Council of Indias."

P. 207, note 32: After " king " add " or the fiscal."

P. 222, note 34: At beginning of line 5 insert " Ceylon, erroneously applied by some early writers to."

P. 224, line 13: More definitely located by the editor of *Reseña biográfica* (i, p. 114), who says, " It was in the place that is now called Arroceros [*i.e.*, " the rice-market "]. (Note.) It was a great quadrangle of porticos which enclosed a spacious lagoon; the latter communicated with the Pasig river, and thus facilitated the entrance of the Chinese champans."

P. 276, last line: Insert, before " the first conclusion," the words, " It is taken for granted that, of the encomiendas of these islands, some have instruction and some are without it."

VOLUME VIII

P. 27, middle: The date of Dasmariñas's letter should be February 28.

P. 84, line 1: For " Cubao " read "Lubao."

P. 121, last line: For " Aguette " read " Aguetet."

Pp. 127, 133: See VOL. XXII, pp. 77, 103, where Fernando de Silva asks that his wife's encomiendas may be confirmed to her; she was the daughter of Doña Lucía de Loarca, and must have been the granddaughter of the conquistador Miguel de Loarca. Cf. VOL. xxiii, p. 80.

P. 263, line 5 from end: This name should be Basil Hall Chamberlain.

VOLUME IX

P. 13, line 10 from end: For " he " read " Dasmariñas."

P. 26, note 3: " Mengoya (or Nagoya), as mentioned in the text, was in Hizen province, Kyushu Island; the Nagoya in Owari was not in existence in Hideyoshi's time." [Letter to the Editors from Prof. J. K. Goodrich, of Imperial College, Tokio.]

P. 68, note 13: The following interesting account of the earlier imprints in Filipinas is cited (in Vindel's *Catálogo*, iii, no. 2631), from a book written by the Dominican Fray Alonso Fernández. *Historia de los insignes milagros que la Magestad divina ha obrado por el Rosario de la Virgen soberana, su Madre, desde el tiempo de Santo Domingo hasta 1612* (Madrid, 1613), fol. 216, 217:

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" Of some writers of the Order of St. Dominic who were living in this year of 1612.

" In the Tagal language of Filipinas: Fray Francisco de San Joseph, of the convent of Madre de Dios at Alcalá, who is living in the province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario of Filipinas, has printed at Batán, in the Tagal language of Filipinas, a ' Book of our Lady of the Rosary ;' also another book, in the same language, which treats of the holy sacraments of the Church; the natives of the islands have been greatly benefited by these books.

" In the Chinese language: Fray Domingo de Nieva, of the convent at Valladolid, who serves in the province of Filipinas, has printed at Batán, in the Chinese language and likewise in the characters used by that people, a ' Memorial of the Christian life.' Fray Tomas Mayor, of the convent at Játiva, who serves in the province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario of Filipinas and Japón, printed at Batán, in the country of Filipinas, in the Chinese language and with Chinese characters, a ' Symbol of the Faith.' " (" None of the bibliographers of Philippine literature have mentioned this curious and interesting passage.")

In *Imprenta en Filipinas*, cols. 5-14, 77, Retana argues (and apparently on good grounds) that the printing of the *Doctrina* in 1593 was xylographic, not typographic.

P. 77, line 3: After " friend " add " and I have had an embassy from him."

P. 153, line 1: In the *Bibliográfia mexicana* of García Icazbalceta the statement was made that Bishop Agurto " founded at Zebú a hospital for sick persons of all nations and creeds, with such liberality that he gave up to it even his own bed, having been obliged to ask that another be lent to him at the hospital itself, on which he might sleep that night." (Vindel, *Catálogo*, no. 1462.)

P. 164, note 26: After " Sanscrit " add " Sri Ayuddhya." At end, add the following: " See plan of Juthia in Bellin's *Atlas maritime*, iii, no. 51. It became the capital of Siam in 1350, and was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767. (The Siamese proper are the Thai – a word which probably means ' freemen ' – who are a superior race.) This statement is made by O. Frankfurter, of the Siamese Foreign Office, in A. C. Carter's *Kingdom of Siam* (N. Y. and London, 1904), pp. 81, 82."

P. 190, middle: In line 17, a better reading would be " front " for " face," apparently meaning the breast of the horse; and in next line omit " [a frontal]."

P. 299, line 5: For " Ryos, a colonel " read " Ryos Coronel." (A similar correction should be made on p. 313, line 5.) See sketch of Rios Coronel, and description of his *Memorial*, by Retana in Vindel's *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, pp. 349-354; he went to Filipinas in 1588, returned to Spain in 1605, and afterwards was in the islands from 1611 to 1618.

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P. 305, last line of description of map: After "*Indias*" insert "(est. 67, caj. 6, leg. 18)." See description in Torres Lanzas's *Relación de los mapas de Filipinas*. Retana calls this the earliest map of Luzón.

P. 327, section 1: The order of the two pressmarks here given should be reversed.

VOLUME X

P. 47, last line: For "soldiers" read "Sangleys."

P. 65, line 8: For "Lanao" read "Liguasan."

P. 131, end: This document was probably written by Luis Perez Dasmariñas.

P. 218, line 13: For "false musters" read "fictitious offices."

P. 275, middle: For "twelfth" read "tenth."

VOLUME XI

P. 138: See Torrubia's account of the abandonment of La Caldera in 1599, and of the unusually large expeditions immediately afterward by the Moros against Panay (*Dissertación*, pp. 10-17).

P. 152, line 8: For "Domingo de Rramos" read "on Palm Sunday."

P. 221, line 2 from end: The Italian version of Vaez's letter makes this number "twenty-nine thousand" only.

P. 270, middle: For "Babao" read "Ybabao."

P. 288, end: Add "Signed by the Council."

VOLUME XII

P. 109, note 20, and p. 120, note 24: For explanation of this use of "Theatin" see VOL. XIX, p. 64.

P. 131, paragraph 2, line 3: For "him" read "you."

P. 165, middle: For "Rajaniora" read "Rajamora."

P. 179, last line of note: For "Herrara" read "Herrera."

P. 182, line 4 from end of note: Before "Tabacos" insert "de."

P. 205, note: For "Paro" read "Jaro."

Pp. 209-216: For "lagoon" read "lake" – the reference being to the lake of Bay.

P. 219, middle: *Tigbao* is the Visayan name of two different kinds of grass, *Anthistiria gigantea* and *Heteropogon contortus* (Merrill, *Dictionary of Plant Names*).

P. 255, line 10 from end: For "stamped" read "printed."

P. 256, line 9: For "lagoon" read "lake."

P. 323, line 8: After "therein" add "(as also in Castro's 'Points,' pp. 70-72)."

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VOLUME XIII

P. 68, line 10: For "cane" read "bamboo."

P. 96, line 6 from end of text: The hard polished outer surface of the bamboo joint is also often used for writing; some interesting specimens of this sort are in the possession of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago.

