CHAPTER 1


2 Some insights into this problem may be found in Syed Hussein Alatas, "Theoretical Aspects of Southeast Asian History," Asian Studies, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 247-269. On p. 254, the author succinctly states, "The proper problem to pose, and this is a crucial one, is how to interpret the past, and to ask what is the most truthful and worthy interpretation in the light of present requirement."

3 "... the questions we raise and the problems we pose are at times more important than the available sources. These problems and questions suggested at the beginning of an investigation eventually direct the process of historical reconstruction and subsequently determine the emerging pattern of the historical narrative." Ibid., p. 259.

4 A parallel approach is contained in Manuel Maldonado-Denis, Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation, trans. by Elena Vialo, New York, Vintage Books, 1972, pp. 7-8. In his introduction Maldonado-Denis says, "... the historian must be selective, must assign certain facts greater significance than others. That is to say, he maintains certain criteria by means of which he determines an issue to be more important than y. Every historian conscious of his craft makes manifest to himself and to his reader these criteria, this cross section of concepts within which he links together that which he considers of greatest historical meaning."

5 The unity and separation of national identity and national consciousness is discussed in Renato Constantino, "Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience," a paper submitted to the VIII World Congress of Sociology, Aug. 19-24, 1974, Toronto, Canada.

CHAPTER 2


2 Chapman, pp. 71-77. Castile, derived its name from the many castles on its frontiers with the Moors.
3 Ibid., pp. 78-79.


6 Elliot, pp. 56-57.

7 Chapman, pp. 177-179.

8 See the accounts of the voyages of Loaisa, Saavedra and Villalobos in Blair and Robertson’s The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1919 (hereinafter cited as BR), Vol. II, pp. 23-77; see also Horacio de la Costa’s two articles in the Bulletin of the Philippine Historical Association: “The Voyage of Saavedra to the Philippines, 1527-1529” (June, 1958) and “The Villalobos Expedition, 1542-1546” (September, 1958).


11 Elliot, pp. 57-58.

12 Chapman, pp. 316-319.

13 Ibid., pp. 303-35.

14 See Madariaga’s own views on this question in Spain. . ., pp. 25-27, 40-41.


16 That the clergy feared a rebellion of the inhabitants against the encomenderos could result in their expulsion can be seen in the report of Fr. Alonso Sanchez, S.J. in Francisco Colin, Labor Evangelica, Barcelona, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 377-386.


interest in the proposal of submission, but they requested a year’s delay before giving a final answer on the grounds of needing more time to think the matter over and to consult with other chieftains. Whether the chieftains of Laguna de Bay ever did commit themselves is not known.” See Phelan, “Some Ideological Aspects...” p. 238.

CHAPTER 3

1 An insight into the unreliability of these clerical accounts may be gleaned from Isabela de los Reyes, La Religion Antigua de los Filipinos, Manila, Imprenta de El Renacimiento, 1909, pp. 12, 31-32. De los Reyes faults clerical commentators with “copying and adding figments of their imagination” to the report of 1604 of Father Pedro Chirino (who was in the Philippines from 1590 to 1602) regarding the conversion of the natives of the islands. (See Pedro Chirino, S.J., Relacion de las Islas Filipinas, trans. by Ramon Echevarria, Historical Conservation Society, Manila, 1969.) De los Reyes accuses Father Collin of attempting to invent a native cosmogony paralleling that of the Genesis. Collin in turn was copied, with additions, by other commentators. On the resultant “pedagogical mischief” that has been perpetrated on students of history, see William Henry Scott, “The Contributions of Jose E. Marco to Philippine Historiography,” Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History, University of Santo Tomas Press, Manila, 1968, pp. 104-136. Scott exposes the fabrications of Marco which until the present are still accepted by some scholars.


7 Miguel de Loarca, “Relation of the Filipinas Islands,” BR, Vol. V, p. 39. See also Miguel Bernad, “Philippine Culture and the Filipino Identity,” Philippine Studies (October, 1971), pp. 577-579. Bernad recounts how Legazpi would perform the blood compact with the chief of one village thinking that by so doing he had made friends with all the natives of the islands, only to find out that the compact bound only the
members of one village. He cites as examples the cases of Katuna and Gala of Bohol and Tupas of Cebu. Bernard quotes Legazpi on the fragmented nature of native society of the time.

8 Fox, “Prehistoric Foundations . . .”, pp. 43-44.


14 Horacio de la Costa, “Philippine History: A Survey,” Ateneo University Press, p. 13. (Mimeographed) Writing was done on sections of bamboo tubes on which letters were carved with a knife or a pointed instrument. “This laborious process precluded any but the briefest items. . .” Thus, ballads and epics had to be transmitted orally. See also Miguel Bernard, The Christianization of the Philippines: Problems and Perspectives. Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila, 1972, pp. 150-151.


