

3-31-1961

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### Recommended Citation

Schumacher, John N. (1961) "Recent Historical Writing on the Philippines Abroad," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*: Vol. 9: No. 1, Article 7.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13185/2244-1638.2881>

Available at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/phstudies/vol9/iss1/7>

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# philippine studies

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John N. Schumacher

*Philippine Studies* vol. 9, no. 1 (1961): 97–127

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# Survey

## *Recent Historical Writing on the Philippines Abroad*

It has become a common lament of historians that the volume of periodical literature being published in various historical reviews threatens to make it impossible for the historian to keep up with developments. Even though this might seem to be less true for a relatively limited field like Philippine history, the problem here is complicated by the large amount of work on the Philippines being done abroad which Philippine scholars cannot afford to ignore. Especially for the Spanish period, the archival treasures are largely to be found abroad, and though micro-filming has made a number of Spanish, Mexican, and American documents available in the Philippines, for the rest, investigation into these sources by foreign scholars can be of great help in making known the record of the past four centuries in the Philippines.

Though recent years have seen an increase of bibliographical aids, whether in the form of classified lists of titles, or of brief abstracts of articles, none of those current adequately solve the problem as far as the Philippines is concerned. That published for Southeast Asia every three months in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* does not ordinarily include Spanish writings on the Philippines. The same is generally true of the annual bibliographical number of the *JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES*. The abstracts published in the *INDICE HISTÓRICO ESPAÑOL* are helpful, but up to now the coverage of articles

in English is somewhat deficient. The international quarterly, *HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS*, though it remedies this defect, and by its cooperation with the *INDICE HISTÓRICO ESPAÑOL* gives some coverage to Spanish articles, is limited to the period beginning with 1775, and thus omits most writing on the Spanish colonial history of the Philippines.

The present article is an attempt to survey for the readers of *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* historical writing abroad on the Philippines since the time of the foundation of this review in 1953. The period covered will be that extending from the beginnings of Spanish domination in the sixteenth century to the outbreak of World War II. The pre-Hispanic period, though extremely important, had perhaps better be left to the evaluation of the anthropologists and archaeologists, while the War years and thereafter are really in a different class as far as the historian is concerned, perhaps still too close to us for a proper historical evaluation. Within the period given, I have tried to treat all articles of some significance for the scholarly study of Philippine history, up to mid-1960.<sup>1</sup>

#### ARCHIVES AND SOURCES

Among the great collections of Filipiniana abroad is that of the Newberry Library in Chicago, the bulk of which is formed by the Edward E. Ayer Collection. John Leddy Phelan gives a brief history of the formation of this collection, begun in 1898, and describes some of its major treasures.<sup>2</sup> Since this article was written, of course, the entire contents of the collection have been made available in detail to historians by the *CALENDAR OF PHILIPPINE DOCUMENTS* of Paul Lietz and the *CATALOGUE OF PRINTED MATERIALS* of Doris Varner Welsh.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In spite of efforts to cover all pertinent periodicals to this date, the time-lag in receiving those from Europe may have caused some few articles from late 1959 and early 1960 to escape notice.

<sup>2</sup> John Leddy Phelan, "The Philippine Collection in the Newberry Library," *THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY BULLETIN* III (March 1955), 229-236.

<sup>3</sup> Paul S. Lietz (ed.), *CALENDAR OF PHILIPPINE DOCUMENTS IN THE AYER COLLECTION OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY*. (Chicago: The Newberry

Another less-known but very valuable Philippine collection in the United States is to be found among the microfilmed material of the Pius XII Library of St. Louis University, the library built to house the microfilm reproductions of the Vatican Library. John Francis Bannon, S.J.,<sup>4</sup> describes some of the Philippine material there, comprised of documents of the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, including numbers of reports made by Philippine Jesuit superiors to Rome, and the Seville collection of Spanish colonial documents, chiefly from the Archivo de Indias, gathered by Father Pablo Pastells, S.J., the friend of Rizal. This latter collection includes some twenty-five folio volumes on the Philippines.<sup>5</sup> This documentation in St. Louis has since been increased by the Pastells Barcelona Collection, consisting of some 150,000 pages of material on all phases of Philippine history, chiefly from the Archivo de Indias, but also from that of Simancas, from the Biblioteca Nacional and Academia de Historia of Madrid, and other Spanish and Mexican Jesuit archives. In addition to this collection there are a number of documents from the San Cugat Archives of the former Aragon Province of the Society of Jesus, on which the Spanish Jesuits in the Philippines depended.<sup>6</sup>

Library, 1956); Doris Varner Welsh (ed.), *A CATALOGUE OF PRINTED MATERIALS RELATING TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1519-1900, IN THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY*. (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1959). The first book was reviewed in *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* V (1957), 221-23; the second in *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* VII (1959), 542-47.

<sup>4</sup> John Francis Bannon, S.J., "The Saint Louis University Collection of Jesuitica Americana," *HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXXVII (1957), 82-88.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough description of this collection and its origin, as well as that of the other Pastells collection noted below, see the very useful article of F. Mateos, S.J., "La Colección Pastells de documentos sobre América y Filipinas," *REVISTA DE INDIAS* núm. 27 (Enero-Marzo 1947), 7-52. This article also contains a sketch of the life and valuable historical work of Pastells on Spanish America and the Philippines.

<sup>6</sup> Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., in his review of John Leddy Phelan's *THE HISPANIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES* in *MANUSCRIPTA* IV (July 1960), 120, notes that Phelan made extensive use of the collections in St. Louis described in Bannon's article. He then gives notice of the later acquisitions mentioned here of the Barcelona Collection and of the materials from the San Cugat Archives.

John T Farrell<sup>7</sup> speaks of a further depository of Philippine documents, the so-called "Philippine Insurgent Records", at that time kept in the U.S. National Archives, but since returned to the Philippines by the American Government.<sup>8</sup> Farrell tells the story of the account of the Philippine Revolutionary years written by Captain John Meigs Taylor at the beginning of this century. Taylor had all the Insurgent Records at his disposal and wrote his narrative to accompany the selection of the principal documents made for publication. Due to political and other reasons, the work never got beyond galley proofs, of which only two or three copies exist, though it contains much of value on these years.<sup>9</sup>

Turning to Mexico, Luis Romero Solano<sup>10</sup> gives an index he had prepared for the first four volumes of documents to be found in the "Ramo de Filipinas" of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. The documents listed deal mostly with the galleon trade, but included among them are accounts of conditions in the Philippines valuable for the social, economic, and religious history of the country. Romero Solano also notes that there are to be found numerous documents on the Philippines in other *ramos* of the Archive also, such as "Inquisición," "Civil," etc., hoping that the index here

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<sup>7</sup> John T. Farrell, "An Abandoned Approach to Philippine History: John M. Taylor and the Philippine Insurrection Records," *CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXXIX (January 1954) 385-407.

<sup>8</sup> See Gregorio F. Zaide, "Filling the Blank Pages of Philippine History: 1. Documents on the Revolution," *THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE* XIII (July 20, 1958), 4-7, for a further idea of the contents of the Records and their value, and for the story of their return to the Philippine Government by the United States.

<sup>9</sup> Another article with archival information is that of Edgar B. Wickberg, "Spanish Records in the Philippine National Archives," *HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXXV (1955), 77-89. Since the article deals with archives in Manila, and since there have undoubtedly been changes in the situation of the archives since then, it is merely noted here.