P. 248, line 8 from end: For "third" read "second."

P. 257, note, line 2 from end: For "Spain" read "Nueva España."

VOLUME XIV

P. 37, middle: Add to list of signatures "The licentiate ANDRES DE ALCARAZ."

P. 143, middle: The ordinary naval ration furnished on the royal ships which plied between Manila and Acapulco was prescribed as follows in Arandía's *Ordenanzas de Marina* (Manila, 1757), p. 61: "*On days when meat is eaten* – Biscuit, 18 onzas; jerked beef, 6 onzas; fried pork, 3 onzas; salt, ½ onza; vinegar, for ten persons, ¼ onza; firewood, 2 libras. *On days when fish is prescribed* – Biscuit, 18 onzas; pottage or soup of vegetables [*miniestras*], 3 onzas; pork fat [*manteca*], 1 onza; salt fish, 6 onzas; salt, vinegar, and firewood, as on the other days. For each ration, four quartillos [about 2 1-6 quarts] are reckoned – one for cooking the ration, and three for drinking."

P. 197, line 3: For "Biebengud" read "Bienbengud."

P. 209, break in middle: To this place transfer the endorsement at end of p. 213.

P. 280, line 4 from end: For "July 29" read "July 25." The same correction should be made on p. 6, line 8 from end; p. 241, line 7.

VOLUME XV

P. 179, lines 6 and 7 from end of text: For "from Camanguian" read "of *camanguian* [*i.e.*, storax]."

VOLUME XVI

P. 30, note 3: Mazamune sent one of his nobles as ambassador, Felipe Francisco Taxicura, in company with Sotelo; see relations printed at Sevilla (1614) and Roma (1615). (Vindel, *Catálogo*, iii, p. 205.)

P. 112, note 129, middle: Worcester says ("Non-Christian Tribes of N. Luzon," in *Phil. Journal of Science*, October, 1906, p. 807): "The Negritos do not tattoo themselves, but do ornament themselves with scar-patterns, produced by making cuts through the skin with slivers of bamboo (Plate xxiii, fig. 1).

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Into these cuts, which are arranged with more or less geometric symmetry, dirt is rubbed to cause them to become infected and to produce large scars."

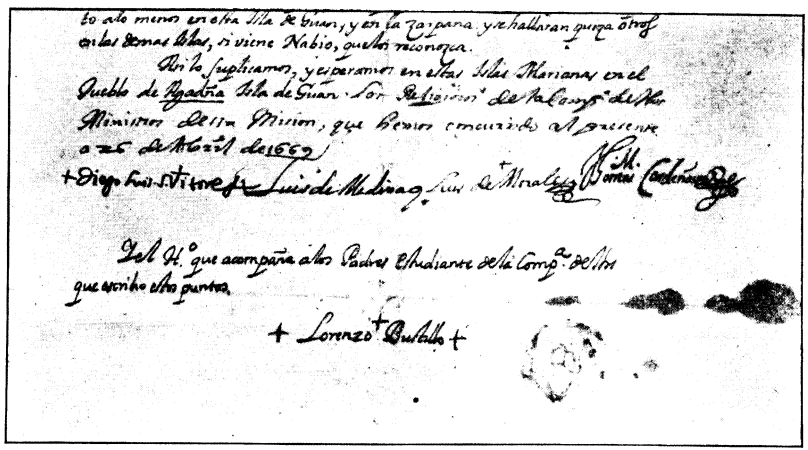
P. 160, note, line 7 from end: For " in regard to " read " by."

P. 178, note 233: This explanation is erroneously applied by Stanley, as the piña is a Philippine fabric, and not Chinese. The reference in the text is to the cloth made from " China-grass " (*Böhmeria nivea*), on which see VOLS. XXII, p. 279, and XLIV, p. 267.

P. 180, note 235: Jagor (*Reisen*, p. 315) thinks that the *chiquey* is the same as the *lei-tschi* or *lechia* (on which see VOL. XXXVIII, p. 21); the latter was called *Euphoria* by Blanco, but is now known as *Nephelium litchi*.

P. 201: The name of the Ladrones Islands was in 1668 changed by the missionary San Vítores to Marianas, in honor of Mariana, queen of Felipe IV. The group contains 17 islands, which – excepting Guam, the largest – belong to Germany, or, as it is called, " the German New Guinea Protectorate," having been transferred to that power by Spain in 1899, together with the Carolinas and Palaos, for 25,000,000 pesetas. The original inhabitants (a Polynesian people) are known as Chamorros; but in later years a large Filipino element (soldiers and others) has mingled with them, and the people show a preponderance of the Filipino type. In 1898 the population of the group, exclusive of Guam (which contained about 9,000 people), was 1,938. Little was done for them by the Spaniards until 1668, when a Jesuit mission went to the Marianas under the direction of Diego Luis San Vítores. The attempts of the privileged class of natives to keep the new faith from the common people resulted in the loss of prestige by the former, conflict between the two classes, and martyrdom for some of the Jesuits – San Vítores meeting death thus on April 2, 1672. Nevertheless the missions made progress, and a few years later the Jesuits counted eight churches, three colleges, and over 50,000 converts (Crétineau-Joly, v, pp. 20-22). The military conquest of the islands by Spain was accomplished during the years 1676-98; and they were occupied from that time by a governor and a small force of troops. In 1828 a new plan for the government of these islands was formed at Madrid, by which the royal estates were suppressed, and the lands divided among the natives, who were also provided with cattle and tools at low rates; the governors were forbidden to trade, industries and commerce were declared open to the natives, and free ports were named. In 1855 Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderon went to the Marianas as governor, with orders to make certain needed reforms, and to make a full report on the condition of the islands, which he did. During the Spanish-American war of 1898, Guam was occupied by the United States before the governor had even

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Signatures of Diego Luis San Vitores, S.J., and others

[*From MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

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heard of the outbreak of hostilities. For information regarding these islands, their people, and history, consult Montero y Vidal's *Historia de Filipinas* – which contains (i, pp. 350-352) a list of authorities, both MS. and printed – and *Archipiélago filipino*, pp. 438-442; and bibliographies of the Philippines, especially those of Retana, Griffin, and Vindel, already cited, and Griffin's *List of Books on Samoa and Guam* (Washington, 1901). As for the missions there, see Francisco García's *Vida y martyrio de Sanvitores* (Madrid, 1683); Gobien's *Histoire des Isles Marianes* (Paris, 1700), largely a translation from the preceding; Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, which contains several chapters on this subject; Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, vols. vii, viii; and especially Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott* (Augspurg, Gratz, and Wien, 1728-58), vols. i, iv, and v, which contain matter on missions in Filipinas, Marianas, and Palaos, most of which is not to be found in *Lettres édifiantes*.

VOLUME XVII

P. 88, line 8 from end: For "Dionisio" read "Diego;" the same on p. 5, line 10.

P. 126, line 4 from end of note: For "invention" read "finding."

P. 136, note 40: For "grograin" read "grogram."

P. 150, end: The date of this document is September 5, not 9.

P. 222, second paragraph: See Bernard Moses's "Economic condition of Spain in the sixteenth century," in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1893, pp. 125-133.