17 The term freemen is used here for lack of a better one. This is a tentative solution to the problem created by the unreliability of the accounts of early Spanish chroniclers as exposed by contemporary authorities and by the absence of studies in depth in this area. As Robert Fox says, “In addition, the fundamental characteristics of pre-Spanish social and political organization preclude as meaningful terms such as ‘kings,’ ‘nobles,’ ‘barangas confederations,’ and many others found in textbooks. These ambiguous terms contribute to a myth-building suitable perhaps for the comic books but not for analytic scholarship.” “Prehistoric Foundations . . .,” pp. 44-45.

18 Ibid., p.46.


26 Larkin, p. 22.


28 Clark, "Labor Conditions...," p. 773.

29 Phelan, *Hispanisation...,* p. 117. Leslie Bauzon in his "Notes to Rural History," FSSC *Social Information* (January, 1974), disagrees with Phelan and claims, citing Flascencia as his authority, that pre-conquest inhabitants already had notions of private ownership in land. If we were to grant that he is right, we would have to point out that such notions do not correspond with the concept as we know it today because land had no value in terms of a money economy. It was not the object of sale. Perhaps he equated the tradition of free use of definite lots by individuals or families with the modern practice of private property in land.


CHAPTER 4


2 Sharp, p. 10.


4 On the origin of the term, see Leslie E. Buzon, "The Encomienda System as a Spanish Colonial Institution in the Philippines," *Stilmans
Journal (2nd Qtr., 1967), p. 198 n. Bauzon, quoting Sir Arthur Helps, states that the term belongs to the military orders in Spain and corresponds to the English word commandery or perceptor.


6 In 1520, the king had already decreed the abolition of the encomiendas because of the abuses in the Antilles. This decree, however, was ignored by the conquistador, Hernan Cortes, who proceeded to grant encomiendas in Mexico. See Bauzon, "The Encomienda System...", pp. 204-207; Salamanca, "Background and Early Beginnings...", p. 54.


8 Elliot, Imperial Spain... , pp. 73-74.


14 Tubangui, pp. 22-23, While Tubangui was citing Zavala regarding the law applying to New Spain, it is presumed that said law was applied to the Philippines. Ascertaining the uniformity and extent of enforcement of these laws is a task that should be undertaken in connection with an extensive study of the encomienda system in the Philippines. So far, discussion of the subject has been based mainly on the practice in Spain's colonies in America.


17 See Jose Arcilla, "Slavery, Flogging...", p. 402.


CHAPTER 5

1 Antonio de Morga, "Events in the Philippine Islands," BR, Vol. XVI, pp. 87-91; for a fairly complete list of flora brought into the islands by foreigners, see E.D. Merrill, "Notes on the Flora of Manila with Special Reference to the Introduced Elements," The Philippine Journal of Science, Sec. C, Botany (September 2, 1912); also Phelan, Hispanization... , pp. 110-112, and Conrado Benitez, History of the Philippines, Boston, Ginn and Company, 1940, pp. 56-59.


4 Still the most comprehensive discussion of the galleon trade and its multiple socio-economic effects on the Philippines is Schurz’ The Manila Galleon.

5 Ibid., p. 43-44. 6 Ibid., p. 44.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.


10 Suburbs outside the city walls. They are now known as districts, for example, Ermita and Malate south of the Pasig River, and Santa Cruz, Tondo, and Sampaloc north of the river.

11 Intramuros was the original city of Manila. It was enclosed by walls and surrounded by moats.


15 Legarda, "Foreign Trade . . . .," pp. 99-100.

16 For a fuller discussion on resettlement policies and its results, see Reed, Hispanic Urbanism . . . ., Chapter 4.

17 Diego de Aduarte, "Historia . . . .," BR, Vol. XXXII, p. 273; Phelan, Hispanization . . . ., p. 44.

18 Reed, pp. 55-59.


21 Aside from making a good review of class stratification during the Spanish occupation, Reed's Hispanic Urbanism . . . ., Chapter 7, lists many reference sources which could be the basis for a thorough study of the process of class differentiation.

CHAPTER 6

1 De la Costa, Readings . . . ., p. 65.


4 Chapman, History of Spain, pp. 39-41.
5  Ibid.


8  Ibid.


10  Iturralde, Development of Filipino Anti-Clericalism . . ., p. 74.


12  Regidor, Ibid.


14  Iturralde, pp. 65-66.


16  Teodoro Agoncillo, The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan, Quezon City, UF Press, 1956, p. 3.

17  "Usurpation of Indian Lands by Friars," BR, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 27-34.


20  Ibid; see also Le Gentile, A Voyage to the Indian Seas, Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964, p. 50.