<sup>10</sup> Luis Romero Solano, "La Nueva España y las Filipinas," *HISTORIA MEXICANA* III (1953-54), 420-431.

offered will be an incentive to scholars to make use of this rich source.<sup>11</sup>

From Spain come some brief notices of archival material. The Biblioteca Central Militar of Madrid has published summaries and extracts of a large number of documents copied from the Archivo de Indias in the nineteenth century on the military history of Spain's overseas dominions, among them a few on the Philippines.<sup>12</sup> In a later number the catalogue of this library's maps and plans used by the Spanish Army in the Philippines in the nineteenth century is reproduced, with almost 600 items.<sup>13</sup> Maria del Carmen Pescador<sup>14</sup> describes two early manuscripts printed in Manila, the one in 1637, noted by Medina and Retana, the other, hitherto unrecorded, from 1638 or 1639. Both deal with the Spanish-Dutch wars around the Philippines in this period.

#### THE SPANISH PERIOD

An excellent discussion of the need for studying the background of Spanish peninsular history for a proper understanding of Spanish colonial policy and institutions is to be found in an article of Charles J. Bishko, which, though it treats primarily of Latin America, is likewise relevant for Philippine

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<sup>11</sup> Professor Zaide has given an over-all picture of the known Philippine material in these Mexican archives, and an idea of the vast amount of unclassified material still untouched there, in two complementary articles: "Filling the Blank Pages of Philippine History: 2. From Mexican Sources," *THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE* XIII (July 27, 1958), 12-15; and "Filipiniana Treasures in Mexico's Archives," *BULETIN NG KAPISANANG PANGKASAYSAYAN NG PILIPINAS*, no. 6 (December 1958), 45-57. Undoubtedly the list of over twelve thousand Philippine documents compiled by Professor Zaide includes those of the list of Romero Solano.

<sup>12</sup> "Documentos procedentes del Archivo de Indias," *BOLETIN DE LA BIBLIOTECA CENTRAL MILITAR* 2ª época, núm. 9 (1953), 1-224; núm. 10 (1953), 225-560; núm. 11 (1953), 561-836; núm. 12 (1954), 837-878.

<sup>13</sup> "Catálogo de la Biblioteca Central Militar (Mapas y planos)," *BOLETIN DE LA BIBLIOTECA CENTRAL MILITAR*, núm. 12 (1954) 233-67.

<sup>14</sup> Maria del Carmen Pescador, "Dos incunables filipinos del Archivo Histórico Nacional," *REVISTA DE ARCHIVOS, BIBLIOTECAS Y MUSEOS* LX (1954), 215-18.

colonial history.<sup>15</sup> To Bishko, the periods which need most to be studied are those from 711-1300, "the era of the formative evolution of the institutional and intellectual bases of Iberian civilization," and 1300-1600, "the era of national consolidation and explosive overseas expansion," after which "metropolitan influences operate in an already firmly established American society." This study of the Spanish background must be on a broad scale, investigating social, religious, economic, cultural, juridical aspects; it should look into how and why some institutions were adopted for the Indies rather than others; there must be a realization that this was a period of highly complex, unstable societies, moving towards the more static uniformity and centralization of the seventeenth century, to which a large number of the generalizations usually offered on Spanish institutions really apply. The excellent survey of bibliographical and historical advances along these lines since 1940 provides a means of accomplishing something of this large program.

Inasmuch as Spanish-Philippine society was not established so early, nor to the same extent, as in Latin America, the application of Bishko's ideas to the Philippine colonial situation would be somewhat different perhaps, but it points up a need for study along these lines which is certainly necessary for the serious student of Philippine colonial institutions. It is also a reminder of the need to keep abreast of the advances being made by Latin-Americanists in knowledge of the colonial period, for both in Spain and the United States there has been a great upsurge in interest in Spanish colonial history. Though the notable differences in conditions in the Philippines must be always kept in mind, a great deal of what is elucidated concerning Latin American institutions in the colonial period will be very pertinent to the parallel problems in the Philippines.

An effort to examine the differences between the Philippines and Hispano-America may be found in a broad survey of Spain

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<sup>15</sup> Charles Julian Bishko, "The Iberian Background of Latin-American History; Recent Progress and Continuing Problems," *HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXXVI (1956), 50-80.

in the Philippines by María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo.<sup>16</sup> The author points out the difference in motive for the conquest and government of the Philippines, which was originally sought as a gateway to China, and in later centuries was considered necessary as a defense outpost for Spanish colonies in America. But always primary in the Philippines was the religious motive—the desire to establish the Catholic faith, and later, to preserve it, prevented the Spanish Crown from abandoning the Philippines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when far from being a source of revenue, it was a financial burden. The notion of a gateway to China was preserved in the Manila galleon, around which the whole economy of the colony was built. The eagerness of the small Spanish population for the easy wealth brought by the galleon trade led to a disastrous neglect of the economic development of the country, while the monopolistic character of the trade, and the strict limitation (even though never fully enforced) of the permiso, even prevented the full development of trade in Manila. By the time Manila was opened to free trade in the nineteenth century, Spain in her decadent condition was no longer able to compete with the foreigners into whose hands most of the Philippine trade fell. Even efforts at economic and agricultural reform in the eighteenth century were frustrated by the stubborn resistance of the Manila commercial interests who opposed any change in a system which brought great profits to a small group.

This concentration of Spaniards in Manila meant that what development of the country there was under Spanish rule depended on the missionaries. Since the latter learned the Philippine languages, Spanish never became the language of the Filipinos to any extent until the nineteenth century. In this latter part of the article the author is not on as sure ground as in dealing with the economic aspect. Depending too much on what was prescribed in the laws, and neglecting the fact that much of what was done in education was only done in the late years of the Spanish regime, she draws un-

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<sup>16</sup> María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, "La empresa española en Filipinas," *ESTUDIOS AMERICANOS* XII (1956), 27-39.

justified conclusions about the extent to which Spanish was taught, as well as about the juridical equality of Spaniards and Filipinos.

A well-documented study by John Leddy Phelan is a good example of the fruit to be drawn from comparative studies of the Philippines and Spanish America.<sup>17</sup> The author studies two major economic crises in Mexico and in the Philippines and their results for the future socio-economic history of the two countries. In both cases the Spanish Crown was trying to reconcile its two basic and irrevocable commitments—guarantees to the property rights and personal liberty of the new Christians on the one hand, and the making colonization profitable for Spanish colonists on the other. In Mexico the economic crisis brought on by the great decline in population due to the epidemics of 1576-79 and 1596 led to the abandonment of the project of creating a class of free wage earners, and the adoption of the *repartimiento*. The latter, which long continued in spite of the denunciations of its abuses by the religious orders, eventually led to the *hacienda* system and its debt peonage. In the Philippines the crisis was brought on by the Dutch Wars of 1609-1648, which led to the adoption of forced labor (*polo*) and tribute in kind (*vandala*). The abuses by which both of these were accompanied, in spite of the denunciations of the religious orders, caused acute suffering to the people, and a resultant decline in population for some years. Again here the lasting result was the frustration of early efforts of the Crown to abolish pre-Hispanic patterns of debt-peonage and share-cropping. Despite later efforts the share-cropping relationship continued to exist in fact to a greater or less extent, and in it the author sees the roots of the tenant-landlord relationship current up to the present.

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<sup>17</sup> John Leddy Phelan, "Free versus Compulsory Labor. Mexico and the Philippines, 1540-1648," *COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SOCIETY AND HISTORY* I (1958-59), 189-201. The substance of this article is largely included in the author's later book, *THE HISPANIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES. SPANISH AIMS AND FILIPINO RESPONSES, 1565-1700* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959). The book was reviewed in *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* VII (1959), 528-29.