P. 243, "SOURCES:" The citation from Ventura del Arco should read "pp. 383-405;" the same correction should be made on p. 282, under no. 14.

P. 292, middle: The date of Salcedo's arrest should be October 9; see VOL. XXXVII, p. 24. Cf. Diaz's *Conquistas*, p. 673.

P. 293, line 8 from end: After "Alcántara" insert "of military affairs." Under sketch of Curuzealegui: for "twenty-fourth regidor" read "one of the twenty-four regidors."

P. 299, line 4: After "October 30" insert "1776."

VOLUME XVIII

P. 36, note: In the books of the India House at Sevilla, accounts were carefully kept for the estates of deceased persons (VOL. XVIII, p. 36, note 3), the deceased being credited "with all that is brought over in armadas and flotas, and debited with all that is delivered to his heirs, executors, and creditors." These funds grew very large, and loans were made therefrom; in 1633 the king borrowed over 500,000 ducats, but would not return

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this money. Later, such property was forfeited, if unclaimed for two years. By decree of 1671, the treasurer was allowed one per cent for managing these funds. (Moses, "Casa de Contratación of Sevilla," in *Report* of American Historical Association, 1894, pp. 106, 107.)

P. 186, line 7: This raid occurred in October, 1618; the Moros killed the commanders of the post, Arias Girón and Juan Pimentel. The shipyard was valued at more than a million pesos. (Torrubia, *Disşertación*, pp. 30, 31.)

VOLUME XIX

P. 206, line 3: For "ovens" read "furnaces."

P. 306, middle: This memorial is obtained from Pastells's edition of *Colin*, iii, pp. 219-221.

P. 307, middle: For "done in silk and unwoven silver," read "not woven, done in silk and silver [thread]."

P. 310, line 2: For "500 dead taes" should probably be read "gratuity (or perquisite) of 500 taes;" apparently an expression analogous to *ganancias muertaş*, "a gambler's gains," indicating money obtained without earning it.– JAMES A. LEROY.

VOLUME XX

P. 75, line 6 from end: For "July 21" read "July 31." The same correction is needed for p. 5, line 8.

VOLUME XXI

Pp. 41 and 42: The notes on these pages should be transposed, as they are erroneously inserted – that on *Nova collectio* becoming note 8, and that on the papal brief note 7.

P. 105, line 6: For "October 3" read "October 8."

VOLUME XXII

P. 30: At end of note insert after "See" the words "Lea's *Moriscos of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1901), and."

P. 99, note: See also *Formosa under the Dutch* (London, 1904), by Rev. William Campbell, an English Presbyterian missionary in Formosa. He has used original sources, translating the writings of Valentyn, Candidius, and other Dutch writers, and various letters and other documents contemporary with Dutch rule in that island; and at the end presents a full bibliography of the subject.

Pp. 125-129: Pardo de Tavera states (*Biblioteca filipina*, p. 91, no. 544), citing Medina, that this document is of earlier date than 1618.

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P. 289, middle: The line beginning " inhabitants " and ending " easily " is a duplicate of the same line above, inserted here by a printer's error; in its place insert " insurrection of the year 605 [*sic*], and at present many."

VOLUME XXIV

P. 340, last line: For " 113 " read " 13."

VOLUME XXV

P. 44, line 14: After " date " insert " of August 14."

P. 74, note 11: *Penas de Cámara* may be rendered, in a general way, " fines of the exchequer; " but it should be remembered that *cámara*, as used in this connection, means any royal tribunal, executive or judicial – whether the Council of the Indias (which was often referred to as el Consejo y Cámara de Indias), or the Audiencia or the council of a colony, or the tribunal of accounts of any establishment, or even the municipal council, or council under an alcalde or alcalde-mayor. *Penas de cámara* in the laws of the Indies had, I think, especial reference to the various penalties provided, especially against officials for any non-performance of duty, by the Council of the Indias; and there was a special board of accountants for the fund of these fines, in connection with that Council.

In regard to the phrase *contador de resultas*, I have obtained (through the kindness of Fenton R. McCreery, secretary of the American Embassy at Mexico City) some further information, furnished by Señor José Algara, Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs of Mexico. He thinks that the above phrase is equivalent to *glosador*, [that is, to one who makes comments or explanations, or who " designates any amount in order to call attention to the examination or proof of the account to which the item belongs " (Dominguez)], or to *segundo contador* [" a second accountant "]. Señor Algara states that the references to the accountants for the colonies in the laws of the Indias (book viii, titles i and ii) did not define the character and duties of the various officers, because that had already been done in the *Nueva Recopilación* (title ii, law v, no. 1). He also cites from Nicolás M. Serrano's *Diccionario universal* the following definition of *contador de resultas*: " Any one of those persons in the first grade of the chief accountancy [*Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas*], which corresponds to those officials employed in former times by the comptroller-in-chief [*contador mayor*] who were occupied in computing or transcribing the amounts in the account-books of the obligations which are incurred by those persons who administer the royal revenues by lease or by other title." – JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter).

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P. 99, line 3 from end of text: For "thirty-five" read "thirty-eight." The same correction should be made on p. 5, line 5 from end.

P. 146, line 10 from end: "Agreement" is not a quite satisfactory rendering for the Spanish *composición*, which has a technical meaning in regard to the possession of lands; see note on this subject in VOL. LII, pp. 296, 297. "Composition" will probably be the best rendering, provided that this technical meaning is understood in such use of the word. James A. LeRoy says of this, in a private letter: "'Arrangement' also conveys somewhat the same idea – that is, the rearrangement of their rights, or the reconciliation of rights prescribed in this decree. *Composición de derechos* means, quite closely rendered, 'reconciliation of rights,' according to my recollection of its use in certain contracts which I have seen here in Mexico. It gives the idea of arbitration, to some degree, of rights more or less in conflict which are reconciled by agreement."

P. 147, line 7: Consolidations of encomiendas were made, in order to abolish those which were too small, or make a more equitable distribution of the territory comprised in those which were very large. Pensions were also assessed against large encomiendas, although in the laws of the Indias it was ordained that the maximum amount of such pensions should be 2,000 pesos. Apparently the aim of this decree was, to provide that in extending the tenure of the encomiendas and rearranging them the royal officials should also make allowance for the charges against the encomiendas in the way of pensions, so consolidating them as to accord with the decrees of previous years on this subject. Those decrees sought to prevent an encomendero from being deprived of a fair income by the assessment of too many pensions against it (for wives, relatives, or dependents of previous encomenderos of the same district; or for other services to the State, paid for by assigning portions of remunerative encomiendas); and at the same time aimed to restrict the income to be derived from an encomienda, and to make these incomes nearly uniform in value.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter).