25 Cushner, pp. 78-79.


27 Los Frailes Filipinos por un español que ha residido en aquel pais, Madrid, 1898, p. 59.


30 Schurz, pp. 51-53.


37 An oidor (hearer) was one of the judges of the Audiencia or Supreme Court.


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CHAPTER 7


12 Ibid., pp. 215-223.


14 Extracts from the accounts of Murillo Velarde, Agustin Diaz and Juan de la Concepcion are found in "Insurrections by Filipinos Against the Spaniards," BR, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 100-139.

15 An account of the Linao revolt can be found in "Historia de los religiosos descalzos..." by Luis de Jesus, Madrid, 1681, which is contained in BR, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 126-138.

17 Navarette, Tratados historicos..., pp. 304-305.

18 Accounts of this "revolt" may be found in Baltazar Sta. Cruz, Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Zaragoza, 1693, pp. 331-334; de la Concepcion, Historia General..., Vol. VII, pp. 9-26; Pedro Murillo Velarde, Historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús, Imp. de la Compañía de Jesús por D. Nicolás de la Cruz, Manila, 1749, pp. 253-255; Casimiro Díaz, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, Valladolid, 1890, pp. 588-590, in BR, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 139-160.

19 "Insurrections by Filipinos...," BR, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 150.

20 Ibid., p. 161.

21 Ibid., pp. 163-181.

22 Ibid., pp. 181-204.

23 Ibid., pp. 205-215.


25 Zaide's Dagohoy..., is a study of the rebellion which is based not only on the above-mentioned sources but also on the author's researches in the Recollect Archives. The materials he used were: Fr. Narciso Jesus Maria, "Noticias de 1827, 1828, 1829," unpublished Diary about Dagohoy written by an eyewitness; Fr. Jose de Santa Orosia, "Carta dirigida al Gobernador General." Zaide also used "Respeto a F. Dagohoy," a manuscript in his collection, Gov. Mariano Ricafort, Reduccion de Bohol, Manila, 1829, Fr. Lucino Ruiz, Reseña Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas, Manila, 1925, Vol. I.

26 Ibid.


30 Zaide, Dagohoy.


32 Zuñiga, Historia de las Islas Filipinas, Sampaloc, 1803, pp. 662-668; see account of Jose Arcilla, S.J. based on sources found in the Dominican Archives in Sto. Domingo Chruch, "The Pangasinan Uprising," Philippine Historical Review (1911), pp. 35-52. A more recent work that discusses the revolt at length is Rosario M. Cortes, Pangasinan, 1572-1800, U.P. Press, 1974, Chapter 7. The author brings out the fact that the real leader
of the uprising was Don Andres Lopez, a native chief who also became maestre de campo.


34 Short for caja de comunidad or community fund.


36 Foreman, pp. 100-101.

37 Other accounts of Silang’s revolt may be found in Pedro de Vivar, Relacion de los Alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la Provincia de Ilocos en los años 1762 y 1763, Manila, 1893; Montero y Vidal, Historia . . ., Vol. II, pp. 85-111; Isibele de los Reyes, Historia de Ilocos, Manila, 1890, Vol. II; Zuñiga, Historia . . ., pp. 654-666; Fernando Ferrer, Apuntes sobre alzamientos o sublevaciones en Ilocos, Manila, 1909; Nicolas Zafra, Outlined Readings in Philippine History, Manila, 1914, pp. 147-155.


39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.


CHAPTER 8

1 A good discussion on European structures of dependence may be found in Stein and Stein, Colonial Heritage . . ., Chapter I, pp. 4-20.

2 Converted Jews who were called conversos or Marianos. On the plight of the new Christians, see Elliot, Imperial Spain, pp. 103-108, Atkinson, History of Spain . . ., pp. 12, 177,249.

3 Carlos Recur, Filipinas: Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales, Madrid, Impr. de Ramon Moreno, 1879, p. 110.


7 Ibid., pp. 73-74.

8 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

9 Ibid., pp. 65-67.


12 Legarda, "Foreign Trade ...," Part II, Chapter 4, p. 190.


14 Wickberg, The Chinese ..., pp. 46-47.

15 Cushner, Spain ..., p. 208.


21 See Chapter 10 for the evolution of the term "Filipino."
So far the most illuminating study of the subject of Chinese mestizos is the essay of Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," pp. 62-100; his book, *The Chinese in Philippine Life* also contains much data on the mestizos which he gathered from his researches in the National Archives.


Ibid., pp. 21-23, The Chinese were previously expelled in 1596, 1686 and 1744.


Ibid., pp. 5-6.


Lyman P. Hammond, *A Survey of Economic Conditions in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1928, pp. 57-60; an idea of how some large haciendas developed may be gleaned from "Estadistica de los terrenos agricolas de propiedad particular existentes en este pueblo (name of municipality)" in the National Archives; the same may be found in the Protoculos (by province) in the same bureau; see also *Philippine Reports*, Manila, Bureau of Printing 1929, Vol. LII, pp. 888 et. seq., and Republic of the Philippines, Congress, House of Representatives, "Report of the Committee on Public Land and Good Government," May 14, 1968.


