# Two Leaders, One Revolution

* Conflict in a Time of Conflict

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Reasons** | **Bonifacio (Magdiwang)** | **Aguinaldo (Magdalo)** |
| Regionalism | Manileno trying to assert authority where he lacked a substantial following | Caviteno who distinguished himself in defense of his province |
| Personalities | Hotheaded | Ambitious |
| Class | Humble origins | Elite |

* + Disruptions of warfare, scarcity of resources vs. thousands of refugees
* Two Styles of Leadership
  + Bonifacio – Consultative
    - Katipunan meetings in Pasig, Kangkong, Mandaluyong, Balara, San Mateo
  + Aguinaldo – Top-down
    - Centralization of authority; created quasi-local governments with military and non-military officers
* Warfare by Pulong
  + Consultative decision-making process
  + Southeast Asian “man of prowess” (O.W. Wolters)
    - Rulers are not autocratic, decentralized power
    - Ruled their domains called *mandala*
    - Shared power with many groups, frequent consultations
* Factions and Centralizations
  + Hierarchical, military leadership in Cavite chapters (Magdalo and Magdiwang)
  + Bureaucratic centralization experience as *gobernadorcillos* or *capitan municipals* under Spanish administration
* Centralization: Triumphant
  + Tejeros Convention – 22 March 1897 near San Francisco de Malabon (Magdalo)
  + Pushed by Magdiwang
  + 250 revolutionaries, old and new members, including non-Cavitenos
  + Conducted as a municipal election
* Tejeros: The Turning Point
  + Demise of the Katipunan Supreme Council
  + Transferred leadership from Bonifacio to Aguinaldo
  + Paved the way for the Execution of Bonifacio
  + Victory of centralization over consultation
  + Bureaucratic over charismatic leadership
* After Tejeros
  + Aguinaldo pushed up north to Bulacan
  + Headquartered in Biac-na-Bato
  + Governor General Primo de Rivera send Pedro Paterno to negotiate a truce
* Pact of Biac-na-Bato, 14 Dec. 1897
  + Aguinaldo and his companions would go into voluntary exile abroad
  + Gov. Gen. de Rivera would pay the sum of P800,000 to the rebels in 3 installments
    - P400,000 to Aguinaldo upon his departure from Biak-na-Bato
    - P200,000 when the arms surrendered by the revolutionaries amounted to 800
    - The remaining P200,000 when the arms surrendered reached 1,000

# Philippine-American Initial Contacts

# The American Intervention

1. The American Angle
   * The Cuban Revolution (since 1895)
   * Fight for Liberty against colonizers
   * US economic interest
   * Spanish ambassador to the US
   * “Remember the Maine” – Feb. 16, 1898
2. The “Large Policy” – Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt
   * Why take the Philippines?
     1. Geopolitical value as a stepping stone to China’s markets
     2. Reason to build up US naval strength
     3. Recognition and respect of world powers
   * Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt’s instruction to Commodore George Dewey to station in Hong Kong, Feb. 25, 1898
3. The Battle of Manila Bay: May 1, 1898
   * “You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.”
4. Aguinaldo’s Return
   * Most of Luzon and Intramuros surrounded by Filipino revolutionary forces
   * “We shall carry on a modern war.”
5. Spanish-American Secret Agreement
   * Why didn’t Dewey attack the city? – Reinforcements, 3rd batch by July 31
   * Negotiations between Dewey & Basilio Agustin/Fermin Jaudenes through the Belgian consul
   * Prevent Spain’s loss of face
   * General Greene’s dilemma: How to get US troops along the bayside
6. The Mock Battle of Manila
7. The Surrender of Manila – August 14, 1898

# Filipinas: Asia’s First Republic

1. Filipinas: Asia’s First Republic
   1. Declaration of Independence: June 12, 1898
   2. Malolos Congress – Inaugurated Sept. 15, 1898
      * Barasoain Church
   3. Malolos Constitution
      * Drafts
      * Separation of Church and State
      * Features of the Constitution
        1. Superiority of the legislative branch
        2. Permanent Commission
        3. Unicameral Congress
   4. Arrival of Emilio Aguinaldo at Malolos on Jan. 23, 1899
2. Definition of “Nation”
   1. Benedict Anderson (2003)
      * “An imagined community, inherently limited and sovereign”
3. How did each region’s political reorganization take place?
   1. Manila – rushed, tense
   2. Bicol – placid
   3. Western Visayas – did not acknowledge Aguinaldo
4. Why are the political reorganizations different from region to region?
   1. Centrifugal force
5. Did the June 18 decree “interpret faithfully the popular will?”
   1. What are the qualifications of a voter?
      * Social position and honorable conduct
   2. What does the record of actual voters say?
      * ~1% of the population voted
   3. Perpetuated cacique society and government?
      * Cacique – indigenous elite
6. Reasons
7. Outcome
   1. Alienation of the masses