VOLUME XXVI

P. 5, line 2 from end: For "July-August" read "March-July."

P. 269, middle: For "*bienzos*" read "*lienzos*."

VOLUME XXVII

P. 5, line 4: For "Cavite" read "Manila."

P. 122, middle: The *peso ensayado* was, according to Lea

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(*Hist. of Inquisition in Spain*, i, p. 562), a colonial coin, worth 400 maravedís, equivalent to 11¾ reals, or a little more than a ducado.

P. 146: "The fundamental idea of the commercial and industrial policy of Spain, as carried out through the India House, was that of restriction and privilege." (Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, p. 265.) See Roscher's comments thereon in his *Spanish Colonial System* (Bourne's ed.), p. 35.

P. 256, middle: This mention of the *Salve* refers to the *Ave Maria*, not to the *Salve Regina* ("Hail, holy Queen!").– REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

P. 339, middle: The "Moro-Moro play" was a feature of town fiestas, both religious and secular functions, for several centuries, and is still common in the more remote towns, though the modern sophisticated Filipinos have been trying to laugh it out of court, and have done so in the more cultured regions. I saw it at Kotabato in 1901, where the handful of Christians in the population played it before the Commission and a host of gathered Moro tribesmen from up the river.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter).

VOLUME XXVIII

P. 47, note 19: In line 5, for "southern" read "northwestern." The stronghold of the Moros, after Joló was destroyed, was at Maibun, a town on the southern shore. Combés describes the island in detail in his *Hist. Mindanao y Joló*, cols. 14-19. See also Escosura's *Memoria sobre Filipinas y Joló*, pp. 213-436.

P. 55, note: Crawfurd is wrong as to the *kris* being a poniard or dagger; or, if so, it is certainly in the Philippines a short, straight-bladed sword, with wavy edges.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter). See illustrations of Moro weapons presented in this series; also those in Worcester's *Philippine Islands*, p. 155, and in *Reports* of Philippine Commission and other government documents. Collections of these weapons may now be seen in most of the large museums in the United States.

P. 96, note: The best description and classification of the pagan and Moro tribes of Mindanao is that of Barrows in the *Census of the Philippines*, i, pp. 461-477; see also his report for the Ethnological Survey, in *Report* of the Philippine Commission for 1903.

P. 130, art. 564, line 1: For the second "province" read "convent."

P. 200, end of paragraph 1: In one of Viana's official opinions in 1765 (*Respuestas*, fol. 103, 104), he scores the board of the Misericordia for demanding any further security than the royal name and promise for loans made by them to the government; if they had been content with that, thus "avoiding irrelevant

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conferences of theologians and jurists," they would have responded with honor and loyalty to the many favors that they have enjoyed from the king, etc.

P. 210, last paragraph: See account of this affair in VOL. 1, note 67.

P. 211, paragraph 2: The laws of the Indias ordained – *e.g.*, lib. vi, tít. i, ley xviii (1550); lib. i, tít. xiii, ley v (1634)– that there should be schools in which Spanish was to be taught, for the sake of having a suitable language in which to teach the Christian faith.

P. 218, end of paragraph 1: Viana (*Respuestas*, fol. 102v) recommends that certain criminals be sent to serve at Zamboanga, some for life and others for specified terms. Forrest mentions the practice of sending convicts from Manila to Zamboanga, as they were sent from England to Botany Bay. The secretary mentioned by Le Gentil was Cosio, who himself was afterward banished to Africa for his illegal acts under Raon.

P. 257, line 6: The word "impost" is incorrect here; the English equivalent is most nearly approached by rendering this phrase [Spanish, *derecho de elecciones de gobernadorcillo*], "the [government] right in elections." J. A. LeRoy says of this, in a private letter: "It apparently refers to the right of the superior government – generally exercised in each province by the alcalde-mayor or provincial governor – of selecting the gobernadorcillo of each pueblo from a list of three [*terna*], this list being proposed to him by the notables [*principales*] at the annual election. It is altogether probable that the man chosen sometimes had to pay that official, and that Mas is here reporting this as another of the abuses which, under the early Spanish régime, the friars used to charge against the alcaldes-mayor, in that sense, being a 'robbery' of the natives."

P. 266, line 2: For "271-275" read "271-273."

P. 321, line 3: The statements of this writer would make it appear that the friars developed the resources of Negros; but that is not the fact. The old régime described by Mas and Jagor failed to develop those resources; and the modern development of Negros (which dragged the friars reluctantly after it) was accomplished through foreign commerce and foreign traders, a part of the general development of the Philippines as a whole. This very document shows how, when it was seen to be beginning, through Spanish and Spanish half-caste planters, to whose aid British importers of machinery of the modern sort soon after came, the friars stepped in to claim an island which since the Spanish discovery they had sadly neglected, and to wrest its growing curacies from native priests. This friar's claims (pp. 319-322) are all the more audacious in view of the proximity to his own time of the development, through foreign agencies, which

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he claims as due to his order. There are other parts of this same Recollect chronicle which show how the modern political bitterness of spirit had crept into the accounts of Philippine history emanating from the religious orders.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter).

P. 349, line 3: The volume-number should be "i," not "ii." The same correction should be made on p. 370, last line.

P. 368, line 6: For "brothers" read "sisters."

VOLUME XXIX

P. 104, line 8 from end: After "taken." add "[Madrid, March 15, 1638.]"

VOLUME XXX

P. 54, note, lines 6-8 from end: It is only fair to the Duke de Almodovar to explain the reasons for his treatment of Raynal's work; they are thus given by José Arias y Miranda, in his *Examen crítico-histórico del influjo que tuvo en el comercio, industria y población de España su dominación en América* ("a work crowned by the Real Academia de la Historia, and published by that body, at Madrid, 1854"), an interesting and well-written study of that subject, with learned and valuable annotations and much reference to standard authorities: "In regard to the famous history of Abbé Raynal, although it abounds in flights of imagination, in philosophical ideas, and in passionate and declamatory judgments, it has merited general acceptance on account of the information it contains and the notable indications of penetration and genius which are revealed in it. But it was not possible for the Duke de Almodovar to make it known to his countrymen without variations and emendations, since it was one of the works included in the *Indexes* of the Holy Office; he therefore contrived to present it as a work imitated rather than produced, without daring to mention even once the name of the author, or to print his own on the title page, substituting for the latter the anagram of 'Malo de Luque.' This recasting was very skilfully done; he suppressed what could not be published, and added information and very judicious reflections upon commerce in general and on that of our [Spanish] possessions. Although this history belongs properly to our literature, since it is not a translation, it has never been reprinted since the first edition, copies of which are now becoming rare."

P. 229, note, line 2 from end: The phrase "grant of feudal rights" is in Spanish *la dominación á Caballería de Tierra.* Much of the old feudalism still remained at that time, preëminently in connection with the military orders; there are many laws regarding these in the *Autos acordados*, and some of them extend

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well into the seventeenth century. Apparently Dasmariñas held the village of Binondo as a sort of encomienda, [it was only the land which he purchased from Velada], and had also the feudal right to the service of the Chinese and mestizos (over whom he, a *caballero*, was lord), as retainers obliged to serve him on the land, but not on sea.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter). Cf. note on *caballería*, VOL. XLVII, p. 199.