CHAPTER 9

1 Sinibaldo de Mas, Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842, Madrid, 1843, Vol. I, parte 2da, pp. 58-64; regarding the impact of the constitution on the native inhabitants there is a conflict of opinion between historians Teodoro Agoncillo and Horacio de la Costa. See Teodoro Agoncillo and Oscar Alfonso, A Short History of the Filipino People, Quezon City UP Press, 1960, p. 111, and de la Costa, Readings . . , p. 165.


3 de la Costa, Readings . . . , p. 193.


8 For various accounts of this movement see Manuel Sancho "Relacion Espresiva de los principales acontecimientos de la titulada Cofradia del seño San Jose," in La Política de España en Filipinas, No. 21; Montero y Vidal, Historia . . . , Vol. III, pp. 37-56; Memoria Historica de la conducta militar y politica del Teniente General D. Marcelino Oro, Madrid, 1851; Felipe Govantes, Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas, Manila, 1877, pp. 379-380; a recent study has been made by David Sweet, "The Proto-Political Peasant Movement in the Spanish Philippines: The Cofradia de San Jose and the Tayabas Rebellion of 1841," Asian Studies (April, 1970).


12 "Loney to Farren, April 12, 1857," in McMicking, Recollections of Manila . . . , p. 229; de la Costa, Readings . . . , p. 156.


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18 Accounts of this mutiny may be found in Montero y Vidal, Historia..., Vol. II, pp. 468-476; Paul P. de la Gironiere, Twenty Years in the Philippines, Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1962, pp. 25-28.

19 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 131-135.


CHAPTER 10

1 For a fuller discussion of this subject, see Constantino, The Making of a Filipino, pp. 4-12; the same theme is discussed in "The Filipino Elite" and "Veneration Without Understanding" both in Constantino, Dissent... .

2 From here on the term Filipino will be used instead of native as heretofore.


4 There is so far no comprehensive biography of del Pilar. Of various attempts the following may be cited: Magno Gatmaitan, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Q.C., Muñoz Press, 1965, Epifanio de los Santos, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas, 1957. Lea S. Zapanta, The Political Ideas of Marcelo H. del Pilar, Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1967. The reader may also refer to the apostolario de Marcelo H. del Pilar (2 vols.), Manila, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1955 and 1968. His works are contained in Escritos de Marcelo H. del Pilar (2 vols.), Manila, Publicaciones de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1970; the original Tagalog works referred to are in the appendices of Gatmaitan.

6 An illuminating account of the activities of the Spanish Filipinos in Spain during this period together with their relations with the "genuine Filipinos" can be found in Clarita Nolasco's "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," pp. 361-393. This account is based on the correspondence of the reformists as published by the National Heroes Commission and the "legajo de Licencias de Armas y Licencias de Radicaciones," Philippine National Archives. An identification of the racial origins of the reformists can readily be made by consulting the appendix of this work, pp. 510-513.


8 Ibid.

9 La Solidaridad, February 15, 1889, translated into English by the author.

10 Jose Rizal, "The Truth for Everybody," La Solidaridad (May 31, 1889), translated by the author.


13 For one interpretation of the Liga, see Cesar Majul, A Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation, Diliman, 1959.

14 Schumacher, "Decline and Death. . .," p. 57.


19 Isabelo de los Reyes, La Sensacional Memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes sobre la revolucion filipina. This passage was translated by de la Costa in Readings. . ., pp. 234-235.

21 For a summary of these reforms, see Manuel Sastron, La Insurrec- 
cion en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el Archipelo, Madrid, 
23 Esteban F. Paredes, “The Unsung Heroes of the Revolution,” 
24 Ibid.
26 Esteban de Ocampo. “The Life and Achievements of Bonifacio,” 
Philippine Historical Bulletin (December, 1966), pp. 22-39; Leopoldo 
Serrano “Mga Pangyayari sa Buhay ni Andres Bonifacio,” Historical 
27 T.M. Kalaw Revolution . . . , pp. 21-22. For more biographical data 
on Bonifacio, see Epifanio de los Santos, Marcelo H. del Pilar.
130-131.
30 Agoncillo and Guerrero, History . . , pp. 147-148.
33 For the decalogue and Kartilla of the KKK, see T.M. Kalaw, 
Revolution . . . , pp. 6-7, 21-22.
34 Another discussion of the same theme can be found in Constantino, 
“Roots of Subservience” and “Veneration . . . ,” in Dissent . . .