# A Brief Look on US History

* Theodore Roosevelt
* Expansionism
  + From sea to shining sea…
* Declaration of Independence (1776)
  + Original 13 colonies of Britain
* The Louisiana Purchase (1803)
  + Thomas Jefferson (represented by James Monroe) purchased from Napoleon Bonaparte 2.1 million square kilometers for $15 million
* The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848)
  + Purchased 1.3 million square kilometers for $15 million from Mexico during james Polk’s presidency
* Manifest Destiny
  + + Liberty, Democracy, Mission
  + – Social Darwinism, Racism
* Institutional Discrimination
  + Indians
    - Reservations
  + Blacks
    - Slavery
    - Jim Crow laws
  + Orientals
    - Coolie labor
    - Exclusion Acts
    - Anti-alien land laws
  + Slavs
  + Jews
  + Italians and Greeks (Meds)
  + WASP – White Anglo-Saxon and Protestant
* From isolationists to imperialists…
  + Foreign markets and political hegemony – Monroe doctrine, 1823
  + Navy – overseas bases, coaling stations
    - E.g. Commodore Matthew Perry, 1853
  + 1893 Depression
    - Agrarian unrest
    - Immigration problems
    - Urban blight
    - Class conflicts
    - Closing of the frontiers
    - Psychic crisis
* Expansionism ≠ Imperialism
* Congress & Public perceptions why the US could not let go
  + Belief that the US has effectively conquered the archipelago
  + Fear of international complications
  + Filipinos unfit for self-rule
  + Economic considerations
  + Mission to civilize
* Rudyard Kipling, “White Man’s Burden”, Feb. 1899

# The Philippine-American War

1. Background: Competitive State-Building

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Philippine Republic** | **US Imperial State** |
| * Dictatiorial (May 24) to Revolutionary (June 23) government * Local governments and courts (June 18) * Cabinet * Malolos Congress * State revenues * State newspapers * State university * Malolos constitution | * Political activities and criminal justice * Sanitary campaigns * Cultivation of ilustrado friendships * Calling for release of Spanish prisoners held by the Philippines * Calling for evacuation of Manila suburbs |