VOLUME XXXIII

P. 27, line 1: For "Venetia" read "Vicenza;" p. 273, note 1, line 2, and p. 274, line 11, for "Venice," "Vicenza;" and p. 274, line 21 from end, for "Venetian," "Vicentine."

VOLUME XXXIV

P. 160, note 541, line 1: For "*loony*" read "*loory*."

VOLUME XXXV

P. 226, note 60: This note is a *lapsus calami*, as may be seen by the date of the earthquake mentioned therein.

VOLUME XXXVII

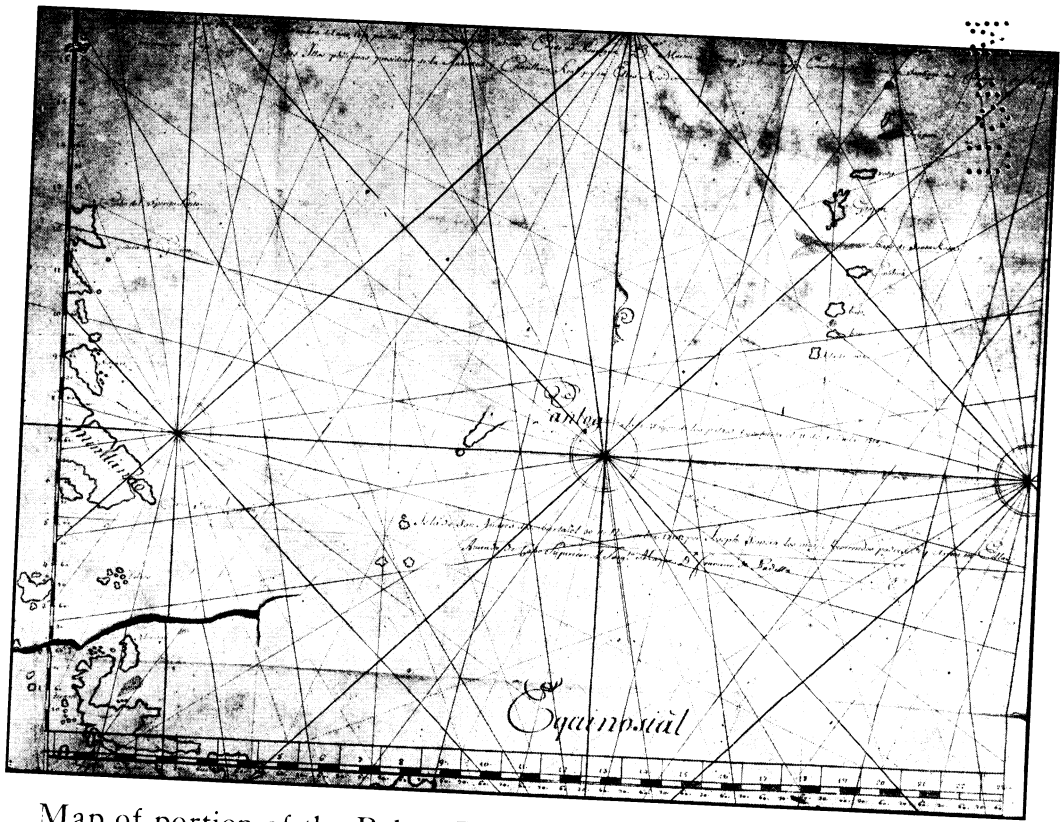
P. 274, note, line 10 from end: For "fifty-five" read "sixty-five."

VOLUME XXXVIII

P. 79, note 41: Veitia Linage's *Norte de contratación* was Englished (but with numerous omissions and additions) by Captain John Stevens, as *Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies* (London, 1702). The navigation, trade, and products of Filipinas are treated in book ii, chapter xiii. The author was for some time commissioner and treasurer of the India House of Trade at Sevilla. (Bernard Moses, in *Report* of American Historical Association, 1894, p. 95.)

P. 207, line 4 from end: The accent on the final syllable of Philippine geographical names ending in "n" is really a Spanish variation, in accordance with the rule for pronunciation of such names in Spanish. But when these names are (as is usually the case) of Filipino origin the rule is – depending, of course, on their roots and composition – that they are accented on the penult; *e.g.*, Vígan, Narvácan, Ilígan, etc. Spanish usage has distorted the pronunciation in some cases, until the original accent has become Hispanicized, as Cagayán, Pangasinán, etc.; but as a general rule these words are accented on the penult.– JAMES A. LEROY (in a private letter).

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Map of portion of the Palaos Islands, discovered 1710 by expedition under Francisco Padilla; drawn by José Somera, chief pilot

[*Photographic facsimile of original MS. map in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

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VOLUME XXXIX

P. 33, note 5: Cf. the account given by Forrest (*Voyage,* pp. 201-206) of the history of the rulers of Magindanao, and the curious genealogical chart of the sultans of Mindanao and Joló which follows; he obtained his information from Pakir Mawlana himself, who took it from the "original records" in his possession. The Curay of Concepción is called Kuddy by Forrest, who says that he was the son of Tidoly and grandson of Kudarat (Corralat).

P. 97, line 4 of note: For "inhabited" read "uninhabited." (When Dampier visited them in 1685 he found most of them peopled.) In regard to the Batanes dialect, mentioned near the end, it contains strong guttural aspirates, which are distinctive of this idiom; the nasal sound alluded to is equally prevalent in Ilocano.– WILLIAM EDMONDS. Basco, Batanes Islands, in a private letter.

VOLUME XLI

P. 55, note: The name Palaos (also written Palau or Pelew) is applied to the western group of the Carolinas Archipelago, which extends in a general east and west direction from the region south of the Marianas. Although nominally the property of Spain, these islands were greatly neglected by the Spaniards, even into the nineteenth century. Their attention was directed for a time to the Palaos by the event described in Clain's letter, and various attempts were made, but unsuccessfully, to establish Christian missions therein, two Jesuits, Duberon and José Cortil, being killed by natives in 1710, and another, Antonio Cantova, meeting the same fate in 1731. In the latter half of the last century, German interests gained ascendency in the islands, which led to their absorption by Germany. Jagor cites (*Reisen*, pp. 215, 216) several historical instances of Palaos islanders being carried by storms to the coasts of Filipinas; and adds, "Later, I had in Manila an opportunity to photograph a group of people from the Paláos and Caroline Islands, who a year previously had been cast by a storm on the coast of Samar." He also says (p. 203): "As Dr. Gräffe (who spent many years in the Micronesas) informs me, Paláos is an indefinite expression, like Kanaka and so many others, and certainly does not designate the inhabitants of the Pelew group exclusively." Regarding these islands, see Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, pp. 31, 402-409, 455-473, and his *Archipiélago filipino*, pp. 469-505; also Miguel's *Estudio de las Islas Carolinas*, and the various bibliographies of the Philippines, especially Griffin's *List*, and Vindel's *Catálogo biblioteca filipina.* See Karl Semper's *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean* (Leipzig, 1873), which Pardo de Tavera praises (*Bib-*

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lioteca filipina, p. 402) as "the most important modern work on the Palaos Islands which I know." In the Ethnological Museum at Dresden is an important collection of material made by Semper.