CHAPTER 11
1 T.M. Kalaw, Revolution . . . , p. 12.
2 Gregorio Zaide, The Philippine Revolution, Manila, Modern Book 
Co., 1954, p. 95; see the discussion of Agoncillo in Revolt . . . , pp. 
283-291.
3 On June 18, 1931, General Guillermo Masankay led a group which 
included Teodoro M. Kalaw to visit the caves and they saw the faint traces 
of the inscription; see Cornelio de los Reyes, “Clearing up Doubts About 
the Cry of Balintawak,” The Herald Midweek Magazine, July 8, 1931; 

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5 T.M. Kalaw, Revolution . . ., p. 20.


8 Ibid.

9 Sastron, La insurrection en Filipinas . . ., p. 141.


11 The investigations of Francisco Roxas and Antonio Luna can be found in Retana, Archivo . . ., Vol. III, pp. 272-285; on Luna's denunciation of the Katipunan, see Jose Alejandrino, The Price of Freedom, Manila, 1949, p. 104; for a list of rich Filipinos who were approached by the Katipunan, see Zaide, Philippine Revolution, p. 97.

12 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 196.

13 Ibid., p. 197.


15 Ibid.


17 For a revisionist view of Rizal, see Constantino, "The Lonely Hero," Graphic, June 19, 1968, and "Veneration . . .," in Dissent . . .


19 Achutegui and Bernad, Aguinaldo . . ., p. 5.


21 See Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 32-33 for the text of the manifesto.


23 Agoncillo, Revolt . . ., p. 203.

24 Ibid., pp. 203-204.

26 Ibid.
30 Ricarte, *Memoirs*, p. 27.
33 Ricarte, p. 47.
34 Their affiliations are carefully presented by Agoncillo in *Revolt*. . ., p. 209.
36 Ibid., p. 235. Agoncillo’s account is based on an interview with Aguinaldo.
37 Ibid., p. 265.
38 Ibid., p. 238.
41 Ibid., p. 246.
42 Ibid., p. 301.
44 Achutegui and Berndt, p. 236. Sastre, pp. 226-227; Ricarte, p. 53.
46 Achutegui and Berndt, the September manifesto is on p. 448.
47 Ibid., p. 433.
49 Ibid.
50 For the text of the proclamation see Achutegui and Berndt, Doc. 89, p. 290.
51 Le Roy, *Americana*. . ., Vol. I, p. 123; Rivera's proclamation may be found in Achutegui and Bernad, 417-419.


53 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 140, pp. 500-502.


56 Achutegui and Bernad, Doc. 143, pp. 513-516.

57 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 208; copy of the constitution may be found in Achutegui and Bernad, pp. 458-462.

58 The same pattern of behavior would be repeated in Malolos, this time vis-a-vis the Americans. See Chapter 12.


62 *Ibid.* One must allow for inaccuracies in the transcript of this long interview. It was, however, an eyewitness account and published soon after the event. Decades after the event, Aguinaldo confirmed in part his statement to the correspondent when he told one of his biographers, Carlos Quirino, that he did lead the *Vivas for Spain*. He averred, however, that he had to play the role of hypocrite and hide his real views. Carlos Quirino, *The Young Aguinaldo*, Manila, Regal Printing Company, 1969, pp. 218-219.

63 Taylor, p. 426.


71  David R. Stuart, “Philippine Social Structure. . .,” p. 199.


CHAPTER 12


2  Agoncillo was the diplomatic representative of Aguinaldo’s government. He was in Hongkong during the revolution against Spain. Later, he went to the Paris Peace Conference and then to Washington to present the Philippine case.
3 Taylor, Vol. I, Exh. 82, p. 472. See also S.V. Epistola, "Hong-kong. . . ."


5 Araccho's complaint is found in Taylor, Vol. I, Exh. 80, p. 467.


7 Cited by Aguinaldo in A Second Look . . . , p. 36.


9 Ibid., Taylor, pp. 505-509.

10 Agoncillo and Guerrero, History . . . . , p. 219.


12 Contantino, "Roots . . . .", in Dissent . . . .


15 Ibid., Exh. 7, p. 32.

16 Ibid., Exh. 35, p. 113.

17 Ibid., p. 114.


19 Felipe Buencamino Sr., Sixty Years of Philippine History, Manila, Philippine Historical Association, 1969, pp. 22-25.

20 Sastron, Insurrecion . . . . , p. 409.


22 Ibid., pp. 103-104.

23 Constantino, "Origin of a Myth," in Dissent . . . .

24 Cesar Adib Majul, Mabini and the Philippine Revolution, Quezon City, UP Press, 1960, pp. 174-175.


27 Constantino, “Roots . . .” in Dissent . . ., p. 100.


30 The conversations between Aguinaldo and American military leaders are related in detail in Blount, Chapters 2-5. This particular quotation was taken by Blount from an article by Gen. Anderson which appeared in the North American Review of February, 1900. See pp. 54-66 of Blount’s book.

31 United States Senate, 57th Congress, First Session, Senate Document 331, Part 3, p. 2928.


34 Agoncillo and Guerrero, History . . ., p. 233.


36 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 234.