The article points out a number of fertile fields for investigation in the further socio-economic development of the *hacienda* system in the Philippines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much of which would also be pertinent to a proper evaluation of the Friar-lands problem of the late nineteenth century. It is likewise an illuminating example of the obstacles which faced implementation of the generally idealistic official Spanish colonial policy, and how this was rendered ineffective by abuses in the colony, and the inability of the Crown to obtain compliance with its decrees.

An incidental point noted by Phelan is the misunderstanding by the early Spaniards of the pre-Conquest socio-economic relationships of the *guiguilir* or *ayuey*, which they always, but inaccurately, considered to be pure slavery. This is a further example of the great need for scientific study of the pre-Hispanic Philippine society. Despite the continuing work of archaeologists and anthropologists, a great deal of obscurity remains, so that every increase in our information is welcome. An article of J. P. Bantug<sup>18</sup> discusses the evidence for pre-Hispanic gold coinage, in the form of "piloncitos"—small cone-shaped gold pieces with an inscription, excavated in various parts of the Philippines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dr. Bantug conjectures that they may date from the Madjapahit empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A helpful aid to the understanding of events in Manila at various periods is provided by an article which traces the changes in the Walled City from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, consequent on the various destructions which came upon the city.<sup>19</sup> The work is done in dependence on

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<sup>18</sup> J. P. Bantug, "El numerario aureo de las antiguas manioas," REVISTA DE ARCHIVOS, BIBLIOTECAS Y MUSEOS LXI (1955) 317-333. This article forms a chapter in the author's book ESCARCEOS NUMISMATICO-HISTORICOS SOBRE LA MONEDA HISPANO-FILIPINA (Madrid: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre, 1955), which was reviewed in PHILIPPINE STUDIES VI (1958), 362-65.

<sup>19</sup> María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, "Manila española: notas sobre su evolución urbana," ESTUDIOS AMERICANOS IX (1955), 447-63. This

the numerous maps and plans of Manila in the Archivo de Indias. A broader picture of Manila in 1875 is given by Vicente Castañeda,<sup>20</sup> apparently drawing from a contemporary account of a Spanish *empleado* on his arrival, though no source is given in the article. Not only does he give an idea of the layout of the city with its cafes, hotels, theaters, etc., but also interesting information on daily life: the cost of furniture, of laundry, the wages of servants, prices of various kinds of food, etc. It is interesting to note that an unmarried *empleado*, sharing a house with three others, could live in frugal comfort, attended by a servant, for 53 pesos a month.

Further light on nineteenth century Philippine life is given from the medical point of view in Dr. Bantug's account of the introduction of smallpox vaccination into the Philippines in the early part of the century.<sup>21</sup> Though methods were primitive and effectiveness often limited, it is remarkable that so much could have been accomplished at this period in medical history. What proposes to be a sketch of the nineteenth-century administrative organization in Spain's overseas possessions<sup>22</sup> treats the Philippines so briefly and in such general lines that it cannot be of much help. An interesting sidelight on the efforts of Spanish authorities to emphasize the Philippines' connection with all things Spanish is provided by a note which publishes two documents from the *Archivo histórico del Protectorado*

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article forms part of the author's later book *ARQUITECTURA ESPAÑOLA EN FILIPINAS (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1959), reviewed in *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* VIII (1960), 656-59.

<sup>20</sup> Vicente Castañeda, "Manila en 1875," *Bibliofilia* (Valencia) IX (1957), 39-48.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Bantug, "Carlos IV y la introducción de la vacuna en Filipinas," *ANUARIO DE ESTUDIOS AMERICANOS* XII (1955), 75-129. The substance of this article is to be found in the author's *A SHORT HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN THE PHILIPPINES DURING THE SPANISH REGIME, 1565-1898* (Manila, 1953), published in Spanish under the title *BOSQUEJO HISTÓRICO DE LA MEDICINA HISPANO-FILIPINA* (Madrid, 1952).

<sup>22</sup> Juan Beneyto, "Las provincias de Ultramar. Notas para el estudio de la organización administrativa de las Antillas y las Filipinas en el siglo XIX," *REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS DE LA VIDA LOCAL* XIV (1955), 369-81.

(of Spanish Morocco).<sup>23</sup> One is a proclamation of the Manila government asking for contributions for the war in Morocco in 1860; the other announces a thanksgiving service to be held in all Manila churches for the Spanish victory in this war. One wonders how much real interest these events could have aroused in the Filipino people of Manila at this time.<sup>24</sup>

#### ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

One cannot write the history of any people without giving large attention to its religious history, for if nothing else, a people's religion must at the very least be an important social factor in its development. Schafer Williams in an article on the First Provincial Council of Manila of 1771,<sup>25</sup> and its importance for Philippine history at this period, urges the necessity for students of Spanish-American history in general to realize the need of a thorough knowledge of the history of the Church in those countries for an adequate understanding of the colonial period. As he well observes, the study of the religious history of a country has nothing to do with one's commitment to belief in a particular religion. As an objective historian, he cannot neglect to investigate and attempt sincerely to understand an important element in the life of a people,

<sup>23</sup> Guillermo Guastavino Gallent, "Repercusiones de la 'Guerra de Africa' en Filipinas" TAMUDA I (1953), 82-85.

<sup>24</sup> There have been one article and a number of brief notes on the postal service during the Spanish regime which I was unable to consult, so that I merely note the titles here: José P. Bantug, "El servicio postal de Filipinas durante el período español, 1565-1898," BOLETIN DE LA ACADEMIA IBEROAMERICANA Y FILIPINA DE HISTORIA POSTAL IX (1954) 37-50; *idem*, "Etapas memorables en el desarrollo del servicio de correos en Filipinas," *ibid.*, 51; Antonio Estrada, "El correo hispano-filipino," *ibid.*, 36; "Actas de la Sociedad de Postas Generales de Luzón," *ibid.*, 54-56.

<sup>25</sup> Schafer Williams, "The First Provincial Council of Manila, 1771," *Seminar* (Annual Extraordinary Number of THE JURIST) XIII (1955-56), 33-47. The manuscript of the Council's proceedings has since been published by Father Pedro Bantigue, THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF MANILA OF 1771 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1957). In his introduction Father Bantigue acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Williams. The book is reviewed in PHILIPPINE STUDIES VII (1959), 120-24.

whether he personally approve its influence or not. Certainly this is true of the Philippines, perhaps to a even greater extent than of other parts of the Spanish colonial empire, both because of the importance of the religious motive in Spain's retention of the Philippines in the earlier centuries, and because of the predominant part taken by the religious orders in the whole of Philippine life, even up to the end of the Spanish regime.