P. 313, line 9: Instead of Barcena, this name is written by Torrubia (*Dissertación*, p. 63) Barrena.

P. 316, note: Add "apparently a misprint for Cutay."

VOLUME XLII

P. 64, line 6: A new tariff of parochial fees was ordained (November 19, 1771) by Archbishop Santa Justa; but little heed was paid to it by many of the parish priests, who collected much more, for all functions, than it prescribed.

P. 157, lines 4-6 from end: Alluding, it is said, to the noted Jewish physician Hasdai.

VOLUME XLIII

P. 47, line 2 of chapter heading: For "*religious*" read "*Zambals*."

P. 72, line 3: For "Dampier" read "Cowley?" (See also our VOL. XXXIX, p. 115, note.) Note 11: In the *Philippine Journal of Science* (published by the Bureau of Science, Manila), for October, 1906, is an interesting paper on "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," by Dean C. Worcester, secretary of the interior in the government of the islands. He endeavors to furnish a systematic classification of these tribes; repeats the lists made by the Jesuits, Professor Blumentritt, and Dr. Barrows, criticizing each of these, and in some respects differing from their methods; and then enumerates the separate tribes, as classified by himself – giving under each, the synonyms of the tribal name, with other names which may be classed under this; "its habitat, so far as it is at present known;" and description of its people, and of their dress, homes, mode of life, occupations, customs, etc. A similar paper on those tribes in Southern Luzon is announced for the coming year. For these papers Worcester has utilized personal observations made on these peoples not only by himself, but by numerous other government officials both civil and military, during the years 1900-06; and special information regarding them obtained in the census enumeration of 1903. He says (p. 802): "It is not too much to say that hardly a *rancheria* now remains in the Cordillera Central and its foothills, except in the district of Apayos, which has not been visited by Americans, while even in the latter district twenty-nine of the more important rancherias have been visited." The above paper contains excellent illustrations made from 208 photo-

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graphs, taken by Worcester himself or other government officials. Other valuable papers announced for the *Journal* in 1907 are: "The Tagbanua and Mangyan Alphabets," by T. H. Pardo de Tavera; "The Subanos of the Zamboangan Peninsula," by Edwin B. Christie; and "Primitive Philippine Fire-making Apparatus," by Dean C. Worcester.

P. 78, note 13: Worcester recognizes but seven distinct non-Christian tribes in northern Luzon: the Negritos, Ilongots (Ibilaos), Kalingas, Ifugaos, Bontoc Igorots, Lepanto-Benguet Igorots, and Tinguians. He says of some of these tribal designations ("Non-Christian Tribes of N. Luzon," p. 804): "The *Altasanes, Ifumangies* [the same as *Jumangi*], *Ileabanes*, and *Panuipuyes* do not exist. In all probability these latter names were taken from those of *rancherias* which have long since disappeared. While some of the larger *rancherias* in northern Luzon are very old, others are of recent origin and the names and locations of these settlements are constantly changing."

P. 102, line 5: It gives us pleasure to publish the following information furnished by Dr. N. M. Saleeby, the error in the text being based on erroneous information: "I beg to inform you that Dr. N. M. Saleeby is not a 'native Moro,' nor is he Mohammedan. I went to Cotabato, Mindanao, in May, 1901, as a captain and assistant surgeon U.S.V., and served in that capacity until February 1, 1903. From the latter date until June 30, 1906, I served as superintendent of schools, and member of the legislative council for the Moro Province. I am a naturalized American citizen, and was born in a Christian home in Lebanon, Syria." He is now connected with the Bureau of Science at Manila, Division of Ethnology.

P. 103, line 6: For "MS." read "book (Sampaloc, 1731)."

P. 154, end of note: In *Report* of Philippine Commission for 1906, i, pp. 60-62, is an account of the law regulating (for the present) the sale and use of opium in the islands – a high-license system, adopted on March 8, 1906.

P. 173, line 3 from end of text: "Serif, or Sherif, is a term of dignity bestowed on every supposed descendant of Mahomet" (Forrest, *Voyage*, p. 285).

VOLUME XLIV

P. 72, note: The *Report* of the Philippine Commission for 1906 indicates (pp. 340, 341, 381) gratifying success in the operation of the Moro Exchange in the district of Zamboanga, which "has led to similar exchanges being established on a small scale in the districts of Cotabato and Lanao, and large ones are projected in Sulu and the district of Davao." It has "greatly stimulated fisheries among the Moros," and "islands which were

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formerly inhabited by lawless people who were practically pirates are now the scenes of peaceful activity on the part of Moro fishermen." An agreement has been made with the merchants of the district to transact all their buying from the natives through the exchanges, on a cash basis instead of barter, etc. The amount of sales in the Moro exchanges for the year 1905-06 was 298,481 pesos (Philippine currency).

P. 152, line 5: The envoy sent on this occasion, General Benito Carrasco Pan y Agua (who was chief notary of the cabildo of Manila), wrote a relation of his embassy and the voyage to Siam, which was published at Manila in 1719. (Vindel, *Catálogo*, iii, no. 2622.)

P. 222, note: Patiño, who had been prominent in governmental affairs for nearly twenty years, died in 1736; he was a statesman and financier, and advocated peace with all the other powers, especially England.

P. 255, lines 3-5 from end: Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, Toledo was the chief city in Spain in manufacturing silk; it has been estimated that this industry gave employment there to at least 100,000 people. Gaspar Naranjo, "who traveled through España late in the seventeenth century, asserts that, according to his knowledge, in 1480 Toledo consumed 450,000 libras of silk, which could furnish the supply for 15,000 looms. Although this number was greatly lessened when the Escorial was completed, yet from the looms of Toledo proceeded the richest silks for church adornments, ribbons, and hangings. In the year 1651 Toledo still counted 5,000 looms in operation, although not all within the city; a little afterward, there were not more than two thousand; in 1714 they were reduced to seventy, and finally to none at all. When the remnants of this manufacture left Toledo, that of Valencia gained strength, but never to the extent which might have been if legislation had permitted it. The Moors had left that of Granada in the best condition; years after the conquest it maintained 5,000 spinning-wheels, and the kingdom yielded a million libras of good silk; but just at this point began the exactions of the revenue officials, and likewise, in consequence, the decadence of this industry. It was declared subject to the payment of alcabala, which was a tax of fourteen per cent when once the tenth was applied as an ecclesiastical income; eight maravedís besides were charged to it for the impost called *tortil* [*i.e.*, spiral?], and nine maravedís more for a municipal tax. When with the increase from successive impositions the management of this revenue became too complicated, all these duties were combined in one; and then it was seen that every libra of silk paid, as its share of the taxes, the enormous amount of very nearly fifteen and one-half reals. With the increase in taxes, the production steadily dimin-

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ished; by 1643, that of Granada had decreased from a million to one-fourth of that amount, and not long afterward to 80,000, and even less. The silk industry, thus burdened, had to compete with that of Genoa, whence large shipments of silk goods were freely imported into Spanish ports, and sold at lower prices than the goods made in España; and a mortal blow was dealt to it when the exportation of Spanish silks was prohibited, and sumptuary laws reserved the use of silk fabrics to a few classes. It is astonishing that this industry has been able to survive up to the present epoch, although it is in a languishing condition. (Arias y Miranda, *Examen crítico-histórico*, pp. 154, 155.)