37 Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Malolos, the Crisis of the Republic, Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1960, p. 420.

38 Zaide, Philippine Revolution . . ., p. 229.


40 Ibid., p. 131.


44 Constantino, “Roots . . .” in Dissent . . .


46 La Republica Filipina, December 3, 1898.

47 El Heraldo Filipino, January 26, 1899, cited in Zaide, Philippine Revolution . . ., p. 266.


49 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 238.

51 Majul, "Social Background...", p. 39.

52 Full text of the speech translated in English may be found in Frank D. Millet, *The Expedition to the Philippines*, New York and London, Harper & Brothers, 1899, pp. 264-266.


55 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 248-249.


57 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 249-250.


65 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 253-254; see also Taylor, Vol. IV, Exh. 893, pp. 656-660.


69 Interesting examples may be found in David Sturtevant, "Guardia de Honor, Revitalization within the Revolution," *Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 342-352; other documented incidents may be found in *Taylor*, Vol. II, Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER 13

3 Agoncillo, Malolos... , p. 374.
5 Agoncillo, Malolos... , p. 375.
6 Further discussion on Filipino collaboration during the period may be found in Cruz, “Filipino Collaboration... ,” pp. 16-80, 85-88; Constantino, Making of a Filipino, pp. 10-22 and “Origin... ,” in Dissent... , pp. 84-89.
7 Villa, Aguinaldo’s Odyssey... , pp. 28-29.
9 Cruz, “Filipino Collaboration... ,” pp. 88-89.
10 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
11 U.S. Senate, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 331, pp. 820-825, 2709-2745; Pomeroy, American Neo-Colonialism... , pp. 69-70.

14 Villa, Aguinaldo’s Odyssey . . ., p. 27.


17 Ibid., p. 379.


20 Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission, p. 17.

21 In 1972, a Statehood U.S.A. movement was launched by Rufino Antonio. This movement aroused a great deal of controversy terminated only by the declaration of Martial Law.

22 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 295-296.


24 Senate Document 331, p. 9.


26 Pomeroy, American Neo-Colonialism . . ., p. 93, et seq.

27 Ibid.

28 Cruz, “Filipino Collaboration . . .;” p. 34.

29 The background to the organization and early difficulties in arming a native police force may be found in G. Yarrington Coats, “The Philippine Constabulary 1901-1917,” unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ohio University, 1968, Chapter I; and Vic Hurley, Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary, New York, 1938, Chapter III.


31 Ibid., p. 336.

32 Ibid., p. 332.

33 Soldiers’ Letters Being Materials For the History of a War of Criminal Aggression, Boston, Anti-Imperialist League, 1899, pp. 3-16.

34 For a fuller account of the events in Samar, see Joseph L. Schott, The Ordeal of Samar, New York and Indianapolis, 1964.

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38 There are various works giving both the Catholic and Aglipayan versions. Prominent among these is the 4-Volume work of Pedro Achutegui and Miguel Bernad, Religious Revolution in the Philippines, Manila, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1960; and Francis Wise, "The History of the Philippine Independent Church," unpublished M.A. thesis, U.P. 1965.

39 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 266.

40 Ibid., p. 277.


42 Ibid., p. 52.

43 Ibid., p. 41.

CHAPTER 14

1 This was the term used by the Spaniards to refer to those people who retreated to the mountains to avoid Spanish rule.

2 Annual Reports of the War Department, 1902, Vol. IX, p. 19.


5 Coats, "Philippine Constabulary. . .", Chapter 5; the Coats account is based on the Reports of the Philippine Commission 1902-1903 and other official publications. The accounts in Coats are very well supplemented by Hurley's Jungle Patrol . . .; John R. White, Bullets and Bolas! Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands, New York, 1928; and Harold H. Elarth, The Story of the Philippine Constabulary, Los Angeles, 1949. These works together with official government accounts were used in this chapter to avert any question regarding the integrity of the sources.

6 Coats, Chapter 5; see also Manila Times, March 28, April 1, 16, 1903.


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11 Letter to President Roosevelt from Captain Henry T. Allen cited in Coats, p. 141.

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13 Ibid., January 31, 1905.


15 Coats, p. 145.

16 Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 295-298.


18 Ibid., May 9 and May 13, 1905.

19 Ibid., April 28, 1905.


21 Agoncillo and Guerrero, p. 288.

22 “The Surrender of Sakay,” This Week, July 11, 1948.