1. Transnationality of Asia’s first republic
   * Ambassadors to lobby for Philippine independence sent to US, Japan, Australia, France, Spain, England
   * Felipe Agoncillo (US) appealed to American history and international law
   * Many of the campaigns, especially in publications, were waged in the language of “civilization” (e.g. favorable treatment of Spanish prisoners, Filipinos as civilized and cultured, unity of Filipinos, etc.)
     1. Civilized natives – confirmed by Dewey, General Anderson, General Charles King
2. Filipino-American Encounters before the Phil-Am war
   * Crisis of martial masculinity for Americans having been psyched-up only to fight in a sham battle
   * A game of turf advancements and restraints made for insults of “cowards” to be hurled against US troops
   * Filipinos’ suspicions of US presence colored by race rumors (US looking for new slaves)
   * Beaten Spaniards adding to the intrigue/competition on who befriended the Americans more (homes, concerts, dances)
   * “Itamo, the Insurrecto” (Philippine-American friendship)
   * Question of recognition of the Philippines was ambiguous, some Americans on the ground recognizing it (Wilcox and Sargent’s reports)
3. Treaty of Paris – Dec. 10, 1898
   * Spain cedes the Philippines to the US for the amount of $20 million (Article 3)
   * US admits Spanish ships and merchandise to the Philippine ports on the same terms as those of the US for a period of 10 years (Arts. 4 & 5)
   * The property rights of private individuals, ecclesiastical bodies, and any other entities having legal capacity to acquire and possess property shall be respected (Art. 8)
   * Spanish subjects are free to choose if they may still remain, they retain their rights of property, and to carry on their industry or profession (Art. 9)
   * Civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories ceded to the US shall be determined by Congress (Art. 9)
4. Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, Dec.21, 1898
   * US claimed sovereignty over the Philippines, and ordered US troops to take over the whole archipelago
   * De-recognition of Philippine independence
   * Secretary of War Elihu Root, President William McKinley
5. Start of the War
   * Minor Encounters
     1. The San Juan Bridge Incident (Feb. 4)
     2. Philippines’ Investigation Report
     3. Ratification if the Treaty of Paris by the US Congress (Feb. 6)
6. First Phase: Conventional War
   * First Period of the War – struggle over recognition
   * Philippine exhortation of civilization in the form of the Republic upholding of “science, technology, and education”
   * US policy of attraction – recognition of ilustrados, establishing a civil government, recognition of Philippine Scouts but organized according to tribal affinities
7. Race as a crucial factor in US Debates
   * Anti-imperialists
     1. Symapthetic
        1. Acknowledge Filipinos as civilized race and recognized the Republic
        2. African Americans equated annexation as new Jim Crow
     2. Not Sympathetic
        1. Racial and moral corruption of America
        2. Competition to white labor
   * Imperialists
     1. Americans as Anglo-Saxons, thus predisposal to rule the world
     2. Multiplicity of tribes as anarchy, not as nation
8. Second Phase: Guerilla War
   * Started Nov. 1899 by the Philippine army (learned tactics from Cubans, Boers)
   * “High price” of empire might sway American public opinion and politicians
   * Reasons for delay were mostly political
     1. Decentralized – Aguinaldo mistreated the rural base (Independencia vs. Kalayaan motives)
     2. Uncivilized – derail bid for international recognition
9. Amigo Warfare
   * Villagers supported guerillas with cover, food, money, and information
     1. “Amigo Warfare” especially among the principalia class who supplied the guides, interpreters, and municipal officials of the US army created confusion and frustration
     2. Deception racialized by US troops as a typical oriental trait
        1. Started to confuse the lines between combatants and non-combatants
10. Racializing Warfare: US Army
    * Terminological shifts – From early racial slurs by US troops
    * Developed from the ground
    * Racial exterminist impulses of officers and troops
    * No distinction in the torture of combatants and civilians, and laughing at it (e.g. Water curse)
    * “No prisoners” orders – killing of prisoners
    * Killing of civilians
    * Balangiga, Samar as a “howling wilderness”
11. US justification of violence
    * Justified on basis of race, an issue understood by both Americans government and public, with few exceptions (e.g. Bigalow)
      1. Guerilla war as savage war (outside of moral legal standards) those who adopted it lost claims of limited violence and mercy
      2. Guerilla war was tactical for whites, ethnological for non-whites. Atrocities have Asiatic roots, and US troops only borrowed it
      3. The Macabebes did it
      4. Degeneration – by-product of civilizational meltdown. Had scientific groundings in the imperials would caused by soldiers’ race tensions with immediate environment, like a disease
    * Aguinaldo’s Trail, 1899-1900
      1. Battle of Tirad Pass, General Gregorio del Pilar, Dec. 1899
    * The Capture of Aguinaldo, Mar. 23, 1901
    * Surrender of Malvar, the last of the generals. Apr. 16, 1902
12. Was war over?
    * Civil government (July 4, 1901)
    * Insurrection declared over (July 4, 1902)
    * Army “pacification” campaigns of destruction, starvation and disease continued after 1902
    * Civil government’s repressive laws
13. Civil Laws in the context of war
    * Sedition Law (Nov. 1901) Imposed death penalty or long term imprisonment or anyone agitating for Independence even though peaceful means.
    * Brigandage Act (Nov. 1902) Giving aid to brigands can be punished by imprisonment of up to 20 years.
    * Reconcentration Act (Jun. 1903) Empowered officials to move all inhabitants of a village.