P. 267, note 78, line 7 from end: For "p. 278" read "p. 279."

P. 286, note 87: The document here mentioned was afterward shifted to another place; the reference should be to VOL. XLVII, p. 119, paragraph 1 of note.

VOLUME XLV

P. 53, middle: Regarding the powers, privileges, and duties of the viceroys appointed by the crown of Spain, see Moses's *Spanish Rule in America*, pp. 86-92.

P. 272, line 3: A number of MS. songs are in the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, some of them scratched on the smooth outside of a joint of bamboo.

VOLUME XLVII

P. 213, line 10: For "rice-mills" read "rice-market."

P. 236, note, line 1: Somodevilla, Marqués de Ensenada, was minister under Felipe V and Fernando VI, and rendered great service to his country; he re-created the Spanish navy, and strengthened Spanish commerce. He favored the French, and tried to unite the Bourbon kings in a close alliance; but in 1754 he was banished from the court. He promoted agriculture, irrigation, road-building, manufactures, and mining, and made financial reforms; and he brought to an end the controversies with Rome over the royal patronage.

VOLUME XLVIII

P. 63, last sentence: "Throughout the Cordillera Central [of Luzon] the *rancheria* or settlement is the social and political unit. In the head-hunting countries *rancherias* of people of the same tribe were constantly at war with each other, and the blood feuds between them were handed down from generation to generation. As a result, intercourse between these *rancherias* was

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more or less completely cut off for scores of years. It was unavoidable that differences of dialect should develop under such circumstances." (Dean C. Worcester, "Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," in *Philippine Journal of Science*, October, 1906, p. 798.)

Pp. 173, 174, note 101: Some of these islanders must have remained permanently on the mainland, notwithstanding the decree for their return to the islands; for on February 23, 1765, Viana recommended that the deputy alcalde-mayor of Cagayan be allowed to remove the Babuyan families from Buguey to Duao, as the latter was secure from the Moros. Viana advised, however, that the Babuyans be not allowed to form barrios or visitas far away from the main reduction, and that every arrangement be made to secure their safety from the Moros and from fire. (Viana, *Respuestas*, fol. 91.)

P. 183, last two lines of text: This company of 1755 was formed "under the patronage of our Lady of the Rosary, and the protection of his Majesty;" see the title-page of its *Ordenanzas*, facsimile of which is given in Vindel's *Catálogo biblioteca filipina*, no. 645.

P. 189, note 111: The reforms and regulations made by Arandía for the Acapulco galleon may be found, in full detail, in his *Ordenanzas de marina* (Manila, 1757) with additions thereto, also printed in that year; these contain 164 and 57 pages respectively, and two large and handsomely engraved charts (by the Filipino engraver Laureano Atlas), showing the port of Sisiran in Camarines, and that of Cajayagan and Calomotan ("commonly called Palapa") between the islands of Laguan and Batac.

VOLUME XLIX

Pp. 7, 12, 25: The author of the "Plan of an expedition for the conquest of the southern Philippines" was, according to the records of the British Museum, Alexander Dalrymple, not Draper. The date is given as 1762 in the MS. catalogue of the Museum.

P. 309, note 185, line 4: For "of" read "on."

VOLUME L

Pp. 118-136: The date of Viana's letter should be May 10.

P. 159, line 8 of note 89: Before "[*Americana*]" for "white suit" read "white coat." J. A. LeRoy says of this, in a private letter: "*Americana* here means a short or sack coat, of white drill or duck, buttoned up to the throat, and worn with only a gauze undershirt beneath it, and the trousers (often white also). It is the common garb of Europeans and upper-class natives in

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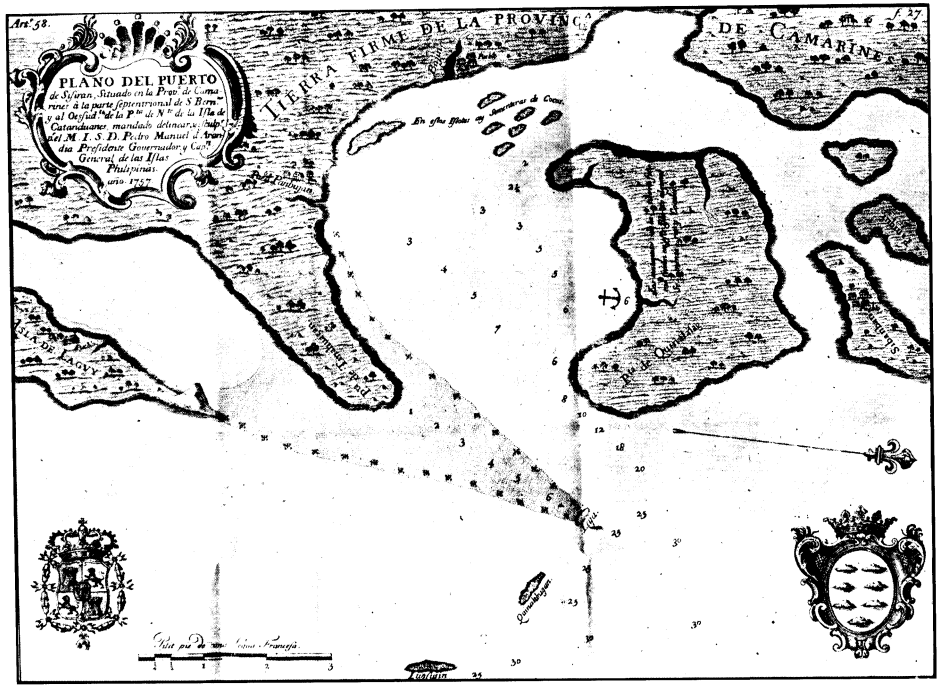


Chart of the Port of Sisiran, in the province of Camarines; photographic facsimile from Arandia's *Ordenanzas de marina* (Manila, 1757)

[*From copy in Library of Congress*]

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the tropics. This usage among Spaniards seems to have died out in Spanish America, but the word is common in the Philippines, where it is probably a survival from earlier Spanish-American usage, transplanted to those islands. Many Spanish writers mention with contempt the way in which class distinctions in dress vanished among Spaniards in the Philippines (save, of course, among the military, ecclesiastical, and high official classes). So, too, the donning of the *Americana* meant the assumption of social prestige or aspirations by the Filipinos. Only a few years ago, nearly all the latter wore the gauze shirt outside of the trousers; but in recent years the younger men of education, even in the villages, and gradually the older men, have been adopting the *Americana* for ordinary wear – a change which has been greatly accelerated during American occupation."