A graphic demonstration of the intimate collaboration between the Spanish Crown and the Catholic missionaries is to be found in a series of articles by J. Castro Seoane, O. de M. in which he lists the various concessions of funds made to the expeditions of missionaries to the various parts of America and the Philippines during the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The author has studied diligently the books of the Casa de Contratación from which were issued the various grants for transportation of persons and their baggage from their *conventos* to Sevilla, and from there to the point of embarkation in Sanlucar de Barrameda or Cádiz. Further grants were made for supplies necessary for the voyage, as well as for clothing, etc. for the missionaries. In the latest series of articles<sup>27</sup> we find the names of each of the missionaries, together with the amount received for expenses, etc. The great aid thus given to the missionary enterprise is evident, but the intervention of the Crown in the smallest details likewise makes clear the bureaucratic delays which so often attended royal assistance. Though these re-

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<sup>26</sup> José Castro Seoane, O. de M., "Matalotaje, Pasaje y Cámaras a los Religiosos misioneros en el siglo XVI," *MISIONALIA HISPANICA IX* (1952), 53-74; *idem*, "Vestuario, cama y entretenimiento pagados por la Casa de Contratación de Sevilla a los misioneros que pasaron en el siglo XVI a Indias y Filipinas," *ibid.*, 365-86; *idem*, "La traída de libros y vestuarios en el siglo XVI de los misioneros desde sus conventos a Sevilla, pagada por el tesorero de la Casa de Contratación," *ibid.* X (1953), 495-584.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*, "Aviamiento y catálogo de las misiones que en el siglo XVI pasaron de España a Indias y Filipinas según los libros de la Contratación," *ibid.* XIII (1956), 83-140; XIV (1957), 105-173, 385-480; XVI (1959), 129-211. The article is not yet complete, having reached only to 1575 in its latest installment.

cords deal with the Spanish colonial empire as a whole, a number of the missions mentioned were destined for the Philippines by way of New Spain.

Manuel Merino, O.S.A. emphasizes this dual character of the Spanish missionary enterprise, epitomized in the title of his article.<sup>28</sup> Reproducing a *Memorial de servicios* of P. Miguel Rubio, O.S.A., procurator of the Philippine Augustinians, which was presented to the King in 1714, he offers this as an example of the collaboration of the Crown in the work of the missionary, and of the character of the Spanish missionary as an ambassador of "entrambas Majestades"—God and the King. Unpleasant as the idea of a missionary being the representative of his native country and its interests must seem to us today, it is only fair to recognize that we cannot judge men of past ages by our own more developed ideas of the religious character of the missionary and of the proper independence of Church and State.

A striking example of the hindrances which royal aid brought to the missionaries together with its benefits is the strict control exercised by the Crown over those who could be sent. Not only was this true of numbers, as might be reasonable, given the fact that the Crown was paying the bill, but there were severe restrictions on missionaries who were not Spaniards going overseas. F. Mateos, S.J.<sup>29</sup> relates the difficulties placed by the Kings of Spain and Portugal in the seventeenth century to the sending of foreign Jesuits to their dominions, in spite of the urgent need of more men, and the inability of the Spanish Jesuits to supply them. Only in the

<sup>28</sup> Manuel Merino, O.S.A., "En servicio de entrambas Majestades," *ibid.* XI (1954), 193-207.

<sup>29</sup> F. Mateos, S.J., "Sobre misioneros extranjeros de Ultramar," *ibid.*, XV (1958), 245-51. This article is based on notes of the late Father Miguel Selga, S.J., former director of the Manila Observatory, which were put in order and revised by Father Mateos after Father Selga's death. Another brief article of Father Selga's published by Father Mateos is "Los Ejercicios de San Ignacio en la antigua provincia jesuítica de Filipinas," *MISIONALIA HISPANICA* XIV (1957), 175-85, a sketch of the giving of the Spiritual Exercises in the Philippines up to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768.

eighteenth century were they able to obtain from Felipe V permission to bring in other Jesuits from most of the countries of Europe. The article lists a number of German and Italian Jesuits who worked in the Philippines.

A more favorable side of the close relationship between the Crown and the missionaries is brought out in another article of John Leddy Phelan<sup>30</sup> which discusses some of the questions raised by the religious in the sixteenth century concerning the moral and juridical rights of the Spanish Crown in the Philippines. Most important was the denial by the religious of the right of the Crown, and consequently of the *encomenderos*, to exact tribute from unbaptized Filipinos who were not receiving religious instruction. Since the latter received no benefit from Spanish rule, the religious argued, there was no just ground for demanding tribute from them. Various aspects of this dispute raged on in Manila and Madrid almost to the end of the century, and at least to some extent abuses of the *encomenderos* were checked. Though the tribute controversy was finally settled by a compromise, it is evident that both Church and Crown were sincerely concerned with justice to the Filipinos, and did their utmost to obtain it.

J. M. Echevarría gives an account of the foundation of various missions of the Recoletos in the Philippines—Zambales, Palawan, northeastern Mindanao, Calamianes, Romblon, Negros. The article is marred by a rather uncritical transcription of at least partially exaggerated statements of early missionaries on the lack of pre-Hispanic civilization of any kind.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> John Leddy Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," *THE AMERICAS* XIII (January 1957), 221-39. Part of the same ground had earlier been covered by Horacio de la Costa, S.J. in his article, "Church and State in the Philippines during the Administration of Bishop Salazar," *HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXX (1950), 314-36, to which Phelan refers.

<sup>31</sup> J. M. Echevarría, "Orígenes de las misiones de agustinos recoletos en Extremo Oriente," *MISIONALIA HISPANICA* X (1953), 123-74, 209-69. One does not know whether to be saddened or indignant at seeing Retana's propaganda pamphlet *Frailes y clérigos* used as an authority for pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization.

A panoramic survey of the various foundations of the Poor Clares in the Spanish colonial world is given by F. de Lejarza, O.F.M.<sup>32</sup> Among them is the convent of Santa Clara of Manila, the vicissitudes of whose early years are recounted, largely in dependence on an earlier extensive study by Lorenzo Perez, O.F.M., the well-known student of Franciscan mission history in the Far East.<sup>33</sup>

A biographical sketch of Father Pérez together with a bibliography of his extensive historical writings is given us by Fr. Antolín Abad, O.F.M.<sup>34</sup> Father Pérez was himself in the Philippines from 1890 to 1904, acting as aide to Bishop Martín García y Alcocer of Cebu. On returning to Spain the rest of his life was spent in scholarly research into the history of the Franciscans in the Far East, especially in the Philippines. The bibliography, comprising 173 published articles and books, contains over 70 titles concerned wholly or in large part with the Philippines.

Domingo Abella has made a careful study<sup>35</sup> of an earlier and more famous Franciscan, San Pedro Bautista, who after

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Another article on Recoleta work in the Philippines, which I was unable to consult, is G. Armas, "La isla de Mindoro evangelizada por los Agustinos recoletos," *ESPAÑA MISIONERA* XIII (1956), 10-29, 147-67.

<sup>32</sup> F. de Lejarza, O.F.M., "Expansión de las Clarisas en América y Extremo Oriente," *ARCHIVO IBERO-AMERICANO* XIV (1954), 129-90, 265-310, 393-455, XVI (1956), 5-85. The section on Manila is XVI (1956), 42-55.

<sup>33</sup> Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., "Fundación del convento de Santa Clara de Manila, y documentos a él pertenecientes," *ARCHIVO IBERO-AMERICANO* XVIII (1922), 225-43.

<sup>34</sup> Antolín Abad, O.F.M., "P. Lorenzo Pérez Fraile, O.F.M. (1867-1937), Noticias bibliográficas," *ibid.*, XVIII (1958), 363-93. Father Abad is continuing the work of Father Pérez in making known the contents of the archives of the Franciscan Province of San Gregorio Magno of the Philippines in Pastrana, Guadalajara, though much of his recent work has dealt more directly with the Franciscan missions in China, largely maintained from the Philippines.