23 Abad, General Macario L. Sakay... , pp. 100-101.

24 Ibid; see also J. P. Santos, Ang Tulong... .


26 For accounts of the Ola-Toledo movement see Coats, Chapter IV; Hurley, pp. 56, 95, 147.

27 Manila Times, February 13, 1903.


29 For biographical data on Ricarte see Armando J. Malay’s Introduction in Ricarte’s Memoire; for an account of the Ricarte Movement see Salamanca, Filipino Reaction... , pp. 180-182; William Brecknock Watson, “The Christmas Eve Fiasco and a Brief Outline of the Ricarte and Other Similar Movements From the Breaking Up of the Insurrection of 1899-1901,” in Appendix N, Ricarte, pp. 157-216.
30 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903, Pt. III, p. 100; Coats, Chapter 3 for the Rios Movement.
31 Manila Times, November 26, 1901.
33 Ibid., p. 140.
34 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906, Pt. II, p. 239.
35 J.P. Santos, Ang Tatlong . . ., pp. 9-27.
36 Ricarte, p. 130.
38 Ibid.
39 Known as a scholar and man of letters, Epifanio de los Santos is now honored with a major highway in greater Manila.
40 J.P. Santos, Ang Tatlong . . ., pp. 22-26.
41 El Renacimiento Filipino, August 13, 1910.
42 J.P. Santos, Ang Tatlong . . ., p. 27.
43 Sturtevant, “Philippine Social Structure. . .,” p. 120.
46 Long Live Rizal! Long Live Free Philippines and death to the Spaniards!
47 A recent work on Negros which contains many references to Isio’s role in the revolution against Spain and the war against the United States is Ma. Fe Hernaez Romero, Negros Occidental Between Two Foreign Powers (1888-1909), Negros Occidental Historical Commission, 1974, see Chapters 3 through 6.
49 Romero, Negros . . ., p. 115.
50 Ibid., p. 171.
51 Ibid., p. 116.
52 The letter of the provisional government to Captain Glass of the cruiser Charleston may be found in Ibid., pp. 106-107.
53 Ibid., p. 143.
54 Fast and Francisco, “Philippine Historiography . . .”

56 United States Senate, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document 190, p. 231.


58 Coats, p. 242.


63 Ibid., p. 102.

64 Ibid., pp. 210-214.

65 For the operations against the Tabal brothers, see Coats, Chapter II, and Elartha, The Story of the Philippine Constabulary, pp. 73-74.


67 For details of the Leyte campaign see Coats, Chapter 12.

68 Manila Times, June 12, 1907; Report of the Philippine Commission, 1907, Pt. II, pp. 309.

69 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905, Pt. III, p. 28; the Dios-Dios movement is treated lengthily in Hurley, Chapter 10 and Coats, Chapter 13.


71 Coats, p. 330.
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3 Healey, p. 42.

4 *Ibid*.


7 Fast and Francisco, "Philippine Historiography...", pp. 9-17.


10 Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain, December 10, 1898, full text of which may be found in M. Kalaw, *Philippine Politics...*, Appendix E, pp. 446-451. See also Oscar Evangelista, "Religious Problems in the Philippines and the American Catholic Church 1898-1907," *Asian Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 3.


15. See the Reports of General MacArthur to the War Department from November, 1899 to October 1900.


31 Act. No. 1847 amending the original Friar Lands Act (No. 1120).

32 Schirmer, Republic or Empire . . ., p. 178.


36 A.V.H. Hartendorp, History of Industry and Trade of the Philippines, Manila, American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, 1958, p. 28.

37 Ibid.


39 Hartendorp, p. 31.

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42 Hartendorp, p. 32.

43 American Chamber of Commerce Journal, November, 1926, p. 11, and December, 1926, pp. 11, 29, and April, 1927 p. 11.


45 "Prominent Americans in the Philippine Islands," in Ibid., August, 1922, p. 5.

46 American Chamber of Commerce Journal, December, 1921, p. 5.

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4 Ibid., p. 133.

5 Agoncillo and Guererro, p. 339.


8 Salamanca, Filipino Reaction. . . ., pp. 86-87.


13 Letter of Governor General James F. Smith to Taft, October 7, 1907. (Photocopy from the Edwards Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.)

14 Names of former military leaders who served the colonial government can be found in E. Arsenio Manuel, Dictionary of Philippine Biography, and Eminent Filipinos, National Historical Commission.


23 Agoncillo and Guererro, p. 350.

24 For a discussion of early political parties, see Dapen Liang, *The Development of Philippine Political Parties*, Hongkong, South China Morning Post, Hongkong, 1939.


26 Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction...*, p. 65. See also Claro M. Recto, "Our Political Parties Before the Bar of History," speech delivered during the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, April 17, 1960.

27 Salamanca, pp. 67-68.


30 Salamanca, pp. 131-132.


32 Letter of Governor General James F. Smith to Taft, October 7, 1907.


36 *Ibid.*, see pp. 173-175 for a discussion supported by documents on these incidents.


40 Claro M. Recto, "The Election Issue of Anti-Americanism in the 4th Senatorial District in 1921," address before the student body of the University of the Philippines, July 8, 1955. Recto was in error in his recollection of the date of the election; it took place in 1923, not 1921.