# Taft Era (1901-1913)

1. The Philippines under American Rule
2. The Taft Era (1901-1913)
   * William Howard Taft (1857-1930)
   * 1900-1901 Head, 2nd Philippine Commission
   * 1901-1903 Civil Governor, Philippine Islands
   * 1904-1908 Secretary of War, United States
   * 1909-1913 President, United States
3. The American Colonial Government
   * Philippine Commissions
     1. Schurman Commission (1st)
        1. Recommendations:
           1. Civil Government
           2. Bicameral legislature
           3. Public education system
           4. Separate finances for the insular government
        2. First Philippine Commission in 1899 – Jacob G. Schurman, Admiral Dewey, Charles Denby, Dean C. Worcester, and Gen. Elwell C. Otis
     2. Taft Commission (2nd)
        1. “Measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, habits and even prejudices consistent with the requisites of just and effective government.” From McKinley’s Instruction to the Second Commission
        2. Shift to Civil Government: July 4, 1901
        3. The Taft Commission in 1900 – Dean C. Worcester, Henry C. Ide, William H. Taft, Bernard Moses, Luke E. Wright
   * Political Reorganizations
     1. Municipal Code (Jan. 31, 1901)
     2. Provincial Code (Feb. 6, 1901)
     3. Voting qualifications:
        1. At least 20 years old
        2. 6 months residency
        3. Held local position in the town government before US occupation
        4. Owned Real Property worth at least P500 or paid annual taxes worth P30
        5. Literacy in English or Spanish
   * Laboratory of Democracy
     1. The Friar lands Policy
     2. Civil Service
     3. Public School System
     4. Public Health
4. Turn of the Century Philippine Society
   * 10% Upper Class (Elites)
   * 90% Under class
   * 4 Types of Elites by location
     1. Urban middle sector
     2. Urban elites
     3. Municipal elites
     4. Provincial elites
5. The Urban Ilustrados
   * Urban elites played important roles at the beginning of American rule (from the military to the early civil administration).
   * Partido Federal had Taft as patron. Only party allowed to exist until 1906.
   * Pardo de Tavera, Legarda, and Luzuriaga to the Philippine Commission
   * No elections in Manila until 1907.
6. Political Empowerment of Provincial Governors
   * Electoral system linked municipalities to provincial capitals
   * Provincial Board (beginning 1901)
     1. Governor – Filipino
     2. Treasurer – American. Filipino by 1916
     3. Supervisor – American. Filipino by 1906
   * To be elected governor:
     1. Form alliances
     2. Support of local American officials
   * Highly restricted suffrage
   * Elected governors had constituencies as foundation of political power
7. The National Assembly
   * Philippine Bill of 1902 (Cooper Act)
     1. Bicameral legislature
     2. Upper House: Philippine Commission
     3. Lower House: Philippine Assembly
   * January 30, 1907 national elections
8. A Realignment of power in 1907
   * Shift of power from urban to provincial ilustrados
   * What happened to the *Federalistas*?
     1. From Statehood to independence platform
     2. Became *Partido Nacional Progresista* in 1907
9. From provincial to national politics
   * Electoral system:
     1. Confirmed the existing social structure
     2. Provided local elites with an institution upon which to expand their influence in government
   * Nacionalista Party – from mergers of several nationalist parties of provincial elites. March 12, 1907
   * 80 delegates: 59 Nacionalista, 16 Progresista
   * Party President/Speaker of the Assembly: Osmeña
   * The Delegate from Tayabas: Manuel Quezon
   * Not on high bureaucratic appointments
   * Rather on electoral politics
   * Right place, right time
   * Maintained control as effective brokers between colonial administrators and political elites (local and national)
10. Colonial politicos
    * Effective brokering/permanence
      1. “Immediate, Complete and Absolute Independence” (ICA) – personal pride, public sentiment, political leverage [*dos caras*]
      2. Directors of the directing class (legislative caciques) manipulating nationalist discourse, control of bureaucratic patronage, centralization of government
11. Political Parties
    * Ideology of independence
    * Elections decided on the basis of personal, family issues rather than on party issues.

# Filipinization

1. “Philippines for the Filipinos”
   * Hardly any Filipino in influential posts in the Taft era
   * Republicans vs. Democrats in Philippine policy
   * Francis Burton Harrison’s RAPID FILIPINIZATION
2. Rapid Filipinization
   * Early Retirement
   * Cut executive salaries
   * Prohibited government employees from running private businesses
   * World War I
   * 1913 to 1919: Americans in the insular bureaucracy dropped from 29 to 6 percent
   * Tammany Hall
3. The Jones law of 1916
   * Preamble: America will “withdraw its sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein.”
   * All-Filipino legislature: Senate and house of Representatives
4. The Council of State 1917
   * Executive and Legislative composition
   * President – Harrison, Vice President – Osmeña, 3rd Man – Quezon
   * Legislature vested the Council with executive powers
5. War-Time Economy
   * Philippine exports: demand and world-market prices went up
   * Restricted imports: traditional sources at war and shipping shortage
   * Philippine economy -> awash with cash
   * GOCCs: PNB, Manila Railroad Co.
   * The Board of Control (1918)
6. Economic Nationalism
   * Legislations passed limited foreign ownership in public lands, inter-island shipping, petroleum exploration
   * Nacionalista Party dominance
   * 1919 elections: 92% voter turn-out. 78/82 in the House, 23/24 in the Senate, 35/36 governors
7. Post-War effects
   * Monetary crisis
   * Government businesses – bleeding cash. Minimal production with bloated admin costs. (e.g. shipping, iron, petroleum ventures)
   * Government in business created opportunities for more patronage, subjecting business decisions to political manipulation.
8. Points to Ponder
   * Combination of corruption and competence
   * The elementary pursuit of profit and gain as a political act
9. Rift in leadership
   * Rivalry of Osmena and Quezon more pronounced – more power at stake
   * Who should be the top man? Senate President or Speaker of the House?
     1. Quezon spoils for a fight (Collectivista vs. Unipersonalista)
     2. Senate Shutdown
     3. Partido Nacionalista Consolidado
10. Return of the Republicans
    * Wood-Forbes Mission
    * Philippines in a financial crisis, inept and corrupt bureaucracy
    * Governor-General Leonard Wood (1921-1927)
11. The Cabinet Crisis
    * The Wood reforms: budget cuts, reject political appointees, veto laws, abolish Board of Control and the Council of State
    * Filipino protests culminated in the Cabinet Crisis (1923) upon Quezon’s instigation
      1. The Ray Conley Case, a minor case
      2. Resignation of all Filipino cabinet officials
      3. Quezon’s political reasons
12. Henry L. Stimson
    * Sought to restore cooperation with Filipinos
    * Distanced himself from the independence question, “merely an administrator”
    * Revived the Council of State, provided technical advisers
    * Stressed economic preparedness to deaf ears because of economic nationalism