<sup>35</sup> Domingo Abella, "San Pedro Bautista, obispo de Nueva Cáceres?" *ibid.*, XVI (1956), 355-75. This is part of Doctor Abella's careful work on establishing the episcopal succession of the Philippine Church, whose results have appeared in his *Bikol Annals* (Manila, 1954);

some years in the Philippines went as a missionary to Japan, where he died a martyr. Abella's careful study, based on documents from the Archivo de Indias and the Vatican Archives, shows that there is no foundation for considering San Pedro Bautista to have been one of the early bishops of Nueva Cáceres. Despite the assertions of many earlier chronicles and histories, the author clearly establishes that he was not only never promoted by Rome, but was never even proposed as a candidate for that bishopric by the Consejo de Indias. With careful documentation he then establishes clearly the series of early bishops.

Another case of mistaken identification is clarified in an article from Mexico,<sup>36</sup> showing that Diego Vásquez de Mercado was Spanish, not Mexican in origin, and giving a few details of his little-known life. Vásquez de Mercado had been Dean of the Manila Cathedral before becoming bishop of Yucatán, and returned from Mexico on his promotion to Archbishop of Manila, where he died in 1616.

Two other articles of J.L. Phelan deal with the activity of the religious orders in the Philippines. The first<sup>37</sup> surveys the methods of instruction used by the different orders in preparing converts for Baptism and the varying degrees of knowledge of the Catholic faith demanded for Baptism by each. The second article<sup>38</sup> is a survey of the linguistic work done by the religious orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, publishing grammars, dictionaries, and religious books in Philippine languages. The author traces the early efforts of the

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"Episcopal Succession in the Philippines," PHILIPPINE STUDIES VII (1959), 435-47; "The Succession of the Bishops of Cebu," *ibid.*, VIII (1960), 535-43.

<sup>36</sup> Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé, "El Dr. don Diego Vásquez de Mercado, primer Obispo de Yucatán del Clero Secular, 1604-1608," MEMORIAS DE LA ACADEMIA MEXICANA DE LA HISTORIA XIII (1954), 263-70.

<sup>37</sup> John Leddy Phelan, "Pre-baptismal Instruction and the Administration of Baptism in the Philippines during the 16th Century," THE AMERICAS XII (1955), 3-23.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem*, "Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries, 1565-1700," MID-AMERICA XXXVIII (1955), 153-70.

religious to establish schools and teach Spanish, but concludes that it was not their fault that Spanish was never widely learned. Rather they were too few for the task, nor was there any social incentive for Filipinos to learn Spanish in these times, as there later was with English under the American regime. The author therefore believes that the accusations of eighteenth-century royal officials and bishops on this point were largely due to anti-friar bias, and that the religious were more realistic than the civil authorities in this. Though the religious had anticipated the Crown with their program of Hispanization in the early years, on realizing its impracticality, they adjusted themselves to the linguistic situation without sacrificing their primary objective of Christianizing the people of the Philippines.<sup>39</sup> Though the author presents good evidence for his conclusions, it is for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This does not, however, solve the problem for later periods, for in the nineteenth century at least there was certainly among some religious a strong sentiment which opposed the spread of Spanish, hoping thus to prevent the introduction of ideas from abroad which might lead to aspirations for greater autonomy or independence.

A broader survey of missionary activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but limited to the Jesuits in the Visayas, is given by Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J.<sup>40</sup> The article treats their linguistic policies, the method of organization of missionaries, and current methods of instruction. Though the Jesuits adopted much from other Orders, their originality appears in their organization of the missionaries into central residences, and in some of their methods of instruction, drawn from those then being used in the *colegios* of the Jesuits in Europe.

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<sup>39</sup> Another article on the work of the Religious in Philippine languages, which I was unable to consult, is that of Jose Ma. Gonzales, O.P., "Apuntes acerca de la filologia misional dominicana de Oriente," *ESPAÑA MISIONERA* XII (1955), 143-79.

<sup>40</sup> Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J., "Early Jesuit Missionary Methods in the Philippines," *THE AMERICAS* XV (1959), 361-79.

One unforeseen result of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish dominions was the scholarly works produced by the exiled Jesuits in Italy. Miguel Batllori, S.J., gives some notes on the work of some of the exiled Philippine Jesuits on Philippine languages and customs, much of it done in collaboration with Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro in his encyclopedic work *Idea dell' universo*.<sup>41</sup>

#### ECONOMIC HISTORY

Pedro Ortiz Armengol, in a survey of Spanish economic policy in the Philippines,<sup>42</sup> proposes the thesis that Spain did not profit from the Philippines, for not only did she make an annual contribution to make up the deficit of the Philippine administration in the form of the *situado*,<sup>43</sup> but even winked at the widespread violation of the legal limits of the *permiso* of

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<sup>41</sup> Miguel Batllori, S.J., "La etnología filipina entre los jesuitas expulsos, 1773-1800," *ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS JESU XXII* (1953), 345-51. Hervás y Panduro, also one of the Spanish Jesuit exiles, is known as one of the pioneers of modern philology, particularly for his work on the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, done with the help of former Philippine Jesuits.

A further article on Jesuit scientific work in the Philippines, which I was unable to consult, is that of Rafael Roldán y Guerrero, "Jorge José Camel, farmacéutico y jesuita austriaco al servicio de España," *BOLETIN DE LA SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA DE HISTORIA DE LA FARMACIA VI* (1955), 167-70. The work of Brother Camel (or Kamel, properly speaking) is treated more extensively by Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Georg Joseph Kamel, Philippine Botanist, Physician, Pharmacist," *PHILIPPINE STUDIES IV* (1956), 319-19.

Another article from the same review, unavailable to me, is that of Manuel González Serna, "Don Juan de Cuellar y la historia natural de Filipinas," *BOLETIN DE LA SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA DE HISTORIA DE LA FARMACIA VII* (1956), 1-322, 33-48; *VIII* (1957), 49-64, 65-70.

<sup>42</sup> Pedro Ortiz Armengol, "La economía en Filipinas durante el régimen español," *CUADERNOS HISPANO-AMERICANOS*, núm. 42 (Junio 1953), 17 unnumbered pages.

<sup>43</sup> Actually the *situado* came from the Mexican treasury, and was, as Schurz points out in his *MANILA GALLEON*, in large part derived from the duties paid in New Spain on the merchandise carried in the galleon. Moreover, a large part of this subvention was actually spent for many years, not for the Philippines, but for Spanish expeditions against the Moluccas.

the Manila Galleon, to the detriment of the merchants of Sevilla and Cádiz, and the Spanish silk industry. He further emphasizes the contributions made by the Royal Philippine Company to the economic development of the Philippines, so that by the time Manila had ceased to live from the trans-Pacific commerce of the China trade, "thanks to the money which had entered the country, it was an important exporter of agricultural products."

One may readily agree with Ortiz Armengol that it is historically incorrect to judge Spanish economic policy of the seventeenth century by twentieth-century standards, since the mercantilist policy of strict control of the colony's trade by the mother country was common to all colonial powers. It would seem safe to say that no colonial power has ever administered a colony purely for the benefit of the colonial people; though there may be a difference in the degree to which the colony's interests are consulted at all, the economic interests of the mother country are always very prominent, if not decisive, whether the colonial power be Spain, or the United States, or any other. But though it is true that Spain's failure to abolish or more severely limit the galleon trade was to a certain extent harmful to peninsular interests, it does not follow that the official policy was of advantage to the Philippines.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Benito Legarda, "Two and a Half Centuries of the Galleon Trade," *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* III (1955), 371 for a balancing of the advantages and disadvantages to Philippine development resulting from the galleon trade. The latter were certainly many and great. Legarda points out that the royal policy eventually carried out was essentially a compromise between the conflicting interests, which fully satisfied neither. A good account of the conflict is Nicholas J. Cushner, "Manila-Andalusia Trade Rivalry in the Early Bourbon Period," *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* VIII (July 1960), 544-56. Cushner points out the excellent opportunity offered here to develop the cloth industry in the Philippines, as was suggested to the King in the eighteenth century, but without result.