VOLUME LII

P. 309, line 12: Through lack of space, we are prevented from giving (as we had intended) an adequate treatment of the subject of commerce as a special topic, from the middle of the eighteenth century to that of the nineteenth. Much, however, has been presented in various documents of VOLS. L-LII, which throws light on commercial conditions; and to these may be added the following references to documents and authorities which will enable the student to find desired material regarding this subject. "Regulation of December 18, 1769, for the distribution of permits [*boletas*] and for the lading of the Acapulco galleon at Manila," in Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), v, pp. 403-519. Le Gentil, *Voyage*, ii, pp. 192-230. Royal decree for the establishment of the Compañia de Filipinas, March 10, 1785; also decree of July 12, 1803, making new regulations and conferring new privileges. Dissertation on the benefits arising from the aforesaid company, by Valentin de Foronda, in his *Miscelánea* (Madrid, 1787). Malo de Luque [*i.e.*, Duque de Almodovar], *Historia política de los establecimientos de las naciones europeos*; tomo v (Madrid, 1790) is devoted to the Spanish settlements in Asia, the decree erecting the Compañia de Filipinas, and its operations during 1785-89. Remonstrance addressed by the Company (Madrid, 1821) to the Spanish Cortes against its decree of October 19, 1820, abolishing the Company's privilege of the exclusive traffic with Asia conferred on it by the decree of 1803; this remonstrance is supported by the opinions of "celebrated jurisconsults of Spain, France, Holland, and England." Rafael Díaz Arenas, *Memoria sobre el comercio y navegación de las Islas Filipinas* (Cádiz, 1838). Andrés García Camba, *Reglamento de la Junta de Comercio de Manila* (Manila, 1838). Comyn,

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Estado, pp. 43-71. Mas, *Informe*, ii, fourth and fifth sections. Buzeta and Bravo, *Diccionario*, i, pp. 219-238. Mallat, *Les Philippines*, ii, pp. 290-356. Manuel Azcarraga y Palmero, *Libertad de comercio en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1871). Jagor, *Reisen*, pp. 312-316. Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1881), especially pp. 238-249. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, ii and iii; also his *Archipiélago filipino*, pp. 220-259. Retana, articles in *Política de España en Filipinas*, 1891, pp. 146-148, 233-234, 245-247; for 1892, pp. 27, 28; for 1893, pp. 8, 9, 77, 78. *Code of Commerce in force in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Philippines* (Washington, 1899). *Census of Philippine Islands*, iv, pp. 557-585. "Modern development of the Philippines through commerce," a series of articles by James A. LeRoy in *Dun's International Review*, November, 1905-February, 1906. Cf. authorities cited in Bourne's "Introduction" to this series (VOL. I), and in LeRoy's contribution to the present volume; also writings named in the bibliographies of Griffin, Pardo de Tavera, Vindel, and Retana.

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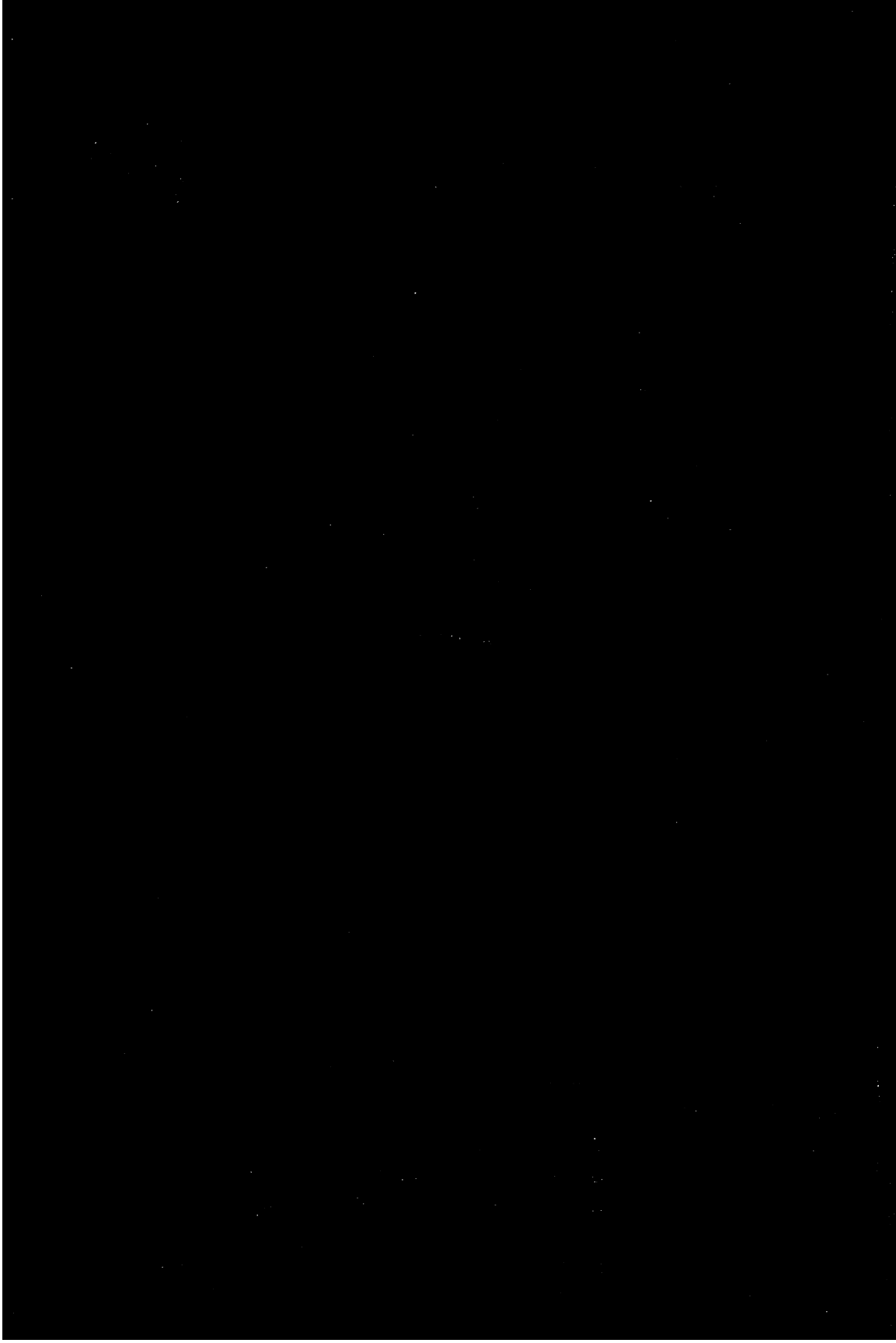
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