# Philippine Economy during the American Colonial Period

1. Land
   * Land policy
2. Land Policy
   * New Plantations – discouraged
     1. Limits to landholdings:
        1. 1,024 hectares for corporations
        2. 24 hectares for individuals
     2. Homestead – in unsettled public lands of Mindanao and Palawan
   * Old haciendas – allowed to remain
3. An Agricultural Economy
   * Food crops:
     1. Rice
     2. Corn
   * Export crops:
     1. Coconut
     2. Abaca
     3. Sugar
     4. Tobacco
4. Trade
   * 75% of Philippine exports to America
   * 3 major interest groups that decide tariff/economic policy:
     1. American domestic agriculture
     2. American manufacturing
     3. Filipino export agriculture
5. Tariff Policy
   * 3 stages of tariff relations:
     1. Spanish tariff system (1898-1909)
     2. Virtual free trade (1909-1934)
        1. Export prohibition of more than 20% non-Philippine raw materials
     3. Quotas (1934 onwards)
   * Free trade discouraged industrialization for two reasons:
     1. Little cost differential for imported goods
     2. No re-export
6. In the US market
   * Philippine coconut (18%) and abaca (13%) vs. Foreign goods
     1. No sharp price differential. On ‘free list’
   * Only sugar (6%) and tobacco (2%) were protected by tariffs
7. Sugar and tobacco
   * Sugar benefited a lot from colonial relationship. 65% of export value and 40% of government revenue
   * But only 6 to 8% of total land area in cultivation. Most Filipino farms and farmers were only distantly affected by the tariff policy
8. Status-quo
   * Political clout – prevented serious attempt to tap wealth provided by the tariff policy
   * Government:
     1. Refused to tax lands or income
     2. No funds for infrastructure, credit, technology, land reform projects
     3. False sense of security

# Independence Missions

1. The Campaigns for Independence
   * Speeches in the Philippine Assembly
     + Osmeña in 1908 “true aspirations which had not suffered mutation or change”
   * Resident Commissioners
     + Provide US Congress with information on the Philippines
     + Quezon speeches: US Congress and American public
2. Commission on Independence
   * Initiated by the Nacionalista Party
   * Independence Missions to the US
     + 1919
     + 1922
     + 1923 Special mission lead by Speaker Manuel Roxas
     + 1924
     + 1925
     + 1927
     + 1929
     + 1931 Osmeña-Roxas Mission
3. Hare-Hawes Cutting 1933
   * Ten-year preparatory Commonwealth
   * Economic Provision
   * American bases
4. Lobby Groups
   * Sugar and Pail Oil Trusts
   * US Labor
   * Isolationists
   * Racial Purity
5. Philippine Reaction
   * Critiques from Quezon and allies
   * Why?
   * Rejection
   * Quezon goes to Washington for a better bill
   * Quezon comes home with the Tydings-McDuffie 1934
   * Difference

# Commonwealth (1936-1946)

* Grant of Philippine Independence
  1. Businessmen saw the Philippines as a threat
     + Great Depression
     + Beet sugar lobbyists = Philippine exports as competition
     + Labor force = too great of an influx of Filipinos = competition for jobs
  2. Military liability
     + Philippines was the US’s Achilles heel
* Hare-Hawes Cutting Act
  1. Result of Osmena’s and Roxas’ independence mission to Washington
  2. Formation of the Commonwealth within a 10 year transition period
* Tydings-McDuffie Act
  1. Result of Quezon’s independence mission
  2. Carbon copy of the HHC Act
  3. The approved act