The position that Spain's policy with regard to the galleon trade prevented any effective exploitation of the agricultural resources of the Philippines until the end of the eighteenth century is taken in an article I was unable to consult which is of interest as presenting a point of view from a source behind the Iron Curtain: Walter Markov

The large profits gained in Manila from the galleon trade went only to the small Spanish population, and not even all of this was actually spent in the country. Rather, many of those involved in the trade returned to Mexico or to Spain once they had amassed a fortune, and took their wealth with them.

As to the contributions of the Royal Philippine Company to the development of Philippine agriculture and other resources, a recent careful study by James F. Cloghessy,<sup>45</sup> based on the Ayer Collection of Newberry Library, casts serious doubt on what he calls the "Philippine-centric" interpretation of the Company, and over-estimation of its contribution to Philippine economic development. Studying the various authors who have written on the Company over the past century and a half, he shows by comparison of texts that practically all discussion by later writers stems from their use of the works of Eduardo Malo de Luque in 1790 and Tomás de Comyn in 1820. Both authors were misinterpreted and the consequently ever-growing paraphrasing and plagiarizing extends through Sinibaldo de Mas, Mallat, Azcárraga, Montero y Vidal, and, it would seem, decisively influences the opinions of J.F. del Pan and William Lytle Schurz. Actually the development of the Philippines played only a part in the operations of the Company, which was primarily intended for "the union of America and Oriental commerce," and it abandoned the country long before the Company itself ceased operations in 1834. The author does not pretend to give a full account of what this Company did accomplish in the Philippines, but has done a valuable service in clearing away by his careful study too easily accepted suppositions, and suggests a number of fields for its further study, both in its Philippine and its international aspect.

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and Manfred Kossok, "Zur Stellung der Philippinen in der spanischen Chinapolitik," [On the Place of the Philippines in the Spanish China policy] WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER KARL-MARX-UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG. GESELLSCHAFTS-UND SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHE REIHE VIII (1958-59), 7-21.

<sup>45</sup> James F. Cloghessy, "The Philippines and the Royal Philippine Company," *MID-AMERICA* XLII (1960), 80-104.

A brief, eminently readable account of the China trade between Manila and Mexico, splendidly illustrated with several contemporary paintings, comes from the pen of Charles R. Boxer, the well-known student of early colonial expansion in the Far East.<sup>46</sup> It does not bring any new material beyond the classic study of Schurz, but is a fine example of the type of article published by the British review, HISTORY TODAY—a non-technical article, done by an expert in the field, but readable by the non-historian.

A more specialized study concerning the galleon trade is another of María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo on the attempts to use a new route in place of the long and dangerous one through the Embocadero.<sup>47</sup> The route to the north, around Cape Engaño, though seriously proposed in 1730 and frequently commanded by the Crown, was delayed by innumerable juntas, etc., till finally in 1779 Governor Basco y Vargas forced it, against the opposition of the Manila merchants, who saw in it the loss of the profits gained by goods smuggled abroad in excess of the *permiso* at ports along the Embocadero route. The change of route prevailed only till 1791. The route to the south, around Mindanao, was successfully undertaken in 1773, and another attempt was made in 1780-81, during the war with England. These latter two voyages were important for the data gathered for knowledge of the Pacific. This careful study, made largely from documents of the Archivo de Indias and of the Museo Naval of Madrid, provides an illuminative example of how royal government of distant colonies not only caused interminable delays, but also how royal orders could be evaded or at least delayed for such long periods that

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<sup>46</sup> Charles R. Boxer, "Manila Galleon: 1565-1815," HISTORY TODAY VIII (1958), 538-47. Another article sketching the history of the Manila galleon is Manuel Carrera Stampa's "La Nao de China," HISTORIA MEXICANA IX (1959), 97-118. The article is undocumented, and though a generally good brief sketch, contains a number of dubious statements together with a few clear errors, such as extending the galleon trade to 1821.

<sup>47</sup> María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, "Dos nuevos derroteros del Galeón de Manila (1730 y 1773)," ANUARIO DE ESTUDIOS AMERICANOS XIII (1956), 1-83.

many of the persons involved were already dead when the final execution came.

One of the forces in the economic reforms in the eighteenth century was the foundation of the Royal Economic Societies. An article by Francisco de las Barras de Aragón<sup>48</sup> reproduces some documents concerned with these societies in Mexico, Bogotá, and Manila, together with some observations on the possibilities of investigation opened up. Some idea is given of the early vicissitudes of the Society in Manila, founded by Governor Basco y Vargas with ambitious and enlightened plans for improving agriculture and commerce. Again, as in the case of the new routes for the galleon, and the direct trade with Spain of the Royal Philippine Company, it met the opposition of certain merchants and capitalists of Manila who feared that the progress of the country would prejudice their own speculations in the galleon trade.

It seems clear from the few articles reported here that the economic history of the Philippines still offers extensive fields for study. This is especially true of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when earnest efforts at economic reform were made by the Crown and by such enlightened men as Basco y Vargas. An indication of the untapped resources for this study is the fact noted by J. L. Phelan in the Bibliographical Essay of his *THE HISPANIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES*<sup>49</sup> that few of the Philippine bundles for the eighteenth century in the Archivo de Indias have even been opened by investigators. In the eight volumes of the Blair and Robertson series devoted to the eighteenth century, only a few items are from Seville.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Marguerite J. Fisher presents a competent synthesis of Rizal's ideas on racial equality and the dignity of all men, especially as found in his novels and his essay *Sobre la indo-*

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<sup>48</sup> Francisco de las Barras de Aragón, "Las Sociedades Económicas en Indias," *ibid.*, XII (1955), 417-47.

<sup>49</sup> P. 205.

*lencia de los Filipinos.*<sup>50</sup> Students of Rizal will not find any new facts brought to light here, but an effort is made to connect Rizal with current anthropological and philosophical thought in Europe, while maintaining his place as a "precursor of ideas molding modern Asian thought and action." Rizal's realization of the equality of all men, the inviolability of human dignity, are attributed to his contact with the Western liberal philosophy of the Enlightenment in Europe. No doubt these influences played their part in sharpening his ideas and in determining the fashion in which they were propounded, but as a reading of Rizal's early writings clearly shows,<sup>51</sup> these concepts were already firmly established in his mind and heart from his days as a student at the Ateneo before ever going to Europe. As the editor of this Review pointed out some time ago,<sup>52</sup> the influence of the Catholic and Scholastic tradition was strong in the Propagandists, and while they undoubtedly were much influenced by the philosophy of the Enlightenment also, even here it seems that their Scholastic background may have influenced just what doctrines of the Enlightenment they adopted, while rejecting others. Rizal himself speaks of this influence in a letter to Blumentritt, assuring him that he has no fear of discord among the Filipino propagandists; almost all had been educated by the Jesuits, who, though they had surely not taught them love of their native country, had taught them "all that is beautiful and all that is best."<sup>53</sup> Surely there is room for a great deal of research yet into the intellectual influences of our Philippine national heroes before definitive conclusions can be drawn, and this is particularly true in the case of Rizal.