41 An extensive discussion of this mission may be found in Bernardita Churchill, "The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States, 1919-1931" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1966), p. 235 et seq. An account of these events may also be found in Marcial P. Lichauco, *Roxas*, Manila, 1952, p. 45.

42 Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino*, pp. 55-61; see also Jose T. Nueno, *The Dilemma of the Fairfield Bill*, *The Independent* (June 13, 1925). *The Independent* of April 4, 1925 reprinted an article of Norbert Lyons entitled "Osmena Endorsed the Fairfield Bill while in the United States Says Norbert Lyons in Current History"; see also *El Comercio* (November 12, 1924, November 19, 1925) and a pamphlet entitled *Los Cuatro Discursos del Representante Recto* which contains verbatim reports of the debate.

43 *The Independent* (April 4, 1925).


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52 Claro M. Recto, "We Are Building Our Own Cross by Accepting the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act," speech delivered on the floor of the Senate, September 4, 1933.
53 Claro M. Recto, "A Most Ignominious Surrender," speech delivered on the floor of the Senate, September 29, 1933.

54 Dapen Liang, Development of Philippine Political Parties, p. 230.

55 The Manila Tribune (February 20, 1935).

CHAPTER 17


3 Kerkviet, pp. 126-172; his description of landlord-tenant relations was based in part on an interview with Manolo Tinio of San Ricardo, Nueva Ecija.


6 Harlan Crippen, "Philippine Agrarian Unrest: Historical Background," Vol. X, No. 4, 1946, pp. 339-345. The same study contains a description of the kasama system and the various forms of usury. See also Jose Velmonte, Juan Sumagui and Pedro Viray, "Living Conditions in Farm Homes in Mendes Nuñez and Amadeo, Cavite; Mangtarem, Pangasinan; and Camiling, Tarlac," Philippine Agriculturist, Vol. XXII, p. 759.

7 Crippen, ibid., p. 343.

8 Ibid., p. 344.

9 The increase in the number of sharecroppers can be seen by comparing the figures in the Census of the Philippine Islands — 1903 and the Census of 1918. For a background on the U.S.-Vatican negotiations, see Oscar Alfonso, "Taft’s Views on The Philippines for the Filipinos," Asian Studies (December, 1968); Oscar Evangelista, "Religious Problems in the Philippines and the American Catholic Church, 1898-1907," Asian Studies (December, 1968). See also, Agoncillo and Guerrero, pp. 341-342.

10 The goals, activities and leadership of these and similar movements may be found in accounts of the Manila Tribune, (May 14, 1927, July, 1928, August 18, 1924, August 24, 1928). The periodicals of this period contain daily items about secret societies, fanatical movements, and seditious organizations.


13 *Manila Times* (January 20, 1924).


19 Crippen, “Philippine Agrarian Unrest...,” p. 345.


21 *The Tribune* (January 14, 1931).


23 *The Tribune* (January 16, 1931).


25 Ibid.

26 *The Tribune* (January 25, 1931).

27 Ibid., (January 15, 1931).
28 Ibid., (January 17, 1931).


31 Kurihara, p. 61.

32 Hoeksema, p. 28.

33 Lorimer, p. 63.

34 Hoeksema, p. 30.

35 Ibid. See also Labor Bulletin, Manila (September, 1929); for the background leading to the founding of the CPP, see George Santayana (Jose Lava), "Milestones in the History of the CPP," copy of which may be found in the library of Ateneo University.

36 Santayana, p. 8; Kurihara, p. 62.

37 Hoeksema, p. 33.

38 Santayana, p. 6; for the opinion of Cirilo Bognot, see Hoeksema, p. 34.

39 Hoeksema, pp. 36-38.

40 Ibid., pp. 52-64.

41 Ibid., p. 66. Lorimer claims that this organization first met in 1922, was addressed by Quezon and was at that time still for worker-capital cooperation.

42 Ibid., pp. 65-77, 75-76. For further discussion on the CPP, see Luis Taruc, Born of the People, New York, International Publishers, 1953, and A B. Saulo, Communism in the Philippines, Q.C., Ateneo University Press, 1969. The Cirilo Honorio collection of clippings is a rich source on the subject.

43 Santayana, p. 12.

44 Hoeksema, pp. 96-97.

45 Philippines Free Press (January 26, 1931).

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Sturtevant, pp. 206-208.
73 Hoeksema, pp. 179-186, see Santayana's version, p. 16 et seq.
75 Manila Daily Bulletin (October 3, 1938).
76 Crippen, p. 351.
79 Renato Constantino, Fascism: Prospect and Retrospect, Quezon City, Malaya Books, 1970; see also Alan Chase, Falange, the Axis Secret Army in the Americas, New York, G.P. Putnam's, 1943, Chapter 2.
81 Hoeksema, pp. 178-179.
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