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<sup>50</sup> Marguerite J. Fisher, "José Rizal: Asian Apostle of Racial Equalitarianism," *JOURNAL OF MODERN HISTORY* XXVIII (1956), 259-65.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, his "Sa aking mga kabata", "A la juventud filipina", and sections of "Junto al Pasig".

<sup>52</sup> *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* VI (1958), 467-68.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of April 13, 1887, in *Epistolario Rizalino*, ed. Teodoro M. Kalaw (5 vols. Manila, 1930-38), V, no. 19, p. 111.

William H. Gray<sup>54</sup> studies the Philippines' first brief experiment in constitutional government, under the Spanish Constitution of Cádiz of 1812, making extensive use of contemporary documents. The application of the Constitution to the Philippines took place in 1813 and again in 1821, each period bringing a number of mild, short-lived reforms, abrogated immediately upon notice of the return of absolute government to Spain. Unlike the Spanish colonies in America, where the first of these constitutional periods provided the opportunity for the wars of independence, no independence movement developed at this time in the Philippines. Such revolts as that in Ilocos Norte and the Novales rebellion were rather due to local discontent than any revolutionary philosophy. Nor was the small upper class at this time interested in leading the mass of the people in an independence movement. Only with the latter part of the century was such a movement to evolve.

Two articles have dealt with the capture of Manila by the American fleet under Dewey, and the troubles with the German fleet, which was present in Manila Bay during all this period. A brief account<sup>55</sup> by a man who had been aboard Dewey's fleet relates what he considers to have been the effort of the German Admiral von Diederichs to block Dewey's capture of Manila. But this idea that the Germans wished to provoke hostilities with the American fleet in aid of the Spanish forces has long ago been disproved,<sup>56</sup> and the misunderstood incidents which gave rise to this idea explained. A review of the real situation at the time and its explanation is given in a brief article by Joachim Remak,<sup>57</sup> who notes that the legend

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<sup>54</sup> William H. Gray, "The First Constitution of the Philippines," *PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXVI (1957), 341-51.

<sup>55</sup> J. M. Ellicott, "The Cold War between von Diederichs and Dewey in Manila Bay," *UNITED STATES NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS* LXXXI (1955), 136-39.

<sup>56</sup> See Lester B. Shippee, "Germany and the Spanish-American War," *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXX (1925), 754-77; and Thomas A. Bailey, "Dewey and the Germans at Manila Bay," *ibid.*, XLV (1939), 59-81.

<sup>57</sup> Joachim Remak, "Trouble at Manila Bay: the Dewey-Diederichs Incident," *AMERICAN-GERMAN REVIEW* XXIII (1957), 17-19.

of German hostility which arose from these then unexplained incidents, did much to worsen German-American relations in the years leading up to World War I.

Though the Germans did not have any intention of fighting with the American fleet for the possession of Manila, or for the defense of the Spanish forces, they were there with the hope of gaining possession of the city, and perhaps of the whole Philippines if the Americans should defeat the Spaniards, and yet not take over the country. The Germans were not alone in thinking that the United States would not take over the Philippines from Spain. After the War was over, Leopold II of Belgium considered that the opportunity was ripe for the Belgian Société Générale Africaine to obtain control over the Philippines, a hope which he only abandoned when the policy of retention of McKinley seemed to have received the approval of the American people in his overwhelming victory in the elections of 1900.<sup>58</sup>

One of the most extraordinary events of the Revolution was the siege of Baler, where a small garrison of Spanish soldiers, unwilling to believe that Spanish sovereignty over the Philippines was at an end, held out for almost a year in the Baler church, till June 1899. On their surrender, Aguinaldo, in recognition of their heroic resistance, accorded them military honors, and granted the survivors their freedom. An account of the siege was published by Saturnino Martín Cerezo, one of the survivors, shortly after the event.<sup>59</sup> Among the besieged were three Franciscan friars, of whom Father Minaya wrote a long account of his experiences. Largely dependent on this account, P. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., has written the story of the siege, together with that of the two surviving Franciscans kept by Aguinaldo's troops after the siege. This study, hither-

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<sup>58</sup> H. van Leynseele, "Léopold II et les Philippines en 1898" BULLETIN DES SEANCES, ACADEMIE ROYALE DES SCIENCES COLONIALES II (1956), 923-37. I was unable to obtain this article.

<sup>59</sup> Saturnino Martín Cerezo, EL SITIO DE BALER, NOTAS Y RECUERDOS (Madrid, 1904).

to unpublished, is edited by P. Antolín Abad, O.F.M.<sup>60</sup> Almost wholly based on a contemporary eye-witness account, it supplements and at times contradicts that of Cerezo. It is of interest as shedding light on the affection for the Friars of a large part of the Filipino people at the time. Without denying that anti-Friar feeling played an important part in the Revolution, such an account as this brings out the complexity of the situation, and the difficulty of separating the respect and even affection many Filipinos felt towards their priests from their desire to win the freedom of their country from Spanish rule. Though it was perhaps inevitable in the historical circumstances, the frequent confusion of Catholicism and *españolismo* on both sides in such times could only work to the detriment of the Church, which by its nature must be free from identification with any government or nationality. For missionaries of a colonial power to avoid that identification is a difficult task, and it cannot be said that the missionaries of the colonial period in the Philippines were always successful in seeing their proper function. Yet here again proper historical perspective will prevent an over-harsh judgment.

#### THE AMERICAN REGIME

In the years since the Philippines finally gained her independence, there has been an increasing number of books and articles by American historians, reconsidering various aspects of American policy in acquiring and governing the Philippines. Now that independence is an accomplished fact and has ceased to be an issue in American party politics, there is room for more objective treatment of the questions involved.

Julius W. Pratt, who has long been a student of the period of American imperialist expansion of the turn of the century,<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Antolín Abad, O.F.M. y Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., "Los últimos de Filipinas. Tres héroes franciscanos," ARCHIVO IBERO-AMERICANO XVI (1956), 265-354, 393-420.

<sup>61</sup> Among Pratt's works on the question are EXPANSIONISTS OF 1898 (Baltimore, 1936); AMERICA'S COLONIAL EXPERIMENT (New York, 1950); and a part of his A HISTORY OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY (New York, 1955).

gives a brief but clear summary of the forces whose operation brought about America's annexation of the Philippines.<sup>62</sup> The Spanish-American War had not begun as a war for empire, but the resultant destruction of Spain's naval power gave opportunity for four forces to come to the support of the expansionist movement. The latter had been gaining momentum since the 1880's under the influence of Social Darwinism with its racialist theories on the "manifest destiny" of the Anglo-Saxon race to bring the blessings of its civilization to the world. A second factor was the growing belief, promoted especially by Captain Alfred Mahan, in the need for strong sea-power, which required bases in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The third factor was the economic. Formerly anti-expansionist, business interests had changed their attitude on seeing the danger of losing their markets in China through partition of the latter by the Powers, which they felt could be prevented through U.S. occupation of the Philippines. The fourth factor was the religious-Protestant hopes of "Christianizing" the Philippines, in the conviction that Providence had placed in their hands this mission, while unconscious of, or disregarding the fact of three centuries of Christianity in the Philippines. To these pressures McKinley yielded, and considered his victory in the 1900 election to be a mandate from the people to keep the Philippines.

One of the outspoken anti-imperialists was William Jennings Bryan, who used this issue against McKinley, though unsuccessfully, in the elections of 1900. Yet he is generally considered to have been responsible for getting the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Paris which gave the Philippines to the United States. This paradoxical action has been attributed to his desire to make imperialism an issue in the campaign of 1900. Paolo E. Coletta<sup>63</sup> gives good evidence that though Bryan did influence a few Senators to vote for the Treaty, it was only in order to conclude peace with Spain as quickly as possible, with the intention of immediately granting independence to the

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<sup>62</sup> Julius W. Pratt, "Manifest Destiny and the American Century," *CURRENT HISTORY* XXIX (1955), 331-36.

<sup>63</sup> Paolo E. Coletta, "Bryan, McKinley, and the Treaty of Paris," *PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXVI (1957), 131-46.

Philippines afterwards by an act of Congress. But ratification was actually less a result of his efforts than of the immense popular sentiment in favor of colonial expansion which swept the country at that time under the influence of the press, and of the political pressure and "deals" of various kinds negotiated by a group of Republican Senate leaders.

Another American politician whose policy seemed inconsistent was Robert LaFollette, who was later known as an isolationist and anti-expansionist, but who championed American imperialistic policy in the Philippines in the electoral campaign of 1900. A study of Padraic Colum Kennedy<sup>64</sup> shows that he used the usual rhetorical combination of altruistic and selfish motives employed by advocates of Philippine annexation—the alleged incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government, entailing an American national duty to implant democracy there, being combined with an appeal to the great economic benefits to be gained by the United States from an American Philippines. His more interesting, if not very convincing, argument, however, was the thesis that this was not an imperialism contrary to American traditions, but the continuance of the extension of democracy through American territorial expansion in the tradition of all the Founding Fathers. Kennedy concludes that though his expansionist views were not completely contrary to his past, they were largely motivated by political considerations. His later policy, though not so simply isolationist as often supposed, was a significant transformation from these imperialist views on the Philippines. He suggests this change may have been due to a growing realization of the part of big business interests in promoting expansionist policy.

How little part sincere concern for the rights of the Filipinos played in all these discussions is indicated by an illuminating study of Christopher Lasch.<sup>65</sup> Not only were the

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<sup>64</sup> Padraic Colum Kennedy, "La Follette's Imperialistic Flirtation," *ibid.*, XXIX (1960), 131-44.

<sup>65</sup> Christopher Lasch, "Anti-Imperialists, the Philippines, and the Inequality of Man," *JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY* XXIV (1958), 319-31.

Expansionists strongly influenced by the racialist ideas of Social Darwinism, looking to the "manifest destiny," and even duty of the "superior Anglo-Saxon race" toward "lesser peoples." Actually most of their anti-imperialist opponents also, except for a few like Moorfield Storey, were basically moved by the same racialist attitudes, for though they claimed it was contrary to the principles of the Declaration of Independence to rule another people, except "with the consent of the governed," their basic assumption was that an alien race such as the Filipinos could never be admitted to the rights of American citizens. An examination of their arguments shows the racialist philosophy behind them in all its ugliness. The writer points out that at least the Expansionists were logically consistent, since while claiming that the Filipinos were not yet ready for self-government they proposed to do something about it. The Anti-Imperialists on the other hand, really holding the same views, were unconcerned about the results of abandoning the Filipinos. In conclusion he notes that the whole of American society in these years was infected badly with racialist thought, as is shown by the abandonment of Negro rights by the Northern "liberals" about then, and the restrictions placed on all immigration.

It had been largely the Democrats who had opposed Philippine annexation, but the first Democratic president to come to power in this period was Woodrow Wilson in 1912. R. W. Curry<sup>66</sup> shows that though vacillating in his earlier years, Wilson's policy was, in the course of his administration, directed to increasing the role of the Filipinos in their government by all means at his command. He did not favor immediate independence, but stood firm against the opposition, demanding the inclusion of the promise of eventual independence in the Jones Law of 1916. The part of Quezon in the negotiations is prominent, though he seems to have been privately opposed to immediate independence.

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<sup>66</sup> Roy W. Curry, "Woodrow Wilson and Philippine Policy," MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW XLI (1954), 435-52.

Wilson was followed by three Republican Presidents, whose policy is studied by Gerald E. Wheeler.<sup>67</sup> Harding and Coolidge continued the traditional Republican policy against Philippine independence, relying largely on the traditional imperialist arguments of the economic interests of both the United States and of the Philippines, and the alleged unreadiness of the Filipinos for self-government, as well as the Protestant desire to "Christianize" the Filipinos and provide a spearhead for the evangelization of the Orient. By Hoover's administration, however, the economic motives were contrary, and the Republican Congress moved toward independence. Hoover's continued opposition to his own party, culminating in his 1932 veto of the Hawes-Cutting Act, appears to have been chiefly motivated by Far Eastern policy: the need for the Philippines as a base to check Japan's expansionist aims, and what seems to have been an earlier secret verbal assurance to the British of American support in guarding their Asiatic colonies and dominions, in return for their agreement to the reductions in naval armament in the London Treaty of 1930.

The entrance of the United States into the number of Powers in the Pacific early aroused realization of the need for a strong naval base there. William Braisted studies the proposals for a strong Philippine naval base.<sup>68</sup> After long discussions and many changes of plans, with the Navy advocating a strong base at Olongapo and the Army holding out for making Manila Bay the stronghold of American might in the Far East, the Navy plan won out. But before it could be put into execution, the strategy was reversed when the Army declared itself unable to defend adequately such a base from a land attack. The Army fortified Corregidor, while the Navy's major base was put at Pearl Harbor, with only a minor station at Subic Bay. Willis E. Snowbarger covers much of the same ground in his article,<sup>69</sup> though looking at it from the point of

<sup>67</sup> Gerald E. Wheeler, "Republican Philippine Policy, 1921-1933" *PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* XXVIII (1959), 377-90.

<sup>68</sup> William Braisted, "The Philippine Naval Base Problem, 1893-1909," *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* XLI (1954), 21-40.

<sup>69</sup> Willis E. Snowbarger, "Pearl Harbor in Pacific Strategy, 1898-1908," *THE HISTORIAN* XIX (August 1957), 361-84.

view of the eventual Pearl Harbor site, which had been planned on as early as 1884, and which was rapidly adopted when the Olongapo plan was changed. This left the Philippines in a dangerous position, but an effort was made to protect Philippine weakness by buying off Japan through the Root-Takahira agreement of 1908, which left Japan a free hand in Manchuria. The weaknesses of this policy as far as protection of the Philippines was concerned became abundantly clear in 1941.

#### EVALUATION

As may be seen from the articles surveyed here, the writing on Philippine history in foreign reviews is not inconsiderable. To be sure, all of it is not of equal value to the historian in the Philippines, since historians writing for a foreign audience which had little previous knowledge of the Philippines will at times be likely to present conclusions, which though valid, will represent positions already known and accepted by historians in the Philippines. This defect, and the allied one of using secondary sources which are superficial, or have been otherwise discredited long ago, can only be remedied by foreign historians becoming more conscious of the work which has been done and is being done by Filipino historians.

On the other hand, the historian writing in the Philippines cannot afford to neglect the really valuable contributions to the knowledge of his country's past which are being made abroad. As all agree, there is still a great deal to be done on some fundamental problems in Philippine history, and objective basic research, no matter by whom it is done, can only be a welcome contribution to the task. Moreover, the history of any nation, and particularly that of one, which, like the Philippines, has undergone the impact of foreign cultures, cannot be understood in a vacuum. The forces at work in other countries which help to explain events in the Philippines will be more easily taken into consideration by historians of those countries, and the results of their investigations, properly assimilated, will help historians in the Philippines to enrich further our knowledge of the past of the Filipino people.

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